



This project is co-financed by the European Union and the Republic of Turkey.

IMPROVING SOCIAL DIALOGUE IN WORKING LIFE

# Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

2018



This report has been prepared with the financial support of the European Union (EU) and Republic of Turkey under the project 'Improving Social Dialogue in Working Life' by the International Labour Organization (ILO) Office for Turkey. The content of this publication cannot be interpreted as the opinion of the EU and Republic of Turkey.

# Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

**Research Team:**

Prof. Dr. Fikret Adaman, Boğaziçi University  
Assistant Prof. Dr. Alpkan Birelma, Özyeğin University  
Emeritus Prof. Dr. Ayşe Buğra, Boğaziçi University  
Associate Prof. Dr. Aziz Çelik, Kocaeli University  
Assistant Prof. Dr. Volkan Yılmaz, Boğaziçi University

Begüm Özcan, Boğaziçi University-Social Policy Forum  
İrem İnal, Research Assistant, Boğaziçi University  
Çağlayan Işık, FREKANS Research

2018





## CONTENTS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>TABLES</b> .....  | <b>V</b>  |
| <b>FIGURES</b> .....   | <b>V</b>  |
| <b>FOREWORD</b> .....  | <b>IX</b> |
| <b>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</b> .....   | <b>X</b>  |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....   | <b>1</b>  |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW: UNION PERCEPTION,<br/>SOCIAL DIALOGUE AND CURRENT SITUATION IN TURKEY</b> ..... | <b>3</b>  |
| 2.1. General Framework.....  | 3         |
| 2.2. Union Perception in Turkey.....   | 5         |
| 2.3. Social Dialogue Mechanisms in Turkey.....   | 9         |
| 2.3.1. Development of Trade Union Organisation as a Pre-Condition to Social Dialogue .....                       | 9         |
| 2.3.2. Evolution of Employer Unionism.....   | 10        |
| 2.3.3. Labour Assembly .....   | 11        |
| 2.3.4. Minimum Wage Fixing Board .....   | 11        |
| 2.3.5. Economic and Social Council .....   | 12        |
| 2.3.6. Tripartite Consultation Board .....   | 13        |
| 2.3.7. New Approaches to Organisation and Access to Social Dialogue .....  | 13        |
| 2.4. Changes in the World of Work .....  | 15        |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>CHAPTER 3. QUANTITATIVE STUDY</b> .....   | <b>17</b> |
| 3.1. Conceptual Framework and Measurement Framework.....   | 17        |
| 3.2. Sampling Method .....   | 17        |
| 3.3. Code of Ethics.....   | 17        |
| 3.4. Data Analysis .....   | 18        |
| 3.5. Sampling Plan of the Survey and Actual Survey Data .....  | 18        |
| 3.6. Household Information Module.....   | 21        |
| 3.7. General Knowledge and Perception towards Unions .....   | 21        |
| 3.8. General Structure of the Working Population.....  | 34        |
| 3.9. Working Population: Union Members.....  | 36        |
| 3.10. Working Population: Insured but not Union Members .....  | 48        |
| 3.11. Working People: Without Insurance.....   | 51        |
| 3.12. Social Dialogue.....   | 55        |
| 3.13. General Problems of the Country, Labour Market and Employees.....  | 63        |
| 3.14. Analysis Results for the Field Research .....  | 66        |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>CHAPTER 4. QUALITATIVE STUDY .....</b>   | <b>69</b> |
| 4.1. Methodology .....  | 69        |
| 4.2. How Actors Perceive Themselves .....   | 70        |
| 4.2.1. Unionisation rate .....  | 70        |
| 4.2.2. Unionism Approach and Practice in Turkey .....   | 71        |
| 4.2.3. Self-perception of Unions .....  | 72        |
| 4.2.4. Perceptions of Women in Social Dialogue Mechanisms.....  | 74        |
| 4.3. Perception of the Society towards the Unions .....   | 75        |
| 4.4. Self-criticism in Unions and Employer Organizations .....  | 77        |
| 4.5. Effectiveness of Dialogue Mechanisms .....   | 79        |
| 4.5.1. Effectiveness of Tripartite Social Dialogue, Performance of the Government and Ministry.....   | 79        |
| 4.5.2. Allegations of Government and Public Administrators Discriminating Between Unions.....         | 82        |
| 4.5.3. Assessments by Public Servants Unions on their Social Dialogue with Public Administration..... | 82        |
| 4.5.4. Attitudes of Employers towards Bipartite Social Dialogue in the Private Sector.....            | 83        |
| 4.6. Recommendations by Social Partners on Improving Social Dialogue in Turkey.....                   | 87        |
| 4.6.1. Recommendations for Tripartite Social Dialogue .....   | 87        |
| 4.6.2. Recommendations for Public Servants Unionism.....  | 87        |
| 4.6.3. Recommendations for Worker Unionism .....  | 88        |
| 4.6.4. Recommendations for ILO .....  | 88        |
| <b>CHAPTER 5. GENERAL ASSESSMENT AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>                                  | <b>89</b> |
| 5.1. General Findings .....   | 89        |
| 5.2. Policy Recommendations .....   | 89        |
| 5.2.1. Policy Recommendations for Trade Unions .....  | 89        |
| 5.2.2. Policy Recommendations for Employers.....  | 91        |
| 5.2.3. Policy Recommendations for Public Sector.....  | 91        |
| 5.3. Social Dialogue .....  | 92        |
| <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>   | <b>95</b> |

**TABLES**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Table 1: The distribution of the sample by provinces.....   | 19 |
| Table 2: Factors determining the attitude on the topics of union and social dialogue from the point of general public .....     | 66 |
| Table 3: Factors determining the attitude on the topics of union and social dialogue from the point of working population ..... | 67 |
| Table 4: The list of interviews.....  | 70 |

**FIGURES**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Figure 1: Survey sample.....   | 18 |
| Figure 2: The demographics of the general public and the working population samples I.....                 | 20 |
| Figure 3: The demographics of the general public and the working population samples II.....                | 20 |
| Figure 4: Demographics III: The composition of the working population .....                                | 21 |
| Figure 5: The Demographics of the general public and the working population samples IV.....                | 21 |
| Figure 6: Are “Unions” Known? .....  | 22 |
| Figure 7: Familiarity with the unions by different groups.....   | 22 |
| Figure 8: Is the difference between unions and confederations known .....                                  | 23 |
| Figure 9: Familiarity with the difference between trade unions and confederations by different groups..... | 23 |
| Figure 10: Familiarity with worker confederations .....  | 24 |
| Figure 11: Familiarity with employer organizations.....  | 24 |
| Figure 12: Following union-related news via the media .....  | 25 |
| Figure 13: Distribution of those who follow union-related news by different groups.....                    | 25 |
| Figure 14: The rate of those who follow union-related developments via union publications .....            | 26 |
| Figure 15: Distribution of those who follow union-related developments via union publications.....         | 26 |
| Figure 16: How successful are the unions? .....  | 27 |
| Figure 17: The perception of whether the unions are seen as powerful in working life.....                  | 27 |
| Figure 18: The distribution of those who think that the unions are powerful in working life .....          | 28 |
| Figure 19: Reasons for unions’ insufficient strength .....   | 28 |
| Figure 20: What should be done to get uninsured workers covered.....                                       | 29 |
| Figure 21: Do unions work effectively enough? .....  | 30 |
| Figure 22: The factors that prevent the unions from working more effectively .....                         | 30 |
| Figure 23: The problems that could be solved by unionisation.....  | 31 |
| Figure 24: What should the general responsibilities of the unions be? .....                                | 32 |
| Figure 25: What should the priorities of the unions at the workplace be? .....                             | 32 |
| Figure 26: Workers’ participation in workplace management .....  | 33 |
| Figure 27: Ways of participation in workplace management .....   | 33 |
| Figure 28: Thoughts on political activities of the unions.....   | 34 |
| Figure 29: Monthly average salaries of the working population .....  | 34 |
| Figure 30: For how long have you been working?.....  | 35 |
| Figure 31: Average weekly working hours.....   | 35 |
| Figure 32: Effectiveness of the own union at the workplace .....   | 36 |
| Figure 33: The reason for decision to become a union member .....  | 36 |
| Figure 34: The advantages of being a union member.....   | 37 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Figure 35: Participation in union-related protests .....  | 37 |
| Figure 36: Effectiveness of union protests .....  | 38 |
| Figure 37: Feeling to be a part of the union .....  | 38 |
| Figure 38: Frequency of union meetings at the workplace .....   | 39 |
| Figure 39: Participation to union meetings at the workplace .....   | 39 |
| Figure 40: Topics mentioned in union meetings.....  | 40 |
| Figure 41: Workplace representative elections .....   | 40 |
| Figure 42: Who can be a candidate for union representative.....   | 41 |
| Figure 43: Consulting the workplace representative.....   | 41 |
| Figure 44: What was the purpose of consultation with the workplace representative.....                                    | 42 |
| Figure 45: Influence of workers on union-related decisions .....  | 42 |
| Figure 46: Why do people not want to become a union member .....  | 43 |
| Figure 47: The effort to collaborate with other members .....   | 43 |
| Figure 48: Taking role in increasing the number of union members.....   | 44 |
| Figure 49: Factors that affect the sense of belonging .....   | 44 |
| Figure 50: Does the union management have sufficient knowledge.....   | 45 |
| Figure 51: Gender discrimination within own union .....   | 45 |
| Figure 52: What are the types of discrimination? .....  | 46 |
| Figure 53: Immigrant workers .....  | 46 |
| Figure 54: Workers with disabilities.....   | 47 |
| Figure 55: Have you ever encountered a case where own union-related rights<br>were violated by the union management ..... | 47 |
| Figure 56: Contact with unions .....  | 48 |
| Figure 57: The nature of contact with unions.....   | 48 |
| Figure 58: Reasons for quitting the union.....  | 49 |
| Figure 59: General opinion on unions .....  | 49 |
| Figure 60: Reasons for wanting to become a union member.....  | 50 |
| Figure 61: Reasons for not wanting to become a union member.....  | 50 |
| Figure 62: Reasons for women not wanting to become a union member .....   | 51 |
| Figure 63: Reason for working without insurance .....   | 52 |
| Figure 64: Fight to become insured .....  | 52 |
| Figure 65: Reasons for not fighting to get insured .....  | 53 |
| Figure 66: If you were insured, would you like to become a union member?.....   | 53 |
| Figure 67: Reasons for not wanting to become a union member .....   | 54 |
| Figure 68: Reasons for wanting to become a union member.....  | 54 |
| Figure 69: Is there a difference in working conditions of union workers and non-union worker .....                        | 55 |
| Figure 70: Familiarity with the concept of “social dialogue” .....  | 55 |
| Figure 71: Known Forms of Social Dialogue.....  | 56 |
| Figure 72: Which of the three parties is responsible for improving social dialogue .....                                  | 56 |
| Figure 73: How can social dialogue be achieved.....   | 57 |
| Figure 74: Following MoLSS's activities.....  | 57 |
| Figure 75: Familiarity with ILO.....  | 58 |
| Figure 76: Following ILO's activities .....   | 58 |

Figure 77: The influence of the government, employers and employees on working life ..... 59

Figure 78: How should the government, employers and employees have influence on..... 59

Figure 79: In improving the social dialogue, do you think that the government authorities  
can have a facilitating role? ..... 60

Figure 80: Mechanisms by which the government authorities can improve social dialogue ..... 60

Figure 81: In improving social dialogue, do you think that the employers can have a facilitating role?..... 61

Figure 82: Mechanisms by which the employers can improve social dialogue ..... 61

Figure 83: In improving social dialogue, do you think that the worker unions can have a facilitating role? ..... 62

Figure 84: Mechanisms by which the worker and public servant unions can improve social dialogue ..... 62

Figure 85: The most important problems in Turkey that need to be solved..... 63

Figure 86: The most important problems in working life..... 63

Figure 87: Life satisfaction..... 64

Figure 88: How worried are the employees about becoming unemployed? ..... 64

Figure 89: How safe are the working conditions? ..... 65

Figure 90: Recruitment criteria in Turkey ..... 65

## ACRONYM

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| ASKON            | Anatolian Businessmen Association                                       |
| DİSK             | Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey                     |
| EU               | European Union  |
| HAK-İŞ           | HAK-İŞ Trade Union Confederation  |
| ILO              | International Labour Organization                                       |
| IOE              | International Organisation of Employers                                 |
| KAMU-İŞ          | Union of Employers of Public Enterprises                                |
| TÜRKİYE KAMU-SEN | Turkish Confederation of Public Servants Trade Unions                   |
| KESK             | Confederation of Public Employees Trade Unions                          |
| MEMUR-SEN        | Confederation of Public Servants Trade Unions                           |
| MoFLSS           | Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (formerly MoLSS)         |
| MoLSS            | Ministry of Labour and Social Security (now merged into MoFLSS)         |
| MÜSİAD           | Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association               |
| SME              | Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise                                       |
| TESK             | Turkish Confederation of Tradesmen and Craftsmen                        |
| TİSK             | Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations                          |
| TOBB             | Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey                     |
| TÜHİS            | Turkish Heavy Industry and Service Sector Public Employers' Association |
| TÜRKONFED        | Turkish Enterprise and Business Confederation                           |
| TÜRK-İŞ          | Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions                                   |
| TÜSİAD           | Turkish Industry and Business Association                               |
| TZOB             | Union of Turkish Agricultural Chambers                                  |

### Foreword

Social dialogue is a core value and a key objective of the International Labour Organization (ILO). The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services also recognizes the value and importance of social dialogue in both policy making and implementation in Turkey. Social dialogue has a proven track record in producing sustainable solutions, including in times of crisis and recovery from crisis. Recognizing the value of social dialogue, the International Labour Organization for Turkey provided technical support to the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services to implement a project entitled 'Improving Social Dialogue in Working Life' within the framework of EU Instrument of Pre-accession Funds. The overall objective of this project is to improve social dialogue at all levels. The overall objective of this project is to promote social dialogue at all levels in Turkey.

This research is one of important activities of the project, which aim to measure the knowledge and perception of the public, working population and the social partners, relevant actors in working life about social dialogue and unionisation, to find out their thoughts on how to improve social dialogue and collective action, and to design policy recommendations to improve social dialogue in light of this information. The social dialogue approach has also been implemented during conducting this research through Stakeholder Advisory Committee in which social partners also contributed to design and scope of the research.

We wish to acknowledge the contributions made by a number of institutions and people to the research process, first and foremost, all distinguished academics and administrative staff in research's team which has been coordinated by Boğaziçi University Social Policy Forum. We extend our sincere thanks to social partners and relevant actors which contributed to the research, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, as well as the staff of the ILO units in Geneva which are responsible for providing technical support to the project, namely the Social Dialogue and Tripartism Unit (DIALOGUE) and the International Labour Standards Department (NORMES) and Project Management Team in ILO Office for Turkey for their contribution to content and editing of the report.

**Nurcan ÖNDER**

Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services  
General Director of Labour

**Numan ÖZCAN**

Director of ILO Office for Turkey

## Executive Summary

This study presents the results of the research conducted in 2018 within the scope of “Improving Social Dialogue in Working Life” in Turkey. The aim of the study is to measure the knowledge and perception of the public, working population and the social partners in working life about social dialogue and unionisation, to find out their thoughts on how to improve social dialogue and collective action, and to design policy recommendations to improve social dialogue in light of this information. For this purpose, a review of the literature on the subject, 2,000 face-to-face surveys across the country and in-depth interviews with the social partners were conducted.

As the results of the survey show, neither the general public nor the working population follow the union movement closely, although they consider the problems related to economic and working life important. According to the survey results, both the general public and the working population find the unions unsuccessful and think that the unions are not powerful in working life and do not effectively work at the present. Still, both the general public and the working population attribute important tasks to the unions provided that they are cautious about doing politics.

Although the general public and the working population have stated that the unions are not as effective as might be wished for, it should be noted that a number of structural obstacles, such as legislation problems, informality and arbitrary dismissal have also been pointed out. Despite these obstacles, both groups expressed a strong belief that the unions have an important role in correcting the problems in working conditions (especially in reducing long working hours, improving working conditions, reducing gender discrimination at the workplace, and raising wage levels). In relation to this, they also expressed belief in social dialogue. Responsibility is attributed in particular to the government, unions and employer organizations in improving social dialogue.

According to the results of the survey, there is a strong perception both in the general public and in the working population that union membership can lead to arbitrary dismissal. It has been observed that the working population has serious expectations for the employers to be more sensitive to the problems and demands of the workers at the workplace. Similarly, the workers expect the employers to take necessary measures to make working conditions safer. The results of the research underline that the government needs to make more serious effort to combat informality, solve unemployment, and ensure work safety for the purpose of improving working conditions.

When we look at the survey participants who are union members, we see that the perception of these employees towards unions is remarkably more positive than the general public. The overwhelming majority of unionized employees find their unions to be effective at the workplace. However, it is observed that the unionized employees are experiencing difficulties in feeling an attachment to their unions. Apart from a small group, union members stated that they are passive members, their participation rates in union activities are low, and their opportunities to contribute to the decisions taken by the union are limited. Likewise, they have criticized the union management for its hierarchical approach, insufficient knowledge of the legislation relevant to working life, and gender-based discrimination. Still, a large part of the union members stated that union struggle provides opportunities in many areas, particularly in the improvement of working conditions.

Given this data, the unions should make the decision-making process more participatory to increase their members’ sense of belonging to the union, to motivate them to contribute more, and increase joint efforts within the union. Additionally, it is useful for the management to exhibit a fairer and more democratic attitude. Likewise, a stronger stance against gender-based discrimination is expected to increase women’s participation in the union movement. Unions would benefit from showing sensitivity both to internal democracy and related long-term communication strategies.

It is also observed that among the insured and non-unionised employees, there is a strong perception that union membership would increase the risk of dismissal as emphasized above. Moreover, there is a significant group in this segment who do not believe in the union struggle. Finally, the main problem of informal workers is that they are not able to find a job that provides social security coverage except a small percentage of workers who accept working without social security coverage in order to earn more money or because they are retired.

According to the results of the survey, a substantial part of the general public said that social dialogue could be improved with agreements covering the entire country, in which the government is a party. Approximately one-fifth of the respondents stated that the agreements should be made at the sectoral level. It is concluded that the necessary social demand exists for the implementation of tripartite agreements. The public has stated that all three parties should be represented equally in the social dialogue process, but the working population currently has a weak position. Based on these findings, it can be emphasized that the government has the responsibility to provide a balance between the employees and the employers. It can be concluded that the public thinks that only through the establishment of such a balanced mechanism can improvements in social dialogue be achieved.

The face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews with the social partners confirm the findings of the survey. The need to revise the processes on union legislation has been repeatedly emphasized by the representatives of labour unions. The fact that the current legal framework allows some employers to delay the authorization process required for unions for long periods by using the right to appeal authorization, gaps in the law and the judicial system was expressed as a significant problem by the labour unions' representatives. One of the important demands concerns the establishment of a pluralistic rather than a monopolistic authorization structure (where only a single union is authorized at a workplace). An additional demand is to lower the sector and workplace thresholds.

Another point shared in the in-depth interviews is the limited and partial functioning of the tripartite social dialogue mechanisms. Accordingly, there is a consensus among the social partners that these mechanisms should function more effectively and that social dialogue should be improved. Members of the unions have the expectation that the regular functioning of social dialogue mechanisms will increase the public visibility of unions and have a positive impact on society's view of unions.

It is useful to consider the following points expressed in the interviews as policy recommendations:

- The Economic and Social Council should meet regularly.
- The Tripartite Advisory Board should work regularly.
- The statistics of tripartite social dialogue should be kept and published regularly in the study statistics.

In line with these demands, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services can act as an effective mediator to constitute a neutral communication channel between the employees and employers, as well as share the steps to improve social dialogue with the general public. It is seen that the social partners attach a lot of importance to and take into account the International Labour Organization (ILO). Therefore, ILO should increase its emphasis on the importance of social dialogue for the general public, the working population, and the employers.



## Chapter 1. Introduction

The first leg of our study is the literature review, where we present and evaluate the studies published on the subject matter. It is seen that a significant portion of the studies are devoted to the study of the relevant legislation and the history of institutional structures. It is understood that there are not many studies on the knowledge and perception towards unions, and most of existing studies do not encompass entire Turkey. It should be emphasized that there are very few studies on social dialogue. More concretely; it is understood that there is not enough emphasis on issues such as operating existing social dialogue mechanisms, increasing their functions and capacities, conducting studies on the elimination of prejudices of social partners, and improving the right to unionisation, which is a prerequisite for social dialogue.

The second leg of the study is to measure the knowledge and perceptions of the public towards both unions/ employer organizations, and social dialogue with a comprehensive survey. 1,200 from the general public (i.e., the entire population) and 800 from people with the capacity to represent the working population, and the responses of the urban population to the mentioned topics, along with personal and family information, were collected with a face-to-face study in May-June 2018. This second leg presents survey responses and statistical/econometric analysis results.

The third leg of the study consists of in-depth interviews with relevant stakeholders. In this context, in-depth interviews were conducted with a group consisting of representatives from the unions, employer organizations, the in-charge Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS), and journalists working on the issue.

The last leg of the study is the evaluation of the study findings and the establishment of policy recommendations. Our study has been structured on this setup.



## Chapter 2. Literature Review: Union Perception, Social Dialogue and Current Situation in Turkey

### 2.1. General Framework

The stretch of years following the World War II was a period in which unions played an important role and strengthened their social position within the framework of the welfare-state institutions in developed Western countries and in the late industrialising countries such as Turkey under the national developmentalism approach. Focusing on Turkey, we can see that the social position of the union movement is shaped by two dynamics in the 1960s when national developmentalism gained momentum based on the model of industrialisation through import substitution. Further in the past<sup>1</sup>, the Pro-Worker Society (Ameleperver Cemiyeti) established in 1871 is defined by some as the first-ever trade union in Turkey; however, it was essentially an organisation that served as a mutual assistance fund. Together with the industrialisation move following the declaration of the Republic, the working class started to develop. In 1936, the first Labour Law was enacted; and in 1947, the first Trade Union Law was passed. Since unions were operating under a “no-strike” regime with inadequate collective bargaining rights, they could not be effective in protecting workers’ rights. The right to strike was included for the first time in the Constitution of 1961. Fundamental rights for the world of work such as the right to establish trade unions, collective bargaining and strike are constitutionally guaranteed on the legal basis with the Constitution of 1961. Since this industrialisation model is based on encouraging domestic production to substitute imports and driving domestic demand upwards for substitutes, particularly the wage-earning class stands as an important pillar that needs to be employed at high wages to ensure continuity of work and have purchasing power to drive domestic demand for domestically produced goods. The establishment of Confederation of progress Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) in 1967 and Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (HAK-İŞ) in 1976 in addition to Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ) in operation since 1952 and the rapid increase in union membership among workers in the 1960s testify that the union movement became stronger in the period of 1960-1980 (Nichols and Suğur, 2004; Çelik, 2017).

This period came to an end with a series of developments seriously affecting the world of work from the 1980s; trade unions both experienced member losses and difficulties in protecting the interests of members in Turkey as was the case in many countries. These problems of union movement are usually explained by such facts as economic liberalisation, neoliberal globalisation and flexible working (including subcontracting/increased part-time employment). The repressive political environment in Turkey introduced by the military regime of 1980-83 is also known to have played an important role in this context (Adaman et al., 2009). These explanations cannot be said to be wrong; but it is also not possible to say that they are adequate in terms of both making predictions about the future and developing suggestions and measures. In this context, views that suggest that union structures have internal problems and are experiencing difficulties in establishing relations with their members should be taken into account.

As known, union perception plays an important role in workers’ decisions to join the union movement. Generally, it is understood that perception towards unions is changing historically and geographically. Also, we can mention the study results that different personalities in the same geography and same period are in correlation with different perception levels. According to the results of a survey conducted with 14,733 respondents currently in employment in 24 countries in 2005 (Givan and Hipp, 2012), it is possible to explain by various parameters the differentiation of perception that unions are effective in providing working conditions and job security. It should be emphasised that in such countries as Germany and France where union movement has historically been strong, the average positive perception is well above those in countries such as Taiwan and Bulgaria. It was concluded that women generally had a more positive perception of unions than men did. Another dimension is the difference in perceptions of skilled vs. unskilled workers. Roughly speaking, it was found that the latter had a higher level of positive perception than the former. Although Turkey was not among the countries included in the study, it is known that field studies on the country have yielded similar results (see for example Adaman et al., 2009). It is known that the positive perception

<sup>1</sup> See Makal (1999).

toward unions tended to recede both in the general public and in the working segment in the post-1980 neoliberal period. This conclusion is valid for the world as well as for Turkey.

As known, union work that is carried out through social dialogue mechanisms can be limited in some locations or widespread in others. The concept of social dialogue is basically one of the four key strategic objectives of the International Labour Organization (ILO) about decent work (International Labour Office, 2013). In this context, social dialogue means “all types of bipartite or tripartite negotiation, consultation or simply exchange of information between, or among, representatives of governments, employers and workers, on issues of common interest relating to economic and social policy.”<sup>2</sup> With regard to its differentiation in various examples of countries, and considering the dynamics of the world of work and the historical development of industrial relations, social dialogue refers to a tripartite process in which the government is involved as a party or bipartite mechanisms with or without indirect government involvement. It is observed that these mechanisms operate at territorial, national, sectoral or enterprise level. While processes at the national level continue in tripartite structure (i.e. employer, representatives of employee and government), the processes at the workplace level occur in bipartite structure (employer and representatives of employee).

In order for social dialogue processes to occur and work constructively, ILO refers to such first-order preconditions as the presence of strong and independent workers’ and employers’ organisations with the technical capacity and information to participate in social dialogue within industrial relations, the existence of political will and commitment to engage in social dialogue on the part of all the parties, respect for the fundamental rights of freedom of association and collective bargaining and appropriate institutional support.<sup>3</sup>

From a point of view of institutionalisation, social dialogue mechanisms are seen to function through two fundamental instruments. The first is the fundamental agreements which are written texts containing the issues on which the parties have reached agreement (social agreements), while the second instrument is the official consultative councils that are part of three or more parties (Koray and Çelik, 2007:101; Glynos et al., 2008). From a national practice point of view, it can be observed that the tripartite and bipartite committees are widely applied at the national and sectoral level in European countries where there is a participatory approach in which the social partners can be somehow involved in the decision-making processes related to the world of work. Providing an institutional basis for exchange of views and cooperation between, or among, the social partners and at the same time having legal or constitutional status, such consultative bodies have generally emerged in the post-World War II period and operate under various names such as Economic and Social Council, Labour Council, and Advisory Council (Işığışık, 1999; Koray and Çelik, 2007). Since social agreements are either in the nature of consensus on issues or enable the establishment and principles in specific areas, they can be categorised as functional practices of the industrial relations system in terms of, on the one hand, social partners contributing directly to the policy-making process, and on the other hand ensuring a consensus ground that balances different interests (Koray and Çelik, 2007:109).

Social dialogue processes that occur at national level focus on two types of issues in general terms. The first is broader and macro-level economic and social policies such as the structural transformation of the economy, inflation and wage arrangements, employment policies and the regulation of the working environment, gender equality, productivity and competitiveness. The second group of issues are industrial relations at a more micro level such as minimum wage determination, labour legislation/labour law, working conditions, occupational health and safety, and resolution of local disputes. The further development of Maastricht criteria of 1992 in the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 played a catalytic role both in implementing and strengthening the social dialogue mechanisms at national level and broadening the dialogue issues from micro to macro levels (Ishikawa, 2003:18). It attracts attention that especially social dialogue occurring through various legal and institutional practices is shaped by economic, social and political conditions and realities within which it is embedded. For example, it is observed that social agreements signed under conditions in which full employment is the subject in the world of work in the 1960s and 1970s were able to contribute to economic growth within the framework of policies such as moderate wage increases, while

<sup>2</sup> For definition, see. <http://www.ilo.org/ifpdial/areas-of-work/social-dialogue/lang--en/index.htm>

<sup>3</sup> See. <http://www.ilo.org/ifpdial/areas-of-work/social-dialogue/lang--en/index.htm>%20%20a

agreements of the 1990s were based on the wage discipline approach which prioritises competitiveness as a result of the impact of globalisation (Koray and Çelik, 2007: 109-115).

However, one thing that should not be forgotten is that the effectiveness of such structures depends on the absence of informal employment mechanisms in the world of work. We cannot state that employees who are not officially registered, and therefore do not have health and pension insurance, and are not able to organise, sit at a table for entering into social dialogue with the employer (and the state). As a matter of fact, when the countries where social dialogue is at advanced levels, for example European Union (EU) countries, are considered, it is seen that informal employment is at a very low rate. Therefore, ILO calls for the development of social dialogue, while at the same time underlining the need to register informal structures (ILO, 2014).

Euwema et al. (2015) emphasise that social dialogue processes at organisational level are identified by both the sectoral and more general societal conjunctures, and influenced by the legal and cultural frameworks for industrial relations at all levels. According to employers especially, unions gradually represent a smaller part of the workforce and the perception that unions tend to act on the basis of political ideology in general is strengthened. The findings of the study carried out with employers and managers of human resources from various organisations in different sectors at various scales in 11 European countries point to the importance of the workplace representation mechanism for the effective functioning of the social dialogue mechanism. Findings show that workplace representation is still perceived as inadequate by employers in order to be effective in resolving problems between management and employees, and a strong partner in negotiations. According to employers, the study indicates positive findings in the northern countries and in those countries which are seriously affected from the crisis in terms of social dialogue in general, while the social dialogue processes in the southern European countries such as France, Italy and Spain are shaped by more competitive relations (Euwema et al., 2015: 193). In relation the social dialogue mechanisms that can function effectively, it is important to mention two findings from this study:

- First, it is possible that engaging in social dialogue through more decentralised structures can stimulate active participation of employees on the basis of workplace, considering the fact that employers prefer to negotiate with their own employees.
- Secondly, strengthening the trust relationship between social partners emerges as an essential element for a constructive social dialogue. Open and active communication channels and management's goodwill to cooperate are stated as important components of a trust relationship from the point of view of employers (Euwema et al., 2015: 194-195).

### 2.2. Union Perception in Turkey

It is possible to categorise in general terms the studies conducted on the perceptions and attitudes towards social dialogue and trade union movements in Turkey in three groups. In the first group, there are research studies in which findings related to the world of work and working conditions were made through the administration of surveys carried out with employees in different sectors -and started after the mid-2000s. The second group of studies examines the views and attitudes of the social sectors other than employees related to trade unions. The third group is designed to measure the perceptions and attitudes of the social partners.

In their study conducted in Kocaeli with unions and non-unionised workers employed in the food, metal, textiles and petrochemicals industries in 2004 and 2007, Urhan and Selamoğlu (2008) find that workers adopt a very tentative attitude concerning trust in unions and that the proportion of those who report negative attitudes is increasing, when compared to the findings in 2004 (Urhan, 2005). The level of trust in unions by workers who have never been union members and who had some membership experience but were not members of the unions at the time of the survey is lower than that of union members, as can be predicted. Similarly, it is also seen that workers generally express negative views on trade unions' protection of the rights and interests of employees. This negative opinion is reported higher by unionised workers and workers who were previously union members. According to the unionised workers, the anti-democratic nature of the laws and the priority of employer's pressure, are cited as reasons while the

non-unionised workers refer to the inadequacy of the unionists and the employer's pressure. Urhan and Selamoğlu (2008:185) note that this finding supports the fact that in general the industrial relations model depending on laws in Turkey is dominant considering the course of legal regulations on both labour law and union organisation and collective bargaining. When asked why workers are not members of the union, it is seen that on average, a half of the non-unionised workers interviewed in the survey stated the reasons arising from no trust in unions and secondly the lack of organisation at the workplace. It is also found that the view for unions is at a more pragmatic level in an environment where conditions become more negative in terms of developments in the world of work, where collective bargaining gains are decreasing and the core workforce is also shrinking—as a matter of fact the union's long-term objective for almost half of unionised workers is stated as obtaining better wages and working conditions.

In the study of Adaman et al. (2009), a face-to-face questionnaire survey was conducted with a total of 1,242 unionised, non-unionised-insured and uninsured-informal people; as well as in-depth interviews with trade union representatives. As a result of the study, the main reasons for de-unionisation and blood loss experienced in unions are listed as follows:

- Massive unemployment,
- Fear of losing own job,
- Obstacles resulting from legal legislation,
- Structural problems created by changes in the organisation of production,
- Problems arising from the nature of dominant ideology,
- Inability of unions to develop effective policies and strategies in the face of such problems.

The survey results show that unemployment is among the most important obstacles in front of the labour movement. The answer given to one of the questions directed to the insured non-unionised workers confirms this approach. Among the answers given to the question "What is your reason for being non-unionised?", the one "fear of being fired" took the first place by far.

At the end of the survey, the following warnings were expressed to prevent unions from losing members: The essential condition for the union movement to gain legitimacy in the current context is to develop policies that go beyond their strategies of maintaining its existence only for a limited member base and have everyone say that "unions represent workers", more importantly "workers are represented by unions". In this context, it is of paramount importance to own the problems of the workers employed in the informal sector. Researchers emphasise that the rejuvenated union movement in such countries as Brazil and South Africa attaches particular importance to developing organic ties with informal sector workers. It is not possible to say unions in Turkey have made efforts in this direction. On the contrary, according to the study, it is emphasised that on the basis of an anonymous cost-benefit analysis, an important part of the union officials seemed to have adopted the idea that the costs of getting organised in SMEs would not be worth the gains. Also, there are trade union officials, though few, who adopt a discourse that places the goals of boosting exports and economic growth above all social and humanitarian goals, and oppose unions' involvement in small-scale enterprises which "contribute to the national economy while having difficulty in surviving". It is really worrying that such economic chauvinism, ready to ignore the violation of social security rights and working standards, leads to putting aside the trade union's task of worker representation. It is impossible to deny the difficulties of union organisation in SMEs, especially in the informal sector. However, it is not impossible to develop policies for these sectors.

Uçkan and Kağnıcıoğlu (2009) conducted similar research with unionised and non-unionised workers in the same four branches in Eskişehir. Findings in the case of Eskişehir also indicate that there is a problem of trust in terms of existing and potential members of unions—about 60 percent of the interviewed workers report indecisive or negative attitudes towards the union. General public perception is also negative towards the unions in relation to protecting workers' interests and rights—especially the fact that only about one-fourth of the unionised workers have reported positive opinions and that three fourths of the workers who had previously experienced union membership

have expressed negative attitudes indicates that both current and past union experiences did not leave a positive impression. When the reasons for the negative opinion are considered, the anti-democratic laws and the employer's pressure come first for the unionised workers, while the employer's pressure and the inadequacy of the unionists are in the first place for the non-unionised workers. Uçkan and Kağnıcıoğlu (2009: 50) also underscore that the tendency of the unions to link their current problems and some internal matters only to the laws emerged as a determinant of this perception and attitude. For example, the fact that non-unionised workers indicate the inadequacy of the unionists as the primary reason points to the significance that should be attached to getting organised. The fact that no trust in unions is expressed as the reason for not becoming a union member in the first place and at the highest level supports the aforesaid findings. It was also found in the Eskişehir case that the view for the union in the current conjuncture is still present in a pragmatic framework—which supports the prioritisation of obtaining better wages and working conditions as long-term objective by all workers and maintenance of a relatively easy strategy of “wage unionism” by unions (Uçkan and Kağnıcıoğlu, 2009: 53).

Mütevellioğlu (2013), on the other hand, discusses negative attitudes towards union membership in terms of employees mainly on the axes of fear of unemployment and no trust in union. It is reported that on average, a half of the non-unionised workers interviewed in the field study reported that they did not become members of the union due to “the fear of being fired”—which confirms the results of the study of Adaman et al. (2009)—that 80 percent of them are of the opinion that they do not have a right to freely choose the union even if they wanted to become a member and that an even larger majority thinks that they will be punished by the employer if they become members. Even though the number of those who were dismissed because of becoming a member of the union is not clearly known, it is indicated that employer violations on the use of union rights such as forcing resignation from union in return for not being dismissed were revealed by different reports and studies (Mütevellioğlu, 2013: 184). However, in the study, the characterisation of unions by their potential members as structures which are unreliable and do not perform their functions in the world of work where unemployment, informality, irregular jobs are common is emphasised as the reason for the fact that employees stay away from unions.

In a field study conducted across Turkey by DİSK-AR in 2017, %60 percent of non-unionised workers stated that they did not want to become a member of the union. Among the reasons cited, finding the union useless or unnecessary emerged as an important reason. In addition, some non-unionised workers did not have adequate information about union movement (DİSK-AR, 2017).

The second group of studies examines the views and attitudes of the social sectors related to trade unions other than employees. These studies provide sections from the evaluations of groups such as university students, registered unemployed who are looking for jobs etc. rather than reflecting the more general social tendencies.

Seçer (2009) conducted a survey with senior students at the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences of a university on perceived gender discrimination related to the world of work, as well as their attitudes towards unions. Findings show that female university students have more positive attitudes towards unions than male students and that they tend to be unionised in the face of perceived/potential gender discrimination even though they are not yet involved in the world of work. The study indicates the need for assessing the extent to which this tendency may correspond to the world of work both in terms of their positions and representations in the world of work and in unions.

In the study conducted on the determinants of the low women representation and positions within unions, Urhan (2014) emphasises that all trade union activities must primarily be freed from the gender-blind approach considering the fact that there is no systematic women policy on women organisation in unions. However, the study underlines the importance of supporting differentiated training activities such as awareness-raising and self-esteem development by diversifying them to transform women's attitudes towards unions, stating that the actual organisation of working women may be possible around issues which address equality such as child care, discrimination, and sexual harassment.

In the survey conducted with the senior students of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences of a university in the fall semester of 2012-2013, Dursun (2014) evaluated the general attitudes of the students towards the union within the framework of some socio-demographic qualities. In the study, it was found that female students

compared to male students, students with at least one union member in the family, and students studying in the Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations compared to students in other departments had more positive attitudes towards unions. Moreover, the importance of unions' information work aiming at large segments of society was indicated since, especially in terms of union membership, it was seen that having knowledge about unions through the experience of informal community or the department studied affected general union attitude of students positively who would participate in the world of work soon.

Kılıç and Yıldız (2015) captured jobseekers' perceptions and demand levels towards the union through job candidates who applied to an İŞKUR centre in a metropolitan city in order to find a job. It was found that the majority of these candidates with different levels of education and working experience have a positive attitude towards the union, that about two-thirds of the jobseekers responded positively to the statement "If İŞKUR finds me two jobs, unionised and non-unionised, and tells me to choose one of these, I will choose the unionised one" in terms of union preference or demand, and that one fourth declared that they were indecisive. In the framework of the sample, it is argued that this identified attitude in the study points to a representation gap based on the fact that in the past the proportion of those who had experience of trade union membership was only 7% and that of official unionisation rate was around 10%. The fact that the positive attitude towards union perception has emerged as an important determinant of union demand is emphasised as a factor that can create a suitable basis for new strategies for the revitalisation of trade unions.

Tekin and Tüfekçi (2015) reveal the union perception of students studying in the undergraduate and associate degree programs of a university for 2014-2015 academic year to be employed in the tourism sector where trade union organisation is weak. Although nearly one third of the students declared that they wanted to be a union member when they were employed in the sector, they considered union membership partly as a risky status. Therefore, it is stated that the fact that union perception is not at a level which is positive enough and that the demand for unionisation is not high will also make it difficult to take steps in some issues such as improving the working conditions in the sector, and increasing the quality of service.

In their study, Taşkıran and Kiraz (2017) tried to capture the metaphorical perceptions of the union concept of senior students studying in the Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations at three different universities in 2016-2017 and receiving more intensive theoretical and conceptual education on unions. In this study conducted by qualitative methods, it was found that the education received makes the union a concept to which students attributed a positive meaning. However, it is emphasised that this positive approach limits trade union activity to economic concerns and to providing benefits and excludes the fact that trade unions are social actors, which can create a pressure factor in a broader sense. In the study, it was also found that students with one union member in the family could develop an approach beyond this limited viewpoint. Therefore, it can be said that the more intensive education has a limited effect on the transformation of perceptions and attitudes in terms of the unions, and other elements such as social dynamics, family structure, ideological tendency are decisive.

The third group of studies was designed to measure the perceptions and attitudes of the social partners. In particular, significant findings were obtained from the study on social dialogue carried out by van der Valk and Süral (2005) with the representatives of workers' and employers' confederations. While an inquiry was carried out within the framework of the measures aimed at basically recording the informal workforce, the attitudes and opinions about social dialogue can be evaluated through the questions about the social dialogue concept and evaluation, the role of the government in social dialogue mechanism, and expectations from tripartite consultation mechanisms. The study showed that while the parties have different views on what social dialogue is or should be, there is a problem of representation within the mechanism. For example, while workers' confederations are expressing this problem in terms of threshold, the employer's confederation states that workers and employers in the informal sector, which is wider than the registered sector, are not represented. In the study, it is found that all of the social partners see the government's role in the system problematic. In the framework of social dialogue, the government is characterised as inadequate and inefficient, criticised for not making an effort for social dialogue to succeed, and generally making decisions on its own with a repressive nature. All parties deem social dialogue important, but there is no consensus on whether it should be for common interests or conflicting interests. In the current situation, it is expressed that the framework of social dialogue emerges as a process in which one of the social partners wins and the others lose in

each case. Moreover, it is found that the parties will have a more positive attitude towards and expectation from social dialogue in the near future even though the success and results of social dialogue mechanism are assumed as limited by the period in which the study was conducted. In addition, van der Valk and Süral (2005) state that the dichotomy and hostility existing on the part of trade unions and confederations constitute a major obstacle to being able to look after common or shared interest and thus to getting positive outcomes from social dialogue. Considering the fact that all parties underscore that they need a well-functioning social dialogue mechanism, it is suggested that issues that are easier to agree can be brought to the common working platform to highlight good examples in terms of social dialogue.

In Turkey, there are a few studies that evaluate opinions and attitudes of employers about the union. Among them, Kumaş (2011), examining different sized businesses with different scales in Denizli province, assessed the views and attitudes of employers and employers' representatives towards unions. Accordingly, about a half of the interviewed employers state that they are totally against the union and one fifth say that they are not against the union but against the attitudes, understanding and approach of the existing unions. The study carried out by the General Directorate of Labour of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MoLSS) found that employers who do not employ unionised workers do so predominately because of increase in personnel costs, the employer's reluctance to share the right of management and the decrease in productivity (MoLSS, 2012: 82; Kumaş, 2017).

In the study carried out in the period of 2014-2016 in Denizli province where the participation in the workforce is quite high but the unionisation rate is quite low according to official statistics, Kumaş (2017) examined the perspective of employers from different workplaces and various sectors on trade unions through a qualitative method. Attention is drawn to the fact that the unions are also organised in the workplaces of the respondents who look positively towards the employers' union (and who have a membership) among the interviewed employers in the study. These employers justify their membership to the employers' union in terms of productivity growth and sector development. The respondents who do not need the employer's union correlate it with the organisation of workers: these employers state that workers cannot be organised as a result of the fact that the employer does not provide the necessary conditions for the workers or that the employer himself/herself is not organised. By displaying a critical attitude towards trade unions in Turkey, almost all of the respondents state that they do not think real unionism exists in Turkey for reasons such as the fact that they are politicized, that they lack class consciousness, and that they fall behind the times (Kumaş, 2017: 24-32).

### 2.3. Social Dialogue Mechanisms in Turkey

#### 2.3.1. Development of Trade Union Organisation as a Pre-Condition to Social Dialogue

Social dialogue is neither an objective concept nor a technical process. It is not possible to construct it solely in the framework of institutional or legislative regulations because of the qualities that emerge in the relations of different social segments with each other and with the government. As discussed below in the context of recent developments in Turkey, a functioning social dialogue mechanism needs to be carried out primarily with social partners who have an independent and strong organisational representation. It is not right to talk about the functionality of social dialogue mechanisms, especially where union organisation is weak in membership. In this regard, low rates of unionisation and the scope of collective agreement in terms of the world of work in Turkey emerge as the major factors impairing the functionality of the preconditions for social dialogue.

As will be recalled, while the rate of unionisation (outside the public sphere) was at 12% at the beginning of 1960s, this ratio increased to 17% and 18% in 1965 and 1970, respectively, and did not change much until the 1980 military coup (Çelik, 2017). Following the coup, union movements were suspended; after the end of the military regime, the unionisation rates increased and reached 22% in 1988. After this point, unionisation rates started declining (paralleling many examples abroad). It dropped to 19% in 1990, 14% in 1995, 10% in 2000 and 8% in 2005 (Çelik and Lordoğlu, 2006). The decline to 6.3 in 2013 improved slightly in recent years and reached 8.6 as of 2017 (OECD data).<sup>4</sup>

Akpınar and Akçay (2015) point out that trade unions have the problem of representing employees in this sense,

<sup>4</sup> <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TUD>

especially in the social dialogue mechanisms, stating that they represent no more than 10 percent of employees, and that certain groups are not represented such as female workers. Also, it should be added that the unionisation rate alone may not be meaningful because about 30 percent of unionised workers are outside the scope of collective agreement in Turkey (Medina ve Schneider, 2018). Actual unionisation rates are indeed under collective agreement (as will be recalled, this is a completely different situation compared to European countries where the scope of collective agreement is well above unionisation rates).

From a more macro and historical perspective, a series of developments have seriously affected the world of work since the 1970s, as mentioned briefly in the introduction, resulting in member losses for trade unions and challenges to protect the interests of their members both in Turkey and many other countries (Machin, 2000; Ebbinghaus, 2002; Çelik, 2004; Urhan, 2004; Çelik and Lordoğlu, 2006). These problems of the trade union movement are usually explained by such factors as economic liberalisation, globalisation with neo-liberal politics and flexible working (Kutal, 1997; Çam, 2002; Akkaya, 2003; Lordoğlu, 2003). Moreover, it is observed that along with these structural problems, legislation shaping the organised labour movement and the political and ideological environment in which this legislation is made also affect the social position of trade unions (Nichols and Suğur, 2004; Özveri, 2007). When the fact that union strategies are formed under the influence of the same environment is taken into account, it can be seen that the danger of "irrelevance" that unions face and their efforts to maintain their existence become more important than all other union aims.

### 2.3.2. Evolution of Employer Unionism

In the period of 1960-1980 when trade unions were gaining strength, the organisation of employers also emerged first under the name of Union of Istanbul Employer Associations and then as the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations with the organisation at the national level (TİSK, 2012).

In Turkey, there is a large number of employer organisations based on voluntary and mandatory membership. Three of these are confederations consisting of chambers based on the mandatory membership system: Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), Union of Turkish Agricultural Chambers (TZOB) and Turkish Confederation of Tradesmen and Craftsmen (TESK). Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK) is the employer organisation which is the addressee of employees in terms of working relationships. TİSK focused on the workplace relations as an employer organisation established and operating under the trade union law. As a social partner organisation, it represents employers in many bipartite and tripartite structures

After 1960, there was an increase and centralisation in the organisation of the employers. On October 15, 1961, the six employer unions, including the Metal Products Industrialists' Association (MESS) formed a supra organisation under the name of the Union of Istanbul Employer Associations. The name of the Union of Istanbul Employer Associations was changed to Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK) in 1962. In this period, a division of labour emerged among the employer organisations. Union of Chambers started to deal with issues related to economic and commercial life and TİSK with issues related to social and work life (Esin, 1974). Following the 1978 Social Agreement, public employer unions that had been separated from TİSK became again members of TİSK in the period of ANAP government, starting from 1986.

While the total number of union members in the TİSK was 276 in 1962, this figure was close to 1,500 in 1974. However, in the 1970s, with the pressure of trade unions, some of the employers agreed to sign an independent contract at workplace level, which has led to a decrease in the number of members of TİSK. Membership dues, differences within capital, and the pressures of unions have led to a decrease in the number of TİSK member employers, 1,100 at the beginning of 1978 (Esin, 1974). While 21 of the 50 employer unions are TİSK members, others are independently active. TİSK represents employers in industrial relations, in various bipartite and tripartite social dialogue mechanisms.

TİSK member unions are organised in different sectors of the manufacturing industry, mainly metal, chemistry, and textile. Also, the public employer unions in which the central and local government employers are organised, including Union of Employers of Public Enterprises (KAMU-İŞ) and Turkish Heavy Industry and Service Sector Public Employers' Association (TÜHİS), are members of TİSK. Trade unions have criticized the fact that public employer unions become

members of TISK (Koray and Çelik, 2007). TISK represents Turkey's employers in the International Organisation of Employers (IOE), Business Europe, ILO and in similar platforms at the international level.

Of course, the right to association (and to establish trade unions) is only possible in circumstances where formal employment exists. Turkey is among the countries experiencing informality to a high degree. In our country, where about one-third of the labour force outside of agriculture is working informally, the fact that informality and formality can be found simultaneously in the same company can be observable; it draws attention to this simultaneous presence as a rare phenomenon in the world (World Bank, 2010). One thing that may make this situation even more interesting is the fact that some of the formal employees in such structures are union members. In fact, there are also some indications in this direction in Adaman et al. (2009), who have conducted a comprehensive study on working conditions in Turkey. The fact that the business owner or chief executive has personally encouraged a number of workers to become unionised was often mentioned in the interviews with workers in this study. Therefore, the following picture emerges: One of two workers, who do almost the same work especially in some medium and large sized companies and have similar skills and qualifications, can work as unionised worker with a high wage and the other illegally with a low wage.

In Turkey, social dialogue mechanisms must be examined in the course of the historical development of industrial relations. Compared to the experience in Europe, there is a different process related to the positions and strength of the social partners in Turkey and their relations with each other and the state. This process gained momentum with the establishment of the Ministry of Labour in 1945 in Turkey, and the Labour Assembly as well as the representation of trade unions in mechanisms such as Minimum Wage Fixing Board as the first steps towards the implementation of social dialogue.

### 2.3.3. Labour Assembly

Law numbered 4841 dated 30 January 1946 establishes a Labour Assembly at national level among the regulations in the establishment of the Ministry of Labour (Article 17). It was stipulated that this assembly would provide a tripartite structure consisting of representatives of workers and employers in the presidency of the Minister or the Undersecretary, with a representative to be sent from the ministries, as stated in Article 12 which defines the members of the General Assembly in the Law No. 4972 of the Labour Insurance Institution<sup>5</sup>. Although the Labour Assembly is one of the oldest tripartite structures envisaged to meet at least once a year with the legislative amendments made in 2003<sup>6</sup>, it has only convened 11 times so far.<sup>7</sup> The Assembly is exposed to criticism for becoming a structure that meets at long intervals and irregularly, as well as becoming in time a mechanism far from discussion and consensus in terms of content and method of work (Koray and Çelik, 2007: 421).

### 2.3.4. Minimum Wage Fixing Board

It is stipulated that the level of minimum wage enacted for the first time by the Labour Law No 3008 in 1936 shall be "determined by a bylaw", as specified in Article 32 of this law. According to the Minimum Wage Regulation published in 1951, this authority was undertaken by local fixing boards in which representatives of workers and employers are involved but in which state representatives are predominant,<sup>8</sup> differentiated for each business sector. In Article 33 of the Labour Law No. 931, which entered into force in 1967, the establishment of a central commission to replace

5 In Article 12, which defines members of the General Assembly in Law No. 4792, subparagraph (a) defines those who have a representation quality as: "From members to be elected in equal numbers as at least fifteen each among the employers of various kinds of job and the workers in these jobs"(Official Gazette, issue 6058, 16 July 1945.

6 The additional paragraph "The labour Assembly meets at least once a year" is included in Article 26 of the Law on the Organisation and Duties of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security No. 3146 with Article 22 of Law No. 4947 of 16 July 2003 (Online access: <http://www3.csgb.gov.tr/csgbPortal/ShowProperty/WLP%20Repository/per/mevzuat/kanunlar/kanun10>).

7 The 11<sup>th</sup> Meeting was held on December 23-24, 2015, but it was not possible to access the resulting report or the meeting report online.

8 In Article 5 of the Regulation on the Determination of Minimum Wages, the commission structure is defined as follows: "Where a minimum wage is to be determined, a minimum wage fixing commission is established by the Ministry of labour. Under the presidency of regional director of labour or a public servant who is a member of the work organisation authorized by the commission, this commission is composed of a representative of employee and employer and an authorized representative of this issue whom local chambers of trade and of commerce and, if any, of agriculture among themselves will choose from among themselves and an authorized member of this issue who will sent from municipal executive and local government doctor and a member to be sent from the union" (Official Gazette, issue 7707, January 13, 1951).

the existing local boards for the determination of the minimum wage was regulated. It was stipulated that the representation of workers and employers in the central committee will be carried out through five representatives to be selected by the confederations “representing the largest group of workers and employers within its scope” from various sectors of business. Subsequently, the Labour Law No. 1475, which entered into force in 1971, and the Minimum Wage Regulation, which was enacted in 1972, protected the structure and functioning of this central commission in general terms<sup>9</sup> but in practice followed a course from a minimum wage determination at regional level to a minimum wage at national level covering all sectors (Erdođdu, 2014). Koray and Çelik (2007: 445-446), who reviewed 29 commission meetings and resolutions that set minimum wages at national level from 1969 to 2005 stated that this commission could not be a social consensus ground, particularly since the employers’ segment expressed opposition to the decisions of the pre-1980 period and the workers’ segment expressed opposition to the decisions after 1980, also a reflection of the structural transformations in the world of work in this period.

However, Koray and Çelik (2007: 349) draw attention to the dominant role of the state in such mechanisms, emphasising that it is not completely possible for the unions to fulfil the role of being a social party since interest argument and consensus ground was still out of the question in this period. Besides, respondent employers’ organisations had not been established yet. As of 1960, the implementation of economic policies based on the protectionist and planned economic development model could provide a basis for social dialogue and consensus, with trade union rights being guaranteed in the constitution and in law. However, social dialogue mechanisms at national level were not effectively and permanently institutionalised. For example, the establishment of a permanent Planning Council to bring together three social partner representatives to be involved in development plans and program processes was proposed by TÜRK-İŞ but this proposal could not be put into practice. Similarly, the employers’ organisations also brought to the agenda the establishment of the Revenues and Fees Council to operate in the determination of the minimum and maximum wages on the basis of tripartite representation, another proposal not put into practice (Koray and Çelik, 2007: 365-367). However, the most concrete step of this period was the Social Agreement signed between the then Prime Minister and the Chairman of TÜRK-İŞ in 1978 aiming to regulate worker-employer relations in the public sector. This agreement, which was in force for a total of 14 months, could not become a successful and effective mechanism because of the withdrawal of the worker’s wing on the grounds of government’s failure to fulfil its promises. In the context of the political conjuncture at the time, factors such as the frequent change of governments, short office terms of governments, the inclusion of only the public sector workers in the agreement, and the inability of the confederation that signed the agreement to convince its union members about the importance of this approach were influential (Işığık, 1999; Görmüş, 2007).

### 2.3.5. Economic and Social Council

In the post-1980 period, the restrictions imposed on social and union rights both by the radical changes in economic policies and the transformation of political and legal structures caused the balance of relations between social partners to deteriorate against the unions. With the proposals of employers and academic circles in the framework of the preparation work of the Constitution in this period, the Economic and Social Council took its place in the agenda of the world of work; however, up until the Customs Union process in mid-1990s, it was not institutionalised as a new structure in the field of social dialogue (Görmüş, 2007; Koray and Çelik, 2007; Yıldırım and Çalıř, 2008). In the Justification in the Circular for the Economic and Social Council established by the Circular of the Prime Ministry issued in 1995, it is expressed that the institution was put into effect mainly in the process of integration to the European Community (Çelik, 2014). In terms of the structural composition here, the government seems to be far from being fictionalised as a social dialogue mechanism between employee and employer segments; indeed, in spite of the representation of the council’s government with 14 members, there are two employee representatives, five employer representatives and two university representatives in the council (Koray and Çelik, 2012). Law No. 4641 on the Establishment and Working Principles and Procedures of the Economic and Social Council issued in 2011 did not change the unequal weight of the government wing as well as various arbitrary interventions and changes

<sup>9</sup> It is observed that this structure was preserved exactly the same in Article 39 of Law No. 4857, which entered into force in 2003 (Official Gazette of 10 June 2003 issue 25134). However, the provisions on the structure of the Commission on the Determination of Minimum Wages were removed from the Labour Law by Decree-Law No. 700 and came in force by the Presidential Decree No. 1 issued on 10 July 2018. It is now therefore possible to amend the composition of the Commission not by laws, but Presidential Decrees.

made by different governments. This prevented the emergence of an effectively functioning institutional set-up. It was criticised especially in terms of its incompatible structure compared to similar councils in European countries and the tripartite consultation body stipulated to be established under ILO Convention no 144 on Tripartite Consultation (International Labour Standards) (Görmüş, 2007; Koray and Çelik, 2007). The main function of the Council institutionalised under the law is articulated as “establishing a permanent and lasting dialogue platform for basic socio-economic objectives”. However, the fact that the Prime Minister will hold its presidency damages the Council’s independence and effectiveness even though it is composed of 15 government representatives out of the 39 Council, while 12 of them represent employers and employees (Çelik, 2014). Following the Constitutional Referendum in 2010, despite having gained a constitutional status, the Economic and Social Council does not meet regularly, produce decisions and policy documents, and as such, becomes completely dysfunctional like other similar constitutional institutions. Also, the structural changes stipulated under the Bill on the Establishment and Duties of the Economic and Social Council<sup>10</sup> presented to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 2014 come with some question marks in terms of democratising and activating the Council. These concerns were caused by the proposal of a structure in which the stipulated increase in the number of members from 39 to 57 form a basis for the tripartite representation system by more than three parties (including other community groups, local administrations and universities), in which the number of employee representatives is reduced to 8 while the number of employer representatives is maintained and in which the government representation is raised to 21 including the Prime Minister. There are also studies pointing to the possibility that the Council will be transformed into a board intended to present opinions to the government only in the context of consultation as a result of relatively narrowing down its authorities by the Bill (Çelik, 2014).

### 2.3.6. Tripartite Consultation Board

It was decided to establish a “Tripartite Consultation Board” by the Article 114 of the Labour Law No. 4857 in accordance with the said ILO Convention No.144 to make decisions on developing the bipartite and tripartite cooperation included in ILO Convention No.144 in the widest possible way, to ensure that the tripartite cooperation does not contradict bilateral relations and damage collective bargaining. Thus the Tripartite Consultation Board was established, with a more suitable composition for the nature of tripartite social dialogue. In the justification of the Article 114, it was stated that, although a maximum effort was shown to include the views of social partners in the regulations on the world of work and industrial relations, and that common dialogue and cooperation were promoted at every stage of the work, a criticism was consistently raised by ILO on the ground that there was no legal regulation on this issue and thus the regulation of the said Article 114 was deemed necessary in line with the provisions of Convention No. 144.

The regulation referred to in Article 114 entered into force by being published in the Official Gazette No. 25423 and dated 04.04.2004 under the title of “Regulation on Working Principles and Procedures of the Tripartite Consultation Board on World of Work”. The purpose and scope of the said regulation is stated in Article 1 as: “to regulate the establishment, duties and authorities, bodies, meetings, working procedures and principles of the Tripartite Consultation Board established with a view to promoting work peace and industrial relations, following up legislative work and implementations in the world of work and providing for effective consultations between the government and confederations of employers, public officials, and unions”. Thus, it is understood that the Tripartite Consultation Board differs distinctly from the Economic and Social Council and the Labour Assembly. While a tripartite structure was guaranteed in terms of the representation within the structure, the number of representatives of the government is not specified in the regulation, whereas the stipulation of the participation of one member at the confederal level for employee representation emerged as an unfair criterion (Koray and Çelik, 2007: 424).

### 2.3.7. New Approaches to Organisation and Access to Social Dialogue

Considering the alternative organisation experiences outside the trade union movement in Turkey, it can be said that various examples such as collectives, associations, and platforms emerged recently. Although these initiatives are very exceptional and limited, and cannot be dominant a tendency yet, it is useful to take into consideration

10 “Ekonomik ve Sosyal Konseyin Kuruluşu ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Tasarısı [draft bill on “Law on Organisation and Functions of the Economic and Social Council]. “See for access to the bill. <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/1/1-0946.pdf>

(Çelik, 2016). For example, Umut-Sen aims to build a bottom-up practice of solidarity and organisation that can encompass all segments of the labour movement within its collective structure.<sup>11</sup> It emphasises that the existing trade union structures are limited in terms of the capacity to respond to these developments, particularly with the widespread use of new production and working forms. It gives priority to forming a basis (neighbourhood or workplace based) which can bring together all of the employees who work with differentiated status. This basis can make their problems, demands and struggles common in the workplaces with different scales and business sectors according to their activities.<sup>12</sup> The independent movement that defines itself as the “Plaza Action Platform” functions to develop solidarity relations between white collar workers in various sectors such as software, banking, insurance, and design.<sup>13</sup> Without being limited to “plaza” employees in terms of scope, the platform works to include freelancers, call centre employees, professionals, NGO and office workers, and the white-collar unemployed. A labour organisation model that is mainly based on solidarity and that is not a professional organisation is adopted. Especially with regular experience sharing workshops, it is possible to share issues such as workplace based discrimination and mobbing, as well as to provide legal support for the workers who lose their jobs.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the Solidarity Network for Information and Communication Employees aims to provide sector-based training, information on and support for legal matters and advice and solidarity to those who are unemployed.<sup>15</sup> Independent organisation experiences were not limited to “white-collar” employees. An initiative evolving into the Construction Workers’ Association and then into the Construction Workers’ Union (İnşaat-İş) which functions on a sectoral basis,<sup>16</sup> created an important area within a sector that has expanded considerably in Turkey in the last decade. Construction is extremely difficult in terms of working conditions, open to occupational health and safety risks, and marked by flexibility and precarious conditions. Workload undertaken by a large number of sub-employers and the lack of job security in a growing sector, in particular with the recent transformation in urban areas, constitute the basis for the search for rights by union organisation for employees.

Apart from that, employees who work in care services (child, elderly, patient), performing activities in a household such as house cleaning, cooking and ironing, and activities outside of a household such as garden care, house security, household chauffeur, which are all defined as domestic work within an employment relationship on the basis of ILO Convention No. 189 on Domestic Workers Convention, adopted in 2011, are organised under the roof of the Domestic Workers Solidarity Union (EVID-SEN). In relation to this sector in which women’s labour is intense, EVID-SEN takes important steps for regulating within the scope of legal regulations organisation work carried out through areas such as parks, bus stops, etc., which are frequently used by domestic workers (Gürcan and Mete, 2017) as well as working conditions especially with uncertainty of job description, high risks of injury and death, and work relations established in informal nature (Erdoğdu and Toksöz, 2013).

It is observed that these independent and alternative forms of organisation exemplified above try to respond on the basis of solidarity and horizontal grassroots organisation with regard to the current transformation in the world of work in Turkey. It may be possible to respond on the basis of an independent and alternative organisation to technological developments that are likely to bring about different risks and problems in terms of the future of the world of work (such as Industry 4.0). It is asserted that such developments can create new kinds of solidarity and cooperation opportunities among the workers along with new risks that they may bring (Degryse, 2016).

11 <http://umutsen.org/index.php/umut-sen-nedir-ilkeleri-nelerdir/>

12 Umutsen (2010) “Emek Hareketinin Öz Örgütlenme Zeminlerini Yaratmak: Kurucu Bir Sendikal Odak Olarak Umut-Sen” Online access: <http://xa.yimg.com/kq/groups/22190347/1950333839/name/umutsentaslakmetin1.doc>

13 <https://plazaeylem.org/pep-hakkinda/>

14 <http://www.sivilsayfalar.org/2017/06/07/plaza-eylem-platformu-beyaz-yakalilarin-birbirleriyle-dayanisma-kosullarini-uretmeleri-gerekliyor/>

15 <https://bilisimcalisanlari.wordpress.com/about/>

16 <http://insaatis.org/hakkimizda/>

## 2.4. Changes in the World of Work

The impacts of the changes on the organisation in the world of work are also evaluated in the framework of the entity *Future of Work Initiative* established by ILO in 2015 in order to understand and respond effectively to the world of work ongoing changes. As already mentioned in the Inception Report of the Initiative, although trade unions are affected negatively by these structural transformations with the decrease in membership rates, it still maintains its importance for employees. Studies conducted indicate that there are unmet demands about union representation of employees in different countries of the world. In terms of employers' organisations, the membership rates are more stable despite the structural transformations (ILO, 2017: 39). However, it is pointed out that the way tripartite mechanisms and social dialogue will be affected by these transformations depends on the capacities of both workers' and employers' unions to reliably represent the interests of employees and employers (ILO, 2017: 42). The report quotes that original and new forms of organisation can emerge by cooperating with different actors in the atypical or informal employment situations resulting from these transformations. For example, the organisation that emerged as Informal Traders Alliance in South Africa functions in a structure aiming at workers' aggregation through citizenship rights rather than a trade union.

Moreover, it is observed that unions are developing new strategies to organise and represent the economically and socially vulnerable groups with a more comprehensive "social justice" emphasis, reaching out beyond their core organisation. They are involved in various cooperation and solidarity activities with social movements (ILO, 2017: 43). Similarly, employers' organisations are trying to create a cohesive representation of employers by creating new categories of membership to represent different employer interests, establishing a new kind of organisation through mergers with trade associations, and making a broader policy advocacy for a business environment that is not focused solely on the world of work.

In the assessment of the state of affairs carried out for social dialogue mechanisms and tripartite structures, criticisms directed towards these mechanisms centre on the domination of the interests of the employers and the exclusion of various interests such as the informal sector, the fact that the workers' organisations generally have to forego their own interests in cases where the other two social partners cooperate and therefore are not fully represented. In the light of these criticisms, it is quoted that tripartite structures and social dialogue mechanisms are shaped by factors such as execution of policy discussions and new strategies that include broader and different interests and opinions or evolution of such structures to include representations from other parts of civil society (ILO, 2017: 44).



## Chapter 3. Quantitative Study

### 3.1. Conceptual and Measurement Framework

As the literature review shows, research on social dialogue is often shaped by empirical facts about institutional structures and labour market dynamics in the context of individual countries rather than presenting a specific conceptual or theoretical framework. This is especially true if the research in this area is directed at offering social policy rather than academic and theoretical advances. Because this study falls in the second category, our questions are naturally shaped in the context of Turkey. In order to serve this purpose, a survey was conducted across Turkey.

The main variables we plan to measure are perceptions towards unions and employer organizations, expectations from forms of collective bargaining, and perception and knowledge about unionisation and social dialogue. First, basic information about the interviewed person and his/her family and his/her labour market status (working/not working, union member/not union member, insured/uninsured) were collected. Moreover, income and wealth information related to the household of the person was also obtained. Finally, the attitudes of people regarding the problems in general economic and working life have been inquired.

To summarize, all questions have been prepared to address the specific aspects of our topic in the context of Turkey, and to develop recommendations accordingly. For this reason, the main objective of each question is to help identify a better strategy for improving and paving the way to contribute more effectively to social dialogue.

### 3.2. Sampling Method

It was determined that the total number of participants in the survey should be 2,000, and the study should represent the provinces of Turkey. 1,200 participants were selected randomly from NUTS2 classification based on the populations of the regions to reflect the general public and make geographical sampling. At the household level, the person to be interviewed was randomly selected from among the household members over the age of 18. Thus, groups such as the unemployed or women are represented by this sample of 1,200 people to reflect the general population and composition of Turkey. In addition, 800 people who represent the actively working population were randomly selected from the same regions using a boosted sample. The number of surveys conducted in accordance with this research plan is 1,223 people for the Turkey sample, and 835 people for the boosted sample (working population).

Out of the Turkey sample of 1,223 people, 517 came from the working population, and when the boosted sample of 835 people are also included, the total working population sample has reached 1,352 people. Although reporting an error margin computation for this sampling method is not accurate due to both non-responders and set sampling, for full random selection (the case where the entire population is thrown into a single pot and selected with equal probability, and everyone responds), the expected error margin depending on the number of samples is +/-2.8 for the 1,223 respondents representing Turkey, and +/-2.7 for the working population survey. This study reflects the general public and the working population, and does not provide information about the employers. Random sample selection based on stratified cluster sampling was used in sample selection (stratified clustered random sampling).

### 3.3. Code of Ethics

Frekans Research, the research company conducting the research, adheres to the ethical rules of ESOMAR (World Market, Social and Public Opinion Research Association), TÜAD (Turkish Research Association), GAB (Trusted Research Certificate) and ISO 20252 (International Standards Organization market and social research standards). This study has also been approved by Boğaziçi University Ethics Committee.

### 3.4. Data Analysis

Our basic independent variables include variables on the demographic information of the household members and their education level/status in the labour market, how many years they have worked/working hours, and work income and material security. The survey consists of questions on the knowledge and perception about the unions and employer organizations, which often measure either agreeing/not agreeing with a statement or selecting one or more from a number of possible options/ranking. While giving their answers, the main distinction was made over the general public and the working population. Furthermore, in some cases, the differences in sub-breakdowns of employees (e.g., union member/not union member) are also reported. Finally, the results of the econometric analysis are presented.

### 3.5. Sampling Plan of the Survey and Actual Survey Data

Figure 1 and Table 1 show the survey sample and the locations where the survey was conducted.

**Figure 1: Survey sample**



The general public is represented by a total of 1,223 people, 23 more than the planned sample.

When 517 working people among these are added to the additionally selected 835 working population sample (35 people more than planned), it is seen that the working population is represented by a total of 1,352 respondents. A working person is considered to be someone who works insured or uninsured in a full or part time job at the time of the survey.

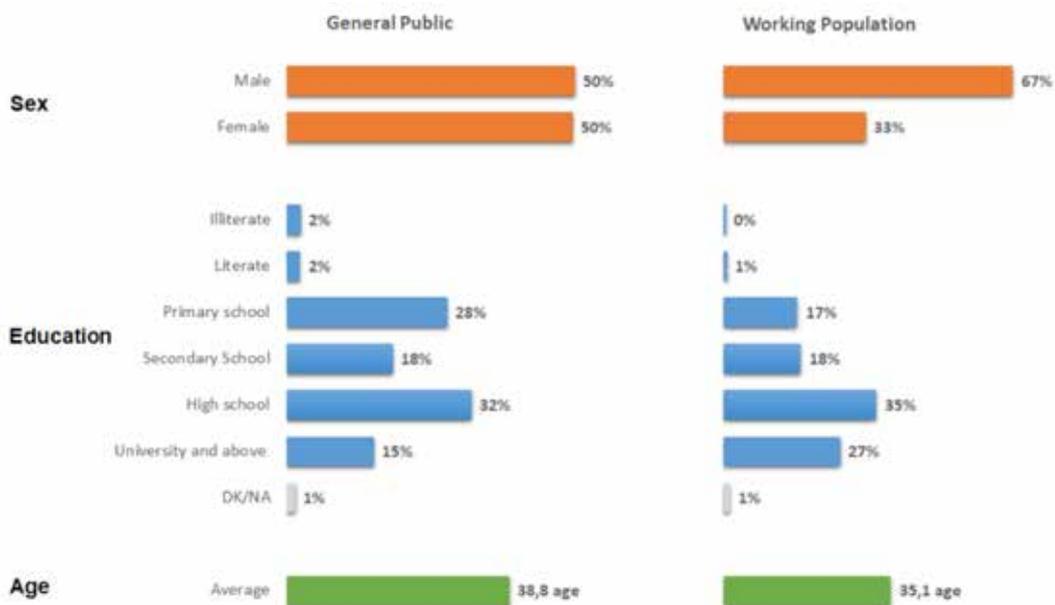
Table 1: The distribution of the sample by provinces

|              | General Public Sample |               | Boosted Sample |               | Total Working Population |               | Total Interview |               |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
|              | Interview             | %             | Interview      | %             | Interview                | %             | Interview       | %             |
| ADANA        | 60                    | 4,9%          | 40             | 4,8%          | 61                       | 4,5%          | 100             | 4,9%          |
| AGRI         | 13                    | 1,1%          | 10             | 1,2%          | 16                       | 1,2%          | 23              | 1,1%          |
| AKSARAY      | 25                    | 2,0%          | 25             | 3,0%          | 38                       | 2,8%          | 50              | 2,4%          |
| ANKARA       | 86                    | 7,0%          | 48             | 5,7%          | 78                       | 5,8%          | 134             | 6,5%          |
| ANTALYA      | 41                    | 3,4%          | 36             | 4,3%          | 65                       | 4,8%          | 77              | 3,7%          |
| BATMAN       | 33                    | 2,7%          | 22             | 2,6%          | 38                       | 2,8%          | 55              | 2,7%          |
| BURSA        | 61                    | 5,0%          | 39             | 4,7%          | 51                       | 3,8%          | 100             | 4,9%          |
| ÇANAKKALE    | 30                    | 2,5%          | 19             | 2,3%          | 30                       | 2,2%          | 49              | 2,4%          |
| DENIZLI      | 45                    | 3,7%          | 31             | 3,7%          | 71                       | 5,3%          | 76              | 3,7%          |
| DIYARBAKIR   | 57                    | 4,7%          | 36             | 4,3%          | 58                       | 4,3%          | 93              | 4,5%          |
| ERZURUM      | 18                    | 1,5%          | 11             | 1,3%          | 25                       | 1,8%          | 29              | 1,4%          |
| GAZIANTEP    | 44                    | 3,6%          | 26             | 3,1%          | 44                       | 3,3%          | 70              | 3,4%          |
| HATAY        | 48                    | 3,9%          | 32             | 3,8%          | 47                       | 3,5%          | 80              | 3,9%          |
| ISTANBUL     | 230                   | 18,8%         | 158            | 18,9%         | 244                      | 18,0%         | 388             | 18,9%         |
| IZMIR        | 69                    | 5,6%          | 47             | 5,6%          | 101                      | 7,5%          | 116             | 5,6%          |
| KASTAMONU    | 12                    | 1,0%          | 11             | 1,3%          | 12                       | 0,9%          | 23              | 1,1%          |
| KAYSERI      | 36                    | 2,9%          | 24             | 2,9%          | 35                       | 2,6%          | 60              | 2,9%          |
| KOCAELI      | 57                    | 4,7%          | 36             | 4,3%          | 57                       | 4,2%          | 93              | 4,5%          |
| KONYA        | 37                    | 3,0%          | 24             | 2,9%          | 38                       | 2,8%          | 61              | 3,0%          |
| MALATYA      | 26                    | 2,1%          | 17             | 2,0%          | 26                       | 1,9%          | 43              | 2,1%          |
| MANISA       | 46                    | 3,8%          | 33             | 4,0%          | 53                       | 3,9%          | 79              | 3,8%          |
| SAMSUN       | 41                    | 3,4%          | 29             | 3,5%          | 51                       | 3,8%          | 70              | 3,4%          |
| TEKIRDAG     | 26                    | 2,1%          | 20             | 2,4%          | 24                       | 1,8%          | 46              | 2,2%          |
| TRABZON      | 34                    | 2,8%          | 29             | 3,5%          | 37                       | 2,7%          | 63              | 3,1%          |
| VAN          | 32                    | 2,6%          | 22             | 2,6%          | 40                       | 3,0%          | 54              | 2,6%          |
| ZONGULDAK    | 16                    | 1,3%          | 10             | 1,2%          | 12                       | 0,9%          | 26              | 1,3%          |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>1223</b>           | <b>100,0%</b> | <b>835</b>     | <b>100,0%</b> | <b>1352</b>              | <b>100,0%</b> | <b>2058</b>     | <b>100,0%</b> |

### 3.6. Household Information Module

This module provides basic information about the households of the interviewees.

Figure 2: The demographics of the general public and the working population samples I



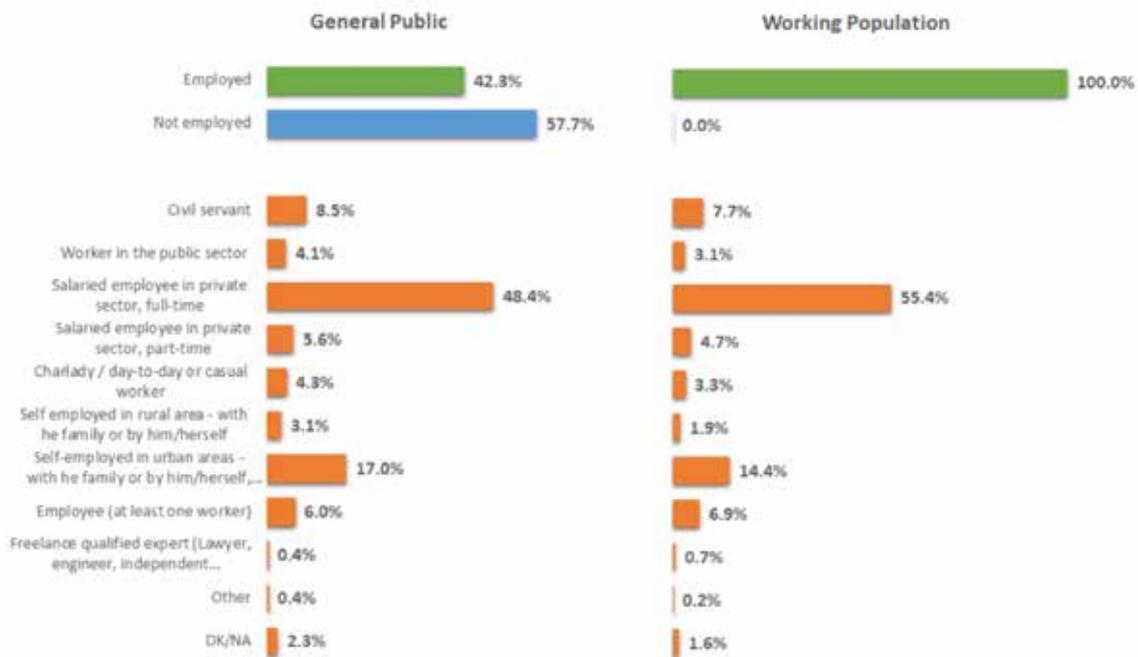
## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

When we look at the demographics of the general public and the working population samples, we see that while the distribution of men and women in the entire population sample is half-and-half, men in the working population make up two-thirds and women one-third of the sample. This result is also in accordance with the information from entire Turkey.

While the ratio of high school graduates is observed to be the highest in both samples, the ratio of primary school graduates is lower in the working population sample and the university or higher graduates are represented at a higher rate.

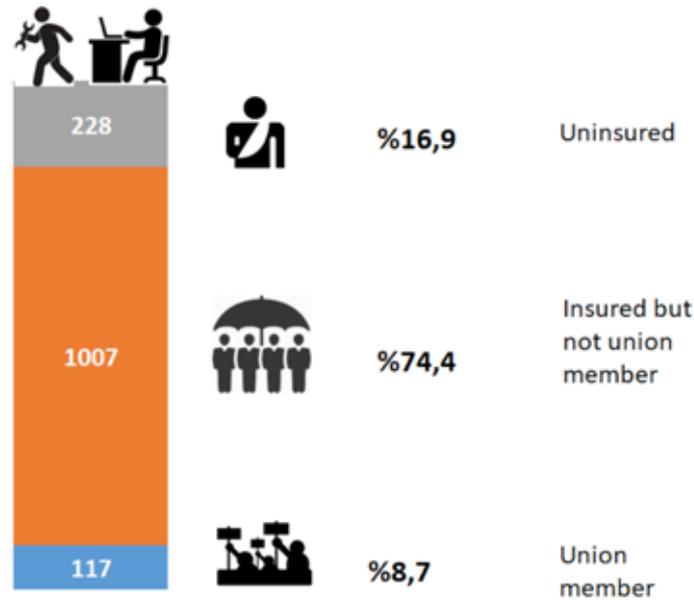
The average age of the working population is approximately four years less than the general public. This is also because the retired people have increased the average age of the general public.

**Figure 3: The demographics of the general public and the working population samples II**



When we look at the distribution of the working population by sectors, there should be no significant difference between the sectoral distribution of the employees in the general public and the sectoral distribution of the working population obtained by adding the interviews with the additional employees. In fact, the differences are not statistically significant. The distribution we need to take into account here is the data from the working population. The resulting image is that 65% of the employees work in the private sector, 10% in the public sector, and 20% have in their own businesses.

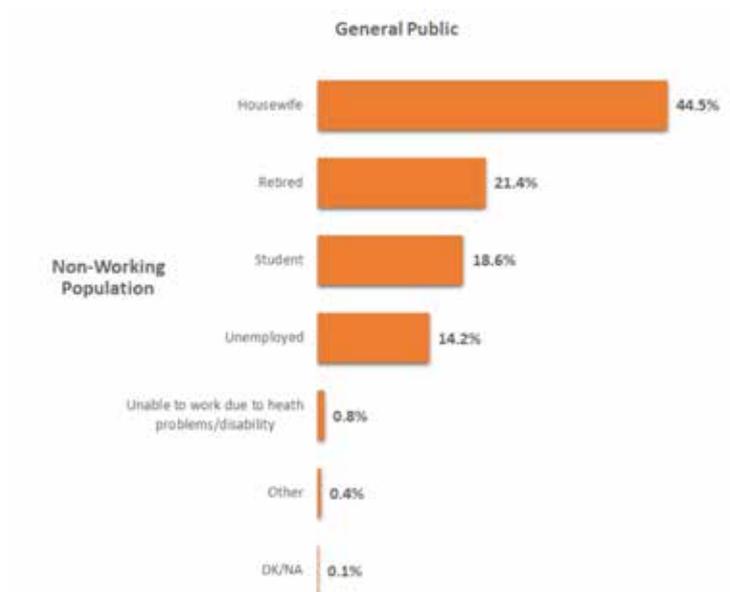
Figure 4: Demographics III: The composition of the working population



When we look at the working populations’ insurance and unionism status, 17% of the employees work informally, and 9% are union members. The numbers seen in this figure are in accordance with the data of Turkey.<sup>17</sup>

When we look at the non-working population, it is seen that almost half of the population are housewives. These are followed by retired people, students and job seekers.

Figure 5: The Demographics of the general public and the working population samples IV



### 3.7. General Knowledge and Perception towards Unions

This chapter contains questions and answers on general knowledge and perceptions towards the unions. The answers are presented in different subgroups. The main purpose in this chapter is to measure whether the general public and the working population know the unions, whether they follow the unions’ activities, what they think about

<sup>17</sup> For an example study on unionisation rate, see: <http://disk.org.tr/2017/08/disk-ar-sendikalasma-ve-toplu-is-sozlesmesi-raporu/>. The informality rate in the country is around 30% (For an example report, see: <http://disk.org.tr/2018/04/kayitdisi-patladi-disk-ar-issizlik-raporu-nisan-2018/>). However, the main factor raising this ratio is the rural segment. As the study was conducted in cities, the rate was found to be lower.

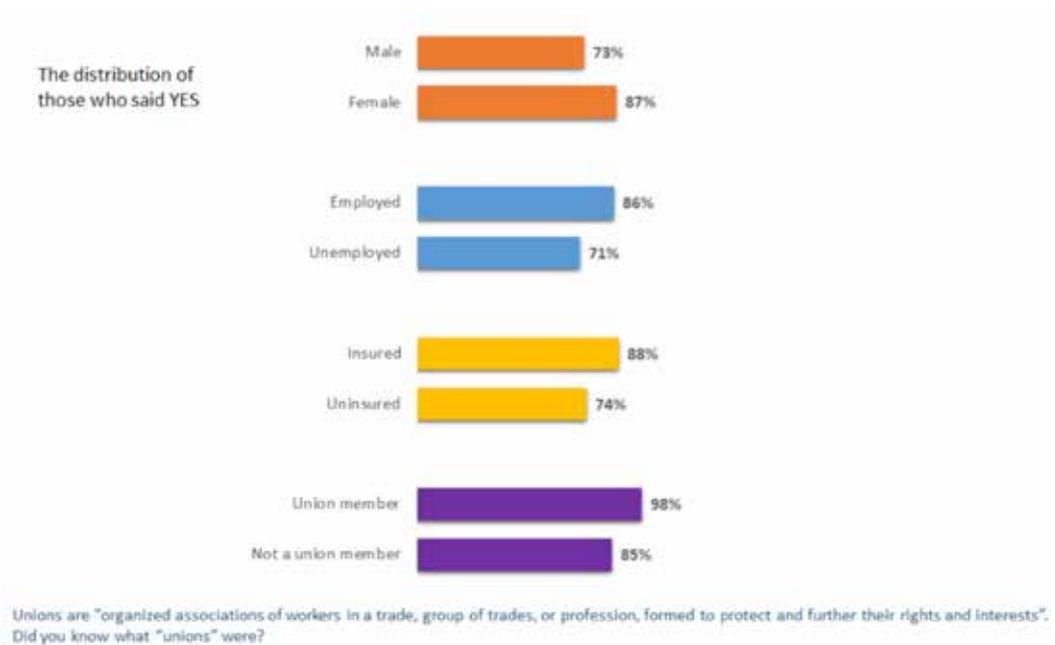
## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

the success and strength of unions, and how they define the main areas of responsibility of the unions. Many of the questions in this module are based on perception. Therefore, when interpreting the answers, we should keep in mind that we are capturing the perceptions of both the general public and the working population. As is known, the union corresponds in daily use to the organization of employees. In the survey, the union was used in this sense, and when a wider meaning was intended (i.e., the organization of employers), this was clearly stated.

**Figure 6: Are “Unions” Known?**



**Figure 7: Familiarity with the unions by different groups**



As seen in Figure 6 and 7, 7.75% of the general public and 86% of the working population know what unions are. More men compared to women, more insured workers compared to uninsured workers and more union members compared to non-members stated that they know what unions are as expected.

Figure 8: Is the difference between unions and confederations known?

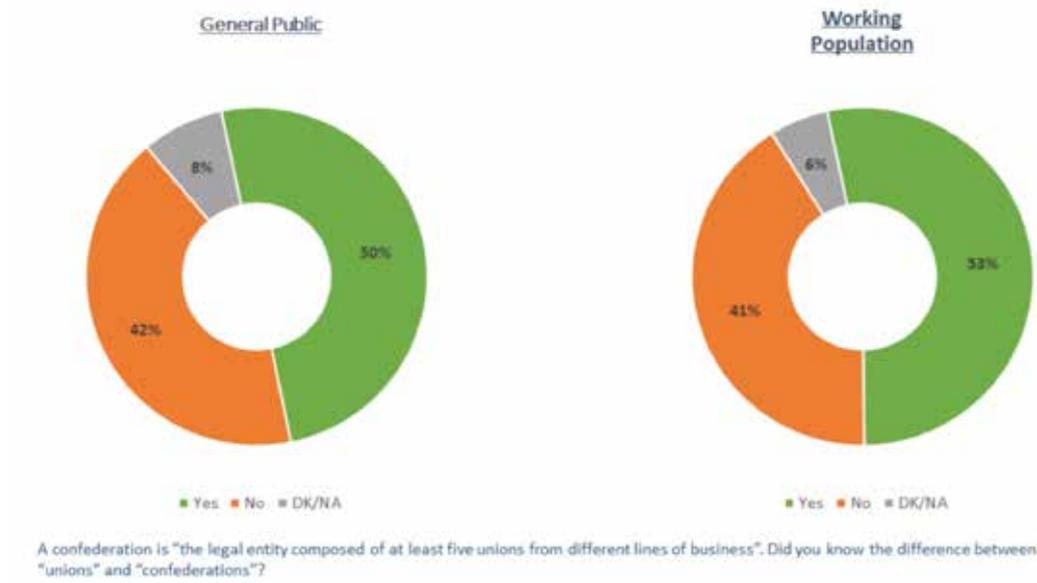
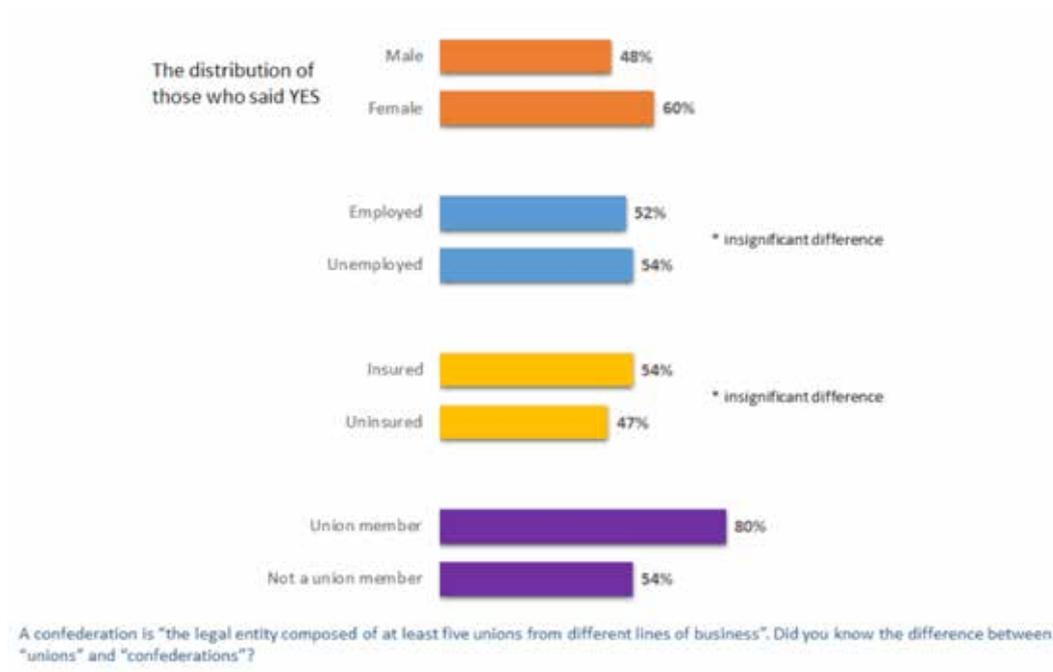


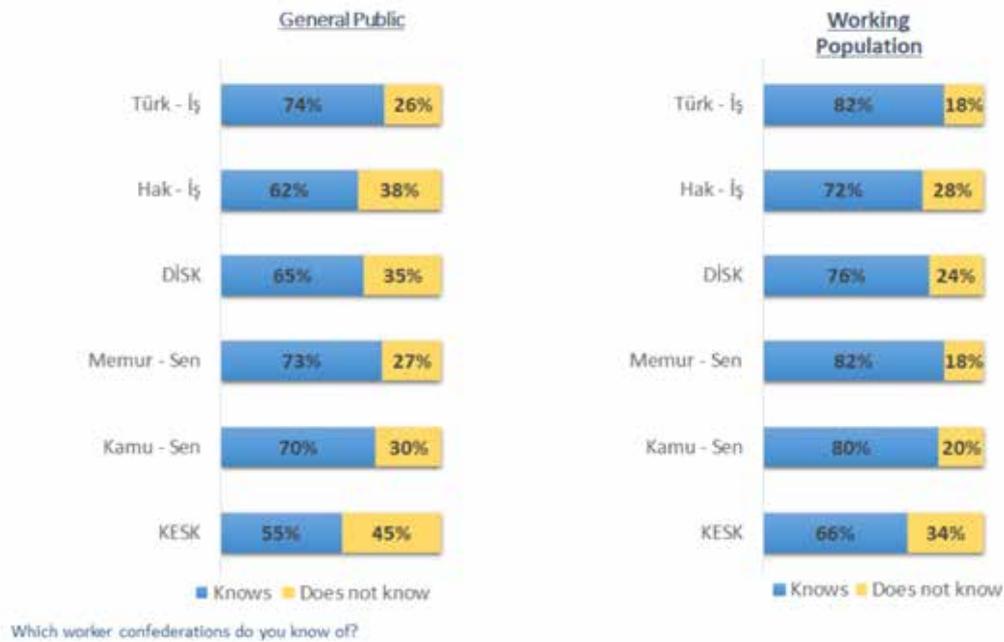
Figure 9: Familiarity with the difference between trade unions and confederations by different groups



Whether the difference between a union and a confederation is known is the next question. The general public and a little more than half of the working population (provided that the working population is a little bigger than the non-working population) stated that they know the difference. Men compared to women, union members compared to non-members responded to this question more positively. As in the categories of working and non-working people, the difference between the insured and uninsured is not high; however, being a union member makes a remarkable difference in knowing what the difference is.

It was also asked whether the confederations representing the employees are known. In this and next question, familiarity is measured at the minimum level with the question whether the mentioned confederations have been heard before.

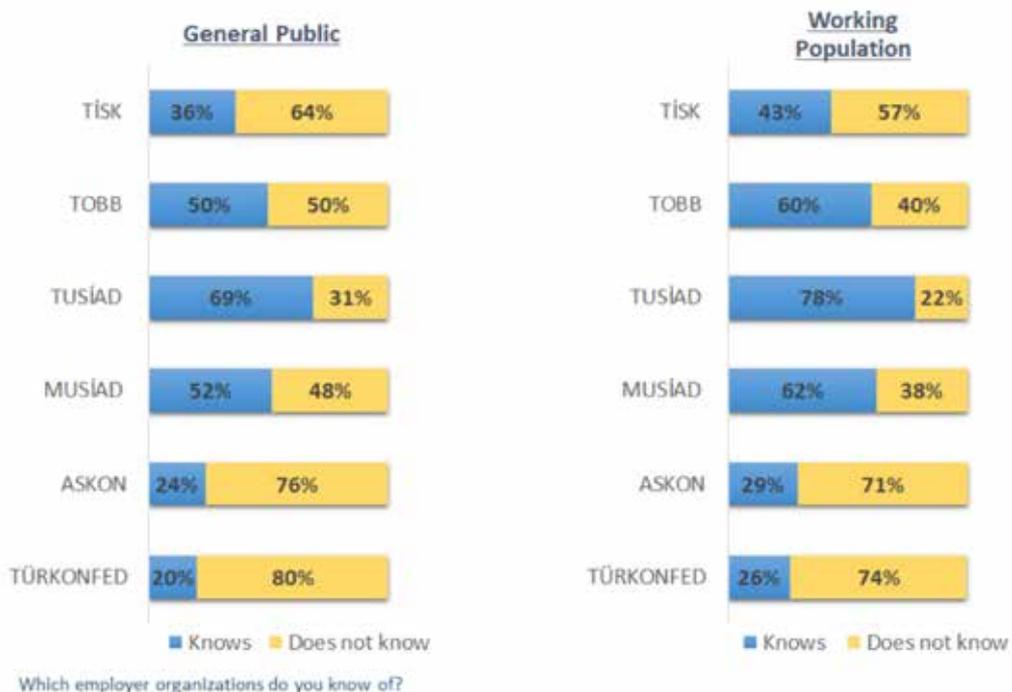
Figure 10: Familiarity with worker's confederations



It is understood that more than half of the general public is familiar with the confederations representing the employees. While Confederation of Public Employees' Trade Unions (KESK) is at the bottom with 55%, the ratio reaches 74% with TÜRK-İŞ, which has the highest percentage of recognition. These rates, as expected, increase with respect to employees' unions. KESK is at the bottom (66%); TÜRK-İŞ and Confederation of Public Servants Trade Unions (MEMUR-SEN) are at the top (82%). When we look at the recognition rates, TÜRK-İŞ and MEMUR-SEN, which are in the first place, are followed by Confederation of Turkish Public Workers Trade Unions (TÜRKİYE KAMU-SEN), which is followed by DİSK, HAK-İŞ and KESK.

The next question is about whether employer organizations are known.

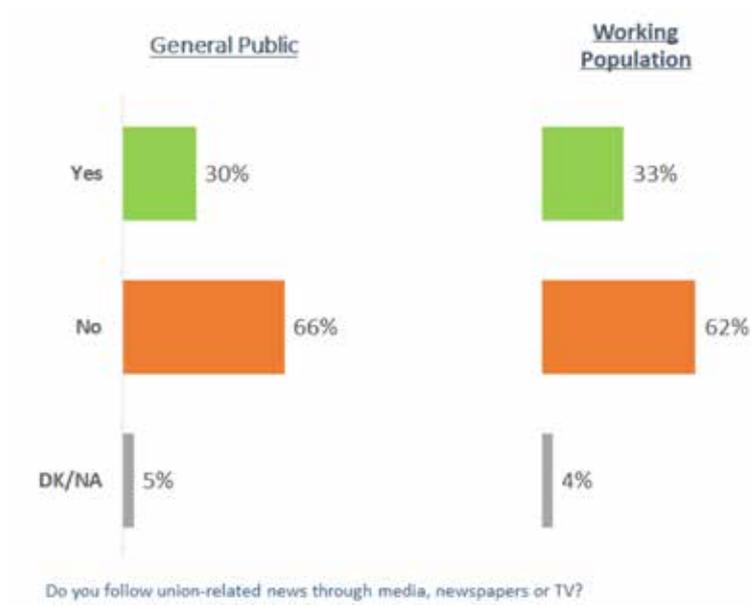
Figure 11: Familiarity with employer's organizations



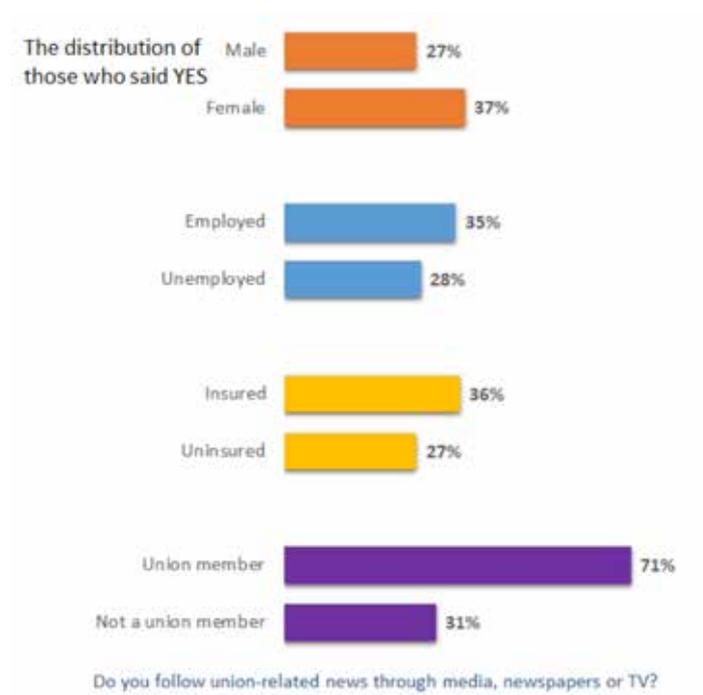
As can be seen from Figure 11, it is seen that employer organizations are less known compared to the confederations representing the working population. The ranking is in the form of Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD), TOBB, Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (MÜSİAD), TİSK, Anatolian Businessmen Association (ASKON) and Turkish Enterprise and Business (TÜRKONFED) for both the general public and the working population. As with the previous question, the level of familiarity appears to be higher in the working population.

Questions related to familiarity with unions and confederations are followed by two questions that deepen the issue (Figure 12 and Figure 14). With these questions we ask whether union-related developments are being followed via the press or written publications.

**Figure 12: Following union-related news via the media**



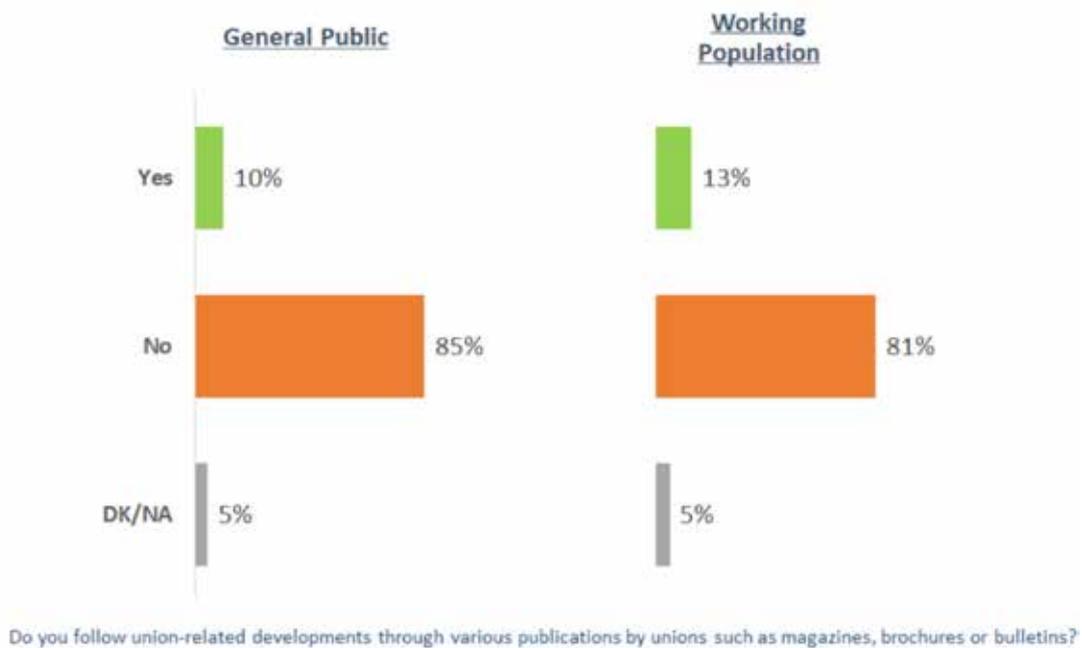
**Figure 13: Distribution of those who follow union-related news by different groups**



## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

When we look at those who follow union-related developments via television/newspapers and union publications, there seems to be a small difference between the general public and the working population. It is worth noting the fact that even in the working population, only 35% is following union-related developments. The next question is on whether union-related developments are followed via printed publications. This rate is 10% for the general public and 13% for the working population.

**Figure 14: The rate of those who follow union-related developments via union publications**



**Figure 15: Distribution of those who follow union-related developments via union publications**

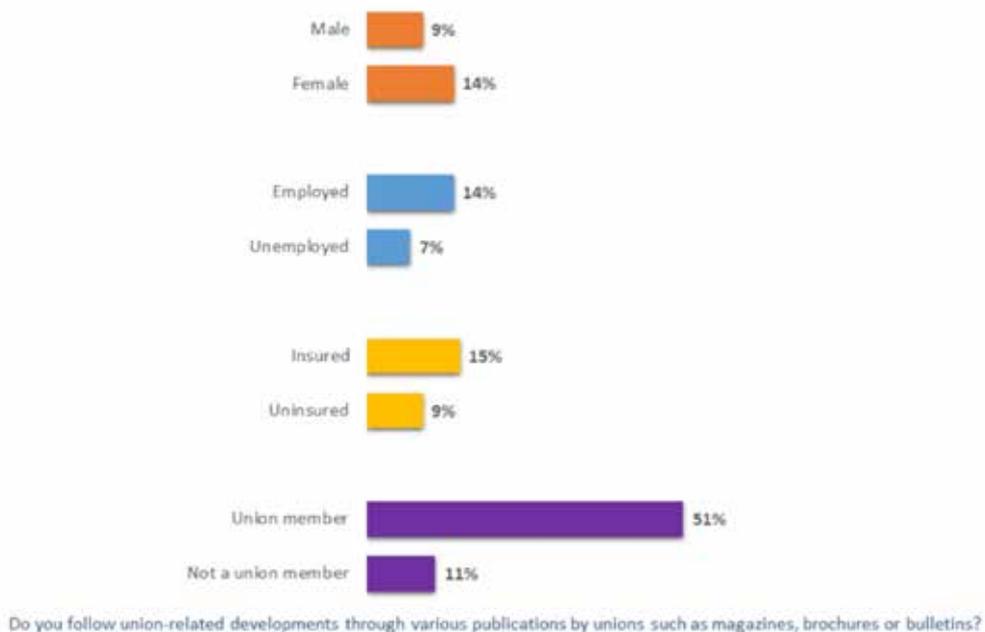
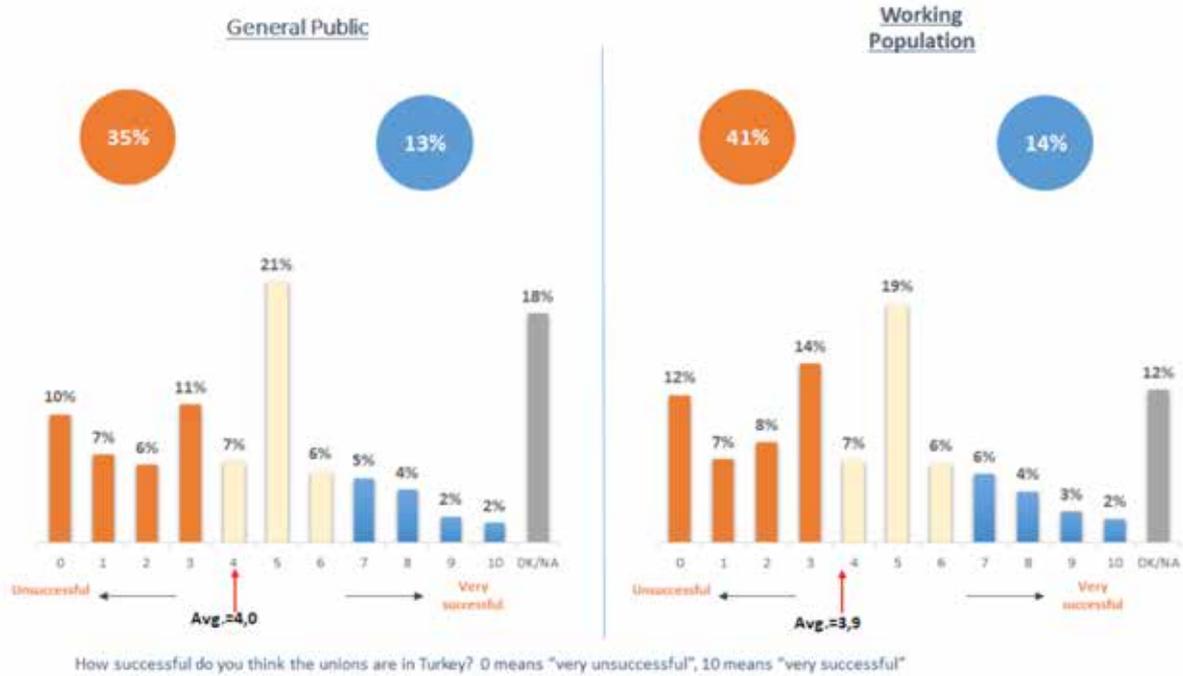


Figure 13 and 15 show how the follow-up of union-related developments varies in different subgroups. When the answers given to both questions are evaluated; on the question of following union-related developments via both the press and written publications, men compared to women, working people compared to non-working people, insured compared to uninsured, and union members compared to non-members gave more favourable answers. The variable that creates the big difference in the ratio is being a union member.

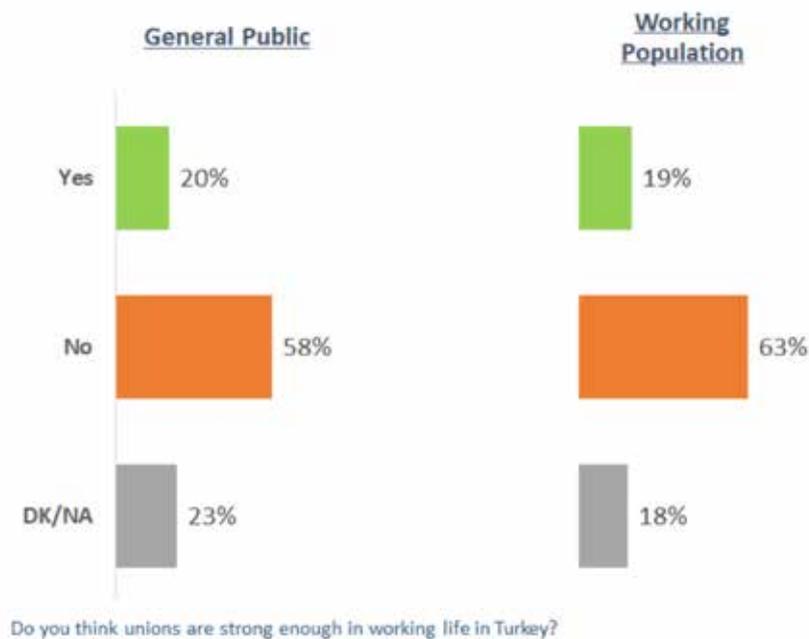
With the next set of questions, we try to understand how successful powerful and effective the unions are from the point of view of the general public. The first question is about how successful the unions are (Figure 16).

**Figure 16: How successful are the unions?**



When we look at the scale of success of the unions as seen by the general public and the working population, there are some differences, although not very important. The percentage of those who choose not to answer this question in the general population is 18%, while this rate drops to 12% in the working population; while the rate of finding the unions unsuccessful (a score between 0 and 4) is 35% in the general public, this rate rises to 41% in the working population. The percentage of the respondents who find the unions successful is very close in both segments and is in the 13-14% band. The general evaluation is that unions are not seen to be successful by both segments. In the next question (Figure 17), the power of trade unions is examined.

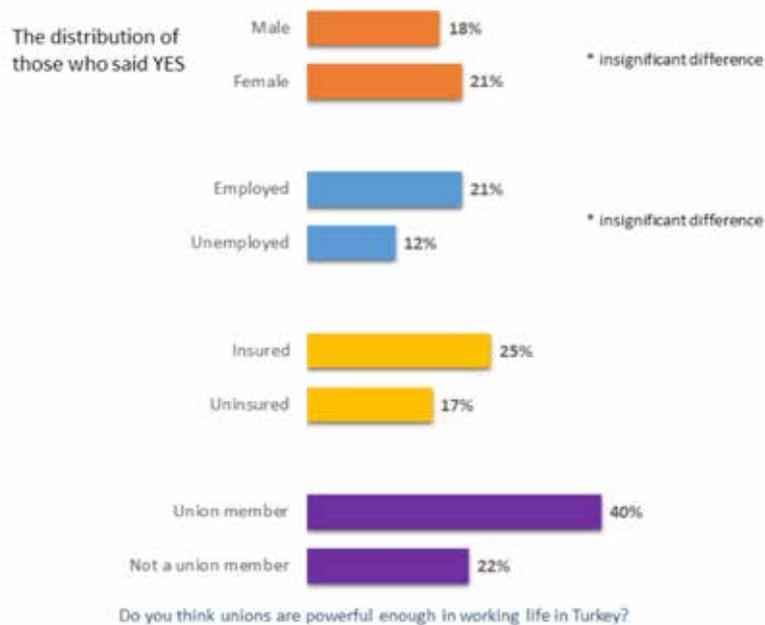
**Figure 17: The perception of whether the unions are seen as powerful in working life**



## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

The answers to this question are similar to those of the previous questions: the percentage of those who have no answers or no idea is higher in the general public (23%); those who find the unions not powerful is more prevalent in the working population (63%); those who find them powerful is approximately the same in both sub-groups (19-20%).

**Figure 18: The distribution of those who think that the unions are powerful in working life**



When we look at the breakdown of those who believe that unions have a strong presence in working life (Figure 18), the important difference is that the distinction appears to be in working/not-working, insured-uninsured, and especially union members/non-member groups. Gender does not make a significant difference. At this point, the following question was directed to question the reasons for the unions' perceived insufficient strength (Figure 19). Directed to those who answered "No" in the previous question, the question suggested a series of possible explanations and the person was asked to give a score between 0-10 (not important at all-very important).

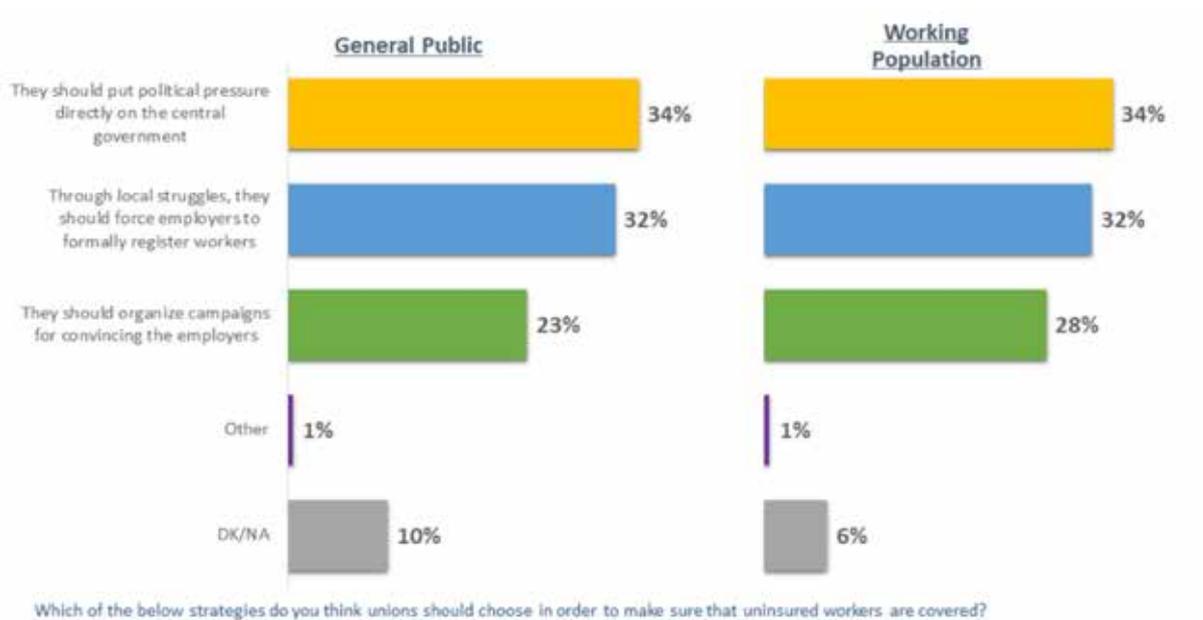
**Figure 19: Reasons for unions' insufficient strength**



When those who gave a “No” answer to the question of whether the unions show a strong presence were asked about the reason for their answer, they pointed to the private sector, the government and the unions as responsible. The attitude of the private sector towards the union, the fact that the government makes the union activities difficult and that the unions cannot meet the expectations are perceived as factors that make it difficult for the unions to be a powerful entity. It is understood that the emerging new practices such as subcontracting/outsourcing and new sectors such as the service sector are structural problems that limit the power of unions. Finally, it is worth noting that the fact that some workers accept uninsured work in order to get more wages is also an important factor. All of the options getting a score in the 7.5-7.8 band (out of 10) means that the possible reasons listed are important in the eyes of the general public.

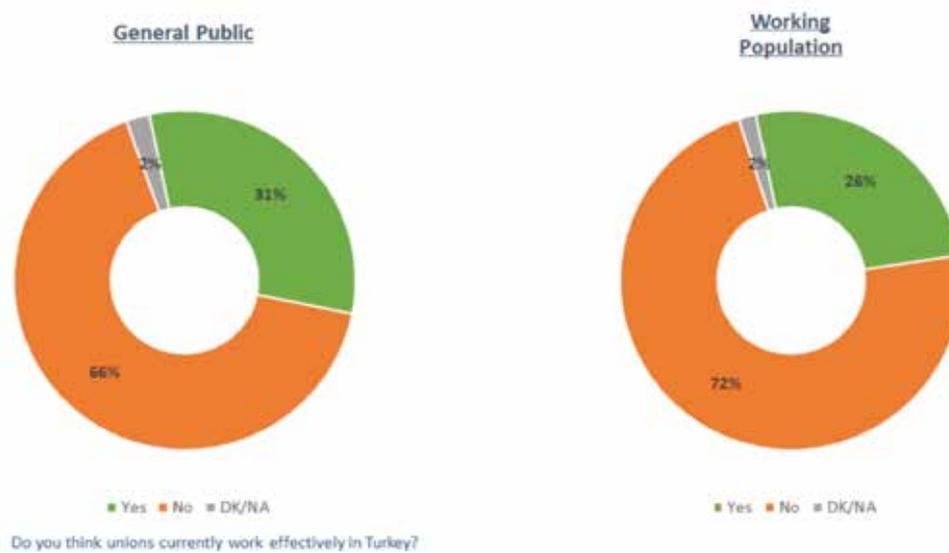
Since the existence of informality, i.e., the employment of workers without social security, constitutes one of the major obstacles to union life, three policies have been listed in Figure 20 to prevent the lack of social security and it was asked to which of these three policies the unions should give more weight. There was no significant difference between the general public and the working population in the answers: putting pressure on the government authorities was at the top with 34%, while the idea of preventing the lack of social security via working at the local level received 32% support. The idea of convincing the employers received an approval in the 23-28% band.

**Figure 20: What should be done to get uninsured workers covered**



Subsequently, a question was asked on how effective the unions work (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Do unions work effectively enough?



When asked whether the unions work effectively today, the rate of those who say “Yes” is 5% less in the working population compared to the general public. This question overlaps with the previously asked question of whether the unions show a strong presence in working life. An important segment believes that the unions do not work effectively. When the reasons behind “not working effectively” are examined (Figure 22), the following picture emerges.

Figure 22: The factors that prevent the unions from working more effectively

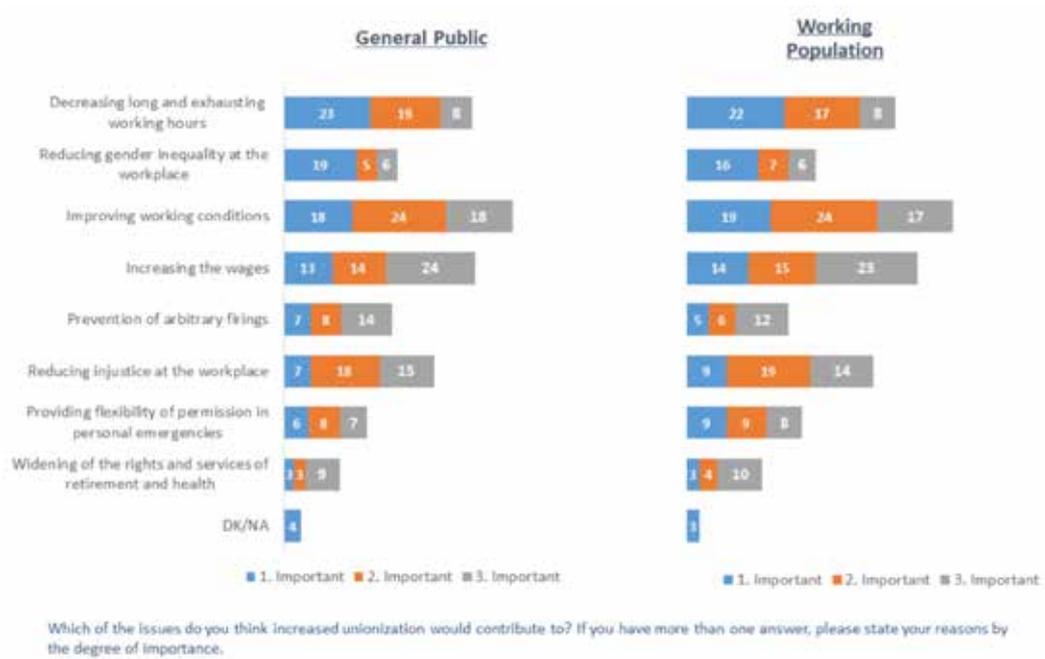


Those who gave a “No” answer to the previous question were asked about the factors that affect the ineffectiveness of unions to select two explanations shown in the figure. The prevalence of informal employment comes at the first place for the general public. This answer was marked by the working population as the second most important option. The option that is attributed the most importance, which is placed at the first place by the working population and at the second place by the general public, is putting individual interests above majority interests in the unions.

However, when the overall marking rates are considered, this option is the most underlined factor for both samples. In addition to this, the second most marked option by the working population, and the third most marked option by the general population is the lack of an atmosphere for dialogue in the country.

Within the scope of the study, we also aimed at understanding what kind of problems unionisation could solve, and the results in Figure 23 were obtained. In this question, potential problems were listed and the person was asked to rank these problems starting with the most important.

**Figure 23: The problems that could be solved by unionisation**

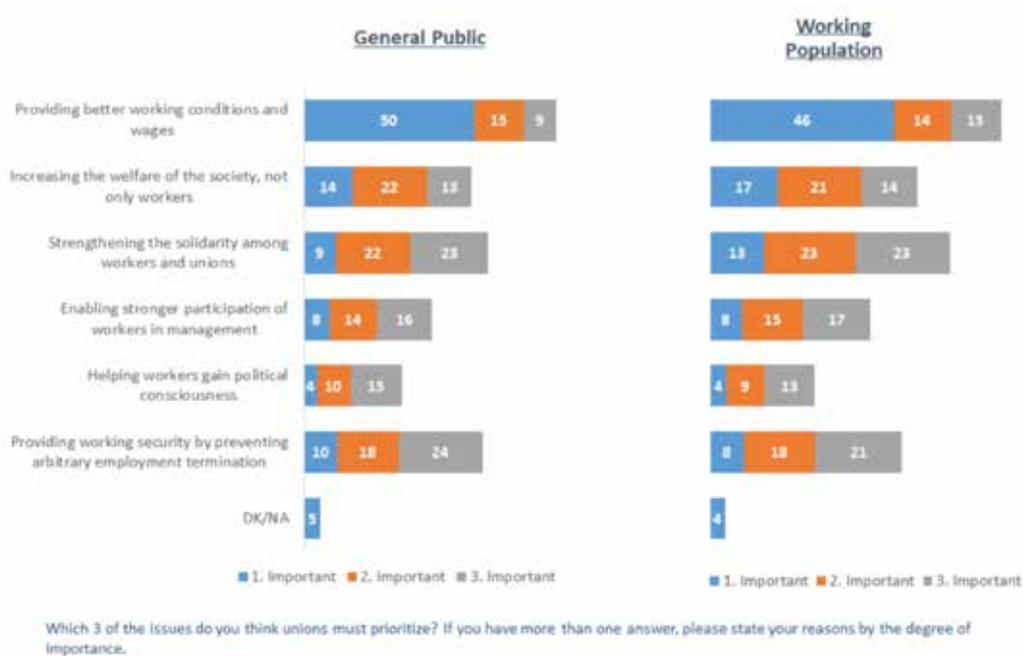


When asked about the issues that unionisation can solve, the general public and the working population again gave similar answers. When we look at the total marking rate of the options marked at the first, second and third important place, the expectation of improving working conditions/working hours and wage level stand out; however, when we rank by the ratios on the options that are attributed the most importance, it is seen that, at the second place for the general population and at the third place for the working population, there is an expectation from the unions to reduce gender discrimination at the workplace.

In the following question, we aimed to understand how the general responsibilities of the unions are evaluated (Figure 24). In this question too, possible areas of responsibility were listed and the respondent was asked to rank them as the first, the second and the third.

## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

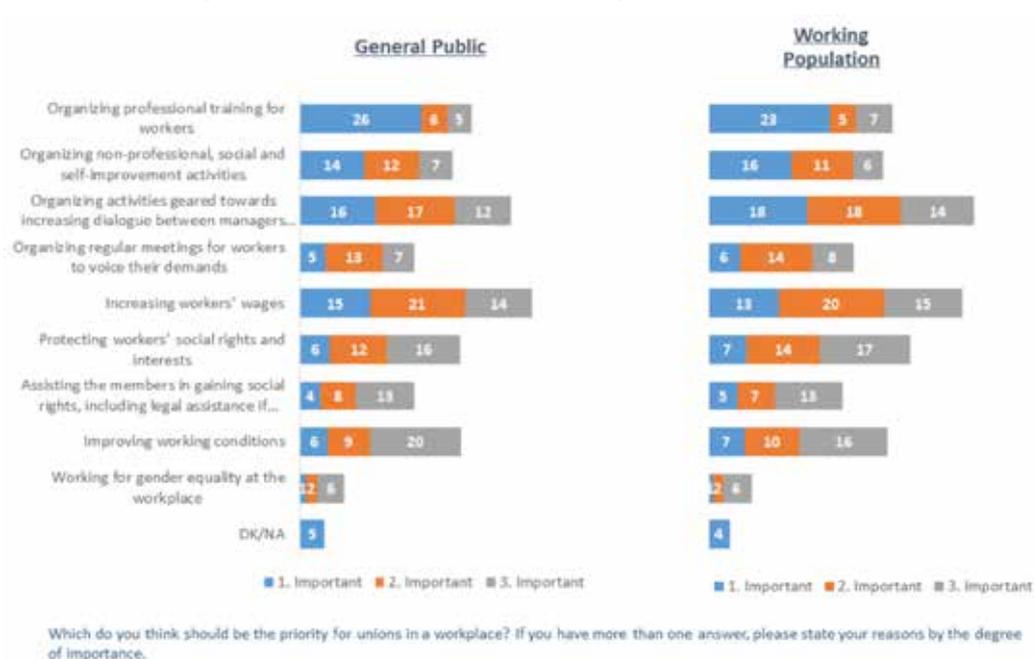
Figure 24: What should the general responsibilities of the unions be?



When expectations regarding the responsibilities of the unions were asked, similar to the response given in the previous question, the expectation that better wages and working conditions should be provided to the workers takes its place at the top. This is followed by strengthening the solidarity among workers and unions, as well as increasing the general welfare of the society, and following closely, the expectation to provide job security.

The areas of inside-workplace responsibility come next (Figure 25). It is possible to understand how the responsibilities are shaped with this question, together with the question of what kind of responsibilities the unions should have at the workplace. Here, too, the possible areas of responsibility were listed and the respondent was asked to rank them as the first, the second, and the third.

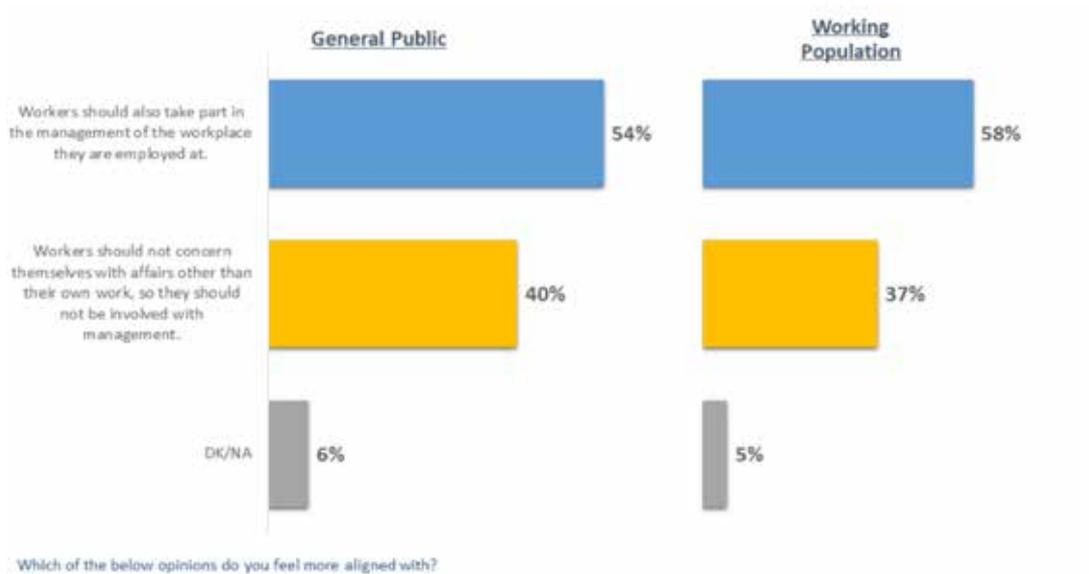
Figure 25: What should the priorities of the unions at the workplace be?



When we look at the expectations for inside-workplace responsibilities of the unions, if we start with the total marking rate, we see that two expectations stand out: increasing workers’ wages, and organizing activities geared towards increasing the dialogue between the employees and the management. When we look at the working population, it is striking to see that the most marked option is organizing activities to increase dialogue. Another remarkable finding is the option of organizing professional trainings for workers, which is the highest-rated option with top importance for both the general public and the working population.

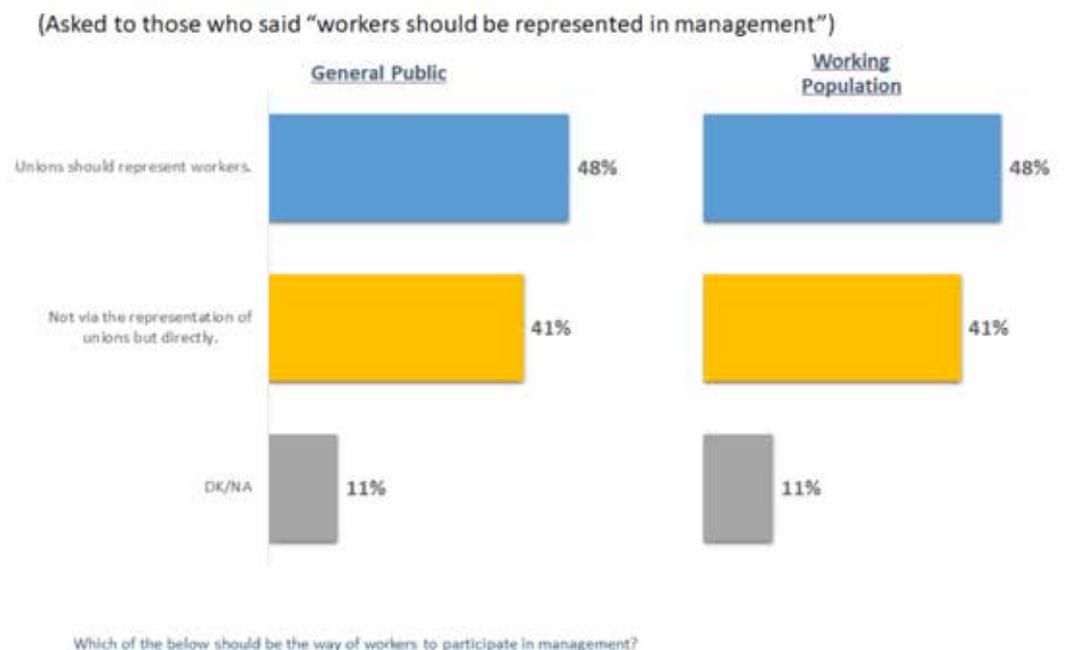
In the survey, preferences were also asked on whether the workers should participate in workplace management (Figure 26).

**Figure 26: Workers’ participation in workplace management**



It is seen that more than half of the general public and half of the working population think that workers should participate in workplace management. In the working population, this ratio appears to be a little smaller than the general public (54% and 58%). On the other hand, a segment in the 37-40% band do not find it appropriate for workers to participate in management. When those who expressed that workers should participate in management were asked about the mechanism of this participation (Figure 27), the following results emerged.

**Figure 27: Ways of participation in workplace management**

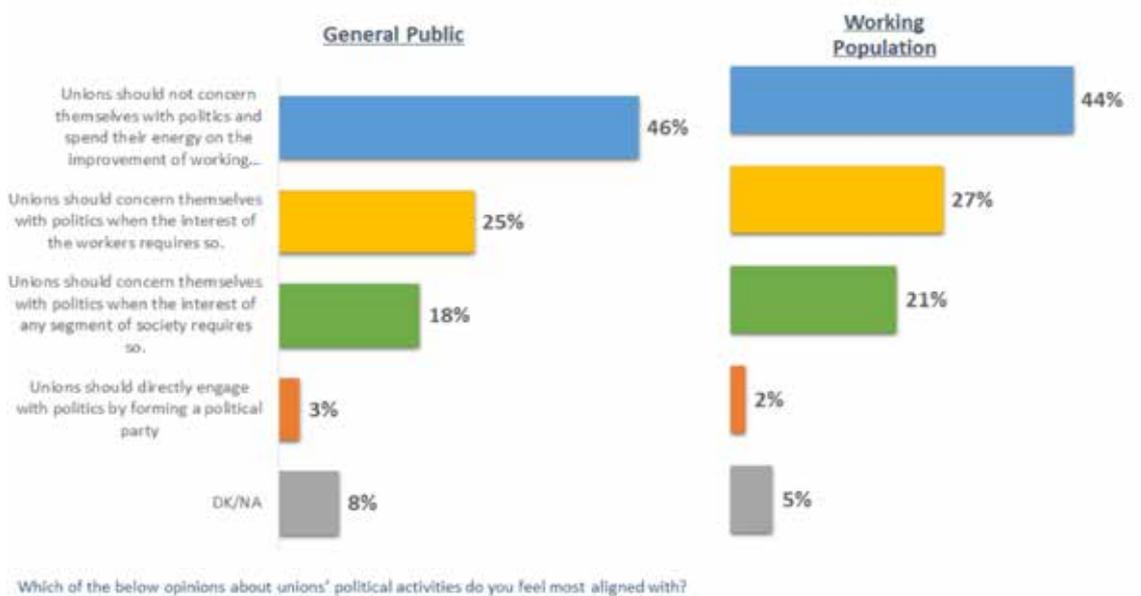


## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

First, the option of “via the representation of unions” receives more points than the option of “direct participation without unions” (48-41%).

A question was also asked about what the unions’ attitudes on political activities should be (Figure 28).

**Figure 28: Thoughts on political activities of the unions**

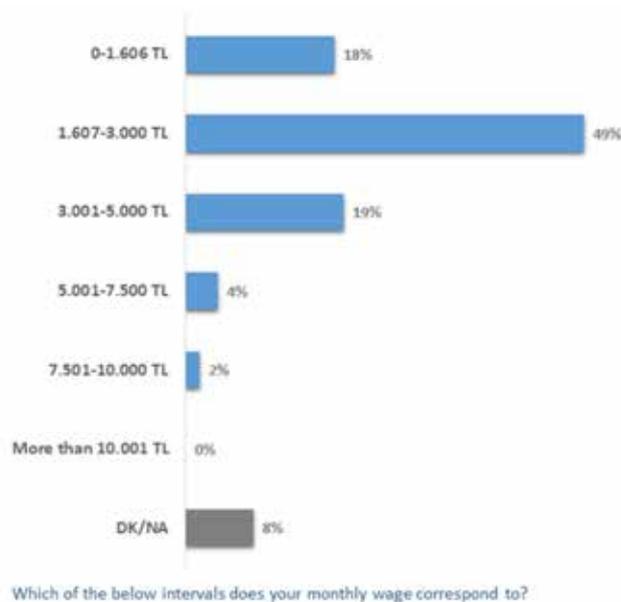


It is understood that almost half of the general public and half of the working population believe that unions should not be interested in politics; however, more than half find it acceptable for unions to get involved in politics directly or for as long as it is concerned with worker interests.

### 3.8. General Structure of the Working Population

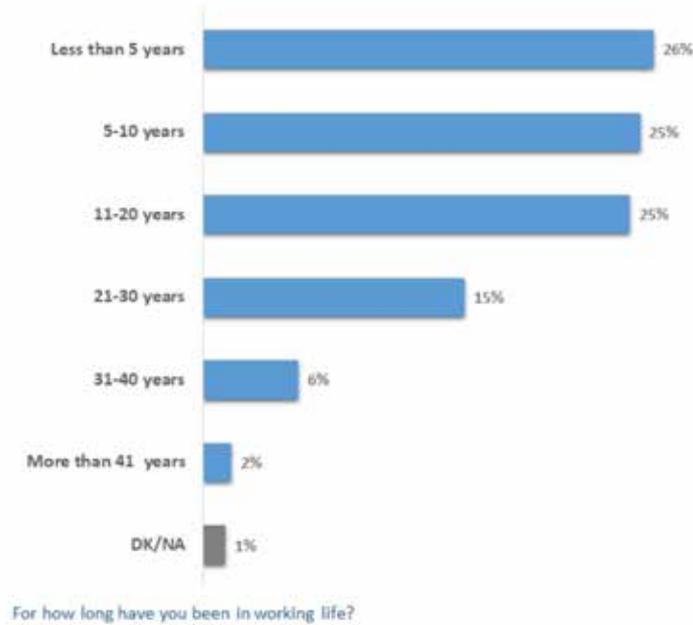
As explained above, approximately 17% of the working population evaluated within the scope of the survey work informally, 74% are insured but not union members, and the remaining 9% are insured and union members. To understand the general structure of the working population, their average salaries were asked (Figure 29).

**Figure 29: Monthly average salaries of the working population**



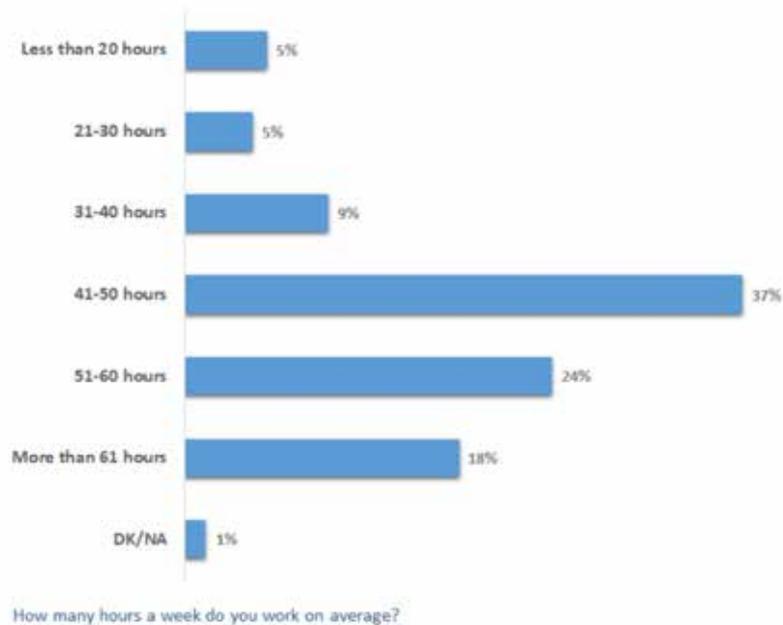
It is seen that approximately half of the employees work for a salary between the minimum wage and 3,000 TL and that the ratio of all employees with a salary under 3,000 TL is 67%, while 6% is over 5,000 TL. The following question is about how long they have been in working life (Figure 30).

**Figure 30: For how long have you been working?**



It is seen that more than half of the employees have been working for less than 10 years. The last question concerns the average weekly working hours (Figure 31).

**Figure 31: Average weekly working hours**



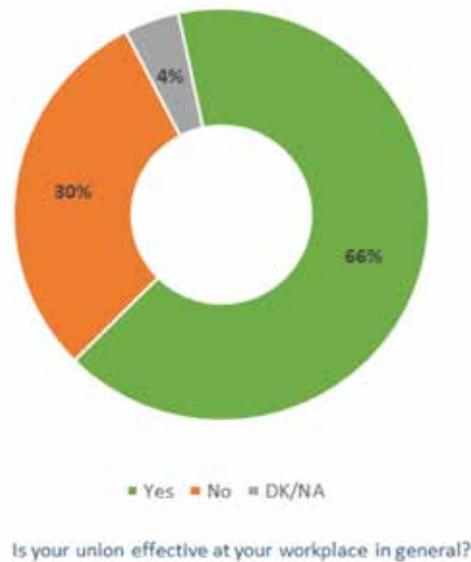
It is noteworthy that approximately 42% of the population indicated working an average of 51 hours or more per week.

### 3.9. Working Population: Union Members

In the light of the above-mentioned general information regarding the working population, we focus on union members (i.e., about 9% of the working population) in this section.

In this module, there are questions about union-related activities at the workplace as well as about the general union life, evaluated through the eyes of union members. The first question is directed at the effectiveness of the workers' own union at the workplace (Figure 32).

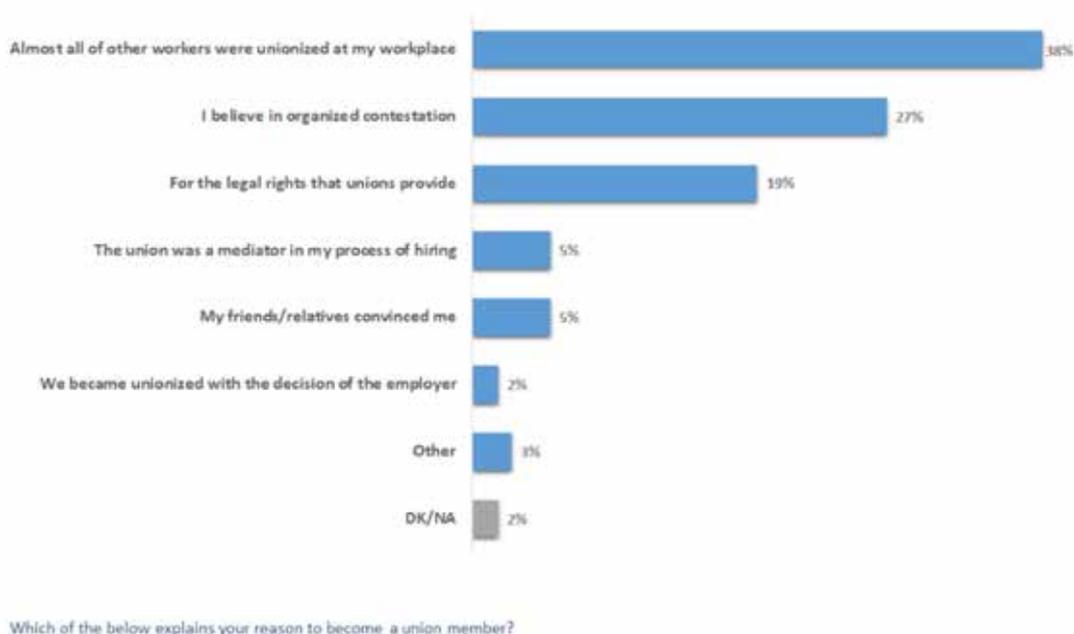
**Figure 32: Effectiveness of the own union at the workplace**



Two-thirds of union members believe that their unions are effective at their workplaces. Nevertheless, about one-third of the workers stated that they find the effectiveness of their union at the workplace inadequate.

The following question is on how the decision to be a union member was taken (Figure 33). Here, a number of possible explanations shown in the figure were given, and the respondent was asked to select one of them.

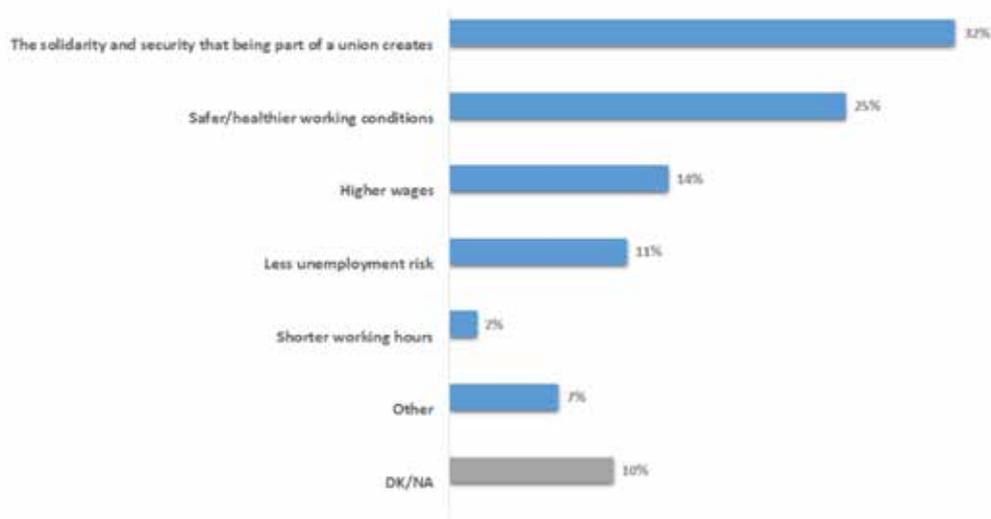
**Figure 33: The reason for decision to become a union member**



When asked about the reason for the decision to become a union member, almost half of the union members stated that they became union members because other workers in the same workplace were union members. The belief in organized struggle and the legal rights of union members stands out as the second and third factors in the decision to become a union member. The statement of “we became union members due to the employer decision”, which appeared in the study by Adaman et al. (2009), has also been included in the options. Although 2% selection rate of this option may seem too low, it should be kept in mind that the number given is still greater than zero.

The next question is about the advantages of being a union member. Here, a number of possible explanations shown in the figure was presented, and the respondent was asked to mark the most important one (Figure 34).

**Figure 34: The advantages of being a union member**

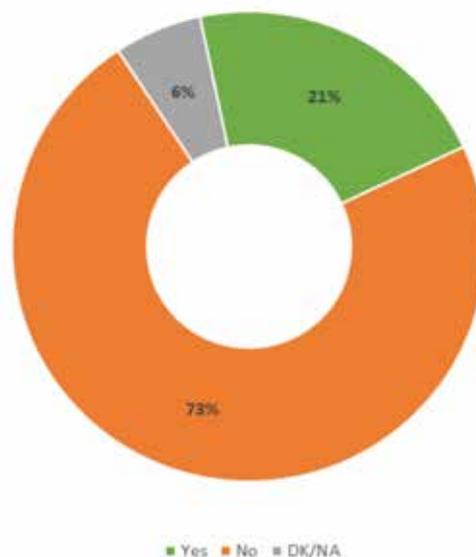


Which is the most important benefit that being a union member brings you?

When we look at the answers given for the advantages of being a union member, it is understood that one-third of the union members highlighted the confidence brought by organized struggle. At the same time, union members consider having advantages such as better working conditions and higher wages.

The following question is about how active union members participate in union life (Figure 35).

**Figure 35: Participation in union-related protests**

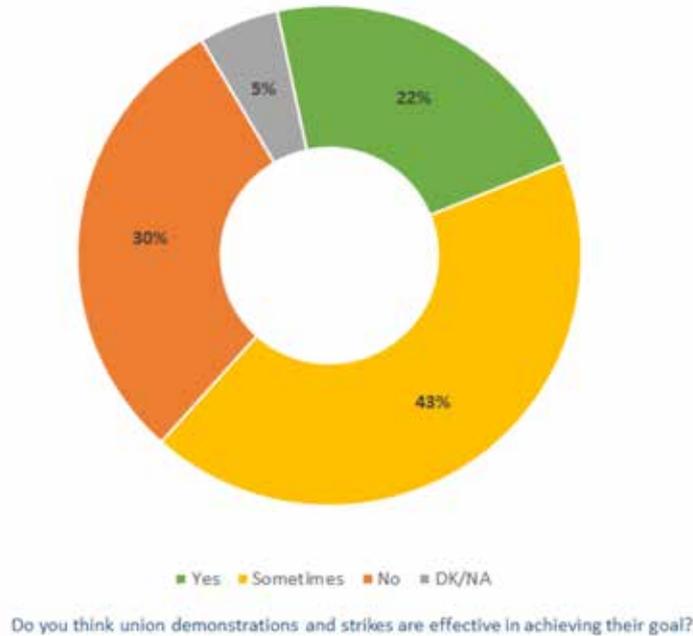


Have you ever participated in any union-related protest, strike or demonstration?

## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

From the responses received, it is seen that only one-fifth of the union members stated that they had participated in such union activities as street protests and strike. The following question aims to understand the perceptions of the participants on how effective they think these protests are (Figure 36).

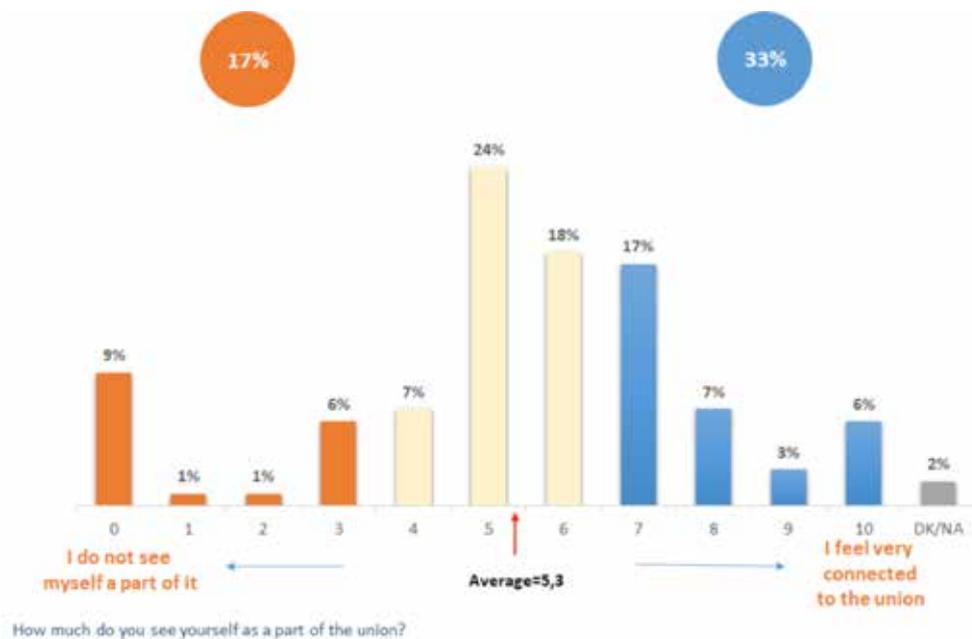
**Figure 36: Effectiveness of union protests**



It is understood that of the 20% of union members who participated in union protests, only 22% consider these protests to be effective. About half of them say that these protests are occasionally effective. Nearly one-thirds declared that the protests are ineffective.

The next question examines the extent to which union members see themselves to be a part of the union—on a scale of 0 to 10 points (Figure 37).

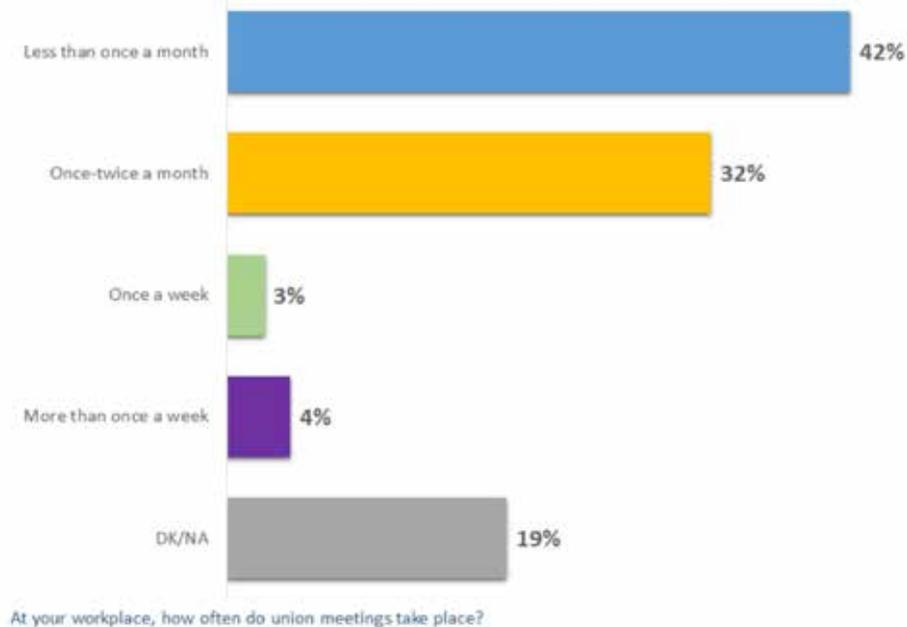
**Figure 37: Feeling to be a part of the union**



33% of the union members consider themselves to be above the mid-point and 17% below the mid-point as far as feeling to be a part of the union. Although the rate of those who find themselves to be close to the union is higher, the fact that the rate of those who do find themselves to be not close to the union at all (i.e., 0 points) is 9%, which is a finding that the unions need to think about.

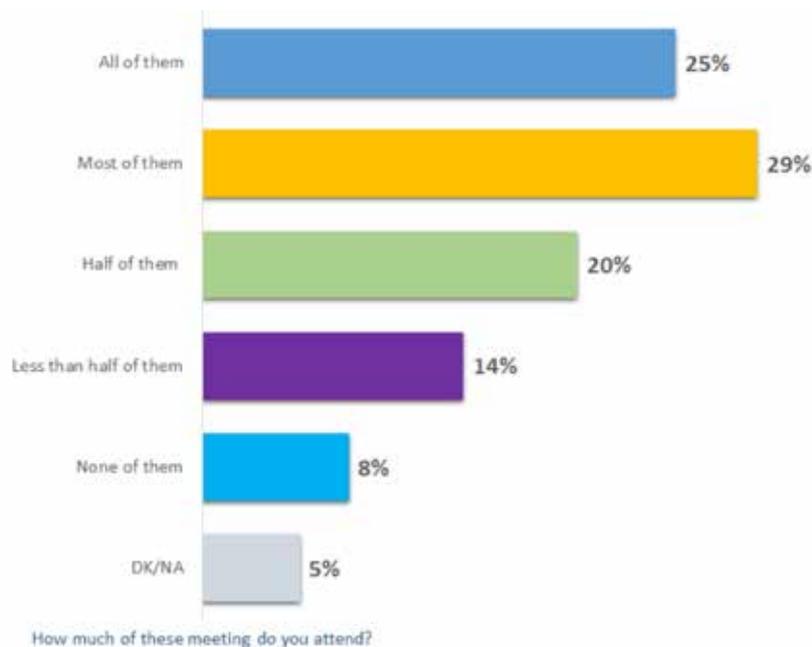
The frequency of union members’ participation in union meetings and their expectations from these meetings were also investigated.

**Figure 38: Frequency of union meetings at the workplace**



An important detail in Figure 38 is that “No answer/No idea” option has a high ratio of 19%. This can be interpreted as an indication that about one-fifth of the union members are not interested in union meetings. The meetings are usually held once or twice a month. When asked about the participation in these meetings (Figure 39), the following emerges.

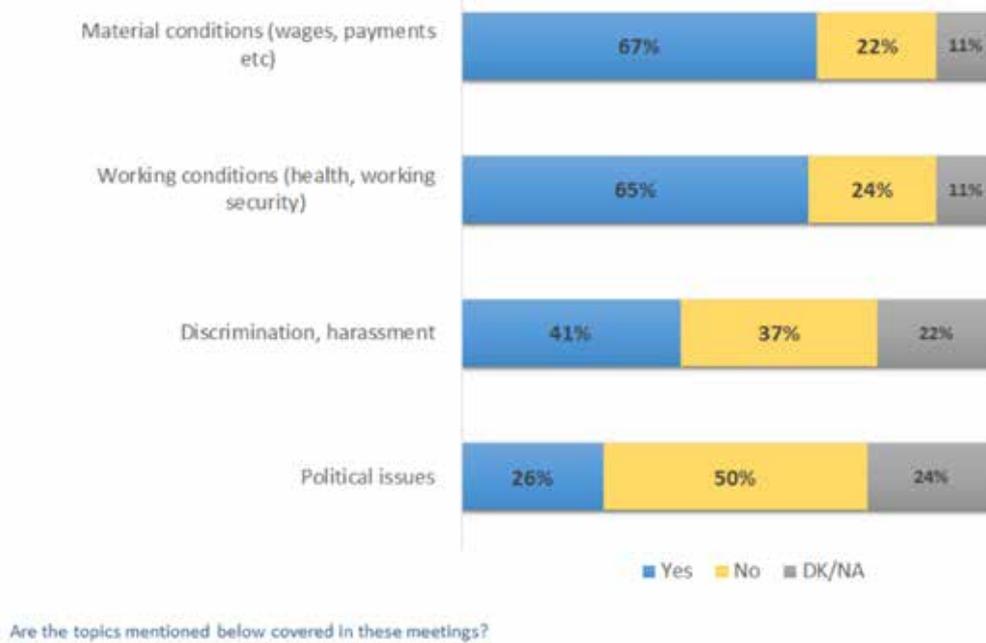
**Figure 39: Participation to union meetings at the workplace**



## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

The questions about the frequency of union meetings at the workplace and the participation of union members in these meetings reveal findings that could explain why there is a low affinity towards the unions. While the percentage of people who said that the meetings were held less than once a month was as high as 42%, it was also seen that the frequency of participating in these meetings was also low. More than half of the union members state that they have never participated or participated less than in half of these meetings. The topics mentioned in these meetings are shown in Figure 40.

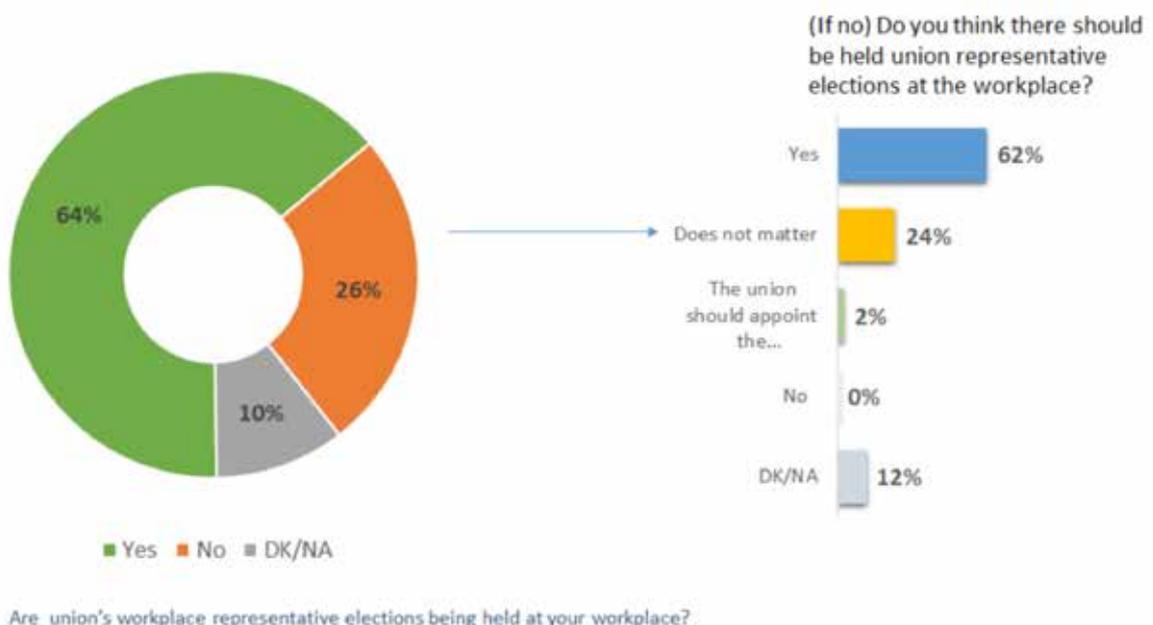
**Figure 40: Topics mentioned in union meetings**



It is seen that in union meetings, issues related to wages and working conditions are more frequently discussed compared to political issues as expected.

The following question is about whether or not a union representative is elected at the workplace and if not, whether an election should be held (Figure 41).

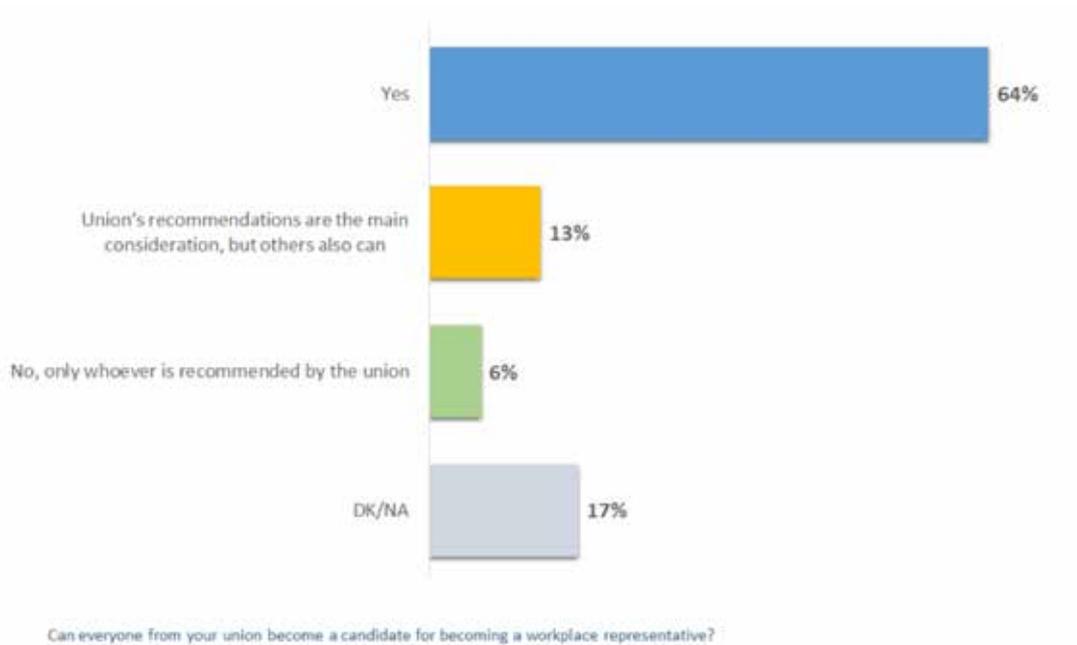
**Figure 41: Workplace representative elections**



As can be seen, one-fourth of the employees stated that an election is not held, and the majority of this group has taken a stand for elections to be held.

It was also asked whether anyone could be a candidate for a union representative (Figure 42).

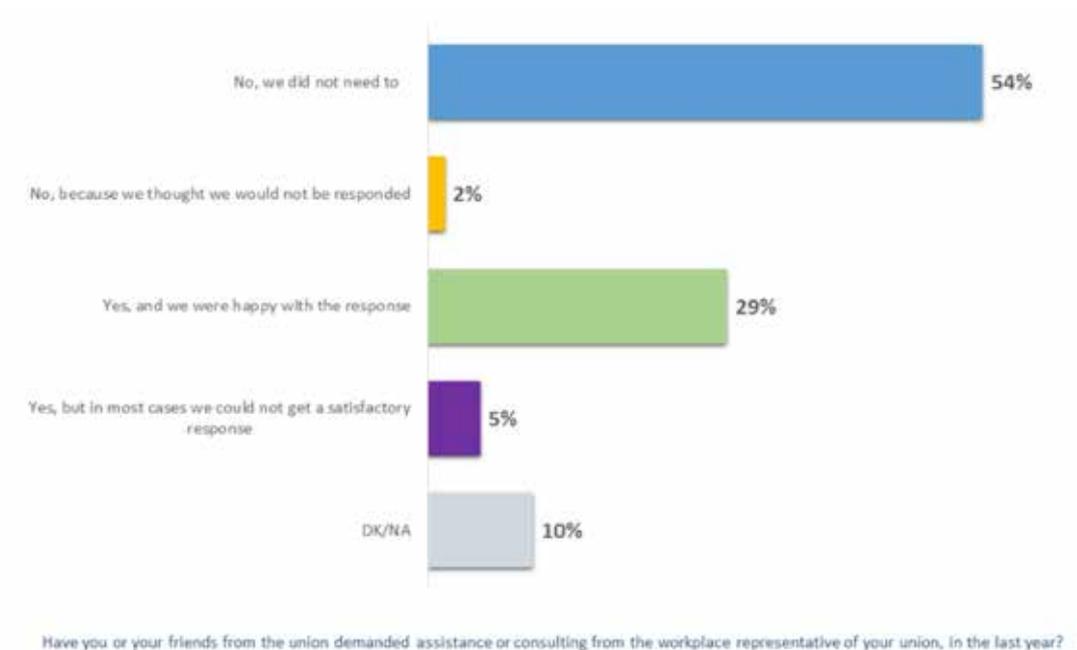
**Figure 42: Who can be a candidate for union representative**



In this question, which was directed to those who said that elections for union representative were held, two-thirds of the respondents stated that anyone could be a candidate, whereas only 6% said that only people nominated by the unions could be candidates.

Survey participants were asked whether they had consulted the union representative within the last year (Figure 43).

**Figure 43: Consulting the workplace representative**

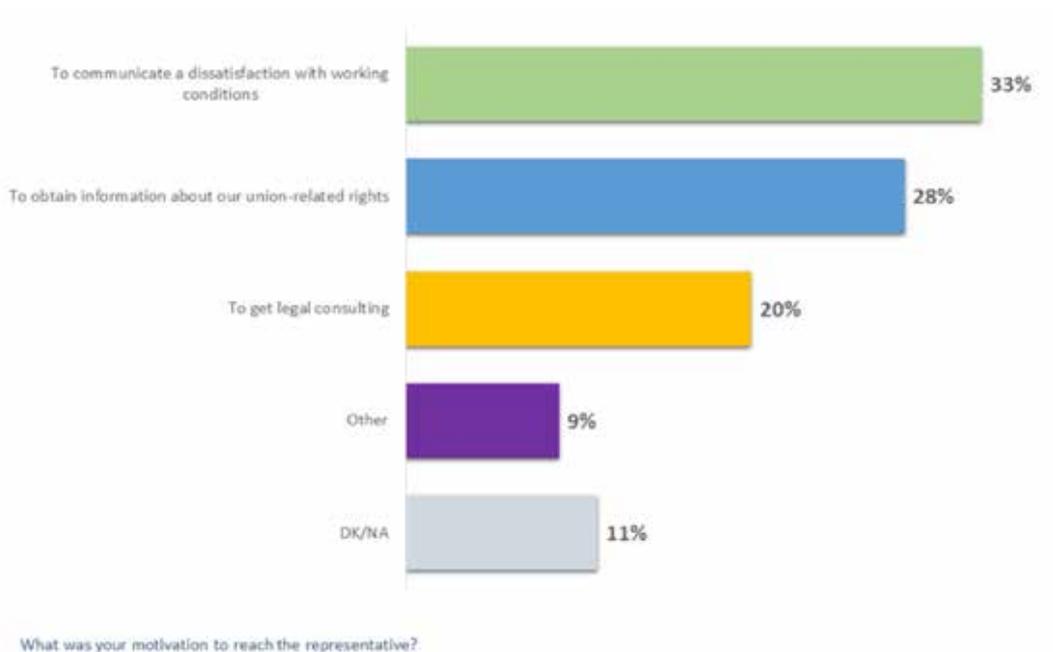


## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

More than half of the respondents did not express such a need. 29% of the respondents said they consulted the representative within the last year and had a positive return. Even if limited, there may be those who have a negative opinion on this subject (those who may have thought that they would not get answers or those who did not find the support they were looking for).

Employees who had consulted the union representatives were asked about the purpose of their consultation.

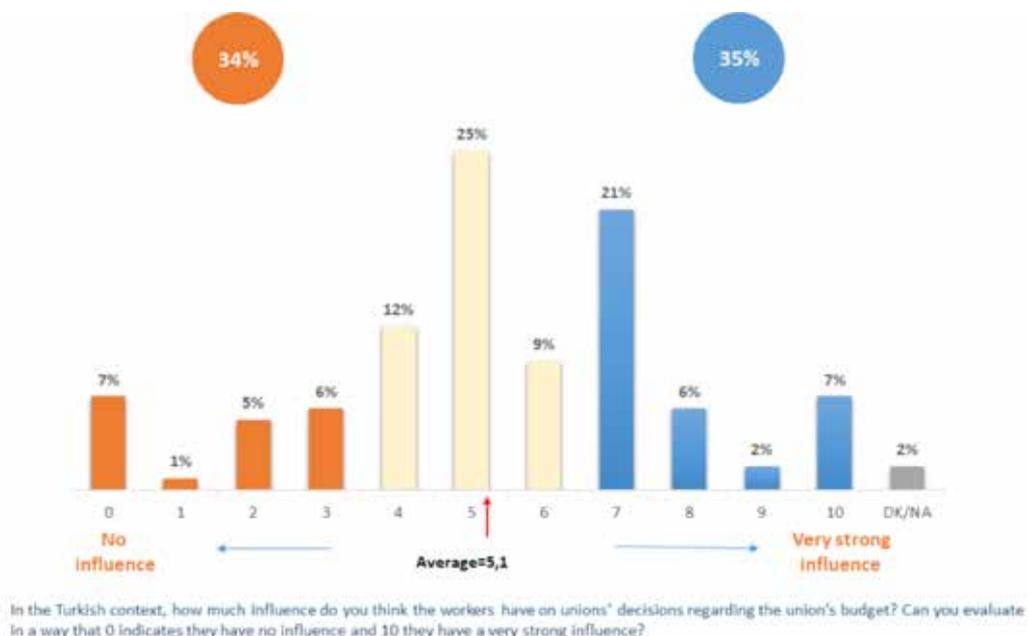
**Figure 44: What was the purpose of consultation with the workplace representative**



When those who said that they had consulted the representative were asked about the purpose of their consultation, the first issue appears as the dissatisfaction with working conditions; this is followed by a request for information on union rights and legal support.

Within the scope of the study, the opinions of the workers were also inquired regarding the influence of the workers on union-related decisions (Figure 45).

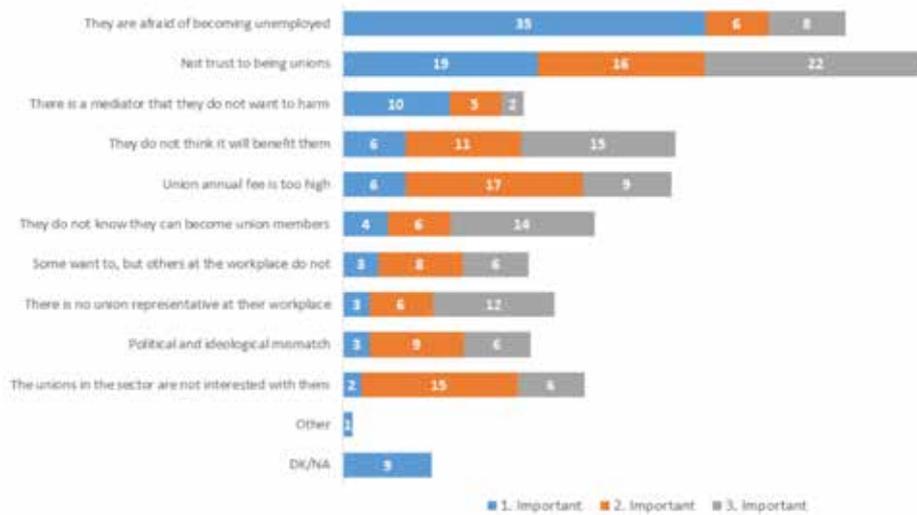
**Figure 45: Influence of workers on union-related decisions**



When the union members were asked about the extent to which the workers are influential in the union’s decision-making process, we see an average of 5 out of 10.

Union members were asked about their perceptions of the reasons for non-membership of those who are insured but are not union members. In this question, a number of reasons shown in the figure were listed, and the person was asked to rank the first three important reasons (Figure 46).

**Figure 46: Why do people not want to become a union member**

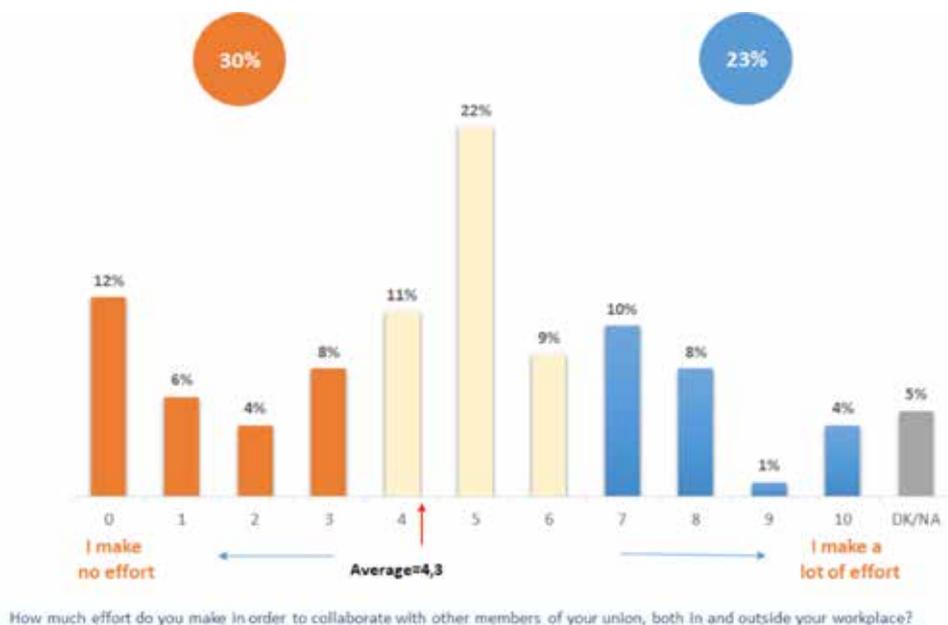


When you think of your sector in general, for people who are insured but not union members, what do you think the primary reasons are? If you have more than one answer, please state your reasons by the degree of importance.

When the union members are asked why workers in their sectors do not want to be union members, “fear of getting fired” is underlined at the highest rate. As the first, second or third most important, the most marked option is “distrust in union membership”. It is worth noting that in working life in Turkey, having an acquaintance in getting a job is perceived as an obstacle to becoming a union member.

Another question put to the respondents is how much effort the members of a union make to collaborate with other union members (Figure 47).

**Figure 47: The effort to collaborate with other members**



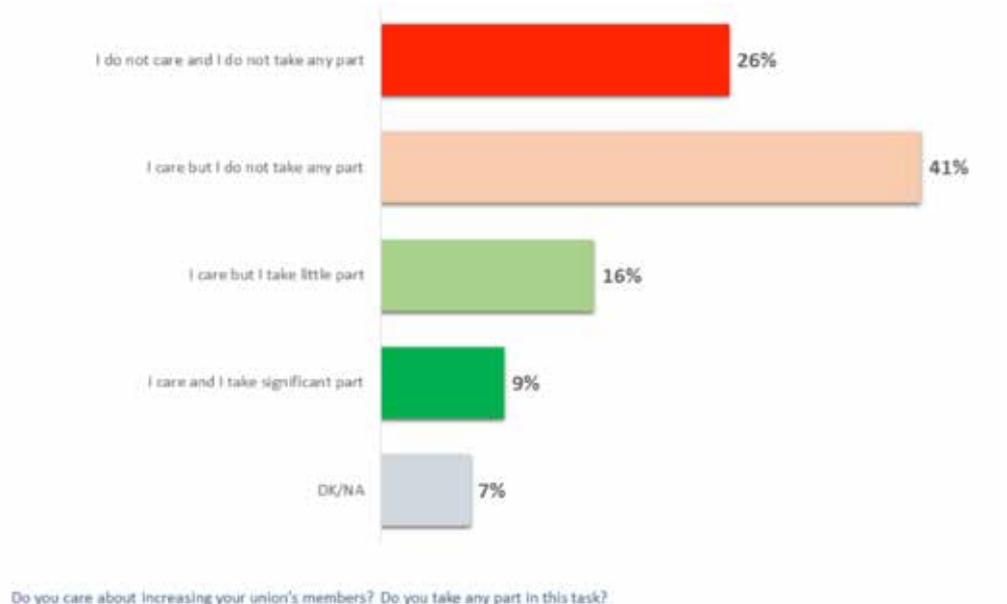
How much effort do you make in order to collaborate with other members of your union, both in and outside your workplace?

## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

When the union members were asked how much effort they are making to collaborate with other members of their unions, the result is an average of 4.3 out of a 10-point scale. 12% of the union members stated that they do not make any efforts towards this end. These findings lead us to conclude that there is no adequate level of joint work within the union.

The union members were also asked whether they made efforts to increase the number of their union members (Figure 48).

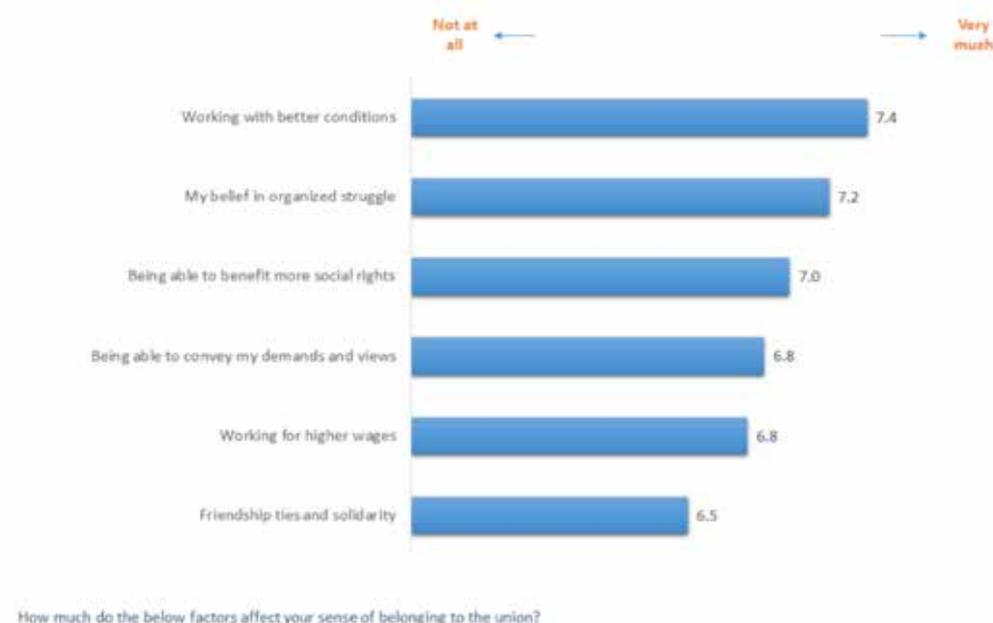
**Figure 48: Taking role in increasing the number of union members**



Only 25% of the union members stated that they are involved in an effort to increase the number of their union members; 67% of them said that they adopt a passive approach on this issue. Only 9% say that they care about increasing membership and make a serious effort.

Related to this, a question was asked to determine the factors that affect the sense of belonging to the union (Figure 49). In this question, a number of possible explanations were presented, and the union members were asked to respond on a scale of 0-10 points.

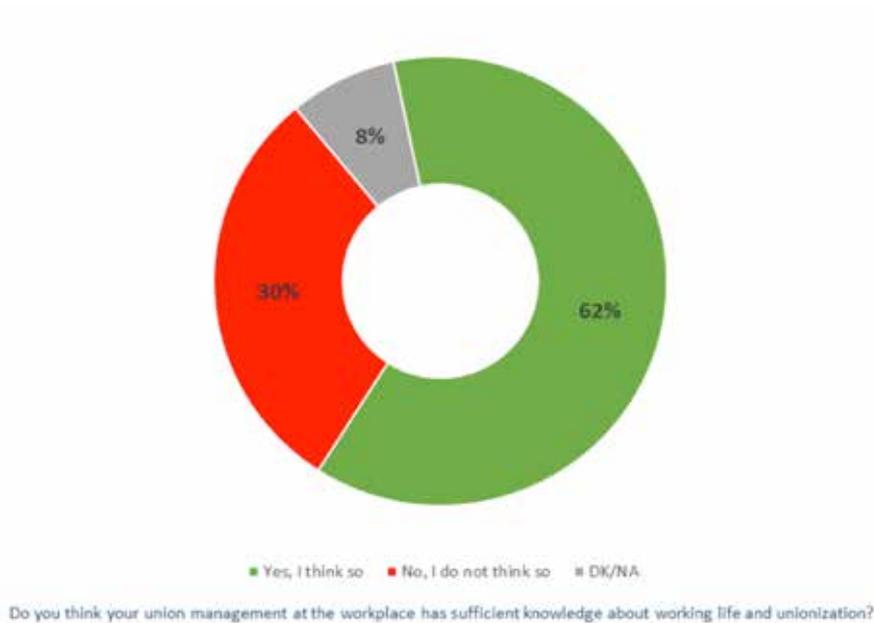
**Figure 49: Factors that affect the sense of belonging**



It is seen that all of the factors that affect the sense of belonging to the union have an impact of greater than 5 out of 10. The first two places are occupied by “working in better conditions” and “the belief in organized struggle”. These answers overlap with the responses to previous questions.

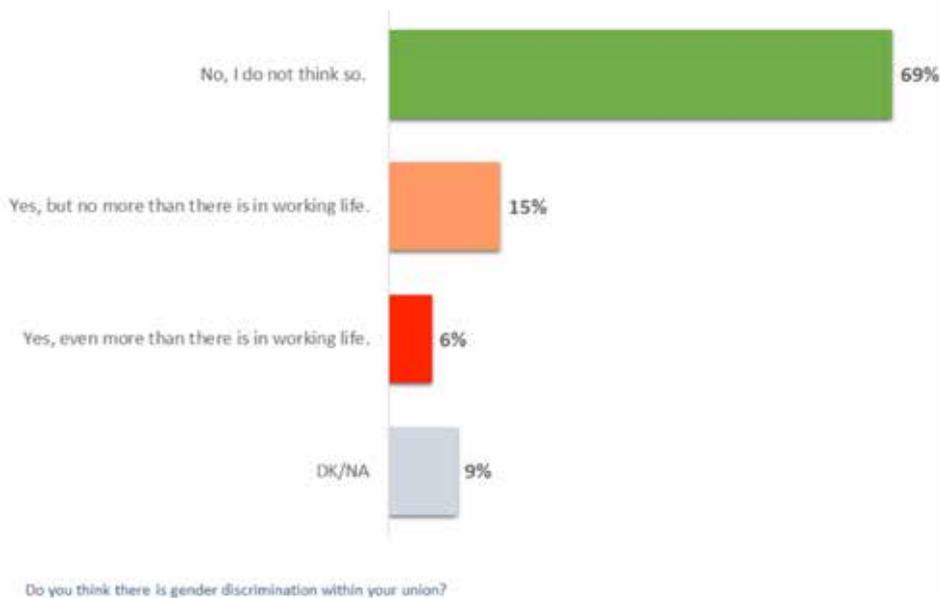
The extent to which union management has knowledge of working life and union life is undoubtedly an important issue for union members (Figure 50).

**Figure 50: Does the union management have sufficient knowledge**



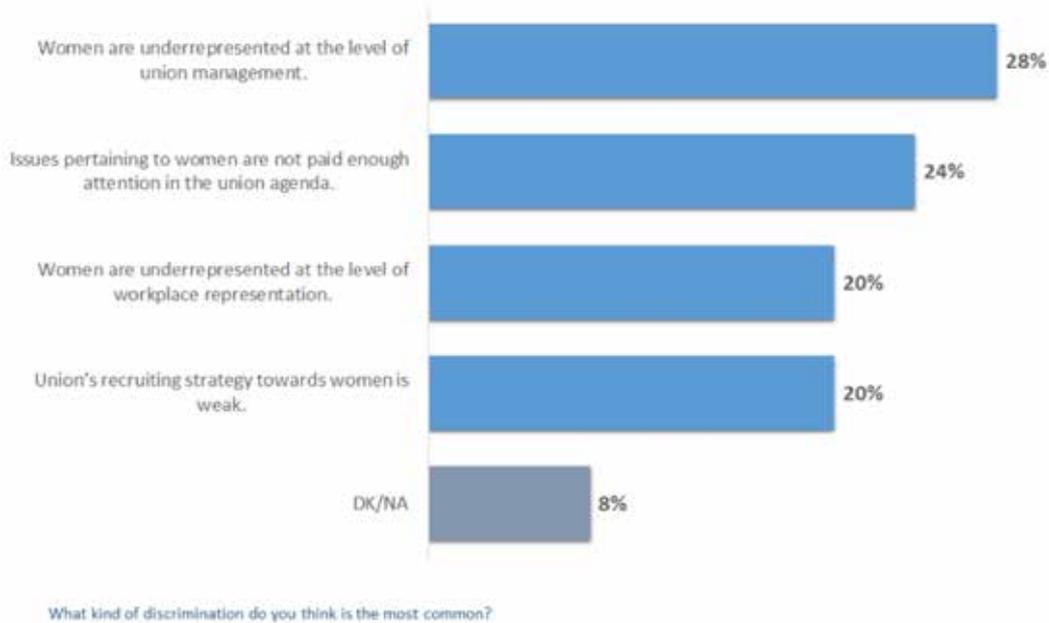
One-third of union members do not agree with the statement that the union management has sufficient knowledge. The perception of whether there is a gender-based discrimination in union life is an important question (Figure 51).

**Figure 51: Gender discrimination within own union**



It is seen from the answers that 70% of the respondents state that there is no gender-based discrimination. 15% emphasized that there might be discrimination but that it is not more than the “normal” course of working life. A small group (6%) stated that there is even more discrimination than in working life (the percentage of women who gave this answer was higher than men).

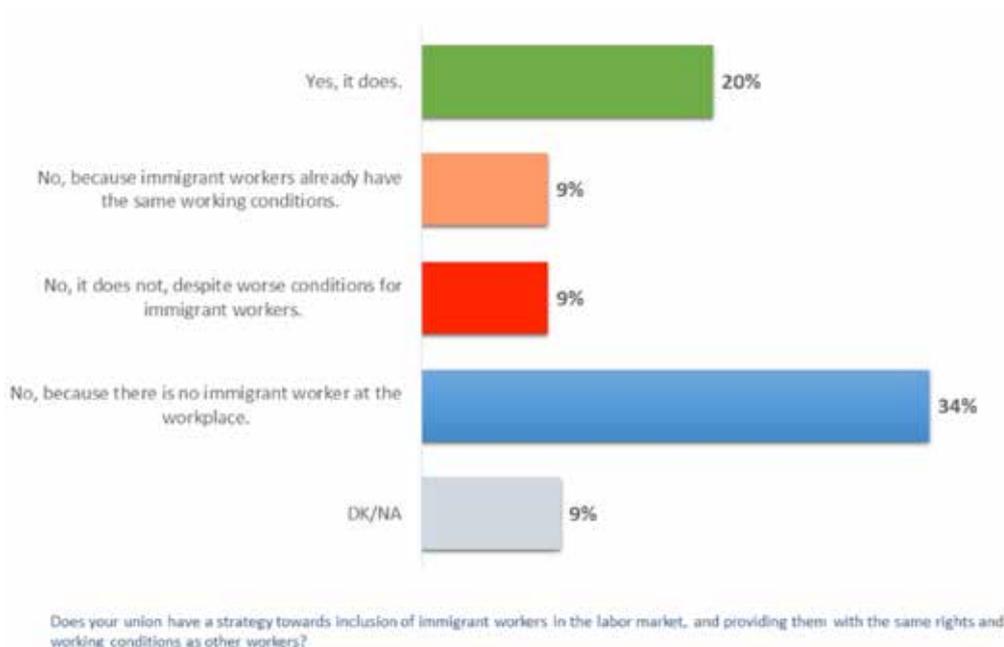
Figure 52: What are the types of discrimination?



When asked about the types of discrimination (Figure 52), all answers seem to fall between 20-30%. In the first place, obstacles to women’s participation in union management have been pointed out.

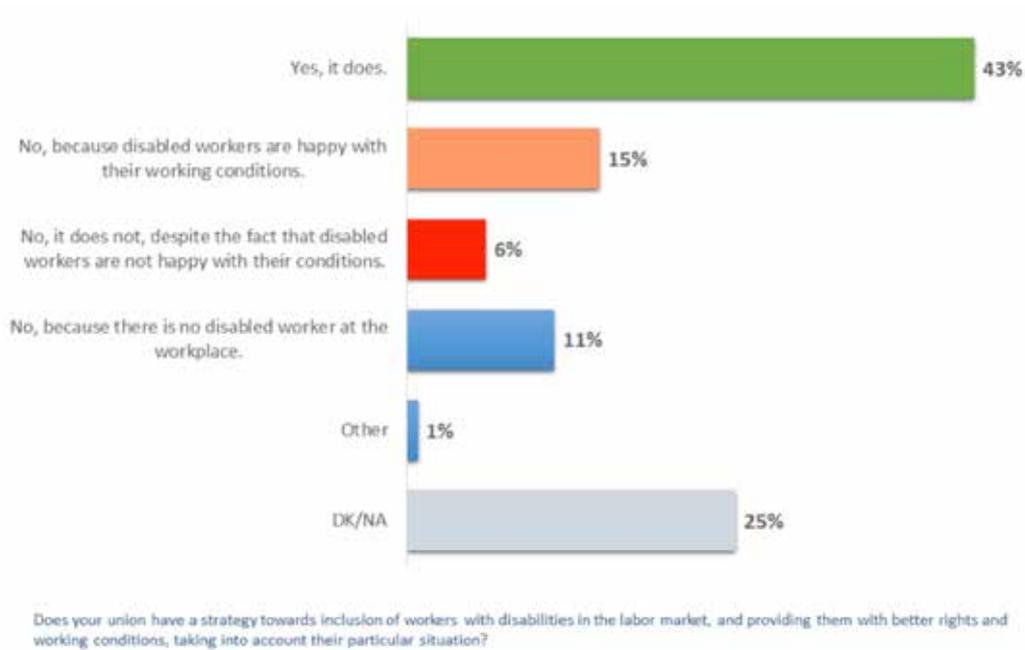
The following questions focus on the evaluation of unions’ approaches to immigrant workers and disabled people (Figure 53 and Figure 54).

Figure 53: Immigrant workers



When respondents who have no idea about the subject and those who do not have migrant workers at their workplace are excluded, about 16% of the union members stated that the unions keep silent against existing discrimination.

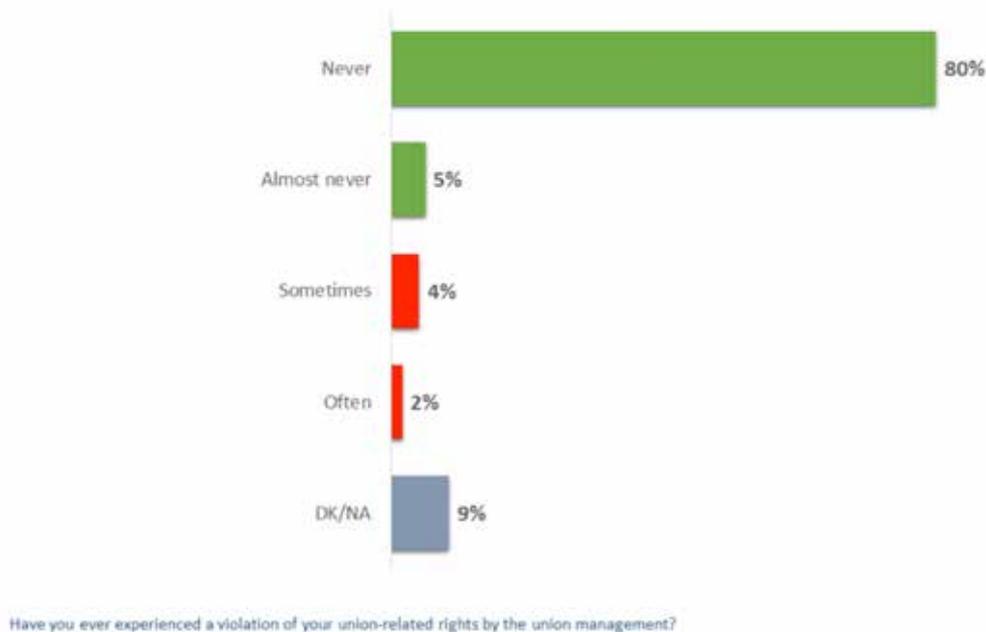
**Figure 54: Workers with disabilities**



Again, when respondents who do not have any idea about the subject and those who do not have migrant workers at their workplace are excluded, it is seen that approximately 9% of the union workers think that the unions do not show sufficient interest in the rights of disabled people.

The last question in this module aims to understand whether the survey participants have ever encountered a case where their union-related rights were violated by the union management (Figure 55).

**Figure 55: Have you ever encountered a case where own union-related rights were violated by the union management**

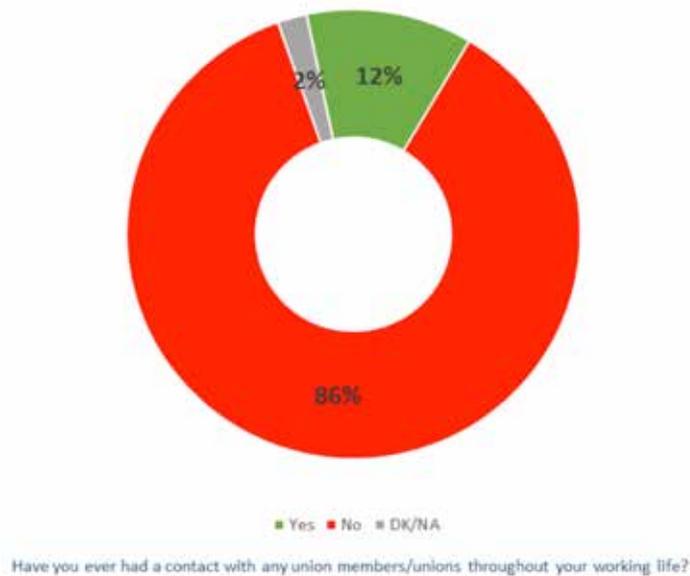


The findings of the question on the violations of union rights show that 80% of the union members did not experience a violation of their rights. Although the percentage of those who say they have been occasionally or frequently subjected to violations is low (6%), they should still be taken into consideration.

### 3.10. Working Population: Insured but not Union Members

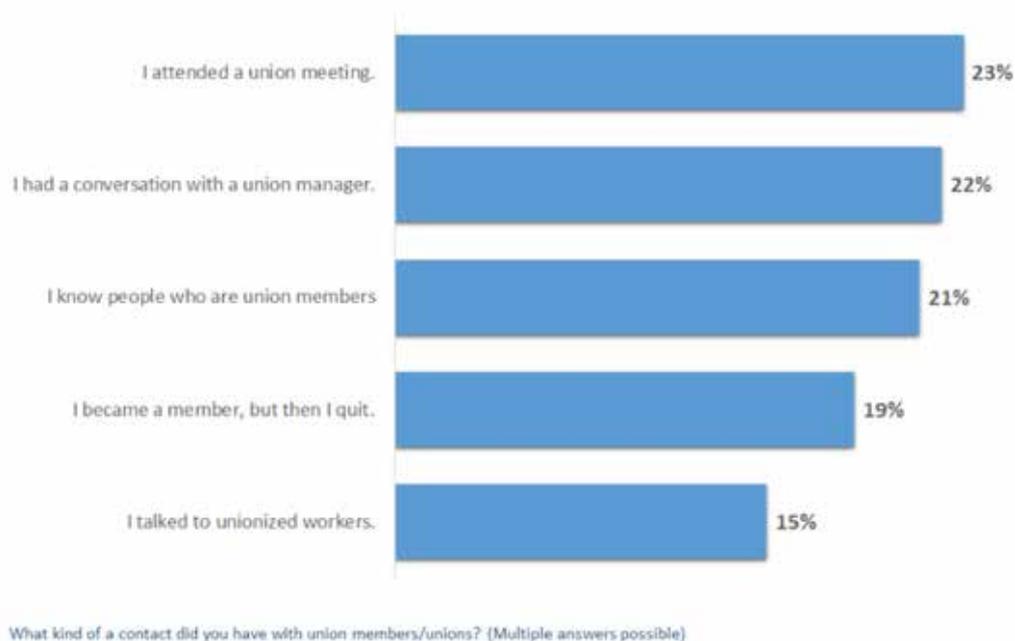
In this section, different dimensions of working life will be evaluated through the eyes of the working population who have social security coverage but are not members of a union. First of all, these people were asked whether they have had a contact with a union during their working life (Figure 56).

**Figure 56: Contact with unions**



It was found that only 12% of this segment has had contact with unions and unionists throughout their working lives. They were also asked about the nature of their contact (Figure 57).

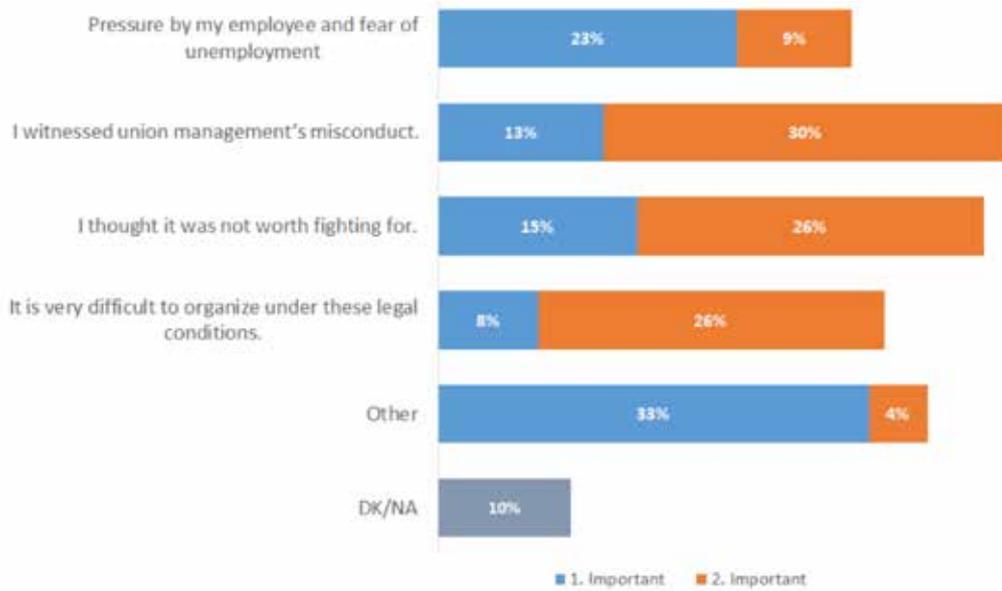
**Figure 57: The nature of contact with unions**



86% of covered but non-unionized workers stated that they had no contact with the unions. When we look at the answers given by those who had contact with the unions to the question of the nature of this contact, it is seen that there is not much of a difference in the selection of activities: Participating in a union meeting, meeting with a union

manager, and chatting with a union member. In the meantime, we understand that 19% of the respondents had previously been a member of a union but later left the union. To those who left the union, their reasons for doing so were asked (Figure 58). The options shown in the figure were given, and the respondent was asked to mark the two most important options.

**Figure 58: Reasons for quitting the union**

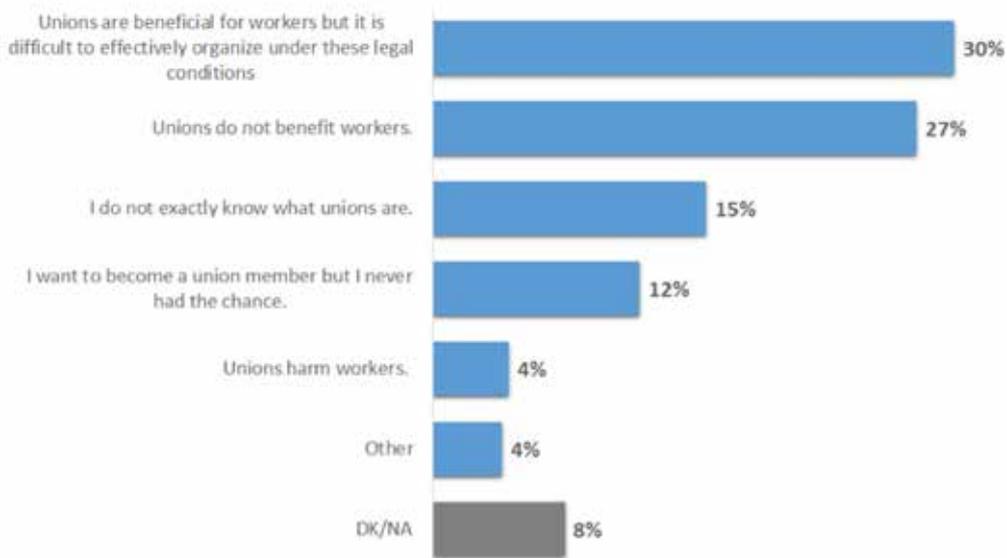


Why did you quit? Choose the most important 2 reasons.

When those who were a member of a union at one time in their working life were asked why they quit the union, employer pressure and fear of getting fired, witnessing misconduct by unionists, and little value assigned to the worth of the struggle stand out as the answers with the first and second level of importance when evaluated together.

In the study, we also wanted to get the general opinion on unions of those who are insured but are not members of a union (Figure 59).

**Figure 59: General opinion on unions**

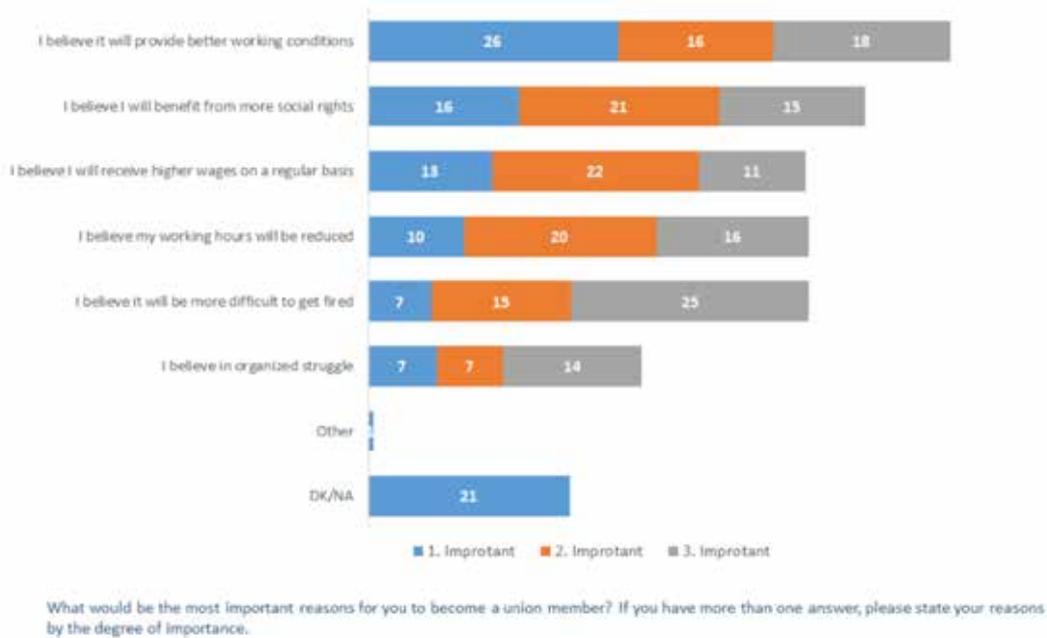


Which of the below best summarizes your opinion on unions?

## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

30% of the insured workers think that the unions are beneficial, while a similar sized group thinks the opposite. It is worth noting that a small percentage (12%) stated that they were thinking of becoming a union member, while 15% said that they did not know what it meant to be a union member. At this point, those who want to become a union member, but think that it is difficult in this environment were asked why they want to become a union member (Figure 60). Here, the options shown in the figure were presented, and the respondent was asked to rank the three most important reasons.

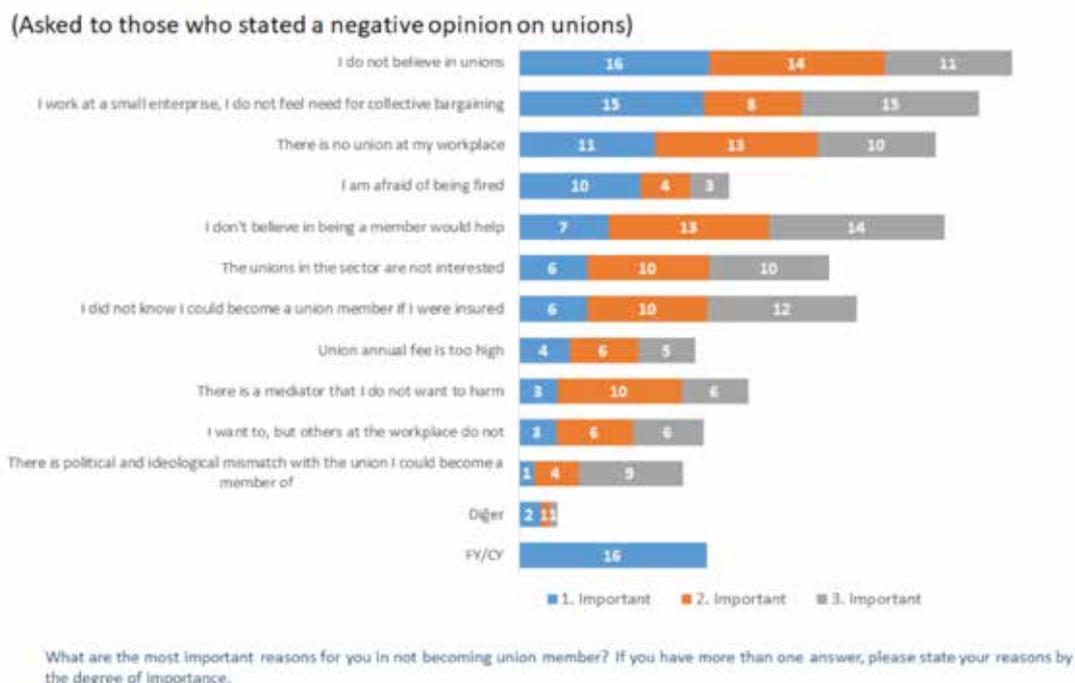
**Figure 60: Reasons for wanting to become a union member**



In the answers, improved working conditions, elimination of the risk of dismissal, and advantages related to social rights stand out. Higher wages are also mentioned.

Those who expressed negative opinions about the unions or those who said that they do not want to be become union members were asked the reasons for this (Figure 61). Of the options given and shown in the figure, the respondent was asked to rank the most important three.

**Figure 61: Reasons for not wanting to become a union member**

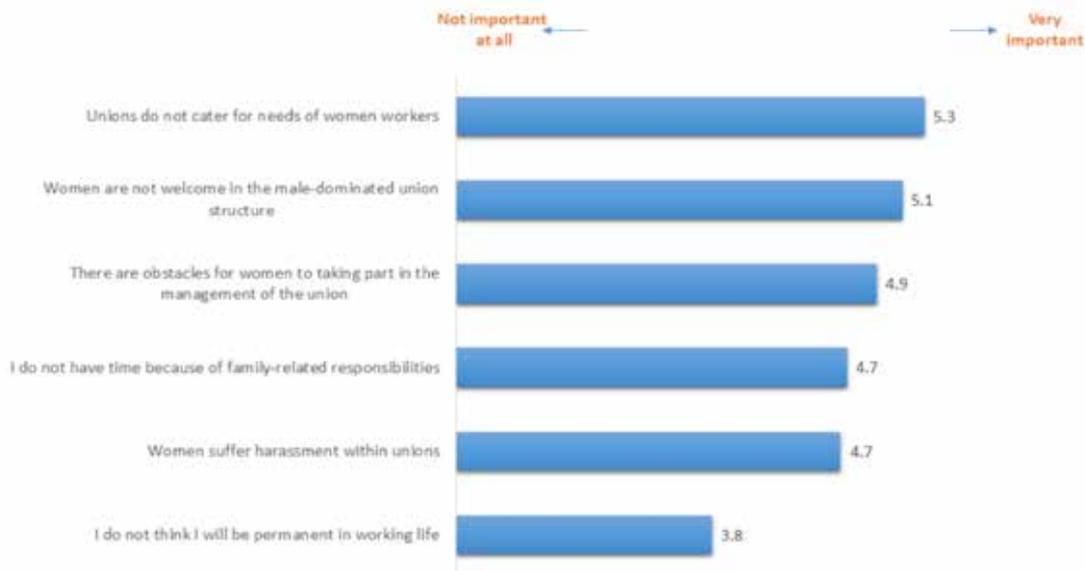


Among the answers given, distrust in unions, the lack of need for collective bargaining, the lack of an organized union at the workplace, and the fear of dismissal emerge as the most important four reasons that appear at the first place. When we look at the total marking rates, the fear of dismissal appears at the top of the list. Apart from this, there are many who think that becoming a union member will not benefit him/her.

As mentioned previously, union members were asked what they think might be the reason for non-unionized workers not to join a union, and the main reason expressed was fear of dismissal. The main reason for those who are insured but are not union members appears to be distrust in unions.

A more detailed question was asked to women who have social security coverage but are not union members (Figure 62). Here, a number of possible explanations shown in the figure were given, and the respondent was asked to give scores on a scale of 0-10.

**Figure 62: Reasons for women not wanting to become a union member**



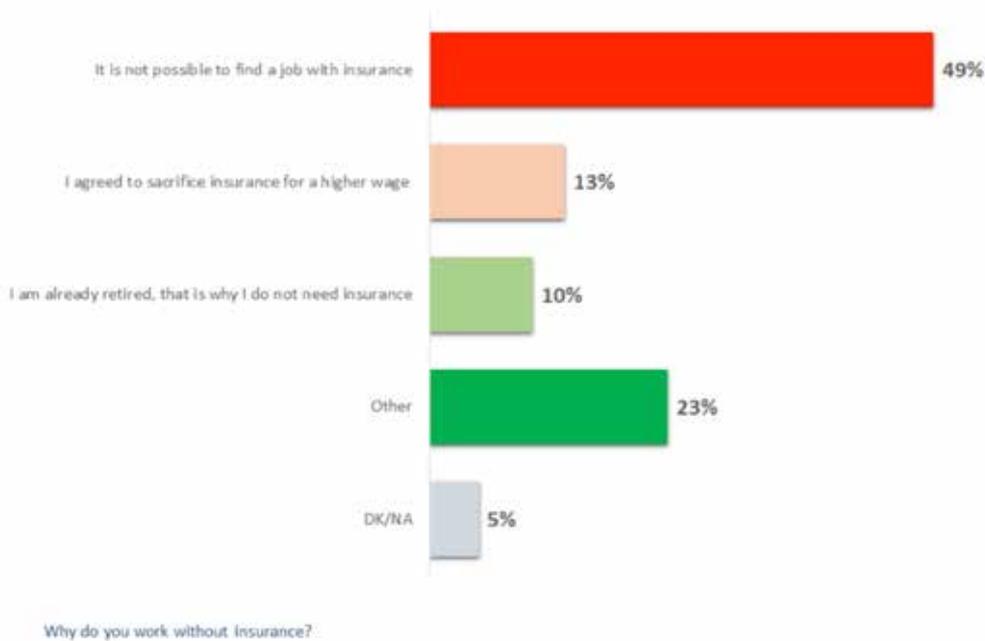
(This question is directed towards women only) How important the below reasons are for you in not becoming a union member?

We can see that the answers are around 5 points, which means “neither important-nor not important”. The alternatives mentioned do not indicate the existence of a strong gender-based problem for women. However, the fact that the answers did not come out around 0 point is a sign that sufficient attention is not paid to gender-based issues.

### 3.11. Working People: Without Coverage

In this section, the perspectives of informal working population on working life and union movement will be presented. The first question is about the reasons for working without coverage (Figure 63).

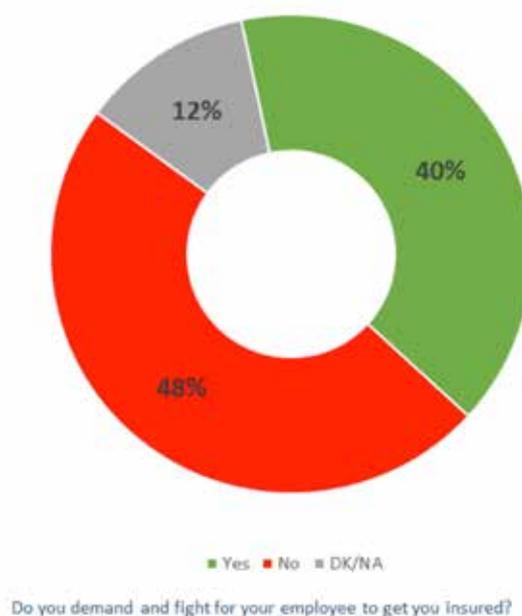
Figure 63: Reason for working without insurance



Half of the uninsured people said that they are not covered because they could not find a job with insurance. It can be seen that 23% of the people stated other reasons under the “Other” category. About 50% of this segment state that they do not have insurance because either they or their families own a business. Up to 25% stated that they just started a new job or were part-time students. Around 10% said that they are not insured because the employer does not offer it. Except for a small segment who are retired but still work, 13% said that they agreed to work without insurance in return for a higher wage than the wage they would get with insurance.

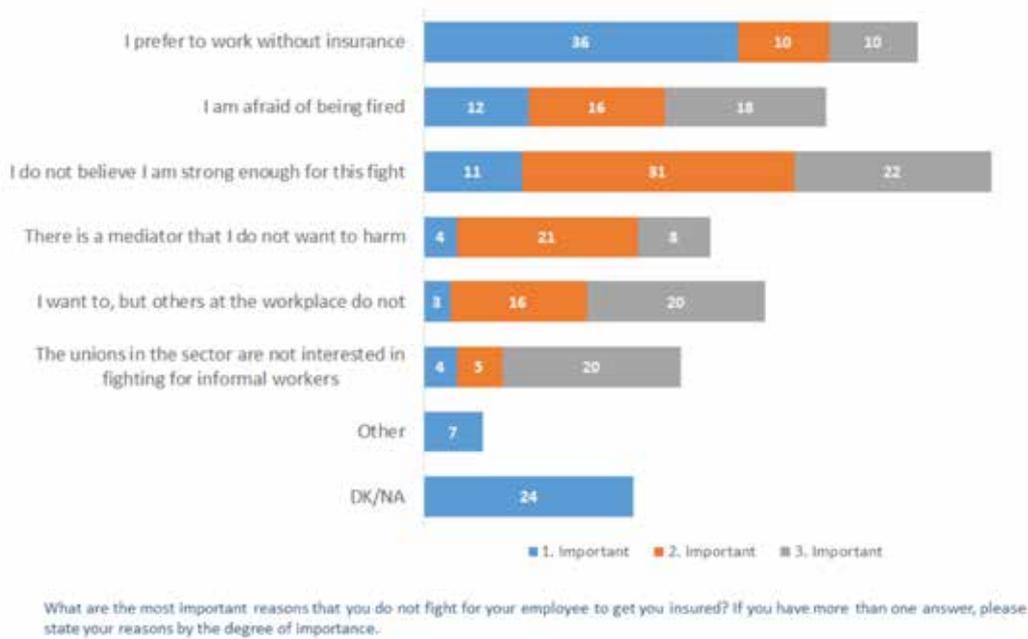
A question was also asked to see whether the respondent was trying at the workplace to become insured (Figure 64).

Figure 64: Struggle to become insured



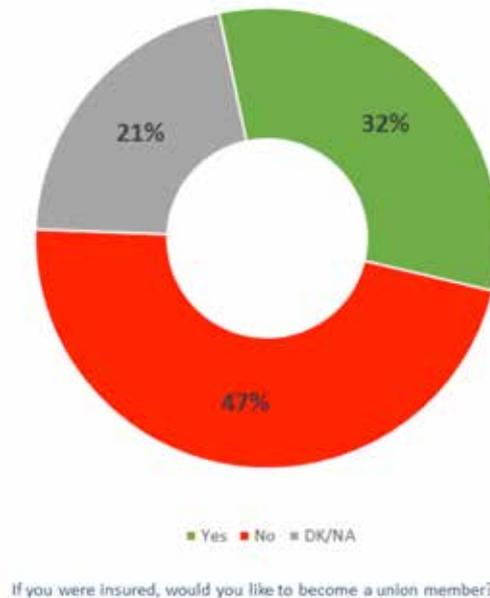
40% of the respondents said that they were struggling to get coverage, but a larger group (48%) said that they were not attempting it. The question that comes to mind at this point is why people who do not attempt to get insured. The respondent was asked to select the first three options shown in Figure 65.

Figure 65: Reasons for not attempting to get insured



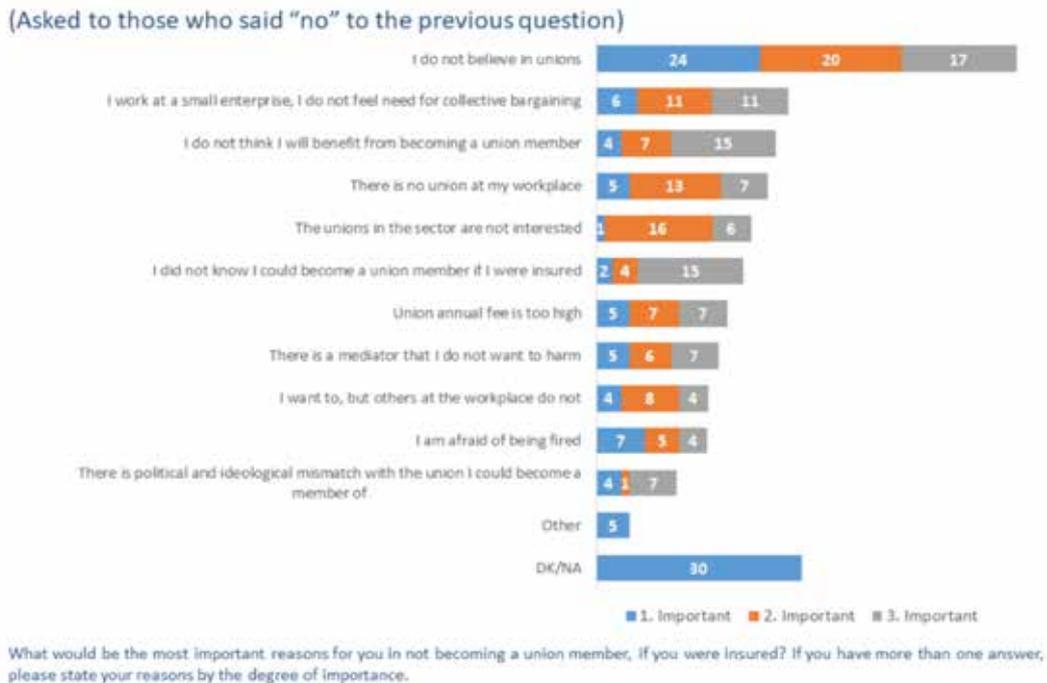
The proportion of those who believe that they are not strong enough for this struggle is the highest. However, when we look at the reason given the most importance, those who say that working without insurance is his/her preference comes in the first place. The following question was directed at respondents who had coverage on whether s/he would also become a union member (Figure 66).

Figure 66: If you were insured, would you like to become a union member?



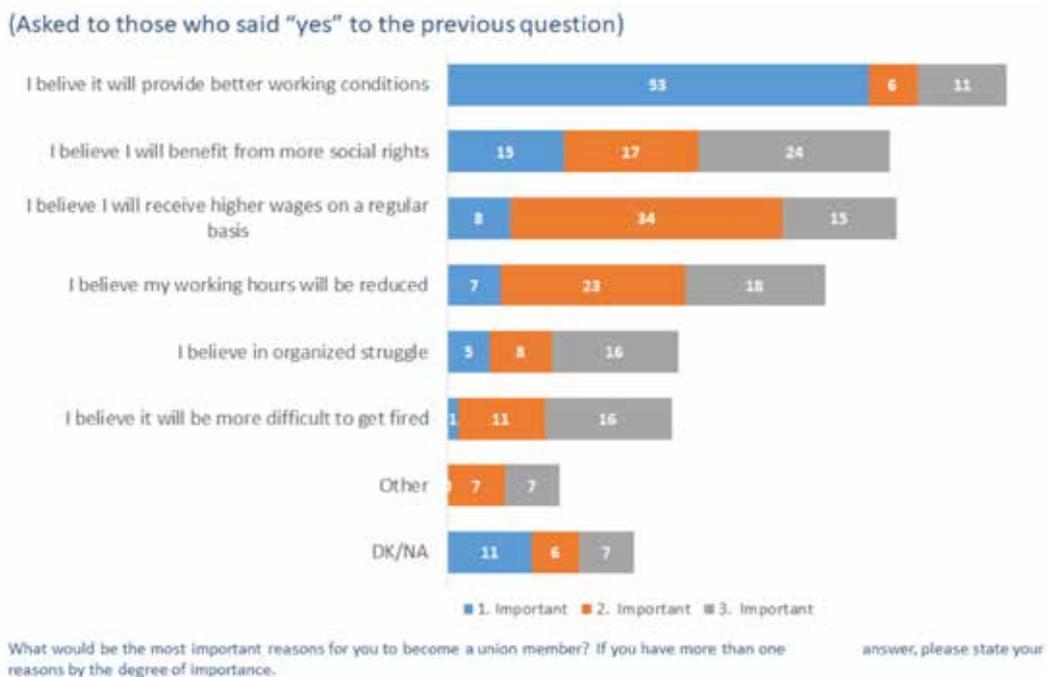
When asked if they would become a union member if they were insured, almost half of the responses were negative. When we look at the reasons given by the reluctant respondents, distrust in unions comes in the first place (Figure 67).

Figure 67: Reasons for not wanting to become a union member



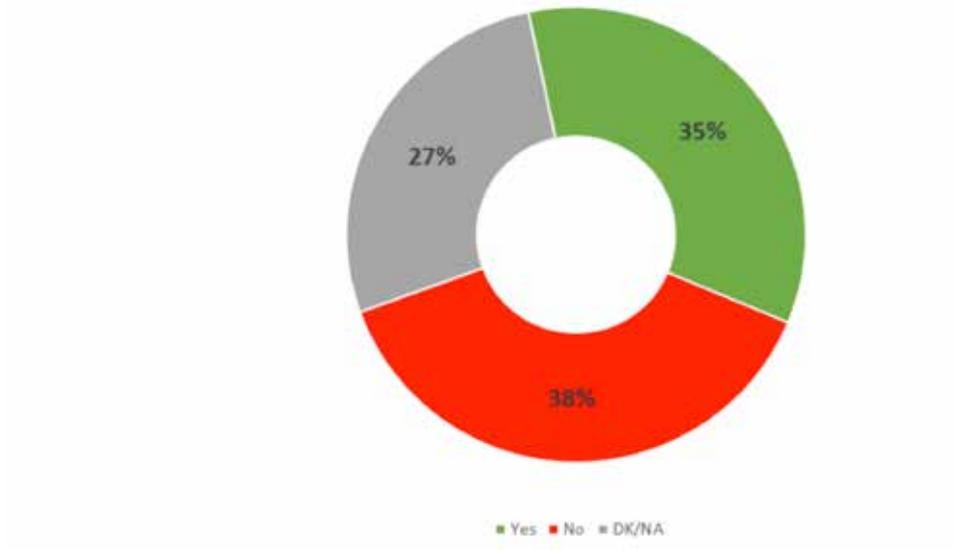
On the other hand, for respondents who said that if they were insured, they would also become union members (they were asked to rank the three important options presented and shown in the figure), their expectation for better working conditions, higher wages and more social rights for union members stand out as the first three important reasons (Figure 68). Both in Figure 67 and 68, it is seen that those who marked “No idea/No answer” option either work in a small family company or are self-employed persons (such as taxi drivers).

Figure 68: Reasons for wanting to become a union member



Our last question in this module is on whether respondents think that there is a difference at the workplace between them and the union members (Figure 69).

Figure 69: Is there a difference in working conditions of union workers and non-union worker



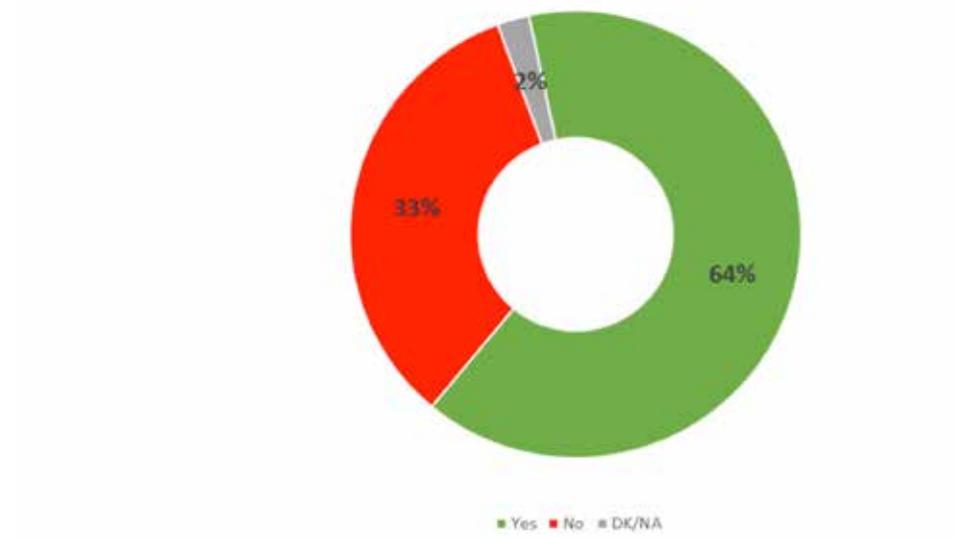
Do you think there is a significant difference in terms of working conditions between you and insured workers in your sector?

When the uninsured workers were asked whether there are any differences between them and the insured workers in the same workplace, it is seen that the ratio of those who answered “Yes” and the ratio of those who answered “No” are very close to each other. Considering the fact that there are those who choose to work without coverage (in return for a higher wage) and that there are workplaces with both insured and uninsured workers under the same roof, this is an expected result.

### 3.12. Social Dialogue

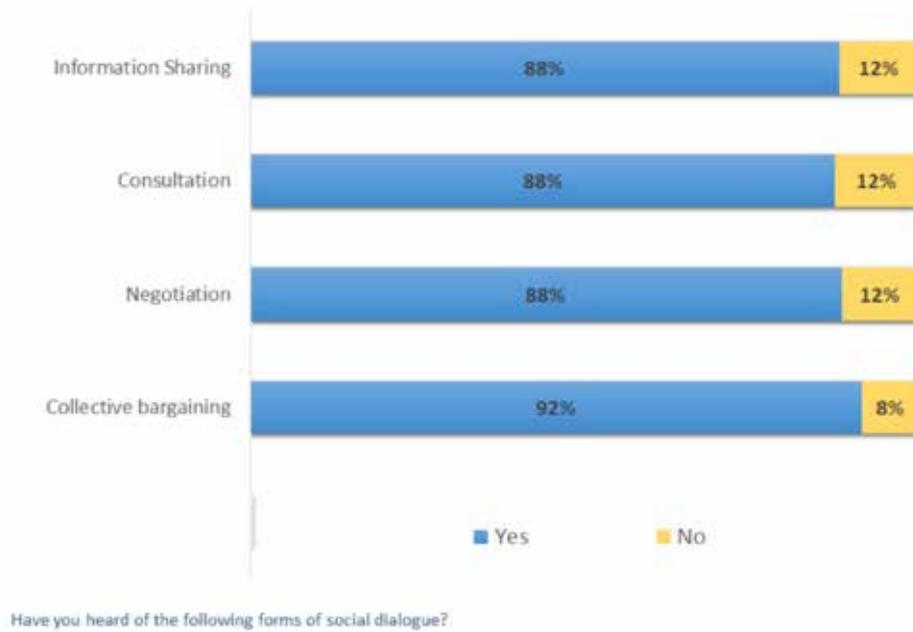
The first set of questions on social dialogue is about familiarity with this concept (Figure 70). After the concept was defined, the respondent was asked whether s/he had heard it or not, and close to two-thirds stated that they had heard this concept. With the next question (Figure 71), familiarity with different types of social dialogue was investigated.

Figure 70: Familiarity with the concept of “social dialogue”



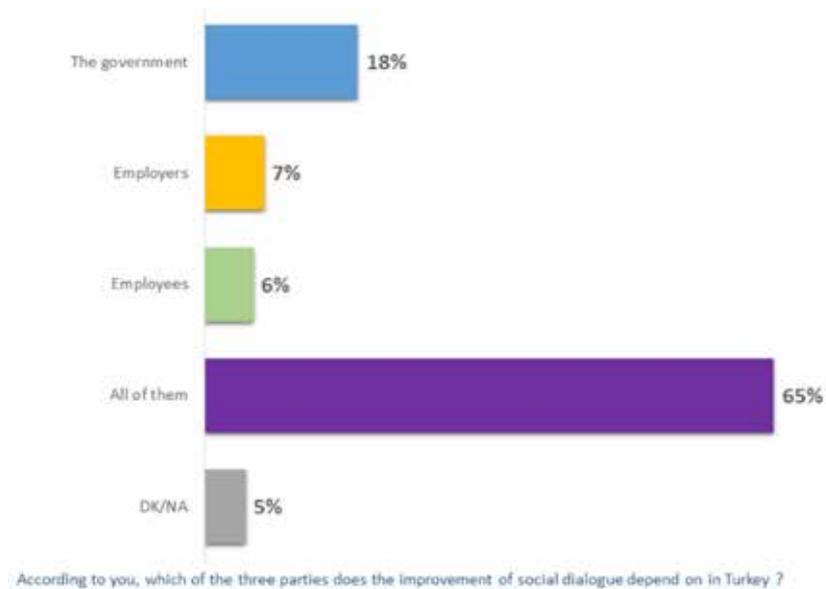
“Social dialogue” corresponds to all kinds of engagement of labour and employers, with sometimes the inclusion of the public authorities, to share information and resolve common problems of work, economy and social policy. Have you ever heard of this concept before?

Figure 71: Known forms of social dialogue



When we asked about the types of social dialogue they are familiar with, we see that all options—“information sharing”, “consultation”, “negotiation” and “collective bargaining”— are largely known.

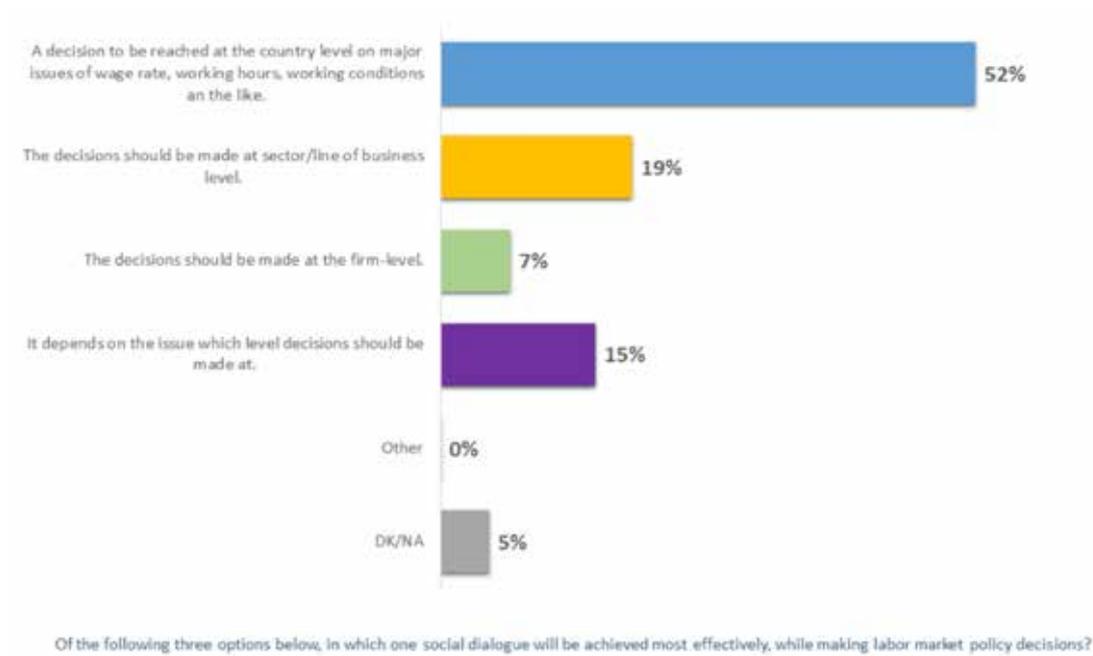
Figure 72: Which of the three parties is responsible for improving social dialogue



In Figure 72, the majority of the general public points to joint efforts of the three parties for improving social dialogue. Out of the three parties presented in other options, the major responsibility is assigned to the government.

The following question on the best way to achieve social dialogue was also asked (Figure 73).

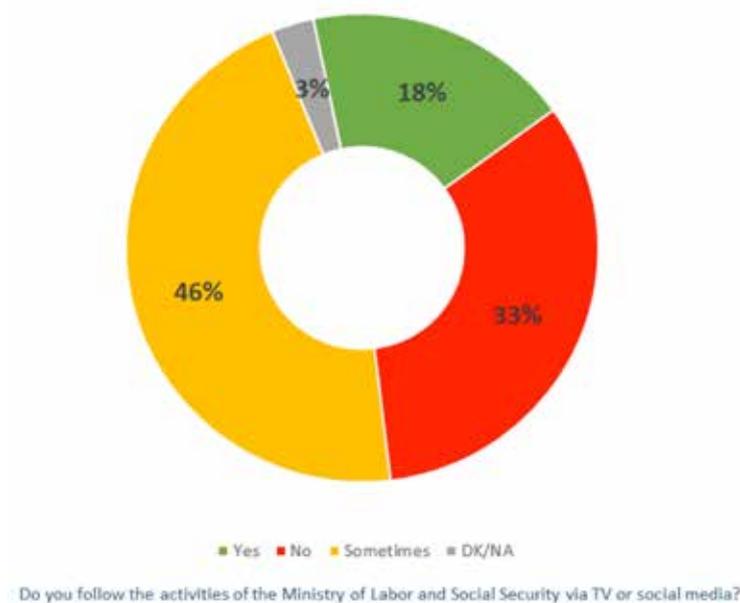
Figure 73: How can social dialogue be achieved



While half of the respondents representing the general public group expressed the opinion that social dialogue would improve with agreements across the country, one-third stated that the agreements could be made at the sector/business level, or that the level at which agreements take place might vary according to the issue.

Within the scope of the study, participants were also asked to what extent they follow the activities of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MoLSS)<sup>18</sup>, which has recently been re-organized as the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, as well as the activities of ILO (Figure 74 and 76). The question of “familiarity with ILO” was added in case ILO’s name was not known (Figure 75).

Figure 74: Following MoLSS activities



<sup>18</sup> Ministry of Labour and Social Security was changed to Ministry of Labour, Social Services and Family by the Presidential Decree on the Presidential Organization No. 1 dated 10/7/2018; it was then changed to Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoLSS) by the Presidential Decree on Amendments to some Presidential Decrees No. 15 dated 4/8/2018.

Figure 75: Familiarity with ILO

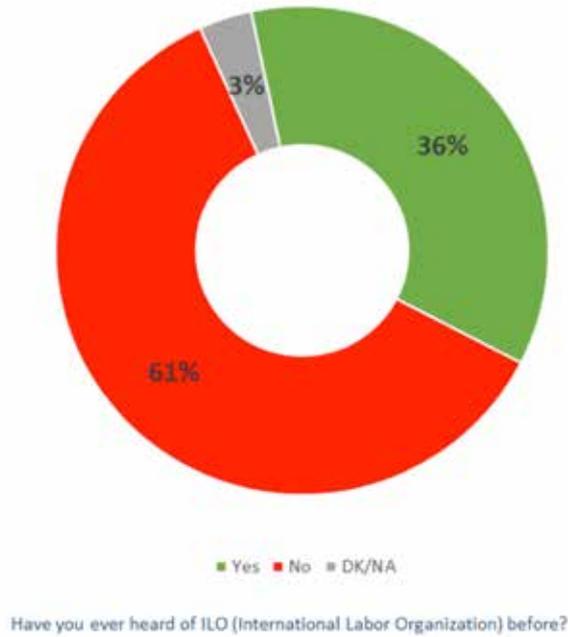
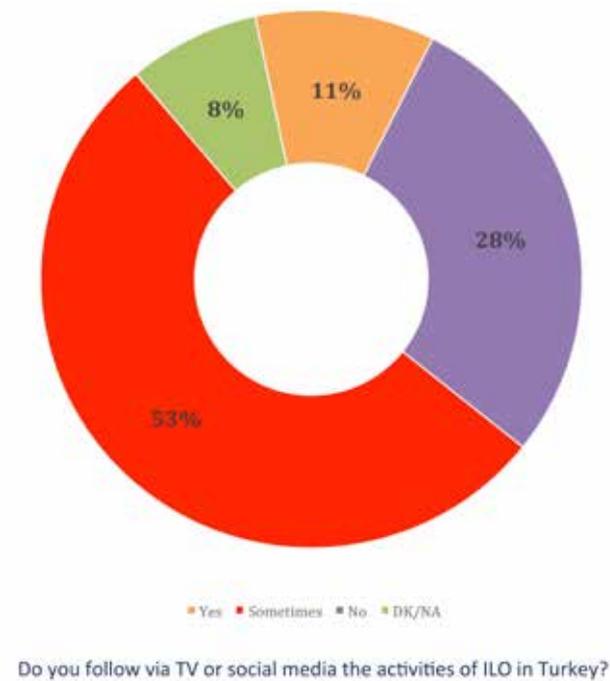


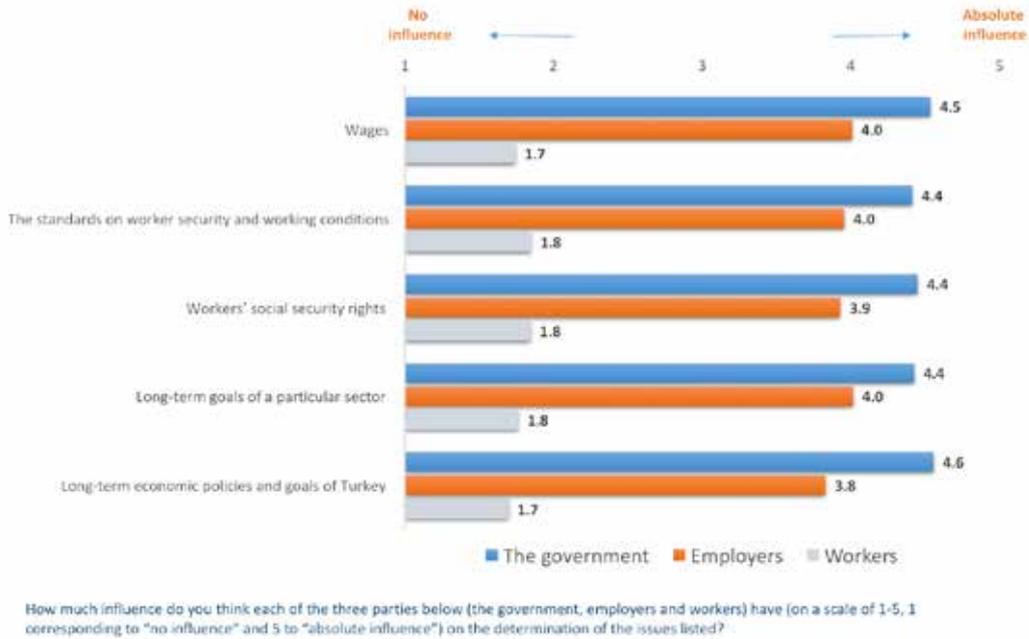
Figure 76: Following ILO's activities



18% of the respondents from general public group stated that they follow the activities of MoLSS, while 46% stated that they occasionally follow their activities. The rate of those who are familiar with ILO is 36%. The percentage of those who state that they follow ILO's activities is 11%, while the percentage of those who occasionally follow them is 53%.

Since it is important for social dialogue to be effective, it is useful to question to what extent the three mentioned social parties (government, employers, employees) could influence the working life in the eye of the general public (Figure 77).

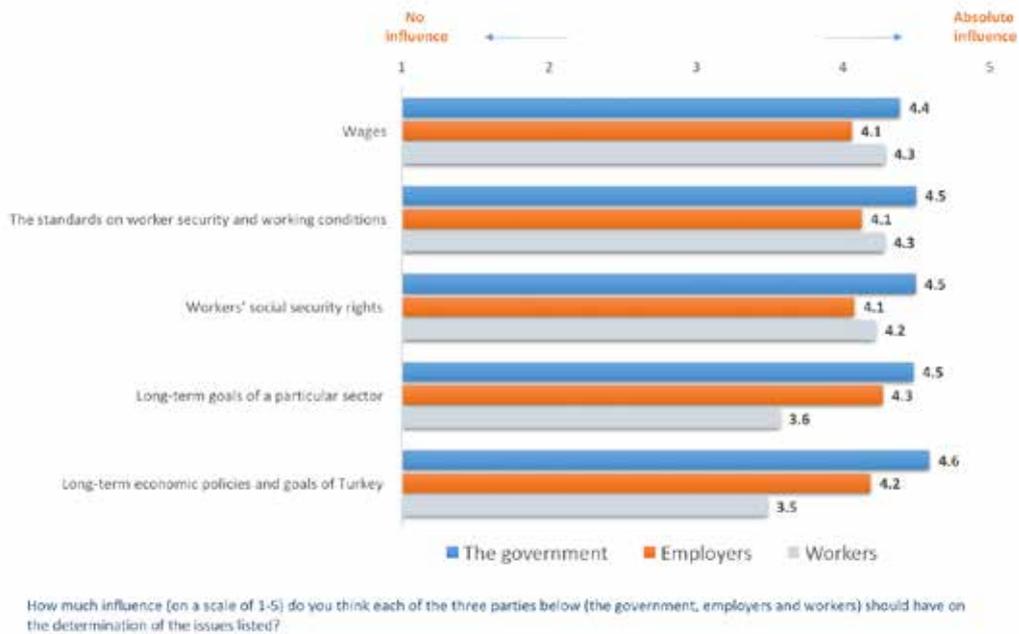
**Figure 77: The influence of the government, employers and employees on working life**



It is seen that the government, with a score of approximately 4.5 points on a 5-point scale, is perceived to have the maximum influence on the determination of wages, improvement of working conditions, provision of social security rights, sectoral planning and the design of long-term economic policy. This is followed by employers. The influence of employees is considered to be very low.

A question was also asked on how much influence these three actors should have on these issues (Figure 78). The fact that each issue received high scores reflects the belief of the public that with social dialogue many targets can simultaneously be reached.

**Figure 78: How should the government, employers and employees have influence on**

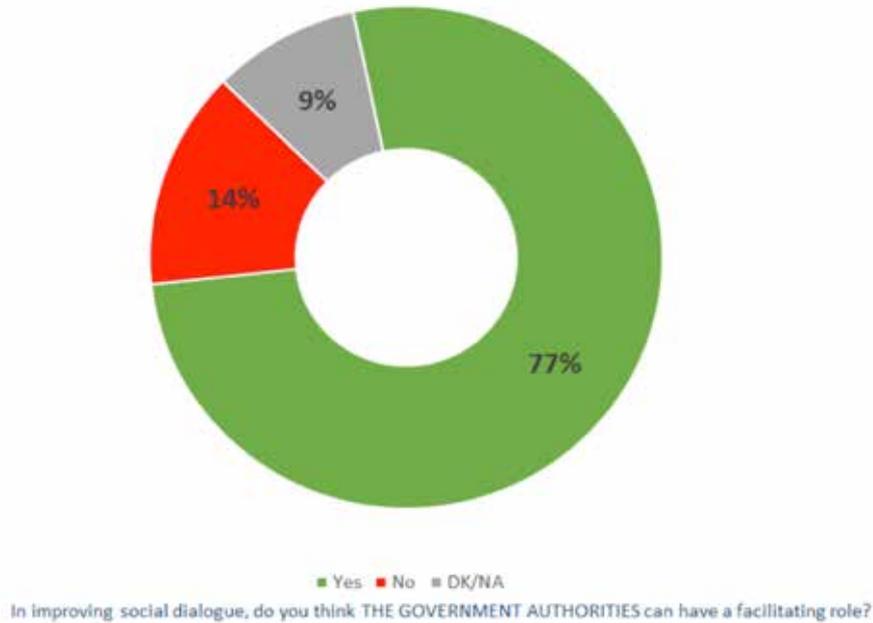


The public thinks that the three social partners should have an almost equal voice in the determination of wages, improvement of working conditions and provision of social security rights (approximately 4.5 out of 5). It pointed out that employers can have a smaller say in determining economic targets and long-term policies.

## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

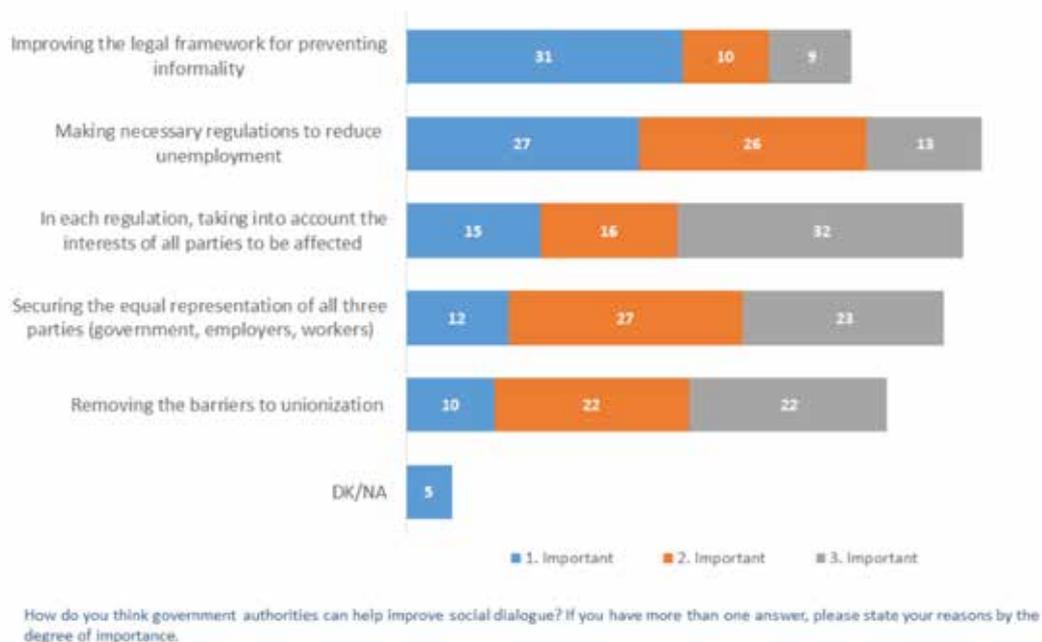
The study also included the question of whether or not government authorities can play a facilitating role in improving social dialogue (Figure 79).

**Figure 79: In improving social dialogue, do you think that the government authorities can have a facilitating role?**



As expected, more than three-quarters of the respondents say that the government authorities can play a facilitating role in improving social dialogue.

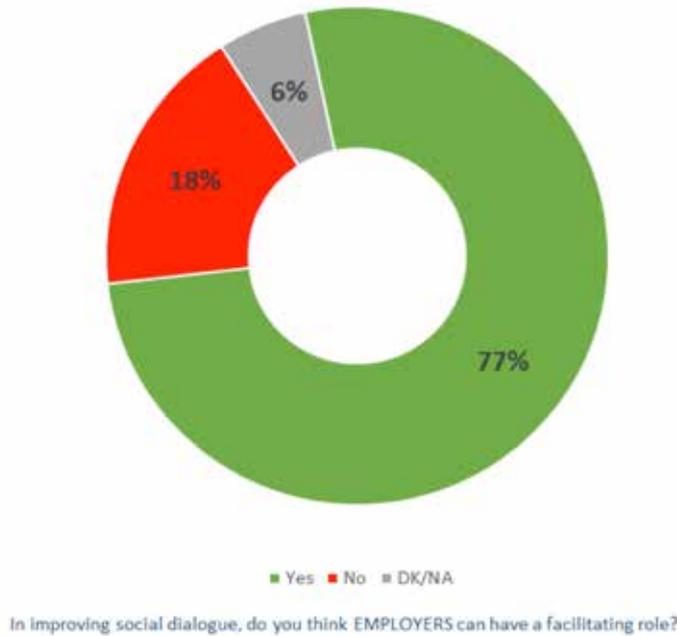
**Figure 80: Mechanisms by which the government authorities can improve social dialogue**



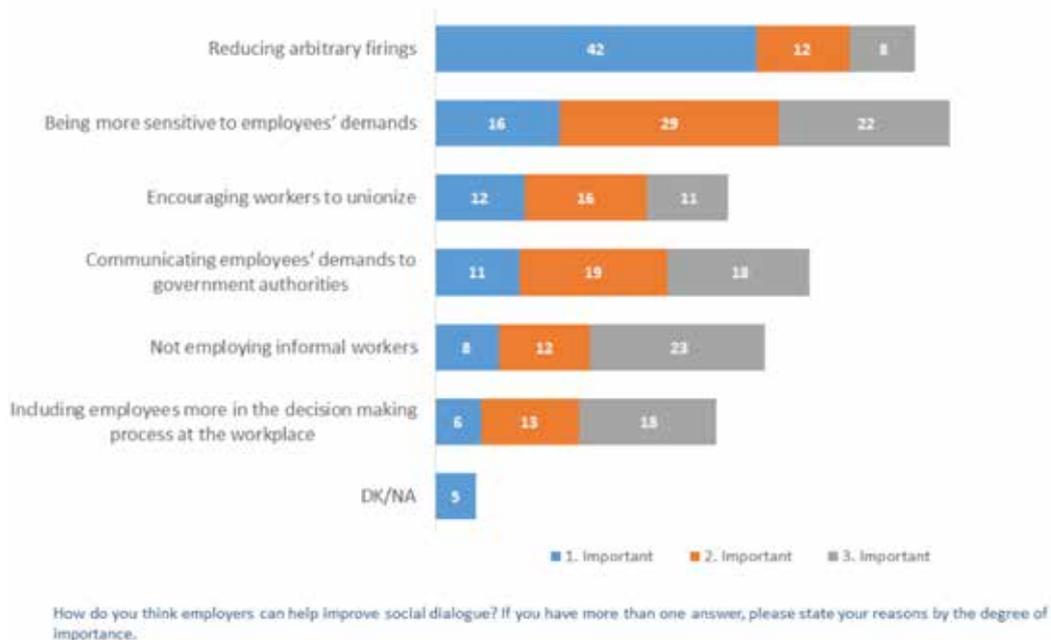
When asked how the government authorities can play a facilitating role (Figure 80), the measure "to reduce informality", marked by one-third as the first choice, stands out, followed by "making the necessary regulations to eliminate unemployment concerns" and "ensuring equal representation of the three parties in the dialogue process". Moreover, when we sort the options marked as the firstly, secondly and thirdly important by total marking rate, the suggestion to take worker and employer organizations more into consideration also seems to have a high rate.

The same two questions were asked in relation to employers (Figure 81 and Figure 82). The respondent was asked whether s/he thinks that the employers can play a facilitating role in improving social dialogue, and if the answer was yes, then s/he was asked how the employers can play this role.

**Figure 81: In improving social dialogue, do you think that the employers can have a facilitating role?**



**Figure 82: Mechanisms by which the employers can improve social dialogue**



Nearly the same ratio of respondents who believe that the government can play a facilitating role stated that the employers could also play this role. When those who stated that the employers could also play a facilitating role were asked how this should transpire, the most prominent option was the reduction of arbitrary dismissals. When the first, second or third ranked options were sorted by total rates, the option of being more sensitive to the employees' problems appears to be the favourite mechanism.

Similarly, the respondent was asked whether s/he thinks that the unions can play a facilitating role in improving social dialogue, and if the answer was yes, then s/he was asked how the unions can play this role (Figure 83 and Figure 84).

Figure 83: In improving social dialogue, do you think that the worker unions can have a facilitating role?

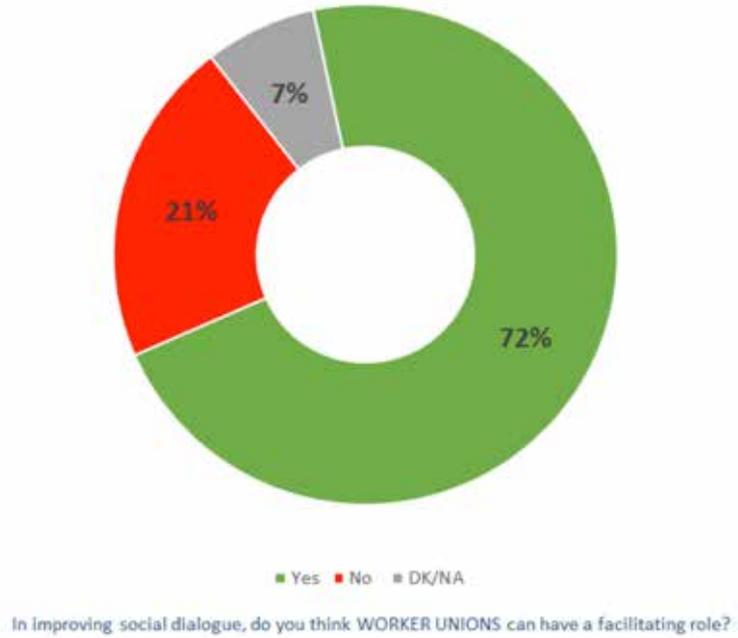
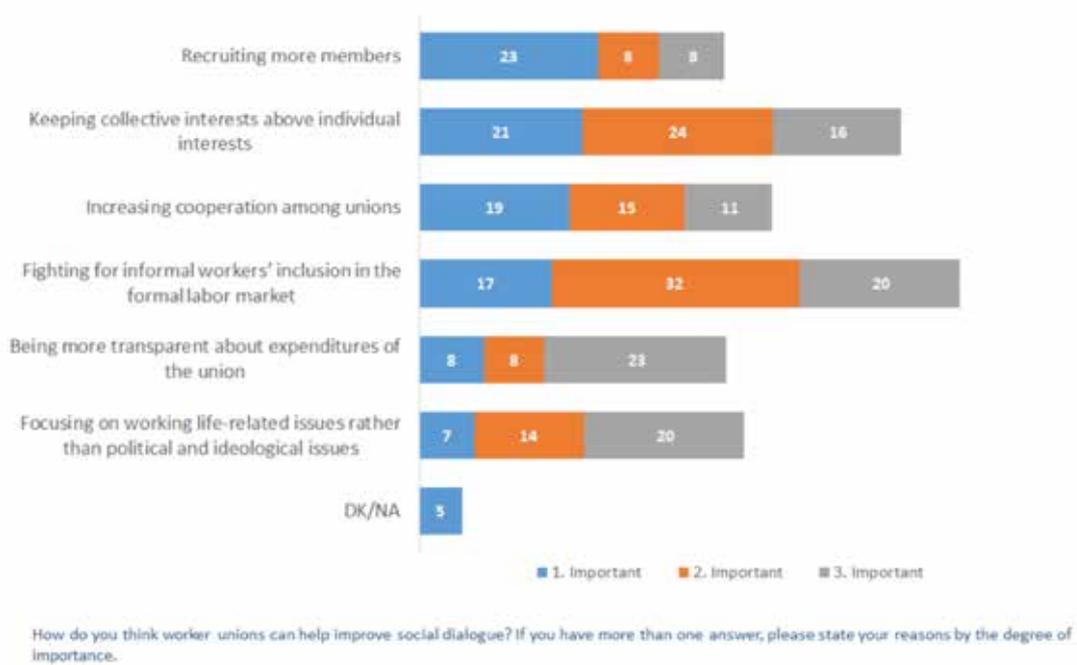


Figure 84: Mechanisms by which the worker and public servant unions can improve social dialogue

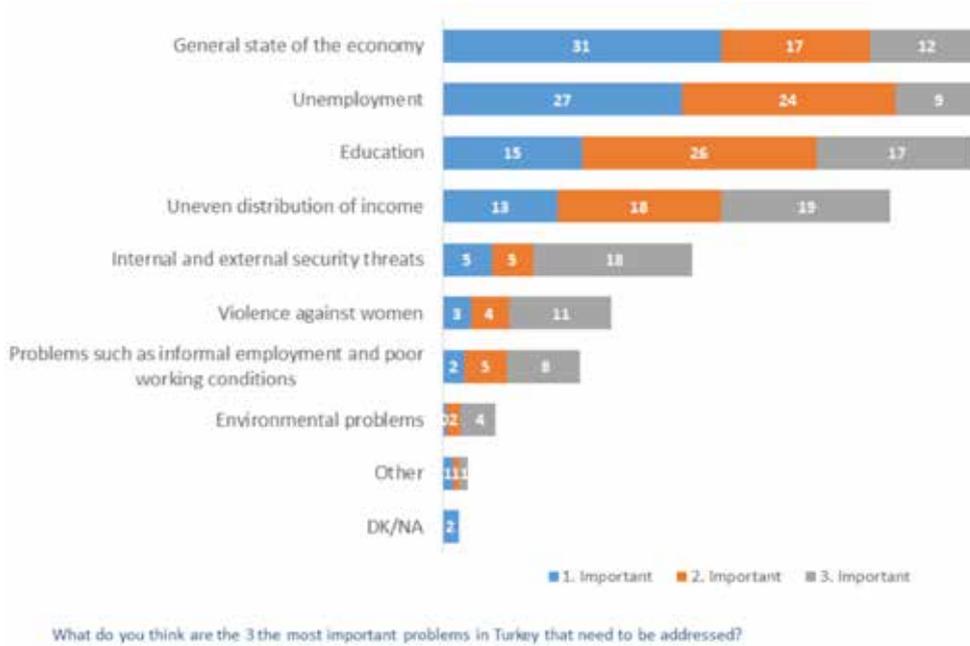


Although most of the public believes in the unions' role in facilitating social dialogue, the proportion of those who responded positively to this question is less than those who attributed a positive role to the government and the employers. When those who believe that the unions can play a facilitating role were asked about the kind of mechanisms through which this can be done, the first two options according to the rates of total attributed importance are increasing the level of unionisation through the reduction of informality and keeping collective interest above individual interests within the union. According to the rates of most attributed importance, making efforts to recruit more members comes in the first place.

3.13. General Problems of the Country, Labour Market and Employees

In this module; a series of questions were designed about the general problems of the country, the labour market and the employees. The first question is about the most important problems in Turkey that need to be resolved. Here, a series of issues shown in the figure were listed, and the respondent was asked to rank the first three important problems (Figure 85).

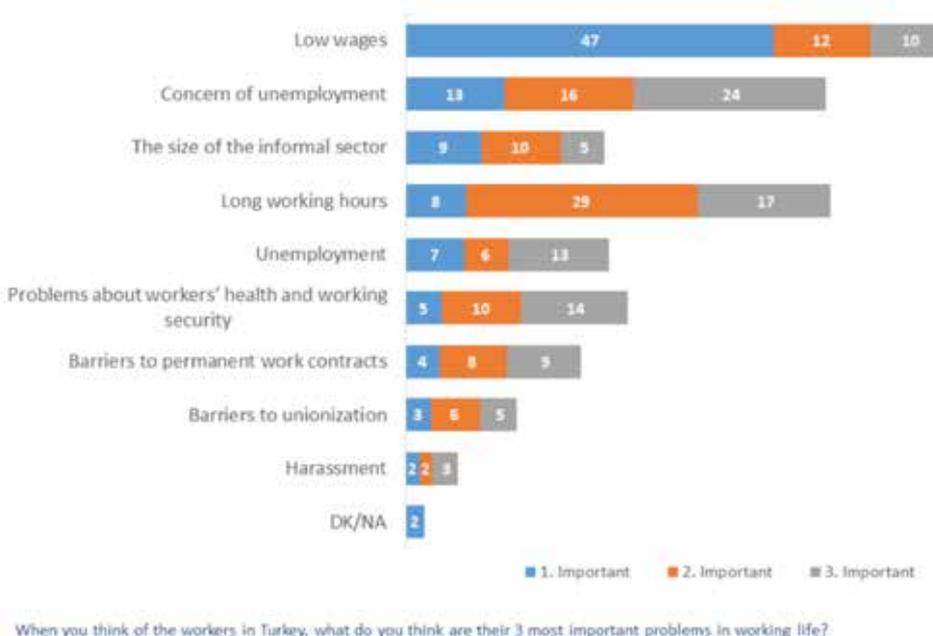
Figure 85: The most important problems in Turkey that need to be solved



In the opinion of the group representing the general public, the most important problems in Turkey are related to the course of the economy. This problem is ranked as the most important as well as being included in the choices of the second and third most important. These are followed by unemployment, education, and injustices related to the distribution of income.

The following question focuses on the perception of problems in working life (Figure 86).

Figure 86: The most important problems in working life

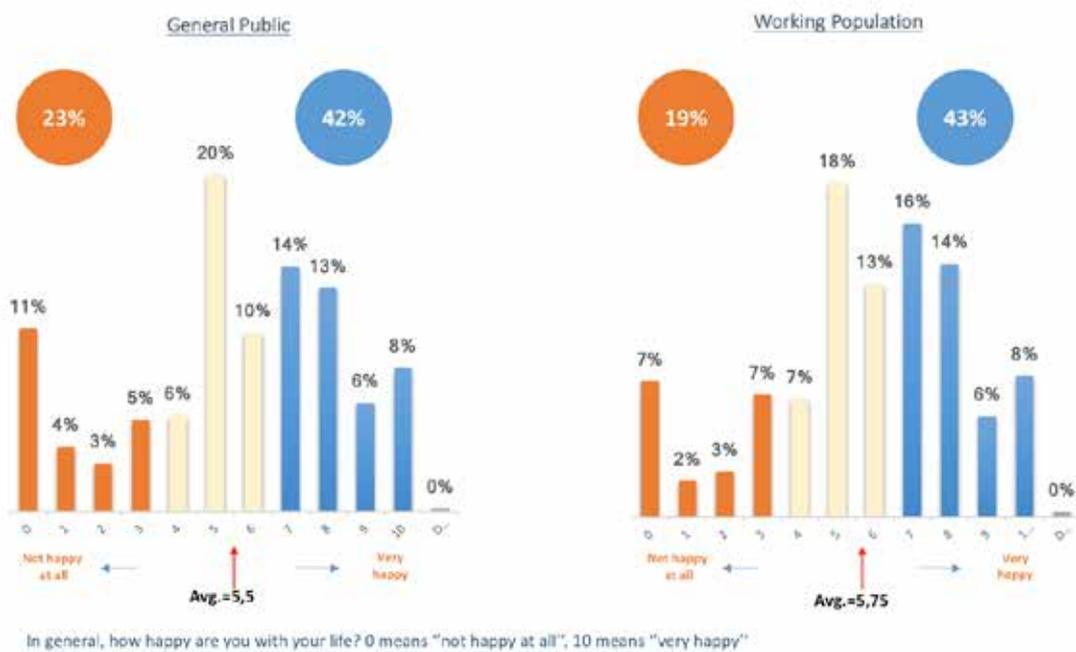


## Perception on Social Dialogue in Turkey: The Viewpoints of General Public, Employees and Relevant Actors

Among the most important problems of working life, level of low wages is frequently mentioned. This is followed by concerns about dismissal and long working hours. It can be concluded that these three problems are the most important issues to be addressed in the process of social dialogue.

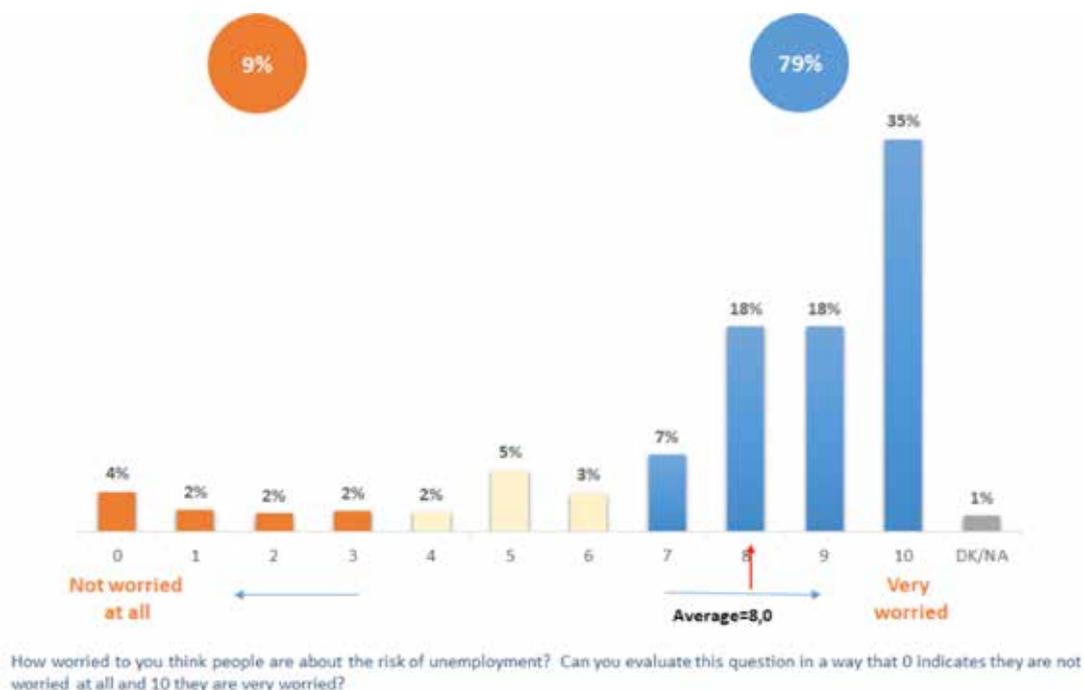
A question was also asked about general life satisfaction. As can be seen from Figure 87, within the framework of the answers given to the question on a 0-10 scale, life satisfaction is above 5 points.

**Figure 87: Life satisfaction**



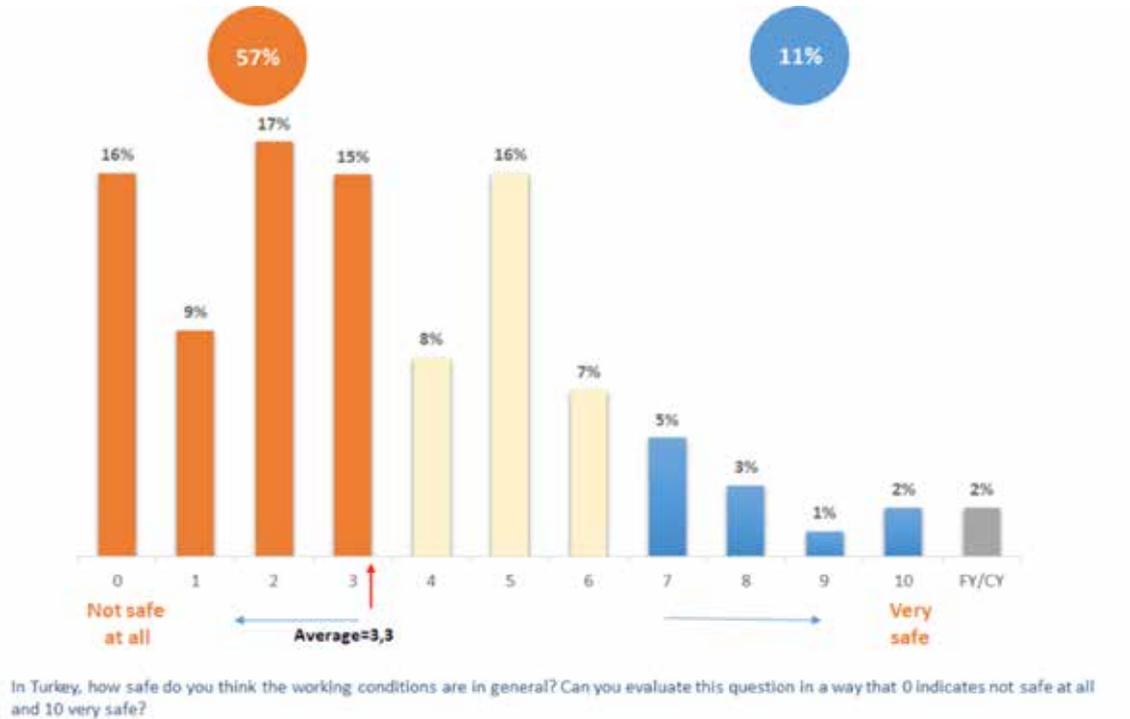
Within the scope of the study, a question was also asked on how worried the employees are about becoming unemployed (Figure 88).

**Figure 88: How worried are the employees about becoming unemployed?**



With an average score of 8 on a scale of 1 to 10, the general public thinks that employees in Turkey are highly worried about becoming unemployed. The ratio of those who believe that people are worried above average goes up to 79%. A question was also directed on the safety of the working conditions e.g. the risk of accidents (Figure 89).

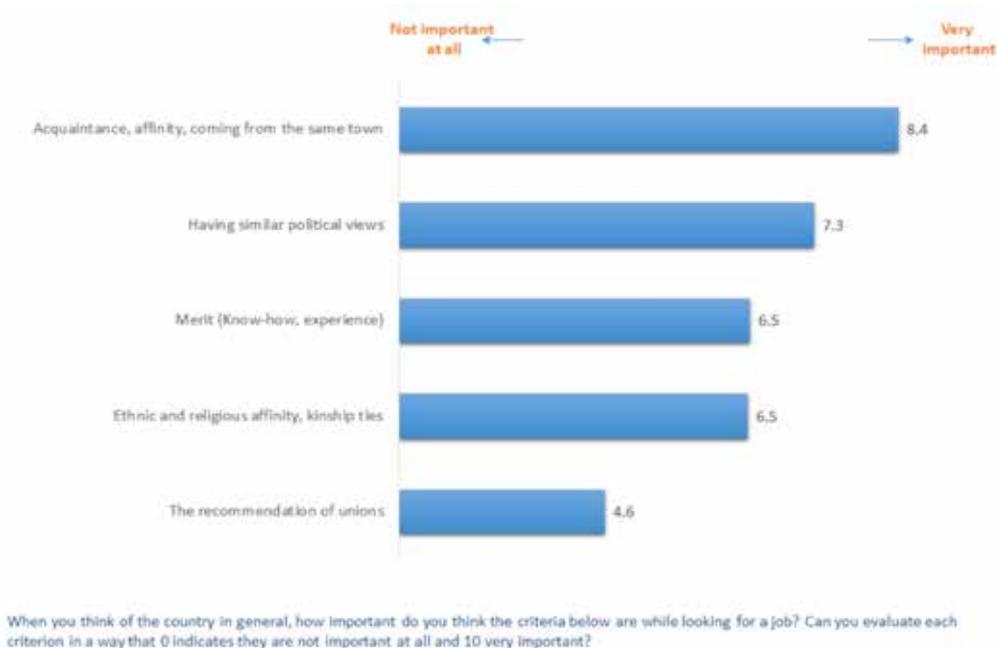
**Figure 89: How safe are the working conditions?**



57% of the group representing the general public think that working conditions are not safe (by giving a score between 0-3 on a 0-10 scale). The public finds the working conditions as safe as only with an average of 3.3 points out of 10.

Another important dimension in working life is recruitment (Figure 90). To understand recruitment criteria, a number of explanations were provided, and the respondent was asked to give a score to each option on a 0-10 scale.

**Figure 90: Recruitment criteria in Turkey**



We observe that the respondents find acquaintance/coming from the same town/affinity and having similar political views as the two most important criteria. Recruitment by employee merit is seen as the third influential factor following the first two criteria. However, ethnic and religious affinity has the same score as merit. Finally, it is seen that the respondents think that the recommendation of the unions, with a score below 5 points, is only slightly taken into account.

### 3.14. Analysis Results for the Field Research

When we analyse the questions that we think are critical in the survey, we have reached the following results:<sup>19</sup>

**Table 2: Factors that determine the attitude on unions and social dialogue from the point of general public**

|                  | Do you know what "unions" are? | Do you think unions are strong enough in working life? | Have you heard of "social dialogue"? | How worried are employees about the risk of unemployment in Turkey? | How safe are working conditions in Turkey? |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| Sex (Male)       | ↗                              | ≈  | ↗                                    | ↘   | ≈  |
| Age              | ↗                              | ≈  | ↗                                    | ↗   | ≈  |
| Education Level  | ↗                              | ↗  | ↗                                    | ↗   | ↘  |
| Working People   | ↗                              | ≈  | ↗                                    | ≈   | ≈  |
| Household Income | ↗                              | ≈  | ↗                                    | ↘   | ≈  |
| Wealth           | ≈                              | ↗  | ≈                                    | ≈   | ≈  |

The rate of familiarity with the unions seems to be higher among males, older people, working people, and people with high household income. Level of wealth does not affect familiarity with unions.

The rate of familiarity with the concept of social dialogue reveals a similar relation to the same variables: males, older people, working people, and people with high household incomes are more familiar with the concept of social dialogue.

The percentage of those who believe that unions have a strong presence in working life only increases as the levels of education and wealth increase. In other words, those who are more educated and have a higher level of wealth think that unions have a stronger presence in working life. There is no significant difference between women and men, active and inactive people, elderly and young, those with high household income and those with low household income.

Men and people with higher household income think that the workers in Turkey are less worried about becoming unemployed. At the same time, as age progresses and the level of education increases, it is thought that the workers are more worried about unemployment. The fact that more educated and more experienced people are more concerned with the reality of unemployment and that they are more familiar with the problems of working life may be an explanation for this situation.

Similarly, as the level of education increases, the working conditions on average in Turkey are considered to be more insecure. This may also be due to the fact that more educated people are more familiar with the working life and its problems.

<sup>19</sup> Household income was normalized according to the family size. The wealth level is defined as the value of the factor analysis on the family's wealth.

When the same questions were asked to the working population and analysed with the following additional variables related to working life, the following table emerges.

**Table 3: Factors that determine attitudes on unions and social dialogue from the point of working population**

|                       | Do you know what "unions" are? | Do you think unions are strong enough in working life? | Have you heard of "social dialogue"? | How worried are employees about the risk of unemployment in Turkey? | How safe are working conditions in Turkey? |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| Sex (Male)            | ≈                              | ↘  | ≈                                    | ↘   | ≈  |
| Age                   | ↗                              | ≈  | ↗                                    | ≈   | ≈  |
| Education Level       | ↗                              | ↗  | ↗                                    | ↗   | ↘  |
| Household Income      | ≈                              | ≈  | ≈                                    | ≈   | ≈  |
| Wealth                | ≈                              | ≈  | ≈                                    | ≈   | ≈  |
| Work Status/ Sector   | ≈                              | ↘<br>Day-to-day/<br>Casual                             | ↘ Employers                          | ≈   | ≈  |
| Personal Income       | ≈                              | ≈  | ↗                                    | ↘   | ≈  |
| Years in Working Life | ↗                              | ≈  | ≈                                    | ≈   | ↘  |
| The Insured           | ≈                              | ≈  | ≈                                    | ≈   | ↗  |
| Union Members         | ↗                              | ↗  | ≈                                    | ≈   | ↗  |

As age, education level and the time spent in working life increase, the rate of familiarity with unions increases. Naturally, the union members know more about what unions are.

Active men believe less than active women that the unions have a strong presence. As expected, casual/day-to-day workers and people who do piece-work are less convinced that the unions have a strong presence. The more educated people and union members believe more that the unions have a strong presence.

People with higher age, household income and individual income are more familiar with the concept of social dialogue. An interesting finding of this module is the fact that employers are less familiar with the concept of social dialogue than the other sector employees. However, this result may also be understandable considering that in Turkey there are many small business owners who do not feel the need for social dialogue mechanisms due to their small number of employees.

As is the case in the general population, men in the working population believe that workers are less worried about becoming unemployed. Similarly, as the level of education increases, the number of people who believe that such a concern exists increases. Another finding related to this question is that workers with low individual incomes are more likely to say that they are worried about unemployment. This result is understandable given the fact that workers with lower wages generally have a lower job security.

As the level of education increases in the working population, working conditions are considered to be less secure as is the case for the general population. This may also be due to the fact that more educated people are more familiar with the working life and its problems.

In addition, those who have spent a longer period of time in working life state that working conditions are on average less secure. Finally, insured workers and union members state that working conditions are safer.



## Chapter 4. Qualitative Study

### 4.1. Methodology

In order to support the survey data, a qualitative research was conducted based on in-depth interviews with representatives of social dialogue institutions. The method of this research, as in the quantitative part, was discussed and finalized in the advisory board. The qualitative research questions relate to why in Turkey unionisation rates are weak, the effectiveness of social dialogue, and what can be done to improve them. For this purpose, in the spring of 2018, in-depth interviews were conducted with the representatives of social dialogue institutions and journalists working on the issue. The self-perceptions of the main actors of social dialogue, the effectiveness of social dialogue mechanisms, and their observations on the attitude of the public towards unions were examined, and recommendations to improve social dialogue were identified. The qualitative research aimed to formulate proposals to improve public awareness on social dialogue to complement the quantitative research.

Within the scope of the qualitative research, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, labour unions and confederations, public servants confederations and employer organization centres in Istanbul and Ankara were visited and interviews were conducted with the managers of the institutions. Also, journalists interested in working life and the manager of a non-governmental organization that carry out activities related to working life were interviewed. Structured interviews were conducted face-to-face, and each of the total of 19 interviews lasted for one to two hours. Although the main framework of the questions was the same, different questions were formulated for five different groups (labour unions and confederations, public servants confederations, employer organizations, ministry officers, and journalists).

Institutions and persons interviewed within the scope of the qualitative research are the following:

- Representing the workers: a confederation board member from TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ and DİSK, as well as a union representative from each confederation,
- Representing the public servants: two representatives of public servants trade union confederation, one representative from MEMUR-SEN confederation and one representative from KAMU-SEN confederation,<sup>20</sup>
- Representing the employers: one employer representative from TİSK, one representative from TOBB and one representative from TÜSİAD,<sup>21</sup>
- Four officials from the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services,
- The manager of the People Management Association of Turkey (Peryön) as a non-governmental organization working actively on working life,
- Three journalists working on working life.

Due to the demands of an important part of the interviewees and institutions interviewed, and to give them the opportunity to express their opinions openly, the names of institutions and persons are kept anonymous in the report. Representatives of worker confederations are numbered as Worker Confederation 1, 2, 3; labour union representatives as Worker Union 1, 2, 3; representatives of public servant confederations as Public Servant Confederation 1, 2; representatives of employer organizations as Employer 1, 2, 3; the Ministry officials as Ministry 1, 2, 3, 4; NGO representative as NGO 1; journalists as Journalist 1, 2, 3. This numbering is based on the ordering given in Table 4.

All but one of the representatives of the public servants and labour confederation interviewed are also managers of a service branch or a sector union. Representatives of the confederations interviewed spoke in the name of their own confederations.

<sup>20</sup> An effort was made to conduct an interview with KESK with no success.

<sup>21</sup> An effort was made to conduct an interview with MÜSİAD with no success.

The managers of the institutions (ministries, unions/confederations, employer organizations), were preferred because they “have original experiences and can make competent explanations on events or issues through these experiences”. For this reason, elite interviewing method was adopted in qualitative research (Moyser, 2006: 85).

However, it is difficult to access the elites. Interviews with the elites “have the risk of being inefficient due to power relationships and confidentiality requirements” (Gökşen et al., 2015: 30). The most important elements for the success of these interviews are trust and harmony. In order to create trust and harmony, the interviewer must be in a state of “empathetic impartiality”, and should have knowledge of “values, terminology and important reference points” of the field (Moyser, 2006: 86). The interviews were conducted by academicians who are experts in the field. The researchers paid utmost attention to maintaining their empathetic impartiality during the interviews, and as such, could access the perspectives of the managers interviewed.

The list of interviews is given in Table 4 below.

**Table 4: The list of interviews**

|  |    | Institution   | Date     | Province |
|--|----|---------------|----------|----------|
| Public Servant Confederation                       | 1  | MEMUR-SEN     | 19.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 2  | KAMU-SEN      | 26.03.18 | Ank.     |
| Worker Confederation                               | 3  | TÜRK-İŞ       | 15.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 4  | HAK-İŞ        | 19.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 5  | DİSK          | 26.02.18 | Ist.     |
| Labour Union                                       | 6  | Petrol-İŞ     | 07.05.18 | Ist.     |
|  | 7  | Hizmet-İŞ     | 26.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 8  | Bir. Metal-İŞ | 09.04.18 | Ist.     |
| The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services | 9  | Ministry 1    | 19.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 10 | Ministry 2    | 15.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 11 | Ministry 3    | 15.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 12 | Ministry 4    | 31.05.18 | Ank.     |
| Employer   | 13 | TOBB          | 19.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 14 | TİSK          | 26.03.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 15 | TÜSİAD        | 29.03.18 | Ist.     |
| Non-profit organisation (NGO)                      | 16 | PERYÖN        | 01.03.18 | Ist.     |
| Journalist   | 17 | Evrensel      | 26.04.18 | Ist.     |
|  | 18 | Milliyet      | 31.05.18 | Ank.     |
|  | 19 | Anonym        | 31.05.18 | Ank.     |

## 4.2. How Actors Perceive Themselves

### 4.2.1. Unionisation Rate

Seven worker and public servant representatives except for *Public Servant Confederation 2* agree that in general, unionisation in Turkey is very weak. *Public Servant Confederation 2* stated that the unionisation rate, which is around “20%”, is much higher than in OECD countries, but added that, from their point of view, this rate is insufficient, especially in the private sector. Other representatives described the situation with strong expressions such as “very weak”, “very little”, “extremely low”, “extremely bad”, “a 90% unorganized country”. After these types of statements, *Worker Confederation 3* and *Worker Union 3* stated that the unionisation rate, which is at the level of 10% among the workers, should reach 50%. *Worker Confederation 2* and *Worker Union 1* pointed out that the ratio of workers benefiting

from collective bargaining is even lower than the unionisation rate, and underlined the fact that the situation is even worse than it appears. *Public Servant Confederation 1* described the general situation as very weak but stated that the rate among the public employees has exceeded 70%.

*Employer 3* indicated that unionisation rate in the world also has a falling trend, but stated that the rate in Turkey is problematic particularly from the point of collective bargaining agreement (CBA), and that the unions have a limited representation. *Employer 1* pointed out that the rapid technology-based transformation in the world has changed existing structures and therefore the rate of unionisation in developed countries has fallen substantially. From their point of view, “the number of members of employer unions” is sufficient. *Employer 2* just pointed out the fact that under the law, there is no obstacle for the workers to get organized.

Three of the four the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services officials interviewed stated that the current unionisation rate was quite low, while *Ministry 3* stated that the ratio was not very low. *NGO 1* described the unionisation rate, which is estimated to be 3-4% if the public sector is not included, as “very low”. While the three journalists interviewed stated that the rate of unionisation was very low, *Journalist 3* noted that the 12% rate in the official statistics did not reflect reality, and that the rate was “in reality” around 5-6%.

Except for *Public Servant Confederation 2*, *Ministry 3*, *Employer 1* and *Employer 2*, everyone interviewed stated that the rate of unionisation in Turkey is very low.

#### 4.2.2. Unionism Approach and Practice in Turkey

When the union representatives were asked to evaluate the way in which unions work in Turkey, they talked about the differences in unionism approach between the confederations.

In response to this question, *Worker Confederation 3*, in a self-critical attitude, pointed out to the general blood loss in the union movement in Turkey. This situation was explained by the fact that the unions are not able to adapt to globalization as fast as the capital, and that social dialogue is exploited by employers against the workers. *Worker Union 2*, in addition to expressing similar deficiencies, argued that a unionist approach is increasingly becoming marked by propaganda and the “backyard” of political parties. S/he stated that s/he is against this mentality, which does not serve the aims and principles of unionism and that unionism must be non-partisan.

*Worker Confederation 1* and *Worker Union 3* stated that the general character of the movement has evolved from a confrontational and militant line that lasted until the 1990s to a more reconciliatory and dialogue-based line. This is seen as a positive development. They added that “strike-based” and “militant” union tendencies, which were dominant in the past but weak today has become the exception, though they still continue to exist.

*Worker Confederation 2* stated that the unionism approach in Turkey is in general besieged by the power of capital and is in an inactivated state. S/he divided the union movement into three groups: The first group is made up of those aiming to legitimize this situation, the second group consists of those who accept this situation, and the third group are those who try to change it and make the unions “a class organization where workers have a say in decisions”. *Worker Union 1*, who is a member of the same confederation, similarly stated that “80%” of the unions with authorization to make a collective bargaining agreement operate under the control of the government and capital, and that this situation is the most obvious characteristic of the union movement in Turkey.

*Public Servant Confederation 2* gave the reason for the difficulties of private sector unionism as the unwillingness of employers for unionisation, the fact that the unions only focus on wage unionism, and the difficulties in breaking the structure called “union-lordism”. S/he stated that public servant unionism is in a better position than labour unionism because of the fact that their revenues are more limited and they have a more democratic structure. S/he stated that public servant unionism is shaped around ideologies “as should be the case”, and that one confederation is preferred by “extreme left”, another one by “Turkism”, and yet another one by “moderate and conservative people”.

*Public Servant Confederation 1* stated that while the rate of unionisation amongst public servants has increased, the public servants unions do not compete on equal terms. The public administrators support a confederation and discriminate against others, and therefore, public servants’ unionism is not conducted in accordance with ethical

and moral values. The representative stated that from time to time they are able to come together with another confederation for union action, but politically, they will never be able to reconcile with each other.

*Ministry 1* pointed out that the union movement in Turkey was not able to break away from public unionism, and remains weak in the private sector. S/he criticized the unions for not paying sufficient attention to issues other than wage negotiations. S/he also emphasized that nowadays, for people to become a union member, there must be reasons other than wages, and that the unions are unable to provide this. *Ministry 2* and *Ministry 3* officials also pointed to the weakness of trade unions in the private sector, and underlined the fact that this is mainly due to the negative and prejudiced views of the employers. On the other hand, *Ministry 2* official stated that the extreme demands of some unions nurture this prejudice. *Ministry 4* official emphasized that, the tendency of union managers to think more of their positions than their constituencies has increased in recent years, that the unions are not as contentious as before, that they do not give strong reactions even in the face of very important developments affecting their constituencies, and that they are not able to come together in joint action as they used to.

*Journalist 1* stated that unionism is dominated by a bureaucratic and class-compromising mentality. The union struggle has become extremely diminished and rare, and the abeyance of TÜRK-İŞ's strike decision against Soma disaster symbolizes the end of an era. *Journalist 2* agreed with the Ministry officials, saying that public-sector-based unionism was not able to adapt to the private sector. *Journalist 3* stated that unionism in Turkey is in a very battered state because of political attitude towards the unions, the fact that unions were not able to renew themselves to adapt to the changing world and economy,

*Employer 2* underlined that the representation power of organizations representing employers in social dialogue mechanisms is higher than the representation power of labour unions because of the membership requirement to organizations with employer representation. *Employer 2* stated that labour union confederations take part in existing social dialogue mechanisms, that they find their participation to be positive, and when they choose not to take part in these mechanisms, they respect this attitude. *Employer 1* chose not to make a detailed comment on the state of the labour unions. S/he only gave reference to a single association and stated that they are in agreement with a labour union confederation on the issues of Turkey's aspiration to reach EU standards, which shows that there may be issues on which workers and employers can agree. *Employer 3* stated that the unions have difficulty in responding to the transformation in the economy, work relations, and the changing expectations of the X, Y, Z generations. *NGO 1*, who has had a long-lasting relationship with unionists as human resources manager in different corporate companies, stated that it was difficult to talk about the overall union movement because there were substantial differences between the unions. S/he shared the following observations:

The main job description of unionists is to represent the welfare and future of all workers. I think that the union managers spend most of their time trying to find solutions for individual union members. This is my clear observation. I think that unionists at almost any level, including the president, spend at least 70% of their time trying to answer ringing phones and finding solutions to personal problems. When this happens, unionists are not able to find the time to educate themselves technically and intellectually and lose a great part of their energy. Instead of contemplating over bigger and conceptual problems, they become exhausted trying to find a solution to each of these tiny personal problems. Unfortunately, unionism approach develops this way. If you ask whether this has an antidote, I am not able to get the antidote out of my pocket, because if the unionist does not act like this, s/he cannot get elected.

### 4.2.3. Self-perception of Unions

The union representatives were asked for their general evaluation of their unions, and these evaluations are discussed below. Questions were asked to examine the activities carried out by the unions, their unionisation strategies, their relations with their members, and their perceptions of their public image.

As mentioned above, *Worker Confederation 3*, though using a self-critical language, mentioned that they started a unionisation move as a result of a meeting in February with representatives of the unions affiliated with the confederation from 81 provinces, and declared this year to be a year of unionisation. *Worker Confederation 3*, who is

also the manager of a sector union, underlined that their union has been growing steadily in recent years. The factors that explain this growth are the stability in management, and their ability to use the workplace representatives as unionisation experts due to the care they show in training activities. *Worker Union 2* stated that although there are very serious obstacles to unionisation in Turkey, they are very busy with unionisation. They are constantly active with unionisation of new businesses in the private sector, but although they are authorized, they are still being hindered in their unionisation efforts due to the gaps and flexibility in the law. *Worker Union 2* said that they have prepared and submitted a report to the Presidency and the Prime Ministry about the necessary legal changes to remove the obstacles to unionisation of their confederation.

*Worker Confederation 1*, who said that their main concept is the compatibility of employee-employer interests, stated that they advocated and foresaw this social dialogue approach forty years ago as a confederation. *Worker Confederation 1* emphasized four factors that explain the increase in the number of their members: ten new unions affiliated with the confederation, general unionisation mobilization strategy, and public subcontractor worker dynamics. *Worker Union 3* said that after 1980 their activities have gradually increased, because the workers, employers and the union started doing unionism with the awareness that they are in the same ship after the experiences accumulated in the pre-1980 era. S/he stated that they are trying to find a solution by meeting the expectations of both the workers and the employers and by taking into account the economic and social status of the employers, and that it is not healthy to think about strike in this period unless they have to. *Worker Union 3* noted that their union owed its growth mainly to organizing public subcontractor workers. The representative stated that this unionisation process, which has a six-year history, was based on an intensive and strategic effort.

*Worker Confederation 2* stated that the source of notions about their confederation as “they fight, they are against everything” stems from the government and the employers. S/he argued that in some workplaces where they are organized, they witness that these statements influence some workers, but when they come in contact with representatives of the unions affiliated with their confederation, they generally see that these statements are wrong. S/he said that the social perception and influence of their confederation has always been well above their member count, and that they are taken seriously. For example, they prevented severance pay level to be changed twice by organizing a campaign and they had a serious impact on the bargaining process of determination of minimum wage although they were not part of the negotiations. S/he added that the number of people who follow their confederation on social media is greater than their member count. *Worker Union 1* explained that unlike the dominant unionism approach that emerged in their own sector shaped by the employers’ interests, they have an independent and challenging unionism approach that reflects the workers’ demands. S/he stated that they are continually in the process of unionisation, but due to the obstacles to unionisation, they were able to sign collective agreements in only one of the five workplaces where they are authorized.

*Public Servant Confederation 2* pointed out that their confederation has a more moderate structure compared to the other two public servant confederations. It is known for its conservative structure, and has a higher reputation among the public servants and society in general. S/he stated that public servants approach unionisation more enthusiastically than private sector employees since they have the advantage of job security. Still, s/he said that public servant unions, including themselves, could not not escape the “public servant mentality”. S/he stated that when public servants attempt to seek their rights, they act timidly under the influence of such thoughts as “What would my general manager, department head say? would s/he write this in my records? would this have a negative impact in the future?”, that they have low participation in actions such as work stoppage as a result, and that this attitude spreads to the unions. S/he stated that this situation interacts with the lack of financial power of the public servants unions, and limits their power to act independently.

*Public Servant Confederation 1*, who is also the manager of a service branch union, argued that their gains in their service branch in the past when they were the authorized union were much greater than those obtained after authorization was transferred to another union. S/he stated that the reason for this is that they adopt a contentious and independent unionism approach, and by taking action when necessary, they are able to transform a non-coercive collective bargaining process into a negotiation. S/he noted that they advocate public servants’ right to strike on

the condition that the emergency services in some service branches would not be disrupted, and occasionally resort to short-term strikes. *Public Servant Confederation 1* said that despite union-based discrimination by public administrators, they managed to double the number of members of the service branch union for which s/he has been the manager from 2002 to today. S/he claimed that even some public servants who are members of other confederations trusted them to defend their rights.

#### 4.2.4. Perceptions of Women in Social Dialogue Mechanisms

Opinions of interviewees were asked about women's position and their role in social dialogue institutions as well as what could be done to support women's role. Interviewees mostly agree that gender inequality in Turkey is dire. However, there are significant differences in the level of sensitivity and concrete activities planned related to the issue.

*Worker Confederation 1* stated that they have become pioneers on gender equality. They have increased the proportion of female members in the confederation from two percent to twenty-five percent in ten years. The representative noted that women's committees are actively working across the confederation; for example, they performed a myriad of March 8<sup>th</sup> activities. S/he noted that they are increasing the number of women in the management level of the unions.

*Worker Confederation 2* mentioned the low participation of women in working life as the first reason why women's representation in the unions remained below the desired level. S/he noted that the projects and practices put in place by the government and the employers to increase women's labour force participation also point to this problem. However, s/he mentioned that in most of these practices, women are expected to be employed under precarious and bad conditions, and emphasized "All forms of precarious employment experienced in the last fifteen years have started with women and expanded to the entire working class". The representative stated that in order to increase female labour force participation, a working life should be established in which women can be employed under equal conditions with male workers. S/he pointed out that in order for women to be able to participate more in working life and in industrial relations, part of the care services, such as child and elderly care that are on the shoulders of women, should be undertaken by the state with a welfare state approach. The second factor that explains why women's representation in the unions remained below the desired level is the insensitivity of the unions to this issue in their internal functioning. S/he noted that the public unions are in a slightly better shape regarding this issue, but from the standpoint of the labour unions, the situation is "deplorable". S/he stated that there are almost no women at the president level in the unions, and only one woman manager at the confederation level. S/he ended her/his words with the following:

Therefore, women are far from where they should be in unionisation. We need to make a self-criticism about this issue. That is, social perception needs to change, but it's a matter of time. I think the main problem here are the unions. The unions need to follow an effective policy.

*Worker Confederation 3* also agreed that women's participation in the union struggle is limited and should be improved. In the sector union where s/he is a manager, s/he mentioned some supportive action in this direction, but noted it is not very successful. S/he claimed that this was largely due to the fact that women did not want to spend time on trade union activities outside of working hours. S/he stated that they put a quota for women in different levels of management but could not fill these quotas.

*Worker Union 1* stated that the representation of women in the unions was below the desired level, and this is largely due to the secondary role assigned to women by society, which is also supported by the government. The representative stated that the rate of women among the employees in their respective sector was around 10%, and the ratio was around 7% among the members. Therefore, s/he noted that as far as women's participation in the management is concerned, they are operating in a formidable sector. S/he stated that they are trying positive discrimination for women and developing quota practices. S/he added that they also perform activities on March 8<sup>th</sup> to raise awareness on social equality and for the prevention of violence against women.

*Worker Union 2* stated that the labour force participation of women is very weak especially in sectors that require

physical strength, and this ratio is reflected in the union life. S/he stated that women's employment in their sector is low and the ratio is around 5% among the members. S/he stated that union managers are elected, and that it is difficult for them to set a quota for women.

*Worker Union 3* noted that as a society we are holding women one step back, that we are a male-dominated society and that male members do not want to bring women into unions, especially to the "management levels". S/he stated that as a union, they established a women's committee in 2008, which have multiplied ever since. They have been making efforts with women's committees to ensure that women have a more active role in union life. S/he stated that the women's committee is one of the most effective part of their confederations, underlining March 8<sup>th</sup> activities. As for joining management through elections, s/he stated that the male-dominated social structure also manifests itself in the union, which can "eliminate" women. S/he stated that the percentage of women working in their sector has increased to 40% due to a number of recent legal changes, that this also increased the number of female union members, and that there are a large number of women among workplace representatives. S/he also noted that there are some female managers on the branch board of directors.

*Employer 1* stated that the positions of women in social dialogue institutions are very few. S/he stressed that the fact that gender inequality is still an issue in Turkey is a complete disgrace for values and virtues as well as for material interests and the economy. S/he stated that their organization is in a relatively good position in this regard, and as evidence, s/he pointed out their more than one female president from the past to the present, and to the fact that approximately eighty percent of their secretaries are women. In order to resolve this issue, s/he pointed out that a radical change from the style of politics to the laws should be made.

*Employer 2* also agreed that women's role is below the desired level, and stated that the main reason for this is women's participation rate in the labour force, which is around 30%. S/he stated that there are no women in the central administration of their organization, but that there are a limited number of women presidents in their sub-units. S/he stated that as an organization they support the efforts for women's labour force participation in. S/he added that there are special units for women within their organization and through these units, they are trying to encourage more active participation of women in organizational processes.

*Employer 3* stated that gender inequality is a huge problem in Turkey, and that they express it on every platform. S/he stated that from the past to the present, women have been in the spotlight within their own organization, and that there have always been women in central and lower-level management. S/he noted that as an organization, they are "at a fairly advanced position". S/he noted that they are also considering LGBTI people and have taken some steps in this direction in some companies that are members of their organization. S/he added that it is a shame for Turkey that the participation rate of women in labour force is around 33%, and that the country suffers substantial loss of productivity and efficiency. S/he added that as an organization they are also involved in various activities to increase the participation of women in the labour force.

*NGO 1* began her/his speech by stating that Turkey has a long way to go in terms of equal opportunities for women in working life. *NGO 1* has been in close contact with unionists as the human resources manager of the corporate companies she has worked with, and has repeatedly represented the employers in signing of collective labour agreements. Using this accumulated experience and insider position, s/he made important assessments. She noted that her employers hesitated to bring a female manager to the collective bargaining, because union representatives were all male and the language during the talks were very masculine. Nevertheless, she observed that the women representation on the management side has increased in time, while unions did not improve in this sense. She emphasized that an increasing female participation would improve social dialogue significantly.

### 4.3. Perception of the Society towards the Unions

*Worker Confederation 1* and *Public Servant Confederation 2*, coming from confederations that have increased their member count in the recent years, make relatively more positive assessments about the perception of society towards trade unions. On the other hand, *Worker Confederation 3*, *Worker Confederation 2*, and *Public Servant Confederation 1* make relatively more negative assessments.

*Worker Confederation 3* states that perceptions such as “The union is making us unemployed, and they get our money, but agree with the boss” or “The unions are despotic, and they are eliminating the opposition immediately, but are not working” are widespread in society, and these feed the distrust towards unions. S/he says that some of the unionists’ personal mistakes as well as general errors and shortcomings in the union movement are undeniable, and they fuel these perceptions. According to the representative, the media exaggerates such faults out of proportion, and turns them into anti-union campaigns. On the other hand, the media does not cover positive activities by the unions. Thus the media feeds the negative social perception towards the unions. *Worker Confederation 3*, who indicates that there is a certain dissatisfaction among the unionized workers towards the union in parallel to the general perception, states that people tend to want more and more as the welfare increases and that the dissatisfied minority make their voices heard more in a workplace with collective agreement. *Worker Union 2* also states that the unions are not perceived well and refers to three factors: The general lack of social sensitivity in the Turkish society, anti-union propaganda, and the fact that the employers fire unionized workers by making use of legal gaps, which makes unionisation extremely difficult.

*Worker Confederation 1* states that the perception of the society towards the unions is becoming positive, and they have a great role in this change. S/he states that when s/he started unionism in the 1990s, the unions were being perceived as eerie, dark and unpredictable institutions, but today they are seen as more positive and more predictable institutions intertwined with the civil society. *Worker Confederation 1* states that they have made a serious contributions to this process such as carrying out a widespread promotional work and creating an extended widespread impact area. Also s/he adds that everywhere they went, they talked about the importance of the union, its functions, and its contributions to society. *Worker Union 3* states that the public and private sector employees—in spite of some exceptions—generally favour the unions. However, s/he states that employees know that they would come face-to-face with the employer from the moment they knock the union’s door, and therefore, they continue to stay away from unions unless a legal arrangement is introduced to counter employers’ sanctions.

*Worker Confederation 2* says that the perception of the society towards the unions are not very positive because unions are targeted by the capital and its instruments, and they are presented sometimes as “terrorists” and sometimes as organizations that exploit workers. S/he says that as far their confederation is concerned, this negative perception diminishes, because their confederation’s history of struggle nourishes a different perception. *Worker Confederation 2* states that changing the general negative perception in society is not difficult. S/he claims that this perception would change in an environment of union freedom and competition that can be maintained if legislative arrangements guaranteeing the freedom of association are made and if the managers comply with these arrangements. *Worker Union 1* states that unions have lost prestige in the eyes of society because they have not been able to create any serious impact on the capital and the government in terms of solving the most basic problems of the employees. S/he states that, for this reason, the tendency to see the unionists as a group of people who take membership fees from the workers and live in luxury has become stronger, and they also take their share of this image as a union.

*Public Servant Confederation 2* started her/his speech by stating that non-governmental organizations are not generally popular in Turkish society, that people do not like to pay membership fees, and that even if people are members of an organization, they are inclined to express their ideas in the form of gossip outside instead of expressing them on the site. S/he states that the unions also act similarly, and because of some unions’ past mistakes in that regard this attitude got reinforced. However, s/he states that this situation is gradually being overcome due to the changing and developing public unionism with the influence of the activities carried out by their confederation. S/he states, as an example, that as the society sees how union activities such as the May 1 rally are celebrated by unions such as their confederation, unlike the way the “leftist organizations” do, it is warming up to these activities, and there has been a significant change in the perception towards the unions. S/he says that even though they are a public servants confederation, even some private sector employees have called them and expressed interest to get organized under the unions affiliated with their confederation.

*Public Servant Confederation 1* while assessing the perception of society as well as specifically of the public servants underlines the weakness of civil society awareness and union consciousness. As an example, s/he compares the sensitivity of the Dutch society to union issues, which s/he examined, and emphasizes the weakness of union

consciousness in the Turkish society. S/he states that people in Turkey contact unions only if they have an urgent need, and there are only a few people who believe that the unions are necessary for their own rights and contribute to democracy as a non-governmental organization. S/he also indicates that as shown by many surveys conducted among the public servants, when public servants become union members, they act according to their political preferences, under the guidance of their supervisors or their friends, and the rate of those who become union members because they believe that the unions will defend and protect their rights is only around 10%.

*Ministry 1* firstly points out what happened in the period of September 12 coup as far as unionism is concerned, and s/he claims that there was a “bad memory” and some unions used to force their members to take actions not related to work life at that time. Secondly, s/he says that the image that unionism in Turkey has become nothing but a wage unionism accompanied by a “union-lordism” image. Third, s/he notes the negative image embedded in society’s memory due to the imbalance created by some unions obtaining very high wages for public workers in the past. According to this official, this social perception has changed in recent years. There is a growing perception that unionized workers have more work guarantee and work in a healthier workplace. *Ministry 2* thinks that one who is not a paid employee (e.g. self-employed) does not view the unions very favourably, but paid employees, especially those using their physical skills such as blue-collar workers, are more positive towards the unions. *Ministry 3* also states that the society generally views the unions favourably, but the wrong actions by a few people in some union actions can be generalized to all activists, which creates a negative effect. The three ministry officials mentioned consider the increasing number of union members in recent years as an indication of the changing view of society into positive. *Ministry 4*, who draws a more negative picture, notes that due to the image of “union-lordism” and insufficient work of many union managers for its members as well as the rising individualization trend in society in general, the perception of society towards trade unions has turned negative. S/he emphasizes that especially young people distance themselves trade unions and that the positive perception towards trade unions in the past has diminished among the young people.

*Journalist 1* indicates the differences between the perception in places with a long-established industrial background and the perception in the newly industrializing places. While there is a positive perception of the unions among workers working in places in the first group; an understanding that equates unionism with “communism and terror” is prevalent in the newly-industrializing places. *Journalist 2*, who draws a more pessimistic picture, proposes a different binary grouping. The first group is composed of people who know about unionism and have a positive view of it, while in the second group, there are people who don’t know much about unionism. According to *Journalist 2*, the first group that has a positive view of unionism criticizes Turkish unionism due to the issue of “union-lordism” and the weakness of the union democracy. The second group that does not know unionism sees unions as an obstacle that hinders production and as a means of getting involved in politics. *Journalist 3* notes that the working population do not have a demand to get unionized, and that in many places, the unions are seen as unnecessary or even annoying elements. All three journalists emphasize that news on union issues do not attract the public’s attention.

*Employer 3* notes that painful processes have been experienced in the past, and their shadow still falls upon today’s unions. According to this representative, there is a negative perception and prejudice about unionisation. *Employer 2*, however, does not think that there is a deficiency or criticism towards the unions in the perception of the society. *NGO 1* states that society’s perception of unions is often negative, and there is a strong tendency to see unionists as people in pursuit of increasing their own interests and popularity utilizing unions according to their political views.

#### 4.4. Self-criticism in Unions and Employer Organizations

In the study, we asked all representatives whether they have any self-criticism about the participation of their union in social dialogue mechanisms and in unionisation activities. Based on the answers given to this question and the statements used throughout the interviews, it is observed that self-criticism is quite limited in the representatives of public servants unions. While *Worker Confederation 1*, *Worker Union 3*, *Worker Confederation 3* and *Worker Union 2* make relatively milder self-criticism, *Worker Confederation 2* and *Worker Union 1* make more specific and deeper self-criticism.

*Public Servant Confederation 2* indicates the existence of a timidity regarding the question of “Would my participation in union activities hinder my promotion”? S/he associates this with “public servant mentality” and states that it is widespread among the public servants. S/he claims that public servants put the struggle on the shoulders of the unionists, and the way they view the issue can be summarized as follows: “I chose you, so you go and fight in my place”. S/he states that their resources are limited because the union membership fees are low in public servants and the number of service branches is unnecessarily too many. This creates difficulties in terms of employing even the branch heads as professionals, and therefore, they are being held back from behaving independently and fighting for rights.

*Public Servant Confederation 1* says that “Although it does not mean that they do everything perfectly”, they are doing “whatever is necessary for unionism”. Similarly, *Public Servant Confederation 2* states that their financial means are limited due to low membership fees, and this makes things difficult. S/he states that they would like to organize more specific activities and more comprehensive training programs if their financial means are more favourable.

In response to the question, *Worker Confederation 1* make a self-criticism revolving around three main issues. S/he points out their inability to create a systematic and well-ordered union training program that is divided into modules. S/he emphasizes that they have not been able to fully implement a training strategy that aims to introduce a school function in terms of transforming elected unionists into well-equipped and well-educated leaders. Secondly, s/he says that the issue of occupational health and safety is supposed to be their first priority, but they have been short in this area, and this issue has been overlooked while focusing on wages. Third and lastly, s/he says that they pay attention to the issue of social responsibility, but they have been unable to do much in this field. *Worker Union 3* points out the problem of education and, relatedly, the lack of skilled staff with expertise. S/he states that since unionism is not taught at school, this task belongs to unions. However, s/he indicates that they have been short in creating a healthy infrastructure that would educate unionists and experts.

*Worker Confederation 3* states that labour unions, including themselves, have recently been pacified by the employers with the social dialogue discourse, and they have become complacent. Trade unions do not prefer to strike and take action within the framework of social dialogue, and employers are able to express their problems better than the union side do within this environment. The representative claims that unions are, thus, persuaded. Secondly, s/he states that in the face of globalization of the capital, they, as the unions, have not been able to get globalized at the same speed. S/he emphasizes that they are responsible for the recent “blood loss” lived in the union movement and for “wasting” the last 25-30 years. *Worker Union 2* states that they should increase the number of propaganda activities which may draw the attention of the wide public and address the problems of different social segments such as the retirees and the unemployed, who are not union members, but they have been inadequate on this issue. S/he states that unionists, including themselves, had to work hard because of the serious burdens on their shoulder but they still could not handle all problems. This situation leads to a tendency to save the present and not to make plans for the future.

*Worker Confederation 2* notes that the unions, as organizations that matured in the Keynesian period, are trying to maintain their existence despite serious changes that have been taking place in work life. S/he states that the trade unions are in a serious contraction as the tools and methods of the previous period have become dysfunctional. S/he states that they need to develop appropriate policies and strategies to these changes, but the 10% unionisation rate is an indication that they have not made enough progress in this regard. S/he says that they find it strategically necessary to implement a regional unionisation activity approach that transcends sector unionism, but for some reason, they were not able to do so. S/he says that, based on a similar concern, they wanted to open an office in Maslak for white-collar workers and carry out unionisation activities with the relevant unions, but they were not able to implement it. *Worker Union 1* notes that they announced a series of criticisms about their own confederation at the last general assembly. In direct relation with their own union, s/he notes the following: It is wrong for the unionized workers just to observe the developments and build their expectations on the view that can be best summarized as “I chose my managers, let them fulfil their duties, let them lead me to a better life”. S/he states that everybody has to take responsibility according to their own authority and be an actor of the struggle. S/he emphasizes that the task of instilling this trust and responsibility on the member base is the responsibility of the union managers. S/he says that

they should be able to explain to their existing and potential members that they need to give a hand to the struggle in order for their lives and the country in which they live in to be better, but s/he self-critically claims that they have deficiencies on this issue.

*Employer 1* states that new business models that have emerged with the transformation of the global economy complicate the definitions of worker and employer. S/he argues that confusion over these definitions has already triggered a debate, especially at the international level, on how this will affect the current structuring of employer representation and private sector representation. However, these discussions have not yet brought along a new model of private sector representation. *Employer 2* underlines that they generally believe that they provide the maximum contribution they can to social dialogue mechanisms. As a self-criticism, s/he states that they have been sharing all emerging drafts related to work life, something which the Ministry asks for opinions, with all their members due to their institutional structuring, but only a very limited number of members have expressed their opinion about these drafts. *Employer 3* states that they are having difficulties in terms of incorporating the SMEs, and in that respect, their institutions definitely have some deficiencies as well. Secondly, s/he states that there has been an increase in conflicts in industrial relations in recent years, and they should learn a lesson from this. Thirdly, s/he notes that their organization is factory-focused that carry the potential risk to experience difficulties in unionisation in non-factory forms and UBER-like work patterns with complex ownership structure. In that regard they are not very well prepared for new forms of business that become widespread with the changing economy.

### 4.5. Effectiveness of Dialogue Mechanisms

#### 4.5.1. Effectiveness of Tripartite Social Dialogue, Performance of the Government and Ministry

All representatives of three labour confederations, three labour unions and two public servants confederations point out the fact that the tripartite social dialogue in Turkey is considerably insufficient. Even though criticisms vary in terms of content and degree, they commonly agree that the tripartite social dialogue in Turkey has serious inadequacies. The degree of criticisms ranges from “social dialogue mechanisms in Turkey does not work much, and where it works, the opinions are not taken into account much”, as stated by the *Public Servants Confederation 2*, to “all social dialogue mechanisms have been virtually eliminated, especially recently”, as expressed by *Workers Confederation 2*. On the other hand, many representatives including *Workers Confederation 2* also stated that positive steps had been taken in the 2000s; however, things have been going backwards in recent years.

Here are some of the critical points that the representatives of the employees commonly make:

- Although it is a constitutional council, the failure of the Economic and Social Council to convene; the irregularity and ineffectiveness of the mechanisms (such as Work Council, Tripartite Advisory Board) that allegedly replace it.
- The weakness of social dialogue mechanisms that are systematic, orderly, institutional and result-affecting; the prevalence of informal, one-to-one dialogue.
- Non-operation of social dialogue in the process of making some of the subcontractor workers permanent personnel and the execution of the transition with a Decree.
- The government being decisive in the minimum wage commission and the lack of sanction power on the side of workers.

*Workers Confederation 3* summarized her/his views on the effectiveness of the tripartite social dialogue as follows:

Until a few years ago, we were able to take advantage of tripartite social dialogue mechanisms with the government, with some exceptions. However, recently, the government and especially the Ministry of Labour and Social Security has had the attitude “I know these very well, I do not need to exchange information with you, I will do it better”. We have been having difficulties on these issues for the last few years.

*Workers Confederation 1* summarized her/his views on the subject as follows:

There has been a lot of progress in the institutionalization of social dialogue. Institutional mechanisms and legal infrastructure have been established. **However, we have problems about predictability and sustainability.** We suggested the following to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. We said “Let’s keep social dialogue statistics and let’s publish work statistics in the annals, let’s create a culture”. But it did not happen. Because there is no strategy, no mechanism, and even if it exists, it is not executed. (...) <sup>22</sup> It is not that many problems are not solved, there is dialogue, but often the process shifts to more informal dialogues. Instead of having tripartite consultations, one confederation goes, has a meeting, and then it is satisfied or not. However, we now have more institutional structures, and these did not exist in the 1990s. Since we have them established, why don’t we execute them? (...) **If you ask me whether there is any social dialogue in this environment, I would say that there is. However, Mr. X says “there is not”, and I don’t know what Mrs. Y would say. Things are not clear.** (...) For example, in the year that the Law on Trade Unions was introduced, the Tripartite Advisory Board met seven times. But if you count the years in its aftermath, how many times has it met? There are problems in terms of orderliness and principled attitude. (...) But we talk on the road or at a wedding. We have no problems. If we take them into account, which we should, even that is something. So it is not a problem for us, but things cannot work in this way. If we’re going to make a transformation, let’s do it the right way.

While questioning the recent history, *Workers Confederation 2* indicated that there has been a serious deterioration over the last few years:

The process of making 6356 spread over many months of long debates. Finally, a memorandum of understanding was signed. But with a midnight operation in the last minute, a law that contained many provisions not included in the memorandum was introduced. In other words, all these mechanisms were seemingly being executed, but now, they are no longer being executed, not even seemingly. Subcontractor law is an example of this. It is unbelievable that the subcontractor law was not discussed in any of the advisory boards and that it was introduced through a State of Emergency Decree. No social dialogue mechanism was executed in a law with such importance for the whole society. The Ministry did not ask for our opinion, they did not even inform us. (...) On the other hand, let’s not be unfair, they are not completely closing their doors. When there is a problem, we can call the Minister of Labour and reach her/him, but to what extent we achieve results is a topic for another discussion.

As another example of recent deterioration, *Workers Confederation 2* and *Workers Union 1* underlined the increase in the number of strike deferrals by the Council of Ministers, which actually corresponds to a prohibition. *Workers Union 1* expressed the situation as follows:

In the CBA processes, the right to strike has been suspended in every sector by interventions under the label of strike deferrals. A CBA, through which the right to strike is deferred, does not lead to a just result.

*Employer 3* states that the tripartite social dialogue in Turkey is handled “in many ways—as if it is done”, and that Turkey has not yet reached the state of “genuine social dialogue” that is repeatedly mentioned in the norms of ILO. The representative, who criticized the failure of the Economic and Social Council of not convening, stated that the catalyst of social dialogue structures in Turkey has been the bureaucracy, and therefore, a structure connected to the bureaucracy has developed, and a dialogue structure that continues upon the bureaucracy’s call and on matters determined by the bureaucracy has been set up. On the other hand, *Employer 3* notes that significant developments have occurred in recent years, that some sincere entities have been established that could solve the problems. S/he states that the Tripartite Advisory Board is the closest mechanism to the actual level of social dialogue, because this committee is composed of senior executives, including the Minister, and decisions are taken after discussions in this committee. *Employer 3* adds that communication and collaboration between their own organization and the Ministry have reached a healthier and more advanced level in recent years.

<sup>22</sup> (...) was used where the non-vital sentences in the flow of the speech were removed.

*Employer 1* started her/his words on the status of the tripartite social dialogue by criticizing the failure of the Economic and Social Council to meet. The representative states that the government is very decisive in the tripartite social dialogue process in Turkey, mechanisms are very bureaucratic, and—unlike the examples in Europe—even the governmental entities, which are not civil society organizations, are included in the processes. S/he notes that this leads to formation of platforms where everyone has a very short time to talk, and a healthy dialogue environment cannot be maintained. S/he stated that they do not experience any problems in direct communication with the Ministry, and that there is neither a special problem nor a special affinity in their relationship with the ministry.

*Employer 2* stated that he did not see a fundamental problem in the functioning of social dialogue in Turkey. S/he states that social dialogue is employed in the writing of all laws concerning working life, including secondary and tertiary legislation, and that the relevant parties are called. S/he notes that the Economic and Social Council, the Work Council and the Tripartite Advisory Board should be run more effectively in order to make the social dialogue better and to improve it. Based on the fact that the functions of the Tripartite Advisory Board are much wider than collective bargaining, *Employer 2* emphasizes that employer representation should not be limited only to the trade unions in this board. S/he indicates that all employers' representatives, including employer organizations that have public institution status, should be represented by a sufficient number of members in the Tripartite Advisory Board. *Employer 2* states that the Ministry gives great importance to social dialogue, focuses on the issue, listens to all parties and plays a conciliatory role. S/he adds that if the parties do not compromise, the Ministry suspends certain issues as seen in the case of severance pay.

Similar to what the unions say, the three journalists who are interviewed agree that the tripartite social dialogue is ineffective. *Journalist 3* states that the Ministry of Labour and Social Security has been trying to improve the tripartite social dialogue until the last year and a half or two years, but the communication and consultation channels have been significantly reduced; and as an example, s/he mentioned that The Economic and Social Council has not convened for "six or seven" years and the Tripartite Advisory Council has not convened for "several" years and the manner in which the subcontracted workers were made permanent personnel. *Journalist 2*, who is also an academician, made a more critical and comprehensive assessment:

To me, there is no tripartite social dialogue in Turkey. First of all, let me tell you this sharply. In Turkey, we just talk about social dialogue. In the 1990s, it was a popular topic within the framework of the EU. Inspired from there, it was said that there should be social dialogue in Turkey. Well, is there such a mechanism in Turkey? The Economic and Social Council does not convene. There is an entity called The Tripartite Advisory Board, which convenes arbitrarily. Even this does not convene for a few years. Social dialogue can be run during the minimum wage negotiations between the parties. As you know, whatever the government says happens there. (...) **A significant part of the criteria required by ILO in the context of social dialogue does not exist in Turkey.** In my opinion, the ones that exist are symbolic. It's not just the problem with this government, it did not exist either before it.

Ministry officials are generally more positive about the effectiveness of tripartite social dialogue mechanisms. *Ministry 1* states that these mechanisms are "quite functional", and as an evidence for this, s/he says that "Although the unions represent 12% of the workers in Turkey, they are in almost every issue", and s/he notes that without executing the said mechanisms, even the regulations are not changed. *Ministry 2* expresses similar views, but when asked, s/he also says that social dialogue has not been executed properly in the process of making subcontractor workers permanent personnel. *Ministry 3* describes the tripartite social dialogue mechanisms as "not bad", but s/he also adds that there is a lot of work to be done. *Ministry 4* official points out that in the last few years there has been a retrogression compared to the post-2000 period and explains the dynamics in the background of the developments during the 2000s as follows:

There was a EU wind in the 2000s. ILO had a serious demand in this direction. The Law on Trade Unions had to be renewed as the opening criterion of chapter 19 of the EU. 6356 was introduced in that scope. It was a must, and we had a lot of criteria ahead of us to fulfil. We had to apply them to the law.

#### 4.5.2. Allegations of Government and Public Administrators Discriminating Between Unions

Another issue frequently pointed out by *Workers Confederation 2*, *Workers Union 1* and *Public Servants Confederation 1* is the claim that the government and the public administration discriminate between the trade unions. *Workers Confederation 2* claims that the administrators of public institutions intervene intensively in the unionisation preferences of public subcontractor workers, directing them to unions affiliated with a certain confederation.

*Workers Union 1* argues that the ministry and the government have clearly discriminated against them by providing two concrete case examples. In the first case, s/he notes that they received no response for fifty days to their application for the determination of authorization, which the ministry is supposed to answer normally in a week. During this waiting period, the employer pressured their members and made them resign. The representative also makes serious allegations regarding the second case. S/he claims that after a long strike, the workers at this workplace resigned from the other union and became members of their own union. As a union, they reached a certain agreement with the employer, but the process was hindered by political intervention.

*Public Servants Confederation 1* also devoted a large part of his speech to the claim that public administration discriminates between public servants unions:

We are not able to compete on equal terms since the administrators intervene in the process. **The duty of a hospital's chief physician is not to make people join a union.** Her/his task is to establish justice between trade unions and to be at an equal distance to all of them. If there are a few unions, they must compete among each other. Both the government, ministers and the bureaucracy should stay at an equal distance and eliminate the discrimination between the unions. And then, we will have that competition among ourselves. (...) For example, let's say that there are 9,000 administrative staff in the Ministry of Health. For example, ask the ministry, how many administrators are not members of the supported union. **We have very few members from ineffective administrative positions; the rest is all members of that other union. This picture very clearly shows the discrimination that is made between unions.**

*Public Servants Confederation 2* also claims that the government and public administrators discriminate against government officials and trade unionists who criticize the government:

As someone working under a supervisor, you cannot do unionism. The union needs to be independent economically and intellectually. There might be places where the social base overlaps with the government. But that doesn't mean that everything done by the government is right. If the government has a shortcoming, it is necessary to say that. If the sword of the government stays over you, you cannot do unionism. When my friend is asking for a vacation leave, if it is said that "You talk about the government this way, and I am not granting your holiday leave", you cannot do unionism there.

In the interviews, *Workers Confederation 2* also expressed similar discrimination claims, but other trade union and confederation Ministry did not make any comments on this issue. When these claims were quoted, Ministry officials said that the allegations did not reflect the truth. *Journalist 1* and *Journalist 3* also stated that there are concrete examples of discrimination.

#### 4.5.3. Assessments by Public Servants Unions on their Social Dialogue with Public Administration

*Public Servants Confederation 2* and *Public Servants Confederation 1* made very similar assessments of employers with respect to social dialogue with the public administration. Although both representatives were able to express their opinions in some committees, they state that their opinions were not taken into consideration by the administrators and that they were faced with a flexible and ineffective dialogue mechanism. *Public Servants Confederation 2* described this situation as follows:

Although we can establish a certain dialogue on sympathetic terms, this cannot be reflected on the official talks. Social dialogue mechanisms in Turkey do not work much. Where it works, **the opinions are usually not taken into consideration. You have no say in decisions taken by the top executives.**

(...) The managers of the institutions take some decisions that affect the employees, but they do not have the following approach: "Let's talk to the union representative, let's exchange information with the union, let's discuss the pros and cons". In fact, there is also a board called the board of directors. But it's a non-binding board. It convenes twice a year. We sit, drink tea, and leave.

Likewise, *Public Servants Confederation 1* made the following assessments:

If social dialogue consists of means bipartite talks only, that is not social dialogue. That is, we need to make preparations before the meetings. It should be ensured that trade unions are involved in legal arrangements, legislative arrangements, social rights, and personal rights related to employees. But what we have is far from this. (...) **That's why we want an institutionalized social dialogue process rather than one-to-one talks.**

Both representatives criticized the fact that the Public Personnel Advisory Board (KPKK) convenes just twice a year and the fact that what is spoken in the Institution Board of Directors are not implemented. *Public Servants Confederation 2* describes this situation as follows:

For years, we have been doing little. **We could change very simple things, even things that are in favour of the employer, as late as in eight to nine years.** This means that social dialogue is not working.

*Public Servants Confederation 1* noted the following about the same committees:

KPKK's name is social state. We go there. We voice the problems. We ask them to solve certain things. They say OK and wish us well. Then there is nothing. **In the decisions taken at KPKK, there is not a single item that solves a problem.** (...) The meetings of Institution Board of Directors are also the same. The decisions taken at these meetings are not binding. That is what we object to.

Both representatives complain about the weakness of the collective agreement introduced in the Law No. 4688 on Civil Servants' Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining, and they criticize the extremely short and insufficient one-month period for negotiations. They emphasize that the strike ban for public servants undermines the collective bargaining characteristic of the process. *Public Servants Confederation 2* expressed this situation as follows:

There is a strike ban for civil servants, whereas the power of collective bargaining is the strike. **The strike ban reduces our impact on employers. No matter what we do, the employer does what s/he wants.** We want the law to become more democratic and the right to strike to be reinstated.

#### 4.5.4. Attitudes of Employers towards Bipartite Social Dialogue in the Private Sector

Leaving aside a very limited number of exceptions, there is a common perception among the union representatives, journalists, all Ministry officials and *Employer 3* that the employers do not favour the unions and unionisation of their employees. As an exception to this generalization, *Workers Confederation 3* points out "a few (less than five) institutional holdings", *Workers Union 3* to "employers that are TÜSİAD members", and *Employer 3* to their members. *Workers Union 2* notes that foreign capital is more moderate towards trade unions than domestic capital.

The most frequently mentioned employer action in this framework is that employers take their employees' e-government passwords, check whether they are members of a trade union or not, punish unionized workers in various ways, fire them eventually, and exploit trade union competition. According to *Workers Union 2*, employers hinder unionisation by utilizing certain means, which s/he describes as "circumventing the substance and making things legally longer".

*Workers Confederation 3* summarized her/his opinions on this issue as follows:

We encounter very unexpected aggressiveness from the employers. For example, they give a %1 raise to union members, and a %9 raise to non-members. (...) For example, we say in a civilized way that, we should demand 200 liras this year, but the employer gives 500 liras so as to prevent as to be present. (...) **In some provinces, such as Denizli, employers do not hire anyone who is fired due to union issues.**

According to *Workers Union 3*, while chambers of commerce and industry are strongly against the unions, employer organizations such as MÜSIAD, ASKON and Young Businessmen do not favour the unions. S/he says that “since there is no job security in our country, employers go after union members, seek and find union members as if they are in a witch hunt”.

*Employer 2* states that the claims of employers, chambers of commerce and industry being against the unions do not reflect the truth in any way, and they say that they strongly oppose such allegations made against them. *Employer 2* points out that no employer organization in Turkey has ever stated that it is against the unions.

Although they do not use such strong statements as the union representatives, Ministry officials also state that the employers do not have a favourable attitude towards the unions in general. *Ministry 2* described this as follows:

**We receive a lot of complaints about the employers. The employer takes the T.R. identification number, looks up the membership status there, and can immediately fire the worker. (...) Some employers see the union as a bogeyman. (...) We send the certificate of authorization. Then, the employer gets the news and starts identifying the union members. Then comes dismissals, fights. (...)**

Journalists also have the same opinion on this matter. *Journalist 2* described the picture as follows:

The owners of small-scale enterprises do not recognize the union. They do not accept it. The union is not able to enter there. For corporate workplaces that have reached a certain point in the industry, the employer’s attitude is important for the employees. If the employer behaves more maturely on this issue, they can easily join the union. **But I’m observing that in many businesses employers show very serious resistance to the unions.** This prevents the employee from joining the union, especially in an environment where the unemployment environment is high.

#### 4.5.5. Attitude of the State towards Bipartite Social Dialogue in the Private Sector: Authorization and Reinstatement to Work

All trade union representatives agree that the law and the administration do not adequately protect unionized workers against employers’ pressure. They state that the state has an attitude that encourages employers’ anti-union actions. Evidently, attention is drawn to two issues that are interlinked, and the following issues were shown to be vital points for the weakness of unions in the private sector:

- the fact that getting authorization for collective bargaining agreement lasts for many years due to the employers’ objection lawsuits, and that the law on trade unions and collective bargaining agreement makes this possible.
- the fact that the workers who were fired because of issues regarding unionisation—even if the case may have been decided by the courts—are not reinstated.

*Workers Union 2*, who spent most of the interview time on the first issue, summarized her/his views as follows:

It is very difficult to organize in the private sector in Turkey. There are huge obstacles in front of unionisation. Our biggest problem is the judicial leg. We are not able to organize because of the prolonged trial periods. It is necessary to prevent dismissal due to trade union issues and to take deterrent measures. When we get the majority, the employer sues. For example, s/he says “This is not my line of business”. But it’s obviously her/his line of business. The employer knows that this trial will last for a couple of years. **The law is being used very flexibly in this regard. Due to the filing of such lawsuits, our unionisation efforts fail.** We have no problems in getting new members. It used to be done through a notary, but now you can be a member overnight. The procedure related to this also comes from the Ministry. There is no problem here. As a matter of fact, the problem starts afterwards. **The employer says “You don’t have the majority”. The fact that the majority determined by the Ministry is not accepted by the employer, and it is a handicap in itself. (...) After the objection to authorization is made and the matter is brought to the court, a process which will take two-three years at minimum, the employer starts firing workers by saying that “I am downsizing”. We take actions for the reinstatement of these workers.** If we can get in touch with the employer, we can handle it through an unwilling social dialogue channel. But mostly it continues with mutual

argumentation. **The employer fires more workers.** Justice cannot be achieved. That's why we're having trouble with unionisation—which is our reason of existence. Parties to social dialogue have many shortcomings on this issue.

When *Workers Union 2* was asked about one comment made by an interviewed Ministry officer that is “It would create problems not to give the employer the right of objection”, the representative responded as follows:

**Let's put democracy into force, but would democracy prevent the constitutional right of a citizen? The mechanism that determines that a union has the majority is the official mechanism.** The law tells me that “You can organize; this is your legal right”. (...) The Ministry cannot just say “but we have to give him the right of objection”. Because you are the one who makes the majority determination. **After the Ministry says that “there is a majority determination here”, how can the employer open a legal case by saying “No, there is no majority”.** All records are there. The one making the majority determination is not an outsider. It is the ministry itself. The employer rejects the majority determination granted to me by the Ministry, and it opens a legal case. The court is an official institution, as is the Ministry. One can ask by phone to see if there is a majority. It can be concluded in a month. But no, it takes three years.

*Workers Union 1* also devoted a large part of his remarks to this issue and made comments similar to *Workers Union 2*. S/he describes 1% sector threshold and 50% workplace threshold as “anti-democratic requirements that should not exist”. S/he states that even if the workers could exercise their unionisation rights, it would be impossible for them to have the right to collective bargaining due to years of authorization trials. Similar to *Workers Union 2*, s/he states that the employers prevent unionisation by declaring different sector type for their workplaces to SGK, because the determination of the real sector type could lead to judicial processes that last for many years. S/he states that some employers knowingly make the objection to authority in another province, and that it could take one year before that court determines itself to be unauthorized for the case. S/he claims that appellate courts that were claimed to shorten the period, actually extended the judicial cases around eight months. Due to all these obstacles in front of the finalization of authorization determination, they were able to finally sign collective bargaining agreements in only one of every five workplaces in which the ministry had authorized their unions. S/he notes that in the remaining four workplaces the employers fired some union employees and intimidated others into resigning during the many-years long trial period. Resultantly, converting the union member majority into a minority.

The fact that workers dismissed due to union issues are not reinstated is seen as a vital factor for the weakness of the unions in the private sector. According to *Workers Confederation 3*, the government should “guarantee more binding statements that workers who are dismissed due to unionisation must be reinstated instead of receiving a 8+4 compensation” and “sit down with the unions and employers and make the union freedom in law on trade unions to comply with the ILO norms”.

*Workers Union 3*, who is also a lawyer, explained the key importance of reinstatement with the following words:

**For the workers to join a union, the conditions must be suitable. Workers will continue to stay away from the unions unless a legal regulation and an administrative environment is established that will help workers resist employers' sanctions when they become union members.** (...) **Something must be done in terms of job security.** (...) In our country, there is no reinstatement, but there is compensation. **A worker applies for reinstatement. Even if the dismissal is absolutely an unfair one, the court says: “It is decided that either the worker is reinstated or the following amount is paid”.** **From the moment you say “this amount”, reinstatement is off the table.** (...) However, if the employer knows that the worker will be reinstated, s/he will try to compromise instead of fighting. (...) Convincing the employer goes through job security.

*Employer 2* states that they are against the claims and demands of union representatives on the issues of authorization and reinstatement. The representative explains her/his objections with respect to the issues of threshold and authorization objections. *Employer 2* notes that Law No. 6356 on Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining Agreement,

which entered into force in 2012, has been enacted through the consensus of social partners. S/he states that although a “symbolic sector threshold of three per cent” was accepted in the law, the threshold was lowered and reduced to one per cent in 2014. The removal of sector and workplace thresholds, which are “determined with the consensus of the parties” leads to boost in the number of trade unions as well as confusions over authorization.

*Employer 2* also refers to Article 43 of the Law No. 6356 on Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining Agreements on authorization objections. S/he argues that certain deadlines are set for the objection process in this article, and therefore claims of union representatives regarding the length of the authorization process does not reflect the truth. *Employer 2* summarized her/his views on this subject as follows:

The authorization objection is a recognized right for workers and employers in Law No. 6356. To suggest that the right recognized by law could be removed from the employer only would be incompatible with the impartiality principle. Furthermore, decisions given by the courts on employers’ objections also show how appropriate this legal right granted to employers is.

Two of the four interviewed Ministry officials do not agree with the allegations of trade union representatives on issues of authorization and reinstatement, while the other two partially agree. *Ministry 1* states that the authorization process is extended by one to one-and-a-half years due to employers’ objections. S/he adds that this does not harm the unionisation process, but only delays it. S/he claims that the one-year worth compensation received by dismissed workers in relation with union issues is a deterrent for employers. *Ministry 3*, who also emphasizes similar points, argues that it is very rare to see cases where collective bargaining agreement is not signed at the end of a litigation process due to an employer’s objection to a certificate of authorization.

When the complaints of trade unions were communicated to *Ministry 2*, it has been stated that the state has shortcomings in cases of dismissal due to union issues:

No one stands behind a union worker when s/he is fired. S/he is finished. The employer gives compensation, if necessary, and hurts three or five people. This becomes an example, and then no one even dares to try. Yes, there is a shortcoming there. (...) As a matter of fact, when you fire two people, they all become scared. It’s not easy at all to find a job. We’re in a public office, and we don’t face dismissal, but they live that anxiety every day. Firing three people is enough already. Maybe the other has rent, or a loan debt. Who would take this risk? Indeed, the state has shortcomings here.

When asked about the complaints of the unions that were underlined in the interviews, *Ministry 4* states that there are difficulties in the process of authorization and reinstatement. In response to the question of how the authorization system could be improved, it is stated that the employers’ objections could be decided by the Supreme Arbitration Board.

One specific topic voiced by *Workers Confederation 1* and *Workers Union 1* is the “monopolistic” structure in the authorization system in Turkey. *Workers Confederation 1* explicated this issue as follows:

The Turkish trade union movement is under the pressure of some shackles. We are not able to go beyond employer unionism in Turkey. This is because there is a monopolistic structure in our system. This monopolistic structure points to the employers. **What I mean by the monopolistic structure is the following: Only one union can get authorization at a workplace and the other union disappears at that workplace. As in the case of civil servants that constitutes the minority, the second union should also be able to receive membership fees. If this happens, then the unions can fight together.** Let’s assume the second union produces a solution to a problem at a workplace, increases the number of its members and becomes the first union; but even then the other union does not disappear. A more pluralistic structure is beneficial both for workers and trade unions to fight together. In the existing structure, trade unionism cannot develop. This structure has no sustainability.

*Workers Union 1* draws attention to the same issue as follows:

According to our legislation, in order to obtain the CBA right, more than half of the employees at a workplace should be members of a union and apply to the state. This implies a crippled state structure from the beginning. **In the EU countries, a trade union can establish a social dialogue mechanism in the name of representation, regardless of whether it has many members or only a few. More than one employee organization can exist at a workplace. In Turkey, there is no room for this to happen.** This creates a monopolistic union operation.

### 4.6. Recommendations by Social Partners on Improving Social Dialogue in Turkey

#### 4.6.1. Recommendations for Tripartite Social Dialogue

- The Economic and Social Council should convene regularly (all labour confederations, worker unions, civil servants' confederations and *Employer 3*)
- The Tripartite Advisory Board should convene regularly (all labour confederations, trade unions, public servants confederations)
- Statistics of the tripartite social dialogue should be kept and published regularly in the study statistics (*Workers Confederation 1*)
- Harmonization with the EU's European social policy and social dialogue mechanisms should be achieved (*Employer 1*)

#### 4.6.2. Recommendations for Public Servants Unionism

- Civil servants should have the right to strike (*Public Servants Confederation 2, Public Servants Confederation 1*)
- One-month long collective bargaining process should be extended (*Public Servants Confederation 2, Public Servants Confederation 1*)
- The freedom of the civil servants to choose the union they prefer should be guaranteed by the public authorities. This should be clearly declared, and the administrators of the institutions should not interfere with the freedom to choose a union (*Public Servants Confederation 1*)
- A general collective agreement can be signed in a month to determine the wages and compensation increases to be given to civil servant. Regarding the working conditions, service branches can sit down with the managers in their own ministries who have the authority to sign, and they should discuss on more specific issues and make a collective agreement. These processes must be separate and independent from each other. Service branch collective bargaining agreements may be spread to the next one or two months, as there remains no issue to discuss related to the budget item. Completely related to working conditions (*Public Servants Confederation 1*)
- The Public Servants' Advisory Board should not just be an entity that exists on paper, but it should be an entity that can implement necessary decisions effectively. Decisions taken here must be approved by the Council of Ministers (*Public Servants Confederation 2, Public Servants Confederation 1*)
- The structure of the Public Servants' Arbitration Board should be fairer. It should at least be changed back to its previous state before 4688's change in 2012. If the government appoints the president of the board, as it is the case today, then a six-to-five majority is automatically formed in favour of the government. In the past, President of the 9th Chamber of the Supreme Court of Appeals used to be the natural president. S/he was able to behave more objectively because s/he did not come through assignment (*Public Servants Confederation 1*)
- Membership fees should be increased in order for public unions to strengthen their institutional independence and infrastructures (*Public Servants Confederation 2, Public Servants Confederation 1*)
- Civil servants and workers should be able to organize together, at least under an umbrella organization (*Public Servants Confederation 1*)

### 4.6.3. Recommendations for Worker Unionism

- The prolonged process of authorization that lasts years due to the employers' exploitation of their right to object to authorization, the gaps in the law and the problems in the judiciary system should come to an end. (All labour confederations and trade unions)
- The employer's objection must be either absent or judged and decided quickly by an administrative mechanism. (*Workers Union 2, Workers Union 1, Workers Confederation 2*)
- Workers who are fired/sacked in relation with unions, provided there is a court decision, should be reinstated. (All labour confederations and trade unions)
- Ministry's discrimination against some unions should come to an end (*Workers Confederation 2, Workers Union 1*)
- A pluralistic authorization structure should be set up at a workplace instead of a monopolistic authorization structure where only one trade union is authorized; more than one union should be able to execute social dialogue at a workplace. (*Workers Confederation 1, Workers Union 1*)
- Sector and workplace thresholds should be removed (*Workers Confederation 2, Workers Union 1*)
- The Minister of Labour must defend workers who have clearly been dismissed due to union issues, s/he should visit a group of such workers, even if it is for once, and support the workers, warn the employer. Even such a single act would create a serious change in society's view of trade unions and pave the way for unionisation. (*Workers Confederation 2*)
- Within the scope of social protection, a regular and permanent income system should be established for all people apart from unemployment insurance. (*Workers Confederation 1*)
- If the databased authorization system is to continue, then authorized unions at workplaces where trade union competition is available should be decided through holding referenda based on workers' votes instead of authorization lawsuits that will last for years. (*Workers Union 1, Workers Confederation 2*)
- Strike bans under the name of strike deferral should come to an end (*Workers Union 1, Workers Confederation 2*)

### 4.6.4. Recommendations for ILO

- ILO should organize more meetings that bring together the social partners apart from formal social dialogue mechanisms. (*Workers Confederation 3, Workers Union 3, NGO 1*)
- ILO can function as a pressure element to engage Turkey in the EU process. (*Employer 1*)
- ILO should do more studies for the use of enterprises. They should be applicable, and certainly not endangering the competitiveness and sustainability of firms. (*Employer 3*)
- ILO should be more active to make sure that implementations in Turkey are in compliance with the international treaties. ILO can conduct research on this subject, apply pressure by producing data and publishing them, and make suggestions to the government. (*Public Servants Confederation 1, Workers Confederation 2, Workers Union 1*)
- ILO should be more active and critical towards the demands of other international institutions that demand policies that may bring harm to working people. (*Workers Confederation 1*)
- ILO should bring the most recent international debates and developments about social dialogue to social partners' attention. (*Ministry 1*)

## Chapter 5. General Assessment and Policy Recommendations

### 5.1. General Findings

In the survey conducted for the general public and the working population; it is understood that a considerable amount of people is not informed about the working life (the union movement/social dialogue) in Turkey, and it is concluded that there is not much effort in following the studies in this field via the press or the broadcast media. On the other hand, the fact that economic and work-related problems are considered to be extremely important made us conclude that these issues are becoming more important. Therefore, it is important that both the trade union movement and the social dialogue efforts reach out to the wider public and make its voice heard, and large segments of people are ready to take it.

It is found out that both the general public and the working population do not generally find the trade unions successful enough; they do not think that they have a strong presence in working life, and they think that unions are not working effectively. On the other hand, it is understood that both the general public and the working population attribute important tasks to trade unions on the condition that they are cautious about doing politics.

Although both the general public and the working population think that trade unions at their current state are not working at the desired level, it should be noted that a number of structural obstacles were also voiced:

- It was emphasized that there are legislative problems standing in front of the trade unions.
- It was stated that informality constitutes a significant problem in working life and this negatively affects the union life.
- Partly connected to the previous item, dismissal is also considered to be a factor that negatively affects the union life.

When the negative working conditions (long working hours, low wages, high risks of occupational accidents etc.) are taken into account, the belief that the unions have important tasks is expressed. Partly connected to the previous item, the belief in social dialogue is also expressed. In this context, task/responsibility is attributed to trade unions and employers, particularly to the government, in social dialogue.

### 5.2. Policy Recommendations

Based on the results of both qualitative and quantitative studies, a series of policy recommendations can be developed for three different segments in the context of regulating working life.

#### 5.2.1. Policy Recommendations for Trade Unions

When we look at the trade union members, it is the case that this group has difficulties in terms of developing a sense of belonging; other than a small segment, most are passive members; and they think they do not have enough opportunities to contribute to decision-making. Likewise, even if to a smaller extent, criticisms have been expressed that the union managements act hierarchically; they do not have sufficient knowledge of the legislation in working life, and they discriminate on the basis of gender.

Regarding the society's view of the trade unions, there is no serious problem with civil servants, because significant portions of civil servants who are entitled to become union members are already union members. The main problem here is among workers -especially among private sector workers. According to our quantitative research, as can be recalled, the percentage of those who has a positive view of trade unions is higher than those who has a negative view among the insured but non-unionized workers. As can be seen, it is clearly stated that a significant portion of the private sector workers, who are the main target group of trade unions, look favourably towards trade unions. This data shows that there is a sociological base for increasing the official unionisation rate in Turkey to fifty per cent. However, it also shows that these people can simply not unionise.

From here; the trade unions should make their decision-making processes more participatory in order to increase the sense of belonging among its members to unions and thus increase the efforts of the members on behalf of the union, and to increase joint work within the union. Furthermore, it is important that the managements have a fairer and more democratic attitude. Likewise, it would be useful to show a stronger stance against gender-based discrimination. Finally, it would be useful for trade unions to pay attention to the demands that the trade unions should be more active in non-wage areas.

Some specific recommendations can be listed as follows:

- Increasing the frequency of trade union meetings at the workplace can be a start for this purpose.
- Efforts should be increased to ensure that the union management takes care of the interests of all members and that the studies are being done at the management level to defend these interests.
- A corporate communication strategy should be developed by focusing on the idea that the most accurate representation of the rights and interests of the employees as well as their effective protection can only be achieved through trade unions.
- The internal control mechanisms of the trade unions should be improved. Cases that step outside of democratic practices, that involve lack of adequate knowledge and that entail lack of adequate sensitivity in gender-based behaviour should be eliminated. In particular, a gender-equality approach should be followed in all trade union activities and policies. This approach should be shared with the public and the members.
- Special emphasis should be put on internal democracy. It must be guaranteed that trade union workplace representatives are elected. Arrangements that will make both union delegate elections and the rights to elect and to be elected more democratic stands as a precondition for increasing unionisation. It should be ensured that the administrative and financial aspects of trade unions are accessible and transparent to the members.
- It would be useful for trade unions to design their studies in non-wage areas (primarily working conditions) for long terms.

According to our qualitative research, representatives of the unions that have increased their member counts in recent years, make relatively more positive assessments about the perception of society towards trade unions, while other union representatives make relatively more negative assessments. Specific to labour unionism, some trade union representatives have expressed criticisms about their own trade unions. However, as a more prevalent view, they all agree on the following point: Since unionisation is very difficult in the private sector, trade unions are weakening, workers who join a union loses her/his job, and therefore, the view towards the unions is becoming negative.

It should be ensured that the unions work in an environment where workers can exercise their trade union rights, there is no room for trade union discrimination and there is trade union freedom. On the other hand, the right of civil servants to freely choose the union they want should be guaranteed by public administrators; this should be clearly declared; and the administrators of the institution should not interfere with the freedom to choose a union. A transparent and impartial complaint and audit mechanism should be established to examine the claims on this issue.

Compared to unionized workers, the most important reason for non-unionized workers not to become union members is their fear of getting fired. In an environment where a significant number of employees are very worried about being unemployed, the fact that unionisation in the private sector implies a serious risk of dismissal is one of the factors that determine social perception towards unionisation. Moreover, as demanded by all workers' confederations and trade unions interviewed, a worker who is determined by the court to have been fired due to union issues must definitely be reinstated in order to prevent unionisation from being associated with dismissal. It is clear that the twelve months of union compensation is not a deterrent, as seen in dozens of cases in recent years. On this issue, significant responsibilities fall upon the shoulders of the employers and the public sector.

At this point, the presence of the informal sector is very important. It is mandatory to develop a long-term and comprehensive policy towards informality in work life. Campaigns should be conducted both to get informal workers insured, to increase union membership rates, and to strengthen the perception that unionisation can function as

a guarantee mechanism for insured work. In particular, campaigns and projects intended to increase the member counts of trade unions should be carried out in collaboration with other trade unions of the same sector/business or confederation, and joint strategies should be developed.

Processes related to trade unions should be revised. Especially, exploitation of the right to object to authorization by some employers as well as gaps in the law and the judiciary system to ensure that the process of authorization lasts for years should be eliminated. Therefore, it is extremely important to prevent the disruption of the system through the immediate resolution of authorization objections.

On the other hand, a pluralistic authorization structure should be built at workplaces rather than a monopolistic one, where only a single union is authorized, and more than one trade union should be able to conduct social dialogue at a workplace. For this purpose, sector and workplace thresholds should be reduced. To determine the authorized union at a workplace where there is trade union competition, referenda based on workers' votes should be utilized instead of authorization lawsuits that will last for years.

To emphasize again; it is understood that there is both belief and need in the working population for a dialogue to be established between the workplace management and the employees. We would like to remind that about a quarter of the trade unions indicate that they do not hold elections at the workplace for union representatives. More than half of this group think that the union representative should be elected. It is seen that unions should be more sensitive about the internal democracy and develop long-term communication strategies on this issue. While the proportion of those who find themselves close to the union is larger, the fact that the proportion of those who find themselves not close to the union at all is significant is a finding that should be taken into consideration by the trade unions. As mentioned above, the fact that only a few trade union meetings are held at the workplace and that the union members have problems in participating these meetings are findings that may explain why the members do not feel close to unions.

### 5.2.2. Policy Recommendations for Employers

In the context of strengthening working life, a number of policy recommendations for employers can be drawn from the results of the survey study:

- The perception that being a union member does not constitute an obstacle to job security should be strengthened. Communication channels should be established to eliminate the perception that being a union member may result in dismissal.
- One should be more responsive to problems and demands of employees at the workplace. It is useful to support the existing stance that underlines the importance of mutual dialogue in terms of overcoming problems.
- In order to make working conditions safer, the employers should ensure that the necessary measures have been taken at the workplace.
- Private sector employees attribute an important role to the employers for improving social dialogue. To meet this expectation, employers are expected to develop mechanisms to improve social dialogue at the workplace. Workers/workplace councils/committees (work council), which are common in Europe, ensure workers' representation and participation at the workplace, and are elected by the workers, can be evaluated in this context.

### 5.2.3. Policy Recommendations for Public Sector

In questions related to the labour market, the belief of the general public and the unionized workers in public's facilitating and unifying power is repeated. As for this mission, the following are expected:

- First of all, paving the way for the representation of employees by unions through the reduction of informal employment,
- Making the necessary arrangements to eliminate unemployment concerns and ensuring that employers comply with these arrangements,

- Making arrangements to eliminate the anxiety of dismissal, which stands as one of the major obstacles to unionisation, and implementing them,
- Enabling the effective use of the right to strike, which is guaranteed by law, in practice,
- Ensuring balanced representation of the three parties in the process of social dialogue by giving more attention to the voice of the trade unions and employer organizations,
- Considering that the representation of the employer segment is also a value protected by the ILO norms, observing the representation on a volunteer-based membership ,
- Implementing the necessary legal regulations and sanctions to reduce occupational accidents and to make working conditions safer in an effective manner throughout the country.

### 5.3. Social Dialogue

The majority of the general public share the opinion that dialogue can be improved with agreements across the country. Therefore, there is the necessary social demand for the realization of tripartite agreements. We see that the public is of the opinion that in the process of social dialogue, the three parties should have equal representation. This emerges both as a demand for state authorities to achieve balance, and it reflects the belief that the dialogue can only be realized as long as certain conditions are met. In accordance with these demands, the Ministry can assume the role of being an effective communication channel between the two parties and an effective speaker to share the steps in this dialogue with the public.

It is possible to summarize the main findings of in-depth interviews with stakeholders as follows: The Economic and Social Council does not meet regularly; the Tripartite Advisory Board also does not meet regularly; the statistics of tripartite social dialogue (such as the number of meetings, the number of participants, indicators for following the executions of the decisions agreed on) are not kept; and employees' participation in management at the workplace is below the desired level.

Our recommendations will be directed at the government, which has the playmaker role in social dialogue relationship. The other two sides of the social dialogue that are paid employees and employers, together with the unions representing them, consist of multiple parties and multiple subjects. In this structure that consists of multiple parties and subjects, it is not realistic to think that a serious number of subjects from one of the parties will take into consideration any suggestion made from outside and implement it. However, in Turkey, the government is a strong play-maker and has the institutional power to implement a proposal that it deems important.

If we infer concrete policies from here:

- The functioning of the tripartite social dialogue in an institutional, systematic, inclusive and transparent manner should be ensured.
- It should be ensured that the Economic and Social Council and the Tripartite Advisory Board meet regularly.
- It should be ensured that the Work Council meets regularly.
- Effective representation of workers and employers in social dialogue mechanisms should be maintained.
- Statistics of the tripartite social dialogue (such as the number of meetings, the number of participants, indicators for following the executions of the decisions agreed on) should be kept and regularly published in the study statistics.
- Civil servants must have the right to strike.
- One-month collective bargaining period for public servants should be extended; within one-month time, a general contract to determine the wages must be made, and then the service branches should make separate agreements on working conditions with the authorized managers in their ministries.

- Public institution administrators should not interfere with the freedom to choose a union. This should be clearly declared.
- The Public Servants' Advisory Board should not be an entity that exists only on paper, but it should be transformed into an entity that can implement the decisions. Decisions taken must be approved by the Presidency.
- In the private sector, the process of unions authorization should be reorganised so as to enable the use of trade union rights more effectively.
- Employer's objection should be quickly addressed by an administrative mechanism.
- Regulations concerning the rights of workers who are confirmed by the court that they have been fired due to union issues should be reconsidered.
- Similar to the practices in different EU member states, the sector and workplace thresholds should be reduced from their current state, a pluralistic authorization structure should be built, and it should be made possible for more than one union to execute social dialogue at a workplace.

ILO can bring together the parties of social dialogue more frequently, in smaller groups to facilitate their communication. It was also stated that if ILO becomes more active on rights violations and problems in social dialogue field in Turkey, then this could establish very important steps in removing the obstacles in front of social dialogue.

\*\*\*

Last but not the least, we would like to add that a survey study that focuses on employers, who are out of the scope of this survey, will provide important additional information. Furthermore, it is clear that the inclusion of some key questions on trade union movement and social dialogue in the "Household" surveys conducted throughout the country will facilitate monitoring of developments in this area.



## Bibliography

- Adaman, F., Buğra, A. and İnsel, A. (2009) "Societal Context of Labor Union Strategy: The Case of Turkey", *Labor Studies Journal*, 34(2): 168–188.
- Akkaya, Y. (2003) *Küreselleşme Kıskaçında Türkiye’de İşçi Sınıfı ve Özellikleri*, Petrol-İş Yıllığı 2002-2003, İstanbul. [http://www.petrolis.org.tr/yayinlar/yillik/2003\\_yillik/10\\_kiskac/index.htm](http://www.petrolis.org.tr/yayinlar/yillik/2003_yillik/10_kiskac/index.htm).
- Akpınar, T. and Akçay, İ.İ. (2015) "From Labour-Capital Conflict to Social Dialogue? A Critical Review of Social-Dialogue Discourse in Turkey", *Capital and Class*, 39(3): 435–451.
- Broughton, A. (2008) *European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions – Eurofound: Working conditions and social dialogue*. Dublin. [https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ef\\_files/docs/comparative/tn0710019s/tn0710019s.pdf](https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ef_files/docs/comparative/tn0710019s/tn0710019s.pdf)
- T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Çalışma Genel Müdürlüğü (2012) Çalışma Hayatı Saha Çalışmaları Esnek Çalışma Modelleri Uygulamaları, Ağır Vasıta Sürücülerinin Çalışma Koşulları, İşverenlerin Sendikal Örgütlenmeye Bakış Açısı, Mevsimlik Gezici Tarım İşçilerinin Çalışma ve Sosyal Hayatlarının İyileştirilmesi Projesinin (METKİP) Etkisi, Mart, Genel Yayın No:168.
- Çam, S. (2002) "Neo-liberalism and Labor within the Context of an "Emerging Market" Economy—Turkey", *Capital and Class*, 77: 89–114.
- Çelik, A. (2004) *Türkiye’de Sendika Üyeliği ve Sendikalaşma İstatistikleri*. [http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi\\_no=749](http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=749)
- Çelik, A. (2014) "Türkiye’de Sosyal Diyalog ve Ekonomik ve Sosyal Konsey: Bir Başarısızlık Öyküsü", paper presented at the 15. Çalışma Ekonomisi ve Endüstri İlişkileri Conference, 9-12 February, Ankara.
- Çelik, E. (2016) "'Toplumsal Hareket Sendikacılığı' Kavramının Doğuşu ve Küresel Dolaşımı Üzerine Bir İnceleme", <http://emekarastirma.org/uploads/dergi/2893.pdf>
- Çelik, A. (2017) "Türkiye’de Çalışma İlişkilerinde Kurumsallaşma: 1960-1980", in A. Makal (ed.) *Çalışma İlişkileri Tarihi*, Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları (pp. 199–227).
- Çelik, A and Lordoğlu, K. (2006) "Türkiye’de Resmi Sendikalaşma İstatistiklerinin Sorunları Üstüne", *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 2: 11–30.
- Degryse, C. (2016) "Digitalisation of the Economy and its Impact on Labour Markets", Working Paper No. 2016.02, Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- DİSK-AR (2017) *Türkiye’de İşçi Sınıfının Çalışma Hayatı ve Örgütlenmeye İlişkin Tutum, Davranış ve Beklentileri*.
- Dursun, S. (2014) "Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Sendikalara Yönelik Tutumları", *Sosyoloji Konferansları*, 49: 33–46.
- Ebbinghaus, B. (2002) "Trade Unions’ Changing Role: Membership Erosion, Organisational Reform and Social Partnership in Europe", *Industrial Relations Journal*, 33(5): 465–483.
- Erdoğan, S. (2014) "Türkiye’de Asgari Ücret Tespit Komisyonu Kararlarında İşçi ve İşveren Temsilcilerinin Yaklaşımları (1969-2013)", *İş Güç Endüstri İlişkileri ve İnsan Kaynakları Dergisi*, 16(2): 3–37.
- Erdoğan, S. and Toksöz, G. (2013) *Kadın Emeğinin Görünmeyen Yüzü: Türkiye’de Ev İşçileri*. Ankara: Uluslararası Çalışma Ofisi.
- Esin, P. (1974). *Türkiye’de İşveren Sendikacılığı*. Ankara: Ankara SBF Yayını.
- Euwema, M., Munduate, L., Elgoibar, P., Pender, E. and Garcia, A.B. (2015) (ed.) *Promoting Social Dialogue in European Organizations: Human Resources Management and Constructive Conflict Management*. London: Springer International Publishing.
- Givan, R.K. and Hipp, L. (2012). "Public Perceptions of Union Efficacy: A Twenty-Four Country Study", *Labor Studies Journal*, 37(1): 7–32.

- Gökşen, F., Olcay, Ö., Alniaçık, A. and Deniz, C. (2015) *An Analysis of Public Programs Related to Women's Entrepreneurship and Access to Labor Markets*. Washington: The World Bank.
- Glynos, G., Keaeding, M and Aybars, A.I. (2008) "Social Dialogue and its Contribution to Social Cohesion in Turkey", briefing paper. Brussels: European Parliament.
- Görmüş, A. (2007) "Türkiye'de Sosyal Diyalogun Gelişimi", *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 14: 115–140.
- Gürcan, E.C. and Mete, B. (2017) "Turkey's Social Unionism from a Combined and Uneven Development Approach: Labour Flexibility and Working-Class Identities", in E.C. Gürcan and B. Mete (ed.), *Neoliberalism and the Changing Face of Unionism: The Combined and Uneven Development of Class Capacities in Turkey*, Palgrave Macmillan (pp. 127–145).
- ILO (2013) *National Tripartite Social Dialogue: An ILO Guide for Improved Governance*. Geneva: ILO.
- ILO (2014) *Transitioning from the Informal to the Formal Economy*. <https://europa.eu/capacity4dev/iesf/document/transitioning-informal-formal-economy-ilo-2014>
- ILO (2017) *Inception Report for the Global Commission on the Future of Work*. Geneva: ILO.
- Ishikawa, J. (2003) *Key Features of National Social Dialogue: A Social Dialogue Resource Book*. Geneva: ILO.
- İşığışık, Ö. (1999) "Sosyal Diyalog – Temel Nitelikleri ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Diyaloga İlişkin Genel Bir Değerlendirme", *İş, Güç Endüstri ve İnsan Kaynakları Dergisi*, 1(2), <https://www.isguc.org/?p=article&id=2&cilt=1&sayi=1&yil=1999>
- Kılıç, S. and Yıldız, K. (2015), "İş Arayanların Sendika Talebi ve Sendika Algısı: Türkiye'deki Temsil Boşluğu Hakkında Bazı İşaretler", *Siyaset Ekonomi ve Yönetim, Özel Sayı*, 191–204.
- Koray, M. and Çelik, A. (2007) *Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Diyalog*. Ankara: Belediye-İş Yayınları.
- Kumaş, H. (2011) "İşverenlerin Kıdem Tazminatı ve Kıdem Tazminatı Fonuna Bakışları (Denizli İli Örneği ile Bir Durum Tespiti)", in K. Orhan and H. Kumaş (ed.) *Kıdem Tazminatı: Uygulamada Yaşanan Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri* (pp.165-203). Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi.
- Kumaş, H. (2017) "İşverenlerin Sendika Üyeliğine Bakışları: Denizli İli Örneği", *Çalışma İlişkileri Dergisi*, 8(1): 1–45.
- Kutal, M. (1997) "Küreselleşme Sürecinin Türk Sendikacılığı Üzerindeki Olası Etkileri", *Prof. Dr. Kemal Oğuzman'a Armağan*, Ankara: İş Hukuku Milli Komitesi Yayını.
- Lordoğlu, K. (2003) *Türk Sendikal Hareketinin Özgün Kriz Alanları Var mıdır?, Petrol-İş 2002-2003 Yıllığı*, İstanbul. [http://www.petrol-is.org.tr/yayinlar/yillik/2003\\_yillik/13\\_Kriz/index.htm](http://www.petrol-is.org.tr/yayinlar/yillik/2003_yillik/13_Kriz/index.htm)
- Machin, S. (2000) "Union Decline in Britain", *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 38(4): 631–645.
- Makal, A. (1999) *Türkiye'de Tek Partili Dönemde Çalışma İlişkileri: 1920-1946*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.
- Medina, L. ve Schneider, F. (2018). "Shadow Economies Around the World: What Did We Learn Over the Last 20 Years?" IMF Working Paper, WP/18/17.
- Moyser, G. (2006) "Elite Interviewing", in V. Jupp (ed.), *The Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications (pp. 85-86).
- Mütevellioglu, N. (2013) "İşsizlik Korkusu, Sendikaların İşlevselliği ve Sendikal Örgütlenme Hakkı", paper presented at the V. Sosyal Haklar Uluslararası Sempozyumu (pp. 179–193), 31 October - 3 November, Bursa.
- Nichols, T. and Suğur, N. (2004) *Global Management and Local Labor: Turkish workers and modern industry*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Özveri, M. (2007) "Sendikal Hareket, Sorunlar ve Arayışlar", in F. Sazak (ed.), *Türkiye'de Sendikal Kriz ve Sendikal Arayışlar*, Ankara: Epos Yayınları.
- Seçer, B. (2009) "Kadınların Sendikalara Yönelik Tutumları ile Cinsiyet Ayrımcılığı Algılarının Sendika Üyesi Olma İsteğine Etkisi", *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 23: 27–59.

- Taşkıran, G. and Kiraz, Z. (2017) "Çalışma Ekonomisi ve Endüstri İlişkileri Bölümü Öğrencilerinin Sendika Kavramına İlişkin Metaforik Algıları", *Erciyes Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi*, 50: 61–77.
- Tekin, Ö.A. and Tüfekçi, Ö.K. (2015) "Turizm Öğrencilerinin Sendika Algısı: Üniversite Öğrencileri Üzerine Bir Araştırma", *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 17(1): 171–200.
- TİSK (2012) *51. Yılı Kutlayan Sosyal Ortak ve Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu*. [http://tisk.org.tr/tr/e-yayinlar/336\\_tisk\\_tanitici\\_brosur/pdf\\_336\\_tisk\\_tanitici\\_brosur.pdf](http://tisk.org.tr/tr/e-yayinlar/336_tisk_tanitici_brosur/pdf_336_tisk_tanitici_brosur.pdf) (13.06.2018)
- Uçkan, B. and Kağncıoğlu, D. (2009) "İşçilerin sendikalara ilişkin Algı ve Tutumları: Eskişehir Örneği", *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 22: 35–56.
- Urhan, B., (2004) *Sendikal Örgütlenme Bunalımı ve Türkiye'deki Durum*, İstanbul: Petrol-İş yayınları.
- Urhan, B. (2005) "Türkiye'de Sendikal Örgütlenmede Yaşanan Güven ve Dayanışma Sorunları", *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 4: 57–87.
- Urhan, B. (2014) *Sendikasız Kadınlar, Kadınsız Sendikalar*. İstanbul: KADAV Yayınları.
- Urhan, B. and Selamoğlu, A. (2008) "İşçilerin Sendikalara Yönelik Tutum ve Davranışları: Kocaeli Örneği", *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 22: 171–197.
- van der Bunder, P. (2016) "FNV KIEM – Union for Arts and Creative Industries", paper presented at the Shaping the New World of Work: The Impact of Digitalisation and Robotisation bETUC-ETUI conference, 27-29 June, Brussels.
- van der Valk, P. and Süral, N. (2005) "Türkiye'de Sosyal Diyalog: Yapısı, Uygulama ve Tutumlar", in F. Pennings and N. Süral (ed.), *Türk İşgücü Piyasasının Esnekleştirilmesi ve Modernleştirilmesi* (pp. 38–67). Ankara: Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği.
- Yıldırım, E. and Çalış, S. (2008) "The Impact of EU Accession on Turkish Industrial Relations and Social Dialogue", *Industrial Relations Journal*, 39(3): 212–228.

