PROPOSAL FOR PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION AT THE IAB GRADUATE SCHOOL INTERDISCIPLINARY Ph.D. WORKSHOP

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EXPLORING THE PECULIARITIES OF EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONS IN THE TURKISH TEXTILE AND CLOTHING INDUSTRY WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP SYSTEM

1. INTRODUCTION

The present doctoral research is an inquiry into the family businesses in Turkey and investigates the link(s) between the recent and rapid socio-economic change that the country has been going through and the structure and functioning of family businesses' that operate therein, with a particular focus on the kinship system. For an accurate analysis of family businesses in Turkey, it is essential that one pays due attention to the family component of those enterprising families at least as much as one focuses on their entrepreneurial aspects. Many studies of family businesses that have been conducted so far on various contexts suffer from a shortcoming that stems from failing to address sufficiently the kinship dimension, i.e. the prevalent kinship systems, relationships therein and their consequences on the nature and conduct of family businesses that are operational in those contexts. Although it has been argued that family businesses, notwithstanding the majority position that they hold in the world in terms of number of enterprises, have not received the due scholarly attention they deserve (Jones 2005) and that the scholarly literature on family businesses has only recently been growing (Bird et al 2002; Sharma 2004), the nascent community of academics of family business have only rarely taken into account and dealt with the kinship systems from within which family firms are formed and along the norms of which they operate (Stewart 2003).

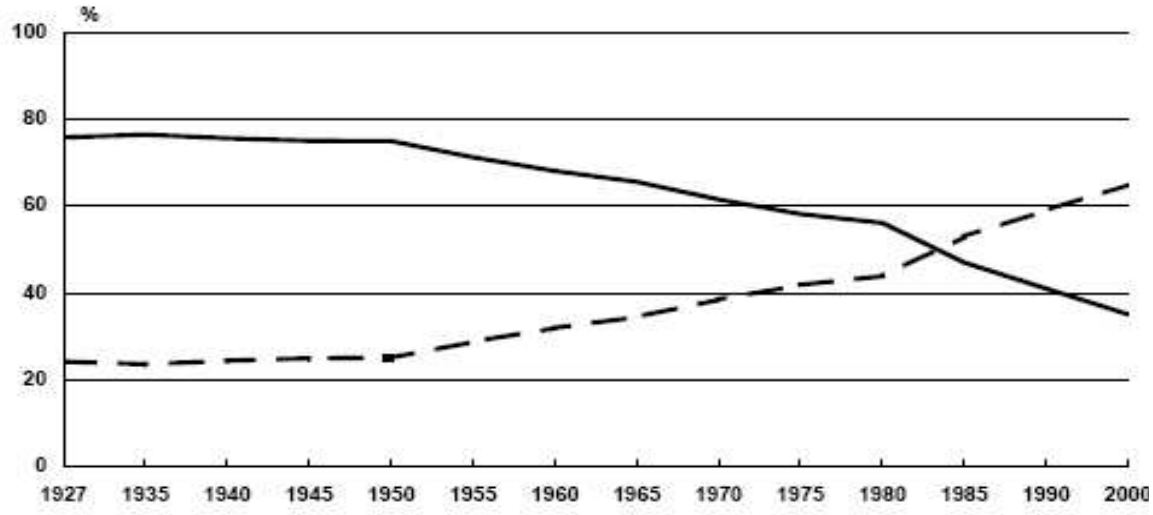
The proposal submitted herein for presentation and discussion at the IAB Ph.D. workshop comprises of parts from the literature review and preliminary empirical findings of a doctoral research project that is in its second year since its commencement. The main focus is on the employer-employee relations in the light and context of Turkey's recent urbanisation experience in the form of a massive and rapid rural influx to the urban centres. The study aims

to call for attention to and underline the need for a context-sensitive study of industrial and workplace relations, instead of subscribing to a one-size-fits-all model with mere focus on and reference to the mode of production and/or the ownership of the means of production.

2. A TALE OF MANY CITIES: RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION FLOWS AND URBANISATION IN TURKEY SINCE 1940'S

Prior to World War II, Turkey had a predominantly rural population that lived in villages, which were isolated both from each other and from the outside world due to the undeveloped transport and communication networks (T. Senyapili 1982). While according to 1945 census data only 24.9 % of the population lived in urban centres, this share increased to 34.4 % in 1965 and to 53 % in 1985 (Nirun 1994). As a consequence, '[s]ince 1950, rapid urbanisation has been the most important social phenomena in Turkey' (Gunes-Ayata 1996), as it also is apparent and can be seen in Graph 1 below.

Graph 1**:** Share in total population of cities and village population



Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2005: 3)

This rural-to-urban migration phenomenon of the last six decades in Turkey has been extensively studied (Gunes-Ayata 1996). Following Karpat's (1976) method, those factors proposed in the extant literature can be classified into two groups of "push" and "pull" factors respectively. A major push factor mentioned in the literature is the emergence of surplus labour in the countryside with the introduction of mechanization in agriculture after World War II with assistance received through the Marshall Plan, allegedly resulting in a flow of rural migrants to urban centres in search for jobs (Kiray 1982). Another push factor which has

been put forth is the land ownership structure in rural areas that had become quite polarized by 1940's in the hands of wealthier peasants[1] and that exerted much pressure on the then-landless peasants to head to cities with the hope of finding a job with better income (Guriz 1971; Tekeli 1978; Sencer 1979; T. Senyapili 1982).[2] A relatively more recent and important push factor is the forced evacuation since 1980's of thousands of villages in Southeast Turkey due to either the construction of numerous big dams whose reservoirs flooded many rural settlements (Gunes-Ayata 1996; Ronayne 2005) or the armed clashes with guerrillas of the rebel Kurdish organisation PKK (Erder 1997; Erman 2001).[3]

On the other hand, increasing awareness among the rural population about cities and opportunities therein, as a result of the developments in and increased investments into transportation and communications in post-World War II Turkey, rendered the urban centres more attractive for rural dwellers, and thus, acted as a major pull factor in encouraging the latter to migrate to big cities. Moreover, apart from the improvements in infrastructures, more knowledge about the city and urban life gradually began to be disseminated among the rural population also through the channels of contacts that migrants kept with their relatives and their fellow villagers after and as they settle and start their new life in the city. These sustained contacts, however, have not only facilitated a flow of information to the rural population about the city, but also formed the basis of new social networks in the urban context among the newcomer and latecomer migrants of similar ethnic, regional or religious background as a source of solidarity and support for survival, which in turn have also been regarded as a pull factor for prospective migrants in the countryside (Teksen 2003).

[1] Guriz (1971) notes that in the year 1952 when rural-to-urban migration had just started at massive scales, 62 % of all landowning families in Turkey had fewer than five hectares land, which is the generally accepted amount of land for the living of a family at subsistence level.

[2] Economic difficulties that these first two push factors represent have prevailed as the major motive behind the former villagers' decision to migrate to cities in the empirical studies conducted so far. In Bastug's (1979) study on migrants in the city 82 % of the sample declared that hardships involved in earning a living was their reason to migrate while another 13 % reportedly expressed that it was due to the insufficiency of the land that they owned. In Tatlidil's (1991) study the majority of respondents declared that they chose to migrate because the land they owned was not large enough to sustain their living anymore. Among the results Erdogmus (1978) obtained, the share of respondents who stated that they migrated to the city because they could not have/find job opportunities in the countryside that would satisfy their expectations is as high as 73 %. Turkdogan (1977) also found a similar result of 71 % of his sample of migrants in the city of eastern city of Erzurum who stated that they migrated due to hardships faced in earning a living.

[3] Villages were burnt and all their inhabitants were killed by PKK if villagers refused to collaborate with them. A similar attitude and actions were taken by the Turkish government's paramilitary security forces. There are no exact numbers at avail but it is estimated by the Turkish Human Rights Association that at least 2000 villages had been forcibly evacuated and destroyed by the year 1995. MERIP (1996) "Forced Eviction and Destruction of Villages in Turkish Kurdistan" Middle East Report, No: 199, Turkey: Insolvent Ideologies, Fractured State, 8-9. Turkey has been sentenced for tens of times at the European Court for Human Rights to pay compensations to the victims of those actions who have taken their case to that court upon getting no result for their demands at the domestic judiciary.

Furthermore, these sustained contacts and social networks have also changed the nature of this rural-to-urban flux into the type that Macdonald and Macdonald (1974) have termed "chain migration".

Cities, however, did not welcome their new inhabitants with arms wide open. Shortage of jobs, housing and insufficient infrastructure to accommodate even the very basic needs of migrants conferred upon the latter a marginal status in society which in turn further aggravated their problems of adjustment to their new urban life (Kagitcibasi 1982). The squatter settlements that the incoming migrants built for themselves at the outskirts of cities by illegally appropriating public or privately-owned land, and that have been labelled among people as *gecekondu* – meaning "built/placed overnight"[4] in Turkish – have become the symbol of the recent rapid urbanisation experience in Turkey. The marginality of *gecekondu* dwellers in terms of this marginal spatial position they came to occupy became further entrenched with their marginal economic position and activities (Breese 1966). Scarcity of manual jobs in a yet non-industrialised urban setting and the migrants' ineligibility to take jobs in the public sector due to their low level of formal education meant that, at least at the outset, they had to seek and exploit any niche they could find in the new urban setting (T. Senyapili 1982), by working in low-skill, ill-paid and highly volatile jobs with relatively easy entry and exit conditions such as street vendors, peddlers, scrap iron collectors, porters, shoe-shiners, car washers, instant photographers, black marketers and alike (O. Senyapili 1976; T. Senyapili 1978; Sencer 1979; T. Senyapili 1981; Ersoy 1985; Erder 1996; Gunes-Ayata 1996).

Despite the *gecekondu* dwellers' marginal and informal spatial and economic position within the periphery of the new urban context vis-à-vis the "normal" and formal housing structure and economic activities of the urban core, these *gecekondu* areas bear much different characteristics than and cannot be treated even-handedly with the ghetto and slum areas of urban units in industrialised countries (Teksen 2003). First of all, unlike the static nature of ghettoes whose demarcations with the rest of the city are strictly drawn by ethnic and/or religious lines, the *gecekondu* areas have hosted populations that found themselves marginalised only in the labour market and in the delivery of urban services upon their arrival in the city, and they have not been subject to social and/or cultural marginalizing that would

[4] Although in most cases this term carries a sense of exaggeration within it and just dramatises the rapidity with which those houses were built by incoming migrants, there have also been cases which literally justify the meaning of the term. For instance, in as recently as 1988 when the term *gecekondu* had already been in use for decades, about 1500 families, upon arriving on the evening of April 23 at a suburb of Istanbul called Kartal on the Asian side of the city, built 1500 houses on public land until next day by working all night, and then named their neighbourhood 23 April (*Cumhuriyet*, Turkish daily, 27 April 1988).

otherwise have hindered their relocation to and their consequent social integration into more upscale suburbs of the city as they attain higher levels of income (Turkdogan 1977; Tatlidil 1989; Alpar and Yener 1991).[5]

Secondly, it has been argued that, unlike ghetto dwellers, *gecekondu* areas in Turkish cities have not posed any serious challenge to laws and state authority or turn into radical elements in society (Teksen 2003). On the contrary, *gecekondu* dwellers' efforts have been directed towards the fulfilment of their demands for equal participation in the social consumption of urban services, and as such, realising their integration into the city (O. Senyapili 1976; Erder 1997). This non-radical attitude of *gecekondu* dwellers is also reflected in their voting patterns, which have mostly favoured centre and centre-right parties so far and kept a distance sway from the radical calls of leftist parties for redistribution of wealth.[6] Thirdly, the urbanites themselves would not like to see the *gecekondu* dweller be marginalised in a ghetto-like formation, since he/she is not only a provider of cheap labour to the former whenever necessary but also a consumer of marketed products and services. Similarly, consuming like an urbanite provides the *gecekondu* dweller with the feeling of having achieved integration with the city (T. Senyapili 1982).[7] And finally, it is also the big size and

[5] Erman (2001, 983) points to a shift in the representations of the *gecekondu* dwellers in the academic discourse 'from the 'rural Other' in the 1950s and 1960s, to the 'disadvantaged Other' in the 1970s and early 1980s, to the 'urban poor Other(s)', the 'undeserving rich Other(s)' and the 'culturally inferior Other(s) as Sub-culture' between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s, and finally to the 'threatening/*varoslu* Other in the late 1990s.' Although such a shift of attitude is indeed shared by a certain part of the society, it should be noted that it is a rather small elite part of it but since it is the part whose voice is most easily and frequently heard, it can be easily mistaken as the general public opinion on the *gecekondu* and its dwellers. Even during mid 1990s when the elite reaction against the *gecekondu* reached its peak, a survey of major national newspapers conducted by Erder (1997) revealed that almost all criticisms and accusations concerning *gecekondu* areas were directed at politicians of local and central governments, and not at *gecekondu* dwellers. One exceptional case occurred in November 1995, when a small river in the Aegean city of Izmir flooded the *gecekondu* settlements around it and led to casualties including several deaths. A columnist of a right-wing daily paper (Memduh Bayraktaroglu, "Fakirin Boylesi Sevilir mi?" [Can One Ever Love Such Poor People?] *Aksam*, 9 November 1995) used insulting words like "buffoons", "pervert morons", "stinking jugglers" for the victims of the flood who were complaining afterwards that it was the recklessness of the authorities who did not take on time the necessary precautions that could have prevented the casualties. The article led to rage in the public opinion and the columnist was fired.

[6] A research by academics on voter profiles of political parties in 2004 revealed that *gecekondu* areas areas where the ruling right of the centre liberal-Islamist Justice and Development Party of the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan drew its major electoral support from in the city of Istanbul (*Radikal*, Turkish daily, 11 April 2004). It has been argued that the centre and right wing parties' populist policies towards *gecekondu* dwellers through granting of title deeds for the lands they occupied and built their houses on, direct aids provided in the form of food, clothing and coal for heating have made it difficult for the left parties to mobilise political support in those areas (Ozdemir Ince, "Demek ki solun secim kazanmasi icin…" [That is to say, for the left to win the elections…] *Hurriyet*, Turkish daily, 24 January 2006)

[7] For instance, T. Senyapili (1982, 242-3) notes the following observations she made during a field study she conducted with her colleague in late 1970's in *gecekondu* areas of Istanbul and Ankara: 'we observed, for example, several families had bought appliances on instalment, ranging from refrigerators and washing machines to tape recorders and record players when there was no electricity in the area. The families buy the largest TV sets on the market even though they live in very small rooms; they buy expensive printed bed sheets even though they sleep on mattresses on the floor, and lace table clothes even though they eat from trays on the floor.

share in total urban population of *gecekondu* dwellers that renders it difficult to label them as ghettos. In the beginning of 1990's, the majority of the population in three major cities of Turkey were *gecekondu* dwellers: 72 % of Ankara's population and about half of those of Istanbul and Izmir. Across the country the share of the *gecekondu* population in total urban population had reached 33 % (Keles 1994).

However, although *gecekondu* settlements are not the same with the ghettoes of industrialised countries, they are areas in which primordial aspects of identity such as ethnicity, geographical origin and religion have played a crucial role both in forming the basis of formal and informal solidarity networks among migrant families prior to, during and after their migration to cities, and in determining the specific *gecekondu* clusters organised along primordial ties that the incoming migrant families have more often than not chosen for their first residence area in the city (Turkdogan 1977; Gunes-Ayata 1996). These, together with the observed patterns of continuity and change in the Turkish family and kinship systems in the light of this social transformation, will be discussed in the following section.

3. CONCEPTUALISING THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP SYSTEM IN TURKEY

It has been argued that the most suited approach to understand the contemporary Turkish society is to resort to '[t]he study of specific ways of transformation by which the agriculturally based social structure of a society turns into a modern industrial structure' (Kiray 1991: 2). Following that advice, in this study the treatment of the smallest building blocks of the Turkish society, i.e. the Turkish family, and the kinship system that surrounds the latter is attempted with a particular focus on the rapid urbanisation experience that Turkey has recently undergone.

There are two major contesting lines of thinking in scholarly literature that attempt to explain in different ways the impacts of urbanisation on family and kinship relations (Glazer 1984; Kunstadter 1984; Flanagan 1993).[8] The first of these is the so-called modernisation theory[9] and is based on two basic, implicit and 'largely untested' (Bastug 2002: 112) assumptions: one teleological and one historical. The former implies an inevitability of convergence with the Western pattern and sees any resistance against such an allegedly

[8] In fact, more theoretical approaches than two exist on this matter, but since the main debate is between the modernisation theory and more recent views that, despite bearing nuances in comparison with each other, have emerged and posed themselves as a critique of the former, and as such they have been lumped together into a single classification here for practical reasons.

[9] Modernisation theory is a relatively more recent label in sociology, and more generally in social sciences, for this line of thought under focus here. During 1960's and 1970's it was more commonplace to call it structural functionalist view, which was then championed by works of the prominent sociologist of the era, i.e. Parsons (1959), and his followers like Goode (1963) and Smelser (1966).

natural, social evolution towards the Western model, which has been characterised by individualism and dependence, as a source of deficiency, and consequently regards persistence on family-collectivistic or interdependent family orientations as inhibitors of economic growth. On the other hand, the second assumption of the modernisation theory upholds the belief that the shift from extended, interdependent and collectivist family patterns to the nuclear, independent and individualistic ones is a by-product of and a necessity that arises from the dynamics of industrialisation, and that prior to the latter, the extended, interdependent and collectivist family structure was the norm also in the West until industrialisation came in and changed the household system drastically (Kagitcibasi 2002).

The other major line of thought has emerged in response to and as a critique of the modernisation theory, but has much variety within itself regarding postulates and assumptions than the latter that it has so far challenged. In his famous work that has become one of the classic texts of the modernisation theory, Wirth (1938) argues that the hitherto strong family ties and informal kinship relations will be increasingly loosened in the urban setting and be replaced by more formal, secondary and intermittent relations under the domination of economic interactions and mass culture. Later, in response to this, Gans (1962) came up with the concept of "urban villagers" and with the dissenting view that family and other primordial ties that dominate the rural daily life do not cease to but, on the contrary, continue to be the norm and basis of social relations in the city among migrants from the countryside (also see Litwak 1965). Based on his study on four different ethnic/linguistic communities in Thailand, Kundstadter (1984) refuses to establish a causal link between modernisation/urbanisation and nuclearisation, and shows how the communities have retained their kinship systems vis-à-vis sudden and abrupt socio-economic change. Moreover, the modernisation theory has also been under much attack for its attribution of the emergence of individualism to industrialisation (see Greenfield 1961) by studies that have found substantial evidence of individualistic patterns and nuclear families in Western Europe and the United States predating industrialisation (see Furstenberg 1966; Macfarlane 1978; Aries 1980; Thornton and Fricke 1987; Lesthaege and Surkin 1988; Razi 1993).

It was also generally assumed and argued for a long time that the typical Turkish rural family was patriarchally extended and, only after and as a result of urbanisation, families have become increasingly nuclear while the formerly very strong kinship ties have been severely weakened (Kongar 1972; Karpat 1976; Kongar 1976; T. Senyapili 1978).[10] However, other

[10] The ideological root causes and consequences for scholarship of the discursive hegemony that the modernisation theory enjoyed with regard to academic works conducted in Turkey on urbanisation until mid

more recent studies (Timur 1972; McCarthy 1979; Duben 1982, 1985; Gerber 1989; Gunes-Ayata 1996; Erder 2002) have revealed and/or argued that this is not the case. Duben (1982) has taken it even further by arguing that the former assumption is nothing but a mere myth by demonstrating that the majority of Turkish families have for at least the last one and a half century been already of nuclear type both in cities and in the countryside.[11] Consequently, when rural families started migrating to cities from late 1940's onwards, most of them did so as nuclear families and, contrary to what the modernisation theory suggests, they did not transform into a nuclear structure in the city, where urbanisation and industrialisation did not weaken the significance of family and kinship relations, but on the contrary, strengthened them even further through the construction of a 'kinship idiom' (ibid: 74), which has involved relatives and non-relatives alike and has become the basis of a wide range of social and economic relations in Turkish cities.

The strong solidarity networks observed among rural migrant families in Turkish cities have been attributed to socio-cultural, economic and political factors.[12] For those families, migration not only meant a mere a physical move from villages to cities but also arrival at an

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70's, which Duben (1982: 73) has accused of creating 'commonly held myth[s] in Turkey' around the urbanisation phenomenon instead of reflecting the reality on the ground, have been explained by Erman (2001: 985) in a rather concise but strikingly accurate way as follows: '[t]he strengthening ties with the Western world, especially the US, affected the [Turkish] academic sphere. The dominance of the modernisation theory in the West at the time highly influenced Turkish scholars who, by and large, believed in the modernisation of the country following the Western experience. Elitism and the top-down nature of Turkish modernisation, as well as the early Turkish Republic's emphasis on the premises of enlightenment and positivism, also played a role in the attractiveness of modernisation theory for Turkish intellectuals. Under the influence of this theory, Turkish scholars expected the assimilation of rural migrants into the modern urban society ('the rural Other')."

[11] In his survey of late Ottoman and early republican Turkish families of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Duben (1985: 91) has found that throughout that period '[t]he percentages of simple or nuclear households in Turkey are remarkably consistent, ranging from 52 to 60 percent. Also, based on his own archival findings from the seventeenth century court records of the city of Bursa, Gerber (1989) has revealed that the nuclear family was the rule rather than the exception in that major Ottoman town of northwest Asia Minor. He found that the average family size was '3.65 in the city of Bursa and 4.9 in its rural environs – well below what we find in the modern Middle East or in other civilizations' (ibid, 413). Timur (1972) and Kunt (1978) obtained similar findings concerning the share of each family type in the countryside, and for nuclear families these were 55.4 % in the year 1968 and 55.7 % in 1973 respectively. Rejecting the modernisation theory's "urbanisation creates nuclear families' thesis, Duben (1982) argues that in Turkey, both in urban areas and in the countryside, although extended family structure has been the desired type among the majority (also see Timur 1972), only those with much property and high levels of income could attain and sustain that ideal type that many yearned to have. Findings of Duben and Behar (1991) also confirm this in that among the nineteenth century Istanbul households, extended families were found primarily among the wealthy. The big gap between the actual and desired share of nuclear and extended households is portrayed by Timur (1972) where about two-thirds of her respondents expressed their preference to live in extended families while less than half of them actually did, or were able to do so.

[12] For practical reasons, the focus in this study will be on the socio-cultural and economic factors. The political motive behind the formation of such a solidarity among migrant families mostly arise from the need to mobilise support from its members to exert pressure on and lobby local and central governments in order to satisfy their claims for legalisation of their houses and their pressing needs for health, educational and other social services in their *gecekondu* neighbourhoods (Erder 1997).

unknown setting with unknown people around,[13] and where relations – which had hitherto been strictly limited to value-laden, tradition-based, intimate, informal, emotional, face to face type of relations in closely-knit, remote and isolated village communities – thereafter had also to be daily established and maintained with "strangers" on impersonal, discreet, formal, situational, interest-driven, and official norms and bases (Bastug 1979; Sencer 1979; Tatlidil 1991; Ayata and Ayata 1996). Therefore, it can be argued that the frequently observed trend among rural migrant families to cluster in certain neighbourhoods together with other migrant families of a shared place/region of origin, ethnicity or religion[14] has served as a 'buffer mechanism' (T. Senyapili 1978: 22-3; Sencer 1979: 306; Kongar 1982: 32) towards their socio-cultural adaptation and integration to the city, and to overcome feelings of despair and solitude by re-establishing the traditional trust-based relations in the heterogeneous urban setting where untrustworthy strangers abound (Levine 1973; Kandiyoti 1984; Teksen 2003).[15]

[13] Not only the migrant and the urbanite but also migrants from different cultures and/or regions are strangers for each other in the city at the outset. Although the latter possess similar and still-fresh memories of migration to the city, these memories do not constitute a common past (Karp et al 1991).

[14] Alpar and Yener (1991), in their extensive study of *gecekondu* areas of the three biggest cities in Turkey, found that in Istanbul 73.4 %, in Ankara 75.84 % and in Izmir 62.15 % of the population that then lived in *gecekondu* districts lived in the neighbourhoods with other rural migrants that originate from their region, province or village. Previously, in his seminal study Karpat (1976) had found that from his sample of 950 families in three different *gecekondu* areas of Istanbul 540 families (or 56 % of the total) had migrated from three specific provinces (Giresun, Gumushane, Sivas), which are in northeast Turkey and neighbour each other. Kiray (1964) draws attention to a neighbourhood in the industrial town of Eregli, which was built by migrants from the same village and named after the latter. Also T. Senyapili (1978) and Erder (1996) in their studies of two different *gecekondu* areas of Istanbul point to the existence of a similar clustering trend. The persistence of this trend among migrants, even after several decades have passed since the initial waves of rural-to-urban migration can be observed in the empirical findings of the recent study by Teksen (2003) conducted on people who have migrated to Ankara from the province of Malatya where 78.3 % of the sample has at least one *hemsehri* among his/her neighbours and among those respondents 62.7 % have more than 10 neighbours who are their *hemsehri*. However, this clustering trend is not unique to rural migrants in cities but also among lower-income middle-class urbanites (Gunes-Ayata 1996). This argument is supported by the findings of Kongar (1972) among urbanites in Izmir where, 64.2 % of his sample, that was drawn from both urbanite and migrant population, has been found to live in the same block or neighbourhood with, or in the adjacent neighbourhood of, one or more of their relatives.

[15] Kiray (1998) argues that the abrupt disappearance upon arrival at the city, of the former security mechanisms within the solidaristic village structure, creates a dominating feeling of distrust among rural migrants. Kartal (1978) points to a similar feeling of distrust that creeps over the incoming migrants and he argues that the well-known fact that most migrant men become conservative in the city and do not let their wives work anymore outside home is a manifestation of such a strong distrust felt towards the city, whereas in the villages it is inconceivable to think of non-participation of women in the labour force. It has also been argued by Teksen (2003) that several empirical findings in the extant literature, such as that the decision to migrate is not taken in a short time no matter how grave the situation is for the family in the village (Kartal 1978), that most of the time male members of the family migrate first and bring the rest of their families to the city only after several years (Hart 1969; Erdogmus 1978; Kartal 1978; Erder 1996) are findings indicating that distrust towards others and the need to make acquaintances that one can easily trust are the first and most important problems for the rural migrants to overcome upon their arrival and settlement in the city. Interpersonal trust, and lack thereof, is indeed an important aspect of the contemporary Turkish society that needs to be taken into account within any sociological study of the latter. Extremely low levels of trust towards other people have repeatedly and consistently prevailed in empirical studies such as the three waves of World Values Surveys conducted during 1990's, where Turkey shared the very bottom rankings with Brazil among tens of countries worldwide where the same study was conducted synchronously. However, no research has been done on to what extent urbanisation

Rural-to-urban migration in Turkey also meant for many migrants their first ever experience and encounter with different cultures than their own, which in turn led them to become more aware than ever before of their cultural distinctions and to place more emphasis on the latter with deliberate efforts to further discover their unique aspects and, if necessary, to invent/construct new aspects to it (Erder 1996). A common trend within and perhaps the most important building block of these recently invented/constructed identities in the urban context among migrant families, and which have been heavily used to promote and mobilise socio-cultural, economic and political solidarity is the so-called *hemsehri* ties.

The word *hemsehri* (fellow townsman) has its origins in Persian, in which it means people that live in the same city. However, although it has a similar dictionary definition in Turkish (Dogan 1996), in daily language it rather refers more broadly to the relationship between people from not only the same city/town but also the same village and region as well (Karpat 1976). Moreover, the word is more often used in Turkish for referring to a shared past of having origins from the same region, city/town or village rather than to a relation that emerges from currently cohabiting the same environment.[16] For a long time the dominant discourse of the modernisation theory treated these rural migrant families as villagers and mistakenly regarded the informal networks of solidarity among them based on kinship and *hemsehri* ties as something that they simply brought together with themselves from the countryside to the city, and which, although were allegedly traditional, were not going to prevail for long and were destined to disappear as the migrants became integrated with the city (Erder 2000).[17] However, *hemsehri* is a social construct that has been invented by

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and the rapid socio-cultural environment change involved therein have caused or contributed to this sort of extraordinarily high level of mistrust towards others in the Turkish society.

[16] That is to say, two migrants living in the same city do not consider each other as *hemsehri* unless they have a common origin. Likewise, an urbanite and a migrant do not regard each other as *hemsehri* either. In rural areas *hemsehri* is a nonexistent social category because there everybody is *hemsehri* of one another and as such there is no need to distinguish people on the basis of origin (Dubetsky 1976). However, in daily life the demarcations are not really very clearly cut and, as Teksen (2003) argues, especially in the *gecekondu* areas the concepts of "relative", "hemsehri" and "friend" are overlapping and crosscutting each other to a great extent, and thus, among other things, poses an obstacle for obtaining accurate findings and conclusions especially for those conducting such studies based on questionnaires and/or interviews.

[17] Kongar (1972), who is one of the ardent adherents of the modernisation approach in Turkey up to date, presents empirical findings in his study that shows evidence of persistently strong ties and relations among relatives in the city, but his argument put forth in his same work, that the longer one lives in the city the weaker his/her ties and relations with relatives get, is in clear contradiction with his very own findings and he has been fiercely criticised by Duben (1982) for that. The seminal work of Karpat (1976), who shares much in common with Kongar regarding adherence to the modernisation theory, draws attention to a trend among long-time *gecekondu* dwellers, who migrated to the city at an early stage of the urbanisation process, in that they are increasingly growing weary of the liabilities and responsibilities involved in relations with their kinsmen, and that those ties, which had once been of vital importance for migrants when they first migrated to the city, are being gradually abandoned and replaced by rational and interest-driven relationships with strangers. However, he contradicts his own argument on the very same page (ibid: 152) where he presents his finding that about 80 % of

migrants during the recent urbanisation process, and as such it was not a part of their identity prior to migration to cities that they brought to the urban milieu together with themselves, but it is one that they invented/constructed in the city (Kurdoglu 1989; Erder 1996). Together with the solidarity with relatives, it has served as an important buffer mechanism in the migrants' socio-cultural and economic integration to the city where primordial ties that had hitherto been the norm in the village are no longer a sufficient and strong enough support in order to overcome the "trust problem" in relations with others and to secure the most pressing needs of housing and employment (Teksen 2003).

Suzuki (1966) and Bastug (1979) became pioneers in applying a different approach to the subject matter and interpreting this new type of relationship in the urban milieu among the *hemsehri* as an extension of the kinship system, which had hitherto been treated in the literature on Turkey exclusively as one solely based on blood ties and one that included only relatives. These ties and relations with the "imagined distant kin", i.e. the *hemsehri*, have thereafter been labelled as 'quasi- or pseudo-kinship relations' (Erder 2002: 125), 'a parakinship system' (Teksen 2003: 66) and have been argued by Duben (1982: 88-93) to constitute a part of the 'kinship idiom', which is quite widespread in the social and economic life of contemporary Turkish cities, and which he calls as such due to the involvement and, even further, the centrality of altruism and morality in those relations which are normally unique aspects of actual kinship relations based on blood ties.[18]

Given the graveness and the extent of pressing needs in the city at the outset, economic assistance that the rural migrants can seek from and secure through their relatives has been rather limited. Faced by the emergency of the very basic needs like finding housing and employment, incoming migrants started resorting to and mobilising first their relatives

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acquaintances and relationships of rural migrants are made up of those with their relatives and *hemsehri*. In another attempt by him to downplay the role of kinship ties among rural migrants, based on his finding that about 70 % of new acquaintances of rural migrants in the city are made in the workplace, can be taken as naïve at most since it does not take into account at all the widespread practice of clustering of relatives and *hemsehri*, not only in certain neighbourhoods, but in the economic sphere and at the workplace as well (see footnote 17 below). A similar fallacy was committed by T. Senyapili (1978) with a similar argument with that of Karpat based on her empirical findings that 45 % of rural migrants establish their new friendships at the workplace while 37 % do so in their neighbourhood, while totally ignoring the widespread phenomenon that relatives and *hemsehri* abound in the workplace and the neighbourhood more often than not (Dubetsky 1976). Teksen (2003) had among his findings that 60 % of his respondents had at least one *hemsehri* at their workplaces.

[18] These conceptual labels except the "kinship idiom" of Duben (1982) do not belong to those scholars but they have adopted them from the extant literature to conceptualise the *hemsehri* phenomenon in Turkish cities. In the anthropology literature, terms like fictional kinship, ritual kinship and quasi-kinship have already been proposed and the applicability of them have been discussed at length for the conceptualisation of those kinship-like relations that are not based on blood ties (Holy 1996). At a very early stage of the urbanisation phenomenon in Turkey, Suzuki (1966), in a revolutionary fashion, applied the term "parakinship system" to explain the *hemsehri* relations and solidarity for the first time instead of and outside the dominating paradigms of the modernisation theory.

and then increasingly their *hemsehri* to satisfy those needs (Gunes-Ayata 1996). Findings from previous research unanimously indicate that rural migrants most of the time have been temporarily hosted by their relatives and *hemsehri* when they first move to the city (Erdogmus 1978; Ayata 1989; Alpar and Yener 1991; Erder 1996), and similarly, that they have received the greatest amount of assistance, in the form of finances and information, from their relatives and/or *hemsehri* in their ensuing quest for the first permanent residence of their families in the city (Erdogmus 1978; Ersoy 1985; Tatlidil 1991; Erder 1996; Kiray 1998; Teksen 2003). The same solidarity network of relatives and the *hemsehri* have provided rural migrants with the greatest support in the urban context also for finding employment (Ayata 1989), and especially for the first job taken up in the city (Teksen 2003). In a similar fashion with the way this type of solidarity network and support resulted in the clustering of relatives and the *hemsehri* in certain neighbourhoods, the frequent use of support from solidarity networks in the job market also paved the way to clustering of kinsmen both in certain sectors and in each workplace in many cases (Ayata 1989; Gunes-Ayata 1996).[19]

Moreover, it should be noted that the *hemsehri* networks were not only and have not remained as mere informal structures, but on the contrary, many of such networks have been organised under a formal, institutional framework resembling that of NGOs, and commonly labelled as *hemsehri* associations (*hemsehri dernekleri*).[20] The presence of *hemsehri*

[19] Gunes-Ayata (1996) calls these clusters "ethnic business niches", which she argues to have been formed by '[s]ome ethnic groups in the cities [which] create segmented labour markets and, with an ethnic division of labour, specialize in certain trades and transmit skills from one generation to an other. Moreover, they organize to prevent others from infiltrating their sector. They encourage their own kind and deter others, not only by transmitting skills, resources and information but also through coercive measures, sometimes even force' (ibid: 101). Bastug (1979) notes that the restaurant sector in Ankara is under the monopoly of people from the Black Sea coastline of northeast Turkey in that they are owned and staffed by people from that region, including the chef, cooks, kitchen workers and waiters. Another interesting study has been conducted by Onen (1992) on mussel vendors in the Aegean town of Izmir all of whom happen to be originally from the southeast province of Mardin, which is hundreds of miles away from the sea. Ayata (1989) also observed in the Dikmen district of Ankara that people with origin from the province of Erzurum are almost all owning or working at night clubs or working as drivers. During his fieldwork among the migrants in Ankara with origins from the province of Malatya, Teksen (2003) observes that owners of businesses generally prefer to recruit their *hemsehri* as employees, a behaviour that he attributes to the factor of trust. One of his respondents reportedly states that he chooses to do so because he can more easily ask his employee to account for his/her acts, because they have common acquaintances and because he thinks that such an employee will not cheat him (ibid: 116). In the same study, when asked about how and why he recruited his *hemsehri* as employees in his business, another employer reportedly responded that he had never thought until then about why he did so, but gives a clear and sincere account of how he did it by explaining that he simply recruited those that had declared the province of Malatya as the place of birth in their job application forms, although the employer had no prior personal acquaintance with any of them and none of them had any reference from any previous employer either (ibid: 116-7).

[20] This formal dimension of *hemsehri* solidarity among families of rural migrants in Turkish cities is very much understudied. Teksen (2003) distinguishes between *hemsehri* coffeehouses and *hemsehri* associations in that the former provides the setting for informal interaction and support mobilisation whereas the latter is a formal structure that is mostly occupied with organising social events and gatherings for the *hemsehri* community and where the low-income *hemsehri* resort to for economic assistance upon failure to find that support within the informal network. Nevertheless, Erder (1996) contends that *hemsehri* associations are not homogenous regarding

associations are very visible in big cities in Turkey and this is not only due to the highly attended social activities and gatherings they organise, but also, and perhaps more than the former, due to their huge presence in numbers and as percentage of all associations and NGOs which exceed 72 % in total number of associations in Istanbul.[21] Since '[r]eproduction of the old "traditional" familial networks that are common in the villages is almost impossible in an urban milieu' (Erder 2002: 125), these have had to be transformed, recoded and reconstructed in the urban context into parakinship, fictional kinship, pseudo-kinship or quasi-kinship relations that have been built on an imagined existence of a distant kinship, which, nevertheless, has not been limited to relatives and *hemsehri* but 'extended to include other types of informal relations, such as close friendship and neighbourhood relationships' (ibid).

Rural migrants in Turkish cities have thus been able to evade the disturbing inevitability for them to deal very often with people in the urban setting that are not related to them by blood or marriage, by placing such impersonal interactions within and recoding them into a kinship idiom, through which consubstantiality, which Pitt-Rivers (1973) argues to constitute the essence of kinship, is thus artificially created between unrelated people, who in turn find themselves in a morally binding relationship of reciprocity in exchanging support and favours in the long-run (Duben 1982). Looking from an economic perspective but through an anthropological approach, White (1994) puts much emphasis on this reciprocity aspect of social relations in Turkey and argues that it is indeed these open-ended, reciprocal bonds and relations of a socially value-laden, moral feeling of indebtedness that underlie the kinship system in Turkey and the way economic relations and practices have been shaped in that country.[22] In that respect, the kinship system in Turkey, that has been briefly outlined above, challenges the longstanding thesis of Polanyi, which stipulates that the introduction of capitalist market economy leads to the prevalence of a profit-maximisation logic in the society, disembeds all non-economic institutions from market relations, and that thereafter '[i]nstead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in

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their functions and working principles, and that only a few percentage of the *hemsehri* are aware of their associations and even fewer *hemsehri* are members of those associations.

[21] Official figures provided by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality indicate that *hemsehri* associations constitute 72.42 % of all associations in the city Istanbul. ("Buyuk Kentte Hemseri Orgutleri" [Hemsehri Associations in the Big City], *Radikal*, Turkish daily, 11 March 2006).

[22] White (1994: 87) argues that '[e]conomic relations in Turkish society are euphemised as reciprocal social bonds on a wider scale than only among those involved in small production. Unspoken (because necessarily unconscious) rules of social exchange and reciprocity regulate even the exchange of money for a purchase in what would appear to be a simple and naked economic transaction … The use of telephones, fax machines, and increasingly, computers in business do not obviate the importance of face-to-face interaction … The importance of social over economic relations makes Turkish business highly resistant to the depersonalisation through automation that characterises business in the West."

the economic system' (Polanyi 1944: 57). What has been observed in the Turkish case is more in line with the suggestion of Godelier (1972) in that:

> 'there is a social logic to economy, and that any evaluation of the rationality of actions within that economy must take into account the larger – often unconscious and non-deliberate – calculation of costs and benefits. The economic rationality of today is, as a result, a prisoner of a greater rationality that extends beyond the immediate transaction into other social fields, into the past and into the future.' (cited in Duben 1991)

Duben (1982) likens the kinship system in Turkey to a set of concentric circles, where relations based on biogenetic ties with relatives occupy the core while extended kinship ties constructed through the use of kinship idiom are located in the periphery and distanced from the core depending on their degree of significance for the individual, who is argued to be conscious of this distinction and to take it into consideration in his/her calculations for the treatment of and relations with other individuals. Although Duben admits that '[t]he line between "true" kinship and "artificial" kinship is difficult to draw … [and that the] contrasts are by no means black and white' (ibid: 89), he sees the difference between the two in the extent to which the relations behold altruism. According to him, relations among kinsmen within the core are based on what Sahlins (1972: 93-4) has called a code of 'generalised reciprocity' where obligations, how and when to expect the other one to return a favour are not clearly defined since the motive behind is morality rather than reciprocity being an end in itself (see Bloch 1973), while relations with the extended and artificial kin that are in the outer circles of the periphery are based, not on morality, but on a 'balanced reciprocity' since '[al]though the motives may still appear altruistic to the parties involved, the expectation of a counter-presentation is greater, the obligation to return less diffuse' (Duben 1982: 90).

In contrast to this view of Duben, White (2000), while accepting Duben's core and peripheral notions of kinship, argues that kinship in Turkey is a mutually benevolent status that one can benefit from only through his/her demonstrated loyalty to long-term reciprocal relations of exchange and mutual obligations, and not necessarily by being simply born into or rendered automatically entitled to. Moreover, White (1994) observed that Turkish people prefer to have even their most basic economic transactions with others on a long-term and open-ended basis rather than in a distanced manner and that they avoid spontaneity (also see Duben 1991).[23] The title of her book, which is actually a quote by one of her interviewees,

[23] For instance, it is still regarded by many in Turkey as very rude and indecent to walk into a shop in the neighbourhood that you live and the owner of which one almost inevitably gets to know, with goods purchased elsewhere previously and which are sold at that store as well. Having found those goods at a better price and/or quality elsewhere does not justify the act, but what matters is the treachery one commits in such a way to the long-term relationship with the shop-owner of one's own neighbourhood.

perhaps epitomises the reality on the ground better than anything else: "money makes us relatives".

> '[B]oth domains of kinship are rooted in labour, and 'belonging-ness' in either can be modified on the basis of the member's contributions to the community. This means that such people as one's neighbours with whom one has long-term reciprocal relations of exchange and mutual obligation become *akraba* [i.e. relatives in Turkish], with rights to one's labour and resources. In the same way, blood *akraba* who have not contributed their own time, labour and resources, while remaining kin, may be refused a share of kin-member's resources' (ibid: 126).

Therefore, apart from the *hemsehri* phenomenon discussed at length above and which is constructed as a form of fictive kinship in cities among rural migrants upon their arrival there, also the very core part and parcel of kinship ties and relations that involve those that one has blood ties with are not ones that a person can take for granted for reliance on support, unless he/she duly fulfils and respects the mutual obligations.

Given all these, it should not be surprising to read observations in the literature that refer to the Turkish society as a collectivist one (Hofstede 1980), or even as 'an example of … a family collectivistic culture' (Kagitcibasi 2002: 17). Although the nuclear household structure has been the norm in Turkey, rather than an exception or a novelty, at least for the last one and a half century as mentioned above, this neither necessarily means nor has paved the way to analyses that describe the Turkish society as one where individualistic tendencies predominate. On the contrary, despite the abrupt and recent urbanisation experience in Turkey, the common good and well-being of the kinship group has precedence over self-interests of individuals, and this order of priority becomes once again obvious when it is taken into account that despite the predominantly nuclear household structure that has prevailed for a long time, it is still the kin and the extended kin together that a very large majority of Turkish people have the most frequently daily contacts with (Kongar 1972; Duben 1982; Erder 2002; Teksen 2003).

One can, however, rightfully ask whether this collectivism in Turkish society is an upshot of indigenous factors inherent in the Turkish society and/or culture, or it is the welfare system in that country that its prevalence should be attributed to. This remains as an egg-chicken question that is yet to be solved, and there is not still any definite answer to it in the extant literature. Nevertheless, it is necessary to include and take into account, at least briefly, the Turkish welfare system in such an analysis of the family and kinship system. It was previously mentioned that the cities in Turkey have lacked both the physical infrastructure and adequate jobs for the incoming rural migrants. However, what have been lacking are not

only those, but also public welfare services for the old and new urbanites alike.[24] Given that, it is expected from the kin to provide social service to their needy and, moreover, any behaviour that runs against family and societal values, such as that of a child who becomes a drug addict, is dealt not by specialists of social services as a social problem but by the police forces and as a matter of security (Erder 1997).[25]

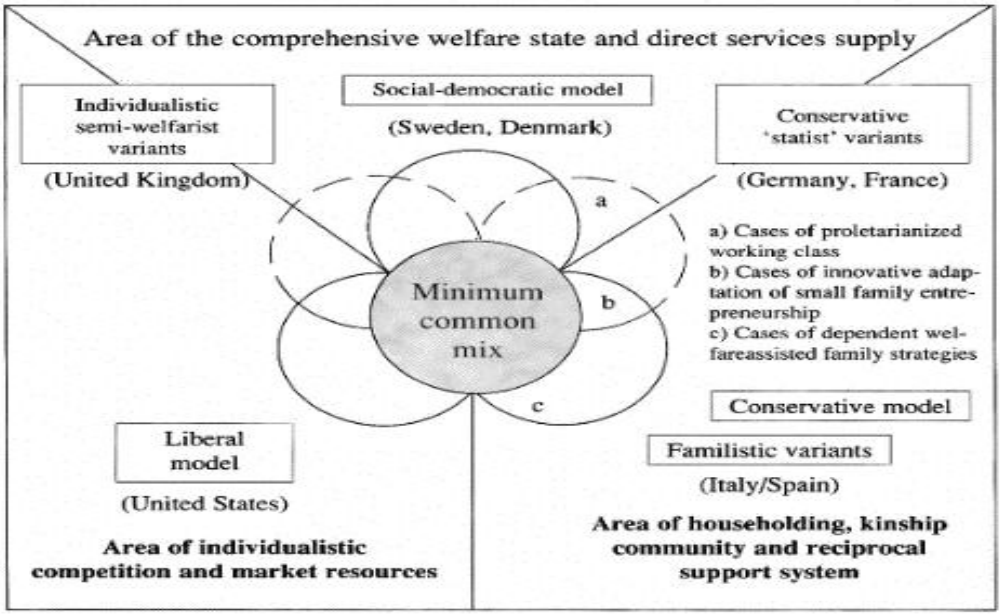
> 'Public homes for children and the elderly [in Turkey] serve only those who are "without family" … As a corollary of the lack of public institutions, there is a widely held conviction that all the needs of individuals ought to be met within family and kinship relationships. For example, leaving older members of the family in an old people's home is still widely considered to bring shame on the family, even among the urban elite. The family has traditionally been regarded both by individuals and the state as one of the most respected and reliable social institution in Turkey. The state has left nearly all responsibility for social welfare on to the family, and has thus unburdened its responsibility for social welfare on to "the family" (Erder 2002: 118).

The third chapter of Turkey's constitution, which is dedicated to social and economic rights and duties, starts with the Article 41 on protection of the family, which stipulates that the family is the foundation of the Turkish society and that the state shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organisation to ensure the peace and welfare of the family. However, as Erder rightfully argues, the state has "delegated" the provision of welfare to the kin and has intervened only when help from the latter does not suffice or exist at all. As such, Turkey can be identified and located as an extreme version of the familistic variant of the conservative welfare system model in Figure 1, initially built by Esping-Andersen (1990) and further developed later by Mingione (1996):

[24] For instance, statistics that Erder (2002) obtained from the Istanbul Directorate of Social Services and quote in her work reveal that as of 1999, the city of Istanbul that already hosted more than 10 million inhabitants at that time, had as public welfare institutions only 2 orphanages, 8 public nurseries, 5 pension houses, 2 daycare centres, 1 women's shelter, and 3 rehabilitation centres for handicapped children with total capacities of 180, 1040, 918, 430, 16, and 73 respectively.

[25] Although it is not officially among its duties, the number of children looked after by the police has risen from 191 in 1998 to 267 in 1999, and to 815 during the first eight months of 2000. 519 of those 815 children were street vendors and beggars, 164 were addicted to inhaling thinner, 92 were living on the streets, and 37 of them had been abandoned by their families (*Radikal*, Turkish daily, 8 September 2000).

Figure 1: Welfare system models and variants



Source: Mingione (1996: 21)

However, as mentioned previously, it is not known, or at least it is not a debated issue in the scholarly literature, whether the shortage or lack in provision of welfare services by the state and the market encouraged the emergence of such a kinship system in Turkey or it is the very kinship system as it is that led state authorities to ignore welfare provision and shift their priorities elsewhere. Nevertheless, it can be perhaps rightfully argued that this lack or shortage in the provision of social and welfare services in Turkey at least sustains both the highly collectivistic social and cultural structure in that country and the significance of informal networks among the kin for the individual's life, if it did not pave the way to its emergence in the first instance.

Therefore, it is essential that one takes into consideration the family and kinship system in a setting before moving on to making further analyses in other aspects of social and economic life in that context, such as family businesses, where family and kinship ties and relations do not simply and merely act as an influencing factor in their making and functioning, but they are highly crucial and constituent elements of those structures at the intersection of family and business life. Such as a consideration becomes all the more important in a case like that of Turkey, which cannot readily be labelled as an Eastern or Western society and where generalisations made for either of the latter two may not necessarily apply and facilitate accurate analyses.

The recent and rapid urbanisation experience has left its deep imprint not only on the geographical and demographic landscape of Turkey, but also on its social structure in general and the kinship relations therein in particular. As of today about two-thirds of people in Turkey live in urban areas, a share which used to be less than one-third only five decades ago. Urbanisation did not bring about drastic changes in the household structure, which already used to be based predominantly on nuclear families. However, it did bring dramatic changes in the overall kinship system, but not in the direction that the modernisation theory foresaw. Urbanisation has not led to atomisation of the Turkish society or to a weakening of kinship ties, but on the contrary, it witnessed the strengthening of the latter as it underwent a reconstruction through the extension of the kinship concept to include those that are not related to one by blood or marriage but that somehow became "relatives" as part of a survival strategy in an unfriendly and hostile city setting and served as a means of social, cultural and economic integration for masses of rural migrants to the urban milieu.

As such, this recent reformulation of the kinship concept in Turkey as a by-product of urbanisation has been hailed by many as a "buffer mechanism", a term which inherently suggests to the reader that it is just a strategy that is destined to disappear once the integration to the city is complete. However, such a labelling of the changing relations among the kin and the changing kinship system itself is another fallacy that adherents of modernisation theory commit since those changes in kinship ties and relations have not occurred at the surface level as a day-to-day survival strategy, but they have led to a much deeper impact on the society by also paving the way to the creation of an economic rationality of their own. Given all these, making predictions about the inevitable disappearance of this "mechanism", which is already deeply embedded in the economic life of urban Turkey, as soon as the once rural migrants, their children and grandchildren become fully integrated to the city can be perhaps at best called wishful thinking.

4. THE TEXTILE AND CLOTHING INDUSTRY IN TURKEY

Due to its lion's share in many basic indicators of the economy and its pioneering role in the industrialization of Turkey, the textile and clothing sector has been labelled as the locomotive industry that has played a key role in the economic transformation of that country (CEPS 2005). Textiles have traditionally been the most important non-agricultural commodity production in the lands peripheral and semi-peripheral to the European core of the nineteenth century world system like India, Persia and China (Feuerwerker 1970; Twomey 1983). Similarly, 'in terms of production and employment textiles occupied a very central place in

the Ottoman economy during the nineteenth century' (Pamuk 1987). The 1838 Baltalimanı Free Trade Treaty signed between the Ottoman Empire and Britain constitutes a cornerstone in the industrialisation history of Turkey. This treaty not only allowed for the entry of British exports into the Ottoman market without tariffs, but also marked the beginning of a rapid integration process for the Ottoman Empire into the world economy and markets. During this process, the domestic artisan-type textile production went into a rapid decline in the face of cheap industrial imports that were at avail (Inalcik and Quataert 1994; Ortaylı 2005) and the need for restructuring the artisan-based production into an industrial one revealed itself.

During the decade between 1912 and 1922, the Ottoman Empire fought in 1912 against Italy in Libya, the Balkan Wars during 1912-13, the 1914-18 World War I and the 1919-22 national resistance wars to revise the disadvantageous terms of the post-World War I peace settlement. Apart from the territorial losses ceded, the young generations were kept under mobilisation and decimated, which led to disastrous consequences for the economy that was further devastated by the massive waves of migration including a huge exodus of and atrocities against non-Muslims who made up the overwhelming majority of the nascent entrepreneurial bourgeoisie of the empire (Zürcher 2004). The Turkish Republic, founded in 1923, thus inherited a shrunken territory with a war-ridden infrastructure, industry and population, and the immense external debt of the empire.

The Great Depression of 1929 rendered it unsustainable to continue to export raw materials and to import costly manufactured goods, and led to protective barriers against imports. In the absence of private capital for investment, state-led industrialisation was introduced with the launch of the first five-year economic plan in 1930 based on the Soviet model (Hale 1981). The plan had as one of its priorities to increase the production of cotton and to process the latter in the newly established modern textile factories.

> 'In 1934, the Turkish state established a vast holding company, Sumerbank, to manage all state-owned enterprises. Sumerbank combined the role of bank, investor and administrator. It took over the old Ottoman textile plants and built state-owned spinning and weaving enterprises throughout the country. In the eyes of the state, Sumerbank was the founder and the leader of Turkey's modern industry, ... the most important achievement of Ataturk's economic revolution. Its mission went beyond economics. It was to bring civilisation to the places it went' (ESI 2005: 13)

Therefore, during the 1930s and 1940s the state gradually took the leading role in the planning, development and ownership of the textile industry from the private sector, which continued to operate mainly based on production in traditional, small, un-mechanised workshops and which accounted for only 25 percent of the total domestic cotton cloth output

in 1950 (Seidman 2004), in contrast to its previously dominant share of 65 percent back in 1939 (OECD 1962).

Another cornerstone for the Turkish textile industry is 1950, when the 27-year-long uninterrupted rule of the Republican People's Party that championed state-led industrialisation ended. The Democrat Party's election to office was followed by the introduction of investment and credit incentives to empower and to encourage the private sector to assume a greater role in manufacturing (Hale 1981). These resulted in a rapid increase in mechanised production with the motorised looms attaining a share of 77 percent by 1960 (GATT 1966) and the private sector's share in cotton cloth production exceeded that of the state enterprises by increasing to 72 percent in 1967 from its 25 percent level back in 1950 (Hale 1981). At the same time, the introduction and rise in the mass production of ready-to-wear clothing, which had hitherto been carried out almost exclusively within households and at tailor shops, began to expand to such scales that has made it necessary thereafter to refer to the sector as textile and clothing industry, rather than only textile (Seidman, 2004).

The industry continued to thrive during the 1960s and 1970s under the protection of high tariff barriers against imports, but mainly catered to the domestic market with low quality products where it had virtual monopoly. It was too costly for imports to enter the market due to high tariff barriers (ESI 2005), set at 109 percent for textile and clothing imports in the early 1970s (Seidman 2004). Turkish textile and clothing exports had a share of only 2.96 percent in the total export income of the country in 1970 (Tan 2001). However, at the end of the 1970s, in the face of a serious crisis of foreign currency shortage, the import-substitution policies were abandoned and replaced by an export-led growth strategy (Bugra 1994), which marked another cornerstone in the history of textile and clothing industry in Turkey. Since then, the industry has increased its production capacity and competitiveness in export markets by heavily investigating into technology. Efforts were also aimed at diversifying the range of products and increasing the share in production and exports of more value-added products like finished cotton, synthetic fibre fabrics and ready-to-wear full-package clothing apparel in place of the hitherto practice of exporting low value-added products such as cotton yarn (Tan 2001; Tokatli 2007).

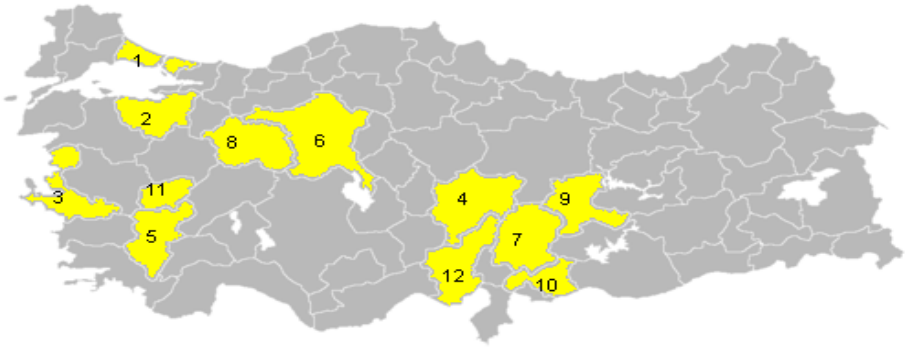
Another major change has occurred in the shares of exports by the textile and clothing sub-sectors. In 1980, textile imports had a greater contribution to the country's total exports with its 23.1 percent share in total export revenues, compared to the 3.6 percent share of the clothing industry. However, this picture was reversed in the course of 1980s. Although textile

exports continued to grow in value, clothing exports outpaced that growth, and in 1990 it reached to a 22.4 percent share in total exports compared to textile's share of 11 percent (Tan 2001). Textile and clothing exports of Turkey, which amounted to only USD 595 million back in 1979, skyrocketed in two decades and a half, by reaching USD 4.471 billion in 1990, USD 9.205 billion in 2000 and USD 18.886 billion in 2005 (SPO 2004). The major destination for the Turkish textile and clothing exports has been the European Union for decades (CEPS 2005). According to figures by the European Commission for the year 2005, Turkey ranks second after China in the both lists of top 10 suppliers of textiles and clothing to the EU-25.

The textile and clothing industry in Turkey is ranked first among all sectors in terms of its shares in the country's GDP, total industrial output, total export revenues, total investments and total employment (SPO 2006). The sector's share in GDP has been consistently over 10 percent for a long time and its share in registered employment is 11 percent, which is estimated to be around 20 percent when unregistered employment is also taken into account (Savasan and Schneider 2005). Since the state economic enterprises in textile and clothing, including Sümerbank, have been all either privatised or closed down, the sector is run today by private enterprises exclusively (SPO 2004). In terms of the number of businesses, the industry is composed mostly of small and medium-sized enterprises (Atilgan 2006) and the total number of firms operating in the sector is estimated to be between 40,000 and 50,000 (Smid and Taskesen 2002; Atilgan 2006, Tan 2001). More than two-thirds of these enterprises are family businesses (Smid and Taskesen 2002; Yanik and Assaad 2002; Savasan and Schneider 2005). A major research limitation in studying on a nationwide scale in Turkey such small-sized establishments, most of which are family businesses, arises from the fact that they are invisible in official figures since the industrial censuses taken in Turkey by the State Statistical Institute cover only establishments with ten or more employees (Tan 2001).

Although the textile and clothing industry in Turkey is spread almost throughout the country, several provinces in the west, south and central parts of the country host a majority of the number of businesses that operate in the industry and of the number of people employed therein, compared to other parts of the country. These major areas in Turkey where the textile and clothing industry is concentrated are in and around the provincial centres of Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Denizli, Adana, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaras, Kayseri, Eskisehir, Ankara, Malatya, and Usak (Tan 2001), all of which are indicated in yellow in Figure 2. below:

Figure 2: Map of Turkey showing the major centres of textile and clothing industry



1: Istanbul 3: Izmir 5: Denizli 7: Kahramanmaras 9: Malatya 11: Usak

2: Bursa 4: Kayseri 6: Ankara 8: Eskisehir 10: Gaziantep 12: Adana

A crucial advantage of the Turkish textile and clothing industry vis-à-vis its rivals is the existence of 'a complete production chain, providing for up-stream and down-stream industries.' (CEPS 2005: 16), that facilitates the manufacturing of "full-package" products through a process beginning from raw materials. Turkey is the world's fifth biggest consumer of cotton, but it is also the sixth biggest producer of that industrial crop (Tan 2001), which, together with a reliable production base of synthetic fibre, is an important asset and gives the Turkish textile and clothing industry a competitive edge. An indexed analysis of competitive advantage regarding raw materials and equipment in textile and clothing industries of several developing countries is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Key factors per country for textile and clothing raw materials and equipment (the advantage scale ranging from 0=highly uncompetitive to 5=highly competitive)

Raw materials and equipment : key factors per country	Cotton supply	Wool supply	MMF supply	Spinning equipmt	Weavg equipmt	Knittg equipmt	Dyeing/ finishg equipmt	Appar makg equipmt	Conso-lidated evalua-tion
China	5	2	4	5	5	5	3	3	XXXX
India	5	1	3	4	3	2	2	3	XXX
Pakistan	4	1	3	3	3	2	1	2	XX
Bangladesh	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	X
South Korea	1	1	4	4	5	4	5	5	XXXX
Turkey	5	1	3	4	5	5	4	4	XXXX
Bulgaria	3	1	2	1	2	2	3	3	XX
Rumania	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	XX
Morocco	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	X
Tunisia	2-1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	X

Source: IFM and partners, 2004

However, concerning the labour costs involved in production, the Turkish textile and clothing industry is at a disadvantaged position in comparison to many of its rivals from the South and Southeast Asian, and North African regions. Since possibilities for generating high value-added is more limited in the textile and clothing industry, level of wages is a major issue in the textile and clothing sector and plays a decisive role in the competitiveness of a country in the export markets. The hourly wages throughout the 1990s in textile and clothing sector is provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Cross-country data for real wages (USD/hour) in textile and clothing industry

	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998
Germany	16.46	16.96	20.50	20.77	21.94	21.48
Italy	16.13	17.31	16.20	15.65	16.65	15.81
U.S.A.	10.02	10.33	11.61	11.89	12.26	12.97
Greece	5.85	5.75	7.13	7.68	8.92	7.99
Taiwan	4.56	5.00	5.76	5.98	6.38	5.85
Hong Kong	3.05	3.39	3.85	4.40	4.90	5.65
Turkey	*1.82*	*3.12*	*4.44*	*2.31*	*2.02*	*2.48*
Morocco	1.28	1.37	1.47	1.54	1.92	1.89
Tunisia	2.82	2.82	2.97	2.30	1.89	1.76
China	0.37	0.34	0.36	0.48	0.58	0.62
India	0.72	0.55	0.56	0.58	0.56	0.60
Pakistan	0.39	0.38	0.44	0.45	0.43	0.40
Indonesia	0.25	0.28	0.43	0.46	0.52	0.24

Source: Werner International

Until recently this factor did not threaten much the Turkish textile and clothing industry's exports since they have been mostly made to the EU market where they have enjoyed access without quotas and tariffs since the 1996 Customs Union agreement, while the Asian and North African exporters were facing quota and tariff barriers. With the lifting of quotas, however, from the beginning of 2005 onwards with the entry into force of the World Trade Organisation agreement, the Turkish textile and clothing industry will have to seek ways to produce output with more value-added if it is to keep its prominent position as one of the major exporters to the EU market, which is of vital importance for Turkish exports (Atilgan 2006).

A commonly used strategy by businesses in Turkey to evade the disadvantage caused by relatively high wages is to employ unregistered labour force. Based on the 2002 industrial census data, overall unregistered employment in Turkish manufacturing is estimated to be at 40 percent while in the case of textile and clothing sector it is estimated to reach as high as 62

percent. Unregistered employment reaches very high levels in the clothing sub-sector of the industry in particular: of around 80 percent of the total labour force employed in clothing are unregistered workers (SPO 2006). Another and a more bleak side of this strategy for competitiveness is the ongoing use of child labour. According to a recent survey done by Dayioglu-Tayfur and Assaad (2002), the textile and clothing industry in Turkey has the highest rate of child labour use among all sectors in that country in manufacturing. Women workers are another vulnerable group in the industry that is exploited. Given their high share in the sector's labour force, exploitation of women labourers has been argued to be a key factor that sustains the sector's competitiveness in the export markets vis-à-vis other rival developing countries in textiles and clothing that have relatively lower wages (Eraydın et al. 1999).

Women's share in employment in Turkey is the highest in the textile and clothing industry after agriculture. The share of women in the labour force within the sector is officially 31 percent. However, it is well-known that women's actual share is much higher than that figure, since unregistered employment of women labourers in the textile and clothing industry, and particularly in the clothing sub-sector, is in much more greater numbers than that of men in the same industry (Sugur and Sugur 2005). Plus, the average gap between the average wage paid to male employees and female employees in the overall private sector for similar type of work has widened from about 10 percent in 1988 to 26 percent in 1994 (Dayioglu 2001). Therefore, apart from facing more job and social insecurity than their male colleagues do, women workers in the industry are also underpaid.

However, apart from the unjust discrepancy based on gender in wages and in the provision of social and job security, perhaps an even more discriminatory trend against women workers is the widespread practice of using unpaid female family labour, which is very common especially among small and medium-sized family businesses in the Turkish textile and clothing industry (Ozdemir and Yucesan-Ozdemir, 2004). What is more striking in that regard, however, is that a majority of women, whose labour is exploited by their very relatives without any remuneration in return, have internalised this disadvantaged and submissive position of theirs within the patriarchal Turkish cultural norms. As a result, their active participation in the production process for the market is regarded as part of their duties as a housewife or just as a hobby for their spare time, although many of those women workers within the textile and clothing industry work more than 40 hours a week apart from the time they spend for housework (White 1994).

Under such circumstances where exploitation takes the form of unregistered work, (ab)use of child labour and of underpaid or unpaid female labour, one would expect that trade union activism would be high and directed at efforts towards the alleviation of the working conditions of textile and clothing labourers in Turkey. However, on the contrary, the very insecurity involved in widespread practice of informal employment that prevails with the perceived or actual threat of being fired, in which a majority of workers in the Turkish textile and clothing sector find themselves, itself stands as a major obstacle against the organisation labourers in the form of unions and has resulted in one of the lowest rates of unionisation among all manufacturing sectors within the Turkish industry (Öz İplik-İş Sendikası 2005).

In the light of all this background information provided in this section on the textile and clothing industry in Turkey, it becomes evident that the choice of that specific industry for the present study is a justifiable one. The choice has been made based on the key position and role of the textile and clothing industry in the economic and social transformation of Turkey, and the central role that family entrepreneurship has played in the development of that industry where family businesses constitute the a large majority of enterprises. Moreover, it should be of interest to explore and analyse from a critical perspective within the context of the present study how such a mentality of wild capitalism, that discriminates against and exploits women and child workers and that seems to dominate the textile and clothing industry in Turkey, could become so widespread, and internalised by those also negatively affected from it, in a sector where family businesses constitute the majority of enterprises.

5. THE PILOT FIELDWORK STUDY

The pilot fieldwork study that will be introduced and discussed in this section has been conducted with a two-fold purpose. First, it aims to explore the emerging themes on the ground that will assist in having a more specified focus in the following stages of the research. And secondly, it carries the purpose to verify whether the major themes cited and emphasised in the literature on the kinship structure in Turkey, that were presented and discussed previously in the literature review section, have an empirical basis as far as the family businesses in the textile and clothing industry in that country are concerned.

Therefore, the research methods that have been employed for the conduct of this pilot study should not be treated as indicative of or binding for the methods that will be used for the main research, since the former's use is strictly limited to the pilot study. Also, the results of this rather small-scale study should be approached with caution because, like in the case of

methods used in this pilot study, they reflect findings obtained only from the pilot study and they will not be merged in any way with the empirical findings of the main research. Last but not least, the findings obtained in this pilot study are not prioritised in any way against the other sources of information, but they are treated on equal grounds with the latter as informant input and as a means of reality-check tool for thinking and deciding about the path that this research will follow in the future.

The pilot fieldwork for this study was carried out during five days in mid-April 2007 in three different locations of Istanbul where the textile and clothing industry is relatively more concentrated in the urban area of that city. In total, eleven unstructured, face-to-face, in-depth interviews with durations varying between thirty minutes and one hour were conducted with the owners and employees of firms, the secretary-general of a local textile and clothing businessmen association and the local branch legal adviser of a national labour union of textile and clothing workers.

The participants for the pilot study were selected on the basis of a combination of purposeful sampling and maximum variation (Punch 1998). This choice of sampling strategy had the deliberate purpose to restricting the researcher to getting information and insights from a rather homogeneous group of people regarding their job, position, locality and alike, but rather to incorporate into the pilot study as many stakeholders as possible whose relation to and involvement in the industry varies from one another. Sampling of participants for the pilot study from three different areas of Istanbul where the textile and clothing industry is relatively more concentrated should also be viewed as an effort towards having a variety among the interviewees. Such a sample then would be better posited to provide specific information about their immediate surroundings apart from the generalised accounts that they would give on the industry and their personal involvement therein. Therefore, the sampling for this pilot study the should be seen as one that strives towards an information-rich sample unit which, after all, does not make a claim of being a representative sample unit of any population.

The interviews were conducted at the subjects' workplaces,[26] and in a rather informal and casual fashion in order to establish rapport with the participants and to ensure the receipt of more sincere and honest answers to the questions. The interviews contained both open-

[26] Except for the selected three suburbs of Istanbul, one interview was conducted with an executive employee of a company based in the suburb of Kurtköy. The interview took place at the workplace of another interviewee in the district of Merter, whose company produces fabrics on a sub-contracting basis for the former's ready-wear clothing manufacturing company in Kurtköy. The interview was arranged *ad hoc*, on a spontaneous fashion following the interview with the manager of the fabric-supplying company.

ended and close-ended questions that differed from interview to interview only slightly, depending on the company's place in the supply chain, and the position or title of each interviewee. Utmost attention was shown for the phrasing of questions in a discrete manner to avoid influencing the responses of the interviewees (Miles and Huberman 1994). Pseudonyms have been used throughout the pilot study to replace the actual names of both the real persons (i.e. interviewees) and the legal persons (i.e. companies) to preserve the anonymity of the participants and their companies. The only exceptions to this anonymity are the names of the businessmen association and of the trade union of workers mentioned here, which are not pseudonyms but their real names.

Table 3: Overview of interviews

Name	Duty/Title	Company	Location*	Activity
Ahmet Murat	Junior manager Shareholder/Manager	Evteks	Tekstilkent	Wholesale of home textiles for the domestic and export markets
Duygu	Co-owner/Director	Dokuteks	Tekstilkent	Producer of fabrics for women-wear through sub-contracts
Necati	Owner/Director	Orgu-Kumas	Bayrampaşa	Weaving and wholesale of fabrics for the domestic market
Hakan	Shareholder/Manager	Akteks	Bayrampaşa	Processing & wholesale of yarn for the domestic market
Necmi	Shareholder/Director	Fason Mont	Bayrampaşa	Producer of raincoats, sub-contractor of domestic customers
Tuncay	Shareholder/Manager	Ipekteks	Merter	Production & sale of fabrics for the domestic market
Baran	Shareholder/Manager	Ferteks	Merter	Wholesale of zippers for the domestic market
Selim	Manager	Komsuteks	Merter	Weaving of fabrics, sub-contractor of domestic producers of clothing
Haluk	Manager in charge of Sales & Purchases	Konfeks	Kurtköy	Clothing manufacture, sub-contractor of customers from abroad
Ali	Secretary-General	MESIAD	Merter	Local association of textile and clothing businessmen
Mehmet	Expert in Legal Affairs	Öz İplik-İş	Aksaray	Union of textile and clothing workers

* All locations indicated lie within the borders Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality area.

The interviews with the representatives of the local businessmen association and of the trade union, apart from providing valuable additional information and insight for the current study, were conducted in the last phase. Such a choice facilitated the triangulation of findings by testing the credibility and reliability in those two last interviews of several responses that had previously been given during the interviews that preceded them in time. Since the study is of qualitative nature and an exploratory one, the findings were not tested for their internal validity or reliability. The study has been conducted using an interpretive paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln 1994), since the aim of the pilot study was to explore and roughly draw with as much accuracy as possible the picture of the situation on the ground. This picture, then, is interpreted by the researcher to acquire insights (Altheide and Johnson 1994), to identify the major themes of concern, and thus to inform the future direction that the research is to take.

As mentioned previously, three sites within the urban area of the city of Istanbul in Turkey have been chosen for the pilot fieldwork study. This choice was made due to the intensive clustering of textile and clothing industry in these three specific districts as far as Istanbul is concerned. All three districts are located on the European part of the city and positioned like corners of a triangle with about twenty kilometres in distance between each. Two interviews took place in a recently built textiles business site called Tekstilkent, which was opened in 2002. It consists of 4,265 offices and warehouses with a total area of 927,000 square meters, in 41 blocks of office and storage spaces and a pair of 44-floored skyscrapers. The site was aimed to attract and bring together the textile firms and small ateliers that still operate in the centre of Istanbul (Tekstilkent 2006). However, most businesses have been reluctant so far to leave their centrally located premises and move to Tekstilkent. As a result, out of the total capacity of 4265 premises, only 730 were operational by 2004, and a majority of those 730 businesses reportedly deeply regrets making such a move and complains much about not having around any of their former acquaintances from the sector anymore (Döndaş 2004).

Three interviews, all of which were with owners and/or executives of businesses, were conducted in the suburb of Bayrampaşa, which actually recently developed into a municipality and was incorporated into the urban area of Istanbul after the settlement of rural migrants in the area in the last five decades. Apart from a large formerly rural population, today the district is home to one of the most important weaving and knitting micro-clusters of not only Istanbul but Turkey as well (Bulu et al. 2004). The setting for the third group of interviews conducted for the pilot study is a suburb of Istanbul called Merter, which is home to one of the most important textile and clothing industrial district in Turkey ever since its

establishment in 1980 and its rigorous development since then, hosting more than 2500 small firms, half a million workers and accounting for 40 percent of Turkish woven apparel exports on its own (Oba and Semirciöz 2005).

As can also be observed in the Table 3. above, the respondents consulted in this pilot study display a considerable variety as far as their business activities and positions within the production and supply chain are concerned. However, notwithstanding this divergence that differentiates the companies surveyed here, a very common trend that was observed during interviews is that the respondents referred to their relations with suppliers, customers, and fellow employees very frequently by employing kinship terms. Kin-like relations that have been formed in the course of business cooperation were expressed very often by the interviewees in terms of what Duben (1982) has labelled 'kinship idiom', through the employment of kinship terms that are normally used among relatives within a family. This part is thus dedicated to the presentation and discussion of major empirical findings from the pilot study and to an enquiry of their relevance to the postulates and findings that have been put forth in previous studies in the literature.

The extension of kinship status through the incorporation of the non-genealogical kin appears to follow an ambivalent and highly selective pattern rather than a uniform one for all relations within and between firms across different businesses surveyed in this pilot study. For instance, an owner and manager of a firm insistently refused to refer to his company as a family business although his two sons are also employed in his firm. Necmi justified this stance of his on the grounds that he is the sole owner of the enterprise, and that a family business is one in which family members share the ownership. Moreover, Necmi stated that he abstained from employing his relatives and acquaintances in his firm because, based on his previous experiences, such employees then perceive themselves in a privileged position vis-à-vis other employees and do not work with high efficiency. On the other hand, however, during the interview Necmi showed no hesitation to introduce to the interviewer the master of his workshop, who has worked him for over a decade, as his third son although they are not even genealogically related, and said that his master is no different for him than his two real sons.

At another interview, Ahmet introduced their firm as a family business although the shareholding structure included members of a family and other individuals outside the family. Ahmet stated that the relations between his family and other shareholders date back to times prior to the company's founding. The ties among them were not created from anew with the establishment of the firm since they were already in place due to residing in the same

neighbourhood following the shareholders' families' migration to Istanbul in 1970s from different parts of the country. Therefore, the history of the company is inseparable from the urbanisation experience of the families that founded it over their newly founded kin-like ties as a result of being neighbours in the new urban environment. Ahmet regards the relationship between him and his senior colleague Murat as one that is no different than the one that would have been between two real brothers. This fictive kinship among the members of different families is also observed in their daily dialogues. While Ahmet was talking to and referring to Murat during the interview, he was calling him "big brother". At another instance he said:

> 'Our families see each other too. We have been seeing each other for many years now. We used to see each other before starting together this business as well. We can say that now we have entrenched this with [business] partnership. Just like that I mean, a relationship of big brother-small brother is continuing between us. And it has always been like that.' (Ahmet)

Moreover, apart from the frequent use of the kinship idiom among the shareholders and managers of the firm, unlike many other cases under survey here, the same trend is followed also in the executives' dealings and relations with fellow employees. According to Ahmet, the company's policy is to give preference to relatives and acquaintances in the recruitment process since it is preferable for them to work with people whom they can trust.

However, the use of kinship idiom and emphasis on fictive kinship are observed not only in intra-firm relationships but also in the context of inter-firm affairs. At another instance, when asked about the nature of their relationship with Selim's company, with which his firm has been working for five years on a sub-contracting basis, Haluk stated that they have become like 'more than simply relatives, but rather like a family' in the literal sense. What is interesting to note here is that neither Haluk nor Selim are shareholders of companies that they work for, and neither of the two companies is family-owned. But in the course of their cooperation in business, they have "become a family", a statement which Selim also agreed with. Similar ties seem to have been the basis of cooperation also with the other sub-contracting customers of Selim's company, which have been more or less the same ones over the last decade, and Selim is happy to work with them on such a long-term basis. He stated that their clientele does not change and that they have never been in search for new customers. However, this preference is not because the company's capacity is sufficient only to respond to the orders of the existent clientele, since its production is much less than its actual capacity. Although it has an excess capacity that is not in use most of the time, not only the company has not made attempts to expand its clientele, but it is also not open to sub-contract offers from potential customers. Nonetheless, Selim is content with this situation and

prefers to have his machinery and workforce remain idle rather than switching to full capacity production by striking new deals with strangers that would walk in to his office and approach him with a lucrative sub-contract offer.

Such a reserved attitude in the openness to new business opportunities through deals with new customers and preference for sticking to an unchanging clientele that have become kin-like after a long history of cooperation, however, does not appear to be just the function of a company's position in the supply chain. It may be argued that in a competitive environment like textiles, the survival of Selim's company depends heavily on the loyal behaviour of its business partners as providers of contracts and on paying back for this loyalty to them by not alienating the latter and abstaining from catering to their rivals at the expense of having a considerable portion of its capacity remain idle. However, in another case where the company surveyed is not a sub-contractor to other firms but purchases its raw material and markets its finished products directly, Tuncay said that their customers have changed little until a few years ago. As a shareholder and manager of Ipekteks, Tuncay recalls the two decades after the company's establishment as good old days. He and his colleagues used to allocate all their efforts and attention into production and not care about marketing since the customers, with whom they had become like relatives in the course of their long-term business relationship, themselves would come to his firm on a regular basis for purchases. However, with the fierce competition coming in from China in recent years, lower prices have prevailed as a more important priority over loyalty, and Ipekteks had to change its business habits and start 'going out and looking for customers'. The Ipekteks case is thus crucial also because it shows that fictive kinship ties established between firms are not unshakeable and the long-term reciprocity may cease to exist once the external factors render it too costly to insist on its sustenance.

Fictive kinship ties that have been formed in the urban setting among members of rural migrant families were frequently mentioned during the interviews. This includes evidence that attests to the importance of ties among the *hemşehri* that have also been extensively studied in the literature on Turkish society. For instance, Haluk, who has been working in the sector for twenty-two years, started his career as an unskilled worker in 1985 when a *hemşehri* of his, who migrated to Istanbul from a nearby village to Haluk's village of origin, offered Haluk a job at his workshop. Thus, fictive kinship has been a central part of Haluk's work life from the very beginning, and it is not a strategy that he has started resorting to or one that he has ceased to do so in the more recent stages of his career in the sector as an executive. Likewise, Necati, the owner and manager of Orgu-Kumas, has a similar personal

history in the sector to that of Haluk. His involvement in the sector began as an apprentice twenty-two years ago, a job that his big brother had found for him in Istanbul. His big brother had migrated to Istanbul a few years earlier than he did and found a job at a manufacturer of fabrics owned and run by their *hemşehri* from the province of Sivas. When he secured a job at the same company for his little brother as well, Necati left Sivas and settled in Istanbul too. As such, his story is a clear evidence of the "chain migration" phenomenon that has acted as a catalyst for the rural masses' movement to cities upon securing employment through fellow kinsmen – actual or fictive – who had migrated to the city at an earlier stage in time.

On the other hand, Selim's involvement in the sector has a relatively shorter history of only five years. Although he is a graphic designer by formation, he could not turn his neighbour down, whom he refers to as "big brother Halil", when the latter offered Selim the current post he continues to hold at Komsuteks:

> 'I don't like this industry at all at the moment. It's not a nice industry at all I mean. Not because some other [reason] but why [did I start working in this industry]? Big brother Halil, I mean our boss, was our neighbour. He asked me [to work for him].' (Selim)

When he is asked about why his boss made such a choice instead of recruiting a manager with experience in the industry, Selim responded that his "big brother Halil" wanted to have someone whom he could trust. His boss Halil was deceived by his former manager, who was not his kin and who secretly appropriated large sums of the company's money, which ultimately led to the termination of his job contract. Therefore, once again it was witnessed that relations at the workplace among the non-kin who are not genealogically related to one another, are constructed on the basis of a fictive kinship that mutually benefit the both parties involved, the employer and the employee alike. Selim gratefully pays back to his boss's favour of such a good job by being a trustworthy manager for him although he, in his mid-20s, may lack many necessary competencies and sufficient work experience in the sector to hold such an executive position.

Although empirical evidence suggests that the establishment of fictive kinship ties and the use of kinship idiom in the businesses is a widespread practice, there seems to be an important distinction concerning the selection of contexts in which this strategy is so commonly followed and those in which it is almost not resorted to at all. This practice appears to prevail and to be in use more often among the owners and executives within and across the firms with a high frequency, whereas the same strategy is not so often observed in the case of intra-firm relations between the owners/managers and employees. It is possible to argue for the plausibility of such a distinction especially when one takes into account the extremely high employee turnover in the Turkish textile and clothing industry, which was

mentioned in most of the interviews and was also highlighted as the biggest problem that the workers face according to the labour union representative. A majority of owners and managers interviewed in this pilot study have explicitly expressed their disfavouring attitude for the traditional, master-apprentice type relations where a long-term, symbiotic, morality-laden relation between the employer and the employee is held at esteem (Unluhisarcikli 1999). Therefore, this may signal a new trend of limiting the circle of fictive kinship and the use of kinship idiom to a narrower circle of owners and managers and mark a departure from the more inclusive past practice.

In a recent study on the cloth dyeing industry in South India (De Neve 2007), empirical findings point to a similar pattern of workplace relations. Owners, managers and senior employees of the firms are found to be involved in closely-knit fictive kinship relations expressed through kinship idiom, and are built on a morally-laden, long-term, reciprocal system of favour exchange, as also suggested by the findings of the pilot study here. Although in the South Indian case workers too are found to be part of the kinship network at the workplace, unlike the findings of the present pilot study which indicate a confinement of such relations to executive ranks in the firm, the high turnover of workers inevitably leads to a hollowing out of the long-term and moral essence of such relations and renders it similar in practice to what has been found here for the Turkish case.

Evidence for the construction and mobilisation of fictive kinship among the owners and executives of businesses surveyed here, has been found to be having its bases on other shared social and cultural aspects as well. One of those aspects is religion. Two interviewees in the present study can be classified as devout Sunni Muslims who, apart from their personal lives, strictly abide by the rules and principles of Islam in their business lives as well. Necmi and Baran avoid usury in their transactions since it is forbidden in Islam, and thus they have had to limit their business relations to those in which they would not have to charge or receive any interest rate over the payments. In the case of Fason Mont, this has led Necmi to stick to production based on sub-contracts.

> 'I'm doing sub-contract work. I'm only doing work through sub-contracts [given to me]. My capital is my machines, my labour. We're using these. It has always been like that. We are not selling [our] products, we can't sell. And there are reasons [for that]. There is usury and such. There is usury. I can't charge interest rates, I can't…' (Necmi)

Necmi's and Baran's devoutness to Islam may restrict their access to many opportunities in the market that are not in line with the rules and teachings of Islam, and that they might have otherwise been able to benefit from. However, at the same time, this very devoutness of theirs may open up new business opportunities and serve as a firm basis of

long-term business cooperation for them as well, since their religious identity, worldview and conservative way of living may facilitate and ease making business with like-minded suppliers and customers. This possibility was argued by Mehmet, the secretary-general of the local association of textile and clothing businessmen in the district of Merter, to indeed exist in reality as a major factor in inter-firm relations. Mehmet informed during the interview that several informal networks of owners and managers in their area based on shared interpretations of Islamic belief have become more prominent than even those that are based on *hemşehri* ties and solidarity.

On the other hand, increasing emphasis on Islam in business also has negative impacts for owners and managers that, personally or as a firm, do not subscribe to such an outlook. For instance, Duygu, who is a major shareholder and director of a company that sells fabrics for women-wear, has her produce finished by sub-contracting each phase of the manufacturing process to different firms in and outside Istanbul. Since each of these firms is specialized in a different phase of the production, she almost constantly has to be in touch with her sub-contractors to coordinate the whole process until the finishing of the product. The already hard work becomes even harder from time to time for her as a woman because, as she said, due to her liberal worldview and appearance, she is perceived as an undesirable business partner for many Islamist owners and managers of companies. Apart from this obstacles that she daily has to face due to her faith and worldview, Duygu has another complaint in that, as a latecomer in the sector, she is at a highly disadvantaged position vis-à-vis her established rivals. As a textiles engineer by formation, she said that her prospects for success at her work are being unjustly taken aback by people with little or none formal education and who are totally ignorant about textiles in terms of technical know-how.

Of the interviewees surveyed in this pilot study, Murat, Necati and Baran fit into this latter category of businessmen that have started their career in textile and clothing industry at very early stages in their lives as an apprentice. As they climbed the career ladder up to the positions that they now hold, they have learnt the job by practicing it and not through formal education. Since the textile and clothing industry in Turkey had not yet grown into economies of scale and there were much less firms operating in the sector as recently as three decades ago, owners and managers of businesses that have been involved in the industry since prior to 1980s accord to themselves a sense of superiority over the latecomers, no matter what the former have actually achieved in their own careers. This was observed in all of the three interviews with Murat, Necati and Baran. All three claimed that they are graduates of the so-called “Sultanhamam-Mercan University”, referring to the area in central Istanbul where

most textile and clothing companies and workshops were once located. They all attach special importance to acquaintances they made during work in that district, and they express contempt for latecomers to the sector whose work mentality and business culture differ drastically from theirs because they did not learn the job in the Sultanhamam-Mercan way.

A major aspect that these former apprentices of Sultanhamam-Mercan argue to differ themselves from the latecomer business owners and managers in the sector has to do with business mentality and culture. Baran argued that the newcomers are more short-sighted in business, while they have been taught to give priority to strategies with a focus on the long-run; that the newcomers are more eager and impatient to have immediate returns on their investments, whereas they have made to believe that only through patience one can really achieve his/her targets; and that the newcomers prefer to channel their profits into luxurious consumption and investments in the financial markets, while from their masters they learned modesty as a virtue and to invest back to business any profit that one makes from that business to create more employment for the society that one earns his/her profits from. A similar remark was made by Murat:

> 'From now on [the matter] is not just about for a family to earn its bread from here [i.e. from the business] I mean. If more people work here, it will be a source of bread for so much people. And because of this it's important to expand. Instead of [sticking to] a logic of "this is enough for us" I mean…' (Murat)

Such a shared past at work – actual or imagined – and common business culture from professional upbringing since their apprenticeship times, seems to constitute another social and cultural basis for fictive kinship construction among "the graduates of Sultanhamam-Mercan University". Therefore, business culture and work mentality, which may show variation depending on differences in generation and the type of training/formation received for the job, emerge as another major factor and building block of fictive kinship ties in the context of intra-firm and inter-firm relations that should be taken into account for the main study.

6. PRELIMINARY CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

Before proceeding to discussions on theory, it will be clarified briefly why the above title has been preferred as the heading for this section rather than "the theoretical framework". Since qualitative methods will be used for the main study, where questions will be raised at the outset to seek answers for in the course of the research, rather than formulating hypothesis for testing, it is avoided here at this stage of the research to have a limiting and imposing theoretical framework. Instead, a loose, preliminary conceptual

framework, that will bring together the major themes that emerge from the literature review and the findings of the pilot study will be presented and discussed in this section.

In the light of the literature review on the family and kinship system in Turkey and empirical evidence from the pilot fieldwork study, it is self-evident that it is very hard, if not impossible, to undertake a research on family businesses in Turkey with an initial assumption, like the one that Leaptrott (2005) suggests, of the family as an entity with an identifiable structure. A study of the Turkish case with such an assumption at the outset would most likely fail to yield accurate findings. And the conclusions of such a study would be at best spurious ones since fictive kinship ties appear to be playing a major role and are so much embedded into relations among actual kinsmen that it becomes difficult at times to distinguish between the two. Both a review of the literature and evidence from the pilot study point to the point that the incorporation of the non-kin into the circle of kinsmen through the use of kinship idiom is not merely limited to discourse, but it has impacts in practice on the behaviour and attitudes of agents. Taking this into account, the study will, therefore, follow a social constructivist approach in its dealing with the concepts of both the family and the family business, instead of assuming and treating the latter as pre-defined, static entities that fit into a single definition or into a set of categories with a multitude of definitions.

A similar approach that follows the social constructivist paradigm will be adopted for dealing also with the concept of culture in this research. Instead of subscribing to an essentialist, uniform and trans-historical interpretation of culture as it is very often done in the family business field (Ainsworth and Cox 2003), culture will be treated here as a constant dialogue and bargaining among different agents, and between the agent and the society around it. As such, culture will be dealt with here not as a constant but, as Knights and Willmott (1987: 41) have aptly put it, as 'the precarious outcome of continuous processes of contestation and struggle,' where relations of power and bargaining power of the agents involved in it are very much related. Indications of such an interactive bargaining process are abundant in the findings of the pilot fieldwork study. For instance, variances concerning business culture and mentality that have been observed between different generations of business owners and managers is not a static gap that should be taken as granted and analysed as such, but it should rather be seen as an arena of constant struggle and contestation, with the ultimate aim of prevailing over the other and establishing its own cultural hegemony. Similarly, the increasing influence of Islam in business has opened up another front for bargaining and contestation. On the one hand, Duygu, as a liberal businesswoman, sees her future in the industry under threat in the face of Islam's bid for cultural hegemony, whereas

Necmi, on the other hand, had to spend his career under the hegemony of a lay and secular business culture. Nevertheless, Necmi did not surrender to that hegemony, but tried to develop an exit strategy for himself by creating a niche in which he would not be obliged to pursue business practices, such as usury, that run contrary to his devout Islamic faith.

Such a social constructivist interpretation of culture is more appropriate for and in line with the aim of this study since it also facilitates studying the relations between culture and family businesses as an ongoing, two-way interaction in which both sides simultaneously exert influence on and impact each other. An analysis that assumes the relation between social and cultural aspects and family businesses as having a one-way direction, in which the former exert pressure on the latter for compliance with a certain and uniform set of static norms and practices, would reveal only partly the picture of the situation on the ground. As such, it would most likely fail to take into account and provide an explanation for why and how variations are observed in degrees to which the agents comply, or resist doing so, with the norms dictated by environmental pressures. This shortcoming can be remedied with a conceptual framework and appropriate research methods that would provide analytical tools for this research to explore and conceptualise the two-way interaction between the both parties involved in the cultural bargaining. The remainder of this section is dedicated to exploring the feasibility of building such a conceptual framework.

Two theoretical approaches that have been developed and gained the upper hand in the management studies literature in the course of the last two decades, and that were introduced in the literature review section of this study are the institutional theory and the resource-based view of the firm. The institutional theory has its focus on the common aspects observed in the structure and behaviour of businesses in a given context and tries to explain this homogeneity across firms by attributing it to external factors that allegedly exert pressure towards convergence. On the other hand, the resource-based view of the firm has the particularities in its focus and makes an enquiry into reasons behind the heterogeneity observed in organizational forms and practices of businesses in any locality (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Although calls have been made by scholars for reconciliation between the two approaches and construction of a new theoretical model that combines aspects and perspectives from the two (Rao 1994; Oliver 1997), the either/or dichotomy concerning these two conceptual approaches continues dominate the literature as if the two are irreconcilable and are mutually exclusive in that sense.

For instance, the widespread construction of fictive kinship ties and use of kinship idiom within and between the textile and clothing businesses surveyed in the pilot study for

this research project can be explained with reference to the isomorphism concept of the institutional theory. The owners/managers of those textile and clothing businesses would more likely endorse fictive kinship and kinship idiom in their enterprises since these have become a social norm in the course of the ongoing urbanisation process. Otherwise, their refusal to endorse these norms could render them the odd one out, limit their access to resources and business opportunities, all of which, in turn, may even endanger the very survival of their firms. Isomorphism, in this sense,

> 'results from an organizational need to obtain and maintain legitimacy, the need to deal with uncertainty through commonly used, rather than novel, approaches, and the normative influences from authoritative sources.' (Leaptrott 2005: 216)

As such, the decision to yield to the forces of isomorphism is a product of "bounded rationality", as Selznick (1996) calls it, since no matter whether it results in the adoption of a best practice or in an undesired step for the owner or manager of a business, the result is compliance with the common practice to minimise risk and to avoid anxiety.

On the other hand, the older generation of businessmen that were surveyed in the pilot study were found to insist on not making compromises from their business mentality although it is regarded out-dated and old-fashioned by many of their younger colleagues among which they are increasingly becoming a minority. Theoretical perspectives provided by the institutional theory fall short of offering an explanation for this firm heterogeneity which apparently is influenced by the age of owners/managers, since it stipulates that organisations in the same population or industry, in response to environmental pressures, tend to move towards a convergence over time (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). It is possible, however, to analyse this firm heterogeneity through the lens of the resource-based view, and with reference to its central concept of "rare, inimitable, non-transferable resources" (Wernerfelt 1984; Dierickx and Cool 1989; Priem and Butler 2001) in particular.

No matter how obsolete the older generation businessmen' work culture may seem to their younger counterparts and be criticised by the latter, the old generation's virtuous stance and business conduct, and their uncompromising persistence on and defence of their own business values earn this older generation a very high reputation in the industry. Therefore, even if the older generation does not opt for an opportunistic behaviour by making compromises or sacrifices from their work principles for higher profits, they still can convert this virtuous stance of theirs into cash. For instance, apart from his choice to do business through production based on sub-contracts that he receives, in order to avoid giving or receiving interest rates over the payments made due to his religious faith, another striking

observation was that there is no placard or sign inside or outside Necmi's workshop that bears his company's name. He has no business cards either, and he said that he never had one in his life. When asked for the reason, Necmi responded that he simply never needed such things to promote his business, and that his name itself has become a respected brand in the industry after working with integrity and honesty for so many years.

> 'When someone has the raw material and wants to have raincoats produced with it for his/her business, he/she asks someone who knows the industry and the people that work on such products. And that person says to him/her: 'you should go to brother Necmi. He is the one you are looking for', and gives him/her my telephone number. We do not look for customers. They hear our name and come to us.' (Necmi)

As such, Necmi's business mentality that gives priority to virtues like integrity, honesty and loyalty over material aspects, and that earns him a well-respected reputation in the industry and a competitive advantage, can be accepted as a resource in the sense that the concept is described in the literature on the resource-based view of the firm as a rare, non-transferable endowment that is not available in the market (Rumelt 1987; Barney 1991). And this resource endowment indeed provides Necmi's business with a competitive advantage vis-à-vis its rivals that do not possess it, of allocating all his resources and efforts into production and of not caring about having to seek customers or watch out for business opportunities.

Such cases and situations, to which many more can be further added from the findings of the pilot fieldwork study, demonstrate that perspectives from both the institutional theory and the resource-based view of the firm are valuable informants for an exploratory enquiry like this study aims to make into the nature and functioning of family businesses in Turkey. Depending on the case under question, one or the other of these major theoretical approaches offers more fitting tools and perspectives for a more complete analysis than that the other one can. It is also possible, however, to pinpoint many other cases and phenomena from the findings of the same pilot study, for the explanation of which, not simply choosing one out of the two but a blending of the two theoretical approaches becomes more than a necessity for a more accurate analysis of the reality on the ground. For instance, the highly selective use of fictive kinship within and between businesses is one of the major findings of the pilot fieldwork study that could be labelled a major trend among the businesses surveyed. However, for the explanation of several phenomena found within that general trend, a selection between the institutional theory and the resource-based view does not suffice since those phenomena require a conceptual framework that combines theoretical tools and

perspectives from both the institutional theory and the resource-based view of the firm for their explanation.

One such phenomenon within that trend is the limited and selective use of fictive kinship and kinship idiom within and among businesses. It was observed during the pilot study that a majority of owners and managers of businesses confer the status of fictive kin exclusively upon executives within their own firms and the owners and managers of other firms that they cooperate with, and that they use kinship idiom as part of their workplace relations only within that limited circle of executives. It seemed that the other employees of lower ranks were most of the time denied the possibility of "becoming" the business owners' and/or managers' kinsmen. In this context, the widespread use of fictive kinship can be analysed with reference to the institutional theory. However, the latter would fall short of providing an explanation for the limited and selective fashion with which that general trend prevails. Why do some businesses apply it on a universal basis while many others restrict it to a limited circle? At this juncture, theoretical perspectives from the resource-based view are also needed to analyse this apparent "heterogeneity within homogeneity".

The same necessity can also prevail when one looks more in detail into the specific aspects of identity on which fictive kinship is constructed and becomes a basis of kinship ties and relations. Although it is evident from the previous studies in the literature and empirical findings of the pilot study that fictive kinship is widespread almost to the extent of being a norm in the Turkish society and business circles, this homogeneity in the use of such ties and relations is made too much complex and heterogeneous in practice by the multitude of cleavages that are involved in them. For example, owners of two businesses may have kin-like relationships due to being *hemşehri*, i.e. have their origins from the same village/town or geographic region, but one of them may be Sunni Muslim while the other one may belong to the Shi'a sect of Islam. Therefore, the Sunni Muslim business-owner may feel more affinity towards another colleague that is both his/her *hemşehri* and Sunni, than he/she may feel towards the Shiite colleague even if he/she is a *hemşehri*. That Shiite business-owner on the other hand, may feel more affinity towards another Shiite business-owner who may not necessarily be his/her *hemşehri*, than he/she may feel for his/her other colleague that is Sunni and *hemşehri*.

Actually there is evidence both in the literature and among the findings of the pilot study of this research that fictive kinship ties and solidarity based on a "brotherhood of faith" has begun to enjoy a significantly high prominence today in business circles at the expense of the hitherto forms of fictive kinship ties created earlier in the urban milieu. For instance, the

Independent Association of Industrialists and Businessmen (MÜSİAD) which was founded towards the end of 1980s over conflicting worldviews with the pro-secular establishment, umbrella organization Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen (TÜSİAD), has witnessed its membership grow exponentially ever since.

> 'Against the economic, political, and social characteristics of the European model that can be said to define TÜSİAD's general outlook, MÜSİAD largely draws on the East Asian model in a rival strategy in which a certain interpretation of Islam is used as a resource to bind the businessmen whom it represents into a coherent community and to represent their economic interests as an integral component of an ideological mission.' (Buğra 1998: 522)

Similarly, the secretary-general of the local association of textile and clothing businessmen pointed to a similar development during the interview as part of the pilot study, that the highest degree of solidarity among businesses within his district is observed not among the *hemşehri* anymore but among a small group of business owners who are members of a specific, underground Islamic group (the Nur movement). Therefore, not only the conceptual framework for such a study like this one should be able to provide an account for and to theorise both similarities and differences across family businesses, but also it should be equipped with the necessary tools to trace and analyse this pattern of change within the culture itself. This requirement also applies for the methodological approach that will be used.

The aforementioned pictures with crosscutting foundations of kinship and the possibility of change over time in the prevailing significance of one over the hitherto more significant other, and their impact on the reshuffling and redefinition of fictive kinship ties in business circles, can become even more complicated to analyse when other cleavages such as ethnic origin (e.g. Turk, Kurd, Arab, Cherkess, Bosnian, Albanian, Jew, Armenian) are added in to the picture. The fact that these are not always reinforcing cleavages but are very often crosscutting each other (e.g. someone with Turkish or Kurdish ethnic may have Sunni or Shi'a faith, i.e. the ethnicity cleavage is not reinforced by religion cleavage), indicates that there is an immense repertoire of fictive kinships out there that is still awaiting to be explored and systematically studied with regard to their impacts on the making and functioning of family businesses. Hence, the multitude of cleavages involved in the construction of fictive kinship ties and their crosscutting pattern amount to another pressing factor that calls for the formulation of a conceptual framework which will take into account and facilitates an analysis of both convergences and divergences at the same time.

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