



"İŞ, GÜÇ" ENDÜSTRİ İLİŞKİLERİ VE İNSAN KAYNAKLARI DERGİSİ
"IS, GUC" INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND HUMAN RESOURCES JOURNAL

The Link Between Labour Control And Spatial Control: A Theoretical Framework And Empirical Remarks On Manisa, Turkey

Dr. Gülçin TUNÇ

Uludag University, Department of Public Administration

Temmuz/July 2014, Cilt/Vol: 16, Sayı/Num: 3, Page: 35-59
ISSN: 1303-2860, DOI: 10.4026/1303-2860.2014.0254.x

Makalenin on-line kopyasına erişmek için / To reach the on-line copy of article:
<http://www.isguc.org/?p=article&id=552&cilt=16&sayi=3&yil=2014>

Makale İçin İletişim/Correspondence to:

Gülçin TUNÇ, Uludağ Üniversitesi, email: gulcintunc@gmail.com

İş, Güç, Endüstri İlişkileri ve İnsan Kaynakları Dergisi, yılda dört kez yayımlanan hakemli, bilimsel elektronik dergidir. Çalışma hayatına ilişkin makalelere yer verilen derginin temel amacı, belirlenen alanda akademik gelişime ve paylaşıma katkıda bulunmaktadır.

İş, Güç, Endüstri İlişkileri ve İnsan Kaynakları Dergisi, ‘Türkçe’ ve ‘İngilizce’ olarak iki dilde makale yayımlanmaktadır.

Dergimiz İş, Güç; ulusal ve uluslararası birçok indekste taranmaktadır. (Cabells Directory, Ebsco Socindex, Index Islamicus, Index Copernicus, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, Sociological Abstract, Ulakbim Sosyal Bilimler Veritabanı, Asos Index)

Editörler Kurulu / Editorial Board

Aşkın Keser (Uludağ University)
K.Ahmet Sevimli (Uludağ University)
Şenol Baştürk (Uludağ University)

Editör / Editor in Chief

Şenol Baştürk (Uludağ University)

Uygulama / Design

Yusuf Budak (Kocaeli University)

Tarandığı İndeksler/Indexes

ASOS INDEX

CABELLS DIRECTORY

EBSCO SOCINDEX

Index ISLAMICUS

Index COPERNICUS

Sociological Abstract

ULAKBİM Sosyal Bilimler

Veritabanı

Worldwide Political Science

Abstracts

Yayın Kurulu / Editorial Board

Yrd.Doç.Dr.Zerrin Fırat (Uludağ University)

Prof.Dr.Aşkın Keser (Uludağ University)

Prof.Dr.Ahmet Selamoğlu (Kocaeli University)

Yrd.Doç.Dr.Ahmet Sevimli (Uludağ University)

Doç.Dr.Abdulkadir Şenkal (Kocaeli University)

Doç.Dr.Gözde Yılmaz (Marmara University)

Yrd.Doç.Dr.Dr.Memet Zencirkıran (Uludağ University)

Uluslararası Danışma Kurulu / International Advisory Board

Prof.Dr.Ronald Burke (York University-Kanada)

Assoc.Prof.Dr.Glenn Dawes (James Cook University-Avustralya)

Prof.Dr.Jan Dul (Erasmus University-Hollanda)

Prof.Dr.Alev Efendioğlu (University of San Francisco-ABD)

Prof.Dr.Adrian Furnham (University College London-İngiltere)

Prof.Dr.Alan Geare (University of Otago- Yeni Zelanda)

Prof.Dr. Ricky Griffin (TAMU-Texas A&M University-ABD)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Diana Lipinskiene (Kaunos University-Litvanya)

Prof.Dr.George Manning (Northern Kentucky University-ABD)

Prof. Dr. William (L.) Murray (University of San Francisco-ABD)

Prof.Dr.Mustafa Özbilgin (Bruner University-UK)

Assoc. Prof. Owen Stanley (James Cook University-Avustralya)

Prof.Dr.Işık Urla Zeytinoğlu (McMaster University-Kanada)

Ulusal Danışma Kurulu / National Advisory Board

Prof.Dr.Yusuf Alper (Uludağ University)

Prof.Dr.Veyssel Bozkurt (İstanbul University)

Prof.Dr.Toker Dereli (Işık University)

Prof.Dr.Nihat Erdoğan (İstanbul Şehir University)

Prof.Dr.Ahmet Makal (Ankara University)

Prof.Dr.Ahmet Selamoğlu (Kocaeli University)

Prof.Dr.Nadir Suğur (Anadolu University)

Prof.Dr.Nursel Telman (Maltepe University)

Prof.Dr.Cavide Uygur (İstanbul University)

Prof.Dr.Engin Yıldırım (Anayasa Mahkemesi)

Doç.Dr.Arzu Wasti (Sabancı University)

Dergide yayımlanan yazılardaki görüşler ve bu konudaki sorumluluk yazarlarına aittir.

Yayımlanan eserlerde yer alan tüm içerik kaynak gösterilmeden kullanılamaz.

All the opinions written in articles are under responsibilities of the authors.

The published contents in the articles cannot be used without being cited

The Link Between Labour Control And Spatial Control: A Theoretical Framework And Empirical Remarks On Manisa, Turkey¹

Dr. Gülçin TUNÇ

Uludag University, Department of Public Administration

Abstract

Since the 1980, when there was a break in the national accumulation strategy and initial steps were taken towards integration with global markets, the pace of the 'commodification of both labor and land' has considerably increased in Turkey. 2000s, however, have marked a period during which capital's control over labour has drastically intensified due to new, capital-sided legislation that rearranged employment and working conditions and the rapid proletarianisation of the population as a result of the changing agricultural policy. On the other hand, a comprehensive strategy of urban transformation was commenced in the same period; yet, urban transformation projects (UTPs) have been implemented in such a way that the power of spatial control that the working class holds, i.e. the power to control the conditions of its own reproduction, has diminished. The primary reason behind this is that the UTPs are effective tools at the hand of the neoliberal state for creating new sources of wealth for capital. Thus, during the 2000s, the (re)distribution of rent generated through the UTPs were not realized in a populist manner unlike the previous periods; rather, this increasingly uneven (re)distribution has served as a mechanism for transferring wealth from lower to upper classes. Given this national conjuncture, it is clear that the interaction between labour control and spatial control has come into focus in the last decade in Turkey. Departing from this argument, the aim of this paper is to discuss this interaction and to provide both a theoretical basis and an empirical content in the case of Manisa.

Keywords: Labour Control, Spatial Control, Spatiality of Labour Control, Urban Transformation, (Re)distribution of Wealth

Özet

Türkiye'de ulusal birikim stratejisinde bir kırılmanın yaşandığı ve küresel piyasalarla bütünleşme adımının atıldığı 1980'den itibaren emeğin ve toprağın metalaşma hızı önceki dönemlere göre önemli ölçüde hızlanmıştır. 2000'li yıllar ise, işgücünün istihdam ve çalışma koşullarında sermaye lehine yapılan düzenlemelere ve yeni tarım politikaları sonucu proleterleşen nüfusun artış göstermesine bağlı olarak sermayenin emek üzerindeki kontrolünün yoğunlaştığı bir dönem olmuştur. Diğer yandan, aynı dönemde, kapsamlı bir kentsel dönüşüm (KD) siyasası başlatılmış, ancak KD projeleri ağırlıklı olarak emek gücünün toprak üzerindeki denetimini –yani, emek gücünün yeniden üretiminin sağlandığı koşullar üzerindeki öz denetim- azaltan bir biçimde uygulanmıştır. Bunun öncelikli nedeni, bu projelerin neoliberal devletin sermayeye kaynak yaratmak için devreye soktuğu bir müdahale aracı olma özellikleridir. Dolayısıyla, KD projeleri yoluyla oluş(turul)an toprak rantının bölüşümü -geçmiştekinin aksine- populist bir tutumla değil, alt sınıflardan üst sınıflara yapılan bir aktarım olarak gerçekleşmektedir. 2000'li yıllarda gözlenen bu topludurum içerisinde emek denetimi ile mekan denetimi arasındaki ilişkinin oldukça belirginleştiği açıktır. Buradan hareketle, bu yazının amacı mekan ve emek denetiminin içiçeliği savını tartışmak ve bu iki denetim biçimi arasındaki ilişkinin hem kuramsal temellerini, hem de Manisa örneğinde ampirik içeriğini ortaya koymaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Emek Denetimi, Mekan Denetimi, Emek Denetiminin Mekansallığı, Kentsel Dönüşüm, Servetin Yeniden Dağıtımı

1. INTRODUCTION

The roots of this paper go back to the writer's doctoral dissertation which addressed the politics of local economic development. By challenging the mainstream argument, the thesis basically argued that under conditions of increased inter-urban competition caused by capital's accelerated global movement, localities do not *necessarily* act as coherent units. On the contrary, the structural as well as conjunctural tensions that exist between capital and labour and between different factions of these two broad social classes continue to make local politics a conflictual process. The field survey for the dissertation was conducted in Manisa² between April and August 2008. The survey included questionnaires made with the employers and workers operating in the industrial sector, and semi-structured, in-depth interviews with local politicians, representatives of trade unions and other workers' associations, executive members of Chamber of Trade and Industry and other business associations, chambers of some technical professions as well as unemployed labour. In addition, a comprehensive archive search in three local newspapers was carried out and official reports from local public institutions were obtained in order to complement the data provided from primary sources. Due to the need to delimit the scope of the dissertation, the focus was on the relations of the capitalist class, and the conflict between capital and labour was partially integrated into the discussion. In this paper, rather than the inner contentions of the local capital, the main axis will be the local labour market and the dominant labour process regime in Manisa by adding a *spatial dimension* to the analysis.

As of the mid-1980s, radical changes has been realised in Manisa's local economic structure due to both the restructuring of global capital and the policy shifts in the national economic strategy. The most significant of them has been the takeover of the VESTEL electronics firm by

the Turkish Zorlu Group in 1994. Since then, the firm has built new manufacturing plants in Manisa Organised Industrial Estate (MOIE), which made it the leading industrial firm in the locality. In addition, during the 2000s, it is seen that many non-Turkish multinational companies have opened up plants in MOIE. The development of employment opportunities in the industrial sector has been an important attraction factor for the migrant population which flowed to Manisa city especially from eastern and northern regions of Turkey and nearby provinces during the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, the radical shift in agricultural policies, which has brought major restrictions to the cultivation of some commercial crops like tobacco in the first years of the 2000s, has greatly contributed to the dissolution of the rural population in the Manisa province. In effect, Manisa city has been the main target of this *proletarianised* population.

While successive changes triggered a process of ongoing restructuring in Manisa's local labour market, a wave of neoliberal urban transformation was commenced in Turkey as the single party government of Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power after the general elections of November 2002. Starting from the metropolitan areas such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Antalya, this wave, which swept these areas mainly in the form of 'speculative housing production' and 'gentrification', was expanded to include the whole country by way of a new legislation after the 2011 Erciş (Van) earthquake. A new law, numbered 6306, was enacted on the ground of "the urgent need of a wide-reaching urban transformation process in Turkey for the mitigation of disaster risks". Rather than preparing the legal ground for an effective policy of disaster risk mitigation, this law has consolidated the central state power for the implementation of the neoliberal urbanisation strategy, which has been introduced after the November 2001 and February 2002 economic crises as a part of the national economic recovery scheme (Yeldan, 2013; Balaban; 2011; Uzun, 2006).

² Manisa is a Turkish city in the relatively developed, western part of the country, i.e. the Aegean Region.

Thus, in the last decade, the restructuring of urban space and the redistribution of urban rents among different social classes have gained prominence in determining the living conditions of labourers in Turkey. In other words, the significance of the spatial dimension of social life is made explicit, in terms of its effects both on the relation between capital and labour and the inner-divisions of the working class. Therefore, one of the axioms that can be built from the recent socio-spatial phenomena in Turkey is that the realm of production, which is mostly associated with labour markets and the labour process, is interconnected more than ever with the realm of reproduction, which is generally confined to the provision of urban public services such as housing and transportation. Although commentators in critical urban studies (Lefebvre, 1973; Harvey, 1985) and the labour process theory (Burawoy, 1985) have acknowledged the dialectics of production and reproduction, efforts for building the connections between these two realms have remained one of the relatively less elaborated issues in social sciences. This paper makes an attempt to hopefully provide some accounts on the tangible ways that the field of production ("work") is related to the field of reproduction ("non-work"). Within the content of the paper, the "field of reproduction" is associated with the social construction of local labour markets (Peck, 1996) and the role of space³ in the reproduction of labour as well as capital (Lefebvre, 1991).

Setting the broad conceptual framework by utilising the concepts of 'labour control' and 'spatial control' is thought to be fruitful for the purpose of this study. In this sense, the main argument is that the capital's control over labour is maintained alongside its increased control over the urban space in Turkey as of the initial years of 2000s. The argument rests on the assumption that capital's direct control on labour in the workplace is integrated into

and affected by the dynamics of the control held over (both urban and rural) space by different classes and different factions of these classes. In fact, the development of capitalism and correspondingly the course of capitalist urbanisation involve the 'commodification of labour' in tandem with the 'commodification of space'. It is in this respect that space relations are actually class relations and class relations are inevitably spatial (Harvey, 1985). Since how space is used and organised matter much for capital's control over labor as well as labor's resistance against this control, labor control is intertwined with spatial control.

For instance, the proletarianisation of large number of people during the rapid industrialisation period of the 19th century in Europe was taking place along the development of a vibrant, speculative land and housing market in fastly expanding urban areas. Labour was struggling both against the industrial capitalists for the enhancement of its working conditions as well as against the landlords and the construction capital for better living conditions (Engels, 1992; Harvey, 1985). The introduction of restrictions to the use of private property rights through the institution of urban planning (Dear and Scott, 1981) and the definition of access to housing and urban services within welfare rights in the developed world has enabled labour to have a certain level of control over space, i.e. over the conditions of its own reproduction. By this way, the total control over labour has been alleviated until the effectuation of the neoliberal project as of the mid-1970s.

There surely are cross-country and temporal variations with respect to the definition and exercise of welfare rights (and also their abolition through neoliberal policies), level of the commodification/ privatization of land (Harvey, 2007b), the ongoing negotiation of property rights (Gülöksüz, 2002), the exercise of the eminent domain etc., which directly affect the pattern of power relations around spatial control. However, it is certain that the weakening of a social group's or an individual's control over space amounts to the degradation of the living conditions of that

³ Throughout the paper, 'space' will refer to 'territory' in abstract and 'land' and 'built environment' in concrete senses.

group or individual. The weakening of labour's spatial control under neoliberalism through extensive practices of 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey, 2003) has severe redistributive effects on lower classes. In fact, the 'commodification of space' has been an effective way for transferring wealth and income from lower to upper classes (Harvey, 2007a).

In a study on social inequalities in Turkey, Candaş et al. (2010) asserts that in recent years household strategies for coping with poverty have diminished and the dependence of workers to wage income has accordingly increased. The criminalisation of squatter housing, which has long been an essential element of the non-income social protection mechanism, without an effective social housing policy and the loss of alternative ways of production and consumption such as subsistence farming in urban areas are the main factors behind this societal trend (Candaş et al., 2010; Harvey, 2007b). All in all, labour's lessened control over space caused by neoliberal policies has made it potentially subject to an increased labour control at the workplace as labourers having no alternative subsistence mechanisms at hand are likely to accept the working conditions imposed by the employers, no matter how devastating these conditions are.

For elaborating on the above arguments in an orderly fashion, the paper is organised as follows. The following section includes a short literature review in order to provide details on the theoretical basis of these arguments. In the next section, the prominent features of the local labour market and the hegemonic labour process in Manisa will be presented. The identification of the fault lines in the local labour market in this section is thought to serve as essential inputs for the subsequent section which includes accounts on the interaction between space, labour and capital in Manisa. The last section will cover concluding remarks and insights for further studies.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Spatiality of labour control

Speaking of the capitalist production relations, control over labour by the capitalists has three main functions: a) to secure a certain amount of labour supply b) to control labour process c) the reproduction of the basic relations of production (Peck, 1992). As can be easily inferred from these premises, labour control can neither be seen as a mere economic phenomenon nor be grasped by focusing only on the workplace. In addition, the existence of 'territoriality' at different scales is needed in order to maintain labour control as understood in its broader scope. 'Territoriality', here, is defined as an ongoing process in which different interests and demands are defended, clash with each other and are fulfilled in order to control and enclose specific areas and to keep other interests and demands distant from these areas (Cox, 2002).

Some major factors influential on the building of territoriality with respect to capital's direct/indirect control over labour are:

- the investment trends of global capital;
- the economic and commercial agreements between nation-states as well as immigration and customs policies;
- the geographical distribution of labour and capital due largely to the industrialisation, transportation, settlement and urbanisation policies of the state;
- new forms of production organisation such as home-working as a part of contract manufacturing⁴;
- the 'urban rent' motives of landlords and the construction capital⁵.

⁴ Homeworking in manufacturing industry is a striking example regarding the territoriality of labor control. It mostly draws upon cheap female labour and builds a labour control based on two simultaneous processes: individualisation at the *workplace* and the reproduction of the existing gender relations which to a large extent confine women to *homeplace*

⁵ Harvey (1985) asserts that due to the possibility that an uptrend in labour's expenses may lead to a demand for increase in wage levels, the industrial capitalists generally oppose to changes that landlords and construction capital seek for the boosting of urban rents. However, the introduction of laws enabling more suppressive forms of labour control in the workplace as well as the growth of 'conglomerates' conjoining industrial production, real

As the above examples reveal, the concepts of 'space' and 'power' are key to understanding the formation of territoriality and the role of state has a prominent role in this process (Cox, 2002). In this respect, seeking to identify the spatialised dimensions of labour control, Kelly (2002) has introduced a five-scale labour control strategy utilised by multinational firms operating in Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia. This strategy starts with 'the atomization of the workers' bodies' at the lowest scale and reaches up to the 'spaces of international migration flows' following 'the workplace as a container', 'the industrial enclave' and the 'national bureaucratic/legislative space'. Although Kelly's study is valuable for his expansion of the discussion of labor control to encompass spatial control, the study left little room for labour's struggle for gaining control over space. In order to understand the interactive mechanisms through which labour control is mediated by the 'urban conflict', concrete relations in terms of the use and ownership of land/ built environment must be uncovered. Thus, relevant insights from the field of critical urban studies will be briefly summarized in the next sub-section.

The production- reproduction dialectics in critical urban studies: The significance of the land-labour-capital nexus

Lefebvre (1991) has made a path-breaking contribution to critical urban studies by claiming that the commodification of space has been central to the survival of capitalism and that capitalist urbanisation can best be analysed through the perpetual conflict between the use and exchange value of the built environment. In this sense, it is acknowledged that the question of whether the built environment will be produced as a living space, i.e. for the reproduction of labour, or as

a commodity, i.e. for the reproduction of capital, could only be answered through class struggle. Expanding the scope of class struggle to include the sphere of 'non-work', Lefebvre (1973) developed the concept of 'the reproduction of the relations of production'. He advocated that a true analysis of the capitalist society can be fulfilled by adopting a comprehensive viewpoint that focus on unraveling the different modes of the relation between land, labour and capital, rather than compartmentalising the search into topics such as biologic reproduction, commodity production, consumption and etc. Similarly, Harvey (1985) underlined the 'importance of the control over the organisation and use of space' for power struggles in the society. He, in particular, pointed out the link between spatial control and the reproduction of the existing power relations by analysing the urban development in Paris in the 19th century. Smith's (1982) accounts on the uneven development of capitalism are worth mentioning when the land- labour- capital nexus is in question. He defines capitalist development operating through two contradictory tendencies: "differentiation" and "equalization" of the conditions and levels of development. Tendency towards equalization, i.e. the "transformation of the earth into a universal means of production" (Smith, 1982: 143) stems from the "capitalist imperative of expansion" for the perpetuation of profitability. Contrary to the single focus of equalization tendency, the tendency towards differentiation processes through several axes including the ongoing geographical division of the labour force, spatial concentration of capital, the geographical differentiation of wage levels and the uneven development of the "rent surface on land". Claiming that differentiation of wage levels actually occurs at the regional and international levels, Smith (1982) argues that it is the urban scale at which the differentiation of the rent surface is determinant on the unevenness of the intra-urban spatial development. What is more important is that he identifies two major sources behind the differentiation of the urban rent surface: the functional and social

estate, merchanting, financial services etc. (Harvey, 2007b) have, today, made the inner conflicts of the capitalist class less determinant on the total control over labour.

differentiation in the use of space. In order to contribute to the forthcoming discussion in the next sections, it is essential to note here that urban planning activities are influential on the functional differentiation of space, and that the social differentiation of the built environment along the lines of class and race can be regarded as a form of labour containment in the realm of 'non-work' as such divisions may overlap with the divisions in the labour process.

The production- reproduction dialectics in labour process theory: The significance of the "politics of production" and "local labour control regimes"

By criticising his predecessor, Harry Braverman, for limiting the conceptualisation of labor process to the discrepancy between the planning and implementation of work at the point of production, Michael Burawoy (1985) paved the way for his valuable contribution to the labor process theory. He introduced the concept of the '*politics of production*' which refers to the organisation of the labor process in the reproduction sphere as well as the production sphere. Besides, rather than Marx's accounts on the systematic use of coercion mechanisms by the capitalists for securing the permanence of the manufacturing process, he argued that mechanisms of consent are also largely utilised. In short, Burawoy has expanded the scope of the labor process theory by putting emphasis on the 'reproduction of the social relations of production' in mid-1980's like his counterpart, David Harvey, did in the area of critical urban studies by following Lefebvre.

For Burawoy (1985), labor process is organised within a wider socio-political context and has political and ideological moments; these moments are constructed through the interaction between 'the apparatuses of production' and 'the apparatuses of state'. State apparatuses that can directly act upon the family and community⁶ as well as on the

⁶ This influence is basically exerted through the regulation of the provision of collective services such as education, health, housing and etc.

conditions of work⁷ are influential in the reproduction of the relations of production. Meanwhile, production apparatuses incorporate relations of domination which are born outside the workplace such as gender and ethnic based discrimination. Politics of production is shaped by this evolving interaction between the production and reproduction spheres, and, for Burawoy, it is primarily the role performed by the state in the reproduction of labour which gives rise to the dominant 'production regime' in a particular period. Production regimes, in essence, are formed on the basis of the level of labourers' dependence on wage income. In this sense, social security and other welfare services provided by the state mitigate workers' dependence on wages and have a restraining effect on the use of coercion mechanisms by the employers at the workplace (Burawoy, 1985).

The relative independence of labour's reproduction from participation in the production process is termed as 'hegemonic production regime' by Burawoy (1985) which since late 1970s has given way to 'despotic-hegemonic regimes' due mainly to the gradual degradation of welfare services under the neoliberal project and the conditions of an expanded wave of proletarianisation triggered by the global restructuring of capitalism. The despotic-hegemonic regimes are fostered by labour's vulnerability against capital's increased national and global mobility; the pressure of a potential job loss is not experienced individually by the workers, but as a collective fear of firm's closure and this greatly underpins employers' urge to shift to more despotic labor control strategies (Burawoy, 1985).

By giving a constitutive role to the reproduction of labour in explaining labour control, Burawoy adverts to the spatial

⁷ Here, state's decisive role on the production apparatus through the enactment of legal documents regarding the level of minimum wage, non-wage services, labor-hiring mechanisms, health and safety standards and etc. is emphasised.

dimension and the *local* variations that may occur in the building of the production regimes (Peck, 1996). Yet, Jonas (1996) provides more clear insights on the socio-spatial construction of labour control and the historical and geographical contingency that labour control practices are subject to. Against the backdrop of the assumption that there are territorial imperatives of labour control, he argues that capitalists have recognised the limitations of direct or despotic labour control practices in urban areas and that they encourage “relations of reciprocity to develop around relatively autonomous sites of consumption and labour reproduction” (Jonas, 1996: 335). For capital, building such reciprocities involve adaptation to fit the dominant social relations and power structures of the locality and incorporation of labour’s baggage of consumption habits, work attitudes, local traditions and cultural norms into the workplace (Jonas, 1996: 331). On the other hand, relations of local reciprocity are potential sites of resistance for labour. These arguments which evolve into the concept of ‘local labour control regimes’ is defined as “a fluid and dynamic set of social relations and power structures which are continuously reproduced and/or transformed by forces of domination, control, repression and resistance operating at a variety of scales” (Jonas, 1996: 329).

The importance of this concept for the aim of this paper is threefold. First, it tries to capture the time-space integration and co-ordination of production and labour reproduction. Thus, it is assumed that capital has historically sought for ways to extend its influence over the spheres of labour reproduction and consumption in order to secure greater stability in local labour markets. These *indirect or reciprocal methods of labour control* (such as paternalism and corporate welfarism) (Jonas, 1996) interact with and complement direct methods of control. Second, it grasps labour control as a process in which labour is not a passive agent, but a constitutive element in the building of geographies of labour resistance at different spheres and scales. As a result, the concept of

local labour control regimes plainly recognises the importance of the workers’ struggles occurring outside the workplace as well as the need to integrate an understanding of the processes of industrial and economic change into the resistance built by labour and community organizations against residential displacement and environmental decay (Fitzgerald and Simmons, 1991 cited in Jonas, 1996). Third, the concept is sensitive to the conflicts between different factions of both labour and capital. In particular on this issue, Jonas (1996: 333) asserts that an important drawback for the geographies of labor resistance is “labor segmentation and fragmentation in consumption opportunities” and the “attempts by capital factions to incorporate or co-opt the struggles of community groups against stratification and commodification in sites of consumption”.

3. RELATIONS of SPACE, LABOUR and CAPITAL in MANİSA

Evolution of the local labour market

As stated in the introduction section, one of the assumptions of this paper is that labour markets are socially constructed, i.e. labour markets should in the first place be grasped as political formations and then be seen as economic structures (Peck, 1992). This view amounts to a criticism directed at the neo-classical economic thought which perceives labour markets as shaped by the dynamics of supply-demand relations under conditions of perfect competition. Such assumptions have led neo-classical economists to see labour market inequalities simply as the outcome of a lack in skills and education (Erçan ve Özar, 2000). However, verified by various empirical studies, labour markets are marked with asymmetrical power relations as any other social phenomenon is. Labour markets and labour processes not only inherit existing sources of social inequality (such as gender, age, ethnic origin, religious beliefs and etc.) but enhance and reproduce these inequalities in different ways (Kelly, 2002; Erçan ve Özar, 2000; Peck, 1996).

Keeping these remarks in mind, four different periods⁸ can be identified regarding the trajectory of Manisa's economic development in the Republican Era (Tunç, 2010). The opening of the Manisa OIE in 1971 has been a critical moment for the restructuring of the local economy as it triggered a gradual shift from agricultural towards industrial activities. The establishment of an OIE in an agricultural center like Manisa is related with the national economic strategy of the time, which was centered on import substitution industrialisation (Bedirhanoglu ve Yalman, 2009). In this respect, new industrial activities were directed to places located in the hinterland of the existing industrial centers (Dincer et al., 2003); in our case from İzmir towards Manisa. During the 1970s, the industrial development in Manisa city was pretty slow with only a few active firms which mostly process agricultural raw materials. The structural shift in the national economic strategy from import substitution to export oriented industrialisation in 1980 (Taymaz ve Şenses, 2003) has accelerated the pace of industrial development in the locality. The fast growth in opportunities for industrial employment through the investments of large-scale capital (mostly domestic capital)⁹ and accordingly the emergence of a large supplier industry triggered considerable changes in the local labour market formed by a relatively homogeneous urban population.

Despite the structural changes in the local economy after 1980, the agricultural and industrial capital has continued to co-exist without a significant conflict until mid-1990s (Tunç, 2010) and main industrial firms with major impacts on the local economy were active in building a "hegemonic production

regime"¹⁰. Although this period was relatively mild in terms of labour -capital conflict and the contentions within different factions of these classes, it was during this period that the inner divisions of labour began to take shape. With the flow of a considerable migrant population to the city during the 1980s and 1990s, the city began to be a socially and spatially more fragmented place. Labour's internal divisions are partly related with the political tension between the Turkish and Kurdish ethnic identities, but the main lines of separation are actually shaped within the labour and housing markets. On one hand, the entrance of migrants to the local labour market provides employers with an effective tool for pulling wage levels down as different labour enclaves emerge with the expansion of the 'reserve army of labour'. Besides ethnic tensions, these enclaves are affected by distinctions based on age, sex, gender roles and the time of migration leading to a separation between newcomers and already settled workers. On the other hand, increasing demand for housing has rendered landlords more powerful in Manisa, and rent levels have extremely climbed up. This made clear another line of division for the working class: the position in the local housing market. As will be mentioned later, this fault line is fostered by the urban transformation projects recently introduced in the locality.

The most remarkable turning point affecting the industrial structure and the local labour regime is the takeover of the VESTEL firm by the Zorlu Group in 1994. This firm, which was specialised in the manufacturing of televisions under its previous employer, was expanded under Zorlu Holding's management. This expansion which encompassed a diversification in manufactured goods has continued in a way to include firm's subcontracting agreements with multinational

⁸ 1923-1970; 1971-1979; 1980-1994 and 1995 onwards.

⁹ In the post-1980 period, in accordance with the national tendency, textile and garment firms increased in number in Manisa; however, the boost in some sub-sectors like electrical-electronics, metal and machines has been more influential on local labour market changes. In this sense, VESTEL electrical-electronics firm and RAKS Electronics firm that were opened up by the first half of the 1980s are significant.

¹⁰ The survey data has led to the conclusion that the local labour control regime was built more through consent than by oppression by the main firms until mid-1990s. The words of the executive manager of Manisa OIE well illustrate the point: "Workers of the RAKS firm were the most privileged workers in this industrial estate. They were in real good conditions such as having private health insurances, memberships to sports club and etc."

electronics firm such as Sony, Toshiba and Hitachi as of 2003. Today, VESTEL firms employ half of the total workforce in the Manisa OIE and are in business relation with a considerable number of supplier firms. On the other hand, Zorlu Group has been a pioneer in the transformation of the earlier hegemonic production regime into a despotic-hegemonic one. The high levels of labour turnover which designate firm's labour policy of temporary employment, the decrease in wage rates due partially to VESTEL firms' increasing use of sub-contracting in labour recruitment, the gradual cuts in non-wage support that the firm earlier offered to its workers, the omission of overtime payments and the reorganisation of the labour process within the plants in a manner to include more oppressive mechanisms are indicators of a new production regime built in Manisa since the mid-1990s. What is more striking is that not only the supplier firms working for VESTEL, but multinationals -for eg. BOSCH- which can be regarded as relatively good examples concerning labour control began to be affected by Zorlu Group's local production strategy. In this sense, some of the interviewees stated that most of the other main firms are going after Zorlu Group in imposing harder working conditions on their employees.

The prominent features of the local labour market

The questionnaire data that will be presented in this and following sub-sections will be complemented by the national level data on workers in the manufacturing sector. Where appropriate, data obtained through semi-structured interviews will also be used¹¹. It is found out that most of the workers who attended to the questionnaire survey are at their 20s and 30s. The share of the workers

belonging to the category of "21-29 years old" among the total is 39%; it is 28.1% for those between 30-39 years old. While these figures are pretty close to those of Turkey, it is seen that manufacturing firms in Manisa employ a higher number of young employees; the share of workers between 15-19 years old is 12.9% for Manisa and 8.7% for Turkey.

Female workers constitute 26.7% of all workers in Manisa sample and this share is considerably above the national figure in 2008, which is 19.56%. Survey data show that the national tendency for women to be withdrawn from employment - especially from manufacturing sector- after their 20s, which usually means after they got married (Buğra, 2010; Ansal et al., 2000), is not valid for Manisa. It is seen that 28.6% of female workers and 25.7% of male workers are between 30 and 39 years old in Manisa. When the distribution of female and male workers according to their marital status is considered, an apparent divergence of survey sample from the national population is observed. 57.7% of male workers and 51.1% of female workers are married in Manisa; however, the national figures for respective shares of male and female workers are 73.22% and 52.11%. This result about the considerable size of unmarried male workers in Manisa also relates with the increase in the number of "single houses" which is an essential factor affecting the dramatic rise in the housing rental market.

Table 1 displays that manufacturing workers in Manisa city have a higher educational attainment when compared to Turkey. Another divergence regarding educational profile points out to a clear gender bias in Manisa's labour market. While there is no meaningful difference between female and male manufacturing workers concerning their educational attainment at the national level, female workers seem to be faced with an *underemployment* situation in Manisa when compared with their male counterparts (see Table 2).

¹¹ 210 workers from four different industrial estates in Manisa responded to the questionnaire. 32.4% of them worked in Muradiye Middle-Size Industrial Estate, 29% in Manisa Small-Scale Industrial Estate, 23.2% in Manisa Organised Industrial Estate and 15.4% in Manisa Middle-Size Industrial Estate. Semi-structured interviews were made with a total number of forty-three interviewees, thirteen of which were labourers either working at the time of the interviews, unemployed or retired.

Table 1. The distribution of industrial workers in Turkey and Manisa city according to their educational attainment (%)

Educational attainment	TURKEY	MANİSA
Illiterate	1.13	-
Literate but finished no school	3.21	0.5
Primary school	49.8	31.1
Junior high school	11.48	12.0
High school	10.46	15.8
Vocational high school	15.02	25.8
Junior college+ University	8.9	14.3
Master's degree	-	0.5
Total	100	100

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr; Manisa Field Survey (2008)

Table 2. The distribution of industrial workers in Turkey and Manisa city according to their educational attainment and gender (%)

Educational status	TURKEY		MANİSA	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	0.65	3.14	-	-
Literate but finished no school	2.35	6.76	0.6	-
Primary school	50.24	48.06	32.8	22.9
Junior high school	12.47	7.37	14.4	-
High school	10.06	12.08	13.2	28.6
Vocational high school	15.87	11.47	25.9	25.8
Junior college+ University	8.36	11.11	6.3	5.7
Master's degree	-	-	0.6	-
Total		100		100

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr; Manisa Field Survey (2008)

Although female workers are more educated, they are paid considerably less than male workers. According to the Official Gazette archive, net minimum wage was 503.26 TL at the time of the field survey¹². Then, it appears that at the time of the questionnaire 73.5% of female workers were employed at a rate around minimum wage¹³ while only 29.5% of male workers are paid at this rate and most of them got higher wages (see Table 3)

¹² Officially, this wage rate was valid between 01.07.2008 and 31.12.2008.

¹³ The category of 400-600 TL personal income is taken into account.

Table 3. The distribution of industrial workers in Manisa city according to their personal income and gender (%)

	Male	Female
0-400 TL	4.6	-
400-600 TL	29.5	73.5
600-800 TL	28.3	20.6
800-1000 TL	15.0	-
1000-1200 TL	13.9	-
1200-2000 TL	5.2	2.9
2000-2500 TL	1.2	2.9
More than 2500 TL	2.3	.-
Total	100	100

Source: Manisa Field Survey (2008)

In addition to the forty-three local people interviewed, the field survey also included meetings with thirty small and middle-sized firm owners during which a combination of questionnaire and semi-structured interview techniques were used. In those meetings, firm owners were asked "which criteria they prioritise in recruiting new workers" and the answers are presented in Table 4 below. While most of them give priority to skill and experience, it is striking that some of the employers mention subjective criteria such as "trial-and-error", "worker's need for work and money" and "to be from Manisa/ not to be from Manisa". Recruitment through "trial-and-error" can be related to the low skill level that the job requires. "To be from Manisa" is a criterion which partly designates discrimination based on ethnicity and the criteria of "worker's need for work and money" and "not to be from Manisa" provide evidence for the fact that some employers do prefer workers who lack non-wage income sources¹⁴.

¹⁴ To a large extent, "to be from Manisa" displays the preference of employers for recruiting non-Kurdish workers. On the other hand, the reluctance of some firm owners for employing workers from Manisa is mainly related with the fact that an important part of the native labour population in the city has agricultural land surrounding the city.

Table 4. Main criteria used by employers for recruiting new workers

Main criteria for recruiting new workers	Number
Experience in industrial sector/ Skill level/ References owned and eligibility for the work	14
Work ethics/ Qualities of hard-working and handiness	5
Trial and error	3
Being in need of work and money	2
Being from Manisa	2
Being not from Manisa	1
Being healthy	1

Source: Manisa Field Survey (2008)

The questionnaire form was prepared in a way to obtain brief accounts on labour process. One of the most remarkable findings in this sense is that while the average of total employment period among workers is 12.5 years, the average of number of years employed under a national social security system is 9.4. In parallel, only 34.2% of the workers stated that they have been registered to the national social security system since the beginning of their careers. Another significant finding concerning the existing labour process regime in Manisa is the very low level of union membership among workers. 94.2% of the all workers are not a member of a formal labour organisation and 85.7% of them do *not* consider joining one in the near future. 33.3% of those that do not consider a trade union membership stated that "they do not see it necessary", 18.4% claimed that "they do not think that union membership will do them better in the workplace", 13.3% told that "the employer is against the unions" and 11.7% stated that "they do not have sufficient knowledge of the trade unions". In addition to the lack of a formal organisation, there is hardly any other solidarity mechanism operating to support workers; only four out of 210 workers declared that there is an internal system built within the firm that provides non-income support to workers.

The effects of migration on local labour market

As stated before, during the 1980s and 1990s, Manisa city has been a target for the migrant

population from settlements both within and outside the provincial borders. Since mid-2000s, the pace of in-migration to the city as well as to the province has considerably slowed down and even a trend of reverse migration has begun. As the survey data displays, this trend is particularly valid for intra-provincial migration. A part of the people who previously migrated to Manisa city from the rural areas of the province in 1990s and early 2000s began returning back to their villages. As for the survey sample, it is seen that 54.3% of the workers are *not* born in Manisa city. 43% of these workers are born in towns and villages within the Manisa province, 23.4% in places within the Aegean Region and 33.6% in other provinces of the country.

The cross-tabulation of the personal income and place of birth shows that those who were born in nearby towns and villages formed the group of lowest paid workers. 47.9% of the workers who were born in the "towns and villages in Manisa province" belong to the two lowest personal income categories, while this ratio is 42.6% within those born in Manisa city, 37.9% among those born in provinces of the Aegean Region rather than Manisa and 25.8% within those born outside of the Aegean Region (see Table 5 below). This result indicates that workers who were recently withdrawn from subsistence farming, i.e. who were lately proletarianised, constitute the most disadvantaged group in the labour market as

they are in a weaker position concerning access to formal organisations (trade unions) or informal networks (such as colleagues, friends and relatives active in the labour market). This position renders them an easy target for employers seeking for ways to minimize labour costs.

Here of, an engineer holding an executive position in a middle-sized firm stated that “there are lots of previous farmers who were obliged to work in manufacturing jobs and most of them accept to work under

inconvenient conditions in return for being registered to the national social security system”. Another engineer answered that it is “the large number of people dropping out of agricultural activities” when asked the question of “what are the main problems that would affect Manisa’s economic future?”. He further commented that under conditions of a harsh competition (both for labour and capital) marking the local industrial structure, the non-wage income obtained from small farming has been more essential for workers’ subsistence.

Table 5. The distribution of industrial workers in Manisa city according to their place of birth and personal income (%)

		Place of Birth			
		Manisa provincial center	Towns and villages in Manisa province	Provinces of the Aegean Region or provinces neighbouring Manisa	Outside of the Aegean Region provinces or the provinces neighbouring Manisa
Personal income	0-400 TL	4	2.2	10.3	-
	400-600 TL	38.6	45.7	27.6	25.8
	600-800 TL	29.7	23.9	20.7	29.0
	800-1000 TL	12.9	17.4	10.3	6.5
	1000-1200 TL	8.9	8.7	10.3	25.8
	1200-2000 TL	3	2.2	13.8	6.5
	2000-2500 TL	-	-	6.9	3.2
	More than 2500 TL	3	-	-	3.2
Total		100	100	100	100

Source: Manisa Field Survey (2008)

The finding that workers who migrated from outside the Aegean Region are paid higher when compared to natives or those from nearby settlements contradicts with the general tendency that migrant workers are mostly employed in secondary jobs, i.e. temporary jobs with no social security (Peck, 1996). Hence, it is more appropriate to claim that migrants are divided within themselves according to their positions in the labour market. At least in Manisa, it is observed that at one side there is a group of “qualified and technical migrant workers” and on the other side is a much larger group of “unqualified migrant labour” who is struggling even for having access to formal jobs. As manifested in the interview with the headman, people

residing in Atatürk neighbourhood¹⁵ in the peripheral Horozköy district are having difficulties in finding jobs in industrial estates of Manisa. The headman stated that the men of the neighbourhood are mainly employed in the construction sector¹⁶ and women in the agricultural sector as daily workers; he added that some of the young people were employed in the nearby small-scale firms of the leather industry, which is one of the sub-sectors having physically most compelling jobs. This is a clear example of how employers with

¹⁵ A neighbourhood densely inhabited by migrants, most of whom are Kurdish people.

¹⁶ Construction sector is worldwide one of the foremost sectors in terms of high level informal employment and easy access by the migrant workers (Akpınar, 2009).

different labour needs exploit different labour enclaves within the socio-territorial structure of localities, which is often uneven and segregated (Jonas, 1996).

The changing property relations in Manisa

Jonas (1996) mentions that at times of a crisis of labour control and the potential collapse of the local labour control regime, the industrial capital may intervene in the spheres of consumption and labour reproduction in order to restabilise the local conditions of labour control. Similarly, Harvey (1985) states that in the early years of the industrial revolution, industrialists provided cheap housing for their workers in some "model communities" or they sided by labor regarding their demands for the provision of public housing. While such instances of hegemonic forms of indirect labor control may occasionally occur today, the rise of neoliberal state and the strengthening of monopoly capital in the form of conglomerates have resulted in the emergence of more despotic forms of labor control in the reproduction sphere. Urban transformation projects (UTPs) with forced evictions and displacements as almost indispensable parts of the project process (Tuna and Kuyucu, 2010; Kurtuluş, 2006; Türkün, 2011) and the privatisation of common/public land (Harvey, 2007b) are clear examples of such labour control strategies, which result in the gradual loss of labour's spatial control over its living conditions. While most of the UTPs implemented all over the world jeopardise people's right to affordable housing, they have become a channel for transferring urban wealth from lower to upper classes (Tuna and Kuyucu, 2010; Harvey, 2007b). On one hand, the degradation of labour's control over its living space, which is an essential element of the declining social wage (Standing, 2009), renders it more vulnerable against direct forms of labor control in the workplace. On the other hand, redistribution of urban rents through UTPs fosters the inner fragmentation within the labour class as it involves a division along the lines of different legal status for property

rights¹⁷. Moreover, divisions regarding property ownership in the reproduction sphere are likely to overlap with the segmentation that already exists in the local labour market.

The new urban development plan proposed for the Manisa city seems to initiate a process of successive UTPs which may result in a deepened segmentation in the local labour market. Before going into the details of the plan, findings on ownership of real estate among the survey sample will briefly be presented. As mentioned before, ownership of agricultural land has become a local mechanism of labour control (Jonas, 1996) in Manisa. This was implied in the words of some interviewees who stated that -particularly with reference to the native population- "labourers in Manisa can be picky about jobs" or that "Manisa's people are lazy", and one of the root causes of this situation was declared as the opportunity for labourers to engage in small-scale agriculture on their own land. According to the survey findings, 33% of all workers have their own property, and 55% of them stated that not themselves but their parents have real estate. As expected, house and land ownership is highest among those born in Manisa city (37.4%) and 35% of those whose parents have real estate declared that it includes agricultural land.

By October 2013, the previous municipal administration, which was in power between March 2009 and March 2014, introduced a 1/5000 scale development plan for Manisa city surrounded by actively used agricultural land. Due to the objections raised mostly by the inhabitants of the peripheral neighbourhoods, the plan was rejected at the second time of its negotiation by the municipal council. However, a strong will to commence a process of wide-reaching spatial restructuring seem to gain prominence in the local political agenda; yet, transformation projects began in some

¹⁷ In this sense, the definition of "rightful residents" is crucial. In most cases tenants are excluded from this definition and although counted as rightful residents those who do not have full title deeds still remain in a more vulnerable position.

areas. Therefore, although the development plan is not in use for the time being, it is quite highly that a similar plan will be introduced in the near future. For this reason, it is reasonable to evaluate the possible socio-spatial consequences of this latest proposed plan in

Manisa. The phases of the plan and the distribution of the workers in the survey sample according to the neighbourhoods they reside in are presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2 respectively.

Figure 1. Phases of 1/ 5000 scale Revision and Additional Development Plan of Manisa

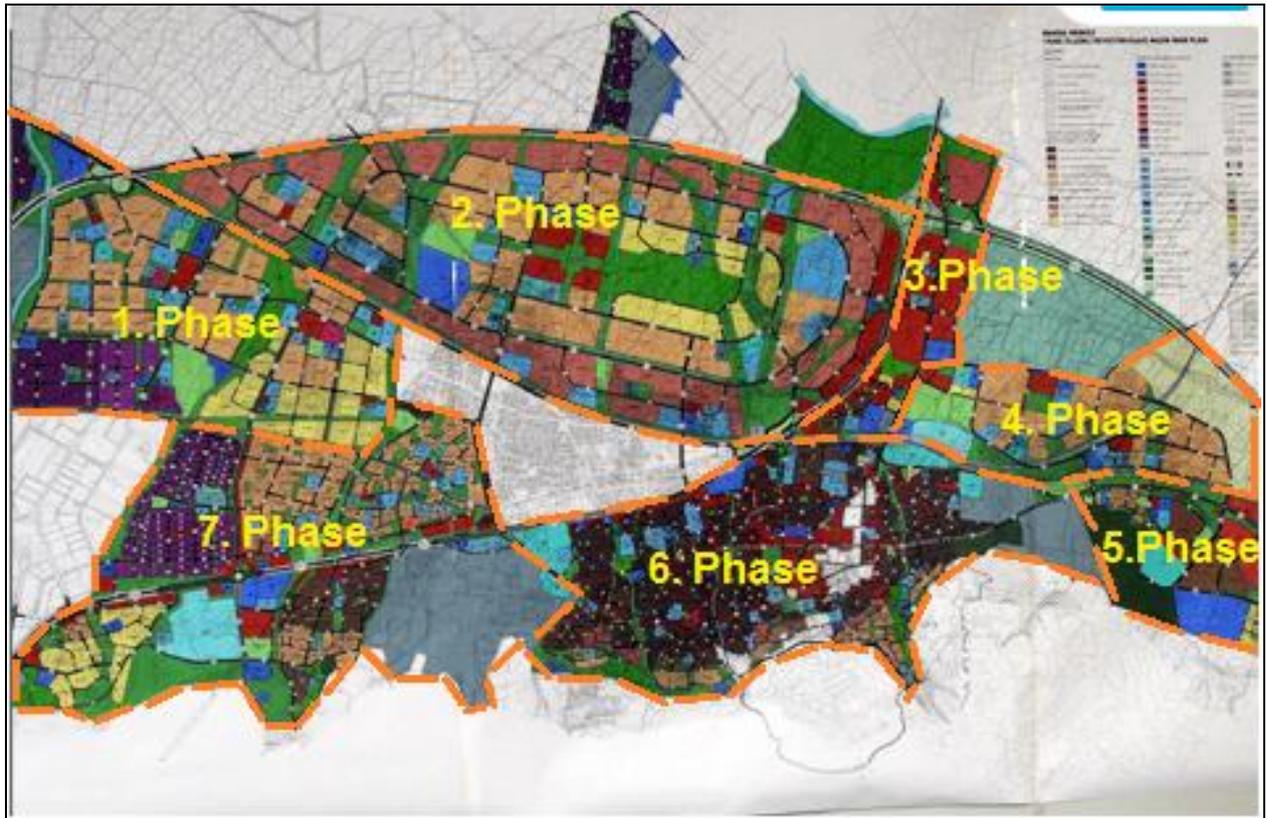
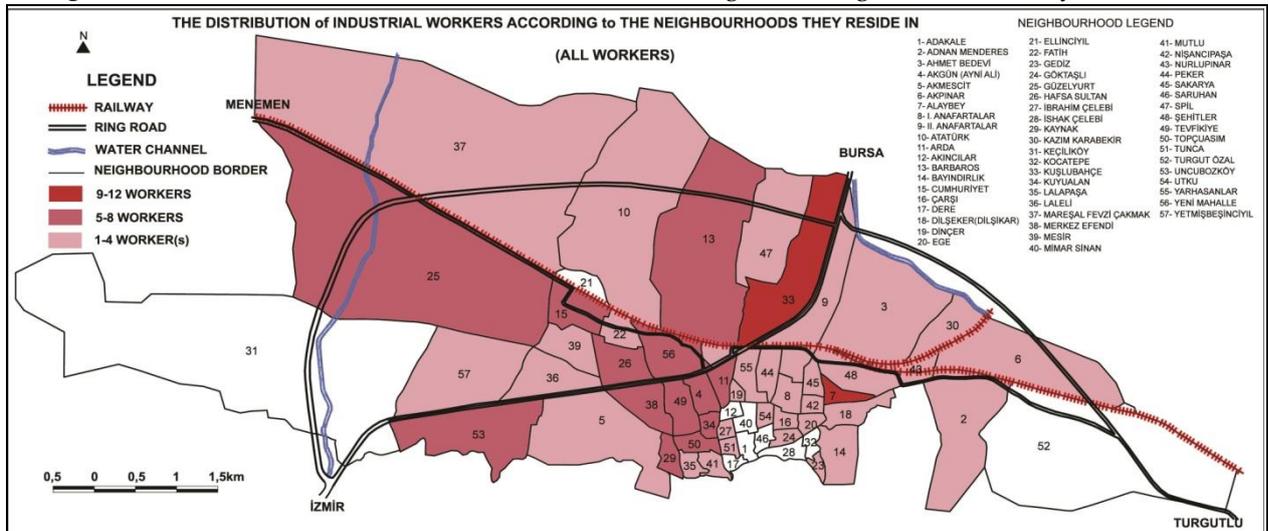


Figure 2. The distribution of industrial workers according to the neighbourhoods they reside in



Source: Manisa Field Survey (2008)

Industrial districts are located to the north-west of the city and therefore there are relatively less workers from eastern neighbourhoods (except for Alaybey neighbourhood- no.7) (See Figure 2). Workers in the survey sample are mostly inhabited in Barbaros (no.13) and Kuşlubahçe (no. 13) neighbourhoods at the north of the railway dividing the city into two along the east-west axis. Labourers residing in Atatürk neighbourhood (no. 10) seem to be weakly integrated into the local industrial labor market and this result verifies the words of the headman presented in the previous subsection. Moreover, eastern neighbourhoods such as Kazım Karabekir (no. 30), Nurlupınar (no. 43), Akpınar (no. 6), Adnan Menderes (no. 2) and Turgut Özal (no. 52), which are informally built by the migrant population as of 1980s, are other neighbourhoods densely populated by labourers who are excluded from the formal job market. Besides a large population excluded from the primary labor market, these neighbourhoods inhabit most of the lowest paid industrial workers (see Appendix 1). The plan in question mainly targets the transformation of these neighbourhoods to the north of the railway and to the south-east of the city via radically proposed land use changes (see Figure 1) such as new commercial districts, large scale recreational areas and education campus in addition to new residential developments (Manisa Belediyesi Plan ve Proje Müdürlüğü, 2012).

Through alterations in the use of urban space and the legalisation of the existing unauthorised or partially authorised¹⁸ neighbourhoods, the plan brings about a significant change in the urban rent surface.

¹⁸ The property structure in such informal settlements is generally highly complex. Some of the residents are full owners with title deeds; some have *tapu tahsis* documents which enable them to have legal property rights while some of them are simply 'occupiers' or tenants which form the two most vulnerable groups in terms of the socio-economic outcomes of the UTPs.

The newly proposed land uses as well as the upgrading of the physical environment cause dramatic increases in the economic values of the existing informal settlements. The crucial point here is the redistribution of this additional rent among different social groups. The Turkish urban experience during the 2000s has shown that UTPs have been the primary intervention tool of the neoliberal state in order to 'capitalise' urban space and been quite successful in channeling urban rents to different factions of capital and strong landlords, namely to the 'urban entrepreneurs'¹⁹. However, as Tuna and Kuyucu (2010) demonstrate for two UTPs in İstanbul, the grassroots movements developed around resistance to such projects have important effects on their implementation. The numerous objections made to the development plan can be regarded as the pioneering act of a possible collective resistance against future UTPs in Manisa. On the other hand, there are essential factors influential on the weakening of collective resistances against the UTPs. Those residents with little or no legal securities depending on their property status tend to accept the project terms imposed by the public-private partnership implementing the UTP (Tuna and Kuyucu, 2010). Thus, depending on the property structure and the existing pattern of social relations, different reactions are likely to emergence in different neighbourhoods which are under instant pressure of an urban transformation process in Manisa.

All in all, their ambiguous property structures make informally developed urban

¹⁹ One of the distinguishing features of the contemporary urbanisation is the rise of the 'entrepreneurial state' (Harvey, 1989), which is observed both at the local and national tiers of government. For instance, as the main landlord and the biggest contractor of the country, Mass Housing Association (MHA) has a leading role regarding the 'shift from a populist to a fully formalised and commodified urban regime' (Tuna and Kuyucu, 2010) in Turkey since 2002. Therefore, 'urban entrepreneurs' include both public and private actors, which mostly collaborate under 'public-private partnerships'.

neighbourhoods often inhabited by the working class as the primary target of UTPs. Thus, these projects may easily become a local mechanism of labor control both directly and indirectly. Direct forms of labour control through UTPs may occur by the entrance of conglomerate capital into such projects or through explicit pressures put by industrial capital on labour for their consent to lower wages²⁰. Indirect forms, on the other hand, may include the utilisation of the inner divisions of labor which are deepened by the UTPs²¹ or by way of increased debt burdens for the working class²², which is an indicator of the hegemonic power of finance capital. As different labour groups hold different property/ tenant status and there are different social dynamics regarding the interaction of local inhabitants, there can be diverse trajectories for the implementation of the UTPs as well as the organisation of collective resistance against them. In this sense, the observed ethnic separation in the local labour market which seems to be correlated with the property structure to a large extent is likely to be among the basic dynamics determining the course of UTPs in Manisa. Besides, while the conversion of agricultural land surrounding the city into urban land may render a group of working class families to acquire urban rent, this conversion, in general, amounts to an accelerated process of proletarianisation and to the increased dependence of labour to wage income.

²⁰ Engels (1992) stated that during the period of rural domestic industry in Germany in the 19th century, most of the workers own their houses and industrial activity was in conjunction with horticulture or small-scale agriculture. However, as the large-scale industry has developed, house and land ownership which provided the labourers with an advantage to enhance their living conditions turned out to be a critical reason for the pressures of the industrialists to reduce wage levels (Engels, 1992).

²¹ As Harvey (1985) asserts, under conditions in which a part of the labour class become *petite landlord* the reproduction of this particular group begin to depend on the degradation or permanence of the existing conditions of reproduction for the rest of the labour class.

²² UTPs leave a part of the working class under the obligation of paying housing credits while for the other part they cause an increase in living costs leading these working class families to get into more debts.

In concrete, UTPs may trigger crucial and often negative changes in worker's position in the local labour market. Those who experience processes of dispossession due to the redefinition of property relations easily become potential sources of cheap labour. On the other hand, depending on to where they are replaced within the urban area, workers may be faced with longer commutes which is likely to negatively affect their performance in the workplace. Even worse, especially those who are engaged in the informal sector may be drawn away from employment opportunities as experienced in the case of Sulukule and potentially in Tarlabaşı districts in İstanbul. Besides, women, broadly perceived to have a 'supplementary' role in earning the family income, can be withdrawn from the labour market if their families are situated among the 'winners' of the UTPs. In short, the changes taking place in land-labour relations through rapid and intense processes of socio-spatial restructuring via UTPs, as well as agricultural policies and institutional arrangements²³, are translated into the existing dynamics of local labour market and as such become a constitutive element in the construction of the local labour control regime.

4. CONCLUSION

Building upon the assumptions that every form of labour control has certain 'spatiality' and spatial relations, which at the first glance may seem neutral, are actually class relations, this paper made an attempt to uncover the interaction between spatial control and labour control. Such an attempt was thought to be meaningful as the proliferation of 'roll-out

²³ The recent example of such arrangements is the redefinition of the local administrative borders in some Turkish provinces via the law numbered 6360, widely known as the 'metropolitan municipality law'. The law has largely extended the areas legally defined as 'urban' which is critical for the conversion of existing land uses. In other words, it facilitates the realisation of the construction demands of capital on agricultural land as well as forest areas and coastal zones.

neoliberalism' (Mayer, 2012) under AKP governments during the 2000s in Turkey has mainly proceeded through two simultaneous and interrelated processes of restructuring. The first one concerns the restructuring of labour markets, which encompasses the introduction of a juridico-political ground for the extension of highly flexible forms of workplace relations and a new wave of proletarianisation due mainly to macro-economic policy choices. Without dispute, these major elements of labour market restructuring render the working class in a more vulnerable position vis-à-vis capital. The second process of restructuring relates to the intense commodification of land and housing markets through the creation of new property rules, exchange mechanisms and physical spaces (Tuna and Kuyucu, 2010) which are to a large extent facilitated by UTPs.

The remaking of land and housing markets by way of the strong will and intervention of the neoliberal state amount to the considerable loss of spatial control by the working class who are for the most part faced with forced evictions and dis/replacements as a result of the UTPs (Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008; Türkün, 2011). The weakening of working class's control over the conditions of its reproduction is triggered by a shift in the underlying mentality of the urbanization policy in Turkey. For a long period, Turkish urbanisation, like many other Third World countries, proceeded through a process of "incomplete commodification of land and the partial application of property and zoning rules" (Tuna and Kuyucu, 2010). This, in a sense, meant that the (re)distribution of urban rents were taking place in a more inclusive manner and that the significance of the 'use value' of urban space was not totally disregarded. While this picture began to change as of the early years of 1980s, the commercialisation of land and housing markets has made its peak during the 2000s and in the same period urban transformation policy has been designed in a way to enable the transfer of public assets and the ownership/ possession rights over land to certain classes (Kurtuluş, 2006). In other

words, the populist regime in land/ housing markets has come to an end (Tuna and Kuyucu, 2010) and the rise of an 'urban growth coalition' comprised of state institutions, construction & finance capital and big landlords (Keyder, 2011; Türkün, 2011) was realised. Meanwhile, flexible implementation of zoning and planning rules were sustained, but this time predominantly for pursuing the interests of the construction and finance capital (Tunç, 2013).

In short, beneath the socio-spatial restructuring described above lies the co-commodification of labour and land. This causal process is accompanied by the use of both flexibility and coercion; flexibility works in favor of the capitalist class while coercion has become the basic strategy for the restoration of the class power of the economic elites through the neoliberal project (Harvey, 2007a), which has indeed developed as 'a form of suppression' (Özkazanç, 2005: 2). Within this context, Manisa provides us with various examples of the changing relation between land-labour-capital and how is translated into an intensified labour control. As of mid-1990s, the development of a 'hegemonic-despotic' form of local labour control regime due to the restructuring of local industrial capital towards the dominance of large-scale, multinational firms; the rapid proletarianisation of the rural population and the existence of labour enclaves which are often identified with ethnic and gender based differentiation as well as the ownership of property (agricultural land in particular) is observed. The recent pressure for urban transformation in Manisa has evoked the crystallisation of labour's inner division with regard to property ownership as the transformation process entails the definition of different groups of 'right holders' based on the legal status of their properties. What is important is that such divisions are likely to overlap with already existing ethnic and gender based divisions in the local labour market. All in all, like in many other Turkish cities, a more despotic local labour control

regime and common patterns of neoliberal urbanisation prevail in Manisa, and the city offers examples of the interaction between spatial and labour control as made evident in employers' reluctance for employing workers who own agricultural land. The role of space on the intensification of capital's control over labour seem to gain significance as the issue of urban transformation has already had prominence on the local economic and political agenda. While Manisa is no exception with regard to exposure to the effects of neoliberal restructuring, there are surely locally variant socio-spatial structures²⁴ that designates the form of the interaction between spatial and labour control as well as the separate development of these two areas. The existence of vast agricultural land surrounding the city, for example, is just one peculiar aspect which doubtlessly has significance for the determination of the power relations with regard to spatial control among different social groups in Manisa.

Thus, elaborating on the issue of the link between spatial control and labour control requires a thorough search on land-labour-capital relations in different localities. This kind of a comprehensive survey may encompass three main sets of research questions given below:

- Identifying the main traits of *land-labour-capital relations in the locality*: What are the prevalent ways of the 'commodification of local land'? What is the structure of the 'urban growth coalition'? How do local capital involve in construction activities and real estate development within the locality? If any, what are the controversies between different factions of capital with regard to urban development? How do working class relates with land and what kind of a property structure exists in working class neighbourhoods?

- Exposing the basic features of *spatial restructuring*: What are the basic strategies and discourses utilised by local state institutions in the implementation of the UTPs? Is coercion or consent prevails in these strategies? If developed, what are the main characteristics of the resistance against the UTPs with regard to its participants, the repertoire of contention and the potential fault lines among the participants?

- Exhibiting the *connections between spatial and labour control*: What are the leading factors behind the 'commodification of local labour'? Do the local industrialists explicitly or implicitly tap into the property ownership of workers to lower the wage levels down? In this sense, what kind of work-place experience do workers have? How do (high) rental prices for apartments affect wage levels and, if any, what actions do the local industrialists take to keep them lower? Do the inner divisions of local labour market overlap with the new divisions created through the process of spatial restructuring?

For the last word, I hope that this and further studies on the subject will open the door to more interdisciplinary research for grasping the social reality that move towards an increased gap in the living conditions of the lower and upper social classes as well as enhancing the struggles for closing this gap.

²⁴ Local variations in the realisation of neoliberalism is well met by the concept of "actually existing neoliberalisms" developed by Peck et al. (2009).

REFERENCES

- Akpınar, (2009) "Türkiye'ye yönelik düzensiz göçler ve göçmenlerin inşaat sektöründe enformel istihdamı" [Irregular migration to Turkey and informal employment of immigrants in the construction sector] Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi.
- Ansal, H.; Küçükçifçi, S.; Onaran, Ö.; Orbay, B.Z. (2000). *Türkiye emek piyasasının yapısı ve işsizlik* [The labour market structure of Turkey and unemployment]. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayını.
- Balaban, O. (2011). İnşaat Sektörü Neyin Lokomotifini? [Locomotive of what is the construction sector?] *Birikim*, no. 270, pp. 19-26.
- Bartu- Candan, A. and Kolluoğlu, B. (2008) Emerging spaces of neoliberalism: A gated town and a public housing project in İstanbul, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 39: 5-46.
- Bedirhanoğlu, P. ve Yalman, G. L. (2009). Neoliberal küreselleşme sürecinde Türkiye'de 'yerel' sermaye: Gaziantep, Denizli ve Eskişehir'den izlenimler [Local capital in Turkey in the process of neoliberal globalisation: Impressions from Gaziantep, Denizli ve Eskişehir], *Praksis* sayı 19: 241-266.
- Buğra, A. (2010). *Toplumsal cinsiyet, işgücü piyasaları ve refah rejimleri: Türkiye'de kadın istihdamı* [Gender, labour markets and welfare regimes: Female employment in Turkey]. Proje raporu, TÜBİTAK Proje No: 108K524
- Burawoy, M. (1985). *The politics of production*. London: Verso.
- Candaş, A.; Buğra, A.; Yılmaz, V.; Günseli, S.; Yakut Çakar, B. (2010) Türkiye'de eşitsizlikler: Kalıcı eşitsizliklere genel bir bakış [Inequalities in Turkey: A glance at permanent inequalities], Haziran 2010, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu.
- Cox, K. R. (2002). *Political geography: Territory, state and society*. Oxford & Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Dear, M. and Scott, A.J. (1981). *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*. London and New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Dincer, B.; Özaslan, M.; Kvasoğlu, T. (2003). *İllerin ve bölgelerin sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişlik sıralaması araştırması* [Survey for the socio-economic development ranking of provinces and regions]. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Yayınları, no. 2671.
- Engels, F. (1992). *Konut sorunu* [The housing question]. Ankara: Sol Yayınları.
- Ercan, F. ve Özar, Ş. (2000). Emek piyasası teorileri ve Türkiye'de emek piyasası çalışmalarına eleştirel bir bakış [Theories of labour market and a critical approach to labour market studies in Turkey], *Toplum ve Bilim* sayı 86: 22-71.
- Gülöksüz, E. (2002) Negotiation of property rights in urban land in İstanbul, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 26.2: 462-76.
- Harvey, D. (2007a) A brief history of neoliberalism. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2007b). Neoliberalism as creative destruction, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 610 no.1: 21-44.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The new imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism *Geografiska Annaler*, 71 (1): 3-17.
- Harvey, D. (1985). *Consciousness and the urban experience*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Jonas, A.E.G. (1996) Local labour control regimes: Uneven development and the social regulation of production, *Regional Studies* vol. 30 (4), pp. 323-338.
- Kelly, P. F. (2002). Spaces of labour control: Comparative perspectives from Southeast Asia, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* vol. 27, no. 4: 395-411.
- Keyder, Ç. (2011). 'Yirmi Birinci Yüzyıla Girenken İstanbul' in *İstanbul Nereye? Küresel Kent, Kültür, Avrupa* [Orienting İstanbul, Cultural capital of Europe?] (eds.) D. Göktürk, L. Soysal, İ. Türel, pp. 49-61.
- Kurtuluş, H. (2006). Kentsel Dönüşüme Modern Kent Mitinin Çöküşü Çerçevesinden Bakmak [Evaluating urban transformation from the perspective of the descent of modern city myth], *Planlama* vol. 2006/2: 7-11.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford ve Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1973). *The survival of capitalism*. New York: Saint Martin's Press.

Manisa Belediyesi Plan ve Proje Müdürlüğü (2012). *Manisa merkez ilave ve revizyon nazım imar planı plan açıklama raporu* [Report of annotations for the additional and revision development plan for Manisa city].

Mayer, M. (2012) 'The "right to the city" in urban social movements' in Cities for people, not for profit- Critical urban theory and the right to the city. (eds.) N.Brenner, P.Marcuse, M. Mayer, pp. 63-85. London and New York: Routledge.

Özkazanç, A. (2005). *Türkiye'nin neo-liberal dönüşümü ve liberal düşünce* [The neo-liberal transformation in Turkey and the liberal thought]. Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Gelişme ve Toplum Araştırmaları Merkezi Tartışma Metinleri Serisi, no.85.

Peck, J.; Theodore, N.; Brenner, N. (2009). Neoliberal Urbanism: Models, Moments, Mutations, *SAIS Review* vol. XXIX no.1 (Winter-Spring 2009).

Peck, J. (1992) Labor and agglomeration: Control and flexibility in local labor markets, *Economic Geography* vol. 68 no. 4: 325-347.

Peck, J. (1996) *Work-place: The social regulation of labor markets*. New York: Guilford Press.

Smith, N. (1982). Gentrification and uneven development, *Economic Geography* vol. 58, no. 2: 139-155.

Standing, G. (2009) Küresel dönüşümde emeğin yeniden metalaşması [Labour recommodification in the global transformation] (pp.101-138) içinde 21. Yüzyılda Karl Polanyi'yi okumak (der.) A. Buğra ve K. Ağartan. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Taymaz, E. ve Şenses, F. (2003). Unutulan Bir Toplumsal Amaç: Sanayileşme Ne Oluyor? Ne Olmalı? [A disappearing social target: What is happening to industrialisation?]. *ODTÜ Ekonomik Araştırmalar Merkezi Tartışma Metinleri*.

Tunç, G. (2013) Place branding as a strategic tool for market-oriented urban planning in *Flexibility* (eds.) H.K. Özdiñç and S. Güzelsarı, London: IJOPEC Publication, pp. 169-196.

Tunç, G. (2010). *The Politics of local economic growth- A critical approach: The case of Manisa*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Ankara: ODTÜ.

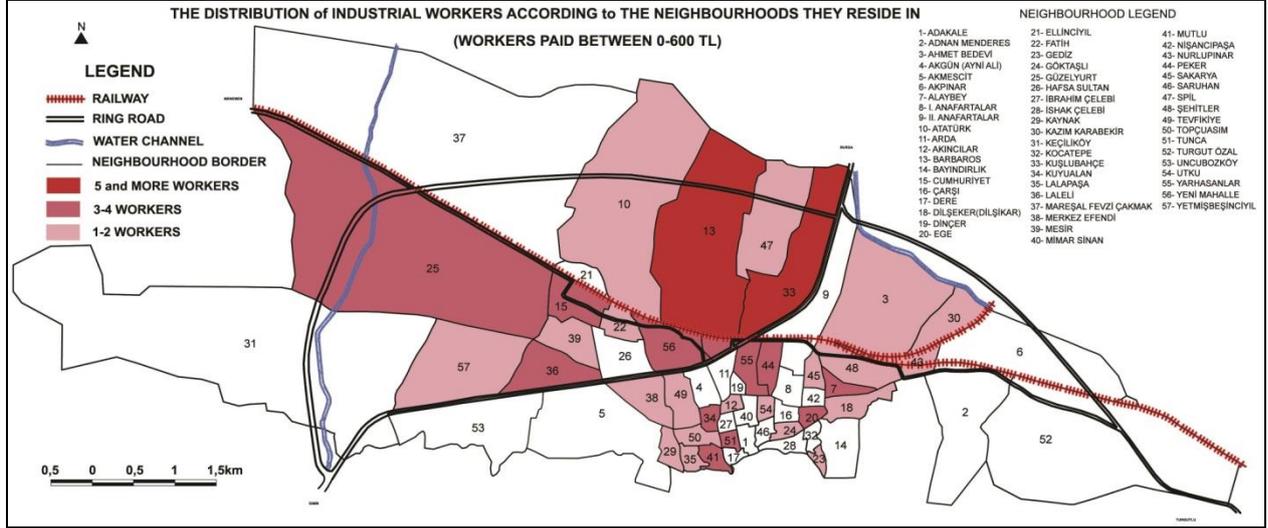
Türkün, A. (2011). Urban regeneration and hegemonic power relationships, *International Planning Studies* vol. 16, No. 1: 61-72.

Uzun, C. N. (2006). Yeni yasal düzenlemeler ve kentsel dönüşüme etkileri [New legislation and their effects on urban transformation], *Planlama* no: 36, 2006/2, pp. 49-52

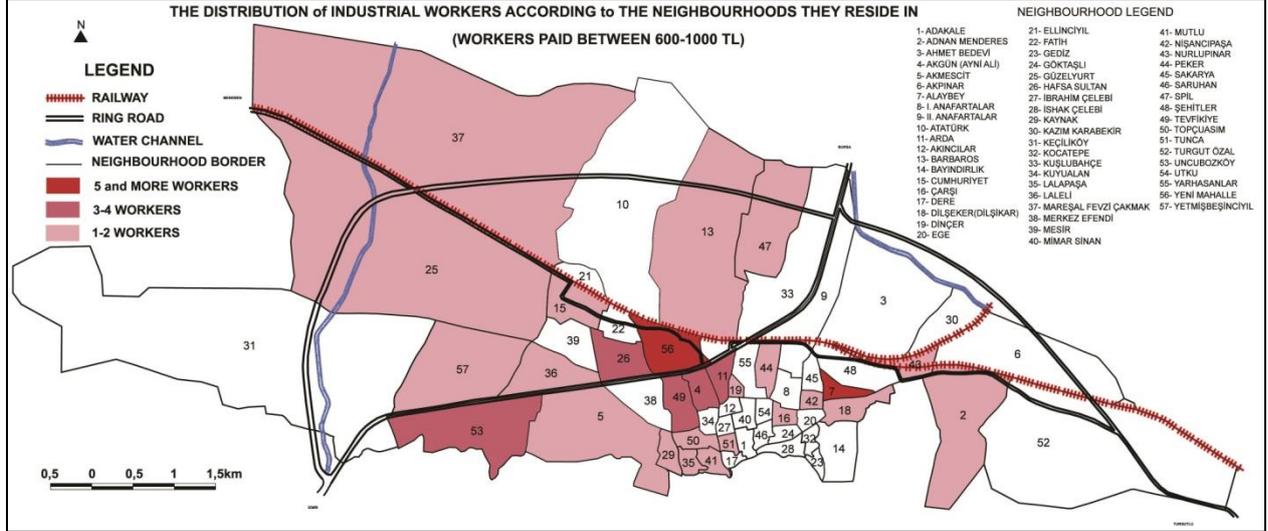
Yeldan, E. (2013). Interview with Erinç Yeldan, <http://emlakkulisi.com/erinc-yeldan-yakin-gelecekte-eymlakta-durgunluk-olabilir/164148> [accessed on 12.05.2014].

APPENDIX: The distribution of workers in different wage categories according to the neighbourhoods they reside in

Workers paid between "0-600 TL"



Workers paid between "600-1000 TL"



Workers paid "more than 1000 TL"

