



Bingöl Üniversitesi
İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi
Bingol University
Journal of Economics and Administrative Sciences
Cilt/Volume: 6, Sayı/Issue: 1
Yıl/Year: 2022, s. 581-609
DOI: 10.33399/bübfad.1085296
ISSN: 2651-3234/E-ISSN: 2651-3307
Bingöl/Türkiye
Makale Bilgisi /Article Info
Geliş/Received: 09.03.2022 Kabul/ Accepted: 27.06.2022



REVIEWING THE INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN TURKEY THROUGH DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Türkiye'de Eğitim ve İstihdam Arasındaki Uyumsuzlukların Kalkınma Planları Aracılığıyla İncelenmesi

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Abstract

This study's primary goal is to reveal the inconsistencies between education and employment in Turkey through five-year development plans. Document review is carried out for eleven development plans prepared between 1963 and 2019. Development plans were chosen because they demonstrate the state's fundamental education and employment policies and comparatively review the current situation and future objectives. These documents were also used to describe the era in which they were created. Firstly, the pre-planned period is briefly reviewed. Afterward, the author concentrates on the general characteristics of the planned period within the framework of development plans. After reviewing the education and employment policies in the development plans, the statements demonstrating the inconsistencies between education and employment are revealed. Consequently, it is observed that the Turkish state's economic and political approaches have changed over the years, but the inconsistencies between education and employment persist until today.

Keywords: Development plans, education, employment

JEL Codes: I25; J21; O2

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Öz

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı Türkiye’de eğitim ve istihdam arasındaki uyumsuzlukları kalkınma planları aracılığıyla ortaya koymaktır. 1963-2019 yılları arasında hazırlanan on bir kalkınma planına yönelik doküman incelemesi yapılmıştır. Kalkınma planları devletin temel eğitim ve istihdam politikalarını gösteren, mevcut durumu ve geleceğe yönelik hedefleri karşılaştırmalı olarak inceleme olanağı sağlayan belgeler oldukları için seçilmişlerdir. Ayrıca bu belgelerden oluşturuldukları dönemin koşullarını betimlemek için de yararlanılmıştır. İlk olarak planlı dönem öncesi kısaca incelenmektedir. Sonrasında yazar kalkınma planları çerçevesinde planlı dönemin genel özelliklerine odaklanmaktadır. Kalkınma planlarında eğitim ve istihdam politikaları incelendikten sonra, eğitim ve istihdam arasındaki uyumsuzlukları gösteren ifadeler ortaya koyulmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, Türkiye’de devletin ekonomik ve siyasal politikalarının yıllar içerisinde değiştiği ancak eğitim ve istihdam arasındaki uyumsuzlukların günümüze kadar taşındığı görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kalkınma planları, eğitim, istihdam

JEL Kodları: I25; J21; O2

1. Introduction

Development plans are road maps that allow national development in line with a specific program. These plans are prepared to guide the country’s national economic development but also include the state’s social and cultural objectives. In the planned period⁶, individual and social welfare have been generally characterized based on economic development in Turkey. Nevertheless, different country examples demonstrate that national development is not only related to economic planning, but institutional and social conditions also form the economic development (Amsden, 1989; He, 2021; Johnson, 1982; Kim, 1997; Öniş, 1991).

Turkey has frequently highlighted the significance of education-employment links to reach the economic targets through development plans. In this context, the state has sought to direct the education system towards the country’s economic-social needs and employment opportunities. Furthermore, the Turkish development plans refer to

⁶ The term planned period refers to the period from 1963 to the present.

the necessity of investing in human resources and the significance of well-educated and qualified human resources. Indeed, different country cases exhibit that human resources could be decisive for the success of development plans. For example, many Latin American countries lacking well-educated human resources have not been successful in development despite having rich natural resources; on the contrary, some East Asian countries, such as South Korea, with scarce natural resources, have been prosperous in economic development by virtue of their well-educated human resources (Kim, 1997; Seth, 2021; Shim et al. 2020). Therefore education could be a significant impetus for national development.

This study aims to demonstrate the status of Turkey in establishing a coordinated education and employment system through development plans. The author reviewed the eleven development plans prepared so far to reveal the connections between education and employment policies in Turkey. Since the Turkish development plans have been issued regularly for about 60 years, they offer the opportunity to display the changes and continuities of the state's education and employment policies throughout the years.

Many studies examined Turkish development plans from different perspectives of politics, public administration, economics, and education. In these studies, the history of state planning in Turkey and the changes in development plans (Ekiz and Somel, 2007; Erat and Arap, 2017; Sezen, 1999), the place of education in development plans and, the major problems of the education system (Hesapçioğlu, 1983; Küçüker, 2012), development plans and Turkey's accession to the European Union (Kutlu et al., 2018), the changing role of the State Planning Organization (SPO) in development (Soyak, 2003), and employment policies in development plans (Tüzünkan, 2015) have been examined. However, these studies mostly concentrate on the periodic changes in the scope of the development plans in Turkey. Furthermore, no study has been found that examines the eleven development plans by addressing the relations between education and employment. This study contributes to the literature by revealing these links in Turkey through eleven development plans.

The following section presents the method of this study. The pre-planned period will then be summarized. After demonstrating the planned era's characteristics within the development plans' frameworks, education and employment issues and the inconsistencies between education and employment will be revealed. Furthermore, according to their chronological order, development plans will be abbreviated as the first plan, the second plan... the eleventh plan.

2. Method

This study is qualitative and uses documents as data sources. Documents are accepted as one of the primary qualitative data collection tools, together with interviews and participant observations (Patton, 2002: 4). Document review is the systematic examination and evaluation of printed or electronic materials. Hence, it is also recognized as a research method rather than a data collection tool. However, a systematic and comparative analysis is required in studies in which data only consists of documents. In other words, the data in the documents should be confirmed through other documents (Bowen, 2009; Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2013).

The researcher selected eleven development plans issued between 1963 and 2019 through purposeful sampling to examine the contrasts between education and employment in Turkey historically and comparatively. Some authors suggest that it might not be necessary to use the entire document as data in the document review and that certain parts of the documents might be chosen (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2013: 227). In this direction, more emphasis will be on the parts of the plans related to human resources, education, employment, and working life for this study.

There are two main reasons for selecting Turkish development plans as documents within the scope of this study. Firstly, from 1963 onwards, the Turkish development plans were issued periodically⁷. Each development plan comprehensively reveals the previous plans'

⁷ The ninth plan was prepared to cover seven years (2007-2013), considering the EU fiscal calendar (DPT, 2006: 2).

achievements, current social conditions, and future goals. Therefore, development plans are historical documents demonstrating the Turkish state's former policies on education and employment and crucial reports that compare the past and the present situation. These characteristics of the development plans allow us to notice the inconsistencies between education and employment in Turkey over the years.

In addition, since development plans have a central and inclusive structure, it is expected that the other plans and procedures will be harmonious with the framework of the development plans. Although the Turkish state's post-1980 economic and political objectives lessened the significance of the plans in practice, development plans are still influential on the activities of other organizations today. For instance, The Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) has revised its 2018-2022 strategic plan in line with the eleventh development plan issued in 2019 and created a new strategic plan for 2019-2023 (İŞKUR, 2019).

Secondly, the authenticity of the documents is noteworthy (Bryman, 2012). Turkish development plans are the products of a joint endeavor. For example, private sector organizations, public sector technocrats, and academics from various universities contributed to preparing plans via ad-hoc committees⁸. Furthermore, some documents offer researchers the opportunity to monitor historical changes and developments (Bowen, 2009). Since development plans are prepared periodically, they are useful to follow the changes and continuities from a historical and comparative perspective.

In qualitative research, reporting the path followed by the researcher and explaining how he/she reached the results are essential

⁸ E.g., nearly 100 commissions were created on social and economic issues, and more than 2000 experts participated in these commissions in the third plan (DPT, 1972: 198). In the ninth plan, 57 Ad-hoc Commissions were created, and a total of 2252 people from the public-private sector and universities participated in these commissions (DPT, 2006:2). 66 Ad-hoc commissions and working groups were established in the tenth plan (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013: 3). In the eleventh plan, 75 Ad-hoc Commissions and working groups were formed, and more than 3500 experts contributed to the plan (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019: 2).

criteria for the study's credibility. Therefore, the researcher should report the data collection, analysis, and interpretation processes in a transparent manner (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2013). In this study, the data are reviewed and compared through direct quotations. The data used in the study are publicly available and could be accessed on the Presidency of Strategy and Budget website. Therefore, this study is open to the evaluations of different researchers.

Lastly, context-free reviewing of documents may result in a loss of meaning (Punch, 1998). Thus, it is critical to outline the circumstances before and during the planned development period in Turkey. Before reviewing education and employment issues within the frameworks of the plans, the following sections will present the general characteristics of the pre-planned and planned periods.

3. A Brief Overview of the Pre-Planned Period in Turkey

The Turkish state did not have an institutional planning experience and implemented economy-oriented industrial plans from 1923 to the 1940s, the first stage of industrialization in Turkey (Boratav, 1998; Sezen, 1999). In this period, the state had two instruments shaping the industrialization policies. The first one was the Industrial Incentive Act enacted in 1927 to promote private sector enterprises, and the second was the industrial plans of the 1930s (Tekeli and İlkin, 2016). Some reports prepared for industrial plans in this period demonstrate that the existing human resources in the country lacked general and vocational education (Makal, 2007: 145).

Although the state encouraged private sector organizations to a certain extent in the republic's first years, it shifted to interventionist policies since the 1930s with the influence of national and international conditions. One of the reasons the state assumed the role of manufacturer and investor in this period was that there was no entrepreneurial class in the country that would direct savings to investment (DPT, 1967: 100). In addition, in this period, the state played a pivotal role in forming the working class and the emergence of modern employment forms in Turkey (Makal, 2007; Tekeli and İlkin, 2016). Another reason for state-based industrialization and industrial plans in the post-1930 period was the worldwide economic crisis

(Boratav, 1998; Ekiz and Somel, 2007). The Turkish state adopted statism as the most appropriate industrialization method when there were economic crisis conditions and no entrepreneurial class in the country (Buğra, 2013; Okyar, 1965).

In the first years of the Turkish Republic, literacy rates were low in cities and villages. For example, in 1927, the percentage of literate people in cities was about 30%, and this rate was around 5% in towns (Williamson, 1987: 95). Since most of the population in Turkey lived in rural areas and consisted of villagers in this period, village institutes were established to expand education and reduce the educational burden on the state. However, the village institutes opened in the late 1930s had to be closed due to Turkey's political and economic changes. Therefore, if the short-term village institutes are excluded, the national education system in this period was focused on general knowledge rather than vocational knowledge (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998: 57). In this period, the main characteristics of education were the inequalities between urban and rural areas, low levels of education in towns, and poor vocational education (Williamson, 1987: 103-104). In brief, the Turkish state's primary aim in education was to increase literacy rates and general education levels rather than establish a link between education and employment. This period could be defined as the state-oriented establishment of the Turkish national education system.

The Ottoman state had left a large agricultural population to the republic. Almost 90% of the total employment was in the agricultural sector in the republic's first years. This led to the emergence of a peasant-worker class in Turkey (Makal, 1999: 41). The Turkish state was decisive in employment and the working conditions in the 1930s and 1940s. For instance, The National Protection Law enacted in 1940, and the decrees issued afterward include articles such as retaining employees compulsory overtime in many sectors, including railways, mining, construction, and textile and employing child and female workers in specific sectors (Tekeli and İlkin, 2016). The Turkish state was the largest employer and assertive in employment and education issues until the Second World War.

After the Second World War, the state's role expanded even in Western countries, and central planning was considered a response to the economic and social collapse caused by the war (Sezen, 1999). Although the Turkish state tended towards an unplanned development focused on agriculture in the 1950s, infrastructure of the planned development was established during this period via international aid (Ekiz and Somel, 2007; Sezen, 1999). In the early 1960s, the state was still the largest employer, with a large part of the population still living in rural areas and lacking primary education. For example, in the earlier plans, it is highlighted that social development could only be possible with development in rural areas (DPT, 1963: 101).

At the beginning of the planned development period, social conditions were not much different from the previous period. However, the development plans implemented since 1963 differ from previous periods and plans regarding their legal characteristics and focus on non-economic issues. The basic foundation of planned development was the Constitution of 1961. This constitution linked economic development to social and cultural areas. Therefore, from this period onwards, national development plans have been consisted of social and cultural issues including education and employment as well as economic ones.

4. The Planned Period in Turkey within the Frameworks of Development Plans

After Second World War, many underdeveloped countries began implementing national development plans. In the 1950s and 1960s, development plans were enacted in many countries such as South Korea, Indonesia, Taiwan, India, Mexico, Chile, and Brazil as in Turkey (Amsden, 2007: 79-80). Even though the term of central development planning sounds old-fashioned, many states still execute development plans today. In addition, the number of countries scheduling development plans has increased in recent years, and approximately 80% of the world's population lives in a country that issues a development plan (Chimhowu et al., 2019: 76). Many countries around the globe have free-market economies, but central development plans

continue to be critical documents guiding the policies and priorities of the states in different areas.

In Turkey, although the organizations coordinating the national development plans and development plans' layouts have changed over time, development plans are still being created. The first development plan was enacted in 1963, and SPO coordinated most plans. The Ministry of Development and the Presidency of Strategy and Budget coordinated the last two development plans in 2013 and 2019, respectively, to guide the economic and social development of the country.

One of the main objectives of these plans is to align human resources policies' with the economic development goal at the macro level. Since the earlier development plans, human resources have been considered together with education and employment policies at the macro level. In the first development plan, manpower, employment, and education were scrutinized under the same title, and education was emphasized to raise the human resources required for the development. This plan also highlighted a close relationship between manpower, employment, and education (DPT, 1963: 441). In addition, vocational and technical education has been observed as a vital part of the national education system for industrialization (DPT, 1963: 443). However, Turkey was still an underdeveloped agricultural country, especially in the earlier plans. For example, 60% of the children of reading age were illiterate in the first plan, and 77% of the manpower worked in the agricultural sector (DPT, 1963). The first plan summarized the social conditions in Turkey as follows:

- *A large group of people live in deplorable conditions and without... civilization. %60 of children at or above the reading age are illiterate. %53 of the villages and %55 of the towns lack access to potable water... 69% of the total population can not benefit from electricity... there is one doctor for every 4,000 people... In the three largest cities, %30 of the total population lives in one-room houses (DPT,1963: 2).*

In the early stages of planned development, a large part of the population in Turkey was deprived of even primary education, and employment was mainly in the agricultural sector. The fulfillment of

social development in the first plan also depended on village development (DPT, 1963: 101). In this period, the state capacity was minimal. The Turkish state argued that national economic development would only be possible with social mobilization. In the first and the second plans, the need for social mobilization is depicted as follows:

▪ ...The fulfillment of the pace of development depends only on a collective effort, some sacrifices The Turkish nation has always succeeded through acting collectively and disciplined (DPT, 1963: 2).

▪ ...The level of economic power and welfare that Turkish society will achieve in the future depends on how much today's generations can reduce their consumption and to what extent they can increase total savings and investments (DPT, 1967: 3).

Despite Turkish national development focused on industrialization from the beginning of planned development, the characteristics of agricultural society have persisted in other plans. In the planned development period, the rate of people employed in agriculture is higher than those employed in other sectors. Although the rate of people employed in agriculture gradually decreased since the earlier plans, in the seventh plan, the agricultural employment rate for the first time dropped below the total employment rate (DPT, 1995). In brief, employment in Turkey was predominantly in the agricultural sector until the beginning of the 2000s.

In addition, the rate of those employed in the industry sector is less than those employed in agriculture until 2018 (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2021). Although the Turkish state strived for industrialization-based development from the beginning of the planned development, employment intensifies in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, the number of people employed in the agricultural sector in the earlier plans was much higher than in other developing countries of the period. The third plan demonstrated that 65% of the total labor force in Turkey was employed in agriculture. However, percentages of the labor force were 40%, 31% and 31.5%, respectively, in Mexico, Spain, and Portugal, which were developing countries in the same period (DPT, 1972: 100).

Table 1: Employment in Agriculture and Industry in Turkey by Development Plans

Development Plans	Employment in Agriculture (% of total employment)	Employment in Industry (% of total employment)
The First Plan (1963-67)	77.0	8.4
The Second Plan (1968-72)	72.3	10.4
The Third Plan (1973-77)	65.0	11.0
The Fourth Plan (1979-83)	61.8	12.8
The Fifth Plan (1985-89)	59.9	12.7
The Sixth Plan (1990-94)	49.9	15.3
The Seventh Plan (1996-00)	45.0	15.7
The Eight Plan (2001-05)	45.1	15.2
The Ninth Plan (2007-13)	29.5	19.4
The Tenth Plan (2014-18)	21.1	20.5
The Eleventh Plan (2019-23)	18.2	19.8

Source: Adapted from development plans and Macro Analysis of Labor Market Developments (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2021).

The Turkish state has aimed to reduce employment in the agricultural sector and increase employment in the industrial sector in the planned period. However, in the development plans, increasing employment in the industrial sector is not only linked to employment policies; but also to the qualified manpower motivated with industrialization target. In this context, the Turkish state sought to develop the vocational and technical education system with the general education system and make both systems compatible with working life. Since the state's employment capacity is higher than the private sector during the planned period, increasing the qualifications of those working in the public sector has been an important issue. For example, the second plan remarks that half of those employed in administrative positions in the public sector did not have a higher education degree, and the percentage of those who obtained management and administration education was 9.0% (DPT, 1967: 148). There has been a lack of qualified manpower in both public and private sector enterprises from the earlier plans onwards. For example, the trouble of low education levels, weakness of the merit-based system, political and social pressures in recruitment in the public sector were the fundamental issues highlighted in many plans (DPT, 1979: 37; DPT, 1984: 187; DPT, 1995: 51; Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013: 52).

Various studies assert that the significance of development plans in Turkey has declined due to the political and economic changes experienced in the post-1980 period, and the Turkish state has shifted away from the central planning logic with the influence of international institutions (Ekiz and Somel, 2007; Sezen, 1999; Soyak, 2003). The trails of this divergence could also be encountered in the education and employment policies of the post-1980 development plans. For instance, there are some statements such as the burden of vocational education on the state (DPT, 1984: 139), the need of promoting private schools in education (DPT, 1984: 144), the necessity of providing cheap credit incentives to small and medium-sized enterprises, and increasing the number of people employed in them (DPT, 1989: 308; DPT, 1995: 50), the requirement of funding education by the private sector as in developed countries (DPT, 1995: 12) in post-1980 Turkish development plans.

The Turkish state adopted a strategic planning approach in line with the logic of the private sector in the post-2000 period (Ekiz and Somel, 2007). Nevertheless, there are notable distinctions between the development plans issued post-2000 period. For example, at the beginning of the 2000s, development plans were created primarily for the European Union harmonization process (DPT, 2006: 2). After the abolishment of SPO in 2011, the Ministry of Development created the tenth plan, and the Presidency Strategy and Budget Department coordinated the eleventh plan. The tenth plan stressed alternative relations rather than harmonization with the EU and developed countries (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013: 9). Unlike the earlier plans, the eleventh plan questioned the liberal democratic systems and institutions (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019: 4).

In addition, in the last two plans, population growth was not seen as a concern affecting employment and education policies but as a basis of national competitive advantage. For example, in the tenth plan, it was reported that countries with younger populations would have a labor advantage compared to countries with elderly people, and the eleventh plan has not considered the youth as an economic burden but as an element that would provide a national competitive advantage (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013: 10; Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı,

2019: 135). Before these two plans, population growth was seen as a problem with adverse effects on education and employment. For instance, the Turkish state aimed to decline the population growth pace and increase the ratio of the working-age population in the first plan; emphasized the need of decreasing the population growth rate in a way that does not hinder economic development in the second plan (DPT, 1963: 70; DPT, 1967: 47). The third plan reported that the population growth rate in most of the European countries is below 1%, the population aged 15-64 has increased faster than the employment opportunities in Turkey and rapid population growth is a fundamental problem (DPT, 1972: 103-108). It is indicated that the rapid population growth hindered economic and social development in the sixth plan (DPT, 1989: 340), highlighted that population growth is a risk and hinders development in the seventh plan (DPT, 1995: 13,34). In brief, the Turkish state's ideology towards the population and human resources of the country has varied over time.

Many studies comprehensively and historically examine the changes in central planning and developmental state logic in Turkey (Ekiz and Somel, 2007; Öniş, 2019; Sezen, 1999). These studies mainly concentrated on the transformations of development-oriented policies of the Turkish state in specific periods. For example, from the beginning of the planned period, the Turkish state expected to integrate with Europe and developed countries. However, the Turkish state has shifted to a new state-based developmentalism in the last decade (Öniş, 2019).

It is evident that the Turkish state's role and national development policies have altered in specific periods depending on national and international conditions. Even though the Turkish state has shifted the economic and political policies over time, development plans reveal that relationships between education and employment have inconsistencies. In other words, the shifts in the state's development logic at different times have not overcome the inconsistencies among these areas over the years.

Before citing these inconsistencies, examining the education and employment conditions separately in the planned period will enable

us to understand the context. As mentioned earlier, documents should be evaluated by considering the social context and historical conditions in which they are organized. Thus, the Turkish state's education and employment policies in development plans will be reviewed in the following sections. Then it will be exhibited to what extent the objective of ensuring harmony between education and employment has been achieved through development plans.

5. Education Issues in the Development Plans

Although the primary objective of Turkish development plans is to provide economic development, there are also human-oriented statements in the plans. For instance, it was stated that increasing income by reaching a high development rate is not a purpose in itself and that the primary goal of planning is to enhance the welfare of the society and human happiness in the first plan (DPT, 1963: 3). Similarly, one of the main objectives of the second plan was to bring individuals to a decent level of life (DPT, 1967: 2).

Earlier plans emphasized that the fundamental ways of increasing human welfare in Turkey are to raise the level of education, educate people according to the needs of the Turkish society, and enable individuals to benefit from education activities by their abilities. In this way, social justice and society governance by capable individuals would be guaranteed (DPT, 1963: 38-39). In addition, the state anticipated that the lack of progress in education would prevent the plan from reaching its goals in general in the second plan (DPT, 1967: 43). Despite these emphases on the significance of education, the budget allocated to education in the public sector is less than in sectors such as energy, manufacturing, transportation, and agriculture in this period. In addition, the education sector had one of the lowest shares among private sector investments (DPT, 1967: 297).

In the third plan, the education sector fell behind the objectives. The main problems of the education system were the inability to raise individuals with the qualifications required by economic and social development and the inability to provide social justice and equal opportunities for education in this plan. Another critical issue regarding education in this plan is the unfavorable situation of having

too many students in the field of social sciences in higher education when there is an industrialization target. Likewise, the Turkish state highlighted that the individuals who graduated from social sciences can not participate in the production process in the industry and can not contribute adequately to the development. It is also noted that the children of families with poor economic conditions can not continue their education after a while even if they are capable, and the state could not provide adequate opportunities for these students. Furthermore, more than half of the primary school graduates participated in working life without any other education (DPT, 1972: 109-111).

These issues commonly persisted in the fourth plan. One of the problems highlighted in this plan is the uneven structure of the national education system. The state ascertained that the increase in the number of university graduates requires the employment of individuals regardless of their education and expertise. Similarly, the boost in the number of university graduates negatively affected national development in this period (DPT, 1979: 30). In addition, the demand for higher education was social status and wage-oriented rather than being education-oriented. For example, it was noted that individuals considered education simply as a tool to benefit from social advantages (DPT, 1979: 459).

In the fifth plan period, the state emphasized the significance of vocational education and raising mid-level technical personnel rather than increasing the number of university graduates (DPT, 1984: 139). Moreover, the Turkish state encouraged private schools to have a robust education system for the first time in the fifth plan (DPT, 1984: 144). Nevertheless, public education was still dominant at this time.

Despite the emphasis on promoting private schools in the fifth plan, the significance of the public sector education endured in the sixth plan. Moreover, the state highlighted that public investments in the education sector would increase in the sixth plan compared to the previous one (DPT, 1989: 11). However, the share of the private sector in education was also expanded in this period. The Turkish state aimed to reconfigure the education system by concentrating on vocational

training for raising intermediate and high-qualified manpower (DPT, 1989: 294-295). Despite increasing the resources allocated to education, the Turkish national education system was still uneven in terms of quality and quantity throughout the country. The state defined the main problem in education as the absence of quality in the sixth plan (DPT 1989: 342).

Since the beginning of the planned period, one of the main objectives of education has been to ensure that all citizens benefit from primary education. However, in the seventh plan, literacy rates were 88.8% for males and 72% for females (DPT, 1995: 12). In other words, one-fifth of the total population was illiterate in this period. Although the state was cognized of the structural issues in the Turkish national education system, nothing much changed. For instance, the state sought to increase the share of the private sector in education in the previous plans. However, only 1.5% of the total number of students attended private education organizations in the seventh plan, and most higher education institutions were established without an infrastructure that negatively affected education quality (DPT, 1995: 12-13). In addition, the inability of public and private sector organizations to focus on vocational and technical education and to disseminate new technologies were pivotal issues in education in this period (DPT, 1995: 25-26).

The Turkish state fulfilled the eight-year compulsory primary education target in the eighth plan. Nevertheless, physical infrastructure and human resources deficiencies continued to influence education quality in this period negatively (DPT, 2000: 14). In addition, excessive demands on higher education, the absence of an effective guidance system, the lack of coordination between public and private education, and the failure to spread education opportunities throughout the country were still vital problems (DPT, 2000, 81). The eighth plan highlighted that 79.1% of those employed throughout the country consisted of illiterate and primary school graduates (DPT, 2000: 103). Educational problems persisted in the ninth plan, and 67.3% of the workforce in 2005 consisted of those who never attended a high school. Despite the increases in education level in Turkey in this period, it remained below the EU average (DPT, 2006: 37-38). In

addition, the schooling rate in primary education was not 100%, and the share of vocational education in secondary education could not be increased in the ninth plan (DPT, 2006: 40).

The state remarked that the exam-oriented structure of the Turkish national education system resulted in ineffective usage of the resources and not reaching the development objectives (DPT, 2006: 40-41). Although the level of education increased, it remained below the OECD and EU average in the tenth plan. Therefore, the state claimed that it is critical to increase education quality (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013: 31). Likewise, the eleventh plan notes that radical reforms and quality enhancement are required in the education system (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019: 11). Nevertheless, the eleventh plan focuses on what will be done in the plan period rather than the achievements of the previous plan in education. The past-present education system comparisons were not included in the eleventh plan besides general statements. Furthermore, the eleventh plan remarked that the need to establish links between education and employment in higher education persists (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019: 22).

In sum, development plans reveal that the state primarily sought to configure the national education system in line with the national development goal. In this context, the state did not aim to motivate every individual to be a university graduate but to include in the education system according to the economy's needs. Nevertheless, education has been a tool for status and high wages for society, and the state failed to promote vocational and technical education in the development path.

6. Employment Issues in the Development Plans

Employment has often been associated the education in the development plans. For instance, one of the four main employment objectives in the first plan was to create a qualification and expertise-based employment policy (DPT, 1963: 442). As mentioned before, a large part of the society has been employed in the agricultural sector in most of the planned period despite the state's industrialization target. From the beginning of the development plans, the Turkish

state's primary goal has been to educate and employ the human resources in the country through the industrialization policy.

In this context, particular professions are prioritized for economic development. For example, it was emphasized that the number of qualified managers, engineers, technicians, and doctors should have been increased in the second plan (DPT, 1967: 148). In addition, the second plan anticipated that the failure to develop the education system at the national level would create shortages for these professions, which would adversely affect development (DPT, 1967: 155).

Besides the shortages of qualified workers in Turkey, one of the critical cases in employment was the migration of skilled workers in the early stages of planned development. In the third plan, the state considered the migration of workers between 1965 and 1970 as a peril (DPT, 1972: 81). However, the migration of qualified workforce to developed European countries was not only a problem but also a temporary resolution to the unemployment in the country (DPT, 1972: 656). Even though most qualified migrant workers did not return to Turkey, the state has always anticipated that they would return to the country afterward and contribute to the country's development by their experience. Furthermore, the migration of qualified employees abroad continued due to low wage levels and occupational concerns in the following plan periods (DPT, 1979: 30-31; DPT, 1984: 135). This situation continues even today. For instance, the eleventh plan underlines the need for studies to prevent the brain drain and attract those people to the country (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019: 144).

The fact that the state is the largest employer has also brought about some problems in the public sector. In the fourth plan period, it is highlighted that the public sector had too much burden, could not achieve their duties effectively, and those in public enterprises are mostly employed in areas where they were not experts (DPT, 1979: 35-37). Accordingly, the state described spurious employment as one of the most critical issues in the Turkish public sector in the fifth plan (DPT, 1984: 187). Therefore, reducing the unproductive workforce, especially in the public sector, was aspired (DPT, 1984: 34). In addition,

this plan emphasized the need to coordinate employment policies with industrialization and sector policies (DPT, 1984: 131).

In this direction, it is remarked in the sixth plan that the state and the capacities of small and medium-sized enterprises would be utilized to increase employment (DPT, 1989: 354). Despite the purpose of increasing employment in the industry, employment in the agricultural sector constituted 45% of the total employment in the seventh plan. In addition, the employment potential of small and medium-sized enterprises has increased, but the low level of education of the workforce has confined productive employment (DPT, 1995: 14). In this period, spurious employment in the public sector prevailed, and the civil servants constituted 40% of the total wage earners defined as an obstacle to national development (DPT, 1995: 51).

In contrast to the industrialization goal, agricultural employment increased while industrial employment declined in the eighth plan period. Furthermore, less-educated and non-qualified human resources adversely affected productivity levels in Turkey during this period (DPT, 2000: 17). Like the previous plan, the Turkish state stressed the necessity of increasing the employment capacity of small and medium-sized enterprises in the eighth plan (DPT, 2000: 104). However, economic growth's impact on employment in Turkey remained limited during the ninth Plan period. The state associated this problem with the economic crisis experienced in 2001 and the decline in agricultural employment (DPT, 2006: 14). In the ninth plan, employment and labor force participation rates remain low compared to EU countries (DPT, 2006: 37).

In the tenth plan, it is noted that the policies executed in the previous plan for labor markets and employment were successful and total employment increased by an average of 3.3% annually in the 2007-2012 period. Hence, the Turkish state reiterated that one of the primary factors to eliminate the adverse effects of the global economic crisis experienced in 2008 depended on these employment policies (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013: 20-23).

The eleventh plan also links the increases in employment rates to successful labor market policies. Accordingly, increasing

unemployment rates are also related to the high labor force participation rate in this plan (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019: 23). Furthermore, the Turkish state has emphasized that political and macro-economic stability are convenient for reaching the plan's goals, creating new employment areas, and increasing employment (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019: 27). However, the eleventh plan's statements mainly focus on future employment objectives rather than past and present conditions in employment, similar to the remarks on education in this plan.

7. Inconsistencies Between Education and Employment in the Development Plans

From the first development plan onwards, it has been emphasized that establishing the education-employment relationship requires long-term programs. For instance, the first and second plans anticipated that the relationship between education and employment could only be established in at least 10-15 years (DPT, 1963: 443; DPT, 1967: 148). Although nearly 60 years have passed since the enforcement of the first development plan, the need to steer education and employment in line with economic and social requirements and the inconsistencies of education-employment persist today. The table below displays the inconsistencies between education and employment in all development plans by direct quotations.

Table 2: Inconsistencies between Education and Employment

Development Plans	The Objectives	The Outcomes
<i>The First Plan (1963-67)</i>	"Our education system will tend towards raising people who are convenient for the needs and circumstances of Turkish society" (DPT, 1963: 442).	"The failure to establish an adequate link between education and... working life is one of the most significant problems (DPT, 1963: 449).
<i>The Second Plan (1968-72)</i>	"Education sector... are intended to provide the capable... manpower demanded by the economy" (DPT, 1967: 299).	"Education... remained inward and theory-oriented. The link between the schools and... business life is

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<i>The Third Plan (1973-77)</i>	<p>“The basic principle is that manpower policy should be aligned with education, employment and industrialization policies” (DPT, 1972: 708).</p>	<p>inadequate” (DPT,1967: 159). “The education system that could not be built up in accordance with other systems ... also failed to enhance the knowledge of those... in the working life” (DPT, 1972: 714).</p>
<i>The Fourth Plan (1979-83)</i>	<p>“The... syllabuses based on rote-learning and unpractical knowledge at all levels... will be transformed” (DPT, 1979: 456).</p>	<p>“...education system... is not compatible with employment conditions” (DPT, 1979: 433).</p>
<i>The Fifth Plan (1985-89)</i>	<p>“It will be assured that the knowledge and skills... at all levels of education... are life-oriented” (DPT, 1984: 140).</p>	<p>“...it is observed that... quality improvement... in the education sector could not be achieved” (DPT, 1984: 187).</p>
<i>The Sixth Plan (1990-94)</i>	<p>“The coordination between education institutions and the labor market will be ensured through the re-planning education system by requirements... of the economy” (DPT, 1989: 353).</p>	<p>“It is needed to prioritize vocational and technical education to raise qualified intermediate manpower for the economy” (DPT, 1989: 295).</p>
<i>The Seventh Plan (1996-00)</i>	<p>“Raising... vocational-technical education to world standards... improving school and business life relationships... will be emphasized” (DPT, 1995: 29).</p>	<p>“The objectives have not been achieved in establishing relationships between... vocational and technical education and manpower needs of the economy” (DPT, 1995: 25).</p>
<i>The Eight Plan (2001-05)</i>	<p>“The workforce’s education level will be enhanced... and education</p>	<p>“There are inadequacies in the development and implementation of education programs by</p>

	opportunities will be strengthened in line with business life" (DPT, 2000: 89). "...to increase employment... manpower will be educated... in line with economy" (DPT, 2006: 84). "The consistency between the education system and the labor market will be enhanced by... providing the skills and competencies required by business life..." (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013: 33).	the requirements of business life" (DPT, 2000:89). "...the relationship between education and employment could not be established adequately (DPT, 2006: 37). "...the need to increase the effectiveness... the relationship between education and employment continues" (DPT, 2013: 31).
<i>The Ninth Plan (2007-13)</i>		
<i>The Tenth Plan (2014-18)</i>		
<i>The Eleventh Plan (2019-23)</i>	"The main goal is... to integrate vocational education and higher education with the business world" (SBB, 2019: 69).	"...the need to determine higher education... by considering supply-demand balance and education-employment relationship... remains" (SBB, 2019: 22).

Although Turkish development plans' objectives and scopes have changed over time, the human resources philosophy of the plans remains intact. Human resources are recognized as one of the most critical facets for national development in most plans. Despite these emphases on the significance of qualified human resources, the Turkish state has never established an education system to raise skilled human resources.

As can be seen from Table 2, the Turkish state has aimed to coordinate education-employment-working life in line with the development goal in each plan. Thus, one of the most salient issues regarding education and employment in development plans is the state's endeavor to harmonize education with the needs of the economy and society. Although the Turkish state's economic and political approaches have varied over time, the purpose of integrating education with employment has persisted in every plan.

However, each plan exhibits that ensuring the harmony between education and employment has never been fully achieved and is still one of the most significant issues. Disruptions between education, employment, and labor markets, the inability to organize the education system for employment, or the needs of society have been constantly depicted as hindrances for national development. The failure to establish the links between education and employment has caused the human resources in the country to not contribute to national development.

Indeed, each plan does not have the same emphasis on the education-employment relationships. For example, the earlier plans put more emphasis on education and employment relations, while the post-1980 plans were less focused on this issue. This tendency can be explained by the political and economic transformations of the 1980s. However, less emphasis on the imbalances between education and employment does not mean that problems have been resolved. Furthermore, even in the fifth and sixth plans that put the least emphasis on the links between education and employment, it was noted that education should be business or life-oriented.

Within the frameworks of Turkish development plans, the reasons for the inconsistencies between education and employment could be summarized as follows:

- Development plans demonstrate that the poor quality at many levels of education has not been resolved. Even though the quantity of the education institutions has been increased, the quality deficiencies maintain.
 - Increasing the number of universities and graduates has not provided radical solutions to employability.
 - Directing students to specific departments in high schools and universities has caused education to be seen as a tool for social status and wages. This exacerbates the inconsistencies between education and employment.
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- Since students could not be educated in line with their capabilities, the inconsistencies between education and employment increase.
- The lack of a merit-based system, especially in public organizations, has resulted in employing individuals via social and political mechanisms, not education. Therefore, education-employment links could not be established.
- Exam-oriented and theory-based education system could not equip individuals for working life.
- Economic crises and political instabilities have constantly prevented Turkey from constructing solid and coordinated education-employment relationships.

8. Conclusion

Development plans demonstrate that the objective of ensuring education-employment coherence has never been achieved throughout the planned period in Turkey. Indeed, it is challenging to utterly meet all goals concerning education and employment in each plan due to the constantly changing circumstances in the country. In addition, as highlighted in the development plans, the consistency between the education and employment policies relies on long-term and continual policies.

Many studies have shown that long-term orientation for development planning is not conceivable in Turkey due to economic and political shifts in different periods (Ekiz ve Somel, 2007; Erat ve Arap, 2017; Övgün, 2010; Sezen, 1999; Soyak, 2003). However, as closely related areas, education and employment should be regarded as a whole in a long-term perspective. Furthermore, education and employment should be de-politicized and considered a social issue, contrary to the abovementioned studies. Some studies which have solely focused on education or employment issues through development plans revealed that both systems had been regarded as tools of the Turkish economic and political system (Küçükler, 2012; Tüzünkan, 2015). This study confirms these views. Additionally, this study demonstrates that inconsistencies between education and

employment policies have been reproduced during the planned period regardless of different governments' economic and political ideologies in Turkey.

Moreover, employment and education issues are intertwined and in constant interaction. The Turkish national education system has been commonly based on rote-learning, remained theory, and exam-oriented. However, the incoherence of education and employment in Turkey can not depend solely on education. For example, some studies claim that increases in higher education access in Turkey cannot be the real solution to unemployment without proper workforce planning (Gürsel, Uysal ve Delibaşı, 2020, Erdem ve Tuğcu, 2012), and labor market conditions can also transform education policies. This study is also consistent with those views. Because almost in every planning period, the number of higher education institutions and graduates has increased. Nevertheless, unemployment has always been an issue for decades in Turkey.

Finally, one of the most challenging issues regarding education and employment in Turkey is to guide individuals by their abilities in the past and present. This can only be attainable when education and labor market policies are reestablished and realigned. Development plans exhibit that the real driving force of national development could be the consistency between education and employment for Turkey, such as in the other developed and rapidly industrialized countries.

Ethics Statement: The author declares that ethical rules are followed in all preparation processes of this study. In case of detection of a contrary situation, BİİBFAD Journal does not have any responsibility and all responsibility belongs to the author of the study.

Acknowledgement: I would like to thank the Editorial Board of BİİBFAD Journal for their intense interest and efforts and the referees for their contribution.

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