reflektif
SOSYAL BİLİMLER DERGİSİ
JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Reflektif Journal of Social Sciences, 2021, Vol. 2(3)

2021, Vol. 2(3), 343-364

DOI: 10.47613/reflektif.2021.34

Received: 02.06.2021
Accepted: 16.08.2021
Online Published: 04.10.2021

Yaşar Tolga Cora*

"The New Worker in The New Era": Entrepreneurship and Labor Control in Turkey in the 1950s**
"Yeni Dönemin Yeni İşçisi": 1950'lerde Türkiye'de Girişimcilik ve İşgücü Kontrolü

Abstract

This article examines the close connection between certain models of entrepreneurship and labor control in the 1950s through examining Kemal Seli's carpet weaving workshops in Turkey. Seli, an entrepreneur who was educated in Germany and in the US in the 1930s, followed different methods of business organization and labor control in his workshops. Through paternalist relations he established with the workers, mainly women, on the shop floor, Seli aimed to increase productivity in the workshops and transform the mentality of the work force. The article argues that, by adapting "Human Rationalization" (*menschliche Rationalisierung*), Seli sought to create new workers and new working-class families that would be more technically, socially, and emotionally suited to the new rationalized work. These all well fit to the economically liberal and conservative-modernist rule of the Democrat Party throughout the 1950s.

Öz

Bu makale 1950'li yıllardaki farklı girişimcilik modelleri ile işgücünün kontrolü arasındaki ilişkiyi Kemal Seli'nin halı dokuma atölyeleri üzerinden incelemektedir. Almanya ve ABD'de 1930'larda eğitim görmüş bir girişimci olan Seli, atölyelerinde farklı iş modelleri ve işgücü kontrol metodları uygulamıştır. Çoğunluğunu kadınların oluşturduğu işçilerle olan paternalist ilişkiler aracılığı ile girişimcinin, verimi arttırmayı ve iş gücünün düşünce şeklini değiştirmeyi amaçladığını göstermektedir. Makale, işgücünü "rasyonelleştirerek" Seli'nin yeni işçiler ve işçi-aileleri yaratmayı amaçladığını ve bu sayede teknik, sosyal ve duygusal açılardan rasyonelleşmiş işe daha uygun olacaklarını, bunun da iktisadi açıdan liberal ve kültürel olarak da muhafazakar-modernist politikaların uygulandığı Demokrat Parti dönemine uygun olduğunu iddia etmektedir.

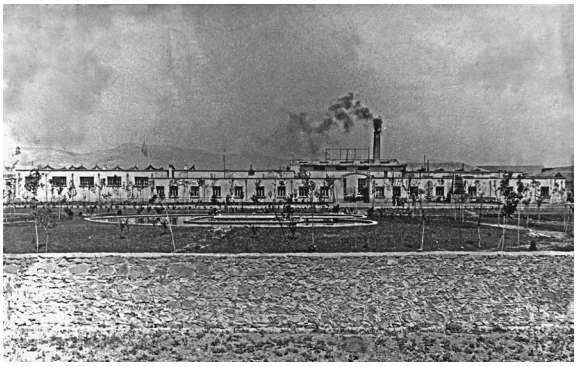
Keywords
Entrepreneurship, paternalism, labor control, conservative modernization, carpet-weaving, Democrat Party

Anahtar kelimeler
Girişimcilik, paternalizm, işgücü kontrolü, muhafazakar modernleşme, halıcılık, Demokrat Parti

* Boğaziçi University, tolga.cora@boun.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0002-4509-8086.

** This article was first presented at the workshop "Past and present through the lens of the factory: An interdisciplinary conversation" at Panteion University, Athens on 20-21 May 2019. I would like to thank the organizers and participants of the workshop for their valuable comments.

"Seli Industrial Establishment is an institution that aims to increase the value of the work hour of Turkey and Turkish labor force" (*Seli Endüstri Müessesesi Türkiyede İş Saatini ve Türkün İş Gücünü Kıymetlendirmeye Matuf Bir Kurumdur*) was the sign that met the workers and visitors at the central plant and the headquarters of Kemal Seli's business in the Konya. **[figures 1-2]** Kemal Seli, an entrepreneur born in the same town, came back to Turkey after spending decades abroad. His goals were to adapt a new organization of production and to create a new type of worker through certain ways of labor control in his enterprises. Seli pursued this goal in his spinning mill and carpet weaving workshops, numbered twelve in total. The central and technologically advanced central plant was opened in Konya where spinning mills and storage units were located. That was soon followed by weaving workshops in the countryside of Sille and Ladik and then in the Black Sea region by the end of the 1950s. Seli enterprise turned into a major carpet exporter in the second half of the 1950s; it employed around 4,500 workers at its peak. The majority of the workers both in the factory and in the workshops were women—which reflected the general trend in export-oriented business in particular and textile making and carpet weaving in general in the 50s (Makal, 2001).



Figures 1&2
Kemal Seli's central mill in Konya and the sign at the entrance of the factory. "Seli Industrial Establishment is an institution that aims to increase the value of the work hour of Turkey and Turkish labor force." All images are from the following work unless stated otherwise: Kemal Seli, *Bozkırı Çiçeklendirmek-Yoksullukla Mücadele İçin Bir Kalkınma Modeli*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015.)

How do opinions of an entrepreneur shape his/her business and how does political and cultural context influence practicing of such opinions? Based on the examination of the industrial relations at Kemal Seli's enterprises, this article seeks answers to these simple questions by proposing two interrelated dimensions. First, it aims to contribute to the history of entrepreneurship in Turkey by focusing on the ways in which labor-related ideas and labor-control methods were materialized at Seli workshops.[1] Kemal Seli, an engineer who was educated first in Germany and then in the US, had certain models of business organization and methods of

labor management on the shop floor which were reflected in his business. On the one hand, he adapted American model of decentralized production for the organization of his business as he spread his workshops over a vast geography. On the other, Seli's policies on the shop floor carried elements of "Human Rationalization" (*menschliche Rationalisierung*) which was the prevalent method of labor management in Germany during Seli's training there in the 1930s (Akgöz, 2020). Human Rationalization, as Mary Nolan argued, "sought to create new workers and new working-class families that would be more technically, socially, and emotionally suited to the new rationalized work as well as more politically quiescent" (1981, p. 181) and this was clearly stated by Seli in different occasions as I will examine in the following pages. In addition to the strict supervision of the workers on the shop floor, Seli used different payment methods to increase productivity. He set the daily wages of workers based on an expected number of knots of 7000 per day and also made additional payments for each additional 1000 knots they made. 7000 knots was rather a high number and Seli's memoirs is silent on what happened if workers with fixed wages failed to do so. Regardless, Seli presented this as a great source of motivation and "joy" for the workers (Seli, 2015, p. 124). Indeed, payment of fixed wages to weavers was a shift from the calculation of wages based on the number of knots made by the weavers which was the universal method of payment in the hand-woven carpet production. Thus, Seli aimed to motivate his workers with regular payments, in the name of turning the peasants into waged laborers. In this process, he prioritized the transformation of the workers' mentality, adapting them to work discipline through metaphors of family and particularly through establishing paternalist relations. Thus, the second goal of the article is to examine various social hierarchies and gender relations in Kemal Seli's factory which were constructed and consolidated through the paternalistic labor relations on the workshop floor. These paternalist relations of the entrepreneur were intermingled with the "Human Rationalization", and served to treat workers both as individuals and members of a community who act in certain ways and are loyal to their work. The factory community in the Human Rationalization model was imagined as a family and it would serve as an alternative to socialist models (Nolan, 1981, p. 182). Moreover, religious and nationalist discourses were utilized specially to break the hesitation among the women before joining the workforce. Seli had different policies towards women workers who constituted the majority of the workforce in the workshops; through which he aimed both to transform women in certain ways such as their clothing and consolidated certain gender hierarchies in the broader Turkish society. Based on the examination of these aspects of the Kemal Seli's factory, the article shows that the Seli Industrial Establishment served both its founder's dream of creating a new type of worker and a new society while these were intermingled with the economic and cultural politics of the Democrat Party rule in Turkey throughout the 1950s (Keyder, 1987, p. 117-121). The article therefore uses Kemal Seli's enterprises as a case to open new dimensions in approaching the history of business and labor in rural Anatolia in the 1950s and the methods of labor control in the period.

Recent contributions to the field of work space and labor relations in Turkey calls for studies that extend beyond the labor activism and the search for "class consciousness" through a focus on material conditions. The institutional approaches to labor relations which has been dominant in the scholarship so far, have been questioned with studies which focus on the various contingent and cultural factor in their analyses.[2] These include approaches to the factories as spaces of both discursive and material conflicts, particularly developing around the definition of citizenship and belonging to the nation (Akgöz, 2012; Arnold, 2012), laborers' recruitment processes, experiences and welfare policies, and workers' leisure time activities as "the quotidian and local contexts in which the possibilities are created for class politics and resistance on the one hand, and conformity and acquiescence on the other" (Özden, 2011, p. 6). Paternalism constituted one of the central aspects in the relations; as Barış Özden in his study of the changing modes of production and labor control in the textile sector the 1950s, underlines the central role that paternalism played in forming both the identities of the laborers and also shaped their responses. Some paternalist relations, according to Özden, aimed to harmonize relations between employers and the employee to overcome class conflict, whereas others "sought to decrease turnover rates and encourage workers in habits associated with middle-class respectability" (2020, p. 380-381). The article discusses the development of factory work and labor relations under the liberal economic policies of the Democrat Party government in 1950s which were infused with various forms of scientific and paternalistic methods of labor control. It brings in the gender dimension to the paternalist policies to examine the gendered social hierarchies on the shop floor as they were shaped by both the broader cultural norms of the society and the political economy of the period. Thus, the article aims to participate in the "spring" of labor history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey which has been, as Balsoy puts it, "bluntly continuing the long history of neglect, omitting gender from the reconstruction of the past" (2009, p. 46).

In order to achieve these goals, the article utilizes a variety of sources, including the autobiography of Kemal Seli which includes Seli's ideas about entrepreneurship and details about his enterprises.[3] Memoirs of entrepreneurs have been so far utilized by scholars to understand the mindsets of entrepreneurs and their activities, yet in most cases, they are not approached with the necessary critical eye while utilizing such ego-documents. For instance, Seli's memoirs provide us no information about when and under what conditions the memoirs were written. Therefore, it is not easy to make any arguments about how the author remembered and reconstructed the rise of his business in the 1950s, considering that, as we will see, the golden days of his enterprises ended with the military coup in 1960. Seli was writing with a hindsight of the events, he provided limited information of his amicable relations with the DP and with its ideology and did not elaborate on the political networks he was involved in although these were central to his success. This was mostly due to the pressure in publicly remembering of the DP period in negative ways after the coup and a desire to be not be affiliated with the DP.[4] In addition to the memoirs, the article utilizes an academic research conducted in the factory

which approaches to Seli's paternalism within a scientific perspective. It was conducted by Richard D. Robinson, professor of international business at MIT, and author of more than a dozen books on the subject. Moreover, Robinson was the Turkish area specialist for the American Universities Field Staff and the foremost American expert on Turkish economics in the early decades of the Cold War. What was even more significant in his work was that Robinson had introduced the subject of culture and values to the study of international management and his account of Seli's work strongly reflect that aspect (Robinson, 1955). Thus, Seli's case turned into an example to be studied in textbooks on international trade. In addition to Robinson's research, writings on Seli also included the adulatory accounts of journalists of the period which were produced to publicize industrial development in the countryside during the Democrat Party era. The article also uses visual sources related to Seli's enterprise to further understand the representation of cultural values and practices of Seli's enterprise in the broader public and highlight the importance of images for gender and labor history.[5]

Kemal Seli and Goals of an Entrepreneur

Kemal Seli was born into one of the wealthiest families of Konya in 1919. His family had his origins in land ownership in the small town of Sille whereas his father emerged as a leading wool-merchant in Konya in the early 1900s. In 1937, thanks to his father's connections with the Kemalist government of the time, he departed to receive higher education in Technische Hochschule in Berlin, and then, with the beginning of World War II, he moved to the US where he would be safe. There, he was first enrolled in Columbia University and thereafter, due to lack of classes in engineering, he began to attend the Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey where he obtained an MA degree. Later Kemal Seli began to work as a researcher in the war industry and observed the structure of decentralized production in that sector. According to his own testimony, this experience laid the foundations of the business model that he would apply in carpet weaving—a central factory with smaller production units elsewhere—which he developed years later. After the war he opened a commissioning business on the Wall Street and enjoyed the life of a full-time successful businessman and a part-time playboy in the post-World War II New York. This would change suddenly after 1950.

Three developments changed Kemal Seli's life in the early 1950s and led to establishment of his factory and the carpet-weaving business in Konya. These were the book he penned "the New Era", the passing away of his father, and Democrat Party's victory in the elections of 1950.

Seli's book, titled "New Era" which was submitted to a publisher but never came out depicts a developmentalist model for the societies of the developing world. The book was primarily a worker-centered criticism of the US aids in the post-World War II period for not taking into account the needs of the poor in the developing countries and instead concentrating on infrastructural development. In Kemal Seli's own words:

> In the development of backward areas, we are confronted with a task involving more than just the exploitation of natural resources, building roads, ports and major industries, or creating new jobs and new sources of revenue. The kind of self-sustaining recovery we are after involves stirring up an evolution in the lives and minds of millions of people, lifting them out of a state of mere existence into a life of productivity and progress. Unless the plan we carry out and the help we extend [here he is speaking as an American] is calculated to plant the seeds of such an evolution, we can expect but a limited development and a false temporary recovery. All the roads, power plants, modern factories that we may build up at enormous cost may amount to nothing more than the Egyptian pyramids, symbolizing the scientific and industrial achievement of an age but giving little benefit to the people themselves, who will probably live on, gazing at this modern phenomenon and eventually functioning with it, although with complete indifference and without experiencing a change either within themselves or within their lives (Robinson, 1955, p. 3).

Despite his emphasis on the American model, Seli's training in Germany was also essential in the formation of his ideas. Seli was a graduate of Berlin Technische Hochschule, a center which trained engineers about the human side of the production process and human rationalization as discussed above. It was also where economist Goetz Briefs, the engineer and enthusiast of Americanism, taught "his own theory of the firm as both a source of economic and social problems and a locus for solving them" (Nolan, 1981, p. 183). Seli's arguments should be interpreted alongside these ideas: the workers "first need to acquire a desire for better living," and in order to achieve it, a strict control over the shape that new labor-management relations, a patrimonial one as we will see shorty, needs to take place in the factory. For him, this was the only way to avoid the history repeat itself and spread "the seeds of communism in Europe… creating the same unhappy results" (Robinson, 1955, p. 4). Thus, the "New Era" should create a new worker with a new mentality and lifestyle that could take place only on the factory floor and provide a different community. That would be materialized in the Seli Industrial Establishment.

The second development in 1950 was the death of his father as a result of which, Kemal Seli found the opportunity to apply his model enterprise in real life. When he returned to Konya, he took over his father's business, including his substantial wealth and connections. Carpet manufacturing looked like the most profitable sector to invest in, possibly the long history of carpet weaving in his home town of Sille was the most important reason behind his decision despite his lack of experience in the sector (Sarıköse, 2009, p. 240-243).

The third development was Democrat Party's coming to power in the spring of 1950, ending the three decades rule of the Republican People's Party. Democrat Party with its professed liberalism and criticism of *etatism* of the previous era provided the context and the motivation for Kemal Seli to make investments in Konya as he was sure that his enterprises would be supported by the new government. Seli's view of the members of the Democrat Party as "idealists who want to serve to the poor population and the countryside" justifies his close relations with government (Seli, 2015, p. 82). Kemal Seli shared many traits of entrepreneurs

of the period such as having received high education and enjoying close relations with the authorities of the state as Ayşe Buğra discussed in her *State and the Businessmen in Modern Turkey* (1994, p. 100-103). However, Seli's memoirs reveal a more nuanced depiction of relations between politicians and entrepreneurs than depicted in Buğra's book as they highlight the politicians' desire to collaborate with the businessmen, too. The structure of the business and the labor relations in Seli's factory and workshops were in line with the many social and cultural policies of the Democrat Party government, namely to increase the welfare of the society by providing jobs to the rural poor, particularly through the private sector, and to develop the rural economies (Keyder, 1987, p. 126f; Kaya Osmanbaşoğlu, 2016, p. 253).

Kemal Seli explained his business model years later in a seminar on Carpet Weaving during the Pious Endowments Week (Vakıflar Haftası) in 1987. He labelled his enterprise as the Ladik Experience (*Ladik Tecrübesi*) which included a brief summary of his investments in Ladik and elsewhere in Anatolia. He justified his model of decentralized production on various levels. It served as a means to provide peasants work, a) to stop their migration to the large cities b) to lead to accumulate capital in the countryside. Moreover, he believed that providing steady employment would change the character of the peasants whose "personal traits are influenced [by the fact that] they wander around and are used to live sluggishly, [and] this results in a lack of dynamism in them which is seen in the people of industrialized countries. Therefore, if we really wanted to reach the level of civilized countries, before all, we had to bring the people of our country to the level of productivity and dynamism necessitated by the era." (Seli, 1988, p. 48). Thus, the economic goals of the entrepreneur were closely linked with his dream of transforming the people and therefore the society. These goals as I argued above were intermingled and as I will describe in the following section, necessitated certain ways of labor control on the shop floor.

Before discussing the ways of labor control, it should be added that, Kemal Seli's industrial model was decentralized production, which was not very different than the dominant form of carpet weaving in the late Ottoman Empire. Major export-oriented and centralized workshops began to be organized by the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers [OCM] in different locations in Anatolian cities and towns whereas the wool spinning factories and the warehouses were located in Izmir/Smyrna (Quataert, 1993, p. 134-160). However, the massive demographic changes, including the forced displacement and relocation of Armenians and the exchange of populations between Orthodox Greeks and Muslim Turks effected the dominant position of the OCM in Anatolia which was further hindered by the Turkification of the economy in the 1920s. A result for the carpet sector was the re-emergence of the putting-out system at homes, and its organization by local entrepreneurs for domestic market. This transformation which Sencer Ayata labelled "capitalist home industry," the sector's turn from large workshops into carpet weaving at homes in massive numbers had already taken place by the time Kemal Seli's business began to decline in the mid-1960s. About 175.000 women were engaged in carpet-weaving at their homes in Turkey which allowed centers like Kayseri to maintain

their position in the market (Ayata, 1987). Kemal Seli's factory and workshops, however, does not fit into this narrative of transition from centralized workshops in the late Ottoman period to production at homes in the later era. As an export-oriented producer Seli concentrated the workforce in workshops where he had better control over them and therefore the quality of the final product. Moreover, Seli's goals as an entrepreneur were enmeshed with his ideal worker for the new society in his enterprises.

Politics and the Seli Enterprises

The success of the Seli Business was closely tied to the politics of the era. His relations were not in one direction in which Seli benefited from the political power. They worked in both dimensions as his growing enterprise was seen as a model to be applied in the poor regions of the country, which would raise the welfare of the population in the countryside and translate into votes for the governing party. During the 1954 election campaigns, first Adnan Menderes and Celal Bayar and then Ismet Inönü visited the Seli enterprise. [**figure 3**] During the visit of the DP leaders, Seli had spent time explaining his business model to Bayar, whom Seli praised for his contributions to industrialization of the country (Seli, 2015, p. 140).

Figure 3
Adnan Menderes and Celal Bayar during their visit to the Seli Enterprise before the 1954 National Elections.

Following the victory of the Democrat Party in 1954, the new Minister of Labor, Hayrettin Erkmen had reached Kemal Seli through the General Director of Employment Agency to propose Seli to expand his business in the Eastern Black Sea region. The General Director and Kemal Seli were "old friends" due to Seli's enterprises in Ladik and the Minister Erkmen was from an Eastern Black Sea town, namely Giresun. The proposal aimed to produce work opportunities in the Black Sea region other than hazelnut cultivation and to stop outmigration. During his meeting with the Minister, Kemal Seli proposed to open five carpet workshops in Giresun and Ordu with 300 workers in each workshop with the reservation that "of course depending on the opportunities that you [state] can provide" (2015, p. 140). The opportunities were long term credit arrangements from Ziraat Bankası, the first of its kind from the bank. The conditions proposed by Seli were as the following: He would make no payment in the first two years and the payment would be in instalments over 10 years, and the interest rate would be one point less than the rates in the market. The amount that was sought for establishing that business was around 2 million Turkish liras which was beyond the capacity of the Bank. This was solved by intervention of the ministry as the Social Security Fund deposited 4 million Liras to the Ziraat Bankası with 4% interest rate for ten years, and out of which Kemal Seli's project was funded with 6% interest. Upon securing the credit, Kemal Seli obtained information about the region and the opportunities from a close relative who was a "great contractor and constructed the Black Sea Shore Drive" (2015, p. 149).

Figure 4
Women workers carrying stones during the construction of a workshop in Giresun.

The relations between politics and finances were too complex, as they benefited from each other. For instance, Kemal Seli admits that for the minister it was crucial to have these business start before the elections of 1957, therefore Seli wanted to speed up the recruitment process. He rented an old hazelnut factory in Giresun and transformed it into a carpet workshop while the workshops were under construction. Women workers of the workshops participated in the construction of the workshops, too. [**figure 4**] In the workshop he built a dormitory where 150 workers, 30 from the villages of each workshop and some masters from Konya resided and taught the craft to the prospective workers in 3-week-long intensive courses. The showcase was the workshop in Mersin village of Ordu which was opened with a ceremony including DP deputies of the region and the most prominent journalists from Istanbul who praised Kemal Seli and his enterprise at length (Seli, 2015, p. 155).

After his return from the Black Sea, Seli was invited to Ankara, this time by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu. The minister carried out a policy of finding funds from abroad for the government's developmentalist projects (Önal, 2014, p. 172-173). Zorlu had plans to make investments in the South Eastern regions, to alleviate the rising tension among the Kurdish population by providing jobs. He asked Kemal Seli to prepare a regional investment program that would create jobs for about 5000 men. Seli asked about a year and a half to prepare the plan. This was more than needed, however, Seli wanted to understand the capacity of the workforce in the region through scientific methods; in his words, "to make experiments to understand how long does it take to learn using certain means of production" (2015, p. 160-162). This project failed like many other projects of Kemal Seli due to the 1960 coup as I will return in the conclusion of the article.

Paternalism in the Workplace and "The New Worker"

Despite its failure in the long run, Seli enterprise achieved some of the goals of its entrepreneur for forming the new society and the new worker. He used the shop floor to change the mentality of the workers and creation of a community of workers loyal to the factory. In opening of his business in Konya, he hoped:

> …the development of the unspoiled but raw labor force that would work within the factory itself and which would change from day to day under the influence of various events until it became an invigorating force in the community. These men and women would slowly realize that life could offer them just as much as could anyone else in spite of their poverty, and as much as they were willing to give to it; that work was not an undesirable necessity from which one should escape, but a natural means of self-expression; that in working and being productive lies the first secret of happiness and of being proud and independent human beings. Moreover, as they are raised and educated to become full-fledged members and supporters of the new industry, and as they found the protective guidance of a modern and competent management, security and self-confidence and a taste for better living, they would automatically realize that the interest of both labor and management lies in mutual cooperation towards a common goal (Robinson, 1955, p. 6).

These ideas, namely work as a means of self-expression, self-discipline, and approaching work as a means of reaching happiness and taste for better living were closely in line with the ideas about labor management which he was exposed first in Germany and then developed in the US. Seli aimed to transform the workers mentally and establish not only material but also emotional ties between the workers and the factory. A questionnaire which was submitted to the workers in Seli factory shows that these goals were understood and accepted by the majority of these workers. [**tables 1 and 2**]

Table 1

What does the Seli plant mean to you?	# answers
An institution with a brilliant future, destined to be world famous, etc.	17
An industrial training center	12
Good management (generosity, fairness, lack of oppression, confidence, high ideals, etc.)	11
A source of national wealth and improvement	7
The promotion or improvement of the Turkish rug business	7
A source of personal livelihood (for the worker)	5
An institution of which to be proud	3
A place of work	3
An institution working to improve the position of Turkish workers	1
	66

(based on Robinson, 1955, p. 9-10).

Table 2

While performing your daily duties, what motivates you to work productively?	Answers
Conscience and duty	22
The love of or desire to work	14
Desire to become more valuable members of the enterprise	7
Ambition to advance or the attraction of higher reward	6
Service to mankind and/or country and community	7
Pleasure of working in a plant that operates for the benefit of the employees	4
"Our troubles are shared by the management"	1
Pride in association with such an enterprise	1
The love of grasping new ideas and skills	3
A feeling of security	2
Hope of promoting the factory	2
Ambition	1
	70

(based on Robinson, 1955, p. 9-10).

In some of the questions, Kemal Seli himself assisted the researcher in formulating them, further showing his interest in the scientific methods of labor control. The answers were left open ended, they provide us hints about the workers' mental and emotional relations with the factory. Thus, high numbers of answers identifying the business plant with positive terms such as bright future, an industrial center and place of good management shows that Seli achieved to establish both material and emotional links between the workplace and the workers. This

has been further proved by the answers to the question about productivity which shows that the infusion of workers with certain work ethics and creation of a community of loyal workers. Among the answers, "conscience and duty" and "the love of or desire to work" appear as the predominant answers further supporting that Seli's desire for a mental change has been successful to an extent. And, even if one thinks that the workers responded only to fulfill the expectations from them, still it proves that the workforce in Seli factory had realized that mental change towards work and workplace which had been expected from them.

The questions were set in a way to lead to such answers, highlighting the values infused by the entrepreneur. One may guess that the workers picked answers from the discourses which were prevalent in the workplace. That might be one reason for the high number of answers which underlined the bright future of the enterprise or an industrial training center, both were constantly underlined by Seli, himself. Yet, there is little space to speculate about the silences in answers. For instance, it is intriguing to discuss why there was only one worker who saw the enterprise as "an institution working to improve the position of Turkish workers" although it was the official motto of the workplace, with which this article began with. Likewise, only one worker said "our troubles are shared by the management" and "pride in association with such an enterprise". This might show that there was some discontent among the workers, however, they were hidden due to the format of the questionnaire.

Kemal Seli saw the factory and the relations between the entrepreneur and the workers as a constant teaching experience about how to think about work. For instance, after firing an abusive master who also blamed the workers for the problems in the machines, the entrepreneur used this as an opportunity to teach the workers how to think about the machines. Kemal Seli took over the master's position briefly to put things into order. On the shop floor, he called, "I don't know what is causing the trouble in the machines, but let's find out" (Robinson, 1955, p. 13). This way of acting has been closely connected to Seli's ideas about the ideal form of relation between the worker and the machines. After getting to know and then becoming interested in the machine, there came "the productive stage in which there is a feeling of communion between man and machine" (Robinson, 1955, p. 14). Just like the case above, Seli used dramatic performances to teach his workers lessons about how to think. For instance, after seeing the tenseness of his workers at the spinning machines, Seli "suddenly ordered the machinery stopped. He picked up a small spring and dropped it on the floor. From the bouncing spring he took his text—limberness, grace, ease of action, and rhythm of work. Tenseness and stiffness induce fatigue, he pointed out" (Robinson, 1955, p. 14).

Another aspect of Seli's paternalism was seen in his care for the housing of his workers. This took shape in personal attention to the conditions of worker's dwellings as well as housing schemes for the workers. Seli believed in the direct connection between housing and work efficiency. Yet, this was not only a desire to provide better living conditions for workers, but also related to his desire for creating the mentality of "taste for better living" (Robinson, 1955, p. 19). For instance, in one case, he granted a sum of $250 to one of his male proteges

to hire a room, purchase a radio and a good carpet for the creation of that taste. Yet, his major goal was to create a town for his workers, to create a new community. The town would be a complete one with shops, cinema and schools as he would be able to distance the workers from the traditional life in the town. He saw these as an investment which are as crucial as investing in machines to increase productivity and a necessary step in the change of mentality (Robinson, 1955, p. 20).

Female Workforce in the Enterprise and "Conservative Modernism"

Kemal Seli's industrial enterprises had a substantial number of women, of rural origins, who worked in different phases of the production. Women workers' presence on the shop floor allows us to examine the social and cultural connotations associated with work spaces in Turkey in the 50s. It also allows us to revisit the classic question of whether the work in the factory has been more empowering for women. It will be clear that Kemal Seli's enterprises not only followed the main trends in the labor-management relations on the shop floor in the period but also it consolidated various cultural norms. By focusing on the main factory in Konya and its largest workshop in the nearby district of Ladik which housed 400 women workers, I will show the ways in which the labor relations were closely associated with conservatism and paternalist control.

As a growing number of works argue, women's participation in the labor force was neither pure exploitation nor empowerment, but rather a "patriarchal bargain" that was struck during periods of economic and social transition. These bargains, some of which took place at private space where women worked to contribute to the household income, were accompanied with cultural and religious "adjustments" in the economies of the neo-liberal period when the women labor was exploited by the family and for the family (White, 1994; Işık, 2008; Dedeoğlu, 2010). Yet, similar bargains took place outside the private domain and in earlier periods, too. The 1950s was such a period of transition or a "New Era" as Kemal Seli called it, and women workers in various work spaces were at the heart of this transition. What Kemal Seli's enterprise points out first and foremost, is the existence of various production sites in the countryside in the 1950s which go largely unnoticed in the scholarship but has the potential to contribute to our understanding of the era. Kemal Seli's enterprise was a type of establishment that was different from the new jobs by the migrant laborers in the cities, large factories in urban centers which produced for the expanding domestic market, and the massive agricultural sector which took the most of the attention of the scholarship. As a major export-oriented sector carpet-weaving was different than these sectors; it was located in the towns and villages in rural Turkey where female workers dominated the workforce; they worked at low wages which increased competitiveness in the global markets. It also provided employment opportunities to the women in the countryside who showed less physical mobility than males due to traditional norms in the midst of great migrations of the 1950s (Yıldırmaz, 2019). In the wor-

ds of Seli, his enterprise was important as it provided jobs to "[these] women, who sit at home idle, hungry and poor, were producing [export goods] which would bring in foreign currency to a country which it lacks chronically" (Seli, 2015, p. 127).

To begin with, the work in Kemal Seli's factory and hiring of women were represented by the management as service to the nation and even as religious duty rather than a self-seeking interest of its owner. This was in line with what Buğra also noted in her examination of the memoirs of the entrepreneurs of the period (Buğra, 1994, p. 15-16). This rhetoric was also used by the journalists as one of the main characteristics of the business, as if altruism was a moral component of enterprise which was bolstered by providing job opportunities to the needy.[6]

The language used by Kemal Seli in his memoirs, as well as the observers such as journalists in the newspapers, is full of phrases like "helping the poor and the needy" or "the widowed" through providing jobs; and indeed, this was how this women-intensive workforce in the factory was justified. Yet, it is important to note that many workers also adopted the discourse which reproduced many social hierarchies including gendered ones and created laborer's moral indebtedness to the management.

Calibrating the cultural norms to the needs of the work and the religious rhetoric were important components of the work and especially the initial recruitment process. Both the local imams and religious sheikhs were asked to contribute to the labor recruiting process. For instance, in a case where veteran women workers were to be sent to train newly recruited workers, a language of religious duty and sacrifice, and phrases like "assisting religious sisters" while learning a way to earn their lives or "gaining the grace of God" by helping the needy, were widely employed.[7] This particular use of a religious language, alongside the patrimonial relations, as an aspect of labor-manager relations in the factory represents the "conservative modernization" of the Democrat Party period, as Serpil Sancar labelled the term. According to Sancar, in the 1950s the struggle between reformism and traditionalism of the earlier period had transformed itself into a compromise. In the "conservative modernization" values of westernization, modernization and conservative nationalism were merged, and above all it reproduced family as a major component of the society (Sancar, 2014). Particularly through employing the widows as it was the case in the workshop of Ladik, Kemal Seli played with many of these themes, namely fulling a religious duty, a national revival, and maintenance of the central role of family in the society.[8] For instance, when he was asked about the greatest goal of his actions by the journalist Ahmet Emin Yalman, Kemal Seli's response was to transform Turkish people into prosperous members of the society, efficient workers, having the feeling of duty towards work. And "the real beginning should be at the family. The mother should be well prepared to play her role."[9] As being the employer of a predominantly female workforce, Kemal Seli felt the need to teach these values and being efficient mothers turned into subjects on the shop floor.

The creation of the new (working) wo/men of the period was achieved through different means. Pay raises were used effectively, 3 times in the first 3 years, especially to motivate the workers to produce more efficiently and increase loyalty. The idea of a new individual with a new mentality was repeated to the workers almost on daily basis. For instance, the following is one of Kemal Seli's speeches to the workers in the factory:

> Whether you believe in God or not, or in a hereafter, there must be some value that will survive these poor bodies of ours. This value can only be developed if a person is trying to obtain a higher goal in life. To help himself and help others, that requires work. If you make no effort, how can you expect to be loved by your God? (Robinson, 1955, p. 12).

This higher goal of being efficient and dutiful workers was accompanied with family metaphors. All were members of a family and "a girl or an engineer is equally important to the enterprise… we are all producers" (Robinson, 1955, p. 13). Moreover, the relations between workers and machines were both described through the mother-child metaphors and the workers were expected to perform as mothers towards the work. For instance, in a case when a discordant noise was coming from a machine and the worker did not pay attention to it, Kemal Seli used this as an opportunity to explain it to workers as "the screaming of a machine should produce the same reaction in the worker as a crying baby does in his/her mother" and "an industrial worker must work with [her] ears and develop a maternal instinct toward [her] machine" (Robinson, 1955, p. 14).

The family metaphor for the women workers in the factory functioned and was materialized in different layers. For instance, after acknowledging the difficulties for women to work outside their homes in Konya, especially due to the gossip about their chastity and virtuousness, Kemal Seli provided a service bus which carried the workers between their homes and works, stopping the molestation outside the factory. In relation to the molestation issue a male worker beat two men who were following one of the female workers. Yet, Kemal Seli also warned the women workers that "any scandal would reflect on everyone in the factory: 'You are part of this family'" (Robinson, 1955, p. 16).

Kemal Seli's acts can be interpreted as reflection of the broader policies towards women in the period particularly highlighting virtuousness and other exemplary characteristics of the Anatolian women. But it does not negate the idea that Kemal Seli thought that women were living in a traditional and backward society, thus it attributes to the Anatolian women a dilemma of being both saviors and to be saved (Sarıtaş and Şahin, 2019, p. 641-642). The clearest example of backwardness and from which they need to be saved is the *charshaf*s (chadors)—a discourse that lasted from the early republican well into the Democrat Party era (Sarıtaş and Şahin, 2019, p. 642-643). Kemal Seli does not make any specific comments about this issue in his memoirs, nor do the journalists that visited his factories. But the images on the pages of the

newspapers and Kemal Seli's memoirs make this point quite clear. Traditional garbs such as local *peshtemal*s and *charshaf*s were represented as something of the past. [**figure 5**] According to Richard Robinson, Seli introduced slacks and later distributed dresses to the workers in the factory. This "transformative" aspect of the work was picked up and praised by the newspapers, too. [**figure 6**] However, veils—even-though in some relaxed forms—were used freely as Seli drew a fine line balance between "backwardness" and traditionalism with good values attributed to the latter in a period of "conservative modernism".[10]

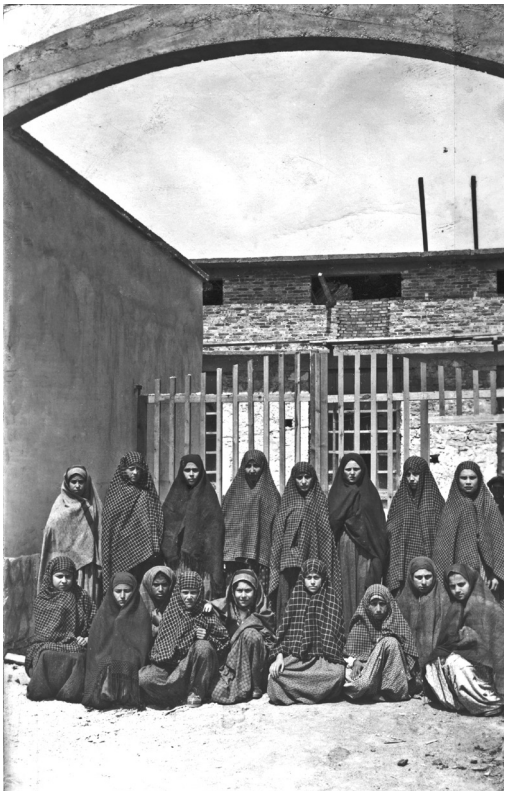


Figure 5
Some workers of the Seli Enterprise when they first came to the factory.

Kadın işçiler fabrikaya girdikten sonra

Türkiyenin büyük dâvası nedir?

Kemal Seli'ye göre: «Kendi kendinden kuvvet alan, pasif kalmış kıymetleri harekete getiren, her bakımdan bütün bünyeyi saran bir kalkınma hareketi yaratmak.»

Yazan : Ahmet Emin Yalman

İktisadi ve içtimai inkilâpçı Kemal Seli ile son zamanlarda İstanbul ve Ankarada uzun konuşmalarda bulundum. Konyaya beraber gittik. Yolda konuştuk. Konyada da konuşmamıza devam ettik. Seli, eskiden de duyduğum fikirlerini tekrarlıyordu. Fakat her sözü, güya ilk defa işitmişim gibi bana yeni ve taze bir haz veriyordu. Çünkü karşımda güzel rüyalar gören ve bunları gerçeğe çevirmenin yollarını bilen ve bulan bir iman ve ideal sahibi olduğunu görüyordum. Ağzından çıkan şeyler, boş sözler değildi. Almanya ve Amerikada öğrendiklerini memleketteki hal ve şartlara aksettirmek yoliyle, böyle müsbet kanaatlere varmıştı, sözlerini fiile çevirmenin yollarını ve usullerini pek iyi bildiği de kısa zamanda en kuvvetli imtihanlardan geçmişti.

(Devamı sa: 5 sü 1 de)

Kadın işçiler fabrikaya geldikleri sırada

Figure 6
Change of clothes were emphasized in the newspapers and the new cloths were juxtaposed with the traditional garbs. Source: *Vatan*, 7 March 1956.

Moreover, the workers' participation in the national public holidays, and being represented as efficient and hard-working members of the nation were highly encouraged and praised (Yılmaz, 2016, 210-213). [**figure 7**] This was a continuation of the ideals of the early republican era, as female bodies were seen as a showcase of their transition to citizens. However, here their productivity and contribution to work force was equally highlighted as they marched in gender-neutral working cloths on the main streets of Konya.

Figure 7
Women workers of the Seli Enterprise participated in the celebrations of the national holidays in their work clothes.

The relations on the shop floor were also organized in a paternalist way, Kemal Seli acting as the fatherly figure with the ultimate source of authority. As Özden argues, paternalism was seen more widely in the 1950s than later periods and "many employers relied on paternalism and benevolent conduct to increase productivity and worker loyalty" (2020, p. 380). The paternalist policies at the Seli Enterprise had various layers. Above all, it was about dealing with the works of the shop floor personally by the manager which fostered ties between the owner and worker. Yet, there was a dilemma here, as such close and one to one control by the manager reduced efficiency as it hindered the development of a hierarchy in the workplace, therefore to an extent it was against Seli's original ideas about the creation of a new work order. Second, Kemal Seli was even engaged in matchmaking among the factory workers, managed to arrange three couples thus "forming of families 'with their roots in the factory' " (Robinson, 1955, 18). Thus he added a different level to the factory community that he had been planning to build. Whether, paternalism was also used to ease the potential tension on

the shop floor is a different question (Özden, 2020, p. 380-381). Out of the around 60 workers who responded to a question about their satisfaction with the foreman, 48 were satisfied as opposed to only 2 workers who replied negatively (Robinson, 1955, 10).

Figure 8
Emine Hanım was the manager of Ladik Workshop and had assisted Kemal Seli during the foundation of the workshops in the Black Sea region. She is with the vice-director of the company.

Kemal Seli's work definitely changed some of the relations on the shop floor and empowered some women in real terms. One of such women was Emine Hanım, who was the administrator in the workshop of Ladik, supervised over 400 women workers. [**figure 8**] Emine Hanım's position was quite contradictory to the trends in the period (Seli, 2015, p. 149-150). Kemal Seli struggled to overcome the reaction of male workers who did not want to get orders from a woman and he was successful in making Emine Hanım the third important person in the enterprise after himself and the manager.

Kemal Seli had other goals such as building a residential unit around the factory with leisure time facilities and converting some parts of the workshops into the dormitories in his workshops. These reflected his goals of creating a different type of a workforce, a new worker, but maintaining patrimonial control over them, too.

End of "the New Worker"

Kemal Seli's was connected to the Democrat Party not only through sharing the "conservative modernism" but also through financial and political relations. He was able to expand his business through credits from the public banks, as his investments in areas like Black Sea was supported politically by the new government, too. These relations brought him success in the 1950s as he turned into one of the major carpet makers in the country, to the extent that Hilton Istanbul's carpets were woven at his looms and his story appeared in international press. Yet, as Seli writes in his memoirs, the military junta forced him to testify against the Minister of Labor for his alleged enforcement of Kemal Seli to invest in rural areas—which were not lucrative for a businessman and therefore it have could only take place under political pressure (2015, p. 164). He was saved from accusation and probable detention thanks to an intervention of an officer friend. Yet, his financial dealings with Ziraat Bankası were investigated and

the conditions of the contract he had made with the bank were considered void. The result was the closure of the workshops in the Black Sea region which were already under strain due to the economic crisis in the last years of the 50s. Seli managed to re-obtain the beneficial conditions of the previous contract thanks to the intervention of President Cevdet Sunay who was from the region. However, Kemal Seli would never be as important as he was in the mid-1950s when he was treated as a public hero in disguise of an entrepreneur, an image supported by the political leaders of the era. His carpet-weaving workshops changed hands in the 1960s (Hidayetoğlu and Akan, 2011, 57). By the 1970s, his business model and enterprise had turned into a memory that was remembered with respect (MMTD, 1970, 26 January, p. 402).

The new worker that Kemal Seli tried to create through labor relations in the factory was a perfect representative of the Turkish society in the 1950s: a conservative modernism, especially for women workers, in the context of patrimonial relations and expanding capitalism. Being educated in Germany and the US in the 1930s, he adapted certain methods of labor control and particularly what was labelled as "Human Rationalization". In addition to the close supervision of the workers on the shop floor and control over the training process, Seli aimed to transform the mentality of the workers, particularly their relation with work and the workspace. For that purpose, he formed paternalist relations with the workers most of whom were peasant women. In addition to the religious rhetoric used in their recruitment process, Seli closely adhered to the family metaphor and played upon certain established gender relations as the major component of the labor control on the factory floor.

Seli's entrepreneurial activities in rural districts and paternalist policies fit well into the policies the of Democrat Party in the 1950s. On the one hand, it supported the party's goals of increasing the level of economic development in the countryside and rural labor. Moreover, carpet weaving was a labor-intensive industry thus it would provide jobs, although with a low income, to a large population, and with a relatively low capital or technological investment. In return the entrepreneur benefited from the support of the governing party which was translated into beneficient credit arrangements to expand his business. On the other, Seli's enterprises were in line with the policies of conservative modernization of the period, as it opened rural labor markets to capitalist development and facilitated the transformation of the peasants/workers to increase their productivity. However, this transformation was bound by the traditions and the gender relations in the countryside. Therefore, Seli's enterprises emerged as sites where liberal economic policies of the Democrat Party matched its cultural policies of conservative modernization, and where paternalist relations continued to play a significant role in labor control.

1 The studies on entrepreneurs in Turkey focus mainly on the big business and founders of the trusts that dominated Turkish economy since 1950s, yet entrepreneurs of more modest means may go unnoticed; see: Buğra, (1994) and Colpana and Jones (2016). For one exception see Işık (2010).

2 Makal despite his heavy institutional approach in his study of the labor relations also accept the role of other factors that contribute to the labor relations (2002, p. 25-26). For a general criticism of the historiography of labor history of the 1950s in Turkey see Koçak (2008).

3 Seli (2015). *Bozkırı Çiçeklendirmek: Yoksullukla Mücadelede Bir Kalkınma Modeli*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları. The repetitions in the text gives the impression that it was written piecemeal and has not received much editing by the author himself.

4 Smith and Watson (2010, p. 165-179); for retrospective reconstruction of life in autobiography see Brockmeier (2001, p. 246-280).

5 For a recent example of use of photographs for understanding gender history of the 1950s, see Tuncer (2017) "Fotoğrafın Gör Dediği: Aile Fotoğrafları Üzerine Bir Analiz Denemesi," *Fe Dergi* 9, no. 1 (2017): 1-11; for the use of images in labor history, particularly with a reference to gender relations and history of women workers see: Balsoy (2009). Akgöz and Ayber (2019) also draws our attention to the potential of images for the labor history of later periods.

6 Şevket Rado, "İş Yaratmaktan Zevk Duyan Bir Genç Adam," *Akşam*, 22 December 1954; Ahmet Emin Yalman, "Yeni Açılan İstihsal ve İhracat Ufukları," *Vatan*, 8 Mart 1956. On the use of media by the entrepreneurs to create a positive public opinion and influence the government, see Buğra (1994, pp. 25-26).

7 For instance, for training the workers in Ladik, a sheikh from Konya accompanied Kemal Seli in his recruitment of the veteran workers and stated the following: "those who helped to earn their bread will receive their prayers as long as they live, even if they forget, God will know [their service] and do what is necessary." Seli (2015, p. 123).

8 In the period, a mercury mine was established in the town and a large number of unequipped and untrained workers had lost their lives. The workshop of Ladik first employed a number of widows whose husbands died in that mine.

9 Ahmet Emin Yalman, "Türkiye'nin En Büyük Davası Nedir?" *Vatan*, 7 Mart 1956.

10 Compare with the image of an examplary women worker in veil, see Akgöz and Ayber (2019, p. 27).

Bibliography

Periodicals

[MMTD] *Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi* (1970, January 26) 3 (2).

Akşam, 1954, December 22.

Vatan, 1956, March 7.

Vatan, 1956, March 8.

Books and Articles

Akgöz, G. (2012). "Many Voices of a Turkish State Factory: Working at Bakırköy Cloth Factory, 1932-50." PhD Dissertation. Amsterdam University.

Akgöz, G. and Tuna, A. (2019). Herkesin Sefaletinden Bazılarının Baharına: Sendikaların İlk Yıllarında Kadın İşçiler ve Tarihyazımı. *Toplumsal Tarih* 305, 24-28.

Akgöz, G. (2020) Experts, Exiles, and Textiles: German "Rationalisierung" on the 1930s Turkish Shop Floor. *International Review of Social History*, 1-38. doi:10.1017/S0020859020000589.

Arnold, C. E. (2012). In the Service of Industrialization: Etatism, Social Services and the Construction of Industrial Labour Forces in Turkey (1930–50). *Middle Eastern Studies* 48 (3), 363-385.

Ayata, S. (1987). *Kapitalizm ve Küçük Üreticilik Türkiye'de Halı Dokumacılığı*. Yurt Yayınları.

Balsoy, G. (2009). Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Régie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century. *International Review of Social History* 54 (S17), 45-68.

Brockmeier, J. (2001). From the end to the beginning: Retrospective teleology in autobiography. In J. Brockmeier and D. Carbaugh (ed.), *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self, and Culture* (246-280 pp). John Benjamins.

Buğra, A. (1994). *State and Business in Modern Turkey: A Comparative Study*. SUNY Press.

Colpana, A. M. and Geoffrey, J. (2016). Business Groups, Entrepreneurship and the Growth of the Koç Group in Turkey. *Business History* 58 (1), 69-88.

Dedeoglu, S. (2010). "Visible Hands, Invisible Women: Garment Production in Turkey." *Feminist Economics* 16, 1- 32.

Gürboğa, N. (2009). Compulsory Mine Work: The Single-Party Regime and the Zonguldak CoalŞeld as a Site of Contention, 1940–1947. *International Review of Social History* 54 (S17), 115-142.

Hidayetoğlu, H. M. and Akan, M. (2011). Konya'da Cumuhuriyet Döneminde Dokuma Faaliyetleri. *Ariş* 5, 54-71.

Işık, D. (2008). On Sabır and Agency. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 10 (4), 518-541.

Kaya Osmanbaşoğlu, G. (2016). "Political Economy of the Democrat Party: A Dual Employment of Theory and Practice." *Bilig* 76, 245-267.

Keyder, Ç. (1987). *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. Verso.

Koçak, H. (2008). 50'leri İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumunun Kritik Bir Uğrağı Olarak Yeniden Okumak. *Çalışma ve Toplum* 18, 69-85.

Makal, A. (2001). Türkiye'de 1950-1965 Döneminde Ücretli Kadın Emeğine İlişkin Gelişmeler. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 56 (2), 117-155.

Makal, A. (2002). *Türkiye'de Çok Partili Dönemde Çalışma İlişkileri: 1946-1963*. İmge Kitabevi.

Nacar, C. (2009). Our Lives Were Not as Valuable as an Animal'': Workers in State-Run Industries in World-War-II Turkey. *International Review of Social History* 54 (S17), 143-166.

Nolan, M. (1994). *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany*. Oxford University Press.

Önal, T. (2014). Fatin Rüştü Zorlu'nun Siyasi Mücadelesi (Mayıs 1954-Mayıs 1960). *Gazi Akademik Bakış* 8 (15), 161-188.

Özden, B. A. (2011). Working Class Formation in Turkey, 1946-1962. PhD Dissertation. Boğaziçi University.

Özden, B. A. (2020). The Changing Organization of Production and Modes of Control, and The Workers' Response: The Turkish Textile Industry in The 1940s and 1950s. In L. Papastefanaki and M. E. Kabadayı (eds.), *Working In Greece and Turkey: A Comparative Labour History from Empires to Nation-States, 1840–1940*, (364-389 pp). Berghan Books.

Quataert, D. (1993). *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, R. D. (1955). *The Problem of Paternalism in Turkish Industry: An Account of Kemal Seli and His Carpet Industry in Konya*. New York: American Universities Field Staff.

Sancar, S. (2014). *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar*. İletişim Yayınları.

Sarıköse, B. (2009) *Sille: Bin Yıllık Birliktelik, Tarihçesi ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısı*. Çizgi Yayınevi.

Sarıtaş, E. and Yelda, Ş. (2019). "Ellili Yıllarda Kadın Hareketi." In M. K. Kaynar (ed.), *Türkiye'nin 1950'li Yılları*, (627-665 pp). İletişim Yayınları.

Seli, K. (1988). Halı Üretiminde De-Sandralize Üretim Sisteminin Tatbiki. In *Beşinci Vakıf Haftası Halıcılık Semineri: Türk El Halıcılığının Sorunları ve Çözüm Yolları*, (47-49 pp). Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı.

Seli, K. (2015). *Bozkırı Çiçeklendirmek: Yoksullukla Mücadelede Bir Kalkınma Modeli*. İş Bankası Yayınları.

Smith, S. and Watson, J. (2010). *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. University of Minnesota Press.

Tuncer, S. (2017). Fotoğrafın Gör Dediği: Aile Fotoğrafları Üzerine Bir Analiz Denemesi. *Fe Dergi* 9 (1), 1-11.

White, J. B. (1994). *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labor in Urban Turkey*. University of Texas Press.

Yıldırmaz, S. (2019). Köylüler ve Kentliler: Ellili Yılların Dönüşen Yeni Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Coğrafyası. In M. K. Kaynar (ed.), *Türkiye'nin 1950'li Yılları* (541-564 pp). İletişim Yayınları.

Yılmaz, H. (2016). *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey 1923-1945*. Syracuse University Press.