

DEVELOPING EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL TO KILL ENTREPRENEURSHIP SPIRIT IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE OF ZONGULDAK COALFIELD IN TURKEY¹

Halil YILDIRIM*

ÖZET

Sosyal öğrenme teorisine göre, kişilik birey ve çevresi arasındaki etkileşimdir. Bundan dolayı, davranış sadece bir tek belirleyicinin değil, birey ve durumun sonucudur. Bu çalışma dışsal faktörlerin, özellikle birey üzerine etkisi olan güçlü diğerlerinin bireyin “Karar Odağı” yapısı, dolayısıyla girişimcilik davranışını nasıl şekillendirdiğini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma tarihsel olayların 1867’de ilk “Zorunlu İstihdam Yasası”nın yayınlandığı tarihten itibaren Zonguldak Kömür Havzasındaki bireylerde dışsal Karar Odağı gelişmesi üzerine çok büyük etkileri olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bölge halkının madenlerde çalışmaktan başka bir seçeneğe sahip değildi. İlk yasadan 140 yıl ve takip eden diğer yasalardan sonra Zonguldak bölge halkı etkileri halen devam eden dışsal Karar Odağı geliştirmiştir. Bu çalışma girişimcilik alanına Karar Odağı görüş açısından tarihsel bir bakış sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Girişimcilik, Karar Odağı, Bölgesel Kalkınma

ABSTRACT

According to social learning theory, personality is the interaction of the individual and environment. Therefore, behaviour is a consequence of both individual and situation and not just single determinant. This study aims to explore how external factors, especially powerful others shapes individuals’ locus of control structure, hence entrepreneurial behaviour. It is proposed that historical events have enormous effects on developing external locus of control (LOC) on individuals in Zonguldak coalfield since 1867 when the first legislation for “compulsory work” was issued. Inhabitants had no choice but had to work in the mines. 140 years after the first legislation and following many others, inhabitants of Zonguldak region have developed external LOC. This study provides an historical perspective to be considered in the study of entrepreneurship from locus of control point of view.

Keywords: Entrepreneurship, Locus of Control, Regional Development

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* Yrd.Doç.Dr., Zonguldak Karaelmas Üniversitesi, İ.İ.B.F., e-mail: halilyildirim@hotmail.com , hyildirim@karaelmas.edu.tr

1.Introduction

Entrepreneurship is extensively regarded as a means to economic development and employment growth. Entrepreneurship has become a meaningful lifestyle and career option for many adult and young alike. Through decisive searching, careful planning, and sound judgement in accomplishing the entrepreneurial process, the entrepreneur acts as a catalyst for economic change. Being exceptionally positive and devoted, the entrepreneur works creatively to foster what already existent or create new assets. They play decisive key roles for regional and national economic growth and development than ever before. Entrepreneurs make countries as a centre of attraction as well as regions within the country. Conversely, countries or regions within the country where there is a lack of entrepreneur spirit face a risk of getting into the path of poverty, letting their sources be evacuated and losing opportunities to the other regions or other countries.

The interest of political decision makers and social scientists in entrepreneurship has shown persistently increasing pace. Increasing interest in entrepreneurship has reflected in the number of allocated posts in business schools, research institutions, associations, professional organizations and publications in the field (Hynes, 1996: 10; Thornton, 1999: 20; Finkle and Deeds: 614). There are wide ranges of entrepreneurship definitions which start from simply an individual's behaviour bringing production factors together and taking risks to create a new firm and pursue an opportunity. In this term, in the one end of the spectrum entrepreneur is defined simply anyone who starts a new business and at the other end entrepreneur is a catalyst for change, creating new firms that use innovation to enter into markets. Entry and success of this entrepreneurial activity creates new demands that increases overall economic activity and therefore job creation and wealth (Hamilton and Harper, 1994; Henderson and Robertson, 1999; Carayannis et al., 2003: 765; Boydston, 2007)

In general, literature can be classified into two schools: supply-side perspective and the demand-side perspective. The supply-side looks at the specific features of entrepreneurs while the demand-side underlines the push and pull of framework and infrastructure (Thornton, 1999:20). The demand-side school defines the demand perspective as an opportunity structure. Availability of resources and infrastructure encourages entrepreneurs to appear. Also characteristics of existing organizations which create entrepreneurs that enable spin-off new organizations because they give knowledge and resources to employees and expose good modes of organization, market segmentation, and prospective entrepreneurial opportunities. In that

case creating a culture there appears which stimulate and cherish those who leave to found new ventures. Therefore successful entrepreneurial community depends on local business culture that foster and reveres entrepreneurs. Good public policies help maintain and endure the entrepreneurial boost, while defective policies unnecessarily restrain growth (NCOE, 2000: 3).

According to the supply-side perspective, on the other hand, particular types of individuals create entrepreneurship. Therefore, differences in the location, degree, and pattern of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship are associated with differences in psychological, social, cultural, and ethnic characteristics of individuals (Thornton, 1999; NCOE, 2000; Kaufmann et al., 1995). In this perspective individuals have been examined from need for achievement, LOC, risk-taking propensity, problem-solving style and innovativeness, leadership style, values, and socialization experience point of view. In addition to that effects of culture, social class, and ethnic structure on entrepreneurial behaviour have been subjects of sociological supply-side perspective.

Although there is a direct correlation between these supply-side factors and entrepreneurship and business success, but other factors play a part as well (NCOE, 2000: 3). According to social learning theory, personality is the interaction of the individual and his/her meaningful environment. It is assumed that in different circumstances individual's behaviour will be different, in spite of difficulties generalisation from one situation to another. Therefore behaviour is a consequence of both individual and situation and not each determinant alone (Rotter, 1990: 490; Crittenden, 2004; Wijbenga and Witteloostuijn: 2007).

Many studies found that there is strong relation between LOC and entrepreneurial behaviour. Individual who expect his/her destiny and personal achievement as a consequence of and rely on his/her own action and behaviour has internal LOC, hence tend to be more self-reliant and independent. These features of internal control let individuals more suitable for entrepreneurship. On the contrary, external LOC represents the belief that events are not depend on action and behaviour and, are rather the results of other forces such as chance, fate, the complexity of world and, moreover, powerful others. Therefore this kind of individuals take the life for granted put forward by other environmental factors (Walkey, 1979: 532; Lange and Tigemann, 1981:398-399; Niles, 1981:375; Rotter, 1990: 490; Kaufmann et al., 1995)

External LOC individuals have the impression that it is the responsibility of the government and the "system" to give them job security and work. Instead of believing that they can make a

difference through their innovation, creation and by their own action (Carayannis et al, 2003: 760; Boydston et al, 2007; Wijbenga and Witteloostuijn: 2007:2). Therefore development of external LOC resulted in undeveloped entrepreneurial culture and hampered regional development.

Clearly, the founding of a firm may be dependent on the individual entrepreneur, as supply-side analysts suggest, but it is also clear that an individual cannot be mobilize without an infrastructure. Based on these assumptions, this study aims to examine how policies (demand side factors) aim regional division of labour structure shapes entrepreneurial spirit, LOC and supply side of entrepreneurship from historical point of view. In addition to that this study identifies the fundamentals of entrepreneurship in the region, investigate cultural, social, personal, economic, institutional and political reasons underlying these fundamentals, exposes how this structure has effected regional development in the long run in the Zonguldak Coalfield in Turkey. Of course there is an extensive literature on many aspects of entrepreneurship. Distinctive of this study is to shed some lights on how demand and supply side entrepreneurship approach interact in shaping entrepreneurship structure in regional level from historical context.

This study is progressed through examining the historical factors that influence entrepreneurship structure of region in general and external LOC in particular from as early as 1840s to present by using secondary official and non-official data. Since environmental factors play crucial role on personal traits development, historical process shows that powerful others played this role intensively in the region. It is clear that historical determinants and effects of externalities have resulted development of external LOC on Zonguldak coalfield inhabitants' personalities. In order to expose reflection on today's business structure of the history, two questions survey was carried out with 106 SMEs to investigate whether owners are from Zonguldak origin or not. As expected, only 19 out of 106 respondents were from Zonguldak origin.

2- Historical Perspective Of Coalmine And Development Of External Loc In Zonguldak Coalfield

Individual values, culturally based or otherwise can change with time and education (Carayannis et al, 2003: 766). Shaping external LOC on people of the region goes as early as 1840s in Zonguldak coalfield. There are, however, some events which have been acting as milestones in regions socio-economic life.

2.1. Ottoman Era and the First Coalfield Regulations - Dilaver Pasha Regulations

The Zonguldak coalfield (historically Ereğli coalfield or basin) is located in the Black Sea coast of Turkey, and among the richest mineral deposits in the eastern Mediterranean. Coal has vital place in shaping history of surrounding regions and Zonguldak, as well as its economic, social, cultural and political life. Officially, finding of coalmines goes to 1820s and digging the coal by different Ottoman state agencies appeared 1840s when coal became strategic mineral for widespread use due to so called “steam revolution”. In order to supply required coal for the war fleet, state factories and steam locomotives on railways, state planners looked for internal mines to avoid supply interruption (Öğreten, 2006:152-153). Therefore, commercial coal mining entered region’s life and never separated.

Concurrently to the steam revolution, the Ottoman economy increasingly entered the steam age, and luckily finding coal in the region turned state’s attention to Zonguldak. Starting commercial mining in the region brought about labour requisite in these mines. Not only new era opened in the commercial activities in the region but also inhabitant’s economic life who were engaged in agriculture and forestry before. Although commercial mining started in the region, there was limited supply of labour and, above all, absence of working class culture in the region. The new epoch of life in the region started over the following decades.

In 1867 was the first time when development of external LOC on residents of the region started. In order to assure both manpower and material supplies for the mines and the conditions of their exploitation, a regulatory document was issued and entitled officially the Ereğli Imperial Mines Regulation (Nizamname-i Madeni Humayunu Ereğli), unofficially called Dilaver Pasha Regulations (Dilaver Paşa Nizamnamesi) (Gürboğa, 2005: 135; Quataert, 2006:40). It was the first recruitment and working condition regulation of mining in the region and its effects lasted longer than it was. Moreover, it was the first direct attempt which started to give shape to external LOC of region’s people. According to regulations, boundary of coalfield was defined and a military regime installed to govern the inhabitants and materials of its fourteen administrative divisions near the mines around the coalfield. The regulations also posed compulsory labour system and lasted until 1921 without intervened. All males between the ages of 13 and 50 who lived in the fourteen district of delineated coalfield were set apart for a special category person as “necessary for work” in the mines, in one form of work or another.

Only the sick or crippled were excluded. Selected inhabitants had to serve on a rotational basis, for a certain days and the degree of compulsion varied according to the kind of labour served. For instance, duration for mining labour was 12 days a month and for the workers who supplied wooden mine support for mines obliged to cut and trimmed three supports in two days. Therefore their obligation was number of pieces rather than duration of days.

In return, the workers got cash wages and immunity from active military duty. Completion of one duty was supposed to restrain service in the other. However, during the peace and war, active duty soldier from the region worker in the coalfield, supplemented and sometimes replaced the civilian work force. Complementary to compulsory labour system, certain villages specialized in the kinds of labour they had to provide such as hewers, basket carriers, transporters, mine support makers, boat launchers, and unskilled labours. Also certain villages were devoted to certain mines, though there were some villages sending workers as many as 4 different mines. Lasting 54 years of binding people's action by all means inevitably resulted development of the external LOC especially in powerful others term.

2.2. The Era of Turkish Republic and Second Compulsory Work Period in the Zonguldak Coalfield

In 1921, Turkish National Assembly set partly new regulations about recruitment, working conditions and life quality of workers in the coalfield – called Havza-i Fahmiye Workers Legislation. Contrary to the 1867 Regulations, the compulsory and forceful work for inhabitants of the coalfield region were forbidden. In addition to that, age limit for underground workers was increased to minimum 18 years old and working hours limited to 8 hours per day (Gürboğa, 2005:136). The Legislation also regulated overtime works and ordered to set up a commission to decide minimum wages. In terms of life quality, it ordered building dormitory and public bath for workers. It was rather ease period and let lessen shaping external LOC journey.

However, between 1920 and the second half of the 1930s, labour requirement sustained by local relationship between mining corporations and inhabitants. During this period, mining corporations used assistance and ascendance of agas, muhtars (village headmen), notables of village and towns, dispatcher to endure labour requirement. These mediators bound villagers by using their ascendances and more importantly debt obligations. These mediators served as an agent to arrange working conditions and wages, as well

as ensuring discipline. They were powerful others who filled a space resulted by end of compulsory work period. They demanded unconditional obedience that being against their authority meant oppression by them and not finding job in the region. Debt obligation was especially effective tool during the harvest season due to desire of workers to complete agricultural works instead of going to the mines. By the second half of the 1930s, the Turkish Republic State showed attention to the region because of increasing intervention in the economy as a whole. Railways, planned Karabük Steel and Iron Factory and many other state institutions required coal for fuel and the state became number one demander for coal production. In order to sustain supply flow, state intervened coal production and marketing. In 1935, Etibank was established and two years after, the state bought French owned Ereğli Şirketi and directly Etibank, indirectly the state became mining operator in the region. Day by day increasing use of coal in various areas put pressure on production. Increase was to inevitable, but there was serious shortage of labour although relatively favour working conditions of workers. February 1940, witnessed publishing of second compulsory work legislation for region's inhabitants, based on National Protection Legislation. Article 9 of the Legislation gave the state to put obligation to all citizens of the region to work in the coalfield, in order to reach certain amount of production (Makal, 2005:70-71, Metinsoy, 2005:96). It was again another compulsory method for recruitment. In addition to that, those who already worked any institutions could not leave the workplace without any acceptable excuse. There were serious punishments whoever bends the rules. And it happened to do so. This legislation lasted until at the end of 1947. Another recruitment method during this term was in changes of soldier workers conditions. Earlier it was postponement rather than exemption. By 15.09.1942 regulation, after six month of army duty, inhabitants of the region could complete rest of his duty as a worker in the coalfield (Makal, 2005:84-85). In 1948, Çatalağzı Thermic Power Station which increased demand for coal was opened. Following period another huge coal utilizer Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory was started to operate in 1965 in the region. All these pressures to increase coal production ended up pressures on inhabitant shoulder and resulted new binding of their life. Although this time punishment was so severe, many escapes were recorded during this time. More importantly fleeing away from the mines was not simple individual behaviour, they were as common as to be considered collective uprising (Metinsoy, 2005: 100-101). In order to bring people into binds or let them feel how powerful are the powerful others, in some instances family member were held in gendarme (rural security force) station until fugitive give himself up.

2.3. Post 1947 Period-end of the Second Compulsory Work Period and New Recruitment Methods

Increasing demands for coal meant pressure on rising production and rising production meant more labour force requirement. After the both legal and de facto end of compulsory work obligation, economic obligation served as an encouragement for inhabitants of region for continuation of the mining and workers relations. Although there was de facto working class in the region, after devolution of the compulsory labour system, real characteristics of the working class was emerged in the region. After long and formidable years of struggle, people of the region became miner and industrial labour more than agriculture labour. Moreover, labour requirement for the mines, two steel and iron factories and power station helped to turn inhabitants of the coalfield into the real working class.

There have been different application of recruitment for the following periods. Whenever labour needed either commission set up and sent to villages for recruitment and selection or anyone eligible and have intention to work in the mine came himself and applied for the job. As one of the current director told his own application for job that:

“When I finished department of motor at vocational school, I went to director of a regional mine and told him that I wanted to work there. He wrote down something on a draft paper and told me to present it to supervisor of the mine. It was 10:00 am. After seen supervisor, he sent me to hospital to get report showing that I was healthy to work in the mine. It was 15:00 when I was enrolled into payroll, caught the next shift and first step to work life.”

There were many similar stories about starting to the job in the mine. Some says village headman was my mediator, some says one of the influential businessmen (more like tradesmen) was my mediator. They always respect them and whenever they talk about them never forget to say that “God bless him. He (whoever his mediator) was my benefactor, he let me become breadearner”. The headmen and council of elders of each village were the number one mediator from the beginning of the coalmine in the region. During this period, however, their duty rather record keeping and they were not as powerful as compulsory work period. As mentioned earlier that they were like a king in the region in early mining days. Having the state’s support and gendarma power, they could even punish fugitives from the mines.

Another notable feature of this period was division of labour in the region become clearer. As was before, villages were divided and devoted to certain jobs and job groups. It means that decision of a person's job depended on which village he comes from such as hewer from these villages, quarryman from these and gallery workers from these, so on. This division was also another key factor which developed external LOC due to even not been able to choose own job but take as granted. Required labour force for jobs and job groups were obtained from these villages. Each village had and has its own quota according to its population. In 1990, by the agreement between the Labour Union and the Turkish Coalmine Institution all different kind of underground mining jobs were grouped and named as Panel Wall Production Worker (Pano Ayak Üretim İşçisi). In addition to that, villages were clustered and devoted to different mines. For instance Kozlu mine has 147 clustered villages from Alaplı, Ereğli and Devrek districts and Kozlu subdistrict in 1999 arrangement and it was 96 before 1999. Number of the villages change time by time depends on opened or closed mine areas in the region. This division of labour and compulsory work scheme interpenetrated so deeply that, when a boy child was born in the village midwife used to sent the good news to father as "congratulation a new hewer or quarryman is born"(Durukan, 2004). Ironically destiny of the male child decided when open his eyes to the world.

2.4. Another Attempt to Break Binding and External LOC: The Big Strike of 1990

The day was 30th November 1990 when the latest battle to turn external LOC to internal started in the region. 48000 workers of TTK and MTA had an uprising against to the government of the era to break historical comply with powerful others and went on a strike. It was the first official strike since 1848 in the region. It was more than demand for wage increase and work life quality. It was a rising up against repression, despising, and dirt cheap employment of region's people, as was expressed by leaders of the strike. It was announced by the strike commission that, to live and work decently, to acquire real return of endeavour, to sustain safe and healthy working condition, to protect our livelihood and honour, to open the blind eyes and to show our power and unity, we are on an action until we get our rights (Genelmadenis, 2007). The strike grew day by day and turned into a big step of marching to Ankara (the capital city of Turkey) with around 100 thousand people on 4 January 1991. The target also had grown and not just the government but also the President of Turkey became the one. The National Security Council and afterward the

Ministry of Cabinet met on 25 January 1991 and the Ministry of Labour announced that the strike was postponed for 60 days due to international instability of the gulf war. On 5 February 1991, an agreement was signed by both sides and was considered a victory against all conditions which had resulted external LOC. Unfortunately victory has not lasted longer. Since then TTK has become smaller (Table 1) and Zonguldak has become out-migration region. According to Census of Population 2000 Migration Statistics, net migration in the region was recorded -7,35 % with 44 009 out-migration number between 1990 to 2000 (TUIK, 2005:28). Migration to other locations when they failed finding a job on the traditional way (means not finding a job in the mine) become an only choice rather than searching other options such as entrepreneurship

Increasing trend of labour demand in the mine reversed after 1990. There has been sharp and significant decrease observed in the number of the labour. Day by day total number of workers reduced from 35.492 in 1989 to 16.180 in 1999, 19.151 in 2000 and 10.611 in 2006 (Table 1). Production in the mine depends mainly on manpower and technology application is limited in the region's mines. Hence production also has shown similar pace along with the labour numbers. Marketable Coal was 3.038.448 tonnes in 1989, 1.989.572 tonnes in 1999, 2.256.768 in 2000 and 1.522.698 in 2006. Moreover, annual average financial deficit of 300 million \$ for last 15 years and acquiring alternative coal resources from different countries, especially from Ukrain, for Iron and Steel factories, reduced importance of the Zonguldak coal mines. Hence, it is reflected in decreasing labour demand in TTK mines.

Table-1. Changes in the Number of Workers in TTK between 1942 and 2006.

Year	Number of workers	Year	Number of workers	Year	Number of workers
1942	27136	1964	35631	1986	36557
1943	33224	1965	35155	1987	36623
1944	35382	1966	36334	1988	36476
1945	37080	1967	35703	1989	35492
1946	34991	1968	35292	1990	34349
1947	34556	1969	35174	1991	31215
1948	33400	1970	34671	1992	29495
1949	33923	1971	35650	1993	28429
1950	33456	1972	36154	1994	23964
1951	32717	1973	37591	1995	21520
1952	32429	1974	39399	1996	20403
1953	35654	1975	40002	1997	18674
1954	38799	1976	41774	1998	17406

1955	39938	1977	42784	1999	16180
1956	41032	1978	42072	2000	19151
1957	41958	1979	41923	2001	18025
1958	42194	1980	41927	2002	15761
1959	43787	1981	39935	2003	14.062
1960	43043	1982	39259	2004	12.261
1961	39352	1983	38652	2005	11.249
1962	37325	1984	37645	2006	10.611
1963	36101	1985	38231		

Source: <http://www.taskomuru.gov.tr/personelsayi.htm> 23.04.2007
<http://www.taskomuru.gov.tr/randiman.htm> 23.04.2007

Labour recruitment in 2000 slightly increased labour number as well as production amount, although it could not stopped reduction. Reduction in labour demand also meant a new way of recruitment and selection process as well as end of free ride. Anyone who wanted to work in the mine had to pass certain number of examination and had to trust his luck in the labour lottery. Now on there were less place but more and more demand.

In the last recruitment and selection of 2006, there were only 1120 places to be applied, but 41446 applicants to be examined and selected. In addition to that, in the earlier selection process (by lottery), unacceptable number of recruitment left their job short after started. As vice director of human resources department of the one institution stated:

“Some of the recruits had already worked somewhere, especially in Istanbul. Therefore after getting into the dark holes of the underground and seen hardness of the work they had to perform, they compared their earlier jobs in Istanbul or else. They chose easy, more secure and less income one and left soon after they started. Even some of them did not start right after health check and did not join to the village lottery.”

Although it shows that dependence on mines as an employment has been weakening, still outcry of the applicants reflected to the national media shows how external LOC in the region endures. They were shouting that “our grandfather had worked in the mine, my father worked and died in the mine and I came here to work in the mine” (www.aksiyon.com.tr.22.05.2006).

For the applicants who pass the first evaluation, work related tests start. According to total score they get, applicants are lined up and has right to join raffle. This new method eliminated political pressure on recruitment and selection process. This elimination both reduced influence on and usage of TTK by local elites, politicians and labour union. This last recruitment and selection process let applicants

to feel that outcome is depended on his own ability and action with little luck but not powerful others.

In order to explore how historical external LOC reflects today's Zonguldak, a simple question of "what is your original city?" and question about their sector were asked to 106 SMEs in and around the city. All respondants were in manufacturing sector. Not surprisingly, only 19 respondants were from Zonguldak origin. 3 out of 19 were either by themselves or with their families immigrated to foreign country when they were child and returned afterwards. Therefore they were away from effects of external LOC forces. Inhabitants of the region were so distant from decision making power in the city that Chairman of the Board of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry mostly dominated by businessmen from outside Zonguldak, for instance only 2 of the last 7 chairmen were from Zonguldak. One of them stayed in the power quite short of a period and resigned long before election. There is one main street which also a centre for business life in the city. When I asked elderly businessmen that "how many do you think Zonguldak origin shop owners there are in the street?" They though quite long and could only name a handful of businessmen. One can easily recognize that there is dominance of outsiders in the region's economic life.

3. Conclusion

Historically, various events have shaped work and inhabitants relations in Zonguldak coalfield. During early years of coalfield, especially by the 1867 Regulations, compulsory work was the first and most important external factor posed by the state which was the most powerful other of powerful others. Binding people's choice of self determination did not limited by just work into the mines, but in which mine had to work and what kind of job they had to perform, according to village they were from.

Early years of Turkish Republic, by 1921 law compulsory work was forbidden and people was free to work or not, at least it seemed in such way. Between 1920 and the second half of the 1930s, agas, muhtars, notables of village and towns, dispatcher were used to sustain labour demand. Ascendances and more importantly debt obligations were used to bound villagers by these mediators. Their duty covered wide range of areas such as arranging working conditions and wages, as well as ensuring discipline which were legally beyond their positions. They were the second powerful other of powerful others who filled the space left by abolishment of the compulsory work legislation. They demanded unconditional obedience. To be against their authority meant not finding job in the

region and oppression by them. Most effective tool was debt obligation due to agricultural works and during harvest season this tool used to direct villagers to work into the mines.

However, increasing demand for coal by new factories, railways and other demander brought about the second compulsory work period between 1940 and 1947. In addition to that, leaving the workplace without any acceptable excuse was banned for those who already worked any institutions. Serious punishments were applied whoever bends the rules. This legislation lasted until at the end of 1947. There were arrangement for soldier workers conditions as well and it became exemption rather than postponement. Along with opening new factories and developing coal dependant sectors increased demand for coal, increased pressures on inhabitant of the region and resulted new binding of their life. This time punishment was so severe. However, as an important feature of this period, many escapes were recorded from the mines. More importantly running away from the mines were considered collective movement rather than simple individual behaviour and first breakthrough movement to external bound. Bringing people into the line and show them there were no way but had to go to mine, in some instances family members were held in gendarme station until fugitive capitulate himself.

Although post 1948 was "free period", economic necessity made to work in the mines a kind of obligation. Whoever wanted to join TTK was recruited. Nonetheless, deepening division of labour was the main feature of this period. Classification and setting apart of villages to certain jobs and job groups were clear cut. It also meant that individual's decision was not important for job selection, instead his job depended on job classification of his village. This division also led clear external LOC development. In addition to that, villages were clustered and devoted to certain mines. This division of labour and compulsory work scheme interpenetrated so deeply that, every boy who was born, born with his destiny written as a candidate to certain job.

The last days of the November 1990, witnessed another breakthrough to show externalities that they have voice against repression, despising, and being employed dirt cheap of region's people in the region for a long history. 48000 workers went on a strike and followed by marching to Ankara. Ministry of Labour postponed strike after The National Security Council and the Ministry of Cabinet meetings. A few months later agreement was signed, and workers achieved high wage increase and favourable working conditions. It was temporary victory that has started new era in Turkish Coalmine Institution's life and Zonguldak region. Result was deepening of external LOC. The state which has been the most powerful other of

powerful others demonstrated its power and Turkish Coalmine Institution has been getting smaller and Zonguldak has become out-migration region.

As production in the mine depends mainly on manpower and with limited technology application in the region's mines, there have been two times recruitments in 2000 and 2006. This time conditions were different, especially in 2006 recruitment. Anyone who wanted to work in the mine had to pass certain number of examination and had to trust his luck in the labour lottery. Now on there were less place but more and more demand.

Last but not least, this new method eliminated political pressure on recruitment and selection process. This elimination reduced influences powerful others such as local elites, politicians and labour union. Utmost effect of this last recruitment and selection process was that applicants were to feel that outcome was not depended on powerful others but their own ability, action, and luck. This study aims to shed some lights on how historical events shape socio-economic structure of regions and external LOC of individuals. Clearly it has its own limits and weakness. The weakness could be eliminated by application of LOC scale to different section of community and could be the further phase of the study. Along with its weakness and limits, this study is believed exposing constructive relationship between supply-side and demand-side perspective of entrepreneurship in a disruptive way, as named to study "development of external LOC".

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