



## The Impact of Motherland Party's Neoliberal Policies on Labour Markets within the Framework of 3Ds in New Work Life

*Yeni Çalışma Yaşamının 3Dsi Ekseninde Anavatan Partisi'nin Neoliberal Eğilimli Politikalarının İşgücü  
Piyasalarına Etkileri*

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### Abstract

The objective of the study is to focus on the impacts of Motherland Party's neoliberal policies on labour markets. The 1980s were the years in which economic policies underwent changes and transformations owing to the powerful effect of globalization and neoliberalism. On the one hand it has been debated that the influences of the process through which everybody learns everything in a short period of time, on the other hand it has been observed that economy-politics were shaped on the basis of "neoliberalism" because of oil crisis in 1973. On account of the neoliberal policies, the state marginalizes and marginalizes itself, so do the social policies and social problems; in addition, private sector or in other words capital owners comes to the power both on economic and labour markets. To put in another way, the minimal and the marginal impulse of the state on the social, economic, and politic structure through the motto "Laissez faire, laissez passer.", brings about marginalization, weakness, as well as vulnerability on the social policy and labour markets as particular domain. The reason is that those who develop, manage or control social policy through governments is the state itself; nothing else. Loosing initiatives of the state concerning the solution of the social problems will stem in decrease of the efficiency of social policy; nevertheless it will enhance imposition of the capital. In short, if the state is powerful and dominant in the system, social policy will be too. The enforcement of "competition" brought about globalization defined as the monopoly of goods, services, and capital is the fundamental factor that affects the labour markets deeply. In the industrial relations systematicity, moving from the sole priority of employers shaped depending upon profit maximization and cost minimization so as to compete with the others and according to them, the unique factor that minimizes profit and maximizes cost is the labour itself. Therefore, the wage income of the labour is to be declined or lock out is to be done so that fewer labour can be employed. Labour markets, as a dynamic domain, are shaped by the rules of supply and demand. The political initiatives leave a great impact on the running of labour market due to the fact that those that control the policy control the labour markets as well. Therefore, the policies developed by Motherland Party extremely affected the structure of labour markets. The reason is that 1980s were the years when radical transformations took place on the basis of labour market implementations. The first development was related to the neoliberal policies adapted by Turkish government in the aftermath of January 24th Decisions through which Turkish economy took an initiative for opening itself so as to integrate with the world economy. Via neoliberal policies, state was marginalized, and state was regarded as a sort of 'barrier' that decelerated investment and growth; but on the other hand, private initiatives were maximized day by day. Development and growth depended upon capital accumulation by means of private entrepreneurship, and the state was removed from economic and social policies. Additionally, globalization that rendered the world as a 'unique' and 'sole' mechanism neglecting differentiations fostered this process as well. As a result of the development in information and communication technologies in parallel with globalization process, the world converted into a small piece in which everyone was informed with everything in a short period of time. Globalization brought about international competition that caused employee to be taken into account as the biggest cost factor. These kinds of new improvements shifted the structure of labour markets and instead of employee centered industrial relations, employer oriented one appeared again that trivialized employee and its wage. More than that, new working types called as deregulation in the literature gave birth that minimized the significance of employees and turned them into a 'tool' to be sold and bought or rented. As a whole, the study consists of two chapters. In the first part of the study, moving from the term of policy, Motherland Party's neoliberal initiatives along with January 24th Decisions and Military Coup has been reflected. As for the second part, the policies and their reflections on labour markets have been assessed.

**Key Words:** Industrial Relations, Policy, Motherland Party (ANAP), Labour Market, Deregulation

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## Özet

*Bu çalışmanın amacı Anavatan Partisi'nin neoliberal eğilimli politikalarının işgücü piyasalarına etkilerini incelemektir. Anavatan Partisi'nin iktidara geldiği 1980'li yıllar küreselleşmenin ve neoliberalizmin güçlenen etkisi nedeniyle ekonomi politikalarının değişim ve dönüşüm yaşadığı dönemin özelliklerini içermektedir. Bir taraftan dünyada sınırların kalkarak herkesin her şeyi çok kısa bir süre içerisinde öğrendiği bir sürecin etkileri tartışılırken diğer taraftan da 1973 Petrol Krizi'nin etkisiyle ekonomi-politiğin "neoliberal" eksende şekillendiği gözlenmektedir. Neoliberal politikalar nedeniyle devletin küçülmesi ve marjinal hale gelmesi sosyal politikayı ve sosyal sorunları da marjinalleştirirken özel sektör ve sermaye kesimi iktisadi piyasalarda olduğu gibi işgücü piyasalarında da hükümlanlığını tesis etmiştir. Nitekim devletin küçüldüğü ve devletin "bırakınız yapsınlar, bırakınız geçsinler" ilkesi çerçevesinde sosyal, iktisadi ve politik yapı üzerindeki etkisinin minimal hale gelmesi sosyal politikayı ve işgücü piyasalarını da daha savunmasız ve güçsüz bir alana dönüştürecektir. Çünkü sosyal politikayı hükümetler eliyle geliştiren, yöneten ve denetleyen devlet aygıtından başkası değildir. Devletin sosyal sorunların çözümünde elindeki inisiyatifini kaybetmesi sosyal politikanın etkinliğinin azalmasına; o nispette sermayenin dayatmalarının artmasına neden olacaktır. Kısacası devlet sistem içerisinde güçlü ve baskın ise sosyal politikalarda etkin ve etkilidir. Mal, hizmet ve sermayenin tek elden yönetimi anlamında kullanılan küreselleşmenin neden olduğu "rekabet" baskısı da işgücü piyasalarını derinden etkileyen temel gelişmeler içerisinde yerini almıştır. Endüstri ilişkiler sistemi içerisinde işverenin rekabet edebilmesi için tek ve yegâne kaygısının kâr maksimizasyonu ve maliyet minimizasyonu olduğu düşüncesinden hareketle işverene göre kârı azaltacak ve maliyeti arttıracak tek faktör emektir. O nedenle emeğin elde ettiği ücret geliri azaltılmalı ya da tensikat yapılarak daha az işçi istihdam edilmelidir. Dinamik bir alan olarak işgücü piyasaları arz ve talep kuralları çerçevesinde şekillenmektedir. Siyaseti kontrol eden işgücü piyasalarını da kontrol edeceği düşüncesinden hareketle işgücü piyasalarının yönetiminde siyasi inisiyatifler oldukça önemli rol oynamaktadır. Bu nedenle Anavatan Partisi tarafından geliştirilen politikalar ciddi anlamda işgücü piyasalarının yapılarını etkilemiştir. Nitekim 1980'li yıllarda işgücü piyasalarında köklü değişimlere tanıklık edilmiştir. Öncelikle 24 Ocak Kararlarıyla o dönem hükümetinin benimsediği neoliberal politikalar sayesinde Türk Ekonomisi küresel sisteme entegre olmak amacıyla bir inisiyatif almıştır. Neoliberal politikaların uygulamaya konulmasıyla beraber devlet küçülmüş ve büyüme ve kalkınmanın önünde bir tür 'engel' olarak görülmeye başlanmış; fakat özel sektör ise her geçen gün büyümüştür. Büyüme ve kalkınma özel sektörün girişimleri sayesinde gerçekleşecek sermaye birikimine bağlıdır. 1980'den sonra devlet iktisadi piyasalara ve içtimai hayata müdahale etmekten vazgeçmiştir. İlaveten farklılıkları görmezlikten gelerek dünyayı tek ve yegâne bir parçaya dönüştüren küreselleşme süreci de bu trende ivme kazandıran bir başka realite olmuştur. Küreselleşmenin sonucunda gerçekleşen bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinde meydana gelen gelişmelerin katkısıyla dünya herkesin her şeyden haberdar olduğu küçük bir yapıya dönüşmüştür. Ayrıca küreselleşme, dayattığı rekabet anlayışıyla işverenler açısından işgücünün en büyük maliyet unsuru olarak görülmesine de zemin hazırlamıştır. Söz konusu bu gelişmeler işgücü piyasalarının da yapısını değişime uğratmış; işçi merkezli bir endüstri ilişkileri sistemi yerine başta işçiyi ve ücret gelirlerini önemsizen işveren merkezli bir çalışma anlayışı tesis edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte işçiyi marjinalleştiren, alınıp satılan ve kiralanan bir 'meta' haline getiren esnek çalışma anlayışı başta olmak üzere yeni çalışma biçimleri de ortaya çıkmıştır. Çalışma iki bölümden meydana gelmektedir. Birinci bölümde politika kavramından hareketle Anavatan Partisi'nin 24 Ocak Kararları ve 12 Eylül 1980 Askeri Darbesi sonrasında uygulamaya koyduğu neoliberal politikalar ele alınmıştır. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde ise söz konusu bu politikaların işgücü piyasaları üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmıştır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Endüstri İlişkileri, Politika, Anavatan Partisi (ANAP), İşgücü Piyasaları, Esnekleşme

## Introduction

Motherland Party (The ANAP) that came to power in 1983 played a very crucial role on the transformation of Turkey economically, politically, and socially on account of the fact that 1980s enforced new conditions both locally and globally and The ANAP became the first political actor which took initiatives on the basis of this transformation. In regards to Turkey, the position of which has always been in line with the position of the world, the first signs of transformation became clear with the advent of globalization process, January 24th Decisions and Military coup in 1980, all of which left a great impact on labour markets as well.

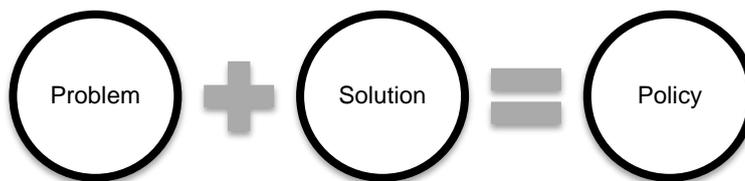
In the world, 1980s were the years on which neoliberal policies, which brought about a certain decrease on the function of the state, started to be implemented as a result of the 1973 Oil Crisis. Neoliberal policies removed the state from the markets and private initiatives were substituted instead. Providing that neoliberal policies were implemented, social policies as well as social state mechanisms would decline. This is a green fact which means that private initiatives do not have a concern about the welfare and the wellbeing of employees; in the stark contrast, it prioritizes profit maximization. Therefore, the policies conducted in 1980 and after reflected the 'mechanization' process of employees again fostered with the advent of new working styles called as deregulation. All these things are the actual results of state removal from the markets and substitution of private ownership. The golden age for employees that commenced concretely in the aftermath of 1945 became a dark age again in 1980 with the implementation of neoliberal policies.

The main objective of the study is to analyze the effects of neoliberal policies of The ANAP on the labour markets as the first practitioner of neoliberalism in Turkey. The study consists of two chapters. In the first part of the study, moving from the term of policy, The ANAP's initiatives along with January 24th Decisions and Military Coup is revealed. As for the second part, the policies and their reflections on labour markets are assessed taking into account the new dynamics of labour markets such as globalization, deregulation, deunionism, and international competition, all of which are assessed as 'downs' for labour itself since the apparatuses used by labour so as to legitimize itself are terminated. All these things pave the way that class consciousness, labour effectiveness are unfortunately quitted and labour is converted into a 'thing' to be sold and purchased.

## 1. Policy

Policy does not have a unique meaning; and it changes depending upon the contexts used. Some definitions lay an emphasis on the fact that it is a kind of tool to manage something while the others focus on its ideological aspect. For example, Merriam Webster Dictionary defines policy in a way that it is "prudence or wisdom in the management of affairs.", it is "management or procedure based primarily on material interest.", or it is "a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in the light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions." (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/policy>, 10 May 2016). According to Cambridge Dictionary, policy is defined as "a set of ideas or a plan of what to do in particular situations that has been agreed to officially by a group of people,

a business organization, a government, or a political party." (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/policy>, 10 May 2016). These definitions give a certain perspective concerning the word 'policy' because it connotes the determination of a specific problem and develop some particular solutions for it (Bardach, 2000: 371).



**Figure 1.** The General Framework of Policy

**Source:** Bardach, 2000: 371

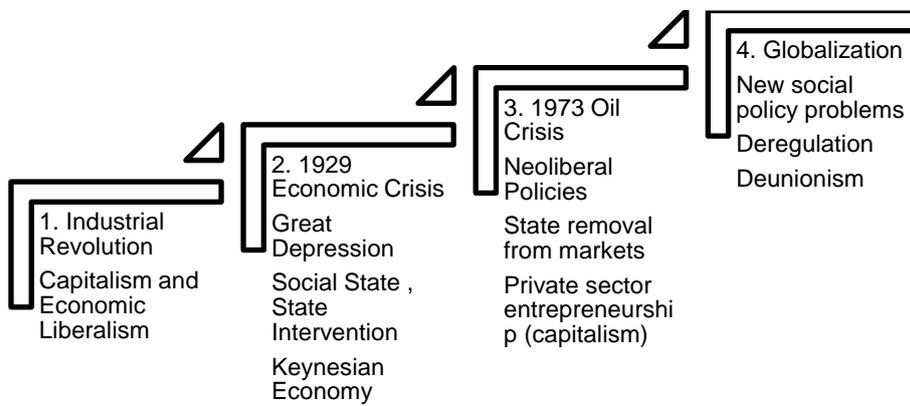
As a matter of fact, ascertaining the problem in a correct way is the first step of policy making procedure due to the fact that it takes after diagnosing an illness like a doctor. Imagine that the doctor diagnosed the illness in a wrong way, the prescription would not work and even it would damage the patient. Maybe, it would kill him. Therefore, policy as term used so frequently in different contexts is to be determined via moving from problem specification which can be interpreted that it refers to some types of ideology or initiatives to be taken so as to tackle with a particular problem related to economy, society, and so forth (Figure 1).

In democratic regimes, political parties carry out the function of management on behalf of public so that 'good governance', which depends upon "effectiveness", "efficiency", "legality", and "democracy", can be settled. In policy, these values often conflict and compete with one another owing to the fact that the dominant actor which takes the responsibility for making policies oblige to choose one over the others (Videc et al., 2010: 7, 8):

- Effectiveness is the sinequanon of policy so that the goal is to be realized. This peculiarity of policy as an instrument is of paramount importance for evaluation of side-effects (positive and negative as a whole). On condition that the policy is just on a daily basis rather than its inclusive aspect which can be achieved through effective and long term goals, it is quite natural that it does not work.
- Efficiency is related to the input and output calculation of policy as an instrument. Here, effective orientation of particular policies entails specific programs to be put into practice in a devised way so as to solve the problem.
- Legality refers to the idea that all the processes included in the policy making procedures from problem detection to its resolution are to be on the legal basis. The illegal instruments cannot be the parts of policy since policy making requires the solution of the problems from the beginning and since problems are the natural parts of policy. Thus, legality, so to say, formality is the indispensable sides of policy as an administrative process.
- Democracy, "referring to the degree to which administrative action in designing and implementing policies corresponds with accepted norms as to government citizen relationships in a democratic political order." Democracy is closely interacted with the policy. For totalitarian and authoritarian ideologies, it is unfeasible to settle the standards of democracy. The reason is that democracy can blossom and flourish only through laws, NGO, media and so on. On condition that these mechanisms are vague or defunctionalized, there is no reason to talk about policy. So, policy goes through democracy, without democracy, policy converts into a "unique and unquestionable" ideology.

## 2. The Economic Timeline of Modern World History since Industrial Revolution

It is of paramount importance to have a close look at the economic policies implemented following Industrial Revolution so that the government policies can be comprehended clearly. In regards to economy-politics, it can be referenced that the world history can be categorized into four like 'economic liberalism, Keynesian economy, neoliberal policies and globalization process.' After industrialization in which steam and cotton got married (Ekin, 1989: 8), everything is doomed to change all over the course of the world. Fundamentally, work and work related perceptions shifted radically which gives the idea that humans initiated to work in the factories and they quitted fields. At the same time, the economy based on one's consumption was transformed into a structure depended upon the consumptions of whole. This brought about mass production and the movement of capitalism commenced. The ideology that legitimized capitalism was 'economic liberalism' which centered upon 'Laissez faire, laissez passer' motto and the theory of 'invisible hand' meaning that there is no reason for state to intervene in the economy and economic activities. In this type of model, everything was for/by capital owners; nothing else. They were even superior from the state itself that resulted in social stratification and class discussion (Bozkır, 2011: 1-25).



**Figure 2.** The Economic Timeline of Modern World History since Industrial Revolution

**Source:** Bozkır, 2011: 1-25

The second stage shaping economy was characterized by 1929 Economic Crisis called as 'Great Depression'. Particularly, industrialized Western countries, where most employees were unemployed, were affected adversely. As a matter of fact, this was a depression for all owing to the fact that the majority of the poor had to wait for hours to take a plate of soup and a slice of bread. Socially insecure works played a very crucial role on this which paved the way that state ought to have intervened in the economy. This tragic end of economic liberalism compulsorily rendered Keynesian economy come to fore. Hence, great percentage of industrialized countries started to make new legal regulations concerning social security, social insurance, unemployed insurance such as USA, England, and German and so on. These were the golden era of social policy regulations. However, this promising model did not last longer, and 1973 Oil Crisis appeared which constituted the third turning point of economic policies. The new formula of the new age was neoliberalism that entailed state intervention on one hand, but capital accumulation on the other hand. This was something like half state and half privacy. This policy weakened the effectiveness of social policy, indeed. Particularly after globalization that gained a momentum following 1980, new problems concerning the owners of the economy occurred that stemmed in deregulation, deunionism, defunctionalization of social policy apparatuses (Figure 2).

## 3. The ANAP and January 24th Decisions

Through the leadership of Turgut Ozal, The ANAP came to power in 1983 in Turkey. It is necessary to have a look at the conditions of 1980s so as to cover the policies of Turgut Ozal, who became both prime minister and president of Turkish Republic, and who took radical initiatives concerning economic, social and political agendas. The first development of the era was the September 12th Military Coup. Particularly, 1980 Military Coup which continued for three years played a very crucial role in all the spheres of life. Following Military Coup, new political formation was needed so that the adverse effects of September 12th were tried to be healed and so that new terms of economic and political refreshments are to be made to coordinate with neoliberalism and globalization. During this period, Turgut Ozal as the dominant figure, who prepared the January 24th Decisions, got on the stage to settle the paradigms of liberalism. Turgut Ozal was on the point of view that economic liberalism would bring about political liberalism (Çankaya and Aysel, 2015: 528). For economic liberalism, the first apparatus utilized by Ozal was new economic terms all over the world and January 24th Decision in Turkey. The main framework of January 24th Decisions is stated as in the following (Karluk, 2010 as cited by Kaya, 2013: 8):

- Instead of import substitution economy, export oriented economic model was adapted: The decision like this was in line with the globalization period and it accelerated Turkish economy to embed with the world economy and unfortunately, Turkish economy turned into a market place that strongly depended on foreign source. What is meant here is that Turkish economy was opened to economic fluctuations and crisis; besides, the national production was adversely affected. Unfortunately, this implementation also enhanced the foreign trade deficit.

- Interest, pricing mechanism and foreign exchange rate were freed: This is the sign of transformation from state oriented economy to private initiatives. State was removed from markets, and prices were determined freely without the intervention of state which meant that liberal policies and the enforcements of capital economy resuscitated again. In this economic framework, it can be argued that capital accumulation is much more important than the rights of employee which has given a rise to the clashes between the parts of industrial relations, that is to say, employee and employers. Employees were minimized, but employers were maximized.
- Pricing controls were removed and prices started to be determined on the basis of supply and demand: This agreement also fostered the effectiveness of market economy. The roles of the state in the world economy were initiated to be questioned. Minimal function of state rendered social policies minimal. Without the presence of the state, social policies cannot be developed and implemented practically for private sector does not have a concern like this. In the market economic system, state shares its authorities with employers; more than that, employers become the ultimate authority.
- The subsidies applied to goods and services produced by public institutions were removed: The socialist or state oriented format of the economy was left; rather than accumulating warranties, distributing them to different actors in the society became pivotal. From now on in Turkey, state is not the ultimate actor that runs the economy, and the state does not have a concern like this. Deregulation and liberalization in all the spheres of life prioritized.
- Government business enterprises were exposed to reform and privatization initiated as well: Another agreement on the basis of minimal state but maximum private sector. Government business enterprises were started to be founded in 1933-1934 so as to carry out capital accumulation by means of state economic initiatives. So, state converted into a mechanism for production, employment, and all in all, economic development and growth. In this model, state was the locomotive of the economy train. As an example, Sümerbank both as a bank and a factor, was the first government business enterprises that extended its functions through the production of different and variant goods such as shoes, rugs, curtains, and everything. These were key investments for Turkey's capital accumulation.
- The decline in the public expenditures and budget balance was settled through comprehensive tax reforms: New economic actors of Turkey's markets including the markets of goods and services, markets of labour, and markets of money are the capital owners. In the order of capitalism, those who are richer than the others control the others as well.
- Direct foreign investment was encouraged: Direct foreign investments were primarily important for the sustainability of economy in global markets. Today's economic organizations necessitate using global capital as well as local resources which bring about an economic infrastructure managed by capital owners again.

### 3.1. Questioning the Role of the State: Neoliberal Policies and the ANAP

Neoliberalism connected with the 'new' and 'refreshed' form of liberalism has been embedded with both economic and political decisions. In spite of the fact that it has been regarded as an irrational theoretical framework by some, "competition", "free of choice", "free pricing mechanism", and "different sorts of markets" are the main basis of neoliberal thought (Lipman and Hursh, 2007: 162). Neoliberal policies are characterized by market centered economic policies developed by supply and demand mechanism. Other than the 'invisible hand' suggested by Adam Smith, there is no way that is potential to regulate the economy. According to the main ideologies of neoliberal thought, it is assumed that economy has the potential to regulate itself through supply and demand mechanism. This means that neoliberal argument is strongly depended upon open trade as well as investment. In this systematicity, everyone has free will to sell and purchase everything (Gerring and Thacker, 2005: 233). Tabb (2002) as cited by Hursh (2007) solidified neoliberal thought with the "deregulation of the economy, trade liberalization, dismantling of the public sector [including education, health, and social welfare] and the predominance of the financial sector of the economy over production and commerce" (Tabb, 2002: 7 as cited by Hursh, 2007: 495). Tabb (2002) as cited by Hursh (2007) stated that neoliberalism references (Tabb, 2002: 19 as cited by Hursh, 2007: 495):

*"the privatization of the public provision of goods and services-moving their provision from the public sector to the private-along with deregulating how private producers can behave, giving greater scope to the single minded pursuit of profit and showing significantly less regard for the need to limit social costs and redistribution based on nonmarket criteria. The aim of neoliberalism is to put into question all collective structures capable of obstructing the logic of the pure market."*

*In the literature, there are variations in the statement of neoliberalism which suggests broader perspective concerning its comprehension economically, politically, and socially:*

*Neoliberalism is an "infernal logical machine", unleashed by a "new planetary vulgate", committed to a universal belief in "deregulation," flexibility", "employability", "shareholder value", and so on (Bourdieu, 2008).*

*Neoliberalism [...] was "premised on an idealized model of the market coupled with a consumption led strategy, one that depended on sustainable levels of corporate and personal indebtedness." (Law and Mooney, 2009: 293).*

*"Since the turn of the century, neoliberalism has grown in importance as an explanatory trope for socio-cultural anthropologists. [...] It can refer to a type of economic policy, to an overarching economic or even cultural structure, or closer to ground, to particular attitudes or inclinations towards entrepreneurship, competition, responsibility, and self-improvement" (Kipnis, 2007: 383).*

*“Flexibility has been described as the cornerstone of the current neoliberal agenda-embodied in mandates for the fluid movements and restricting of labour, capital, and information, and at the individual level, in a supple capacity for creative self-invention and self-mastery.” (Freeman, 2007: 252).*

*“Neoliberalism has been undergoing emergence, transformation and evolution over the past 30 years around the world, especially since the time of Thatcherism and Reaganomics in the late 1970s and 1980s. It emerged in response to the presumed failure of the previous Keynesian policy of using discretionary fiscal and monetary policy, industry incentives and big government to solve some of the core public goods problems of the age.” (O’Hara, 2010:369)*

*Neoliberalism is “more than a set of free market economic policies that dismantle welfare states and privatize public services in the North, make wreckage of efforts at democratic sovereignty or economic self-direction in the South, and intensify income disparities everywhere. Certainly neoliberalism comprises these effects, but as a political rationality, it also involves a specific and consequential organization of the social, the subject, and the state.” (Brown, 2006: 693).*

*Neoliberalism is one of the most pervasive and contested concepts of our contemporary era. (Mahmud, 2009: 745).*

Taking into account the new form of capitalism by taking the gloves off, neoliberalism which refers to the policies and practices whereby private entrepreneurship as well as private initiatives are permitted to control all the spheres of life in order to maximize its own profits. The problem is that this movement was suggested as a certain treatment to the illnesses of the globe such as poverty, wage inequality, social exclusion, and so forth. However, the assumptions were far from the realities. Therefore, it created a big grievance ranging from social inequality, social stratification, poverty, catastrophic universal environment, inadequate income and etc. (Chomsky, 1999: 7, 8). In this system, the role of the state is to create such mechanism for the sustainability of neoliberal practices; that is to say, the state just facilitates the implementation of neoliberal practices (Harvey, 2005).

As the machine and the fuel of capitalism as a pushing force that designs a new structural planet, neoliberalism is a type of economic ideology sweeps the old orders of the states in its own directions. This assumes the idea that neoliberalism is the commencement of economic, social and political transformations in regards to its “ups” and “downs” in the society (Ong, 2007: 3). The priority of neoliberal policies is to “unleash” and “liberate” the market economy and capital accumulation which minimizes the role of the state; in the stark contrast, it maximizes the economic and the political power of the capital owners; that is to say, employers. Moving from the fact that those who control the economy controls the policy as well is the ultimate result of neoliberal policies which pave the way that capital owners will be more advantageous than the others in the society even than the policy makers (Bradley and Luxton, 2010: 3).

Some scholars regard neoliberalism as the “The Fourth World War” which seems to liberate the world and particularly the economy on the surface, yet it captivates the humanity as a whole while creating its own victims among the poor. Within the framework of world history, the world had four big wars all of which was won by USA. The World War I was won by US monopolies, the World War II was won by USA and its complicated and complex military power, and the third one known as the Cold War was also won by USA army in association with Europe, Japan, and Russia. As for the fourth World War, it can be alleged that it has still been dismantling the world as the poor and rich. The World War the last was waged against the poor and impoverished middle class and the workers of the globe under the name of neoliberalism and modernization. In this system, people sell themselves in return for a rational wage and they put themselves in the wage prison (Casanova, 1998: 890).

International economic history is in repetition as the history repeats itself which clarifies the idea that neoliberal policies in 1980s and 1990s are the recallers of economic liberalism in 1850s and 1860s when the classic doctrines of economy boomed the world as a whole. The characteristics of these two different but the similar era was the technological revolutions that drastically gave rise to the global economic integration. To put in another way, 1850s were the blossoming period of industrial revolution and great technological innovations like the invention of telephones (1876) and telegraphs (1844) as 1980s were the years when telecommunications systems like internet, cellular phones, satellites and social media came to fore. All of these technological apparatuses solidified the economic integration as an inevitable result and the global economy rather than the local one appeared. Liberal economic doctrines were suggested like a unique and unquestionable tool by their supporters as in TINA thesis by Thatcher and “Divine Law” by Richard Cobden who was the advocate of free trade as liberal thinkers in mid nineteenth century (Cain, 1979: 240 as cited by Helleiner, 2003: 686, 687).

Competitiveness is one of the prerequisites of neoliberalism in global markets. In order to be a competitive state, the countries have to be competitive in the export markets as well as in the democratic institutions. Growth goes through an increase on the exportations, which is quite understandable. However, the correlation between neoliberalism and democratic institutions may be questionable. The relationship between democracy and neoliberalism can be elucidated on the basis of labour and capital network. If this network is safe and sound and the clashes between these two groups are minimal, then the competitiveness directly and neoliberalism indirectly will be positively affected. So, the work peace is of great significance for the sustainability of production, competitiveness, and neoliberalism. In other words, the democratic state has to cooperate with the labour and employers so as to promote competitiveness which depends upon “solidarity” and “equity” in labour markets (Huber and Solt, 2004: 150,151).

In parallel with the fundamental arguments above concerning the main paradigms of neoliberalism, it can be clearly put forward that The ANAP the aim of which is to settle new political restoration strove very hard to overcome the adverse effects of September 12th so that new terms of economic and political refreshments are to be made to coordinate with neoliberalism and globalization. During this period, Turgut Ozal as the dominant figure, who prepared the January 24th

Decisions, got on the stage to settle the paradigms of liberalism (Karluk, 2010 as cited by Kaya, 2013: 8). The ideology of The ANAP was strongly related to the “nationalism”, “conservatism”, “social justice”, and “market economy” all of which was declared in the party program in 1983. Here, the market economy oriented system enacted the privatization process initially. Some state institutions were sold and they were handed over to private initiatives (Erdoğan and Acar, 2012: 104). The liberalist enterprises of The ANAP with the leadership of Turgut Ozal, concentrated mostly on economic liberalism on view of the fact that Turgut Ozal was aware of the fact that political liberalization would come to fore in the aftermath of economic liberalization. The efficacy of Ozal policies were felt in all the stages of line through the economic reforms stated in the following (Ataman, 2000: 56):

- Ozal's government abolished the Law of Protection of the Turkish Liras,
- Free foreign exchange regime was adapted.
- Interest rates were freed.
- Private Banks were strengthened.
- In 1981, capital market board was founded to control the capital markets.
- To the ends of 1980s, İstanbul Foreign Exchange Bourse was restructured.
- Economic intervention of the state was minimized, so that, privatization process commenced.
- The most comprehensive tax reforms were made in the history of Turkish Republic and tax legislations were updated.
- Value-added tax were started to be implemented.

### 3.1.1. Globalization and Neoliberalism

So as to analyze the effects of The ANAP's neoliberal policies on the labour markets, it is quite necessary to uncover the issues related to globalization which enforces the efficiency of neoliberalism. It is a little bit confusing to reveal whether neoliberalism is the direct outcome of globalization or globalization is the result. But, the certainty is that it is quite inadequate to have a look at neoliberalism without globalization. Globalization as a multifaceted organization is a complex process that leaves a great stamp in our lives. It is something like a 'magic term' that explains everything in the literature. The terrorist organizations in USA on September 11th, rapid growth of China and India among the world economies, development of the internet and telecommunication technologies, and even the spread of AIDS are associated with the word globalization (Globalization, Growth, and Poverty, Building An Inclusive World Economy, 2002: ix).

Globalization defined as “an untotizable totality which intensifies binary relations between its parts—mostly nations, but also regions and groups, which, however, continue to articulate themselves on the model of 'national identities (rather than in terms of social classes, for example)” (Jameson and Miyoshi, 2003: xii) creates a new form of life and a unique 'world society' in which everyone is informed from everything (Lencher, 2009: 2). It demonstrates a worldwide relative progress from free markets to the economic rationality as well as efficiency, new opportunities for capital owners and the rich while decreasing the welfare of the members of the society. So, it creates a relative development just for the capital owners, which is not the case for employees (Rupert and Solomon, 2006: 1). For employees, the process of globalization is the beginning of the end. Concerning labour markets, insecure jobs in line with the international competition as well as new working types called as 'deregulation' are the direct results. Globalized economies are the brains of the world and they do not want to deal with second class jobs. Therefore, they move their smoked industries to the undeveloped or developing economies whereby they can minimize their costs. This sort of practice will affect the employment rates in the developed economies whereas the underdeveloped economies will turn into the countries potential for alternative labour. At the same time, it is supposed that economic liberalization would bring about job loss and wage inequality. Job loss is possible to occur especially for the industries closed to the competition while wage inequality would result in because of the inadequacy of qualification. All in all, globalization that takes its power from the process of neoliberalism would end with these potential results (Tokol, 2011: 101-107):

- Global labour markets,
- Deregulation and flexibility in the labour markets (deregulation),
- Insecure jobs,
- Work without social security,
- Competition,
- Assessment of labour as the biggest cost,
- Transformation of labour markets from smoked industry to information economics,
- Decline in membership of trade unionism (deunionism),
- Wage decline in developing economies,
- Subcontractor,
- Using labour as a tool potential to be purchased, sold or rented

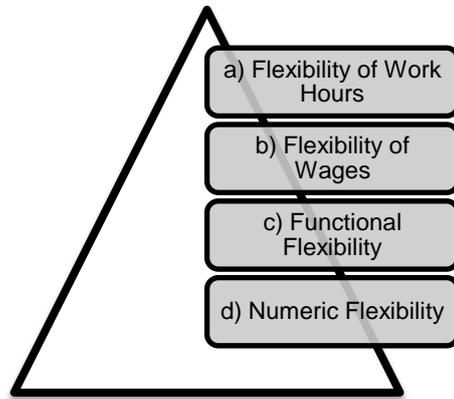
### 3.1.2. Deregulation in/after ANAP Era

Deregulation, the ultimate objective of which is the competition along with innovation and product development, opens industries so as to raise the level of rivalry. An increase in the intensity of competition affects profitability since deregulation overcomes the barriers regarded as a sort of handicaps preventing market entry. The actual practices of deregulation go through free market entry (Seeman and Drake, 2011: 295) sustained with the development of neoliberalism in the aftermath of 1980s. Deregulation is not a one way thought; in the stark contrast, it causes flexibility in all types of markets ranging from goods and services to labour. So, types of work differentiated which means that the term called as atypical or

nonstandard works have appeared. Kroszner and Strahan (1999) referenced deregulation in the following way (Kroszner and Strahan, 1999: 1438):

*“Unlike most other recent episodes of deregulation that occurred as a national level-such as in railroads, trucking, airlines, long-distance telecommunications, securities brokerage, petroleum, and natural gas-bank branching regulation operated on a state-by-state basis, and deregulation has taken place gradually across the states. Branching deregulation thus provides a much greater source of cross-national and time series variation than other types of deregulation”.*

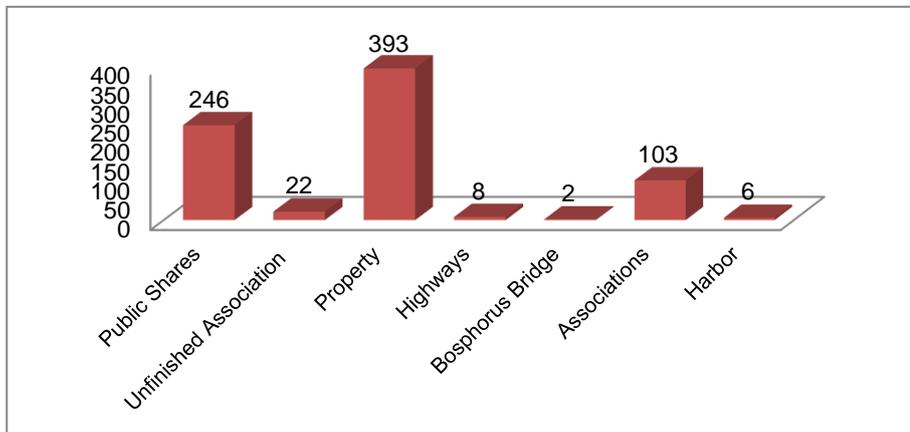
Theoretical argument behind deregulation is the fact that regulation is the reason for higher costs of goods and services as well as labour, so that, deregulating the markets might have a positive impact on the costs of the production (Rott and Reynolds, 1989: 183). Depending upon this theory, more competition relies upon more deregulation (Henrickson and Wilson, 2008: 154). Deregulation is something like enforcing the standardization of market economy in all levels. In line with the policy of deregulation, 1980s brought forward new nonstandard and deregulated forms of work called as ‘flexible working’. The ANAP’s neoliberal policies facilitated the settlement of ‘flexible working’ that reduced the significance and status of labour gradually and labour was converted into a ‘thing’ via neglecting its humanitarian aspect. Flexible working defined as deregulating working styles, places, hours, and wages refer to a temporary contract. By means of flexible working, continual work turned into temporary work that eradicated employment guarantee (ACAS, Flexible Working and Work Life Balance, Booklet, p. 2, also available at URL 1, 13 May 2016). “Part-time working”, “Job sharing”, and “Shift-working” can be regarded as the various types of flexible working. But all in all, flexible work can be categorized into four (OECD, n.d:160-163, and Özsuca, 2003: 10-11):



**Figure 3.** Types of Flexibility

**Source:** OECD, n.d:160-163 and Özsuca, 2003: 10-11.

Flexibility of work hours is arranging the work hours in the workplaces. This is something like deviation from standard work hours. Besides, flexibility of wages is closely related to the differentiation of the wages depending upon the qualifications of the employees. Functional flexibility is enhancing the functions of the both factories and employees. Instead of standard job and standard production, capability of making various works though job enlargement and job enrichment as well as lean manufacturing are of great significance. Numeric flexibility is in coordination with the arrangement of the numbers of the labour based upon technology, production, and productivity (Figure 3).



**Graphic 1.** The Privatized Institutions in/after the ANAP Era

**Source:** Karagöz, 2009: 39.

According to the report prepared by Konya Chambers of Commerce in 2009, 780 public institutions and public shares have been privatized since 1985 and Turkey encountered this process in its history in a concrete way for the first time during the ANAP government. Of all these privatized institutions and shares, there are public shares in 246 institutions, 22 unfinished association, 393 properties, 8 highways, 2 bosphorus bridge, 103 associations, 6 harbor and so forth (Karagöz, 2009: 39). The total costs of the privatization process during the ANAP government were approximately 2,292 million dollar (Teknik Güç, 2009: 10). This means that the process of privatization in the public institutions in Turkey especially in the era of the ANAP triggered the process of deregulation in the labour markets owing to the fact that the privatized institutions were handed over to the employers whose main concern is the profit maximization and cost minimization. Hence, job security and full time employment was put into trash and new nonstandard or atypical working styles came to fore in the aftermath of these privatization waves commenced in a large scale in the period of the ANAP government which can be demonstrated in way that ANAP is the main actor that ignited the wick of deregulation of Turkish labour markets.

### 3.1.3. Deunionism in/after ANAP Era

Deregulation in the labour markets paves the way for deunionism. Trade unions are the indispensable parts of industrial relations. Trade union consciousness depends on several factors like "economic policies, class formation, cultural background such as values, structure of labour, and the tradition of labour movements". In Turkey, there is a lack of support for the trade unions which can be regarded as a sort of weakness in the economic as well as industrial relations system. At the same time, the membership of the trade unions are restrained which is the fact that it is not on the expected level as seen in Table 1, trade union density among the years of 1986-2010 (Bilgin, 2010: 78 and OECD Statistics, www.oecd.org/dataoecd/25/42/48744036.xlsx. 22 March 2017).

**Table 1.** Trade Union Density (%) in Turkey 1999-2014

Years	Trade Union Density (%) in Turkey 1986-2010	Years	Trade Union Density (%) in Turkey 1986-2010
1999	29,3	2007	12,3
2000	28,2	2008	10,7
2001	29,3	2009	10,2
2002	25,1	2010	8,9
2003	22,3	2011	7,8
2004	20,0	2012	7,0
2005	16,8	2013	6,3
2006	14,3	2014	-

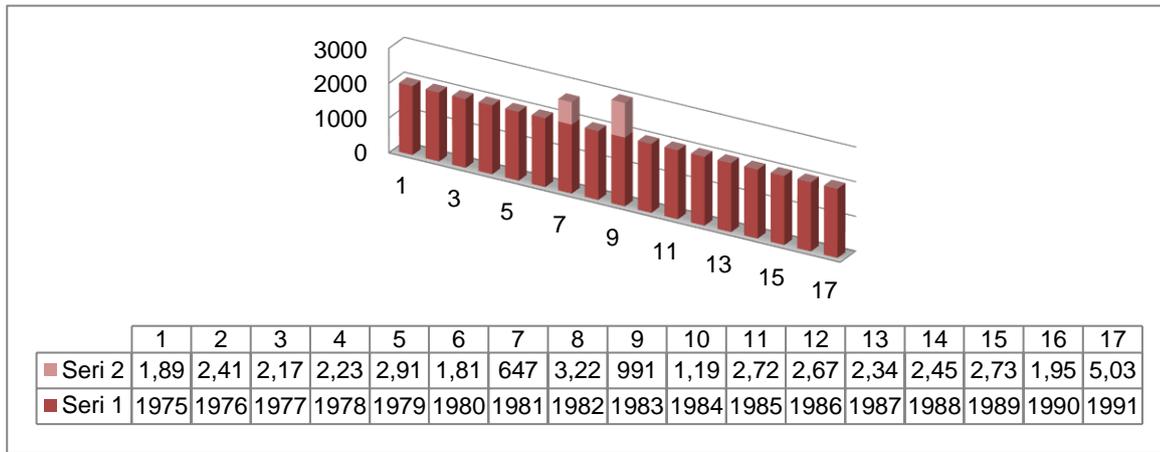
**Source:** OECD Statistics, www.oecd.org/dataoecd/25/42/48744036.xlsx, 22 March 2017.

As seen in Table 2, deunionism is quite clear in Turkish labour markets meaning that trade union membership declined radically from 1986 to 2009. The rate of the trade union membership was 21.9% in 1986 and it declined to 5.9% in 2009 which showed the degree of deunionism in labour markets in Turkey. Right now, trade unions are not prestigious, yet still, they are regarded as redundant. Some alternatives are to be found out so as to enhance the popularity of trade union such as the implementation of Collective Movement Trade Unions that is free from policy, capital, and the state itself (Table 1).

The decline in the number of the trade union membership as well as trade union density started the debate on the functions and the future of trade unions. As known, trade unions aim to develop employees' life standards and working conditions. Through the monopoly that they created, they obtain some certain rights which are unfeasible to be possessed without them (Çelik, 2007: 20). The decline in the prestige of trade unions results from some certain paradigms in Turkey. The first one is the radical change in the structural features of industrial relations which can be interpreted that new jobs and new working styles such as part time work, fixed time work, telework and son on made these changes compulsory. Additionally, transformation of employment from industry to the service sector accelerated these changes against unionization. The neoliberal dilemma is another factor for deunionization in Turkey as it prioritized capital owners and their competitions. Also, another transfer from human resources management to the talent management practices in coordination with the improvement of the employees' qualifications started to substitute trade unions in Turkey (Yıldırım, 2008: 199-206; Özüğür, 2000: 139-171; Kocabaş, 2004: 33-53; Selamoğlu, 2003: 63-98). Therefore, deunionist attempts in Turkish industrial relations are to be eliminated and new formulas are to be founded out concerning trade union density and trade union membership so that trade unions can refresh their images in a positive way. A great many scholars now discuss that the future of trade unions depend upon social movement unionism which can be an alternative union model for unionism (for social movement unionism see also Dibben, 2010: 468-486; Tattersall, 2006: 589-614; Sullivan, 2010: 53-58; Wells, 2001: 279-306; Dixon and Martin, 2012: 946-969; Voss and Sherman, 2000: 303-349; Lucio and Perrett, 2009: 693-710; Isaac, McDonald, and Lukasik, 2006: 46-96; Swarts, 2011: 453-477; Gordon, 2011: 56-64; Dawkins, 2010: 129-143; Holdt, 2002: 283-304; Barchiesi, 2007: 50-69; Dreiling, 1998: 51-69; Engeman, 2014: 1-18).

### 3.1.4. Decentralization in/after ANAP Era

Decentralization is the other output of globalization in labour markets. Decentralization is defined as a process of employees' exercise of convenient choice of "appropriate bargaining unit." which can be occupational, workplace (firm), business, sectoral or national level. This hierarchy of bargaining type is closely related to the scope of the representation of the employees and beneficiaries of the collective agreements. On condition that the collective agreements are carried out through sectoral and national level, it is much more democratic and comprehensive concerning their coverages. Additionally, the level of the collective agreements ascertains the maximization or marginalization of the employees on the basis of meeting their economic, collective, and social needs. Should the agreements take place on sectoral or national level, this means that employees are maximized, yet still employers are marginalized. What's more, should the agreements happen on an occupational or workplace level, this can be interpreted that employees are minimized, still employers are maximized. Therefore, decentralization in the labour markets bring about the weaknesses of the employees due to the representation problem, but it results in the strength of the employers which pave the way that the clashes between labour and capital rise step by step (Block, 2006: 27).



**Graphic 2.** The Numbers of Signed Collective Agreements before/after the ANAP Era (1975-1991)

**Source:** T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı. Yıllar İtibariyle İmzalanan Toplu İş Sözleşmeleri Verileri, 1963-2015.

Because of decentralization practices in the ANAP era, disputes concerning the labour markets such as the number of collective agreements, number of strikes, numbers of workers involved in the strikes, numbers of workplaces involved in the strikes have periodically ascended which illustrated that the clash between labour and capital has also risen. According to the statistical data obtained from the Turkish Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the numbers of collective agreements differ in a striking way between pre 1983 and post 1983 on which the ANAP government came to power. While calculating the average score of the number of strikes, 9 years (1975-1983, 1984-1991) have been taken into account. Within the years of 1975-1983, 18.295 numbers of collective agreements were signed and the average number is 2.032 per year. On the other hand, 21.079 numbers of collective agreements were signed during the ANAP era and the average number for per year is 2.342. This data verifies the fact that the number of collective agreements so as to solve the problematic areas (wage, working conditions, allowance, insurance, and etc.) increased drastically between capital owners and labour since the problems in the labour markets increased as well. As for the number of strikes during the ANAP era, the results are actually the same. In more explicit terms, it can be alleged that the number of strikes escalated in the aftermath of the ANAP government in view of its political and economic conflicts with the labour. For example, the number of strikes reached its maximum point in 1990 and in 1990, 458 strikes took place in the country. During the ANAP years, the total number of strikes is 1536. Astonishingly, the number of strikes declined when the ANAP government came to an end in 1991. In 1992, the strikes scaled down 98. The similar results are also the case for number of workers involved in the strikes and the number of workplaces involved in the strikes. As an example, the total number of workers involved in the strikes between 1984 and 1991 is 441.481 and this number multiplied periodically and year by year and reached its peak in 1990 with the 166.306 workers participation in the strikes. This systematic increase is also the case for the workplaces involved in the strikes. As a matter of fact, 2537 workplaces were involved in the strikes and the scope gave rise in a systematic way from the commencement of 1984 to the end of 1991 as in the numbers of workers partook in the strikes (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı. Yıllar İtibariyle İmzalanan Toplu İş Sözleşmeleri Verileri, 1963-2015).

### Conclusion

Social policies, defined as the sets of policies for the welfare and wellbeing of human beings without any discrimination, are developed by the government that runs the state in democratic regimes depending upon the economic status. This theoretical argument concerning social policy brings some realities to the fore: The first one is the fact that social policies, as the name suggests, are planned and implemented for humans and their comfort due to the fact that humans are priceless and they feel themselves priceless on condition that their problems are solved. As an example, the policies on

the alleviation of the poverty, unemployment, income inequality, social exclusion, discrimination, and so forth take into account the humans on the main axis of the system. So, the initial priority of social policy is to ascertain the social problems and then produce rational and effective solutions for these drawbacks. The second thing laid an emphasis on the definition of social policy is the government reality as well as the democracy which can be interpreted in a way that the problem solving capability of the government depends upon the level of democracy and the democratic institutions. This also verifies the fact that social policy blooms through the government initiatives in a democratic atmosphere. The government ran by the political parties particularly those came to power is shaped by the peculiarities and the priorities of the political parties. For instance, if the ruling party is conservative in policy and liberal in economy, then the conservative ideology and the market economy will be settled in that particular country or if the ruling party is liberal in policy and liberal in economy, the policy initiatives will alter, as for the economy, that is not the case. This maneuver is similar in national parties as well. What is meant here is that the ID of the political parties manages the economic and social policies. Thirdly, moving from the general definition of social policy, it can be alleged that the economic policies go hand in hand with the social policies. If the macroeconomic indicators are sound in notable economies, then the social policies will be more powerful as social policies possess some costs. Putting government, democracy and economy aside, it can be referenced that political parties shape government, democracy, and economic character of the state including liberalism, Keynesian economy, and neoliberalism which is the case for Motherland Party.

Motherland Party, which came to power in 1983, and which took great initiatives for the transformation of Turkish society economically, politically and socially, adapted "liberalism" as its economy politics. Turgut Ozal was on the point of view that economic liberalism would bring political liberalism which was quite essential for economic, social and political sustainability of Turkey. 1980 Military Coup badly damaged both to the economy as well as to the institution of policy. The policy and economy was to be relieved which would relieve Turkish society as a whole. Therefore, liberalism that caused radical changes on the labour markets again opened a new page in Turkish life. As a result of the economic liberalism fostered with the period of globalization, the shifts on the labour markets can be stated as in the following:

- Following 1980, labour market policies trust upon the policy of "Laissez faire laissez passer."
- Economic liberalism made labour market liberal.
- Globalization accelerated labour market liberalism.
- Rather than for employees, everything became for the employers and capital accumulation. Labour was regarded as the biggest obstacle and cost that impeded capital accumulation.
- Deregulation stemmed in flexible or atypical work styles such as part time work, telework or mobile work appeared.
- Deunionism decreased the significance of trade unionism and trade unions were
- Decentralization that fostered the collective agreement units transfer from sectoral or national level to occupational or firm level maximized employers; however, it marginalized employees.
- Liberal policies prevented state to intervene in the economy.
- Labour again was converted into the one part of the capital owners: There was no difference between labour and machine. Mechanic aspect overwhelmed the humanitarian side of humans.

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### Genişletilmiş Özet

*Bu çalışmanın amacı 1983 yılında Turgut Özal'ın liderliğinde iktidara gelen Anavatan Partisi (ANAP) politikalarının işgücü piyasalarına etkilerini incelemektir. 1980'lerin başında iktidara gelen ANAP hükümetinin uyguladığı ekonomi politikaları sosyal politikanın en büyük enstrümanlarından birisi olan işgücü piyasasının temel dinamiklerini de etkilemiş ve değişime uğratmıştır. Öncelikle 24 Ocak Kararları ile uygulamaya konulan neoliberal politikalar ve "Bırakınız yapsınlar, bırakınız geçsinler." anlayışı işgücü piyasalarında "esneklik", "adem-i merkezileşme", "sendikasılaşma" şeklindeki fiili uygulamaları da gündeme getirmiştir. ANAP iktidarı ile terk edilen ve merkezinde yerli üretimin güçlendirilmesi ilkesinin yer aldığı ithal ikameci model ve yerine benimsenen ve fiilen uygulamaya konulan ihracata dayalı ekonomi anlayışına paralel mal ve hizmet piyasalarında artan "rekabet" baskısı işgücü piyasalarını da etkisi altına almış; işveren rekabet gücünü arttırmak amacıyla en büyük maliyet kalemi olan işgücünün ücretini düşürmek durumunda kalmıştır. Dolayısıyla Sanayi Devrimi'nden sonra somut bir biçimde kendini gösteren emek sermaye çatışması 1980 sonrası dönemde tekrardan emek aleyhine sermaye lehine bir realitenin fiilen gerçekleşmesine zemin hazırlamıştır. Öncelikle gerek mal ve gerek hizmet piyasalarının liberal bir nitelik kazanmasıyla doğru orantılı bir biçimde kısmi süreli (part time) çalışma, deneme süreli çalışma, belirli süreli çalışma, çağrı üzerine çalışma, telafi çalışması gibi yeni çalışma biçimleri gerek 4857 sayılı İş Kanunu'nda gerek fiili çalışma yaşamındaki yerini almıştır. Ayrıca toplu pazarlık ve toplu iş sözleşmesi merkezilikten uzaklaşarak adem-i merkezi bir yapıya dönüşmüştür. Ulusal ve işkolu düzeyindeki pazarlıklar yerine işyeri ve meslek düzeyindeki pazarlıklar toplu pazarlıklara ve toplu iş sözleşmelerine damgasını vurmuştur. Kolektif iş hukukunda meydana gelen söz konusu bu uygulamalar toplu iş sözleşmelerinin de kapsamını daraltmaktadır. İşverenlerin sendikalar üzerindeki baskısı, iş güvencesinde yaşanan sıkıntılar, çalışma süreleri, çalışma biçimleri ve ücret anlayışındaki esneklik uygulamaları her geçen gün işçiyi önemsizleştirirken ve işgücü piyasalarının pasif bir öznesi haline getirirken sermayeyi kutsallaştırmıştır.*

*Sadece çalışma yaşamının sorunlarını incelemekle kalmayıp aynı zamanda dünyada 1973 Petrol Krizi Türkiye'de de 1980 yılı sonrasında ANAP iktidarı ile global bir nitelik kazanan tüm sosyal sorunları mercek altına almak durumunda kalan sosyal politika ekonomi anlayışında yaşanan değişimlerden etkilenmek durumunda kalmıştır. Nitekim, tarihi geçmişi 18. yüzyılın sonu ve 19. yüzyılın başlarındaki Sanayi Devrimi'ne kadar uzanan sosyal politika, Sanayi Devrimi'nden 1929 Ekonomik Krizi'ne kadar geçen sürede kapitalizm ve onu meşrulaştıran liberalizm sayesinde her geçen gün güç kaybederken 1929 Ekonomik Krizi'nin piyasalardaki etkilerini minimize etmek amacıyla uygulanmaya başlanan ve ekonomide devlet müdahalesini savunan, öncülüğünü John Maynard Keynes'in yaptığı Keynezyen iktisat politikaları sayesinde işçi ve işverenden sonra endüstri ilişkilerinin üçüncü tarafının oluşturan devlet, piyasalara müdahale etmeye başlamış, devletin piyasaya müdahale ettiği dönemlerde sosyal politikalar güç kazanmış, devletin piyasaya müdahale etmediği aksine piyasayı "görünmez elin" yönetimine bıraktığı dönemlerde ise güç kaybetmiştir. O nedenle Keynezyen politikaların somut bir biçimde uygulanmaya başlandığı 1945-1970 arasındaki dönem sosyal politikaların ve dolayısıyla emeğin "altın çağı" olarak nitelendirilebilir. Sosyal politikanın güç kazanması 1973 Petrol Krizi ile tekraren akamete uğramış ve küresel piyasaları yönetenler çareyi liberalizmin revize edilmiş hali olan neoliberalizmde bulmuşlardır. Neoliberalizmle beraber sermaye tekrardan güçlenirken emek ise sermaye karşısındaki gücünü kaybetmiştir.*

*Türkiye'de 1983 yılında neoliberalizmin ilk savunucusu konumunda bulunan ANAP iktidarı ve uygulamaya koyduğu esnekleşme, sendikasılaşma ve adem-i merkezileşme ve özelleştirme eksenindeki politikaları işgücü piyasalarını derinden etkilemiştir. Türkiye'de yeni çalışma biçimlerinin ortaya çıktığı bu dönem tarihi bir dönüm noktasıdır. O açıdan bu dönemin işgücü piyasaları yönüyle etkilerinin incelenmesi önem arz etmektedir. Bu kapsamda çalışma iki bölümden meydana gelmektedir. Birinci bölümde politika kavramından hareketle Anavatan Partisi'nin 24 Ocak Kararları ve 12 Eylül 1980 Askeri Darbesi sonrasında uygulamaya koyduğu neoliberal politikalar ele alınmıştır. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde ise söz konusu bu politikaların esnekleşme, sendikasılaşma ve adem-i merkezileşme temelinde işgücü piyasaları üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmıştır.*