

FROM WORKSHOP TO FACTORY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF CRAFT IN
THE CASE OF GAZIANTEP BAKLAVA PRODUCTION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

MÜNİRE BÜŞRA TUFAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

JULY 2022

Approval of the thesis:

**FROM WORKSHOP TO FACTORY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF CRAFT
IN THE CASE OF GAZIANTEP BAKLAVA PRODUCTION**

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ABSTRACT

FROM WORKSHOP TO FACTORY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF CRAFT IN THE CASE OF GAZIANTEP BAKLAVA PRODUCTION

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July 2022, 324 pages

This research aims to understand how the transition process from craft-type production to factory-type production took place and in terms of what characteristics the production process, relations, place, and working conditions were transformed during this transformation. In this context, the production of baklava, includes the characteristics of both production types, is discussed. In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with 35 baklava masters with more than 15 years of experience working in large, medium-large, medium-small, and small scale baklava factories in Gaziantep and one food engineer working in Gaziantep Chamber of Industry, within the scope of qualitative research methods. The data were analyzed in the MAXQDA 2022. As a result of the research findings, two main themes were reached. Under the first theme of the transformation of the production process, it was observed that the tools used in the production of baklava, the organization of production, and the skills of the masters working in the production were transformed into factory-type production. In the second theme, it has been observed that production relations have become rational, the production place has grown, and working conditions have become more regular. According to the research, baklava production is in a transitional period

between craft-type production and factory-type production; It has been concluded that the increase in mechanization and new production organization accompany this transition. Also, in this study, an integrated research model has been tried to be put forward for new research that wants to examine the transformation of the production types.

Keywords: Transformation of work, craft, industrialization, baklava, Gaziantep.



ÖZ

ATÖLYEDEDEN FABRİKAYA: GAZİANTEP BAKLAVA ÜRETİMİ ÖRNEĞİNDE ZANAATİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

TUFAN, Münire Büşra

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

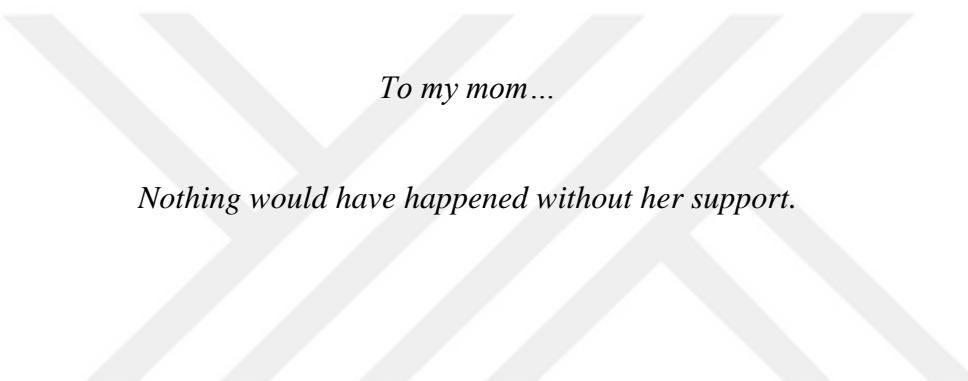
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ayça ERGUN ÖZBOLAT

Temmuz 2022, 324 sayfa

Bu araştırma zanaat tipi üretimden fabrika tipi üretime geçiş sürecinin nasıl gerçekleştiğini ve bu geçiş sürecinde üretim sürecinin, üretim ilişkilerinin, üretimin mekanının ve çalışma koşullarının hangi özelliklerini bakımından dönüşüme uğradığını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çerçevede, günümüzde zanaat tipi üretimden fabrika tipi üretime geçiş sürecinde olan, her iki üretim biçiminin özelliklerini içinde barındıran baklava üretimi ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada, nitel araştırma yöntemleri kapsamında, Gaziantep'teki büyük, orta-büyük, orta-küçük ve küçük ölçekli baklava imalathanelerinde çalışan, 15 yıldan fazla deneyime sahip 35 baklava ustası ve Gaziantep Sanayi Odası'nda çalışan 1 gıda mühendisi ile derinlemesine mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Mülakatlardan elde edilen veriler MAXQDA 2022 analiz programında analiz edilmiştir. Araştırmanın bulguları sonucunda iki ana temaya ulaşılmıştır. Üretim sürecinin dönüşümü adlı ilk tema altında baklava üretiminde kullanılan araçların, üretimin organizasyonunun, üretimde çalışan ustaların becerilerinin fabrika tipi üretime doğru dönüştüğü görülmüştür. Üretim ilişkilerinin,

üretimin mekanının ve çalışma koşullarının dönüşümü başlıklı ikinci temada ise üretim ilişkilerinin rasyonelleştiği, üretimin mekanının büyüdürücü ve çalışma koşullarının daha düzenli hale geldiği gözlemlenmiştir. Araştırmada baklava üretiminin üretim biçimi, üretim ilişkileri, üretim mekâni ve çalışma koşulları bakımından zanaat tipi üretim ile fabrika tipi üretim arasında bir geçiş aşamasında olduğu; makineleşmenin artışının ve yeni üretim organizasyonu yöntemlerinin bu geçişe eşlik ettiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Aynı zamanda bu çalışmada, üretim biçiminin dönüşümünü incelemek isteyen yeni araştırmalar için bütünlüklü bir araştırma modeli ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çalışmanın dönüşümü, zanaat, endüstrileşme, baklava, Gaziantep.



To my mom...

Nothing would have happened without her support.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the people who supported me throughout my undergraduate studies and indeed my entire life. Therefore, I'm grateful to the people who were with me throughout the whole process.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Prof. Dr. Ayça ERGUN who adds tremendous effort to my thesis, not only as my thesis supervisor but also as an academic supervisor for all her support, effort, common sense, valuable guidance and for counting on me more than I do to myself.

I would also like to give special thanks to Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut BEŞPINAR and Assoc. Dr. Alanur ÇAVLIN for their comments, contributions, support during and after the thesis defense and also for evaluating my thesis down to the slightest detail and putting effort into my thesis to be the best version of it.

At the same time, I would like to thank Head of the Department of Sociology of Hacettepe University Prof. Dr. Nevin GÜNGÖR ERGAN and vice-chairman Prof. Dr. Birsen ŞAHİN KÜTÜK for providing a serene and comfortable working environment during the writing process, for being with me in every situation, and for their understanding and support which contributed substantially to my research.

I am deeply grateful to my mother and sister, without whose support this work wouldn't be achieved, who have been my biggest supporters during the process and throughout my entire life when starting this master's program. I would also like to thank my father Mehmet TUFAN for his support throughout the process.

Supporting me both mentally and emotionally in the emergence of my thesis, motivating and supporting me every day throughout the process, not hesitating for a

moment to share all their knowledge with me during our discussions, and making my thesis better; here I would like to thank my colleagues and friends Res. Assist. Serkan COŞKUN, Res. Assist. Orhan S. PENÇE and Res. Assist. Murat KARADAĞ who stayed with me throughout the whole process. This thesis completed "in spite of and with them".

I would like to thank many people who supported me, from my dear grandmother and grandfather, who shared their house for me in Gaziantep during the research process in the field; to my cousins Burak and Elif, who supported me both mentally and emotionally for pushing me through my process in the field; I also can't thank enough to my Master Muzaffer, my friends Muhammet and Fatih, who are a second family to me there, who gave me all their time and opportunities to overcome all the difficulties in the field.

I would also like to thank to Esra SERİN, Aslıhan ŞEN, Elif GÜR, Yaprak ADEMİR and Begüm DEMİRKOL who always listened to me, understood me and supported me; who is always by my side, who makes me get up again every time I fall, who is the light and energy for me in the mornings of my sleepless nights. This is a gratitude for their support of a sisterhood, not just for a master's thesis.

Finally, last but not the least, my special thanks are extended to baklava masters without whose contributions and experience this work would not have been possible. Here, I would like to thank the masters and business owners for the hospitality they showed me in their baklava workshops and the pleasant conversations they had with me, for answering my questions sincerely while making baklava, and allowing me to experience this process with them. Sweating with them in the heat of the oven and being covered in starch among the baklava dough was one of the best experiences of my life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The concept of work refers to many dimensions such as production, production relations, production process, working conditions. All these dimensions are transformed by the influence of many social, economic, cultural, and political variables. From the industrial revolution to the economic depressions, from the development of communication and transportation resources to the advancement of technology, many historical events and processes have formed the elements that affect the transformation of the work. On the other hand, this work shift has transformed social, economic, cultural, and political life. So considerably, historical periods have been named in parallel with the change of the work's meaning, structure, and conditions. In these historical periods, characterized by modes of production such as hunter-gatherer societies, agricultural societies, capitalist/industrialized societies, life has undergone many transformations along with the concept of work.

When we take a closer look at the transformation of production/work and the reasons for the transformation, which will be the main subject of this study, we see that technology and new organization of the production process are one of the most essential variables in this process. The most determinant of the mechanisms that affect the transformation between the historical periods mentioned above, which are named depending on the production style, is the development in the tools used and then in the technologies. Production styles change depending on the technology used. The most important thing that distinguishes the pre-industrial and industrial periods from each other is the change in the technology used and accordingly the production

style/organization, production relations, production space, and working conditions. But also, the new ways of organization the production process causes the new type of production types.

One of the most common working styles in the pre-industrial period is craft-type production, which expresses the traditional style. Nevertheless, with the transformation of technology, the increase in demands for products, and the importance given to efficiency practices, in short, with the spread of capitalist production style, it is seen that craft-type production begins to decline. The capitalism/industrial era greatly influences the transformation of craft production (Scott, 1998: 258); The capitalist mode of production spreads to new areas of work day by day (Braverman, 1974: 139; Adamson, 2013: xiii).

The transformation did not coincide in all craft-type production processes. The evolution of each production process into the capitalist mode of production takes place in different periods. Not only periodically, but also the characteristics of the transformation differ from one product to another (Adamson, 2013: 14), from one place to another. However, as Thompson emphasized, although the history of each craft is different, it is possible to determine the lines of the general structure (2015: 314).

In this sense, this research aims to address the dimensions of the transformation of craft-type production into industry-type production. This research, which aims to present a model to show the stages and dimensions of craft-type production by revealing the dimensions of the transformation, wants to show the mainline transition trends in the sociology of work literature. On the other hand, it is aimed to establish the connection of this transformation with the development of technology, and new organization structure of production process which are one of the most distinctive features of industrial production, as mentioned above. The impact of the development

of technology, in other words, mechanization, and rationalization of the organization of production process in this process seems to be undeniably important.

Within the framework outlined above, this research aims to look at the transformation of the baklava production process, which is both one of the geographical indications¹ since 2008 and has a great place in forms of the economy of Gaziantep. Baklava is a traditional Turkish dessert. Gaziantep is the first thing that comes to mind when discussing baklava in Turkey. It is made by putting pistachios and cream between very thin dough layers, baking in ovens, and adding sherbet to it. Baklava production in Gaziantep, unlike homemade baklavas, is a traditionally produced dessert by baklava masters in workshops with labor-intensive methods. Baklava production is a male-dominated sector. All the masters working in the workshops are men.

Today, while some of the production processes (such as automobile, textile, etc.) are entirely industrial, some of them (for yemeni², copper, carving etc.) preserve their craft characteristics, and some productions are in the transition period in the middle of these two ends. Baklava production can be shown as one of the production processes in the transition period. In this sense, it is neither fully industrialized like textile nor continues fully its craft features like copper smithing. In this sense, the examination of the baklava production in the transition period seems valuable both to reveal the craft features and to see how and at which stages the industrialization takes place.

As we mentioned above, the transformation in production brings a transformation not only in the production process but also in the relations of production, the place of production, and the working conditions. Therefore, this study aims to deal with the

¹ Appendix C

² Yemeni, which is one of the traditional handicrafts in Gaziantep, is generally known as the head cover in other parts of the country but it is called as the flat leather shoe in Gaziantep. Leather shoes, all of which are handcrafted by yemeni masters in small workshops or shops, are called yemeni. With the use of the yemeni in films such as Harry Potter, Troy, and 300 Spartans, its worldwide attention has increased (Olcay, Mısırlıoğlu, and Karalar, 2017: 25).

transformation in production together with the transformation of all these dimensions. In this sense, it is tried to find an answer to the question of "How, and in terms of what features do the production, production process, production relations, production place, and working conditions vary from craft-type production to industry type production in baklava production?", through the production of baklava, which is seen as a craft type production. Four separate research questions were determined to explain the transformation in baklava production:

- i) How has the production process been transformed in this process in baklava production?
- ii) How has the production relations been transformed in this process in baklava production?
- iii) How has the production place been transformed in this process in baklava production?
- iv) How has the working conditions been transformed in this process in baklava production?

A hermeneutic approach was adopted to answer these questions, and the research tried to understand and interpret the experiences of the participants. In this context, the qualitative research method was adopted, and field research was conducted in the baklava workshops in Gaziantep. Participants were selected from baklava masters with 15 years or more experience working in large, medium-large, medium-small, and small baklava workshops in Gaziantep within the framework of purposeful sampling. The experience period's length was considered essential to compare the past and present baklava production. In-depth interviews were conducted with the participants. Within the framework of this field research design, it is aimed to understand the transformation of the baklava production process in the light of the experiences of baklava masters.

There is not only one way of conceptualizing the structure of the production process; therefore, many concepts can be used to examine the production process. As of this transition period in which baklava production is located, both the theories that deal with the traditional production type in which the characteristics of craft type production are discussed and the theories that deal with industry type production are essential for this study. For this reason, the theoretical framework has been arranged with reference to more than one theory and theorist in the sociology of work literature. Sennett's craft model, Sjoberg's pre-industrial economic structure, Babbage, one of the first researchers about mechanization, Braverman's and Bright's deskillization theory, Blauner's theory of the relationship between technology and production, and alienation approach, Marx's alienation are critical for the theoretical background of this research. In addition to these, Fordism and Taylorism, which are the organizational ways of the production process, routinization, and standardization discussions, are also included in the theoretical framework. These theories are valuable not only for changing the production process but also for understanding the transformation of relations of production, the place of production, and working conditions.

1.1. Significance of The Study

This research will bring a new subject area. The main emphasis of this study is on the transformation of production, production process, production relations, production place, and working conditions. The studies are generally on either completely traditional productions or entirely factory productions. This situation can also be seen in studies about Gaziantep's economic structure in particular. In this sense, this thesis aims to close the gap both in the sociology of work literature and the literature about Gaziantep, where the field is made.

There are research about Gaziantep, that show two characteristics in the literature. The first one is about Gaziantep's touristic feature, which it usually acquires along with its

gastronomic city feature³. Also, Gaziantep contribute to Turkey's industry and in this way, Gaziantep is mentioned with name that is "Anatolian Tigers" since 1980s in the literature of work (Bedirhanoglu and Yalman, 2009; Eraydin, 1999; Ozaslan, 2006). However, these research in the field of work focus on the textile⁴. Another feature of these areas is that they have completed the factorization process. The transition structure of baklava production differs from these fully fabricated forms of production. At the same time, although there are studies in the fields of textile, automobile, and weaving, there has not been a study about this mechanization and fabrication in the food sector in the sociology of work literature. On the other hand, despite baklava is seen as a craft; unlike the craft-based production of coppersmith, carving etc., it has become a production style that is closer to the fabrication with the change of the place of production, organization of production and the tools used. In short, it has shown a different form of production than the production of all simple hand tools, like crafts and fully developed machines used in factories. This study also tries to present a holistic and new study that deals with the entire transformation process by gathering all the discussions about industrialization in the sociology of work literature. Unlike the research in the literature, this framework aims to deal with the transformation of production in the transition period. For this reason, the production of baklava, which has both traditional and industrial production characteristics, was chosen. In this way, we contribute to both the work and organization literature and the studies conducted in Gaziantep.

1.2. Plan of the Study

Within the scope of the study, the transition process and dynamics of the baklava production process from craft-type production to factory-type production will be

3 For touristic research: "Our Local Cuisine On Special Days And At Special Transitional Occasions: Gaziantep" (Kaya and Sormaz, 2017); "Consumer Preferences Related to Street Tastes: Case of Gaziantep" (Solunoğlu and Nazik, 2018)

4 For valuable studies on the sociology of work in this area: "Gaziantep Tekstil Atölyelerinden Fabrikalara: İşçileşme, Direnişler ve Mücadeleler" (Güler and Şimşek, 2017); *Direnişi Nasıl Dokuduk?* (Karadaş, 2011)

examined within five main chapters. Until now, within *Chapter 1*, the research's purpose, limits, and significance were introduced.

In *Chapter 2*, the methodology of the research is presented. Under this title, the designs and techniques used in the research are explained. The participant profiles, the structure of the interviews, the field notes, and the data analysis method of the research are involved in this section.

Chapter 3 will be about the Theoretical Framework. Two main sub-titles are included under the Theoretical Framework. In this section, which is divided into Craft and Industry, the characteristics of production processes, production place, production relations, and working conditions under each heading are tried to be clarified with references from the literature. Under the titles, first of all, craft and industry's definitions/characteristics and historical backgrounds will be revealed. Under the sub-title of the production process, tools used in production, organization of production, division of labor, skills required for the job, specialization, and routinization will be included. Another sub-title under both main titles is related to the place of the production; With this title, both the physical size of the production space and the number of workers working in the workplace will be included. Also, the structure of production relations for each production type will be explained with titles such as master-apprentice relationship and transfer of skills. Finally, working conditions in both productions will be examined with wages, insurance, and working hours.

In this sense, craft and industry-type production subtitles show equivalency. This equivalency is aimed to show the distinctive characteristics of two different production types. This comparison is vital for understanding transitivity and transformation. At the same time, the historical background of the transition from craft-type production to industrial-type production was discussed under the mentioned titles, and the reasons for the transformation and the variables affecting the process were tried to be revealed.

After the clarification of the theoretical framework, *Chapter 4* is the data analysis chapter of the study. The findings obtained from the field have been arranged in parallel with the theoretical framework to include the production process, production relations, production space, and working conditions. In this sense, the characteristics of the baklava production process, production relations, and working conditions were revealed together with the findings. This chapter includes two main headings: *Transformation of the Production Process* which evaluates mechanization of the production and changing organization of the production process; and *Transformation of the Production Place, Production Relations and Working Conditions* which discusses physical and social characteristics of the baklava production.

Finally, in Chapter 5, the conclusion of the study will be presented. *Chapter 5*, the conclusion and discussion section, will include the evaluation of the findings obtained from the research and the theoretical framework. In this section, within the framework of the findings, it will be tried to reveal in which features baklava production was a factory-type of production and in what features it continues its craft features.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the research design, methodology and technique of the study for data collection. This chapter also includes the respondents' profile, scope and detail of the fieldwork, and data analysis method.

2.1. Why Baklava and Why Gaziantep?

The contribution of previous research is great in determining the subject and field of the study. The story of my sociology of work studies started with an archive study in 2016, which first looked at the representation of women workers in trade union newspapers published between 1930 and 1950. The history of labor, which interested me in this study, was a turning point for me to move forward from the sociology of work field in connection with labor. In 2017, I continued my studies with qualitative research on a carpet weaving factory in Gaziantep. After examining the changes in the working place, working relations, production style, and working conditions in this research, the change of production process and working relations (master-apprentice relation) of the Yemeni profession in Gaziantep were examined with qualitative research in 2019. This research about Yemeni was concerned with the forms of production and relations of production of the disappearing professions. During these researches, the baklava sector, another field of study, attracted attention during the visits to this region since the field studies were in Gaziantep.

Gaziantep is an important production center for many sectors. Gaziantep is in an important position for the textile industry in Turkey (Metinsoy, 2014: 293; Güler and

Şimşek, 2017: 8; Uyanık and Çelikel, 2019: 39), as well as being central to the production of traditional goods such as yemeni and coppersmiths (Özdemir and Çelik, 2013; Diyarbakırlıoğlu, 2010; Akın, 2018; Duman, 2012; Özdal, 2018; Olcay and others, 2017; Gaziantep, 2016: 179). In this sense, it can be said that many traditional productions continue in Gaziantep. Copper making, mother of pearl inlay, weaving, Yemeni making, jewellery, silver making, rug (kilim) making, kutnu fabric production continue today (Bortaçina, 2003: 16-50; Gaziantep, 2016: 219-227). Gaziantep is world-class not only with these types of products but also with its cuisine. Gaziantep hosts a wide variety of dishes in the food sector. For this reason, an analogy is made for Gaziantep: "If the world were a home, Gaziantep would be the kitchen." This reputation brought Gaziantep the European Destinations of Excellence (EDEN) award under the theme Tourism and Local Gastronomy in 2015 (Gaziantep, 2016: 189).

Baklava production can be shown as another area that continues traditional production in Gaziantep. Baklava, which is the subject of this research, is a production item that brings the name Gaziantep to the forefront in our country and in the world⁵. Although there are still debates about the origin of baklava, which has an important place in Gaziantep cuisine, baklava is also vital for Middle Eastern, Balkan, and South Asian cuisines (Eliaçık, 2012: 2). Its origin is linked to the nomadic Turks and the Ottomans (<http://www.baktad.org.tr/baklavanin-tarihi/>). In 2005, Gaziantep Chamber of Industry obtained the patent and registration of baklava and proved that baklava belongs to Gaziantep, and in 2013, "Gaziantep Baklava's Geographical Indication Certificate " registration was given for baklava by the European Union Commission (<https://www.ab.gov.tr/49345.html>; <https://www.gso.org.tr/tr/genel-sayfa/cografi-tescil-isaretli-urunlerimiz/antep-baklavasi-16.html>).

5 For news about baklava: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIEUg-la-iI> ; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/food/baklava> ; <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/pg/foto-galeri/turkish-dessert-baklava-in-gaziantep> ; <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/27/travel/a-turkish-town-where-baklava-beckons.html> ; <https://www.tasteatlas.com/antep-baklavasi>

During the conversation with a baklava master who was met during the previous field research, the transformation of the labor process of baklava production was fascinating. At the same time, the concept of “trained from cradle (*çekirdektен yetme*)”, which is vital for the previous two kinds of research, is also crucial for baklava production. This conceptualization represents that the profession is learned at an early age and that the transfer of knowledge takes place through the master-apprentice relationship. The statement in baklava's Geographical Indication Registration document, "It has been taught from father to son, from master to apprentice in Gaziantep, has differentiated itself from home-made baklava with its production style and taste," shows that baklava yields with this concept⁶. The fact that the workers working in the baklava sector are also “trained from the cradle (*çekirdektен yetme*)” can be taken as a reference point for conducting this research.

On the other hand, the points that differ from these two fields of study seem to be necessary for investigating baklava. Despite the industrial nature of the weaving sector, baklava is seen as a craft; unlike the craft-based production of Yemeni, it has become a production style that is closer to fabrication with the change of the place of production and the tools used. In short, it has shown a different form of production than the production of all simple hand tools in craft sectors and fully developed machines used in carpet weaving.

2.2. Method of the Research and Sampling

The research aims to examine how a craft turns into factory-type production in the context of production space, production process, and production relations and the research question of this research in this scope is: "How, and in terms of what features do the production, production process, production relations, production place, and working conditions vary from craft-type production to industry type production in baklava production?". In this context, the research discusses the transformation of

⁶ Appendix C: Geographical Indication Certificate

baklava production from workshops to factories with *the qualitative research method*, which will be used to interpret and understand the transformation of the baklava production process with the experience of the masters. While selecting the participants of this study, *purposeful sampling*, which is widely used in qualitative research (Creswell and Poth, 2018: 542; Maxwell, 2013: 309), was used. The length of the baklava experience is essential to understand transformation in this research. To understand the transformation clearly and efficiently, the length of the experience is crucial. The main reason for this is that the people who experience the transformation are the masters who have worked in baklava production for many years, who will clearly explain the before and after the production. In the preliminary field research, interviews with apprentices and interviews with masters were compared. It has been seen that the longer the experience, the easier/explanatory for the masters to compare the past with the present.

2.3. Respondent Profile

In this study, where the duration of the experience is essential, all of the participants were selected from masters with 15 years or more experience. All of the participants are male as the baklava profession is a male dominant profession. Since baklava is seen as a profession that requires power, the profession is transferred from father to son, and the working hours start at midnight, the perception that this profession is a male profession continues. For this reason, except for one workshop, women were not encountered in the baklava-making part of the workshops. On the other hand, a workshop where women baklava makers work in the factory-type production section.

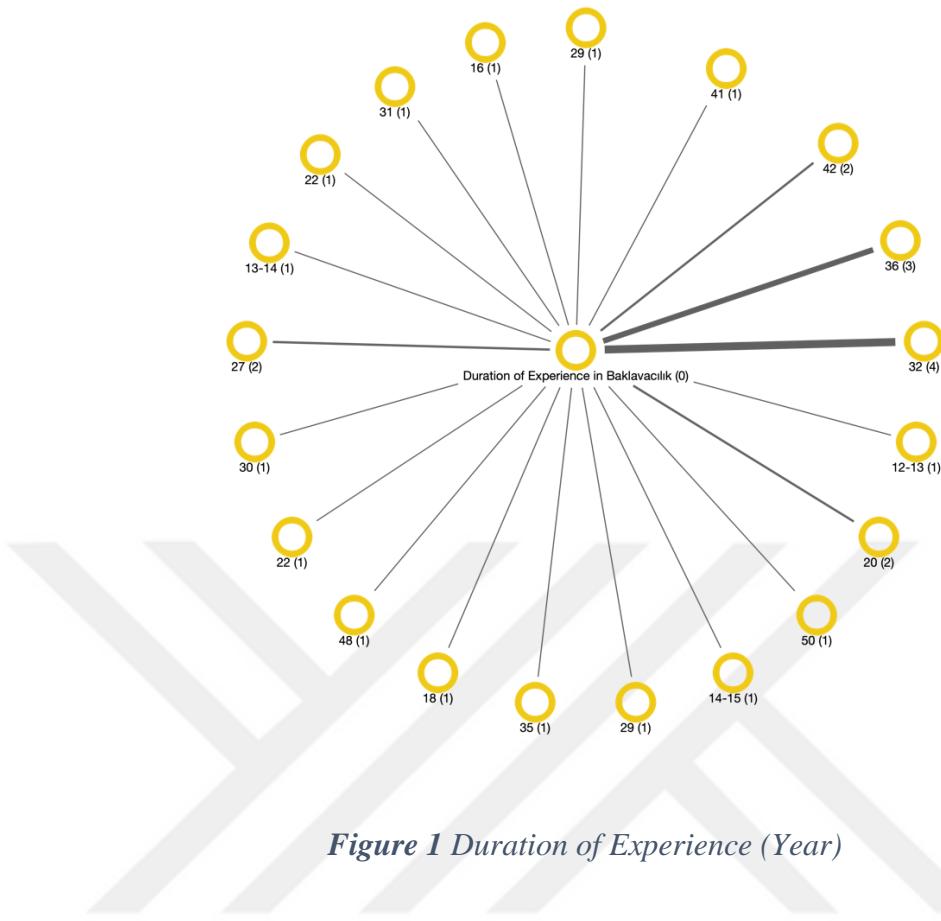


Figure 1 Duration of Experience (Year)

13 in-depth interviews were conducted with foremen (headmaster); 12 in-depth interviews were conducted with shop owners, and 10 interviews were conducted with masters working at various stages of baklava making. While 10 of the 12 business owners interviewed are masters in making baklava, two have invested in this business and do not know the stages of baklava making. In addition, an interview was held with a food engineer from the Gaziantep Chamber of Industry.

The workshops where the research was conducted were also separated according to their scales. Four types of workshops were included in the study. These are small, medium-small, medium-large, and large-scale workshops. Separating the workshops according to the scales was made by considering the production capacities, the size of the production place, and the number of employees. Observations in the field have

shaped this distinction. The main reason for choosing workshops at different scales is to see both the differentiation in production relations, the use of machinery, how systematically the production process is, and how the factorization indicators change in each workshop at different scales. This situation also follows the goals of purposeful sampling, “representativeness of the settings,” “achieving the heterogeneity in the population,” “to illuminate the reasons for differences between settings” (Maxwell, 2013: 312, 313, 315). In this context, the research was carried out with a total of 13 different baklava companies, 5 small (S1-S5), 2 medium-small (MS1-MS2), 2 medium-large (ML1-ML2) and 4 large-scale (L1-L4). Among these companies, especially the large-scale ones, are companies with a deep-rooted history.

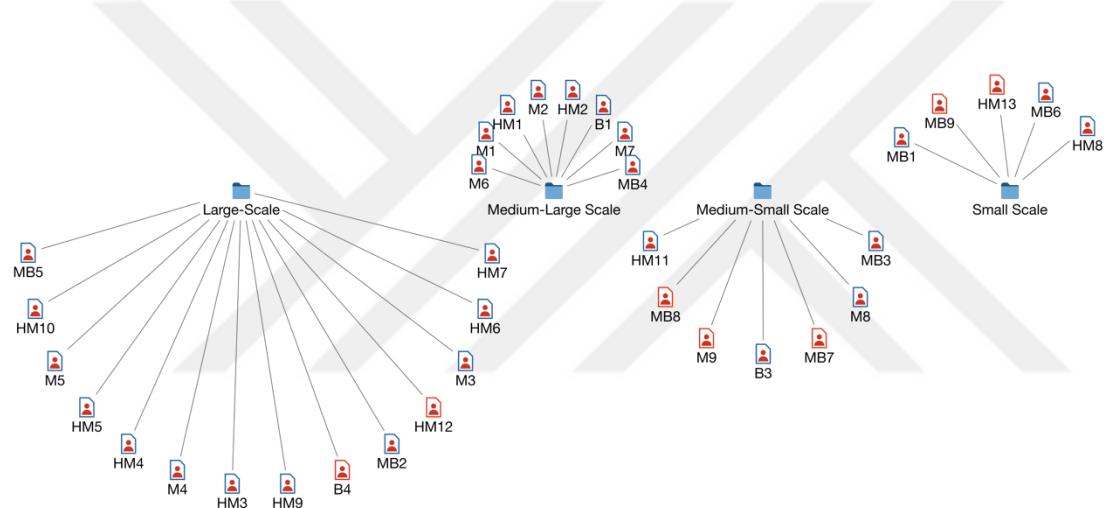


Figure 2 Respondents according to Scale of the Baklava Firms

Some demographic information of the participants is as follows; in the list below, participants' names were determined as M, MB, HM, and B; participants will be mentioned in this way throughout the research. M, Master; MB, Master and at the same time Boss; HM, Headmaster; B, Boss. The age range of the participants in the study is between 31 and 60. 34 of the participants are married, and 2 of them are single. Due to the nature of the profession, they started their profession at an early age, and the

number of school dropouts is in the majority; 17 of the participants are primary school graduates, 9 participants are secondary school graduates, and 3 participants are high school graduates and 2 participants university graduates.

Table 1

Respondents' Profile

Nickname	Job	Age	Educational	Marital	Duration	Production Scale	
						Description	Status
M1	Layer	32	Primary	Married	22	Medium-large	
M2	Layer	31	Secondary	Married	16	Medium-large	
M3	Layer	45	Primary	Married	36	Large	
M4	Baker	47	Primary	Married	36	Large	
M5	Baker and Sherbet	54	Primary	Married	43	Large	
M6	Baker and Sherbet	45	Primary	Married	30	Medium-Large	
M7	Layer	41	Primary	Married	27	Medium-Large	
M8	Dough and Roller	34	Secondary	Married	18	Medium-Small	
	Layer						

Table 1 (cont'd)

M9	Dough Roller	33	Primary	Married	20	Medium-Small
HM1	Headmaster	33	University	Married	14	Medium-Large
HM2	Headmaster	42	Primary	Married	31	Medium-Large
HM3	Headmaster	54	Primary	Married	41	Large
HM4	Headmaster	50	High School	Married	42	Large
HM5	Headmaster	40	Primary	Married	29	Large
HM6	Headmaster	39	Secondary	Married	25	Large
HM7	Headmaster	47	Primary	Married	34	Large
HM8	Headmaster	27	Secondary	Married	15	Small
HM9	Headmaster	45	Primary	Married	32	Large
HM10	Headmaster	43	Primary	Married	32	Large
HM11	Headmaster	35	Secondary	Bachelor	22	Medium-Small
HM12	Headmaster	60	Secondary	Married	50	Large
HM13	Headmaster	52	Primary	Married	42	Small
MB1	Master-Boss	41	Secondary	Married	29	Small

Table 1 (cont'd)

MB2	Master-	59	-	Married	46	Large
	Boss					
MB3	Master-	51	High	Married	35	Medium-Small
	Boss		School			
MB4	Master-	47	Secondary	Married	32	Medium-Large
	Boss					
MB5	Master-	46	Primary	Married	37	Large
	Boss					
MB6	Master-	-	Primary	Married	-	Small
	Boss					
MB7	Master-	25	High	Bachelor	20	Medium-Small
	Boss		School			
MB8	Master-	25	Primary	Married	13	Small
	Boss					
MB9	Master-	39	Primary	Married	27	Small
	Boss					
B1	Boss	30	University	Bachelor	15	Medium-Large
B2	Boss	-		Married	-	Medium-Small
B3	Boss	55	Secondary	Married	48	Medium-Small
B4	Boss	-	University	Married	-	Large

Table 1 (cont'd)

E1	Engineer	-	University	Married	-	Gaziantep Chamber of Industry
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2.4. Interviews

While using the qualitative method, the in-depth interviews explain the relationship between the questions and the concepts in theory. The literature shaped the interview guide prepared on the sociology of work and previous field experiences. The first interview for the field was held in October 2019 with an experienced business owner. The preliminary field research conducted in December of the same year laid the groundwork for the thesis research, shaping the research questions and determining the participants. In addition, considering the cyclical nature of qualitative research, observations and conversations during the field also led to the emergence of new questions in the field. During the field research, all interviews were conducted by the researcher.

The questions in the interview guide are grouped under six headings. A total of 34 questions were asked under the headings of demographic information, the job description of the participant and ways of finding a job, one working day, experience in the baklava sector, master-apprentice relationship, and about continuing the profession⁷. Under these questions, information was obtained from the participants about the reasons for choosing the profession, how their routine day was spent, at which stages they worked in baklava making, the usage of machinery and technology, and working conditions. Within the scope of the research, interviews were conducted with all participants using the same interview guide. Except for the two owners, all business owners are also people who know how to make baklava, so the same interview guide could be used. However, it is possible to interview two business owners who do not know how to make baklava without an interview guide.

⁷ Appendix B

The interviews continued approximately between 15 minutes and 1.30 hours. Since the masters had to control the work constantly, the interviews were done either during the production or in the appropriate places of the workshop. In large enterprises, it was not possible to meet with the masters after the production ended, as the service time came when the work was finished. Interviews with business owners were done in their offices or baklava shops. While 8 of the interviews were done by the masters, 11 were done in a suitable place in the workshop, and 17 took place in the offices in the production areas or shops.

The interviews were audio-recorded after obtaining informed consent from each participant. Three participants did not allow voice recording. The answers of these participants were noted during the interview. Two of the three participants are business owners, and one is a master. The reason why these three participants do not allow audio recording may be related to trust relations. The failure to spend enough time in these production places to establish trust may have caused voice recordings not to be allowed.

2.5. Story of the Field

Good fieldwork relations in qualitative research are essential to carry out research that will provide valid and accurate information (Bloor and Wood, 2006: 85). Some of the points that mediate the establishment of these good relations are explained below. The field diary kept throughout the field was used to write this section.

Insiderness/Outsiderness

One of the issues I would like to mention in the methodology section is the insider/outsider conceptualization. According to Robert K. Merton, “*Insiders are the members of specified groups and collectivities or occupants of specified social*

statuses; Outsiders are the nonmembers.” (1972: 21). Based on this definition, the researcher was present in the field as both an insider and an outsider in this field study.

Being from Gaziantep may be the main reason why I am seen as an insider. Giving this information both when meeting gatekeepers and introducing myself in the workshops has allowed me to be seen as an insider throughout the research field. This has also been used as an advantage during the field. At the same time, the insiderness side of the study provides a way of understanding and empathizing with the participants' behavior and thoughts.

According to Merton, being insider and outsider is a free-floating situation; it cannot be determined with certain lines, and a researcher can be both an insider and an outsider in the field (1972: 22, 28, 29). My identity "as a researcher" in this field and the fact that I came from Ankara also caused me to be seen as an outsider. However, this situation did not cause a problem that would undermine the accuracy of the answers given and make the participants feel uncomfortable while receiving data from the participants. Both my outsider and insider identity have been brought to the fore simultaneously and in balance so that I can build trust and communicate throughout the field. At the same time, being an outsider has helped preserve objectivity during the analysis phase of the research.

Roles and Identities

The identity of the researcher is vital in qualitative research. Unlike quantitative research, the researcher establishes more mutual relationships with the participants, spends more time, and shares much more information in qualitative research.

According to Bloor and Wood, “A good fieldwork relationship is characterized by trust.” (Bloor and Wood, 2006: 85); identity is vital in the level of involvement and to establish the trust bond in this relationship. Also, the sincerity of the information

depends on this relationship. The researcher's identity, which is about age, gender, or ethnicity, drastically affects the process of fieldwork. The success of fieldwork depends on how the researcher negotiates her / his self-identities and social roles in the field.

In this field research, three points can be mentioned in the roles and identity of the researcher. The first is about being a woman in the field, the second is about being young, and the third is about being a student. It is difficult to see women in production areas in baklava, which is a male-dominated profession. Women only work in the cafeterias of the production places or the tea and coffee services of the offices, or they work as food engineers in large production places. As mentioned above, a workshop where women baklava makers work in the factory-type production section. At this point, walking around the workshop and meeting with the masters as a woman was considered strange at first. And I was sometimes thought of as a food engineer in the field.

On the other hand, being a young woman has led to sometimes advantageous and sometimes disadvantageous situations in this male-dominated area. The advantage of being a young woman was that shop owners and craftsmen listened to the research with interest, and I was seen as "more harmless" than a male researcher. The disadvantage was the questions of the traditional, family-oriented men of Gaziantep about whether I could meet single men in their families because I am a 25-year-old single woman. However, this did not have a major impact on the field research since it is not a common situation in the field.

Thirdly, having a student identity has put me in an advantageous position in the field. When I was seen as a student who wanted to do her homework, I was met with tolerance, especially by masters who have children. In addition, the fact that I am studying at a highly respected university in our country, such as METU, caused the participants' approach to me to be positive. In this case, it can be shown as one of the

advantages of my student identity that the masters answer the questions seriously and at length.

In addition, business owners who consider being included in research as a source of pride were also encountered. They stated that it was valuable for a researcher to listen to baklava making, their opinions, and experiences of the masters. Researcher identity was used as an advantage in this sense.

Access

As I mentioned above, my insider identity in the field, being from Gaziantep, helped me find gatekeepers and participants. In this case, the Insider identity has been one of the situations that facilitated my access to the field. Not only my insider identity but also the identities that I mentioned above have benefited in accessing the field.

The field research first started with the list⁸ of baklava makers who are Gaziantep Chamber of Industry members. Though, the absence of small-scale enterprises in this list has limited the diversity of the research. The reason why small-scale enterprises are not included in this list is that, according to the information received from the Gaziantep Chamber of Industry, small enterprises with less than ten employees cannot be registered with the Chamber of Industry. Yet, although I could not find small businesses from this list, businesses of this scale were reached through gatekeepers in the field. This situation showed me that I should not limit myself to this list.

In the first week of the field research, I had a hard time finding participants. At this point, the importance of gatekeepers can be stated. Gatekeepers form the key people for successful access to the field (Bloor and Wood, 2006: 71). As is common in

8 For the list of the members: <https://gso.org.tr/tr/uye-firmalar.html?q=&n=&p=baklava&s=>

qualitative research⁹, access to the field in this study was carried out through gatekeepers who have insider status in the field. During the adaptation process to the field, three people I met in the cafe where I carried out my preparations in the first week expanded the social capital I established in Gaziantep, and this difficulty was overcome. Different key contacts were used to reach the participants. The first interviews in the field were done by my baklava maker friend living in Gaziantep and a food engineer from Gaziantep Provincial Directorate of Agriculture. Gatekeepers who I met in the cafe helped me find participants in the second stage. One of the points that caught my attention during the field research is that at least one of the individuals living in Gaziantep is a baklava maker. This situation shows how widespread baklava is actually in Gaziantep. Another critical gatekeeper in the field is one of the high-level officials contacted by the Chamber of Baklava Makers. At the same time, this official (B3), a baklava maker and business owner, also contributed to my communication with large and small scale baklava makers and thus entered their workshops. Again, one of the food engineers working in the Gaziantep Chamber of Industry was contacted through a gatekeeper. As can be seen in the story of the field research introduction, the participants were reached by using the snowball technique in the process where many gatekeepers were intermediaries.

Observation and Interaction

At the same time, the contribution of observation can be mentioned where the in-depth interview will be incomplete. Observation is of great importance, especially for this study, which tries to explain the production process. The information obtained in the interviews was supported by observing the stages of baklava production, the master-apprentice relationship, and the workshop environment. The observations I made in the field also enabled me to gain information about the speed of production, the stages of production, and working conditions.

9 For more detail: Creswell and Poth, 2018: 537.

The field research of this research lasted 35 days. As a result of the interviews with the gatekeepers in the first week, interviews and observations started in the second week of the field research. The working hours of the workshops to be interviewed start between 04:00 and 05:00. For this reason, to make observations, the production processes in the workshop were observed between 06:00 and 13:00 on the days when the interviews would be held (workshops work except Sundays), as permitted by the workshop owners. Between these hours, the stages of baklava making were observed, and the opportunity to converse with the masters during cigarette and lunch breaks was found. Eating with the masters during lunch breaks and spending time with them during cigarette breaks were beneficial in providing an environment of trust. A foreman accompanied me during my time in the workshop. As the trust relationship was established, I was freed to look at the parts of the production that I was curious about. Some companies throughout the field allowed me to experience several stages of baklava making. This experience showed me that no stage of making baklava is as easy as it seems from the outside and that making baklava is a labor-intensive job and requires mastery.

As a result of the observations made in the field, it was concluded that the baklava profession is a male-dominated field, as mentioned above. No female master or apprentice was encountered in any of the 13 enterprises visited. Nevertheless, according to the information obtained from a participant who has working experience in Istanbul, women also work in the baklava company where he works. However, in the Gaziantep baklava workshops, women only work in the cafeteria for prepare meal to workers.

Strength of the Research

The research was carried out under Covid-19 conditions. There are three main reasons why this research requires face-to-face interviews during the pandemic situation when most research is done through online platforms such as Zoom or Skype. Considering

the responsive profile, it was thought that such platforms would create an artificial environment for the working class and make them feel uncomfortable. As in other qualitative studies (Gillham, 2000: 62), it was important for this research to be conducted face-to-face in order to establish a trusting relationship with the participants in the fieldwork and to make the information more reliable. In addition, it was also taken into account whether each participant had the technological tools to use these platforms. This seems to be the right decision, considering that the interviews in the field are fluent and comfortable.

Difficulties

On the other hand, the participants were found during the field, so it won't be easy to reach the participants if the research is done in Ankara. The third reason is related to the transformation of research and its examination of the manufacturing process. As a researcher, this research differs from other studies conducted under Covid-19 conditions to observe how this process progresses, which tools are used, and the relations between master and apprentice. It would be wrong to say that all precautions were taken for Covid-19 in the field. Workers cannot work with masks because the production places are hot, stuffy, and humid. In this environment, observations and interviews were made without a mask to show that I felt comfortable there to not damage the communication as a researcher and not to damage the image of insiderness.

As I mentioned above, the relationship of trust is essential for interviews and observations in this field, as in every field. The fact that it is difficult to establish a relationship of trust in this field where baklava production is researched can be shown as the fact that the details of baklava making and the materials/tools used still want to be kept a secret. Although there is a solidarity among the companies throughout the field to preserve the prestige and quality of baklava; it can be said that the competition between companies maintains its importance. Although this feeling of competition created worry about whether I would talk to other companies about the conditions of

the workshop when it was learned that I went to different companies for research, it did not affect the course of the field and the answers received from the interviewers.

Since the working sector is a food sector, the sensitivity to hygiene conditions is high¹⁰. The assumption that the hygiene conditions were measured left the workshop owners undecided whether to show the workshop or not. Establishing a relationship of trust in this matter has been possible in two ways throughout the field. The first is the reliability of the gatekeepers who allow me to establish contact with the people in the field. The second is an understanding of the purpose of the research, thanks to the time spent in the field. In this way, it was easier to enter the workshop and make observations of the companies. At the same time, as the time spent in the workshop increased, I was allowed to take pictures, walk around alone, and even experience several stages of baklava making.

2.6. Data Analysis Method

Firstly, the audio recordings obtained with the interview technique were transcribed by the researcher within the scope of the analysis. The transcripts obtained from the audio recordings were transferred to the MAXQDA 2021. In the data analysis process, first of all, all transcripts were read separately and descriptive coding was done. Afterwards, the transcripts were read again and the descriptive codes were brought together with thematic coding. In the coding process, which started through the program, in the first step 21 thematic codes and 457 subcodes were reached, then this number was reduced to 2 main thematic codes and 184 subcodes thanks to the increasing level of abstraction throughout the analysis process. Due to the updating of the MAXQDA program during the analysis process, the research analysis was completed with the MAXQDA 2022 version.

¹⁰ The company with the highest hygiene sensitivity is L1; The reason why it is thought like this can be shown that this is the company that allowed me to enter the workshop with a mask and protective clothing.

The codes and categories used in the data analysis are organized with the production process, production relations, and production conditions indicators specified in the study's theoretical framework. In the context of this organization, the codes, and categories used in data analysis show parallelism with the theoretical framework. Hsieh and Shannon's *Directed Content Analysis method* can be explained by this analysis method (2005). According to Hsieh and Shannon, the use of key concepts determined before and during the field, which is organized by using existing theories, in the analysis of data is defined as the directed content analysis method (2005: 1281). With this method, the findings obtained from the field are analyzed in the context of overlapping and diverging points with the theory; the theoretical background determines the categories and codes. In this sense, the data analysis of this research was carried out using the Directed Content Analysis method.

The data collected from the participants are based on comparing the past and present production processes, production relations, production conditions, and production place in the context of the craft-type production period and the factory-type production period in general. In this logic, there is a binary structure under each heading of data analysis.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter consists of two main parts. In the first part, the characteristics of craft type production, the structure of the production process, production relations, place of production, and working conditions will be discussed. In the second part, the same topics will be mentioned to examine the characteristics of factory-type production. With these titles, it is aimed to draw the framework of the transformations of the production process in the transition from craft-type production to factory-type production.

3.1. Craft

In our first part of the theoretical framework, we will present the craft in all its aspects. Description of craft, craft production process, production relation, workshop as a craft production place, and the working conditions will be presented. Moreover, reasons behind the decline of the craft guilds in relation to crafts' production disappearing will be shown. With all these, the aim is to discuss the craft type of production in all characteristics to understand the craft production fully.

3.1.1. Description of the Craft: What we do want to refer to with craft?

In this part of the theoretical framework, we will show the description of the craft, its institutionalized structure and its historical background. In order to understand the importance of the craft type of production in the preindustrial period's economy, it is necessary. Furthermore, guilds are central to craft production and its regulations. To show the craft production process' rules and general structure, the guilds cannot overlook.

Craft is a complex concept to understand and define¹¹ (Holmes, 2015: 479). The word meaning of the craft has been in continuous change, especially since the Industrial Revolution (Hambleton, 2016: 67). Although craft needs a separate and unique conceptualization today, it was a concept expressing all kinds of craftsmanship that could be found before the Industrial Revolution (Demircan, 2005: 7). According to Glenn Adamson, the craft shows essential characteristics such as 'creativity, rootedness, and authenticity' (2013: xvii). According to Margaret Visser, craft refers to a combination of 'talent, power and intelligence' (1994: 13). According to H. Örcün Barışta, the craft is also expressed as handicrafts, and it is aimed to create beauty on functional materials (1985: 3).

According to Sennett, all craftsmanship is quality-oriented (Sennett, 2008: 24). In this sense, it is also used to refer to craft, handmade and high-quality products. Today, 'handmade' already denotes a high-quality, relatively expensive, and luxury product. However, contrary to its current meaning and function, the products produced by craft manufacturers were not a luxury consumption but rather the production of necessities (Schneider, 1957: 36).

The 'rootedness' feature in Adamson's definition seems to emphasize the traditional and cultural nature of the craft. Craft products and craft-making have a cultural and traditional status (Poser, 2008: 81; Adamson, 2013: xvii; Adamson, 2012: xvii), and crafts may vary according to society's cultural patterns (Whitaker, 1967: 21). The craft has the traditional production process, and often societies bring the crafts to the present day as a cultural heritage.

Following these definitions, examples can be given to understand the craft better and embody the features as mentioned above. The *Livre des metier*, organized in 1268, divided the crafts into six groups as foods, jewelry, metals, textiles and clothiers, furs,

11 The definition of craft is also a subject that is frequently discussed academically (Attfield, 2000; Becker, 1978; Fariello and Owen, 2005).

and building (Sennett, 2008: 57). In this sense, there are nearly 100, perhaps more, craft types such as carpenters, wood-carvers, painters, weavers, goldsmiths, ironmongers, spinners, brewers, tanners, plumbers, shoemakers, bakers. This number may also increase depending on how much the division of labor between guilds is shared because each part of the work divided between the guilds constitutes a specialty and thus a craft.

Here, at the same time, it is necessary to distinguish between art and craft. Although the two concepts are similar in terms of talent and creativity, there are also points where they differ. These two concepts, which are often confused with each other, first differ in terms of their use-values. While the use-value of works of art is determined purely aesthetically and intellectually, the functionality of the products is at the forefront in addition to aesthetics in craft products (Poser, 2008: 81). According to Sennett, several features distinguish craft from art. For Sennett, who said that there would be no art without crafts in terms of practice, while craft covers all types of labor, artists constitute only a part of the society (Sennett, 2008: 65). At the same time, according to Sennett, while the artist turns to himself, the craftsman turns to the society with the products he produces (Sennett, 2008: 65). Considering the use-value, the functionality of the craftsman's product ensures that the product is also seen as valuable in society. At the same time, while art emphasizes uniqueness, craft emphasizes practice with continuity (Sennett, 2008: 66). Finally, according to Sennett, these two concepts also differ in terms of the subject of the practice. While the artist has a single subject, the craft represents a more collective action (Sennett, 2008: 73).

When it is desired to make a common definition through these definitions, the craft product should be functional and carry the creativity of the individual and have a long history at the same time. On the other hand, this term can be used to express both an object, a mode of production, and a production relation.

3.1.1.1. Guilds As the Institutionalization of the Craft: What are the Guilds and their Responsibilities? Regulations and Control

Guilds are important institutions for understanding craft in all its aspects. Because guilds regulate the product, production relation, working conditions and transition of knowledge. The guild system and its features will be discussed in this section. What the guild is, its historical background, responsibilities, and characteristics will be presented.

In the historical path, there are different structures in which societies institutionalize and organize their economic activities in different modes of production. One of the institutional structures shared in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and America can be presented as guilds. This type of organization is one of the dominant work organizations in urban areas¹²¹³ (Volti, 2012: 29; Yıldırım, 2001: 49). A guild is a hierarchical organization of skilled workers from the same profession who come together to produce a particular product. Robert Lopez defines guilds as:

‘a federation of autonomous workshops, whose owners [the masters] normally made all decisions and established the requirements for promotion from the lower ranks [journeymen, hired helpers, or apprentices].’ in (1971: 127).

Guilds belong to many occupation groups. In medieval Europe, guilds existed for weaving, stonemasonry, metalsmithing, shoemaking, and even begging and stealing (Volti, 2012: 29). The guilds that are established on particular craft production and

12 Apart from economic life, guilds not only have solid religious characteristics but also have visibility as charitable organizations and charities (Volti, 2012: 29).

13 Guilds have political as well as economic importance (Sennett, 2008: 61). Considering that the state acts as one of the economic institutions, guilds also have a role in the political sphere, as they regulate and control production, proving the productivity and economic power of the state administration. In some cities (such as Liège, Utrecht, and Cologne), they have complete political control and elected municipal councils and governors (Hannan and Kranzberg, 2021).

cover handicrafts are called craft guilds. In this thesis, only craft guilds and their responsibilities and features will be dealt with.

Guilds, at that time, had great authority in national production (Rorabaugh, 1986: 5). Each craft guild has its own rules and responsibilities. The rules have a greatly tightly regulated structure, which all craft guilds comply with and are punished if they do not comply (Aynur, 2005: 184). In this respect, craft guilds have restrictive and regulatory roles. The most basic purpose of these restrictions and regulations provided by rules is related to equality among the craftsmen, as stated by Weber in his *General Economic History* (1950: 138). In order to ensure that every craftsman's workshop and production grows equally, the rules are determined strictly from the materials used in the products, the tools to be used, the number of apprentices, the number of producers, the production method to the sales price of the products (Schneider, 1957: 5, 35, 36; Volti, 2012: 31; Yi, 2005: 55; Rorabaugh, 1986: 4)¹⁴. In short, it seems that these rules regulate the craft production process.

Control is the other primary responsibility of the craft guilds. In order to ensure this control in all production areas, membership in guilds was made compulsory (Schneider, 1957: 35). Approving the mastery of the people who produce and giving them the authority to produce and open shops became possible thanks to this membership (Yi, 2005: 55,56). This obligation is for a limited, stable, and predictable market, and competition, product price, production method, and product quality are under control with the determined rules (Volti, 2012: 31; Schneider, 1957: 36; Adamson, 2012: 15)¹⁵.

14 For example, during the Ottoman Empire, guilds controlled the bread sold in Istanbul from its weight to its purity (Faroqhi, 2005: 18).

15 These restrictions and rules are also made possible by mutual control between the members of the guilds themselves. It has become permissible for producers/masters to control each other's production methods and products, thanks to the production sites usually in the same neighborhood (Volti, 2012, p.30).

Guilds also functioned as vocational schools which trained personnel for an occupation for craftsmen during the early Renaissance, the Middle Ages, and indeed until they ceased to function (Sjoberg, 1965: 192). In the guilds of which masters and apprentices are members, new masters are trained with the apprenticeship model, and with this system, both the training and the quality of the products are tried to be maintained. Guilds not only control the quality of education but also ensured the regulation of the relationship between master-apprentice with this system that provided the training of craftsmen (Whitaker, 1967: 6; Rorabaugh, 1986: 4).

Craft guilds regulated and controlled both working conditions, the wages, sale, and quality of the product and the production process. All these controls, regulations, and practices, which set out to observe equality, also brought along a controlled production system, standardization of the quality of the products, and regular production relations.

3.1.1.2. Historical Background of the Craft Guilds: in the World and the Anatolia

This historical background is necessary to understand in which historical periods this type of production was essential and when the craft type of production began to disappear. The guild system has a long history that has been experienced and put into practice in many places, albeit at different times. There is no evidence of the existence of craft guilds in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, while in ancient Rome they were known as 'collegia', although they were known to exist; craft guilds seem to have emerged with the establishment of the Roman Republic in this theme (Britannica, 2021). The history of the guilds, which we see in Europe, England, and the Ottoman Empire, dates back to the Middle Ages. It is known that productions such as potter, smiths, weavers, brewers in the Pre-industrial agricultural society are based on guilds (Volti, 2012: 10; Sjoberg, 1965: 187). The history of guilds dates back to the 10th and 11th centuries in Europe, with the emergence and growth of cities (Britannica, 2021). The story of the guilds, which started with food manufacturers and leather workers in France and Italy, shows itself with the guilds established by weavers in England (Cartwright, 2018). With their dominance over all branches of production in the 13th

and 14th centuries, guilds reached their highest prosperity and became an important actor of production and social organization (Ashley, 1925; Schneider, 1957: 34; Hannan and Kranzberg, 2021). Although the guilds started to lose their importance in the 19th century, we can say that today, in some professions, the shades of this system remain with the continuity of the professional chambers.

One of the primary production units of the Ottoman Empire was also craft guilds. Although most historians who study the Ottoman Empire are interested in guilds (Ghazaleh, 2005: 235; Faroqhi, 2005: 5), the origin of the craft guilds in the Ottoman Empire has not been determined precisely. Although there are records of a few guild-like structures in Bursa at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, it can be said that these structures had more flexible rules than the guilds of later periods (Faroqhi, 2005: 13). From the 16th century onwards, guilds began to play a vital role in production and trade in cities from the Balkans to North Africa (Chalcraft, 2005: 338-9). At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, it can be said that the institutionalization of the Ottoman guilds, especially those in Bursa and Istanbul, became stronger (Faroqhi, 2005: 86; Yi, 2005: 55). In the 19th century, when the way of production in the Ottoman Empire went towards factorization, looseness began to be seen in the restrictions of the guilds (Yıldırım, 2001: 53). Especially after 1830, the guilds in the Ottoman Empire began to disappear (Chalcraft, 2005: 338-9)^{16 17}.

3.1.2. Craft's Production Process and Its Characteristics

In this section, the basic features of the production process of the craft will be discussed. The main issues related to the production process such as the tools used in

16 In addition, it was recorded that Ottoman soldiers (janissaries) started to enter the craft fields because they could not work in the army after marriage, this situation accelerated the disappearance of the guilds, and the Janissaries, who did not receive the necessary apprenticeship training, caused the loss of tradition necessary for the continuation of the craft (Yıldırım, 2001: 56).

17 Towards the end of the Ottoman Empire, some of the producers who were not affiliated with the craft guilds changed from craftsmen with workshops to capitalists with factories (Yıldırım, 2001: 50).

the production process, the time required to learn the craft process, the skills required, the division of labor, specialization, and standardization will be handled under this title.

The craft and craft guilds, whose historical path is described above, show themselves as the primary production process until the beginning of the factory system and mass production. Craft's production process is based on traditional techniques and is maintained by the collaboration of head and hand (Williams, 1974: 169; Sennett, 2008: 149). This aspect of the craft increases the respect for the labor and skills given in the production process. This respect and high skill ensure that the craftsman is not interfered within the production process and that the production method and procedure is left to him (Braverman, 1974: 109).

Every production process has a certain rhythm and routine. Although the farmer determines the production process himself, even in farming, he performs a particular routine every day (Schneider, 1957: 186). Craft's production process is also based on such a routine. Sennett compares the organization of the craft production process to religion based on rituals (Sennett, 2008: 12,117). According to Sennett, like religion, the craft is based on a rhythm, and the production process must be repeated every day, month, and year to learn the craft (Sennett, 2008: 177). Now we will examine the features of production that are repeated in this routine.

We will now examine the manual with simple tools, non-alienated production process of craft, which traditionally takes place on small, hierarchically unstratified small plantations with a low division of labor, requiring a long learning process and high skill.

3.1.2.1. Usage of the tool

Craft production uses simple hand tools and has primitive technology. The craft relies on the skillful use of tools, manual labor rather than a machine. The manufacturing

process is accomplished by manipulating tools and materials with traditional skills, and all control rests with the craftsman (Blauner, 1964: 42). William Faunce clarifies this situation as follows: “In the handicraft stage of production, tools are an adjunct to the skill of craftsman, and it is primarily his ability and not his equipment that determines the quality and quantity of his output.”; in this stage power source is animate and production is based on simple machine and tools (1965: 152-153). The use of tools in the craft is not an end; tools are used only as a tool. In this sense, instead of tools, the craftsman's skills determine the quality and quantity of the object.

In fact, Sennett says that the tools used by the craftsman are now part of his body. Holmes exemplifies this situation as follows:

“The joiner’s hammer, the surgeon’s scalpel, the conductor’s baton, all fuse with their owner through the repetition of practice.”
(Holmes, 2015: 482)

Before the Industrial Revolution, before the factory-type production system, the power to be used in production was generally obtained from human and animal muscles, while water and wind power were also used just before the mechanization (Volti, 2012: 10). In this stage of production, production based on human effort (Sjoberg, 1965: 196). In this sense, the craft production process was not mechanized; it was based on simple tools and required simple force.

3.1.2.2. Master’s Skill/Traditional Skill in Craft Production and Specialization

According to Lloyd and Payne (2009), the concept of skill is challenging to define. Know-how, communication and interaction abilities, the social nature of the skill, and the training required by the skill can be included in the definition of skill (Clarke et al., 2013; Payne, 2009; Toerien and Kitzinger, 2007; Gatta et al., 2009; Holmes, 2015: 481-2).

Skill is a critical dimension of the craft production process. All work is linked to a high degree of skill. This skill is based on practical experience, and as mentioned above, a long learning process is required to acquire this skill. What makes a craftsman a craftsman is the skills he has at the end of this learning process. For example, Hambleton emphasizes the significance of skill when describing craftsmanship as 'to exercise skill in making something' (2016: 67). Sennett (2008), on the other hand, says 'skill is a practical' while defining skill and emphasizes the importance of practice for gaining skill. The skill described above is referred to as a 'traditional skill.' Traditional skill covers the competence of many jobs, requires accumulation, is based on continuous repetition, and is heritizable (Blauner, 1964: 37; Holmes, 2015: 482). According to Blauner, traditional skill also includes taking the initiative about the product and production process of the craftsmen (1964: 423).

Skill in the craft also includes an emphasis on creativity and instinct (Veblen, 1914: 306)¹⁸. However, when skill is mentioned, it is not only implied an innate talent. By giving the example of Mozart in this regard, Sennett emphasizes that talent alone is not enough for the development of skill and the importance of experience:

...but from ages five to seven Mozart learned how to train his great innate musical memory when he improvised at the keyboard. ...he went over his scores again and again in his mind before setting them in ink. We should be suspicious of claims for innate, untrained talent. (Sennett, 2008: 37)

In this sense, the craftsman's knowledge is not based on a handicraft alone. The skill of the craftsman also includes technical and scientific knowledge (Braverman, 1974: 133-134). David Landes addresses on this subject:

18 The skill used in the craft is also seen as an artisanal skill. Thorstein Veblen's (1914) concept of the 'workman instinct' is worth mentioning here. According to Veblen, 'the instinct of workmanship' indicates practical remedy, competence, skill, and creative work (1914: 306). Especially in craft production, the instinct of workmanship is vital for craftsmen because they have dominance over the production process and the quality of the product by using their skills and creativity in production.

Even more striking is the theoretical knowledge of these men. They were not, on the whole, the unlettered tinkerers of historical mythology. (Braverman, 1974: 133)

The intended skill requires the use of mind and hand together. In this sense, the craftsman has the ability to both solve problems and find problems with his skills; Sennett refers to this as 'thinking like a craftsman' (Sennett, 2008: 11).

Members of the craft think that they have a special skill and a unique knowledge (mystery) for their work (Rorabaugh, 1986: 8; Schneider, 1957: 179). This 'mystery' feature attributed to the skill has caused the acquired skills to remain in a closed system and show a feature that can only be known by those who practice that craft. This situation has advantages such as maintaining the uniqueness of the product; it also has a disadvantage, such as a possibility of the secret being lost if it cannot be passed from generation to generation.

Not every piece of work done in the workshop may require a high degree of skill. Some parts of the production process require high skill and dexterity, while some jobs require a level of proficiency that semiskilled workers can also do. Some jobs may not require any skill at all. However, when the labor spent for the final product is considered, a production process that requires high skill is seen in total.

While artisans are used in some regions to indicate high prestige and hierarchically high-status people in the society, in some societies, the status of artisans has always been subordinated to professional groups such as doctors and lawyers (Rorabaugh, 1986: 5). How valuable their skills are to society seems to determine their position in the socio-economic hierarchy. In addition, artisans belonging to different occupational groups are positioned at different levels among themselves according to their labor intensity; in this sense, craftsmen are not equal among themselves (Rorabaugh, 1986: 6).

It will be mentioned above that division of labor has no clear limits on craft production. This fact shows that it is difficult to *specialize* in a single job in the production process. Since the craftsman has mastered the entire production process, he specializes in the entire process rather than a single step of the production process (Schneider, 1957: 199-200; Blauner, 1964: 97). Gideon Sjoberg explains the specialization in the workshops as follows: “A guild includes those persons who are members of a highly specialized branch of occupation. ... The craftsman, instead of concentrating upon a particular step in the fashioning of an item, performs all or most of the steps from beginning to end.” (1965: 187, 197). This situation shows that workers specialized in the occupation in pre-industrial times, not a task. In short, we are talking about a broad competence, not a narrow specialization in the craft production process.

3.1.2.3. Organization of the Craft’s Production Process: Division of Labor, Standardization and Routinization

The primitive form of *division of labor*, which is one of the essential features of the capitalist production process, is actually seen in the workshops that produced weapons for the Roman armies in the pre-industrial period (Braverman, 1974: 64). A sharp division of labor is not encountered in the production process in the guild system, either. The craftsman has control over the entire production process and knows all the stages of the work (Schneider, 1957: 199-200; Blauner, 1964: 97). Since the workshops are small in crafts, the work to be organized is not very large, so the production process cannot be divided into many parts (Blauner, 1964: 56).

It is seen that the pre-industrial division of labor is not within the workshop though between different workshops, different craft guilds (Kickinger, 2005: 285; Schneider, 1957: 38). In this sense, it can be said that several crafts come together for a product. Instead of breaking up the production process into a single workshop, different workshops can also make different parts of the production process. This situation

exemplifies a production that goes beyond the workshop, where a job is given to a single workshop¹⁹.

Although the craftsman knows the whole process in the craft-type production process, there is a division of labor between the master, apprentice, and the journeyman in the production process. In this sense, Sennett likens craft production to a collective practice (2008: 66). If a division of labor is to be mentioned for craft shops, it is a hierarchical division of labor. The hierarchical division of labor represents the division of labor between master, journeyman, and apprentice. In this sense, the job description changes depending on the experience. As the least experienced workers, the apprentices undertake the less skillful parts of the job, and the job descriptions from journeyman to master expand with skill level. Hierarchically at the top, that is, when mastered, all the stages of the production process are known. Although this system is hierarchical, the craft is a collective activity. All workers in the workshop collectively take part in the production process²⁰.

Production processes and craft products do not have a *standardization*. Only standardization was about quality of production which is ensured through guild's procedures (Sjoberg, 1965: 214). Products based on the skills of craftsmen and made with simple tools do not show standard features as if they were made by a machine. Schneider says about this feature of the craft product:

Under this system of production the products of workingman might never manufacture the same product in exactly alike; in fact, the

19 Kickinger, in his study examining the traditional production organization in Cairo during the Ottoman Empire, summarizes the division of labor between the workshops as follows: "Workshop A (al-Balbasî I): Three artisans are employed in raising and chasing as well as in spinning on the lathe. Workshop B (al-Balbasî II): Six artisans are active in spinning on the lathe and in stamping. Workshop and Shop C (Hasan and Muhammad Unsî): Engraving is performed in this workshop. Two brothers, Hasan and Muhammad, own both the workshop and the shop. Two other artisans are employed. Workshop D (Nagîb Barwâ): Engraving and inlaying are performed here by three artisans. Workshop E (Mahmûd Sphinx): The owner is the only craftsman." (Kickinger, 2005: 288)

20 When a person does not come to work, the production continues without a hitch because all craftsmen know the whole process and work collectively.

individual workingman might never manufacture the same product in exactly the same way.. (Schneider, 1957: 199-200).

One of the most critical features of handcraft is that each product has its own, non-standard features.

Furthermore, the autonomy of the worker is also related to non-standard production and product. Autonomy, when used in the production process, means 'work that is carried out without the intervention of others, has a meaning on its own and takes place with an inner impulse' (Sennett, 2008: 54, 65). Autonomy has an essential place in the production process of the craft. For the craftsman, autonomy stands out as the autonomy in the organization of the business process and the technique used (Hambleton, 2016: 68; Hodson, 2001: 141). At the same time, the craftsman himself determines the speed and rhythm of production in the production process; there is no pressure on the production process, the skill of the craftsman is trusted (Blauner, 1964: 42). In craft production, this autonomy is possible because production is not standardized, and they do not operate in a conveyer belt system that controls and directs the speed of the craftsman (Blauner, 1964: 423).

In the craft-type production period, we cannot see strict *routinization* in the workshops. However, every production has their routine in the production process. Adamson evaluates routinization in the workshops as follows: "The specificity of workshop production, its internal routines and discrete character, had to be conquered one stage at a time." (2013: 14). Also, Sennett says that craft production is continuous practices (2008: 66) and he expresses this routine as 'rhythm' and likens it to the squeezes of the human heart (2008: 175). We can see the pre-industrial routine of the workshop below, which is the daily routine of a machine shop in rural Pennsylvania in 1838 (Rorabaugh, 1986: 140).

4:30 a.m. bells rung to get up
4:53 a.m. second bells rung
work commences
7:00 a.m. breakfast

7:45 a.m. back to work
12:30 p.m. dinner
1:15 p.m. back to work
7:00 p.m. tea

(Rorabaugh, 1986: 141)

Limits set this daily routine in the simplest way possible. Wake-up time, start and end work time, including breaks are all turned into a specific schedule. In a way, this can be seen as a daily routine. But it is not implemented strictly. To sum up, every production process have routine in the production, but this is not based on the rules and regulations, this based on rhythm of the production process.

3.1.3. Craft's Production Relations: Apprenticeship and Its Structure

The production process is used not only to express how a product is produced in a material sense but also to express the social relations in the production process. Schneider divides relations in the production process into two: the formal social relations of production and social relationships at work. According to Schneider, formal social relations are about the involvement of individuals in production processes and benefit from production outputs; this type of social relationship varies in every mode of production, from craft to factory type production (Schneider, 1957: 33). On the other hand, social relationships mean the social relationship with other individuals involved in the production process in the working environment. Nevertheless, it does not change as fast as formal social relations; this type of social relations also varies according to the production style (Schneider, 1957: 33-34). The relationship between these two types diverges from each other in traditional production and then in rational production, from craft to factory-type production. Relationships gradually evolve from primary relationships to secondary, rational relationships; who you work with and who you work for begin to separate.

According to Sennett, *craftsmanship* means 'dedication to good work,' 'the skill of making things well'²¹ (Sennett, 2008: 8, 20). To C. Wright Mills, craftsmanship is associated with inner satisfaction (1951: 220-223). For Marx, craftsmanship was defined as 'forming activity' (1973: 301). Schneider, on the other hand, expresses craftsmanship with creativity, control in the production process, and knowing the meaning of work (Schneider, 1957: 177). Whitaker shows the process of the emergence of the first craftsman as the fact that the producer's work is better than other manufacturers, and thus the person's specialization by constantly repeating the work with increasing demands (Whitaker, 1967: 2). All of these seems the dictionary meaning of the apprenticeship. However, it is more than these meanings.

In this section, we will discuss both formal social relations and social relationships in the workshops where craft production takes place. In this system, which consists of traditional and primary type relationships, both master-apprentice relationships, the hierarchy between them and the role of this relationship in the transition of knowledge will be emphasized.

3.1.3.1. Agents of the Relationship and Theirs Hierarchical Structure: Master, Journeyman and Apprentice

There are three main actors involved in the craft production process. One of them is a master, one is a journeyman, and one is an apprentice. Actors' titles can be shaped according to physical strength, gender²², age, or marital status in production systems (Schneider, 1957: 27). Roles are shaped by experience in this production system. In this sense, the determined force is 'skill and experience.' First of all, what

21 The term Craftsmen was also used for artists, doctors, and messengers in the archaic period (Sennett, 2008: 22). However, craftsmen have a more inclusive meaning than artisan (Sennett, 2008: 145).

22 Although the craft is often seen as feminine with its 'handicraft' feature (Poser, 2008: 81), craftsmanship is a male-dominated profession. Rorabaugh says that he did not come across a woman in any of the narratives he read and the documents he examined (1986: viii). On the other hand, Sennett writes that the development of classical science made the word craftsman valid for men, and men in craftsmanship excluded women from official membership, even though they cook and clean in workshops (2008: 23, 58).

craftsmanship means as a life practice, then the characteristics of these craftsmen and the points where they differ from each other can be started.

Rorabaugh gives an answer the 'who is the master?' question:

God was master of the world; the father was master of his family; the teacher was master of his pupils; the skilled craftsman was master of his apprentices; and the planter was master of his slaves. "Master" was a term both familial and hierarchical. (Rorabaugh, 1986: 179)

Masters are those who have the highest skill and experience in both the workshop and the guild (Blauner, 1964: 43). Although the master was the owner of the production site, unlike in industrial production, he was the person working with the apprentices in the workshop (Schneider, 1957: 36; Kickinger, 2005: 290-1). In this sense, the master was both the business owner, the business manager, and the business employee.

On the other hand, a journeyman refers to the craftsman who is neither as inexperienced as an apprentice nor as experienced as a master in terms of skill and experience. The journeyman, which means successor or deputy in Turkish, also means senior apprentice (Yi, 2005: 63). According to Suraiya Faroqhi (1998), there are doubts about the existence of journeymen before the 18th century, and they were not encountered in earlier periods (Yi, 2005: 63).

The apprentice is the most inexperienced worker in the workshop. It depends on the master to learn the craft. Apprenticeship types and responsibilities vary from craft to craft (Yi, 2005: 63). Apprentices are underage workers who are approved to work by their parents (Volti, 2012: 32). One of the reasons why apprenticeships start so early is that children tend to continue the same job as their fathers or relatives (Blauner, 1964: 47). In addition, it is also based on the reasons that the apprenticeship starts early, the length of the apprenticeship period, and the fact that the job can be learned more easily at an early age.

These three create the apprenticeship/craftsmanship. Many occupational groups are included in the term craftsmanship. Thompson says that craftsmanship can consist of professions such as shoemaker, tailor, watchmaker, jeweler, a baker who employ workers on their own business, as well as covering a wide range of attic workers such as carpenters, locksmiths, masons, roofers²³ (Thompson, 2015: 293-295). As we mentioned above, the craft is a broad term that can cover all types of labor; this indicates that craftsmen can be found in every type of labor.

There is a three-step *hierarchical relationship* between master, journeyman, and apprentice. Skill and experience determine the craftsman's status in this hierarchy (Holmes, 2015: 482; Sennett, 2008: 54, 61, 268; Kickinger; 2005: 290-291; Rorabaugh, 1986: 35, 39; Klekot, 2020: 220; Sjoberg, 1965: 189). As skill and experience increase, the hierarchical status increases for an apprentice. In this sense, skill equals power in the workshop. These features, which determine the status in the hierarchical structure, also determine obedience. Obedience to the master is against his authority on the one hand and against the skill that creates his authority on the other.

Authority and the power on which authority rests and legitimizes itself are essential in providing this discipline. Authority can base its legitimacy/power on charisma as well as tradition, custom, superior knowledge or legal rights (Fox, 1971: 40; Schenider, 1957: 105). For example, in Japan, while administrators derive their legitimacy from family values (Abegglen, 1958), the power of the master in workshops comes from skill and experience.

Employees in production places love their superiors, fear or seek their approval, follow the rules, become disciplined (Schneider, 1957: 5). Of course, power and discipline imply not only pressure and force (Schneider, 1957: 105-7); It can also be a consensual system. Discipline in workshops seems to be based on consent, not force or coercion.

23 Thompson points out that there were over 2,500 craftsmen in London in 1831 (2015: 294).

This consent is obtained through 'learning the job from the master.' On the other hand, according to Blauner, there is no need for external controls in workshops since responsibility is internalized, and the self-discipline brought by the need and feel to do the job well is sufficient for order/discipline (1964: 423). This self-discipline is also an indication of a consensual relationship.

As with any social system, the authority structure in craft production affects relationships within the workshop. In craft workshops, authority legitimizes itself with skill and competence (Sennett, 2008: 54, 64); This is how discipline is achieved. Rules in workshops are not based on a written source; they are provided by authorized persons (Blauner, 1964: 76; Sennett, 2008: 54). This authority structure is necessary for the regular continuity of production. Hierarchical relations continue with the transfer of the traditional master-apprentice relationship.

3.1.3.2. Transition of Hereditary Knowledge: Show, don't tell!

In the pre-industrial period, the transfer of production knowledge was possible through two networks of relations: firstly from father to son, secondly from master to apprentice (Mokyr, 2000: 22; Sjoberg, 1965: 192). While masters produce, they also teach; thus, the master is not only a craftsman but also a teacher (Mu'allimin) (Chalcraft, 2005: 342). This situation constitutes one of the most critical dimensions of the relationship between the master-apprentice in the workshops. This education and knowledge transfer system are essential for the continuity of craft and its transfer to the next generations (Braverman, 1974: 48; Whitaker, 1967: 3)²⁴. Craft knowledge and skill show a hereditary feature in this sense. Craft education includes not only the knowledge of the production process but also the teaching of many knowledge such as customs, norms, values, moral aspects of social life (Volti, 2012: 32; Lembcke, 2002: 19; Rorabaugh, 1986: vii). Craft is a daily life practice for the craftsman. They

24 For this reason, this system is still preserved for the continuity of some professions in Europe (Whitaker, 1967: 32).

have little knowledge of the outside world (Rorabaugh, 1986: 144) because their social life, family life, and work-life depend on it. In this daily life practice, psychological, cultural, social, and economic functions coexist in apprenticeship. In this system, in which a profession is learned economically, it is socially included in a social network, from master-apprentice relationship to family relationship. On the other hand, the fact that the master taught his moral responsibilities like a father to the apprentice also served the psychological, cultural aspect (Rorabaugh, 1986: vii). In short, it is difficult to produce all these knowledge and skills in the craft outside of this social network (Eyferth, 2006: 50).

The experience side predominates in the knowledge of craft-type production²⁵. This context based knowledge is traditionally transferred from generation to generation through practices (Scott, 1998). This knowledge is also known as 'tacit knowledge' in the literature, and it cannot be obtained from books or any written source (Mokyr, 2000: 23-24; Adamson, 2013: 61, 63). In the craft, learning to produce does not happen with a written recipe; the learning process is practice-based and also based on observation (Sjoberg, 1965: 192). Thanks to the teacher-based relationship between the master and the apprentice, the apprentice learns the process both by seeing and by practicing. In this sense, communication in the workshop is much more helpful than a written description in transferring information (Sennett, 2008: 179). It is also challenging to put production based on practice-based knowledge into writing (Hambleton, 2016: 68). In this practice-based learning process, 'imitation' is essential; the apprentice starts the learning process by imitating the master (Sennett, 2008: 58, 75, 181). According to Rorabaugh, adolescents are great imitators (1986: 118)²⁶.

25 Aristotle argues in *Nichomachean Ethics* that knowledge consists of a dual structure as techne and metis (Kraut, 2018: Klekot, 2020: 216). The metis side of knowledge is based on experience; language cannot convey metis' embodied knowledge; Techne, on the other hand, is universal and consists of rules that determine right and wrong (Klekot, 2020: 216).

26 For this reason, apprentices start to be trained when they are young; it is said that it is easier to train.

However, here, 'tacit knowledge' may pose a problem in the part of entirely teaching the craft. If the master does not give this tacit knowledge to the apprentice, or the knowledge that is often seen as a secret for the master, it will be difficult for the craft to maintain the same quality (sometimes even the continuation of the craft). Sennett summarizes this situation as follows:

... tacit knowledge is also likely to dominate. Once the master dies, all the clues, moves, and insights he or she has gathered into the totality of the work cannot be reconstructed; there's no way to ask him or her to make the tacit explicit. ... people know how to do something but they cannot put what they know into words. (Sennett, 2008: 78, 94)

Robert K. Merton (1995), with his description of 'standing on the shoulders of giants.', expressed the importance of individuals experienced in knowledge transfer. The role of the master in the master-apprenticeship relationship in the workshops is also crucial in parallel with this emphasis on the transfer of knowledge.

The responsibility of the teaching of the workshops has caused them to be seen as technical schools. Until the 19th century, universities were the educational institutions of a limited number of professions such as medicine and law²⁷, and the apprenticeship process was seen as the only educational opportunity to learn other professions (Volti, 2012: 32). University education was not a way to learn the craft. Workshops are sources of knowledge. Thompson underlines that in the first half of the 19th century, Mechanical Institutes or Technical Colleges were also inadequate in teaching professions and that the only vocational education institution was workshops in that period (Thompson, 2015: 314)²⁸.

27 Even these professions benefited from the apprenticeship system at some points.

28In a study conducted with hairdressers on the learning of craftsmanship, one of the employees describes the university as 'garbage' and states that he learned all he knew about the business at the hairdresser; In this sense, hairdressing is learned through the practice of making hair physically (Holmes, 2015: 486).

The period of apprenticeship, the time required to learn craft production and to have sufficient knowledge about the production process, requires many years. The fact that production is based on skill and expertise is the main reason for the prolongation of this process. Also, the transfer of knowledge shows a 'repetitive' feature. According to Sennett, the ritual-like repetitive structure of the craft is necessary for learning the craft and learning technical skills (Sennett, 2008: 177). Apprentices learn this system's 'secrets' and subtleties by repeating the same production process throughout their training process (Rorabaugh, 1986: 33). At the same time, the fact that the job is not specialized and that the apprentices are expected to know all the stages of production causes this process to be extended. According to the researchers, this period varies between 3 and 10 years (Babbage, 2009: 132; Braverman, 1974: 109, 444; Volti, 2012: 32). The English Statute of Artificers of 1563 sets the apprenticeship at seven years; The main reason for this was shown as deterring straying and providing superiority in handmade productions (Rorabaugh, 1986, p.4). The duration of apprenticeship varies depending on the difficulty level of the craft tried to be learned and how complicated the job is at the same time (Babbage, 2009: 132).

This apprenticeship period ends between the ages of 21-25, according to Rorabaugh (1986: 19). Of course, this situation changes according to the age at which the apprentice starts his education. Generally, the apprenticeship started at between 7-10 ages in the pre-industrial production (Sjoberg, 1965: 192). At the same time, apprentices do not become masters directly while completing this process; this process includes an intermediate position called a journeyman for 3-10 years. In order to end the apprenticeship and become a master, at the end of this training, the apprentice must present a 'chef d'oeuvre' (masterpiece) to the crafts guild (Sennett, 2008: 58; Volti, 2012: 32; Rorabaugh, 1986: 4). If the presented masterpiece is at the level of competence required by the craft guild and basic skills can be demonstrated, an apprentice can become a master.

Schneider explains how an apprentice can become a master:

Theoretically, at least, the master had achieved his position not by investing capital, or by appointment, but by moving up a ladder of skill and through seniority. (Schneider, 1957: 36)

The process of becoming a master is based on how long the master has done his work and his ability to develop his skill, in short, skill and experience. As mentioned, the apprenticeship process, which lasts between 3 and 10 years, enables one to become a master together with the presentation of the masterpiece. However, becoming a master is not always that easy. Extending the apprenticeship period can increase the time taken to become a master if an expensive and technically difficult masterpiece is desired (Hauser, 1932: 424-427). At the same time, to become a master, it is necessary to learn all the stages and intricacies of the job and work at all stages during the apprenticeship process (Braverman 1974: 77-79; Rorabaugh, 1986: 14).

As a result, this kind of vocational training introduced the apprentices to both the theoretical and practical aspects of production (Klekot, 2020: 218). In this type of production, where language is not an adequate tool, the importance of practice is emphasized. Sennett stated that the limitations of language could be overcome by opening the door to practice and active participation in production (Sennett, 2008: 96). At the end of this whole process, the apprentice is trained by teaching not only a part of the job but the whole of it (Braverman 1974: 77-79; Rorabaugh, 1986: 14).

3.1.3.3. Traditional/Personal Relation

As a result of all these factors, workshop-type craft production has a unique production relationship. The tripartite network of social relations between the master, journeyman, and apprentice is like a family bond; it is primary and traditional (Schneider, 1957: 37, 38, 210). In traditional production places, the rules of the production relation and social structure depend on tradition, well-developed craft culture, and personal, non-formal relations (Blauner, 1964: 9, 47). Although there is no 'love' bond that binds the family together (Sennett, 2008: 53), the bond that maintains this family-like relationship is

based on 'trust' (Volti, 2012: 23). Such a personal relationship is likely to occur between masters and apprentices who already work, eat, take breaks, and often even live in the same place (Stott, 1996: 269).

Most of the apprentices are the masters' own children in these craft workshops (Yi, 2005: 66). Ackers called the activity of inherited from this family as inter-generational craft projects (2018: 182). On the other hand, the fact that the production is already carried out in the family environment has ensured that there is no spatial and social distinction between family and work, that production relations are based on personal relations, and that the father figure of the family is transferred to the father figure in the workshop. Mendras summarizes this situation as follows:

The family and the enterprise coincide: the head of the family is at the same time the head of the enterprise. ... he lives his professional and his family life as an indivisible entity. The members of his family are his fellow workers. (Mendras, 1970: 76)

The transfer of craftsmanship from father to son also ensures the continuation of this relationship. The gratifying feeling of transmitting his knowledge to the next generation is important for the training of apprentices (Ackers, 2018: 188). On the other hand, the master-apprentice relationship in craft production also resembles a father-son relationship without a biological bond. We can explain this with the term 'surrogate family'. As mentioned above, the master teaches the apprentice not only the production system but also the traditional norms and moral rules; he disciplines the apprentice. Another reason why it resembles the father-son relationship is also related to the fact that the master sometimes provides accommodation, food, and clothes to his apprentice (Schneider, 1957: 36-7; Volti, 2012: 32).

Another dimension of the relation is about the relation between apprentices. Apprentices working in craft workshops may be members of the same family, or they may consist of people living in a single street or in a particular part of the town (Schneider, 1957: 38). Neighborhood and kinship were seen in the workshops' relation

(Blauner, 1964: 76). This situation also affects establishing a primary type of relationship between the apprentices; the people working in the same workshop are not strangers to each other. In addition, the fact that the apprentices know each other, and everyone works in the same neighborhood enables the apprentices to help each other find a job (Blauner, 1964: 77). Instead of a formal method of finding a job, the apprentice needed in a workshop can be reached through acquaintances. In the pre-industrial era, hiring in the craft sector was also the responsibility of the guilds. Gideon Sjoberg summarizes how hiring was done in the pre-industrial era:

We have already mentioned the primacy of kinship ties in numerous spheres of activity in the preindustrial city. It is ideal and usual pattern for a son to follow in the footsteps of his father. Guilds usually set up a preference rating -first sons, then nephews and other close friends. (1965: 191)

In this context, kinship is essential to start working in a craft, and transfer from father to son is vital for the continuity of the profession. Therefore, family solidarity can be mentioned in the relationship here.

In the next section, workshops as a physical place where all this production process and production relations take place will be mentioned.

3.1.4. Production Place: Number of Employees and Size of the Workshops

Workshops are production spaces where masters and apprentices work together. In the Middle Ages, workshops were places where craftsmen slept, ate, and even raised children, in short, used as living spaces in addition to production (Sennett, 2008: 53; Sjoberg, 1965: 197-198). In this framework, the workshops serve as both the place of production, the sales office, and the home. Already in the pre-industrial period, the unit of production is the family. From this point of view, it seems natural to use the production area as a house simultaneously.

On the other hand, the guild system is based on the unity of this living space and production space; it resembles a family structure. Apprentices ate with their employers, lived in their homes, and generally lived under the supervision of their masters (Volti, 2012: 31). In short, it can be said that the production area is actually used as a residence in the guild production system.

Workshops, the venues of pre-industrial production, were, as mentioned above, centers of small-scale production where family members and a few apprentices worked together. For this reason, at most, 10-12 craftsmen were working together in these places. Thus, a few number of people included master, apprentice and journeyman worked in the workshops (Sjoberg, 1965: 197). For example, while one or more workers were employed in pottery workshops in Ancient Rome (Volti, 2012: 10); In the Middle Ages, this number increased to a dozen people (Sennett, 2008: 53); In the 1950s, despite the realization of industrialization, workshops with a maximum of 25 people working in craft-type production were encountered (Blauner, 1964: 46).

According to most sources, artisans generally worked in small, dark, gloomy, and stuffy workshops (Thompson, 2015: 299; Chalcraft, 2005: 353). Sjoberg remarks that in pre-industrial period, there was “few” large workshops (1965: 197). At the same time, since large machines could not be mentioned, the need for large workshops for small looms or hand tools had not started yet. As mentioned above, production spaces could also be used as sales spaces, which may have caused the space reserved for production to be narrow.

3.1.5. Working Conditions: Insurance, Working Hours and Wage

As explained in the Craft chapter's introduction, working conditions were based on the rules determined by craft guilds. Although apprenticeship and slavery have been mentioned as parallel institutions in some places (Rorabaugh, 1986: 179-180), it can be said that apprentices have freedom in the economic system depending on the rules

regulated by guilds. We aim to emphasize insurance, wage, and working hours by mentioning the working conditions in this section.

In the pre-industrial period, the craftsman was not *insured*. Social security was generally provided by communities and guilds (TÜSİAD, 1997: 27; Kickinger, 2005; Özbek, 2006). Although the rules set by the guilds regarding hiring, dismissal, wages, and the number of employees in the workshops are seen to regulate the working life, it is not possible to talk about a corporate social security mechanism with its current appearance. In such a security system, of course, slavery and apprenticeship are sharply separated from each other. Such a social insurance system cannot be mentioned in the slavery system. However, craftsmen have privileges comparing the enslaved people in this organized system. In his study, Blauner underlines that craft production has improved security also after industrialization, and craftsmen are the groups that suffer at least from insecurity; workers organized in craft unions can determine their own working conditions (Blauner, 1964: 38-39). Likewise, in Anatolia, it is not possible to talk about an institutionalized social insurance system in this period. Since the Ottoman Period, social insurance has appeared under the name of social assistance. As seen in other countries, solidarity organizations, guilds, and communities continued their existence in the Ottoman Empire to protect the rights of workers; In order to regulate working life, working conditions have been tried to be regulated with some rules (Özbek, 2006: 30, 74, 118).

The working hours of the craftsmen do not have a specific time schedule, as the production process is not standardized. The craftsman starts production when he determines, opens the sales place, finishes the production when he wants, and closes his shop. Volti summarizes this situation as follows:

They may open one morning at nine, the next at ten, and so on. The lunch hour is likely to be longer on some days than on others. (Volti, 2012: 12)

According to Sennett, every waking hour in craft production is regulated as working hours (Sennett, 2008: 75). In this sense, it can be said that the working hours are long. As a result of his study on craft production in Cairo, Chalcraft reveals that weavers, one of the craft producers, worked until midnight and morning (2005: 354).

Wage is another working condition dimension in this framework. According to Thompson, wages of skilled workers at the beginning of the 19th century were determined not by the labor market but by the social prestige and tradition of the job (2015: 294). Considering that the craftsmen produce manually, and their training is challenging, their wages are likely to be high. Since the apprenticeship period is long and an apprentice is hard to develop, the low number of apprentices also positively reflects wages (Rorabaugh, 1986: 181).

3.1.6. Declining of Craft Production and Craft Guilds: Changing Conditions as Reasons

In order to understand and show the reasons behind the rise of the industrial type of production, we need to present the reasons behind the decline of craft type of production and craft guilds. These reasons also guide the transformation of production type from crafts to industry. We do not have extensive literature and written sources on the disappearance of crafts and craft guilds. No exact date has been given for the decline of guilds and crafts²⁹. According to Schneider, craft guilds began to lose their control over production in the 16th century (1957: 9). To Rorabaugh, the secrets of the craft began to lose their mystery after the 18th century (1986: 33). According to Thompson, in the 19th century, old local crafts began to disappear, especially with the impact of industry (2015: 308).

29 Today, some of the professional chambers continue to maintain some functions of the guilds.

Of course, this decline did not occur precisely and at the same time in all regions. Craftsmanship continued throughout the Ottoman Empire, even after the founding of the Turkish Republic, namely throughout the 19th century, and craftsmen adapted even to the changing market conditions (Faroqhi and Deguilhem, 2005: vii). In England, the decline that started in the 16th century caused the guilds to lose their importance with the spread of capitalism from the 18th century (Faroqhi, 2005: 16). Volti lists the dates of official abolition of the autonomy and even the existence of craft guilds as follows: 1791 in France, 1835 in England, and 1869 in Germany (Volti, 2012: 33). On the other hand, guilds have never been vital institutions for America, where there is a shortage of skilled labor, most of the society works in agriculture, and the number of craftsmen is low (Rorabaugh, 1986: 4; Whitaker, 1967: 80).

The change in the production process, the production tools, the relations of production, and the disappearance of apprenticeships did not happen suddenly, revolutionary; change emerged gradually (Sennett, 2008: 26; Faroqhi and Deguilhem, 2005: vii; Rorabaugh, 1986: vii). Craft-style production continued to exist for a while together with other production systems³⁰. In some parts of the world, craft and guilds continue in this date span. Continuity of craftsmanship and guilds is dominant in Central Europe (Faroqhi, 2005: 16-17). In Egypt, the establishment of a union to improve the quality of handicrafts, which is one of the responsibilities of the guilds, found the beginning of the 20th century (Kickinger, 2005, p.287). Alternatively, traditional craft production in China still accounted for three-quarters of production in 1933 (Eyferth, 2006: 9). Nevertheless, these examples constitute exceptions around the world.

Craft guilds, which are seen as both economic and social institutions, have begun to lose their importance due to economic and social reasons. However, these economic and social reasons can be diversified in many respects. This dissolution can be

30 Thompson stated that the main reason for the continuity of artisanal production for such a long time was that the artisanal product could not be produced by a typical, unskilled worker (2015: 315).

attributed to the decline in the demand for craft goods with the import of European-made goods, as well as the disappearance of guilds as craftsmen disappeared (Farroqhi, 2005: 30-1). Many social and economic reasons such as revolutions, civil wars³¹, the increase in factories, and the increase in immigration can be counted among the reasons for the disappearance of crafts and guilds (Rorabaugh, 1986: vii).

This section will discuss the effects of events such as i) globalization and the change in the market, ii) the development of technology and the industrial revolution, iii) money economies, and iv) education reform on the disappearance of craft and craft guilds. As Chalcraft underlines, the disappearance of craft and craft guilds is not related to power from above (Chalcraft, 2005: 339); it has spread over a period of time and has occurred due to a combination of many reasons listed above.

i) *The change in the market and the changing demands* have been one of the most significant variables on the craft and craft guilds. Expanding horizons, Europeanizing tastes, and increasing trade have created the demand for new products in the market (Schneider, 1957: 39-40; Kickinger, 2005: 286-287; Baer, 1964: 138, 144, 149)³². The speed of cultural spread, the ease of transportation, and communication brought about by modern technology have facilitated international and national trade, and new products in the market have been included in circulation continuously and quickly (Whitaker, 1967: 37). The competition with the European market was brutal, and the raw material to be used in the production of these new products was at a cost that the guilds could not afford, so the guilds could not adapt to the new conditions and demands of the market (Schneider, 1957: 39-40; Kickinger, 2005: 286-7). At the same time, new traders had more information about this market; guilds could not provide

31 For example, in the Ottoman Empire, the crafts began to be damaged when the immigrants fleeing the war were taken to the workshops in order to find a job in the cities, even though the required apprenticeship age had passed (Yıldırım, 2001: 52).

32 Although it did not affect all crafts, crafts such as shoemaking and tailoring suffered greatly (Rorabaugh, 1986: 60).

the required efficiency in this market with their traditional knowledge (Volti, 2012: 33). On the other hand, according to Chalcraft, all this served the idea that the powerful capitalists of the market, their big companies, were destroying the guilds by force from above, and such a thought was wrong (2005: 338-339).

ii) *Technological developments* have eliminated the secrets of craft that have been passed down from generation to generation; learning to use technology has become more important than keeping these secrets (Rorabaugh, 1986: 33; Whitaker, 1967: 37). However, the transition to the use of technology was not as fast as expected. It was not easy for the craftsmen to give up on traditional production methods and to separate from their too, which is like a part of their body³³. Technological progress has also resulted in the abolition of work itself (Blauner, 1964: 57); technology has completely eliminated some of the crafts.

Furthermore, the *Industrial Revolution* is another dimension in relation to advancing technology. Industrial Revolution is mentioned as one of the most important reasons for the decrease and loss of importance of craft production. In fact, Schneider showed industrialization and capitalists as 'the fatal blow to industry' (Schneider, 1957: 40). Industrial Revolution will be covered in greater detail in the next section, but it is worth mentioning here as well. There is a reciprocal, bidirectional connection between the decline of craft production and craft guilds and the Industrial Revolution: the importance of craft production decreased as there was the Industrial Revolution, and industrial production spread to all areas as the importance of craft production decreased (Schneider, 1957: 44). While artisanal production remained in the background, industrial products came to the fore due to the substitution of skilled labor with machines and the suitability of industrial production for cheap and low-quality goods (Volti, 2012: 33).

33 For example, attempts to establish a leather factory in Safranbolu in the 1920s spread over a long period of time with the introduction of modern production technologies and the adaptation of workers to these technologies (Doğanalp-Votzi, 2005: 321).

iii) The production process and production relations are no longer organized according to traditions and customs but according to *the money economy*. Capital is vital for the new system. Cash-based jobs have also begun to threaten apprenticeships (Rorabaugh, 1986: 68). Apprentices are now workers who demand cash instead of food, lodging, and clothing. The apprentice of previous periods, now the high-paid producer, has begun to depend on him, and the master has lost his authority (Rorabaugh, 1986: 69, 74). In this sense, no longer an apprentice who starts to work only to earn money, not to learn the job during the craft production process; He has become a wage worker instead of a craftsman.

iv) The reforms of the 19th century had devastating effects on the apprenticeship system. Especially *the reforms made in the field of education* have caused a decline in the importance of craftsmanship and craft workshops, which have played a role in society as an economic, cultural, and social educational institution since the 16th century. At the beginning of this century, the public school system was adopted, and with this new system, it was aimed to train the workforce for the newly opened factories (Rorabaugh, 1986: 113). Of course, this system is not intended to create new craftsmen; The practice learned in the workshop could not be equated with the education given with books in schools. The craftsmanship passed down from father to son has been interrupted by the education system. With the start of compulsory education, apprentices started to spend the time they had to practice in the workshop at school. They lost the opportunity to gain the necessary skills and experience. The number of apprentices in the workshops has also decreased, as it has become obligatory for the apprentices to be educated at school at the age of starting to learn the craft.

Today, the need for handicrafts and crafts continues, although not as much as in the past. Although not to meet physical needs, this need is based on aesthetic reasons (Whitaker, 1967: 14). Craftsmen are no longer subjects at the center of economic life (Volti, 2012: 35). The next section will deal with the meanings and dimensions of

these production relations, production process and working conditions, and where they evolved.

3.2. Industry: Transformation of Work: From Workshop to Factory

With the 19th century, the work experienced its Golden Age in terms of technical progress and efficiency (Fox, 1972: 4). In this period, a different mode of production was adopted in terms of technology, division of labor, social organization, and economic structure. According to Hans Freyer, industrial society is the name of the formation of a modern, new world (2014: 28). In order to call this new, modern world, names such as 'industrial society' and 'capitalist society' have been given to this period, just like historical periods named according to production forms such as guild production and slave production. Leo Huberman (2007: 122) names historical periods according to production systems: house or family system in the early Middle Ages, guild system during the Middle Ages, putting-out system between 16-18. century, and the factory system from the 19th century to the present.

According to Schneider, it is pretty complex to identify the causes and conditions of industrial rise (1957: 41). In this period, when industrialization was the primary mode of production in terms of work/job, new production organizations and new production technologies began to be mentioned. Although there are debates about which of these two innovations has priority and which one affects the other (Marglin, 1980), it should be underlined that both variables are essential in industrial capitalist society.

Many researchers and theorists underline that the industrial society is an age of technological transformation (Freyer, 2014: 38; Aron, 1997; Coombs, 1985; Babbage, 2009; Schneider, 1957; Blauner, 1964; Faunce, 1965). Although these people are sometimes criticized as technological determinists (Adamson, 2012: 30), the effect of the change of technique and technology on production relations, production process, and working conditions is undeniable. Some researchers consider industrialization as

an economic transformation based on reasons such as efficient markets, rational distribution of capital and labor rather than just a tool transformation (Coleman, 1992; O'Brien and Quinault, 1993; Berg 1994a; Berg 1994b; Floud and McClosky, 1994; Mokyr, 1999). However, within the scope of this research, these researchers will not be included as the transformation will be positioned depending on the change in the technological infrastructure.

Although not all productions can fully adapt to technological innovations, most manufacturers have switched to factory-type production. In this period, handicraft/handwork decreased almost non-existent (Blauner, 1964: 58-59). While the factories first met the demands such as coins, uniforms, gunpowder, then they expanded their market and increased their prevalence by turning to meet the demands of products such as soap and silk velvet (Schneider, 1957: 43). In this process, efficiency has increased, production capacities have improved, and production quality has started to standardize (Güldiken, 2020: 29; Volti, 2012: 40).

Technology has affected not only the production process but also the workers, who are the actors of the production process. In this period, along with urbanization and factorization, the majority of those working in professions such as farming and agriculture started to become workers in factories (Eyferth, 2006: 2; Mandel, 2008: 109; Freyer, 2014). A large number of people, under the same roof, moved to a working order maintained by machines (Edgell, 2006: 20). Self-employed workers who own the means of production have turned into wage workers with this period. As Whitaker roughly describes it, 'we may assume that man evolved from the hunter-gatherer to the agronomist and, finally, to the industrialist.' (1967:15). Thompson describes the 19th century as a period when 'skilled occupations (especially crafts) were threatened by technological innovation and unskilled workers'; in this sense, the abundance of technical innovations and cheap labor has shaken the position of skilled workers (2015: 304, 325). Skilled, experienced masters of the previous period left their position to unskilled workers and a production process managed by machines.

Machines have started to produce products that even the most skilled master cannot produce at a speed that they cannot produce (Volti, 2012: 40).

Many points of production have differentiated while passing from traditional production to factory-type production. The ones as mentioned above have not only changed the name of the forms of production historically, but also transformed their dimensions such as the tools used, the organization of the workers, the production relation, and the working conditions. In the second part of the thesis, 'Industry,' we aim to discuss the characteristics of industrial production, the production process, and how this mode of production has changed with industrialization. Change is meant not only by mechanization but also by changing production organization. In addition, it will also be discussed how the workers, who are the actors of the production process, are affected by this transformation process. Considering that the production process does not only cover production, production relations, production conditions, and the change of the production place will also be included in the sub-headings of this section. While considering all these dimensions of production, comparisons will also be made with craft production, one of the traditional production forms of the pre-industrial period.

3.2.1. Historical Background of the Factory-type Production and the Beginning of the Industrialization in the World and in Turkey

Researchers started this process, which expresses the type of production called industrialization and a new economic stage, with the steam power invented by James Watt in the second half of the 18th century. The historical event that caused this transformation is called the Industrial Revolution. The first mechanical development actually took place historically in Europe in the 10th century; however, the necessary environment for a development with a significant impact, such as the Industrial Revolution, was provided in the 18th century (Mumford, 1934).

The Industrial Revolution lays the foundation for organizational and technological transformation. Although the word revolution implies a sudden change, the transformation in the production system has taken place over many years. Industrialization is not 'an event that will happen overnight' (Yıldırım, 2017: 23; Mokyr, 2000: 3). Volti describes this transformation process as follows:

The Industrial Revolution produced thoroughgoing economic and social changes, but these took many decades to unfold. Moreover, the Industrial Revolution did not represent a complete break with the past; radically new ways of doing things coexisted with traditional modes of production for a long time, and in fact, many preindustrial ways of doing things persist to this day. (Volti, 2012: 39)

Karl Marx divides this non-sudden transformation into three phases and states that the transformation did not directly transform from traditional mode to large-scale industry; The transformation starts from the handicraft stage, moves to the manufacturing stage, and finally ends at the factory stage (1976: 589). In this sense, the transformation does not occur radically; it has a more gradual and process-wide character. According to Hudson and Sullivan, this transformation process occurs in three stages: simple tool technology, craft technology, and mass-production technology. (2012: 165). On the other hand, Faunce divides these periods into three: craft production period, mechanized production period, and automated production period in the context of the technology used and the organization of production (1965: 152). Similar to Faunce, Blauner (1964: 6-8) divides production into four different forms in terms of technology used: craft technology, machine tending technology, moving assembly line technology, and continuous process technology. Compared to Faunce and Marx, the types of production in Blauner's model can be seen together in the same historical period.

Along with industrialization, production, which has been expressed as 'manual production' for centuries, has changed; it began to be implied by machine production. As of this period, every work that does not require human hands has been started to be done with machinery (Whitaker, 1967: 26). However, as Volti stated above, it cannot

be said that all sectors have experienced a complete break from the old way of production. Berg expresses this continuity as follows:

..it was and is very difficult to make clear-cut divisions between the traditional and the modern . . . as there were rarely separate organizational forms, technologies, locations or even firms to be ascribed to either. (Berg, 1994a: 25)

Supporting the assumptions of Berg and Volti, Blauner's (1964) and Stott's (1996) studies prove that some productions are still not fully transformed and industrialized. Mechanization did not affect all production facilities simultaneously and to the same degree. Many productions were able to switch to the use of machinery and technology years after the Industrial Revolution. For example, some trades were not mechanized until 20th century like carving, coopering etc.³⁴ (Adamson, 2012: 14; Stott, 1996: 257-271). According to Blauner (1964), industries such as textile, automobile, printing, and chemical show industrialization characteristics at different stages from each other. (1957: 53). Samuel (1977), on the other hand, states that in the 19th century Britain, craftsmen still combined handmade and machine production. This situation still shows that some production objects cannot be made by machine, and manual labor is still needed (Adamson, 2013: 14). Schneider points out that “industrialism will continue to expand until it embraces almost all the production of industrialized nations.”

This historical transformation process manifests itself in different periods in various geographies worldwide. Providing the economic, social, and cultural conditions necessary for the realization of industrialization does not occur in the same way and the same period in every country. Below, we will look at the historical trajectory of industrialization in the world and Anatolia as the geography where this research was conducted.

³⁴ “Some trades, like shoemaking, were industrial in relatively short order. Weaving, often thought to be an archetypal case of industrialization, actually developed a two-tier system in which luxury manufacturers held tightly to craft-intensive processes while mass market producers introduced mechanization. Still other trades, like coopering, were not mechanized until well into the twentieth century.” (Adamson, 2012: 14; Stott, 1996)

This industrialization process, which started in England in the middle of the 18th century with the use of steam power on the loom, spread to the whole world and many sectors (Volti, 2012: 39-40; Schneider, 1957: 41, 53; Edgell, 2006: 7; Babbage, 2009: 230; Sennett, 2008: 206; Schneider, 1957: 50; Mokyr, 2000: 5). In this century, only a few mills remained in England (Blauner, 1964: 61), and productions began to be carried out with increasingly mechanized technologies. This transformation led by England, liberal and nationalist thought that started with the French Revolution became the driving force of the globalization of capitalism in the 19th century (Toprak, 2016: 2). Of course, not only thanks to the currents of thought but also the facilitation of transportation, the development of transportation technologies, and the increase in trade between countries have increased the speed of this spread.

Industrialization spread from England to Western Europe and from there to America, Russia, Japan, and other Asian countries (Schneider, 1957: 52). Ten years after England, France, and other European countries, 60 years later, Germany and then Japan and the USA began to industrialize (Güldiken, 2020: 30; Edgell, 2006: 7); In China, the transition to an industrial society has found the 20th century (Eyferth, 2006: 2). In this way, the industry has spread all over the world. The characteristics of industrialization showed similarities between countries and sectors (Braverman, 1974: 16; Eyferth, 2006: 7; Berberoglu, 2002: 2); transformation began to be seen in many industries with mass production (Marx, 1967: 359-368; Walker, 1992: 80). However, industrialization processes in countries, the timing and moments of industrialization varied and showed different effects in different sectors (Bespinar, Topal, & Kalaycioglu, 2014: 226; Blauner, 1964).

This process, which affected the whole world, showed its reflections in Anatolia in a late period, in the middle of the 20th century, compared to other countries, together with the tendency of capital to cross borders and globalization. When industrialization has been seen throughout the world, it has not yet reached this geography in the Ottoman Empire Period and even in the Early Republican Period (Farroqhi and

Deguilhem, 2005: vii). Donald Quataert (1993) stated that Ottoman craftsmen adapted to changing market conditions and dominated production despite imported goods; hence, industrialization took place later than other destinations in the world.

Eric Hobsbawm expresses this situation as follows: "Only one peasant remained stronghold in or around the neighborhood of Europe and the Middle East: Turkey, where the peasantry declined, but, in the mid-1980s, still remained an absolute majority." (1995: 291). From the Ottoman period, including the Early Republican period, the primary source of income in Anatolia was the agriculture sector (Yıldırım, 2017: 23). In addition, dispossession did not take place entirely even at the beginning of the factory, especially the seasonal works of the construction sector prevented the workers from selling their fields and moving to utterly urban life (Yıldırım, 2017: 25). At the end of this century, some guild masters working outside of agriculture had the opportunity to industrialize their workshops (Yıldırım, 2001: 50); Most artisans started working as workers in factories started to experience the practices of dispossession.

Turkey, which is seen as a late-capitalist country compared to most countries, has experienced the expropriation practices of capitalism a little later but has shown the manifestations of the transformation in working relations and conditions. It can be said that there has been a state-supported industrialization process in Anatolia since the Ottoman Empire (Farqhi and Deguilhem, 2005: viii; Yıldırım, 2017: 26). As of the 19th century, both state and private sector factories started to be opened (Yıldırım, 2017: 24; Kala, 1993: 107-132). Industrialization, which started in regions such as Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Izmir, Bursa, and Beirut during the Ottoman Empire Period, caused the traditional production of artisanal production workers to work as workers in the factories (Yıldırım, 2017: 25). Factory production, which started to meet military needs similar to the examples in the world, continued with the opening of leather, yarn and shoe factories in the 1800s (Yıldırım, 2017: 26; Önsoy, 1988: 47-52).

Especially in the 1980s, Turkey, in the words of Alev Özkanç, "became a strong resonance with the development dynamics of global capitalism," and the deepening of capitalism and the factorization process in our country began to accelerate (2005: 3). The Republican Period again marks a period in which state-supported industrialization was widespread. During this period, several industrialized cities stood out as the Anatolian Tigers in the country's industrialization. While Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Adana, Bursa was maintaining the importance as the old industrial centers, during the 1970 and 1980s, when industrialization gained momentum in Turkey, Denizli, Gaziantep, Çorum, Eskisehir, Izmir, Bursa, Konya, Kayseri were emerging as new industrial cities (Mutluer, 2003: 15). This process also brought the Denizli, Gaziantep and Çorum trio to come to the fore in terms of technology and business (Özcan, 2000: 228; Karaçay Çakmak and Erden, 2005: 117).

3.2.2. Characteristics of Factory-Type Production: Process, Relation, Place and Conditions

The industry, which expresses mechanized production with the use of new power sources such as electricity and gas, which replaces natural energy sources such as animals, wind, and water, expresses the coexistence of labor and technology and the re-planning of production (Edgell, 2006: 7; Güldiken, 2020: 29; Schneider, 1957: 50). According to Edgell, the steam engine, which was invented in 1785 to power cotton machines, caused a reorganization of the work (2006: 9). Although technology, production relations, and production process vary from industry to industry, some features of factory-type production are common in all these productions. The division of labor that divides the production process into its smallest parts, the routinization of work, the standardization of production and product, rationalization, and the transfer of a significant part of the work from the workers to the machines (i.e., mechanization) are some of these common features (Walker, 1992: 80). In the remaining parts of the theoretical framework, the characteristics of the production process, production

relations, production place and working conditions in factory-type production will be discussed.

3.2.2.1. Transformation of Production Process and Its Determinants

Labor process theory comes from a Marxist approach and occupies an essential place in labor studies. In this sense, names such as Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Harry Braverman (1974), Robert Blauner (1964), Frederic Taylor (1919), Paul Thompson (1989), Michael Burawoy (1979), Hochschild (1983) can be counted as contributing to the advancement and deepening of this theory. First of all, understanding what the production/labor process means is vital for the integrity of this section. The labor process is available in all types of production, from farming to craft, from domestic to factory. Walker describes the labor process as:

In all labor processes, workers manipulate things, move them about, observe what they do through the five senses, regulate their actions in light of observation, setting their faculties in motion, solving puzzles along the way, taking pleasure from the work and a job well done. They also, as a group, work together so that their individual, partial labors congeal as a single product. (Walker, 1992: 60-61)

A new production form is mentioned and is called the 'capitalist mode of production'. The production process of craft production, which includes traditional, non-standard, and individual relations, has left its place in the capitalist mode of production. Braverman calls this production process 'for the first time acquires technical and palpable reality' (1974: 20). This mode of production has a new labor process. He describes the transformation on the craft type production process as follows:

...in the first stage of capitalism the traditional work of the craftsman is subdivided into its constituent tasks and performed in series by a chain of detail workers, so that the process is little changed; what has changed is the *organization of labor*. But in the next stage, machinofacture, the instrument of labor is removed from the worker's hand....thus the change in the mode of production in this case comes from a change in the *instruments of labor*. (Braverman, 1974: 169)

By gathering scattered handicrafts under one roof, organizing the result of one's labor as the beginning of the other, and incorporating these works into the production process simultaneously, manufacture creates a new order in the labor process (Marx, 1976: 461-465). Marx likens this production process to the human body and the workers who perform the tasks to the organs of this body (1976: 466-467).

This section aims to deal with the transformations of some determinants in the production process and what this transformation changes for the actors of the production process while passing from craft-type production to factory-type production. In this sense, the topics technology used in production, rationalization, division of labor, specialization, routinization of production, skill debate, alienation will be examined. The labor process theorists, as mentioned above, will also be used in the examination of these titles. The order of the headings is parallel to the fact that the variables affect each other. With the innovations brought by the transformation in technology, the rational system Taylor brought to the production system, the Fordist production system, the following title, division of labor, led to the elaboration and brought division of labor specialization. With the skill debate that followed, it aimed to clarify the debate on whether the specialized workers are deskilled or upskilled. As a result of all the variables listed above, an alienation discussion was also desired.

3.2.2.1.1. Technological Changes and Mechanization, Its Advantages and Disadvantages

Simple equipment and simple machines can be included in the definition of technology, as well as a production system that includes many machines (Clark et al., 1990). According to Blauner, technology refers to the physical objects and technical processes used in production; with technology, the machine system, the level, and type of mechanization are indicated (1964: 6). To Volti, technology is the knowledge and organization used to produce objects and techniques (2012: 78). Specifically with the Industrial Revolution, what is meant by technology has started to be mechanization.

Machinery can be broadly defined as physical units arranged in a coordinated manner to perform tasks using energy sources; machines can be made up of simple manually operated parts as well as hundreds of parts (Schneider, 1957: 183). Babbage states that assembling tools that do simple tasks creates a machine (2009: 11, 136). Here, we will use technology to express more straightforward machines used in the production system, which were the subject of the development of production at the beginning of the industrial revolution, compared to todays.

This is a period in which the traditional means of production were replaced by machines. Hand tools have been replaced by machines used with energy sources such as steam power. Thompson calls this period 'the collapse of ancient crafts disabled by mechanical processes' (2015: 324).

"Mechanization lies at the heart of industrialization and the wholesale transformation of work and life under capitalism." (Walker, 1992: 59): As Walker underlines, technological transformation and mechanization emphasize industrial production and major impact work transformation. If we go a little further, like Blauner, we can say that technology is the only thing that adds a distinctive factor to an industry (1964: 6). Robert Blauner (1964) can be discussed in this section with his emphasis on technology. Although he examines the relationship between alienation and technology in his work, his conceptualization that divides the technology used in production into four is remarkable.

Table 2
Blauner's Industry and Usage of Technology Relation

<i>Printing</i>	Craft Technology	Simple machines operated by hand
<i>Textile</i>	Machine Tending Technology	Relatively complex machines minded by operatives
<i>Automobile</i>	Moving Assembly Line Technology	Conveyor-belt technology with limited tasks performed using small power tools
<i>Chemistry</i>	Continuous Process Technology	Automated technology monitored and maintained by operatives

Note. Summarized from Blauner, 1964: 6-8; Edgell, 2006: 35

In his research, he examines four different industries using four different technologies. He believes that four different industries can represent different levels of technology. These industries are the printing industry where craft technology is used, the textile industry where machine tending technology is used, automobile production where the moving assembly line is used, and the chemical industry where continuous process technology is used.

Marx also attributes the main reason for the change in the production process to the revolution in the tools (1976: 485). Although machinery existed before the industrial revolution, the first mode of production in which production was based on machinery was factory-type production (Schneider, 1957: 182-3). In the pre-industrial era, traditional modes of production such as craft, putting out systems used only simple tools. In these times, it was still human who used/directed the machine, but in Schneider's words, "the loom which wove the cloth, the press which embossed the leather, the locomotive which pulled the train" and mostly wind, water, or electricity supplied the energy to the machine (1957: 50).

On the other hand, when the technology use of industries is compared, it can be said that there are changes in the level of technology used between industries. Looking at Blauner's work, it is seen that the technologies used by the textile, automotive,

chemistry, and printing industries are different from each other: while craft technology is used in printing, machine-tending technology is used in the textile industry, while the automobile industry uses assembly-line technology, which is more advanced. The chemical industry has been automated with continuous-process production, which is one of the most advanced technologies (1964: 7). In this sense, technology uses can also be classified in terms of their types and development. Braverman describes this classification as 'the evolution of machinery from its primitive forms, in which simple rigid frames replace the hand as guides for the motion of the tool, to those modern complexes in which the entire process is guided from start to finish by not only mechanical but also electrical' (1974: 192). At the same time, this situation shows that the technologies used in factory production have historically developed and evolved towards full automation³⁵³⁶. Blauner describes the use of technology in these examples (from craft technology to automation) as 'typify the two extreme historical poles' (1964: 8).

The mechanization outlined above has *positive and negative consequences* for the production system. Actually, most of the consequences related with the efficiency. First, the time dimension can be displayed. With the inclusion of technology and machinery in production, it is seen that the duration of production shortens (Babbage, 2009: 6, 8, 11; Marx, 1976: 460). The time spent by the worker to produce a product has been shortened, the work has accelerated, and productivity has increased in this way³⁷ (Babbage, 2009: 174; Schneider, 1957: 50-1). The fact that the machines work

35 Blauner underlines that it is infrequent to see the opposite evolution, that is, from automation to craft technology (1964: 8).

36 Schneider's warning about the difference between automation and increased mechanization is worth considering. According to Schneider, automation refers to working in a continuous loop without the use of human agents. In contrast, automation refers to a system that is adopted, learned, given feedback, corrected, and edited by people (1957: 202). Therefore, in this research, technology is not automation but mechanization. According to Braverman, automation is defined as the automatization of the production line without direct labor and the transition between the machines to become a single body (1974: 192).

37 Here, not only mechanization, but also the development of division of labor can be cited as a reason.

for hours without getting tired compared to the workers has also been shown as an advantage in terms of productivity (Sennett, 2008: 39; Edgell, 2006: 59; Babbage, 2009: 39). In general, mechanization has increased production efficiency because it produces a production at a speed that human beings cannot keep up with (Marx, 1976: 526).

Machinery has also become the 'regulatory force' of production (Babbage, 2009: 22). This force of the machines produce both fast and quality product. In relation with this, secondly, machines produce better quality product than human (Schneider, 1957: 50-51). According to Babbage, one of the most significant advantages of machines can be seen in the fact that they eliminate human carelessness and produce more standard, more 'perfect' products (2009: 39). Volti sums it up this way: "machine tools made it possible to produce objects that would have been beyond the capability of the most skilled traditional craftsman." (2012: 40).

It is seen that the importance of the skills of the workers has decreased as a result of the relationship established not directly with the worker but with the machine (it will be included in the following sections). Although this situation is seen as a disadvantage for workers, it has become possible to talk about a system in which unskilled workers can participate in production instead of looking for individuals with production skills (Schneider, 1957: 51). Considering that there was a shortage of qualified labor in the first periods of the Industrial Revolution, this situation provided an excellent advantage for the conditions of the period (Gartman, 2002: 36). It can be said that this situation makes it easier for the employer to find workers to be employed; unskilled workers can also be included in the labor market and briefly become an advantage.

Mechanization has *disadvantages* as well as positive results. "Thus began the classic story of the displacement of craftsmen by the machine." (Sennett, 2008: 87): these words of Sennett can be associated with one of the disadvantages of mechanization, the unemployment of the craftsmen of the past. Babbage underlines that one of the

most common effects of mechanization is unemployment (2009: 229). According to Schneider, in addition to the disadvantages mentioned above, mechanization also brought with it a disadvantage such as a decrease in skills, the decrease in the value of labor and the role of the worker, isolation, and also the increase in corruption, directly or indirectly, as well as unemployment (1957: 3, 184, 189).

As Thompson underlined above, mechanization has led to the devaluation of the manual labor of the craftsmen of the past and the elimination of the need for their skills. As underlined by Rorabaugh, this situation also caused the loss of pride in being a craftsman (1986: 134). In this sense, mechanization also harms the human power that provides a voice in production, such as manual labor (Sennett, 2008: 39). Below, the destructive effects of the mechanization of the production process will be given in more detail under the headings.

3.2.2.2. Rationalization: from basis in tradition to basis in science

As mentioned above, mechanization is an indicator of rationalization; on the other hand, rationalization itself is reflected in the production organization and relations. According to Max Weber (1998), the essence of capitalism is the rational calculation of profit and loss and also capitalism is the science of applying formal rationality to economic life. Rationalization in production implies realizing and directing production and management down to the smallest detail with the knowledge obtained from scientific research (H. L. Gantt in Braverman, 1974: 171). This approach is called 'scientific management'. Scientific management is one of the classical theories that organize the organization of the labor process with scientific methods, aiming at the highest productivity (Schneider, 1957: 85; Braverman, 1974: 86). Marx characterizes these scientific methods as 'the natural laws of the modern mode of production' (2010: 327). The whole point here is about maintaining a routine and rational organization of work in rapidly growing capitalist enterprises. Scientific management is known by Frederic W. Taylor, who made a significant contribution to this field and is referred to

as Taylorism. He is one of the first people who try to rationalize the production process and modern work organization.

For him, the workplace, especially in the United States, was not rationally organized, causing production to be inefficient. Taylor first started by determining what the jobs in the production process were and making the definitions of the jobs. Taking time and motion studies as an example, Taylor observed the workers from their break times to each work step, calculated the time required for each action, and created the fastest and most efficient program for the work to be carried out; It has eliminated all unnecessary and time-consuming movements in the labor process (Volti, 2012: 49; Braverman, 1974: 12).

Before Taylor, especially in artisanal production, the management and production process depended on a specific order, and certain norms to regulate the labor process (Braverman, 1974: 87). In this sense, although Taylor did not invent a new method, it is a new attempt in terms of organizing work for the capitalist, not for the employee himself, and presenting a synthesis of all the ideas that emerged for the factory type production, a newly emerging type of production in the 19th century (Braverman, 1974: 88-90). The guild system was carried out in the traditional working order and depending on the old techniques; the factory system was based on rational production, rational budgeting, and rational working conditions (Schneider, 1957: 45). The increase in rationality has led to replacing traditional norms by scientific knowledge and regulations. These rational norms regulated many points from hiring to roles in the job, from the regulation of the production process to dismissal, from subordinate relations to wages (Fox, 1972: 29).

In this sense, we can talk about an increase in the control over the worker and the speed of production. In scientific management, the organization of the work, that is, the production process requires a high degree of control and discipline (Schneider, 1957: 86). It can be said that the organization of the management and production process rather than the technology used is at the forefront (Drucker, in Braverman 1974: 85).

This system aims to be scientific and systematized in the control of labor and production, regardless of the development of the technology used or the machines. In this sense, scientific management focuses on controlling the labor process. For example, Blauner attributes efficiency in the automotive sector to the rationalization of work organization, not to the high level of mechanization (1964: 95).

This situation also brings about the separation of mental and physical labor from each other (Braverman, 1974: 114). As expressed under the title of craft, the craftsman uses both his brain and body together, and the hand and head work in cooperation in the production of crafts. However, with scientific management, the head part, where planning and calculations are made, is now independent of the person making the production and the physical production process. Specific control and control mechanisms have started to make decisions for and instead of the person making the production and have been made dependent on labor process management practices. Braverman summarizes this situation as follows: "the dissociation of the labor process from the skills of the workers" (1974: 113). This fragmentation of the work has also caused the employees to be divided into two as the center and the periphery, those who use the head and those who use the hand (Salamon, 2000: 18). Engineers, foremen, or time-study men determined the techniques and methods of the work (Blauner, 1964: 171), while the workers undertook only the application part. In this sense, workers started to be represented as muscles and managers as brains.

Taylor calls workers 'economic animals'. This is due to the simplicity of things. Calculating and arranging the work down to the minor parts and separating the head of the production from the workers, has led to a drastic reduction in the skill required to do the work. The tasks of the workers have been simplified considerably, and as Taylor states in his book *The Scientific Management*, things have come to the level that even an intelligent gorilla can do it (1919: 40). According to Braverman, this arrangement indicates an arrangement from the capitalist's point of view, not the worker (1974: 86).

3.2.2.3. Fordism: Shifting to the Assembly Line

Fordism refers to both a production system that refers to mass production, an economy that refers to mass consumption, and a socio-political system (Lipietz, 1992 in Edgell, 2006: 90). In this research, we will deal with the meaning of Fordism referring to the production process. Rationalized type production initiated by Henry Ford in the automotive industry at the beginning of the 20th century is one of the crucial dynamics that initiated the change for the production process. Fordism can be defined as:

Fordism is a more wide-ranging strategy of organizing production which involves linear work sequencing, the moving assembly line, the use and refinement of dedicated machinery, and the design of parts to ease assembly and minimize fitting. (Wood, 1992: 10-11).

In this framework, Ford's production system has three main elements: (i) Segregation and simplification of production with Taylorized tasks³⁸, (ii) control of the speed of the work with the moving assembly line, and (iii) standardization of the product and work with single-purpose machines (Edgell, 2006: 93).

One of the most important distinguishing features of this new production system is the assembly line. Fordism emerged in the United States' meat industry, and Fordist thinking is coming from this industry. In this sense, the assembly line system was first

38 The question that arises in our minds here is: Can we think of Taylorism and Fordism as separate or different processes? According to Prechel, after the Great Depression, Taylorism was replaced by Fordism (2002: 52). According to Hounshell (1984), while Taylorism aims to increase efficiency with a new work organization by using existing technology, Fordism aims to provide effective production by replacing workers with machines. From this point of view, these two systems seem to be considered separately from each other. Wood, on the other hand, emphasizes that Fordism is much more than Taylorism: firstly, it started by applying Taylorism to small and medium scale production, but Fordism's goal was mass and mass production; the latter may include the Taylorist principles of Fordism, but additionally, the primary purpose of Fordism is to mechanize production; Thirdly, Fordism aimed at the cheap production of technically complex products as distinct from a strategy of deskilling (Wood, 1992: 10-11). However, considering the production system model above, it is also essential to emphasize the coexistence rather than a transition between the two systems. Despite the methodological difference, Taylor's management principles became more widespread thanks to their harmony with Fordism (Klekot, 2020: 217). At the same time, the fact that both systems aim at effective production has made it convenient for them to be carried out together in terms of their purposes.

used in a meat packaging plant. Henry Ford applied this production system to the automobile industry. In the assembly line system, the worker is not changing his location in the production process, but the product is changing its location. While the product to be worked on was sliding on the belt system, the workers were standing still working on the product in front of them. Therefore, each worker will be only responsible for a very divided part of the production.

Volti describes the effect of assembly line on workers as follows:

While it promoted economical and efficient manufacturing, the assembly line extracted a severe toll on the workers who manned it. The pace of work was relentless, the monotony of doing the same operation over and over was deadening, and noise was pervasive. (Volti, 2012: 53)

In this meaning, starting from Fordism, the pace of work has increased, the control is quite tight, and in fact, it has been shifted to a work style in which work almost covers the whole life like a lifestyle. He dramatically changed the work organization and perception about the worker. In order to provide a continuous flow of production, he puts certain rules that are written. With Fordism, the craft skills of the pre-Fordist period left their place to fragmented and simplified tasks, stationary assembly to moving assembly line, non-standard production place to standard production. Thanks to this system that mechanized the labor process, the workers' know-how was transferred to the machines (Prechel, 2002: 52). With this system, Henry Ford proved that the cars he produced were of higher quality than the production in the craft period, proving the efficiency of the system he established and the skill of the machine (Sennett, 2008: 48).

3.2.2.4. Division of Labor

When the characteristics of production systems are examined historically, the principle of division of labor has an important place that distinguishes factory-type production from others (Babbage, 2009: 131; Braverman, 1974: 70). Of course, it is undeniable

that there is a division of labor in other production systems as well. Division of labor refers to two different things. The first is a social division of labor within the community, and the second is a manufacturing division of labor seen with industrial production. Babbage states that the division of labor also exists in the earliest stages of social existence; However, it takes a long time to transfer it to the workshops, and it is seen in the production systems of societies that have reached a high level of civilization (2009: 131). The division of labor took its classical form in manufacturing (Marx, 2010: 327-328). In the factory-type production system, the work is divided down to the smallest part, and this situation has turned into the division of sewing the sleeve of a suit into several tasks rather than sewing a suit (Schneider, 1957: 178). Braverman summarizes the distinctiveness of this type of division of labor: 'The division of labor in society is characteristic of all known societies; the division of labor in the workshop is the special product of capitalist society.' (1974: 73). This situation caused the production process to turn into a body whose organs are humans (Marx, 2010: 329).

The separation of head and hand by Taylorist and Fordist production organizations formed the most basic and decisive division of labor in factory-type production. On the other hand, not only the head and hand distinction but also the division of all work in production into tasks and parts, down to the smallest detail, is a distinctive feature of the industrial system. For this system to achieve its goals, the differentiation of roles and a subtle division of labor are of functional essence (Schneider, 1957: 27). The continuity and repetition of this division of labor are necessary for the continuity of effective production of factory-type production (Walker, 1992: 61-2; Rosenberg: 1976).

Smith and Snow list the four central features of the division of labor: specialization with the separation of tasks among workers, functional interdependence with the interdependence of tasks, diversification with different job descriptions, and the increasing complexity of tasks (Smith and Snow, 1976: 521). All these characteristics

may vary from industry to industry, depending on the concentration of the division of labor. In different production systems, we encounter different degrees of the division of labor. While a single product can be divided into many parts in a factory, in some factories, a single task is divided into many parts (Schneider, 1957: 49; Bucher, 1901: 284-290).

The first name that comes to mind when discussing the division of labor is Adam Smith and his famous work *The Wealth of Nations* (1982). Smith argued that dividing production into parts would increase production efficiency (1982: 112-113). Gartman cites him as the prophet of progress in the industry (2002: 29). Smith uses a pin production to show how effective and efficient division of labor creates a system, and in *The Wealth of Nations*, he describes three advantages of division of labor: (i) increased skill of each worker at his work, (ii) the reduction of time lost in the transition between jobs, and (iii) the invention of the machine that facilitates and shortens labor (Braverman, 1974: 76-77; Babbage, 2009: 137; Cheng, 2012: 310).

As Braverman underlines, the development of the division of labor has also accelerated mechanization. The simpler the tasks, the easier the invention of machines that perform these tasks. Schneider emphasizes that tasks, even handicrafts, can turn into machine production by dividing work into simple tasks (1957: 51). In some industries where mechanization is not possible at every stage of production, the intensification of the division of labor and the fact that the product is made on the assembly line contributed to productivity at least as much as the mechanized industries (Walker, 1992: 63). When the division of labor is combined with the assembly line, the advantages of division of labor and Fordism's advantages contribute to forming a very efficient system. Braverman stated that the industrial assembly line is an important invention for the division of labor, and without it, the division of labor cannot be sustained (1974: 232). In assembly line production, the production tasks are divided into very simple parts (Blauner, 1964: 96). Due to the nature of the division of labor, this system, which requires a high degree of coordination between tasks, creates a new

production system by grouping the machines that are the continuation of each other in production (Gartman, 2002: 34). According to Weber, this coordinated division of labor resembles a symphony orchestra; A system that appears to be independent of each other but works simultaneously is created (1947: 226-227).

The division of labor cause several consequences. In the scope of this thesis, we will mention consequences about time and meaning of work dimensions. Firstly, the division of labor has several connections to the time dimension. Shortening the learning time of the job, shortening the completion time of the job are some of them. The process of learning jobs, which is simplified with the division of labor, is also shortened. Workers who are freed from learning the whole job need less time and experience to learn a single part of the job. On the other hand, in this system of division of labor, in which the machine also arrives, the work that required high skill in the handicrafts of the previous period, sometimes months, sometimes years, has now reduced the time required to learn only the machine and the simple part of the divided work to hours, sometimes only to weeks. On the other hand, another situation that shortens its duration is the total production process. Marx states that this system provides a production system that increases productivity, and that more products are achieved with less effort and less time (Marx, 2010: 330). Braverman says that the most significant savings occur in labor time with dividing work into departments (1974: 77). The division of labor eliminates the time lost while the worker adapts to another job while transitioning from one job to another (Babbage, 2009: 133; Marx, 1976: 460, 463). On the other hand, the time lost due to not only adapting but also changing and adjusting the tool has been saved (Babbage, 2009: 134). At the same time, the parallel progress of all successive stages of production reduces the total production time (Cheng, 2012: 312).

Secondly, Blauner states that with the mechanization and division of labor brought about by all this rationalization, the work becomes meaningless for the worker (1964: 22, 172). Blauner's alienation types 'meaninglessness' can be mentioned in this part.

Knowing only a simple part of the job and the constant repetition of the job have led to the loss of purpose and meaninglessness of the product and production process resulting from the production process for the worker. This degree of meaninglessness is rarely seen in artisanal production (Blauner, 1964: 172). Because for the craftsmen know the whole process. The separation of the head and the hand and the system that separates the rationality of the worker from the production process in this way has eliminated the meaning and purpose of the work for the worker (Blauner, 1964: 2-3). This makes the work meaningful only for senior managers or skilled craftsmen who know the whole process (Blauner, 1964: 22). In this sense, the decrease in responsibility and authority on the work causes the work to become meaningless.

The division of labor has brought many results in the name of the change of the production system. With the increase in the division of labor, standardization, routinization, and specialization began to be seen in the labor process (Schneider, 1957: 50). We will discuss these dimensions in the next sections.

3.2.2.5. Specialization³⁹

Specialization can be seen as a result of both Fordism and Taylorism and division of labor. Babbage defines specialization as 'skill acquired by frequent repetition of the same processes'; The constant repetition of the same job causes the worker to do that job perfectly, compared to someone who constantly does different tasks (2009: 134; Volti, 2012: 63-64; Marx, 1976: 469). In a moving assembly line, in a production system where work is divided into parts, and in productions where the division of labor is very rigid, workers are only responsible for one task, continuing to do only one job in repetition. This causes a specialization; they gain expertise on that task in the production process. All this has turned artisans who used to be experts in the entire business process into workers who specialize in a single job (Adamson, 2013: 9).

³⁹ Since this section only looks at the specialization practices and transformation in the early industrial and Fordist period, types of specialization such as the flexible specialization of Michael Piore and Charles Sabel (1984) for the post-Fordist period will not be included.

Integration of the worker with only one task leads to the worker becoming the 'lifelong organ' of that part in the production process (Marx, 2010: 329). On the other hand, this expertise can be seen as relatively fast-acquired expertise since only a small part of the work is done (Schneider, 1957: 49). In short, it created the conditions that created both mechanization and division of labor specialization.

The diversification of these skills due to the faster acquisition of skills and the division of labor has led to more expertise in industrial societies than societies based on traditional production or agriculture (Volti, 2012: 63; Stott, 1996: 263). For example, according to the list prepared by The Dictionary of Occupational Titles in the 1900s, there are 17,452 different types of occupations; this shows how much the occupations, job descriptions, and specialization increased with the division of labor when the number of occupations in the agricultural society is considered (Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Government Printing Office, 1937). Because of the less division of labor in pre-industrial societies, less fragmented jobs also resulted in limited specializations. Today, hundreds of specialized jobs can exist in a single production system.

3.2.2.6. Routinization

A routine is formed with the continuous repetition of the production process mentioned above. According to Neal, from early industrialization to the present time, the mechanization process has produced a tedious and monotony job for workers in factories (2007: 10). The production process, divided into parts by division of labor and then placed on an assembly line, continues with the same repetition every day. Schneider defines this routinization as follows:

The cycle of operation begins at a certain point; proceeds through a number of stages, depending upon the complexity of the machine; and at same point begins the process over again. The entire process is almost always completed in the same amount of time. furthermore, the stages of each cycle are usually separated from each

other by definite, often equal, amounts of time. (Schneider, 1957: 186)

Considering together with Taylorist principles, each minute of work and breaks and the speed of work are also taken into account; we can say that the daily production process routine is drawn with sharper boundaries in the advancing industrial periods. In this sense, the division of labor also contributed to increased rationalization and routinization (Schneider, 1957: 186). The system that we see in Adam Smith's pins, which divides into the smallest parts and causes specialization, is also one of the main reasons for routinization.

Blauner underlines that especially machine production produces much routine work (1964: 81-82). For example, it is planned how many minutes a job on the assembly line will take and how many times the same task will be done per day (Blauner, 1964: 97). Routinization of the work causes the work to be accelerated, the worker to continue his work without thinking about what to do in the next stage, and in this way, the production is more efficient.

This repetitive, routine-based production causes the worker to produce like a cog in an automatic machine, and turns the worker into a machine, a cog in a machine (Schneider, 1957: 186, Marx, 1976: 496, 548). Although doing a job over and over seems to increase the skill (Sennett, 2008: 175), doing only a limited part of the job repeatedly brings along monotony (Blauner, 1964, 81-83). Monotony depends on how much competence and skill the job requires; For example, according to Blauner's research, while 4% of workers in craft production complain about the monotony of the work, 34% of those working on the assembly line complain about monotony (Blauner, 1964: 83).

3.2.2.7. Standardization

After a while, Fordism's standardized production and product principle began to be seen in all industries. Jones says that the most significant change in traditional production lies in this standardized production (1992: 44). Blauner states that this standardization increases as we move from artisanal production to assembly-line industries and that not only the product but also the entire production process are standardized (1964: 90). The production process and the product are standardized with controls and rules set by inspectors, engineers, and quality controllers (Fox, 1972: 30). Norms were put into writing with this period, leading to the standardization of the production process, products, and even production relations, as we will see in the following sections. There was no standardization in craft-type production, which is one of the traditional productions; the value of the product here would come from the non-standard. Traditional norms in traditional production were also unwritten and varied from workshop to workshop. As we mentioned above, although the guilds wanted to set the standards of the product and production, this was done to protect the quality of the product and to regulate the competition. However, as the production process became rational and traditional rules were replaced by written norms, the product became standardized.

3.2.2.8. Skill Debate: Deskilling and Upskilling

The basis of the skill discussions lies in the idea that the production structure has changed in the twentieth century (Edgell, 2006: 90), and this change has a vital place in the discussions in the literature. As a result of all the transformations related to the production process, which we have examined under the seven headings above, the skill used by the workers in the production process has been seriously affected. James R. Bright (1958), Harry Braverman (1974), Daniel Bell (1974), Hirschhorn (1984), Mehler (1985); Famous theorists such as Piore and Sabel (1984) have contributed from different perspectives to the debate on the transformation of skill. The continuous

advancement of technology and the transition to full automation after mechanization have also kept this discussion on the agenda today.

The most crucial point in skill discussions starts with distinguishing between human and animal activity. The creative, thinking, questioning activity of man and the instinctive activity of the animal constitutes the main reason for making a distinction between man's skill and animal instinct. Therefore, at the beginning of this chapter, it is necessary to draw attention to Hannah Arendt's homofaber/animal laborans distinction. The human-animal distinction in the nature of this production first appeared in Taylor's intelligent gorillas. On the other hand, Arendt uses these two terms in her book *The Human Condition* (1998) to draw attention to the distinction between human and animal activity. Homofaber means 'man as creator'. While Arendt states that the activities of animals occur only to survive, work is the sole purpose for them; she emphasizes that creativity and individuality are distinctive features in human practices. In this sense, while animal laborans implies an animal, instinctive production, homofaber refers to an activity that is thinking, questioning, and creative, since the word meaning is 'human as a creator'. In addition to this distinction, Braverman also states that in the distinction between human and animal on the job, the first one is conscious and purposeful, s/he learned the job; he states that the latter acts instinctively and that knowledge is innate (1974: 46). In short, work represents a purposeful action for man and only instincts and idleness for animals. This conscious, unique product separates humans from animals (Braverman, 1974: 49).

Taylorized tasks were one of the main mechanisms of this system. After this system proved itself in the 20th century, the tradition of skilled, intelligent production was disintegrated and replaced by a monotonous, fragmented production regime that does not require qualifications (Gartman, 2002: 29). There was a large number of unskilled workers during this period; however, with the organizational system of Taylorism, in which all the work in the labor process was divided into the smallest parts and simplified, it was made convenient for unskilled workers to work in the band system¹

(Edgell, 2006: 91-2). Taylor's intelligent gorillas were working in this production system, and the worker's need to think was gone.

Animal Laborans---→ Homofaber--→ Animal Laborans

In the context of the relationship established above, it can be said that there has been a transformation from homofaber to animal laborans within the historical path. It seems that the activity of primitive man passed from the activity of meeting only the basic life needs to the creative activity of the homofaber in the craft production process. However, later on, with the removal of the creative activity from the workers, the individuals turned into animal laborans again. Sennett states that homofaber is superior to animal laborans (2008: 7), which can be explained by free, creative activity. Klekot states that Arendt's animal laborans overlap with Fordist assembly line workers, and homofaber overlaps with Sennett's (2008) craftsmen (2020: 208-9).

In this sense, it would be misleading to think that none of the workers working in the production system have any skills. Each job divided into parts in production requires a different degree of skill (Babbage, 2009: 137). In a production process, 'unskilled', 'semiskilled' and 'skilled' labor carry out the production process together (Salamon, 2000: 27; Rorabaugh, 1986: 146; Adamson, 2012: 34). Blauner describes this situation as 'three major kinds of blue-collar factory work' (1964: 169). According to him, the traditional manual dexterity of craft production, the less skilled manual work associated with mechanization, and the non-manual responsibility associated with automation categorize these three types of workers.

The skill debate, which has been quite common in research since the beginning of industrialization, will be discussed under two headings here. These perspectives can also be seen as positive and negative sides about skill. While some claim that the skill level of the worker decreases and the worker becomes unskilled with mechanization, some argue that mechanization requires new skills and that learning these skills and

repetition creates upskilling. In this research, skill debates will be examined under the titles of deskilling and upskilling.

Deskilling is an argued topic by many researchers working on the effects of industrialization in the literature (Burawoy, 1979; Gartman, 1987; Garson, 1988; Cockburn, 1983; Cooley 1987). Most of the deskill discussions are concentrated on those who think that skills have disappeared with the mechanization of industrialization (Edgell, 2006: 56; Rorabaugh, 1986: 131-132; Schneider, 1957: 180). Not only mechanization but also division of labor, specialization, and standardization can be shown as variables that affect this deskilling. Klekot directly expresses the relationship between these dimensions as follows: 'For a shop floor worker, specialization meant the Fordist assembly line and the Taylorization of work, resulting in de-skilled.' (2020: 218). In this framework, we come across two dimensions that affect deskillization: machine and the organization of labor.

James R. Bright, with his *Automation and Management* (1958), is the pioneer of those who makes valuable contributions to the literature among those who try to reveal the relationship between deskillization and machinery. In this study, Bright argues that skill requirements decrease with the increase in mechanization. In the table and modeling below, we see that as the advanced levels of the machines used in production increase, the skill requirements decrease, and accordingly, the experience and education decrease. In this context, as machines replace simple hand tools used in traditional production, deskillization is increasing.

*Why Advances in Automation Can Have
Contrary Effects on Skill Requirements
(as charted by James R. Bright)*

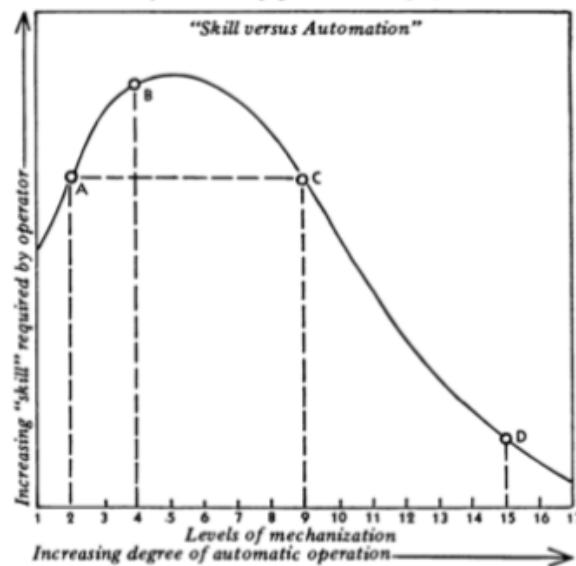


Figure 3 Mechanization and Skill Relation

Note. As charted by James R. Bright in Braverman, 1974: 221

Table 3

Changing Contribution Required of Operators with Advances in Levels of Mechanization

Worker contribution* or sacrifice traditionally receiving compensation	Mechanization levels			
	1-4 Hand control	5-8 Mechanical control	9-11 Variable control, signal response	12-17 Variable control, action response
Physical effort	Increasing-decreasing	Decreasing	Decreasing-nil	Nil
Mental effort	Increasing	Increasing-decreasing	Increasing-decreasing	Decreasing-nil
Manipulative skill (dexterity)	Increasing	Decreasing	Decreasing-nil	Nil
General skill	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing-decreasing	Decreasing-nil
Education	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing or decreasing	Increasing or decreasing
Experience	Increasing	Increasing-decreasing	Increasing-decreasing	Decreasing-nil
Exposure to hazards	Increasing	Decreasing	Decreasing	Nil
Acceptance of undesirable job conditions	Increasing	Decreasing	Decreasing-nil	Decreasing-nil
Responsibility ^b	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing-decreasing	Increasing, decreasing, or nil
Decision-making	Increasing	Increasing-decreasing	Decreasing	Decreasing-nil
Influence on productivity ^c	Increasing	Increasing-decreasing or nil	Decreasing-nil	Nil
Seniority	Not affected	Not affected	Not affected	Not affected

^a Refers to operators and not to setup men, maintenance men, engineers, or supervisors.

^b Safety of equipment, of the product, of other people.

^c Refers to opportunity for the worker to increase output through extra effort, skill, or judgment.

Note. As charted by James R. Bright, 1958: 216. (Also can be seen in Braverman, 1974: 218-219; Precee et al., 2000: 317).

Harry Braverman, who is shown as one of Marx's heirs, is one of the first and important researchers to work on deskilling. In *Labor and Monopoly Capital* (1974), he examines how the capitalist mode of production shapes the workforce. According to Marx, mechanization, and division of labor took manual dexterity from the worker and loaded all related tasks to the machine (Blauner, 1964: 37; Marx, 1976: 359-368). Braverman also conceptualized a 'deskilling' based on Marx's conceptualizations of the capitalist mode of production. In this sense, Braverman attributes the main reason for deskilling to new production organization. In this review, Braverman discusses the causes and consequences of deskilling in detail. Braverman summarizes the deskilling that comes with industrialization as follows:

The capitalist mode of production systematically destroys all-around skills where they exist, and brings into being skills and occupations that correspond to its needs. Technical capacities are henceforth distributed on a strict "need to know" basis. (Braverman, 1974: 82)

Braverman lists the reasons that come with new organization creating deskilling, which we will discuss in detail below: detail instruction, division of work into the parts, being replaceable, new working typology with no taking initiative, no thinking, and no control in the production process (1974). Workers have become economical animals that can be easily controlled and easily replaced.

The separation of mental work from manual labor, that is, the head and hand distinction, and the separation of production into small tasks also appears here. It is underlined that the production process, which Taylorism fragmented and rationalized, played a significant role in this deskillization process (Braverman, 1974; Blauner, 1964: 74; Stott, 1996: 265). In this sense, division of labor is an essential reason for the deskillization process. The craftsman of old knows more about production and the

production process than the worker in the Fordist factory; because s/he has the knowledge and experience of every stage of the product before the production is disassembled. The worker who does the most challenging stage of the work is seen as having the power to do all the stages of production (Braverman, 1974: 79-80). In this process, the craftsmen who used to do every step of production turned into assembly workers who knew a limited number of jobs (Sward, 1948: 32; Hambleton, 2016). Besides, this system made workers unqualified followers of the production system without the need for traditional manual labor skills (Schneider, 1957: 184).

These works performed on the assembly line do not require any skill, knowledge, or special training; tasks are reduced to simple labor (Klekot, 2020: 217; Braverman, 1974: 4, 82, 225). Workers on the assembly line are expected to use only a few of the skills expected of craft workers (Blauner, 1964: 96). The production process, which was divided into the minor tasks with the division of labor in this way, reduced the tasks to the level of simplicity that almost everyone can do, regardless of whether they are skilled or unskilled (Gartman, 2002: 36; Ford, 1923: 77-78). So much so that even Taylor's intelligent gorillas are at a level to do these tasks. On the other hand, this situation facilitated the substitution of workers for each other (Hambleton, 2016: 72). The easy and fast learning of the construction of this job, which is described as simple, has enabled the worker to be replaced easily compared to the skilled worker who is challenging to find and trained. In this case, the worker depreciated with deskilling.

This simplification of production-related information for workers and the greater inclusion of science in the production process go hand in hand. It is ensured that the production process becomes more effective and efficient with scientific research and experiments. However, on the other hand, the worker becomes less knowledgeable about the production process. The skill of the factory worker thus becomes insignificant in the knowledge of science (Braverman, 1974: 228). Braverman summarizes this situation: 'The more science is incorporated into the labor process, the less the worker understands the process...' (1974: 425). The workers involved in

the production process were only given enough information to fulfill their own tasks (Braverman, 1974: 136). This is also related to specialization. Although the person who specializes in simple work with a daily repetition in a routine seems like an expert, he has lost his authority and knowledge on the production process, in short, his skills in other tasks, by doing only a small part of the work.

In the research conducted by Hambleton, carpenter underlines that they do not have enough time to learn physical skills; instead, they basically learn how to operate the machine (2016: 71). Sennett also states that modern technology distances employees from concrete and applied training (2008: 52). In his example from shoemaking, Rorabaugh states that while transitioning from the craft period to factory-type production, none of the apprentices learned all the stages of shoemaking because of the time they spent learning to use machines (1986: 59-60). Rorabaugh states that unskilled machine users replace the apprentices of craft production in this process (1986: 132). As a result, most of the industrial work has come to require unskilled or semi-skilled workers (Schneider, 1957: 180; Blauner, 1964: 96). Thompson underlines that there was an accumulation of unskilled labor in the second decade of the 19th century (2015: 307).

As industrial enterprises grew, the labor market shifted from skilled workers to unskilled or semi-skilled workers (Schneider, 1957: 181). In mechanized production, the traditional manual skills of the workers were transferred to the machine system and reduced (Blauner, 1964: 59, 74, 168; Rorabaugh, 1986: 66; Schneider, 1957: 184; Veblen, 1914: 306). Blauner also supports the thesis that the level of deskilling increases with the increase in the use of technology in industries. For example, he states that 70% of the production that still uses craft technology such as printing consists of skilled workers, but the rate of skilled workers in machine-based textile production is 12% (Blauner, 1964: 59).

We discussed under the Craft chapter that the skills of the craftsmen of traditional production have a secret and are valuable. Now that the production of the products can be explained and described with documents, the secret that the master bases on his dexterity have begun to disappear (Sennett, 2008: 84; Stott, 1996: 265). Machines have displaced manual labor and destroyed this value, an essential part of craftsmanship culture (Rorabaugh, 1986: 133). These workers, who have turned into assemblers, have lost that magic that the skill brought; Rorabaugh describes it this way: "The master ceased to be a magician and became only one of a thousand followers of a routine." (Rorabaugh, 1986: 36). In this sense, skilled craftsmen of weaving, silversmithing, and pottery began to disappear before the nineteenth century, with their skills losing their value (Rorabaugh, 1986: 131-132). In this sense, workers and their skills have lost value in the production process, which has become increasingly mechanized and almost automated (Schneider, 1957: 185). Of course, this disappearance did not happen suddenly and in a short time. It has been tough to transfer the work done by the skilled worker to the machine (Walker, 1992: 80).

With mechanization, the handicrafts of traditional crafts had no value in the market. With this approach, the technology that came with the Industrial Revolution can be interpreted as a risk and an enemy threatening the skill and thus the skilled worker directly (Sennett, 2008: 2, 39). The replacement of skilled workers by machines confirms machines' pointing out machines as the enemy in this context. In the nineteenth century, workers faced the danger of being dismissed and unskilled with mechanization (Sennett, 2008: 107; Rorabaugh, 1986: 131).

Skill debate is not limited to only deskilling. *Upskilling*⁴⁰, new skills or continuation of the skills concepts are another dimension about skill debate. Some optimists see the industrialization of the production process as an improvement. These theses generally criticize Braverman's deskilling thesis as shallow (Burawoy, 1985; Wood and Kelly,

40 Daniel Bell's Upskilling thesis is significant in this regard. However, since this thesis deals with the post-industrial society, it does not seem appropriate for the scope of this study, which deals with the early industrial period.

1982). It is argued that it is easier to specialize and increase existing skills on tasks that the division of labor has fragmented and facilitated by mechanization. In this sense, mechanization and division of labor does not necessarily result in deskilling but can also bring new skills and jobs (Fisher and Boticello, 2018: 53; Fayen Scarlett, 2011; Walker, 1992: 80-83; Adler, 1985; Volti, 2012: 82; Bright, 1958). Thompson supports the view that the innovations that come with technology produce and glorify new skills even though they cause the old skills to lose their value (2015: 305, 308). For example, Hambleton states that the arrival of new digital technologies in stage design opens up a new field of skill and innovation (2016: 77). According to upskilling supporters, routinization and making a small part of the same production system every day improves dexterity (Gartman, 2002: 35). From this perspective, specialization is another side of the upskilling. Adamson makes the connection between specialization and upskilling as follows: "...subdivided labor may even have increased the skill level of the individual maker, because it brought about increased specialization." (2012: 26).

The role and labor of the worker may change over time, but it never disappears (Walker, 1992: 85). Skilled workers are still needed in production processes. There are still some tasks where machines cannot put the dexterity of a human hand into practice. These workers are also crucial for the smooth progress of production. These skilled workers are needed to direct the work (Gartman, 2002: 31). On the other hand, machines can still not work flawlessly without human intervention in some mechanized production processes. For example, Shaiken states that in a mechanized system, even machine operators who are seen as partially unskilled can intervene in the work when the machines stumble (1984: 87-92). Therefore, in some cases, more training may be needed to be able to work in such jobs (Bright, 1958: 201-221).

In the early industrial or Fordist period, which is the subject of this research, it is impossible to talk about full automation yet. Although machines have started to be used in production, the need for human labor is still undeniable to operate the machines, ensure continuity and repair the machines. In this case, a collaboration

between machines and human labor is still important and necessary (Klekot, 2020: 210; Hambleton, 2016: 71). This also requires that workers still have a certain amount of skill and expertise. In his field research at the porcelain factory by Klekot, he underlines that the work in the factory still requires considerable skill (2020: 206). These jobs that require skill also show that the skill is still given a certain amount of importance.

3.2.3. Transformation of Production Relation: New actors, new hierarchy, new terminology

In addition to the changes as mentioned above in the mode of production, there has also been a transformation in the production relation. According to Sennett, Watt's steam engine also caused the creation of a new social setting (2008: 83-4; Pollard, 1968: 124 in Mokyr, 2000: 23). Of course, these changes in the organization of production have transformed the workers' experiences, who are the actors of the production process, and their relations within the production process. In this transformation process, new actors were included in the relations of production, a new hierarchical structure was established, and relations were rearranged with new terminology. In this sense, industrialization brought along a relatively free type of relationship that was different from the production relations up to that time and compared to the slave-master or master-apprentice relationship. The name of this new relationship is industrial relations. In the most general sense, industrial relations mean that workers who are deprived of the means of production are gathered under a single roof and managed with strict discipline. The restrictive practices, strikes, collective bargaining in large productions, and the economic, social, and historical context is essential to understand industrial relations (Salamon, 2000: 5). This section will examine the forms and arrangements of industrial relations in production spaces.

The change in terminology in the relations of production has changed the qualifications of masters and apprentices (Adamson, 2012: 27). In the industrial organization of production, individuals cease to be unique and meaningful actors in the traditional mode of production; they are seen only as units of the factor of production, as numbers; bureaucracies are characterized by impersonality (Volfi, 2012: 61, 63). Workers, who were reduced to only one number, came to a position where they could easily be replaced with the effect of deskilling (Gartman, 2002: 37). In this process, masters and apprentices began to be called 'employee/workers'. The worker of the industrial era has different characteristics from the master of craft production, as discussed above, with the production process change. Thompson states that the moral and intellectual difference between craftsman/master and worker feels like 'in a new country and between a different race' (2015: 301). On the other hand, Whitaker emphasizes that there are apprentices in the industrial system, only the roles of apprentices have changed (1967: 9). In industrial production, apprenticeships, after a while, have become workers who do the chores of the factory, rather than learning a job, unlike in the workshop (Rorabaugh, 1986: 74). This situation can be considered as an indicator of the erosion of the traditional structure of apprenticeship.

In the industrial system, the master in the workshop has left its place in the concept of 'boss' in industrial relations⁴¹. Not only terminologically, but also roles have differentiated in industrial relations. While the master is both the employee and the owner of the job in a production system, the workers and the owner of the job have become different persons in the industrial system, and a dual distinction has been made in production relations as management and workers (Schneider, 1957: 47; Veblen, 1923: 103). In modern industries, the master is no longer a business owner but merely a worker in the production process; The managerial responsibilities of the master in workshops were transferred to white-collar managers and personnel offices (Blauner, 1964: 76).

41 However, the transition to the word boss has not been quick. Rorabaugh exemplifies how new the word boss is when the editor of a newspaper published in New York in 1829 had to define the word boss in his news (1986: 135).

Fevre states that the division of labor also creates a new hierarchical structure (1992: 49-52). Along with the stratification of production, new management layers were created to control business activities (Prechel, 2002: 52). In this sense, the separation of management and workers brought about by the division of labor can be shown as a result of the division of brain and hand. Prechel summarizes this situation as follows:

Capitalists relocated the information into centralized engineering and planning offices, where work rules were developed. Then, capitalists hired managers to implement these rules and ensure that workers complied with them. (2002: 51)

This distinction, which led to the emergence of new actors in industrial relations, resulted in white-collar workers taking their new place in the hierarchy as 'management' and the emergence of a new hierarchical relationship.

Not only the division of labor but also developing technologies have enabled the creation of new occupational experts (Volti, 2012: 60). Schneider argues that this dichotomy is then stratified by dividing skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled workers and managers according to their degree of authority and responsibility (1957: 52). In the master-apprentice relationship, a distinction is made between master, apprentice, and journeyman according to the duration of experience, and here, too, a more stratified hierarchy is mentioned. The industrialization has also contributed to the emergence of job diversity and thus new occupations (Schneider, 1957: 1).

In this way, the increase in the number of workers working in industries and the difficulty of managing hundreds of workers have also led to the stratification of management (Volti, 2012: 60). At the same time, this stratification has led to the fact that the power is concentrated at the top in a hierarchical relationship, instead of the masters in the traditional production order, who know all the stages of production, the managers who have all the knowledge of the production process take power in one hand (Blauner, 1964: 17-18).

In addition, stratification also prevents the worker from communicating directly with the management. The worker can only communicate directly with one or two people above the hierarchy (Schneider, 1957: 212). Craft production organization is less complicated than industrial organization. Industrial organization is more hierarchical with bureaucratic organization than before. The roles of the managers and the workers are strictly determined.

3.2.3.1. From traditional to rational

While transitioning from craft production to factory-type production, the main thing that changes in production relations is the evolution of relations from the traditional to the rational. The rationalization process, which started with Taylor in the production process, later led to the rationalization of the relations, rules, and norms within the factory. In the industrial relationship, unlike the relationship between the slave and the slave owner or the master and the apprentice, it is a relationship that does not have a special bond between the management/entrepreneur and the worker (Schneider, 1957: 46). The social structure in production spaces is no longer traditional and personal but has become a structure that includes bureaucratic, rational, and impersonal relations (Blauner, 1964: 89).

Blauner states that the social organization of industries has historically progressed from traditional principles to bureaucratic/rational principles (1964: 9). According to him, in industries where traditional production is made, such as printing, the norms are tied to tradition, and there is a personal commitment between the worker and the employer; on the other hand, bureaucratization, formal/written rules, and impersonal relations are at the forefront in more developed industries (1964: 9). Blauner's printing, textile, automobile industries can be used to illustrate a historically traditional to bureaucratic social organization. For example, the social organization of the automobile industry, which Blauner exemplifies as technologically more advanced and modern than the printing and textile industry, has a structure that is more

bureaucratic, rational, and without personal relations (Blauner, 1964: 89, 109). He emphasizes that printing and textile are governed by traditional norms and relations (Blauner, 1964: 10).

This situation also refers to the transition from the informal to the formal, impersonal relationship. Large industries increase the physical and social distance between workers and management (Blauner, 1964: 109). Starting to work in factories meant that workers would work with individuals who were not related in any way or even did not know personally (Edgell, 2006: 8). The relation in the factory is dependent on a money relation, that is, on a purely economic relation, in contrast to the almost family-like relation between the master and the apprentice in the workshop (Schneider, 1957: 48, 210). This situation also caused the non-family relationship to become more significant. The parenting nature of the apprenticeship institution was lost in this process (Rorabaugh, 1986: 139). Another disappearance of this traditional relationship is about the education, experience transfer relationship between the apprentice-master. As a result of all these, the relationship between the workers and their superiors is only about the continuity of the work; they have no social ties outside the work (Schneider, 1957: 211).

Finding a job is another point where the effect of rationalization is felt. In modern societies, in contrast to traditional society, family connections are seen as more background in recruitment than educational level. The use of family connections in finding a job is called 'nepotism' and is seen as illegitimate in modern societies (Volti, 2012: 22). In bureaucratic structures where rationalization is common, the earned statuses are more important to settle in the positions in the production process, and there is a meritocratic order (Volti, 2012: 63). The recruitment process is done formally in bureaucratic structures. Examinations, certificates, diplomas, and education have become priorities both in recruitment and promotion (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Collins, 1979; Weber, 1961: 240-241). It is expected that people who want to be placed in the upper position in the hierarchy, especially in management positions, have high

qualifications (Fox, 1972: 84). However, family ties still maintain their importance in finding a job today (Volti, 2012: 22; Landes, 1986: 610; Smelser, 1959).

Edgell speaks of a triple typology organizationally since the beginning of industrialization (2006: 22). The first two of these, Weber's pre-bureaucratic model represented by traditional and charismatic authority and rational bureaucratic authority (Weber, 1964 in Edgell, 2006:22), are essential to describe the main lines of production relations in the period that was the beginning of the workshop type and industrialization. In the pre-bureaucratic model, the manager provides his authority with traditional sources of legitimacy and personal characteristics, while in the bureaucratic model, authority is based on rational criteria and merit (Edgell, 2006: 22). In this system, the rules for the continuity and legitimacy of order and authority are clear, precise, and fixed (Schneider, 1957: 109).

In early industrial phase, control of the production relations and production process is achieved by pressure, force, and fear (Braverman, 1974: 66). Discipline and control provided by self-discipline and also force in craft production (Blauner, 1964: 175) began to be provided with written rules (Blauner, 1974: 9), in the rationalization process that came with industrialization in the following periods. Along with the written rules, the management regulated both the relations and the duties and responsibilities of the employees (Salamon, 2000: 84). In this period, the concept of 'consensual control' began to enter working life and research in the late 1970s (Burawoy, 1979; Peck, 1996; McCabe, 2014). This approach, which Burawoy refers to as 'manufacturing consent,' reveals that the control in the factories in the industrial period was not only achieved by pressure but also by consent (1979). This transition, which is described as a 'shift from coercion to consent' (Bespinar, Topal, and Kalaycıoğlu, 2014: 228), has brought about the fact that the order in the factories is shaped by an element of consent in the negotiation between the employee and the employer, rather than being maintained by force and pressure.

Although the role of traditional production relations in industrial relations has decreased in the increasing trend of bureaucratization, traditional practices are still dominant (Blauner, 1964: 60). Personal networks and social relations, and even some traditional rules, are still crucial for working life (Volti, 2012: 59). In this respect, it would be meaningless to say that traditional and bureaucratic social organizations are separated from each other with a definite border or that traditional elements are entirely withdrawn from production spaces.

3.2.3.2. Transition of knowledge/gaining knowledge/know-how

We mentioned above that the role of the master to teach about the methods of production had been lost. Along with industrialization, this shift has shifted from following the master in learning the job to receiving education in institutions such as schools and universities (Edgell, 2006: 5). At the same time, as mentioned above, the fact that certificates and diplomas have become essential in finding a job has made it almost compulsory to receive education in institutions such as schools and universities. In this process, traditional apprenticeship training has not had much value (Rorabaugh, 1986: 63). The fact that talent is replaced by the knowledge gained through education has also caused this value to decrease (Sennett, 2008: 35).

The division of labor, which simplifies the work by breaking it down into its minor parts, also reduced the time required to train workers (Braverman, 1974: 25, 432; Blauner, 1964: 59, 65). Unlike many years of experience in craft industries (e.g., a minimum of 7 years of apprenticeship), it now takes only a few hours or days to learn the job in assembly plants (Blauner, 1964: 96). A survey conducted in an automotive factory in Cleveland in 1910 indicates that only 11% of jobs require more than one year of training, while 44% require one month or less of training (Lutz, 1916: 97). Not only the division of labor but also the mechanization's takeover of the production system has shortened and facilitated this production time. Sennett summarizes this situation as follows:

The apprentice goldsmith imbibed his craft by imitating the master at work; in the new way of making a pane of glass, the glassworker cannot imitate the machine. Not only does the roller function differently than the eye, but it works to a standard that the glassblower could never achieve by visual inspection. (Sennett, 2008: 101)

As Sennett stated, learning the job has also changed with mechanization. At the same time, machine learning takes place more easily and in a shorter time than the learning of traditional tasks and tasks that develop based on experience. For example, Braverman states that while the training of a machinist, which is one of the jobs requiring qualification, takes four years, four months is sufficient for training an unskilled machine operator (Braverman, 1974: 203). Braverman also associates this shortening with routinization (1974: 431); According to the United States Department of *Labor's Occupational Outlook Handbook* (1968-1969), a few days or weeks is all it takes to learn repetitive simplified, semi-skilled jobs.

Besides all these, another issue with the skill is due to the heritagizable nature of the skill. In the craftwork section, we underlined that the skill is transferable and teachable from generation to generation. However, the fact that factory work is not based on skill compared to craftwork causes it to lose its heritagizable feature (Klekot, 2020: 222).

3.2.4. Workshop to Huge Factories: Size of the Plant and Number of Employees

As a spatial production space, we discussed the production process and production relations inside the factory's doors above. However, the transformation occurs not only in the factory but also in the production space itself, in its physical dimension. In this sense, production spaces are transforming from small-scale to large-scale spaces.

According to Raymond Aron, one of the most distinctive features of industrial society is the separation of the area where the family lives and the area of production (1997: 65). In this sense, the production that comes to mind when the industry is mentioned includes a spatial transformation. Industrialization does not only imply a technological

change in the mode of production but also includes a spatial change, such as the transfer of production from domestic and small workshops to factories. With industrialization, production spaces such as small workshops have been replaced by huge factories.

Mechanization has had a lasting effect on the *growth of production space*.

... the technology and elaborate division of labor require a large physical plant and a sizable work force. (Blauner, 1964: 176)

With the advancement of civilization, mechanization, and increasing the amount of production, there is an increase in large manufacturing facilities (Babbage, 2009: 173-174). In this sense, they are increasing the quantity-lead to establishing large factories. One of the reasons for the transition to large-scale production spaces can be related to the growth of the machines and power sources used in the production process and the space they occupy. This situation causes the volume of production to grow, but also the space of production to realize such a production (Volti, 2012: 40). The change of the production space is observed not only in its physical size but also in the separation of home and workplace. Unlike traditional production spaces as both living and production spaces, modern production spaces are located away from home and separate from living spaces (Blauner, 1964: 27).

The increase in *the number of workers* also plays a role in the growth of the production space. Towards the end of the 19th century, factories have become places where hundreds and thousands of workers work (Volti, 2012: 40)—increasing production to meet increasing demands required more workers than before (Rorabaugh, 1986: 132; Stott, 1996: 262). Blauner states that while craft industries with traditional production work with an average of 25 workers, hundreds of people must work in factories such as textiles (1964: 60, 92). In this way, the physical size of the factories has also increased since small workshops cannot handle a worker capacity of this size.

3.2.5. Working Conditions in the Factory: Wage, Working Hours and Insurance

Finally, one of the changes in the historical production process from workshops to factories is working conditions. It is observed that working conditions such as wages, working hours, and insurance have also changed with the factory type of production. Changes are observed in conditions such as wages and working hours and the physical conditions that determine the physical fatigue of workers. For example, Blauner states that the textile industry is a labor-intensive industry, and the physical fatigue of the workers increases with the intense use of physical strength (1964: 67).

It is mentioned that a waged working class has formed in many parts of the world with the factory (Braverman, 1974: 52). The former master, who receives weekly wages and even pocket money and whose needs such as a place to sleep, food, and clothing are met instead of wages, turns into workers working in the factory with a monthly wage.

The amount of the wage also changes with the factory. Both the increase in the number of workers (Babbage, 2009: 133) and the unqualified workers with the division of labor and mechanization caused a decrease in wages with the decrease in their responsibilities and authorities, and the workers began to sell their labor power cheaper (Braverman, 1974: 81; Salamon, 2000: 17; Edgell, 2006: 59). In this system, where only skilled workers are paid high, workers continue to work with low wages unless there is a labor shortage (Gartman, 2002: 35-36). The workers, whose skills and means of production have already been taken away, do not have any power to bargain about wages (Volti, 2012: 68; Braverman, 1974: 75-83).

Another change in working conditions is *working hours*. Working hours in the pre-industrial era were relatively free, variable, tailored to the needs of workers, and minimal (Thompson, 1970; Kumar, 1988; Thompson, 1967; Schor, 1993). Considering that the workshops are also used as living spaces, it can be thought that

the time interval determined for working is wide since all the time of daily life is spent in the workshop and there are no strict working hours. When the traditional production type was common, weather conditions, lightning, and air darkening were the determining factors on working hours (Volti, 2012: 13; Edgell, 2006: 11).

After the invention of the mechanical clock and rationalization, it began to be determined when the workers would start work, take a break, and finish the work (Volti, 2012: 13). Although the invention of the mechanical clock dates back to before it became a factory, its use to regulate production began to be reflected in production later with factorization. Working hours in factory-type production are determined strictly (Edgell, 2006: 12). Volti describes the working hours in the factory as follows: 'working environment governed by the relentless passage of hours, minutes, and seconds.' (2012: 13). Working hours varying between 10-12 hours, six days a week (Trantner, 1981: 218-222) seem to justify this description.

Depending on the perspective, working hours sometimes seem shorter than the working hours in the workshop, but sometimes they are longer. The fact that the working hours are not determined strictly in the workshop, the master shapes the working hours according to himself and according to work, can be seen as longer next to the working hours of factory type production. On the other hand, it can be said that workshop-type production is more flexible, and the hours in the workshop are not seen as working hours, and the practice of factory-type production makes it necessary to be physically present in the factory for 10 hours indicates longer working hours. Blauner looks at this framework in terms of decreasing working hours and increasing living standards (1964: 27). On the other hand, Edgell states that industrial work includes working longer hours and shorter holidays (2006: 11).

Writing an in-depth background directly related to *insurance* is beyond the scope of this study. However, it would be appropriate to determine the situation here, as the transition from precarious to secure work brings a fundamental transformation for the

change in working conditions. Because secure/insured work has undergone a visible transformation, especially in industrialized societies. Although it is impossible to say that the workers of all industrialized societies work securely, insured and secure work has started to come to the fore more than in the past.

Social security concept and insurance started to be developed in the 19th century in order to meet the needs of the new social structure, together with industrialization in its modern sense (Murphy, 2005: 651; Pechman et al., 1968: 29; TÜSİAD, 1997: 27; Nadir, 2006). Social security includes many dimensions related to work; these dimensions can be shown as unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, security for children, and health insurance. Social security systems differ between countries (Wise, 2012), especially in countries that have begun to industrialize; understanding of social security system practices manifests itself earlier than in others (Pechman et al., 1968: 30-31). In the second half of the 1800s, the social solidarity that voluntary organizations, communities, and trade unions tried to provide started to be welcomed and institutionalized by the public in the 1900s (TÜSİAD, 1997: 27). Looking at its historical background, the social insurance system, in its most basic form, was brought to Germany in 1881 by the handiwork of Germany's Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to protect the rights of German industry workers (Attarian, 2002: 61). Social security rights began to come to the fore in the late 1700s, with the demands of American workers regarding the regulation of working hours; In 1935, working conditions were formally regulated by The Social Security Act 1935 (Witte, 1963; Edwards, 1993: 25; Pechman et al., 1968). Social security, which started with the introduction of working hours, continued with regulating working conditions, wages, overtime pay, and racial and sexual discrimination (Edwards, 1993: 25).

A similar path can be followed to develop social security practices in Turkey. Although it was a relatively late industrialized country compared to other countries, we mentioned that the Ottoman Empire also had a working life system regulated by guilds and communities. These communities were institutionalized with the

introduction of more institutional mechanisms for regulating social insurance in the Early Republican Period, legal regulations regarding working life were started with the Labor Laws, and social insurance gained a constitutional character with the 1961 Constitution (Özbek, 2006: 22).

Chapter 3 has presented the literature about the craft and industry's production process, production relations, production place, and working conditions. Chapter 4 will present the research findings.



CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS: TRANSFORMATION OF THE BAKLAVA PRODUCTION FROM CRAFT-TYPE PRODUCTION TO FACTORY-TYPE PRODUCTION

In this section, the analysis of the findings obtained as a result of the field research is given. In this context, the section consists of two main sub-titles. Under the first title, "*Transformation of the Production Process*," the transformation of the tools used in production, the transformation of the organization of production, and the transformation of the masters' skills are discussed. Under the second main title, "*Transformation of the Production Place, Production Relations and Working Conditions*," the transformation of production relations in baklava workshops, the place of baklava production, and the working conditions in baklava production have been analyzed.

Transformation of Baklava Production: From Craft to Industry (0)

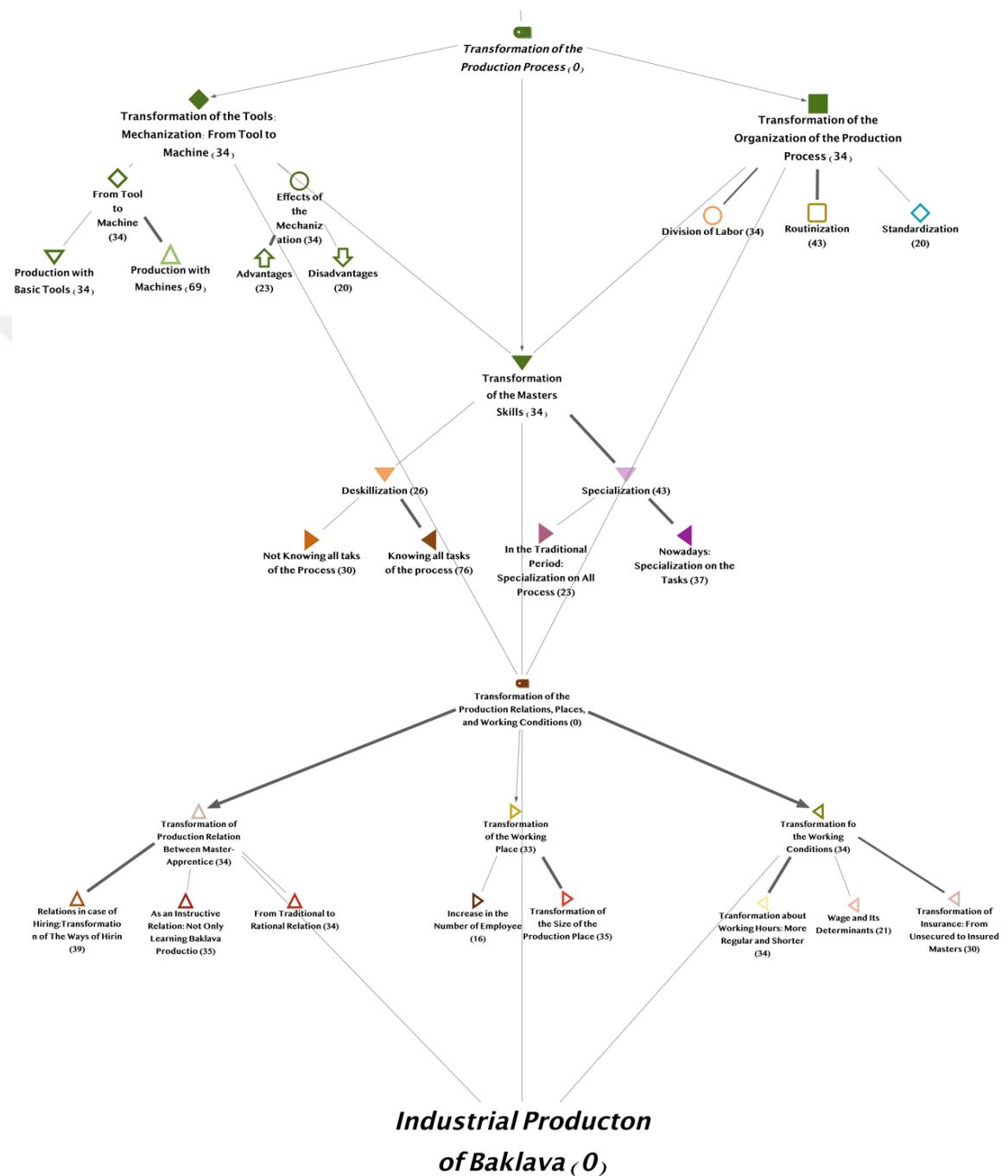


Figure 4 Cognitive Scheme of the Research

Figure 4 shows the main codes and subcodes of the findings. Also, these are the titles and sub-titles of the finding section.

4.1. Transformation of Production Process

The aim of this chapter is make an analysis of the transformation in the baklava production process while focusing on the Tools, the Organization of the Production Process, and the Master's Skills. Under each heading, the production process of baklava will be discussed by comparing the production type in the past which is characterized with craft-type with the current production type. Under the title of transformation of the tools, the machines that replace the simple tools used in the production process and the transformation process of the tools will be revealed.

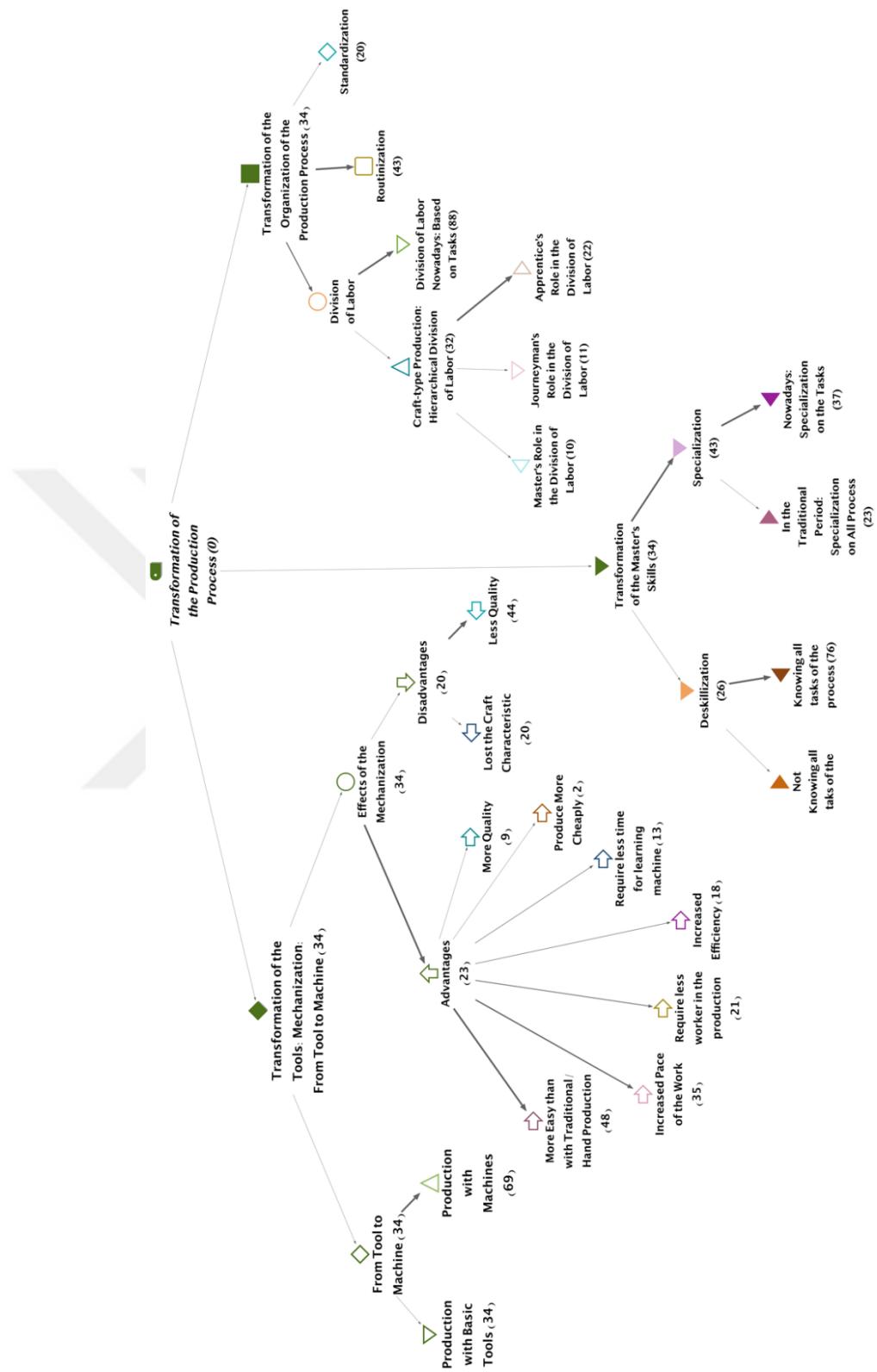


Figure 5 Cognitive Scheme of the Transformation of the Production Process Chapter

4.1.1. Transformation of the Tools: Mechanization: From Tools to Machine

As in every craft production, in the period when baklava production has the characteristics of craft production, the production is carried out entirely by hand; only simple tools are used to assist production. These simple tools consist of tools such as knives and rollers. In this period, production was labor-intensive and wholly based on human power. However, this situation started to change in the second half of the 1900s. In this process, simple tools have been replaced by simple machines such as pulling pistachios, kneading dough, creaming cream. Later, towards the 2000s, advanced machines such as the half-rolling machine entered the workshops, and the dough rolling phase, which required high physical strength, started to be made with machines. At the beginning of the 2000s, the full-rolling machine was added to production, and human labor in production was gradually pushed into the background. This section will discuss the process of replacing simple tools used in baklava production with machines.

In the first periods (craft-type production period) when baklava production was labor-intensive, the dough was kneaded by hand, the pistachios were broken by hand and granulated with a roller, the cream was creamed by hand, the dough was rolled out with simple tools such as rolling pins/rollers and sliced with a knife, and finally, it was cooked in a wood oven. Headmaster, who has 31 years of experience in baklava production, explains how masters kneaded the dough with manual labor and physical strength before it was machined:

HM2: They say that when there was no dough kneading machine, they used to pour flour on marble counters, open the middle, put their eggs, salt, and water with their hands, all the masters would pass around it, they would all knead that dough with their hands, fists, elbows, etc. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Boss 3, who has 48 years of experience, underlines that kneading baklava is done with physical strength:

B3: We used to knead with our hands, so there were times when we put nylon on it and knead it with our feet. They put such big/huge people on the dough. So our baklava dough is a bit hard, too. It will not be that soft; it has to be hard. A hand is not enough for it. If the work were less, we would knead it with our hands, but when it was a little too much, we would go on it and lay nylon on it. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this period, which can be called the period of craft-type production, the only tool of the baklava craftsmen was his body and rolling pin. Based on the discourses of Headmaster 2 and Boss 3, baklava production was made with simple hand tools and mostly physical strength during the craft-type production period. These judgments reveal the labor-intensive nature of baklava production.

In the pre-mechanization process, the dough rolling phase after the dough kneading is also carried out by hand in the same way. The headmaster describes this process, called 'rolling the dough ball (*bazi*: the dough gathered together after kneading and made into a round shape),' as follows:

HM2: There was no machine, in fact.there were no machines we used for dough. We were enlarging it with a roller. We were rolling the 'dough ball' (*bazi*), as we said. Here is a ball of flattening, the dough is cut into pieces, you enlarge it a little, then you roll it out, the rollers enlarge it a little, then our masters would roll the dough we rolled with the roller we call 'dough ball' (*bazi*), into from large to thin dough with a rolling pin. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As the masters explained above, each stage of baklava production in the period before mechanization was done by hand and with simple tools such as rolling pins. In this sense, baklava production is seen as an utterly craft-type production in terms of the tools used in the production.

However, machines started to enter baklava factories in the second half of the 1900s. Firstly, the pistachio crushed with rollers was started to be crushed with pistachio crushing machine (MB1); hand creamed with a mixer; Towards the 1980s, dough kneading machine started to enter the workshops (B3). In this direction, the first

machine to enter the baklava workshops is the dough kneading machine, which is one of the simple machines. Headmaster 11, who has been a baklava maker for 22 years, compares the production before and after mechanization as follows:

HM11: Let me give an example; we used to cream the cream of the baklava in our hands. It would take us half an hour, and that would make our hands hurt. Constantly hit and hit, the master would come and look, it did not happen, hit even more. We would put our knees on the ground. The cauldron screeched for half an hour and 40 minutes in front of us. However, now the mixer is in the production. ... They were kneading by hand and resting. They were hitting with their elbows and feet, they used to hit the dough. Then this dough kneading machine came out. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

Boss 3, who has 48 years of experience in baklava manufacturing, expresses how machines have replaced manual production as follows: "We used to pull pistachios by hand, now machine pulls. While we used to whip the cream we put in it for hours with a whisk in our hand, now the machine is beating." (B3). As can be understood from the expressions of HM11 and B3, the machines involved in the production have started to replace the manual stages. In this sense, it can be said that the first steps towards mechanization were taken with these machines.

The most significant mechanization step in the baklava production process was the rolling dough stage. This mechanization step is the first break in the handicraft of baklava, which reflects the craftsmanship. With the arrival of the 'half-rolling machine,' the roll out the dough ball (*bazi*) process of baklava production started to be done with the machine. Although the exact date of the half-rolling machine's entry into the workshops is not sure, it took place between 1980-2000, according to the information received from the participants. The majority of the participants stated that this machine was unavailable during the apprenticeship period and that the machine was included in the workshop afterward.

Master 6 referred to the period when the half-rolling machine was not used in the production process as follows: "There was no such system in the past. In other words,

it was produced from the dough ball (*bazi*) what we call some wicks, balls.” (M6). On the other hand, Master-Boss 2 explains which step the half-rolling machine eliminates: “The machine we use now eliminates some of our processes. In other words, that corresponds to 15% to 20% of the baklava dough.” (MB2). HM11 states the stages of this 15% dough sheeting part as follows: “When the machine came out, that part of the dough rolling was over. Flatten the ball, cut the wick, open the dough ball (*bazi*), rest the dough, and so on.” (HM11). Master 1, who started his career 22 years ago, states that the half-rolling machine was not common when it first came out:

M1: There were very rare productions when we first started the profession. For example, if there were ten shops, two of them had machines. ..they removed *bazi* dough after the machine came out.
(22 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In this sense, as we can see in master’s quotes, a part of the labor-intensive part of the dough rolling stages has been transferred to the machine, as the half-rolling machine has started to enter the workshops. The half-rolling machine is currently used in all the workshops where interviews were done and has become quite common in the production process.

One of the most advanced machines used in the production of baklava at the moment is the full-rolling/zero-rolling machine, which is more advanced than the half-rolling machine. After the half-rolling machine, the dough is rolled out and thinned again by the masters, defined as rollers (*oklavaci*). Along with the full-rolling machine, the stage of thinning the dough with a rolling pin, which is the next stage after the dough ball (*bazi*) rolling, has also been started to be done by the machine. Headmaster 2, who works in one of the medium-large enterprises, states the function of the full-rolling machine in production as follows: “It thins the dough very much, so it directly does the rolling which is done by hand before.” (HM2). Master 9 explains how the full sheeter/full-rolling works as follows: “The dough comes out as if it is flowing from the tap. You take it, you pour it on the tray, you slice it.” (M9). With this machine, mechanization in baklava factories has moved to a higher level. In this sense, one more

stage of baklava production has been mechanized. The labor-intensive structure of dough rolling has been completely transferred to the machine with this full-rolling machine.

The entrance of the full-rolling machine to the workshops in Gaziantep started in 2010. However, this machine is not as common as a half-rolling machine. Only 2 of the 13 enterprises interviewed use a full-rolling machine. In the remaining 12 workshops, the masters, defined as 'rollers (*oklavacı*)', thin the dough coming out of the half-rolling machine in their hands and make them ready for laying (*döşeme*).

Although it is not encountered in the baklava workshops in Gaziantep, the baklava producers, who have completely switched to factory-type production, have also started to use machines with advanced technological equipment. Some of these machines are the slicing machine, pistachio throwing machine, laying machine, and matador oven working with natural gas instead of the wood oven. All these machines cause baklava production to be fully mechanized. Human labor is now used only to steer these machines in factory-type enterprises. Master 9 describes these machines as follows: "Full-rolling machines came out, slice machines came out, there is this wood oven, this used to be still here, most of Istanbul there are matador ovens with natural gas and electric." (M9). Headmaster 9, one of the headmasters interviewed, explains this fully mechanized system used in other workshops as follows:

HM9: There is already a full rolling machine for dough extension, a dough extension machine, and a slicing machine. There is a sherbet dispenser and a pistachio throwing machine. So there are many machines if you want to mechanize. There are a few companies here; the man has given dealerships throughout Turkey, and he is producing. Cheap baklava produces 20-30 liras, but everything is done through a machine. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this sense, it is seen that these baklava production places, where the whole process is done by machines, are fully automated. In 70 years, baklava production started to

show the characteristics of complete mechanization in this way; simple tools have begun to give way to advanced, automated manufacturing similar to the assembly line.

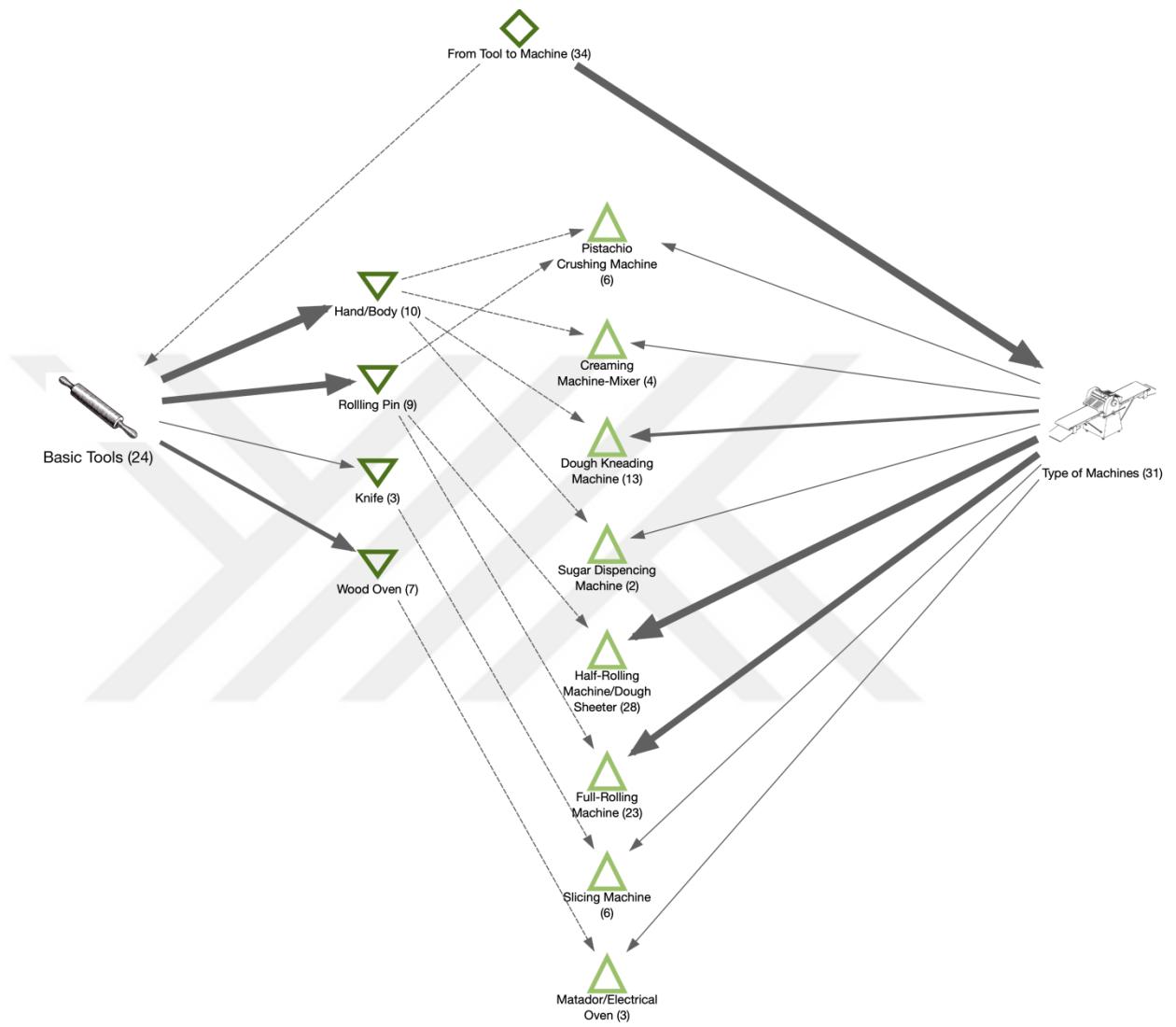


Figure 6 Transformation from tools to machine in baklava workshops

Note. (→) shows transformation from craft-type production tools to factory-type production machines

Figure 6 shows which tools in the past have been replaced by the machines as mentioned above that have just entered the baklava workshops. As you can see, simple hand tools and manual labor have been replaced by machines; The labor-intensive structure of production has evolved into a production process in which more machines are included. However, not all machines mentioned on the right side of the figure are available in all workshops, as stated above. The production places where all the specified machines are located are the factories where mass production is made. In Gaziantep, there are pistachio crushing machine, creaming machine-mixer, dough kneading machine and half-rolling machine in the workshops where the interviews are held. While there are full-rolling machines in the two workshops where the interviews were conducted, there are no workshops with a slicing machine, sugar dispensing machine, and matador/electric stove. As can be seen from the thickness of the lines in Figure 6, half-rolling and full-rolling machines are the first to come to mind when mechanization is mentioned. The simple tools used in the traditional period emphasize manual labor and rolling pin, as can be understood from the thickness of the lines.

The entry of the machines, as mentioned above, into the workshops was not as easy and sudden as one might think. Especially the masters, who considered this work as a craft, did not accept the machine at first; they thought that the production of baklava would harm the craft-type of production. For this reason, they resisted using the machines. Headmaster 3, who has 41 years of experience in baklava production, describes the resistance experienced when the half-rolling machine first came to the workshop:

HM3: In fact, we bought it first, my master said, since he was a craftsman, the owner of the shop I called my master, he would also make baklava. He said the machine doesn't do any good, remove it; he said, "We are wasting our effort in vain." We did not use this machine for 2-3 years. After that, we looked at the technology; when all the tradesmen started to use it, he said, let's try it slowly, and so on. After that, we continued with the machine. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 9, who has 32 years of experience, describes his attitude towards the machine when it first came:

HM9: We even worked on the first day that the machine arrived; the master said, "Remove this machine; we cannot make baklava with this machine; it will harm our work." When we worked for 2-3 days, we said let's go and hug the machine, how useful it is. After that, we continued with this machine. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As can be seen from the statements of Headmaster 3 and Headmaster 9, mechanization was not directly welcomed by the masters in the ordinary path. As can be seen from the judgments above, the masters started to accept mechanization when other enterprises started to use it. It was necessary to go through a certain period of getting used to it. The main reason for this prejudice stemmed from the thought that the machine could harm craft-type baklava production.

On the other hand, the full-rolling machine is in the same resistance process today. Considering the relationship established between the machine and the quality, Master-Boss 5 and Headmaster 2 make this comparison as follows: "...but as you eat its baklava, it multiplies in your mouth, it does not melt. But when you eat craftwork, you throw it here, and it melts." (MB5); "Because its dough is a little different, it always comes out better when I open my hand, and its baklava always comes out better." (HM2). Boss 3, the owner of MS1 company, which has been making baklava for four generations, states his judgments against full-rolling machines as follows:

B3: We bought the machine first; we did not dare to use it. We did not dare to use it for a long time, wondering if we could succeed or not or would this kill the handiwork and simplify the work. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

As mentioned above, the main reason why the full-rolling machine is not as widespread as the half-rolling machine is that the dough produced by the full-rolling machine is not as high-quality as the dough made by hand. Master 6, who has been in

the baklava sector for 30 years, states the difference in quality between manual labor and the product produced by the full-rolling machine:

M6: The dough of baklava, the product that is opened with human power and labor, becomes thinner, self-sacrificing, and the dough is processed. There is a substance we call that starch that we throw into it. In other words, we process it more delicately at each stage. The oven also gives it a more excellent crunch. (30 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Such judgments persist today, making it difficult for the full-rolling machine to enter the mills. Headmaster 8 working in one of the small-scale workshops is an example:

HM8: I do not intend to use the machine, nor do I use it. So today, even if it's my own company, I wouldn't use it. If I want a poor-quality product, I say use it. But if you want to produce a quality product, the machine will spoil it. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

As five different participants stated, negative thoughts about the quality of the baklava produced about the full-rolling machine prevent advanced machines from entering the baklava factories. This situation slows down the transition process of baklava factories to factory-type production.

As you can see, machines started to be used in baklava workshops, which were seen as a craft and made entirely by hand 50 years ago. However, this mechanization did not happen all at once. Although the craftsmen do not easily accept this mechanization process, half-rolling machines, especially for whipping cream, kneading dough, cracking pistachios, and rolling dough, are widely used in workshops. As stated above, the craftsmen have some judgments in the process of the machines entering the workshops. From this point of view, there are some advantages and disadvantages for the craftsmen to enter the machine into baklava production. These advantages and disadvantages are shown as the reasons for the spread of mechanization or the slow progress of this process. The points that the masters see as advantages and disadvantages in mechanization in this process will be discussed below.

4.1.1.1. Advantages of the Machines in the Baklava Production

There are several reasons for the widespread use of machinery in the mechanization process. These reasons are seen as the advantages of the machine in the production of baklava. In the previous section, it was mentioned which stages the machines took their place. In general, the fact that the machine eliminates several stages and that the tasks in these stages are loaded onto the machine brings some advantages.



Figure 7 Advantages of the Machines in the Baklava Production

As shown in *Figure 7*, these advantages can be grouped under seven headings. In this section, these advantages are listed as follows: (1) higher quality products are produced, (2) it requires less workers in the production process, (3) it allows for cheaper production, (4) it is easier than traditional production, (5) machine production require less time than the traditional one, (6) speed up work and (7) it is more be effective.

With mechanization, some of the most laborious parts of the work are done by the machine. The machine, which eliminates bazi rolling, performs the dough-extending process for the workers. When asked about the advantage of the machine, almost all of the participants emphasized that it *is easier than traditional production*. Master 6,

who thinks that the machine facilitates the production of baklava, which is labor-intensive in general, describes the situation as follows:

M6: In the past, work was always a little more tiring; there were no machines. The workforce was higher and more concentrated. The body was very burdened; there was no machine. That's why we work better and are more comfortable now than in the past. (30 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

The dough kneading machine, one of the first machines to enter the workshop, reduces body power and makes work easier. Headmaster 4, who has 42 years of experience in the baklava sector, explains that mechanization makes the job easier:

HM4: When we first started, the job was a little more complicated; everything was more physical. Technology makes the job a little easier. ... In the past, there was no dough kneading machine. Now when the machine comes, you put the water, flour, and egg of the dough. The dough is kneaded. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

It is thought that mechanization is easier than the traditional method in the dough rolling stage. Master 4 states that the baklava dough, which is rolled by hand and rolling pin, has a more labor-intensive structure compared to the machine: "Some dough was a little more tedious, a little more difficult, needed a little more effort." (M4). Headmaster 10, with 32 years of experience, explains this situation as follows:

HM10: It's not like that in bazi dough, you knead the dough and cut it. It takes a lot of effort. That's why we started with the dough stretched out by hand, then we continued with the machine, thank goodness. Because the machine has lightened our workforce a little more. It gave us a lot of convenience during the rolling phase of the dough. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 11, who has 22 years of experience, states that making 'production by pressing a single button of the machine' is easier than manual labor and requires less skill:

HM11: This is a machine, not a dexterity. All you have to do is press the buttons, and you will know how much to thin it. But otherwise, it depends on one's own ability. Turning the dough all over is a skill, talent, dexterity. The machine is not like that; if you know when to press the button of the machine, you will learn the machine. Make a wick, flatten the dough, cut the dough, roll the dough; it was a lot of work, it was tormenting. The rolling machine came out; it's been a massive help to us. Later, the full-rolling machine came out. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

The masters state that the full-rolling machine will further reduce this manual labor. Master 4 states that manual labor will decrease with the mechanization of more parts of the work:

M4: Of course the machine is easier than rolling bazi. The half-rolling machine was a blessing; it cut all the labor down to 50%. If the full-rolling machine comes, this will increase to 90%. Labor will remain at 10%. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

Based on these critiques, as the production of baklava becomes mechanized, the production of baklava based on manual labor becomes easier for the craftsmen. The inclusion of each machine in the production process has made each stage of the work easier than the craft-type production period. In this sense, it is seen that the shifting of the work of the craftsmen from labor-intensive to machine-intensive makes their work easier while transitioning from craft-type production to factory-type production. On the other hand, it is seen that the tedious nature of manual labor is reduced to pressing the button of the machine.

Since dough rolling with a machine is easier and more effortless than traditional rolling methods, this is also reflected in the learning time of the job. The masters, who say that learning machine use takes ***less time than learning*** to roll the dough ball parts, see this as another advantage. Masters say machine learning is simple enough that it can be learned in one day to two weeks. As stated by Headmaster 11 above, the machine does not require dexterity, and this makes it easy to learn the job. Headmaster 1 talks about this advantage as follows:

HM1: Baklava made by machine is not something that requires a lot of mastery. The weight of the eggs, water, salt, and everything that goes into the dough is already known. Throw it away and only have 1-2 settings. Everyone can use it in 2-3 days with hand practice. We get used to it in 2 days. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this sense, it takes 10-15 years to learn the production of baklava made with craft type, hand labor, and simple tools, while it is seen that learning production made with the machine can be learned in almost a few days. This allows the masters who will work in baklava production to learn the job easily. This aspect of mechanization emerges as an advantage. Thus, it is seen that the entry of machines into baklava factories brings two advantages. Machines both reduce the labor-intensive structure of production and ease the learning of the production process by transferring these labor-intensive production methods to machines.

Another advantage of the machine is related to *the acceleration of production*. Contrary to human power, the machines, which are in continuous production without getting tired and resting, roll the dough faster than the baklava masters and increase production speed. The dough ball (*bazi*), which was kneaded for hours with human power and rolled for hours, started to be produced in a much shorter time, even within minutes. First of all, the dough kneading machine has shortened the kneading time of the dough considerably. Boss 3 explains this situation as follows:

B3: We were very happy when the machine kneaded that dough. Because it would take us 2 hours in the morning to knead that dough, so the machine kneads in 15-20 minutes. We used to knead with our hands, so there were times when we put nylon on it and kneaded it with our feet. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this sense, one of the first machines to speed up the work and enter the workshops is the dough kneading machine. The half-rolling machine, which replaces the dough ball's rolling stage, is another machine that increases production speed. Some participants stated that this machine, which replaced some, accelerated production

considerably. Headmaster 4 states that the job was shortened by saying: "After kneading the dough in between, at least five jobs reduce to 15 minutes, something like 1.5 hours" (HM4). Headmaster 6, who has been in the profession for 25 years, states that the production with the machine shortens the production time as it is less laborious:

HM6: So let me tell you, it accelerated our work a lot. On the other hand, it was a very tormenting, hard-working job that was impossible to complete. What happened with the machine, I can say that it accelerated our work in half. It reduced the time and pushed us forward in terms of time. (25 years of experience, large enterprise)

Based on the views of the masters, the introduction of the half-rolling machine into production seems to be one of the most critical mechanization steps that increase the speed of production. Boss 1, the owner of one of the medium-large scale companies, explains the shortening of the production time with the machines by increasing the efficiency of production together with the slicing machine in order to respond to the increasing demands:

B1: Because you are making mass production, as I said before, a machine equal to the amount of baklava dough made by 2 masters from morning to evening only takes out the dough produced by those two masters in 2 hours.Now, for example, a master works for at least 2 minutes so that he can slice the tray. But the slicer cuts one side in 2 seconds and the other side in 2 seconds, and both sides in 4-5 seconds in total. Production is getting very serial. Because the masters slice there with 1 knife, 10 knives come to the tray and make slices with the machines. (15 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As mechanization increases, we see that the time allocated to each task in the production process is shortened. In this sense, it is considered advantageous for the machines to increase the production speed in order to respond to the increasing demands in baklava production. The structure of manual labor, which requires long periods of time and prolongs the completion time, accelerated considerably when the

factory-type, mechanized production was started. As machines improve, there will be more and more reductions in the time allotted for production.

As mentioned above, the number of baklavas has increased with the acceleration of the work. Another advantage that we encounter in connection with the acceleration of production is the *increasing efficiency*. Compared to the dough ball (*bazi*) rolling with traditional methods, more products have been started to be produced with the dough rolling with the machine. The efficiency of the machine dough has replaced the difficulty of the dough balls (*bazi*). Baklava, which can be made from three to five trays in one day with human power, has enabled the production of up to hundreds of trays with the machine. Master-Boss 5 expresses the increase in productivity brought by the machine as follows:

MB5: If it were with dough ball (*bazi*), we could not produce this much baklava now. The machine caused the baklava to be made a lot. In the past, we used to say that there was no baklava after a certain time during the day. In other words, we were saying that after 7-8 o'clock, the baklava was finished. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 1 states the contribution of the dough kneading machine to efficiency: "Because we are kneading 50 kilos of dough today, the machine rolls it in 1 hour. We cannot roll 50 kilos of dough in 1 hour with 30 rolling masters." (HM1). In this context, compared to dough kneaded by hand, dough kneaded by machine provides a much more efficient production. In this sense, the dough kneading machine not only facilitates production but also increases efficiency by speeding up the work.

Master-Boss 1, on the other hand, states that the half-rolling machine provides more efficiency compared to the hand-rolled baklava: "Then, instead of making five trays, for example, you can make ten trays with this extension machine." (MB1). Boss 3 explains how efficiency increases with the acceleration of production:

B3: In the past, a day was a bit difficult, when we came in the morning, it was very early, we would arrive at 4 o'clock. Of course, since everything was done by hand and wrist power, a little more time was needed. We used to bake less baklava in more hours. We used to cook those 4-5 trays of baklava until noon, until 12-13. Gradually, when you say that it will go to the oven, it will be cooked, it will be inline in the oven, your baklava will come, it will be late, it will go early... not so now. Everything is in the workshop. For example, we don't need to come back at 4 am now. If we come at 6, now we have some machines, as soon as we knead the dough, our baklava will be ready after 1 hour. Our oven is in the same place, and our machine is in the same place. Our workshop is in the same place, and our works are a little more rapid. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this framework, the machine has led to a significant increase in productivity in baklava workshops parallel to the acceleration of production. In this way, machine production in baklava workshops has provided an efficiency that human-made production cannot achieve. Today, it seems that these machines must be used in order to keep up with the demands for baklava. In this sense, these machines used to increase productivity are almost similar to those used to increase productivity in factory-type production.

On the other hand, it is stated that the production made by machines in baklava production **requires fewer masters**. Since it is more laborious to roll the dough ball, more craftsmen are needed in the production process, while the machine accelerates the production, leading to a decrease in the number of craftsmen needed. Master 3, who has 36 years of experience, compares the period when the dough is made by machine to the period when the dough is made by hand: "Well, if you compare the dough ball (*bazi*) with the machine, for example, if 25 people work here (with the machine), 50 people should work on the dough ball (*bazi*).” (M3). Master 9 also evaluates the machine's participation in production in relation to the decrease in the number of employees: "When it comes to the machine, it has saved a lot of staff and time." (M9). In this sense, it is seen that the number of masters required for the production of baklava has decreased today, while the production in the traditional period required more workers due to more challenges.

The craftsmen express their thoughts that the full-rolling machine will gradually reduce the number of craftsmen needed in the baklava production process. Master-Boss 2 states that "10-15 people will be needed less" (MB2) for the person working in the production of the full-rolling machine. Headmaster 8 says that at least 20-30 people are required for the dough produced by a full-rolling machine: "If you use a machine, let's say 20-30 people roll the dough that a machine rolls. But a machine rolls it by itself." (HM8). From this perspective, half-rolling and full-rolling machines have directly replaced the people working in the baklava production process. This situation enabled production to be made with fewer people and helped production in the amount that human power could not produce with manual labor. At the same time, each new machine has done the task of a few workers in the production process alone, reducing the number of workers needed in the production process. In this way, each machine transferred the skill of the worker working at that stage to itself and opened a way for the production to move towards factory-type production.

The use of machinery in production brings with it the need for less workers and ***cheaper production***. Because, in traditional baklava production, for example, if five people work to the rolling the dough ball (*bazi*), one person can do this job by including the half-rolling machine in the production. This ensures that the cost of production is cheapened by paying one worker compared to the wage to be paid to five masters. Headmaster 2 evaluates this situation as follows:

HM2: If there is no machine, if there is a dough ball process, it is necessary to employ more personnel. This also reduces the cost a bit for itself. The machine is also costly, but at least the worker will not overwork; it will be so profitable. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Master 1 states the relationship between the decrease in the number of working people and the cost as follows:

M1: For example, the advantages are for employers, if we look at our current job, there should be at least 150-200 people. Since it is a machine, we are doing that job with 50 people over there, thanks to the machine. Normally, without this machine, we work with 8 rolling pins. Without the machine, at least 100 people would have to roll the dough, and more people would earn money. (22 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In this way, the cost of baklava production is reduced by working with fewer people in the production of baklava together with mechanization, and this way, fewer people are paid. This is seen as one of the advantages of mechanization. In craft-type production, the machines that reduce the work done by five masters to one person with tools reduce the wage given to the worker in production. This way of thinking, like other advantages, constitutes one of the general rationales of factory-type production. In this way, business owners who want to reduce workers' wages can reduce the number of workers with capitalist logic. This situation shows the transition of baklava production to low-cost machines of factory-type production from the point of view that sees the master as valuable.

The last advantage of the machines in the production is about quality. Some of the participants think that the half-rolling machine provides ***a higher quality product*** than the traditional hand rolling method. They attribute this situation to the fact that the machine does not dry the dough, that it produces better quality products from human hands, and that all doughs are of the same quality. Headmaster 11, working in MS1, one of the medium-small sized workshops, "It (rolling machine) opens the dough that human power cannot open." It states that machine dough is superior to dough made by hand. The thinner the dough is rolled in baklava, the better quality the baklava is. In this sense, Master-Boss 7 states that the machine produces better quality dough: "It has become more quality. The dough started to roll out thinner." (MB7). Headmaster 4 establishes the relationship between the thinness of the dough and the quality of the baklava and the machine dough as follows:

HM4: Machines roll more thinly than human power can roll. When it is like that, the best thing about baklava in this profession is that the dough is thin. The machine rolls that part in a very standard way. How does it roll? You lose a hundred kilos of dough, and the top is very thin. But when rolling it, people sometimes get tired and sometimes think about something psychologically, leaving one or two sheets of dough thick. Then the machine doesn't drop it; it decreases the error to zero. Making good use of technology is very good, it might destroy the craft a little, but it certainly won't eliminate the quality of the dessert. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

At the same time, the moistness of the baklava dough in baklava makes it easier to produce baklava and of higher quality. Master-Boss 6 states that the dough made by the machine is of higher quality in this sense: "It's a good thing they did it because these things come out better in this machine. The dough is not drying. It used to be a problem." (MB6). In short, according to some of the masters, the dough produced by the half-rolling machine is of higher quality than the dough rolled by hand. The fact that the machine produces thinner dough than the dough produced by human power is seen as one of the advantages of the machine. It legitimizes the use of the machine in baklava, which is seen as a craft and has enabled the use of the machine to be publicized. The idea that the use of machinery increases the quality of the dough is also related to the standardization of the dough with the machine. The fact that the machine's dough is more standard is parallel to the perception that it is of higher quality. This shows that the standard product of factory-type production has replaced the master-specific product of craft-type production.

All these advantages are the ones that legitimize the use of machinery in baklava factories and make it more straightforward to use machinery. However, machines that go into production are not only considered to have advantages for the participants. Mechanization also has its disadvantages. In the next section, we will consider these disadvantages.

4.1.1.2. Disadvantages of the Machines

The biggest obstacles to getting used to the machine and using more machines are due to these disadvantages. Three disadvantages are shown: (1) the machine makes people forget traditional methods, (2) the production of baklava loses its craft-type of production characteristics after traditional methods are forgotten, and (3) the machine does not produce high-quality dough as in traditional methods (as seen in Figure 8).

One of the disadvantages, 'losing the craft skills', will be discussed in the deskillization sub-section under the skill title of transformation of the masters. This title will not be included here. For this reason, 'Losing the Craft Characteristics of the Baklava' and 'Less Quality than the Traditional Methods', which are shown as the disadvantages of mechanization, will be discussed under this title. On the other hand, as can be seen in the co-occurrence model above, there is also a relationship between the two disadvantages. The fact that baklava loses its craft feature also shows parallelism with the lower quality of baklava. In this sense, the relationship between the disadvantages will also be examined in the chapter.

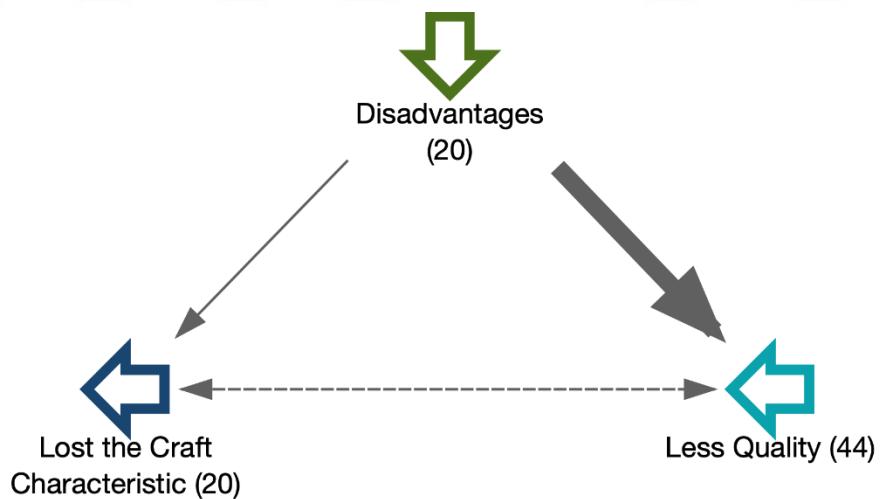


Figure 8 Disadvantages of the Machines in the Baklava Production

(\leftarrow ----- \rightarrow): Shows Interrelation between Disadvantages

Although some think that machine production is advantageous in increasing quality, the vast majority of participants argue that ***machine-made baklava is of lesser quality*** (as you can see in the thickness of the line). Mechanization will cause poor quality baklava for the masters who state that the dough that is rolled with the machine will not replace the manual labor. This situation causes it to be thought that entering the machine in baklava production is disadvantageous. Master 1 states that the opportunities in production have increased, but the quality has decreased: "There is an opportunity for everything now, but there is no taste or taste." (M1). Headmaster 3, on the other hand, compares the quality of baklava made by hand in the craft type production period with the baklava made by machine today:

HM3: There is a big difference between baklava rolled by hand and baklava rolled by a machine. There is a lot of effort in all of them. Since the machine already rolls at a certain level, we cannot acquire this flavor on that machine right now. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 13, who has 42 years of experience, also supports views on machine dough and states that the dough that is opened with a machine will not replace the dough that is made by hand. He thinks that hand-made baklava is of higher quality, indicates where this quality originates from:

HM13: Nothing is done by hand anymore, but we don't recommend it. The dough that is opened by hand does not hold anything. It has to be opened by hand, that is, the dough has to be rolled by hand. Since it does not stick by hand, the dough is torn between two rollers like fabric. But we say this by pounding the dough, beating it, so you take the rolling pin, banging the edge, pushing and pulling the edge... With force, when the dough is rolled out by human force, it becomes more intertwined, the dough becomes more and more delicious. But the dough doesn't stick in the machine, it just goes right between the machine and gives it, so that taste is not that flavor in the dough. (42 years of experience, small enterprise)

Master 6, who has 30 years of experience and has experienced both manual and machine baking, supports Headmaster 9's judgment that hand-rolled baklava is of better quality, as follows:

M6: The dough of baklava, which is opened with human power and labor, becomes thinner, self-sacrificing, and the dough is processed. There is a substance we call that starch, which we throw into it, and we process it more delicately at each stage. (30 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Using the full-rolling machine for the foreign market, Boss 1 explains in detail the difference between the hand-rolling dough and machine dough and states where the quality of hand-rolling originates as follows:

B1: We are making 100% hand-opened baklava for the domestic market. ...thinness is not about thickness; the machine can open thinner than the master, and there is no problem. Where is the problem? ... The thing that gives flavor and makes it disperse in the mouth is the identification of starch and dough. Now, when rolling hands, the masters throw starch on each floor and feed that starch.But the difference in machine dough is; In the machine dough, the dough is thinned once in the cylinders, starch is given only once, and then it is rolled in the form of a roll. In machine dough, starch is not identified with the dough but is identified with hand opening. Therefore, there will be more flavor, crispness, and dispersion in the mouth. (15 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Just as traditional, handcrafted products are seen to be of higher quality when compared to factory-type productions, this is the same in the baklava sector. Based on the judgments above, it is seen that the baklava is of higher quality and self-sacrifice in the dough made by hand. It is seen that the companies that are frequently mentioned in the baklava sector are companies that give importance to manual labor and prefer the dough that is rolled by hand rather than a full-rolling machine.

As mentioned above, the baklava factories in Gaziantep have not yet been fully automated. The main reason for this is the suspicion of the quality of the baklava, which will be produced with full automation. As mentioned above, the baklava factories in Gaziantep have not yet been fully automated. The main reason for this is the suspicion of the quality of the baklava, which will be produced with full automation. Although Master-Boss 7 uses a full-rolling machine, it thinks that more

advanced machines such as slicing and sugar dispensing will deteriorate the quality of the baklava: "Actually, there are machines that will make the whole baklava from top to bottom. But we do not switch to those machines because they do not give the taste of handmade." (MB7). Headmaster 1 also explains that these machines spoil the quality they want in baklava production:

HM1: For example, they put out a slicing machine, but it is not used. They do it outside, but it doesn't meet our standards. ...it lies on its side because the knife pressed and crushed the top floor above the baklava. That's why there is no swelling, so something shapeless comes out. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Mechanization not only harms the craftsmanship of baklava but also damages the quality of baklava dough. In this sense, although machines have started to enter the sector slowly, those who understand that the machine makes the baklava of poor quality give up using the machine. As we mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, this situation constitutes one of the obstacles to the sudden occurrence of mechanization. In baklava, keeping the quality and tastes of baklava at the forefront seems to be one of the obstacles to mechanization. For this reason, the factories, known in the baklava sector in Gaziantep and do not want to compromise on the quality and craftsmanship of baklava, seem determined not to use these machines.

The most crucial aspect of baklava production for masters is also that it shows a craft feature. This craft feature is due to the labor-intensive structure and manual labor of baklava for the masters. However, with the mechanization, manual labor is removed in baklava production, so it is thought that baklava moves away from its craft feature, *loses the craft characteristics*. The mechanization of most manual labor with half-rolling and full-rolling machines causes the masters to think that baklava has lost its craft characteristics with lost its quality. Master 1 explains the relationship between labor and mechanization and its effect on the craftsmanship of baklava as follows: "We are now in a situation where labor is over. We have come to the point where the craft is over. Since everything is fabricated..." (M1). It is stated that, especially with

the full-rolling machine, the craft feature of the baklava will be significantly affected. Headmaster 10 has experienced that the full-rolling machine can eliminate the craft feature of the baklava while using the machine:

HM10.: We used the full-rolling machine before that. Of course, technology is getting better and better, it's been 10 years since we said we used it before. We used it, it destroyed the taste a little. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

Thinking that the full opening machine reduces the quality of the baklava, Master-Boss 2 states that mechanization will end the craft feature of baklava: "No matter how much we resist, the number of companies that do not use a full-rolling machine is 3-5. If these 3-5 companies use it, baklava will end." (MB2). Also, Master-Boss 5, who is the owner of the company and has 37 years of experience in baklava, states that with the participation of advanced machines in production, production has become a factory rather than a craft, and baklava has become a factory product:

MB5: Now, if the dough is rolled out with the machine, there is also a slicing machine, a creamer traying machine, and a pistachio throwing machine. What happens? It would be like a standard factory; it would be like employing workers. Then this job would not be a craft. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

Just as the products produced in the factories are seen only as commodities, baklava also loses its craft feature with mechanization and shows the feature of being only a product. Another business owner ascribes this situation as follows: "But it is becoming a product that is increasingly seen as a commodity." (MB2). In this context, it is quite common to think that the mechanization of production eliminates the handicraft feature of baklava and, therefore, causes it to lose its craft feature. This is seen as a disadvantage of mechanization for masters. In the transition to factory-type production with mechanization, just as all crafts lose this handicraft feature, baklava also loses its feature of being a craft as it becomes mechanized. In this sense, it is seen that the machine production of baklava reduces the quality of the product and also reduces its craft character. In this reciprocal relationship, it is seen that with the machine

production, the product evolves into a less tasty, less quality product similar to the product produced by factory-type production.

4.1.2. Transformation of the Organization of the Production Process

In this section, the organization of the production process, which is the second variable of the baklava production process, will be discussed. The past and present structure of the organization of the production process will be compared under the titles of (1) the division of labor, (2) routinization, and (3) standardization (as seen in Figure 9).

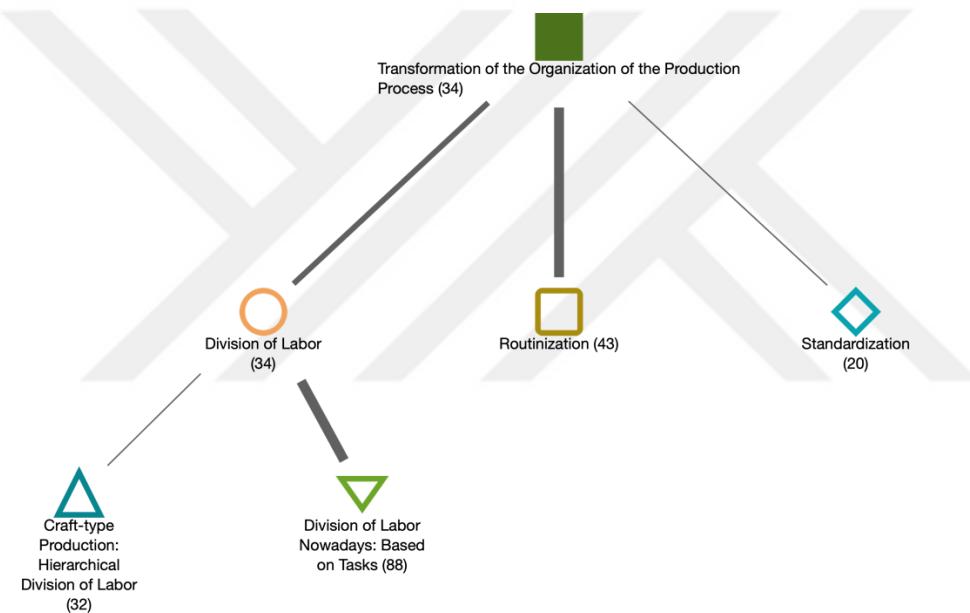


Figure 9 Cognitive Scheme for Transformation of Organization of the Production Process Chapter⁴²

In the first title, the division of each task in the production process between the masters, apprentices, and journeymen, who are the actors of the production process, and on what basis this division is made will be examined. It will be shown that the hierarchical

⁴² In Figure 9, routinization is relatively high, as can be seen from the arrows' thickness and the subcodes' frequencies. Routinization is followed by division of labor and standardization.

division of labor remains constant in the transition from craft-type production to factory-type production. Also, this division of labor changes depending on the tasks in the production process. This section will also reveal the job descriptions of master, apprentice, and journeyman and the production process tasks under their responsibility. Under the title of routinization, which is the second sub-section, the trajectory of the one-day production process in baklava production will be discussed. This sub-section will demonstrate that baklava production has been a routine since the craft-type production. However, this routinization is exceptionally regular with the transition to factory-type production. In the last part, the baklava production process's organization and the product's standardization will be shown at the end of this process. The relationship between standardization and mechanization will also be presented in this section. As a result, in this section, it will be indicated how the organization of the baklava production process changed from craft-type production to industry-type production.

4.1.2.1. Division of Labor

There was a division of labor in all periods, from hunter-gatherer societies to agricultural societies and from there to industrial societies. As in this whole process, the division of labor has a vital place in the baklava production process. In the period when baklava production was a craft, a completely vertical, hierarchical division of labor between the master, the apprentice, and the journeyman; With the increase in production and the need for high coordination for efficiency, it has started to be done with a horizontal organization as well as vertical organization. What is meant by the horizontal organization here is that masters, apprentices, and journeymen also divide the work among themselves according to the tasks. This section will discuss the job descriptions of masters, apprentices, and journeymen within the division of labor, how the division of labor is organized, and how the production process is gradually divided into the smallest parts.

The baklava production process consists of many stages and sub-stages. These stages are successive. We can list the stages of the baklava production process as follows: Kneading the dough (i), preparing the pistachios to be put in the baklava, the cream and the syrup to be poured on it (ii), extending the dough and rolling out the dough (iii), laying the dough (iv), traying the pre-prepared cream on top of the dough (v), throwing pistachios on the trayed cream (vi), laying the upper layers of the baklava (vii), putting the top dough on the tray (viii), cutting the dough that overflows from the edge of the tray (ix), slicing (x), pouring oil on the sliced dough (xi), baking the prepared tray (xii), and finally pouring sherbet on the baked dough (xiii). Headmaster 2 describes these stages as follows:

HM2: At 4 o'clock, we come to the workshop, the dough is kneaded, and after the dough is kneading, other colleagues come. The dough is formed into meringues of 800 grams; we call them wicks. They make the dough for the machine. After the dough is stretched in the machine, we rest the dough for half an hour and 40 minutes. After that, it's time to roll out the dough. It rolls; after rolling, the dough is cut according to the trays, and the trays have sizes. The best part of the dough, which we call the face of the dough, is the top part of the baklava; it is cut. The edge pieces of the dough that has been rolled are arranged on the tray. The cream is laid on this dough, pistachios are thrown on it, and a layer of those pieces is laid on top of the pistachio. It is laid on 10-15 floors, it has a specific rule. After that, the part called the face of the dough, the middle piece of the rolled dough, is wrapped one by one on the rolling pin, with the most beautiful one on top. A little oil is thrown between those doughs. The edge is turned, sliced, oiled, and ready to go to the oven. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

The stages mentioned above were made by a few people, including masters and apprentices, in the early periods when baklava was purely a craft. Daily production was limited to 4 to 5 trays of baklava during this period. For this reason, there was no need for a highly segregated division of labor. Master 1, one of the masters, describes the old production process as follows: "In the past, one master used to make 4-5 trays. In a good quality way with the dough ball (*bazi* dough) because these machines were not. Provided that there is an apprentice with him, a master would make 4-5 trays." (M1). Headmaster 2 states that in the traditional production period, all stages of the baklava production process are almost the responsibility of a single person: "For

example, kneading the dough, rolling the dough, you will have to do every step of every job.” (HM2). In this sense, 2-3 people undertake all the tasks in the baklava workshops during the period when the craft-type production features are observed, and the division of labor does not show a partial structure.

In this period, when production and demands are less than today, the division of labor is hierarchically done between master, apprentice, and journeyman. In this direction, the division of labor was provided by the fact that the person with the most experience would do the job that required the most skill, and those with less experience would do the jobs that required less skill and manual labor. In the traditional production process of baklava production, the division of labor was divided into three parts.

- i) Sweeping, washing dishes, fetching
- ii) Laying, pouring, and traying the cream, scattering pistachios
- iii) Dough rolling, slicing, and bake

In this division of labor, the apprentice does the least manual labor, such as sweeping, washing dishes, and fetching. The masters describe the work they did during their apprenticeship as follows: “For example, the apprentice would clean, wiped and swept.” (M4); “When you are an apprentice, you start with the dishes.” (M7); “We sweep the floor, we wash the glasses, we wipe the tables and chairs.” (MB6); “The apprentice dishes the washes at first. It satisfies any of our requests. He has no other duty.” (M5). As can be seen from these judgments, the apprentice's main task is to clean the workshop. The second duty in the division of labor is to stand by the master and bring the materials he needs during production to the master. Master 3 describes this responsibility of the apprentice as follows: “So the apprentice spans all over the workshop. For example, if a tray is brought, it does not get a journeyman; it is carried by apprentices.” (M3). In this sense, the apprentice is an assistant in the production process. It does not serve as a job during the stages of baklava making, though generally as an employee who accelerates the production process. Headmaster 2

summarizes this situation as follows: "Of course, when you first begin, they do not give you a job right away. They do the cleaning, they carry the tray." (HM2). In this case, the apprentice does not have any skills related to any task in the production process.

On the other hand, the journeyman is more experienced than the apprentice and takes part in the baklava-making stages within the division of labor. Stages such as laying, pouring, and traying cream, scattering pistachios are within the job description of the journeyman. The craftsmen describe the journeyman's responsibilities in the division of labor as follows: "Journeyman has a certain standard place, the dough maker rolls the dough, slices, etc." (M5); "After the apprenticeship, you go to the laying, you lay it, you pour cream, you throw pistachios." (M3); "Here is the slice, the cream, the pistachios, the laying, these are the duties of the journeyman, he rolls the bazi and grows the dough." (MB3). In this framework, the journeyman is now an employee who has started to take a role in the production process and has more responsibility than the apprentice in the production process in the hierarchically determined work division. In this direction, the journeyman is competent to make all the stages between 4 and 11 of the baklava as mentioned above production stages. In this sense, the journeyman has more skills in the tasks in the production process than the apprentice.

The master, on the other hand, knows all the 13 stages listed above and is the most experienced person in the workshop. In this direction, the responsibility of most of the production stage is on the master. In the hierarchical division of labor, the jobs that require the most skill are assigned to the master. The master has a great responsibility in both production and control. Rolling the dough, baking the baklava, and sugar dispensing processes are under the responsibility of the master. According to the interviewed masters, what shows that baklava is good is its sherbet, cooking, and dough. In this direction, the most important works are under the responsibility of the most experienced person. Headmaster 3 and Headmaster 11 describe the responsibilities in the mastery stages after journeyman as follows: "After those

processes are finished, you learn the roll the dough. You learn the dispensing sugar, you learn the oven. Once you have learned everything, you will be ready to become a master anyway." (HM3); "He becomes a master, if necessary, takes care of the management or goes to the bakery, looks at the sugar, kneads the dough." (HM11). As of the narratives above, there is a 3-stage division of labor between the master, apprentice, and journeyman, which is not separated much. This situation is similar to the structural feature of the general division of labor in the craft-type production of the traditional period.

However, with the increase in production, the hierarchical division of labor involving a few people has become insufficient. This situation has caused the division of labor to be stratified and the hierarchical structure of the division of labor shaped by experience to be divided into more divisions. The division of labor has now begun to be fragmented not only by experience but also by the number of tasks. Boss 3 explains this fragmentation as follows: "There is a division of labor because more production is made." (B3). Headmaster 8 expresses the situation of the work, which is divided into more tasks with the increase in production, as follows:

HM8: Since there is high production there, we cannot keep up with everything. Everyone has different duties. ...if the number of trays is small, one person can do it. If the number of trays is large, one person cannot do this. Now, for example, when there is little work here, I can do it by myself. But when the number of trays increases, I cannot do it myself. According to him, the person who kneads the dough is different, the person at the dough rolling machine, which we call a half rolling machine, is different, the person who opens it is different, the person who makes it is different, and the person who cooks it is different. Now they all have different phases. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

In this framework, the increase in production, which started with the increase in the demand for the product, necessitated the division of labor, which accelerates the production and divides the work down to the minor stages. This division of labor format caused the production process to differ from craft-type production.

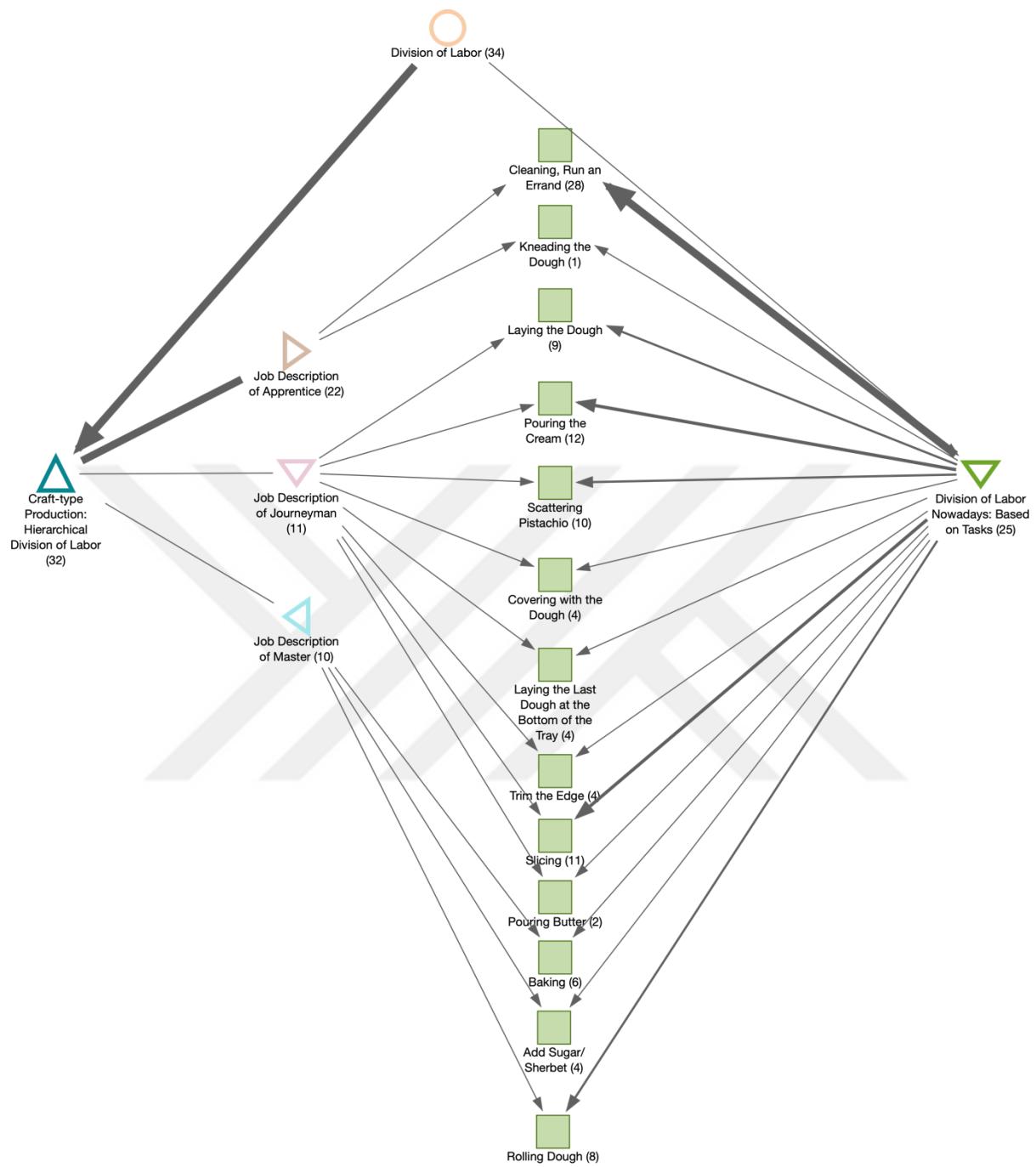


Figure 10 Transformation of the Division of Labor from Craft-type Production to Factory-Type Production in Baklava Production

Figure 10 shows that the division of labor, which enables the sharing of works by three different people during the craft-type period of baklava production, is divided into

more tasks with the shift of production towards factory-type production. Although the hierarchical structure of the division of labor between master, apprentice, and journeyman does not change, the production process is divided into many tasks, and each task is done by a different person. The squares on the right show how many tasks the production process is currently divided into. The left side of the figures states that production was based on a hierarchical division of labor in the craft-type period.

In this case, it cannot be said that the hierarchical division of labor has completely disappeared. However, all the stages in the baklava production process have caused that tripartite division of labor to be divided into more tasks, that is, each stage to be done by a different person. In this case, different masters and journeymen work for each of the 13 stages of baklava making. Master 3 explains this segregated division of work as follows: "Everyone has a separate task here. Those who knead the dough, put the dough in the machine, roll the dough, lay it, lay the cream, throw pistachios, all have their own duties." (M3). Headmaster 13 also supports Master 3:

HM13: Everyone does their job in a hurry until the job is done. There are those who roll the dough. There are layers (*dösemeci*) who lay the dough, those who throw pistachios, those who tray cream, slicers, bakers... It is a quick, organized job. (42 years of experience, small enterprise)

While each of the 13 stages listed above for baklava production was carried out sequentially in the traditional production process, the increase in production necessitated the simultaneous implementation of the works with a horizontal organization. While each of the 13 stages listed above for baklava production was carried out sequentially in the traditional production process, the increase in production necessitated the simultaneous implementation of the works with a horizontal organization. Boss 4 states this: "It is rolled on one side, made on the other, sliced on the other. On the one hand, it is cooked and sherbet at work", while the 32-year-old master Headmaster 9 describes this division of work as follows:

HM9: There's the wicked thing. For example, children are making wicks right now. It makes wicks, and the machinist stretches the dough and lets it rest. After

that, the masters start where the process is done; they prepare the oil, the creamer prepares the cream, and the pistachios prepare the pistachios. Here below, the baker lights the oven and prepares the sherbet. Everyone should be ready when the dough comes out. The dough has come out; you have laid it, and it does not work if there is no cream. Everything has to be ready. You deposited the cream, it doesn't work if there is no pistachio. Everything is interconnected. No one can say, ok, I'll go a little later, I'm not in a hurry. Everyone is running after this dough. Some run to their pistachios, some to their oil, and some to their trays. ...cream is whipped in a cauldron, but the mixer is adjusted accordingly. Everyone gets their own stuff, the process starts when the dough comes out. Bottom floor, cream, pistachio, top floor, slice, oven, shipping.. When you go to the oven, the oven should be ready simultaneously. Because the product cannot wait outside, if it waits outside, that product will spoil. So he has to follow it. The oven is ready, it goes down, and the baker counts the oven. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

With the simultaneous execution of these works, the production of baklava, which is made with a master, an apprentice, and a journeyman in the traditional production process, has evolved into an intense work division, such as doing the same job with a few apprentices, a few journeymen, and a few masters. With a hierarchical division of labor shaped by experience, the baklava production process, we said that it was made by the master, the apprentice, and the journeyman. In this advanced division of labor, masters, apprentices, journeymen work in a more crowded way, in a division of labor that is also organized according to their experience.

HM1: Here you have 30-40 people; 10 people roll the dough, 4 people lay it, and 2 masters lay the cream and pistachios. 2-3 people light the oven in the oven and prepare the sugar. Everyone disperses like this; everyone has a responsibility. 50-100 trays are made in 3.5-4 hours. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

The craftsmen working in baklava production underline that making baklava is teamwork and cannot be done alone. This also highlights the importance of division of labor. Headmaster 4 said, "It is not a job that one person can do. That is teamwork." While underlining that; Master 6 also supports this judgment:

M6: I come at 5 in the morning, I prepare my oven, I knead my dough. We prepare the balls, after that, our friends will come slowly. This job is already a team job;

there is no one-person opportunity. We all start and work together. (30 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

With the sharpening of the division of labor and the determination of the limits of the job descriptions of those working in the baklava production, the apprentices who used to work both in the workshop and in the shop, today only work in the production site. Headmaster 2 summarizes this change as follows: "...After the work was done, we would work at the shop until the evening, both the service to the customer and the package, until we went to the military. In the past, the system was like that in Antep. ...The workshop and the shop personnel are separate. ... the workers are separate right now." (HM2). In this case, it is also seen that the division of labor reveals more job descriptions. Even though these employees, known as 'clerks,' are not in the production process, they undertake a task that was previously included in the production process.

However, there are also exceptional cases. Especially in small-scale workshops, we see that division of labor is based on only a hierarchical distinction due to the low production. Small-scale business owner, master Master-Boss, describes the division of labor in 6 workshops as follows: "The children roll dough, I bake the oven, they make baklava. Such a division of labor." (MB6). In this sense, the characteristics of the limited, non-multi-layered division of labor that still show the characteristics of the craft period are seen in small enterprises. In short, the organization of the production process is maintained by a new, stratified but at the same time hierarchical division of labor. In this context, the structure of craft production, which includes a small division of labor, has left its place to a division of labor that is largely divided according to tasks in factory-type production. In terms of the division of labor, it can be said that baklava is a factory-type production feature, especially in large, medium-large and medium-small scale workshops.

4.1.2.2. Routinization

The organization of the production process brings with it routinization. Routinization is formed by the succession of certain stages of production of each production object.

This brings about a routine. As in the production of other production objects, the baklava production process includes such a routine. We talked about the 13 stages of this routine in the baklava production process. The sequential fulfillment of these 13 stages in the production process is also present in the stages where baklava production is entirely handcrafted. However, in this period, the start and end times of production, break times were not determined with a definite line. On the other hand, the evolution of production towards factory type and mass production and the more distinct lines of division of labor brought along more routinization. The stages of the production process and the division of labor, which streamline the entire production process during the day, have come to determine not only the production process but also the start/end times and break times of the work.

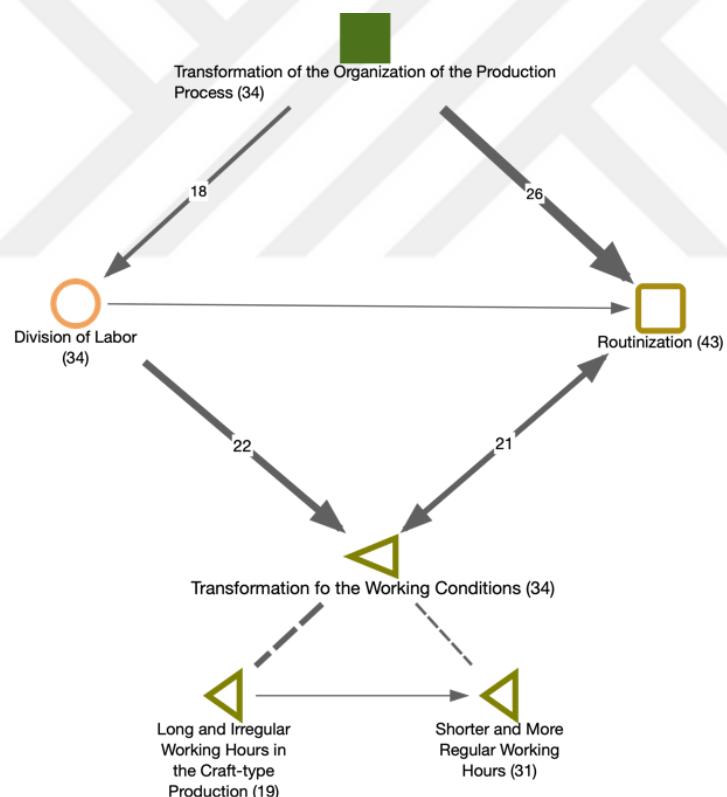


Figure 11 Routinization and its determinants in the baklava production process

Note. (→) Shows Transformation from Traditional Period to Factory-type Production of Baklava

In this sense, as seen in the Figure 11 above, routinization transforms in relation to the division of labor, which is about the organization of the production process and working hours, which is related to working conditions. At the same time, the routinization that emerges in this way also varies according to the production scale. In this section, it is aimed to address the increasing routinization in the baklava production process.

In baklava production, a routine job was mentioned 50 years ago. As mentioned above, in the division of labor section, production is in a specific routine, which is repeated every day. In the 13-stage production process specified, the work is in the same order and a routine every day. Nevertheless, break times and entry-exit times are not drawn with definite limits in this routine. Headmaster 4, who has been making baklava for 42 years, describes the past period as follows: "It used to be disorderly, haphazard. Even if you are eating, there is no break where you are sitting, it was like eat dürüm or just go to work." (HM4). In this sense, the routine is designed individually, depending on the work; there is no general order that connects the work to the routine as in factory-type productions.

This individual routinization has changed today. When the interviewees are asked to describe a day of their life, they all talk about their arrival time in the morning, when they changed their clothes and started to work, what they did during the production process during the day, and finally, their check-out time. The answers received from all masters show parallelism with the answer given by Master 2:

M2: As soon as the morning comes, he comes and puts on his work clothes. Apart from that, we go down, and the master kneads the dough when we come because he came before us. We need to heap the dough so that it comes together; we cover it with a fabric, and we top it up. We're making the dough. After that, we make the wicks, the balls. After the ball is finished, the tray is oiled, so everyone sets their own counter. Everyone adjusts their rolling pin, knife, and broom on a counter. We have breakfast later. After breakfast, those who go downstairs and roll the dough go to the dough section, to the floor marble that makes the flooring, and everyone takes their place. Everyone takes their own place; whatever dough is needed, they give dough to the layers. So it starts with that. At first, we lay the

bottom of the baklava; after we lay the bottom of the baklava, we give it to the apprentices. After that, it's time to lay the top. After laying the top, the apprentice lays the top of the tray, and the master wishes for a slice. We'll move on to this section right away when that's over. What we did until 2 after we moved to the America section. (16 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In this sense, Headmaster 11 explains that every day is the same and the work becomes routine and summarizes the situation as follows:

HM11: Our days are always the same. Nothing will change. You come in the morning, and you knead as much dough as needed depending on the situation. Where 1 person kneads dough, others prepare. While oiling the tray and adjusting the pistachios, the dough is kneaded, rested, stretched to the machine, and opened in the extension machine. We roll what we need to in our new machine. Burn the oven, slice it, lay it, throw it in the oven, take it out, and bake the other ones, you will switch to the varieties. When we say the job is done, go to cleaning, prepare for tomorrow, our day is standard. Nothing has changed. What we did yesterday are the same today and the same tomorrow. (22 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As can be seen from the judgments of Headmaster 11 and Master 2, the production process is more routinized today than in the past. The sequence, time, and order of each stage of the work are strictly determined, and it is repeated in the same way every day.

The routinization of the production process varies in the enterprises interviewed within the scope of the research. Although the entry and exit times in the enterprises were determined more or less, it was observed that the most routinization occurred in the workshops that are closer to factory-type production which are large and medium-large scale firms. The headmaster of one of the medium-large enterprises describes their daily routine, break times as follows:

HM1: Work starts at 5 o'clock. In other words, baklava sellers generally begin at 5 in Antep; they usually work out at night in provinces other than Antep. It comes at 5 o'clock, and the dough is kneaded. After that, the wick is made, the dough is stretched, and a rest break is given for half an hour. At that time, we had our breakfast and made other preparations. We look at our list, oil our trays, adjust our cream, and how many pistachios to be pulled; the oven is burned according

to the daily list. After breakfast, dough rolling begins. There is a division of labor. Some roll out the dough, some lay the bottom of the tray behind, some lay their cream, and some throw their pistachios. Step by step, it turns out marbles. After that, it is sent to the oven, candied after the oven, to the counter. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Boss 1, the boss of one of the medium-large enterprises, states that the production process is tied to a strict routine in every aspect:

B1: ...he comes to work at 5 o'clock. It works from 5 to 8. Of course, there is a tea break every hour or every 2 hours, and smokers go out and smoke. Then breakfast is served. Usually, breakfast is not given in workshops, but breakfast is offered here so that our workers can increase their resistance and work. Afterward, they go down to the lunch break at 12 o'clock and eat their meals for half an hour. After that, they start work again at 12:30. They finish the work from 13.30-2.00. They put on their clothes, tidy up the workshop, wash it and go. (15 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

This routine, framed by Boss 1 and Headmaster 1, also shows us the routinization features of large, medium-large and medium-small scale firms. This type of enterprise has switched to shift production as factory-type production.

As a result of the observations made in the workshops, it has been determined that the meal and break times in their routines become more strict as the scales of the workshops. The headmaster of one of the large-scale enterprises, on the other hand, states the order and routine of entry and exit and break times as follows:

HM9: We come early in the morning, we come to work at 5, we do our work at a certain pace between 9-9.30, then we go out and have our breakfast. After that, we come, we prepare our work according to the product, according to the order. After that, we start again, working until the afternoon. At that time, people are hungry. Meanwhile, our chefs are preparing food. Our meal is ready there. We eat there, and if there is work back, we go down, continue the work and finish it. Otherwise, we work, eat, change, take a shower and go. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 4, headmaster of one of the large-scale workshops, states how strict the break times are:

HM4: Everything is done a little more regularly, according to the rules. For example, this man has an hour of rest; whether he eats or not, he will rest for one hour. That production will stop; everyone has to comply. It is lunchtime; if there is a mealtime, everyone will go out and eat; if not, go and rest. Production is standardized. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

In the framework drawn by Headmaster 9 and Headmaster 4, it is seen that, especially in large-scale operations, it adheres to the rules during break times in the routine. This situation shows a similar feature to factory-type productions that indicate breaks and mealtimes with bells.

In the opinions of the masters in other enterprises about the working hours, the phrase 'depending on the job/order' is commonly encountered. The large-scale business master, Master 5, specifies the entry and exit times according to the production status: "I'm coming at 5 o'clock. We exit at 3 or 4 o'clock according to the situation of the demand/work." (M5). Master 4, who is also a master in another large-scale enterprise, states that there is no specific entry and exit time in routinization:

M4: It changes day by day. For example, one day we come at 3 in the morning, and one day we come at 5. Job endings are also changing. Some days it ends at 1 o'clock, sometimes at 3 o'clock. According to the situation, we do not have a set hour. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

The medium-large business master, Master 6, states that check-out times vary depending on demand:

M6: We start at 5 am, we start the morning prayer time. According to the situation of our work, 12 becomes 1, it changes according to our daily working situation. There is no such thing as we are done at this hour. In other words, we work in line with the wishes of our customers by producing our product in the best possible way and then finishing it. (30 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As Master 4 and Master 6 stated, although the productions set the entry-exit and break times into a specific routine, overtime can be seen during production hours, and entry-exit times can become irregular with the increase in demand.

Some masters liken the production made with such a division of labor and routine to an 'Assembly Line' production. Boss 4, owner of L2, one of the large-scale enterprises, explains how simultaneous production is similar to assembly line type production:

B4: Baklava making is teamwork. Why should we say it's teamwork. We have a system like the band system above. It is rolled on one side, made on the other, and sliced on the other. On the one hand, it is baked and poured with sherbet. If you start doing it alone, this phase will get longer. When it stretches, that dice-like dough begins to dry. It loses its quality. In other words, with the expression Antep, it becomes a kitir. Baklava cannot be made alone.

Headmaster 4, working in L4, which is also one of the large-scale enterprises, explains the type of production system as follows:

HM4: Work does not stop. Our working system is like a band system. When one place starts working, all the others come in succession. We have no way of stopping. The work goes on and on. Until our one-day job here, our orders are done and gone. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

The analogy of this order in baklava production to assembly line production expresses another feature of baklava production, which is seen as craft type production, which makes the transition to factory type production. The assembly line system, which determines the routine in the factories, has also started to be seen in baklava workshops.

On the other hand, small-scale enterprises experience a different situation regarding routinization. Break times are not fixed as in the same craft production period. However, the work is repeated in a routine, in the same way, every day. Small business owner and master Master-Boss 1 describes it this way:

MB1: No, there is no breakfast event. A glass of tea is drunk while the dough rests. The dough rests for half an hour. The apprentices make their preparations. Trays are cleared and adjusted. Those trays are oiled. Preparation is made for the laying stage. For example, the cream is prepared. Things to do are prepared step

by step. The same thing is done every day; it doesn't change, it's the standard. (29 years of experience, small enterprise)

As Master-Boss 1 points out, as the scale of production decreases, routinization in production becomes more disordered and shows characteristics similar to routinization in craft-type production. Although the entry-exit hours are not determined with sharp limits in all these enterprises, the order of production does not change in each enterprise on a daily basis. Baklava production takes place in a specific order and routine, which is often emphasized in the division of labor section, in the same way, every day. This situation shows that baklava production is approaching a strict routinization, which is one of the characteristics of factory-type production, as stated above. However, in this context, as the scale of production increases, routinization tends to become routinized similar to factory-type production. However, it should not be overlooked that small-scale workshops still show routinization features similar to craft-type production. In this sense, routinization varies according to scales. It is observed that routinization increases as the scale of production grows.

4.1.2.3. Standardization

Another dimension seen in the transformation in the production process is the standardization of the product and production process (like routinization). When baklava production shows the craft production type, a standard product/baklava cannot be mentioned. The fact that everything is by just looking at it, the production process is dependent on the hand of the master, not the process itself, causes differences in the product. However, this situation has changed, especially with the introduction of machines into production and raw materials used in the product by weighing, and products have started to become standardized.

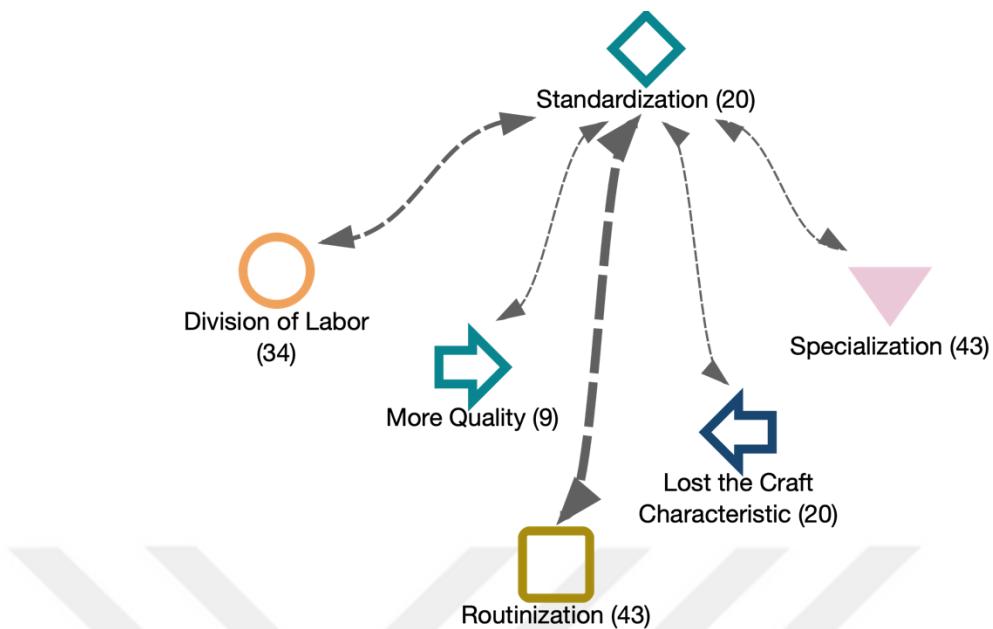


Figure 12 Standardization and its determinants in the baklava production process

Note. (←-----→): Interrelation, which determines Standardization

In this framework, standardization will be discussed in relation to mechanization, the advantages/disadvantages of mechanization, and the production organization's structure (as seen in the Figure 12). In this section, it will be discussed how the product produced in baklava is standardized.

We mentioned in the previous section (*Advantages of the Machines in the Baklava Production*) that the baklava becomes better quality as one of the advantages of the machine's participation in production. The quality of baklava is also considered by the masters in relation to its standardization. Headmaster 4 explains this relationship between standardization, quality, and machine as follows:

HM4: The machine rolls that part in a very standard way. How does it roll? You're giving a hundred kilos of dough, too thin. But when rolling it, people sometimes get tired, think about something psychologically, and open one or two thick sheets of dough. Then the machine doesn't leave it that thick. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

Looking at the relationship between mechanization and standardization, it is seen that the product becomes more standardized with the increase in machine technology. It is stated that the product becomes more standardized when it is changed from a half-opening machine to a full-opening machine. Master-Boss 2 states: "But you must have seen the full-rolling machine. It is a very severe machine, it is a standardization." (MB2). In this sense, as mechanization increases, it causes more and more standardization of baklava. According to the observations made in the workshops, it can be said that the dough of the workshops using a half-rolling machine is less standard than workshops that used a full-rolling machine. It is said that the reason for this is that one of the two stages of rolling dough with a half-rolling machine is done by human power and that this rolling can vary from master to master. In this sense, production by a machine causes baklavas to start to be produced similar to standard products as in factory-type production and standardize the product, unlike craft-type production.

Master-Boss 4 explains how essential the dimensions are in the standardization of baklava and that this standardization is not too old:

MB2: What my father brought to baklava in this city is standardization. I am a craftsman, but I am a craftsman by measure. In my opinion, if there is no measurement, I am not a craftsman. My father also brought the weight to this city... for example, we also standardized the dough weighing. We make the cream with the measure, the pistachio with the standard, the oil with the measure, the top layer with the measure, and the hundred with the number. Now, what happens then? You come here today and eat the same baklava, 3 days later, 3 months later, 3 years later, you can eat the same baklava. That is why we have achieved quality with standardization here. (46 years of experience, large enterprise)

The standardization specified by Master-Boss 4 is actually provided by basing the baking of baklava on specific measurements. This shows that standardization is achieved not only by machine but also by using some measurement methods. The production of the standard product is also parallel to the experience. Master-Boss 5

states that standard products according to changing weather conditions depending on experience:

MB5: We'll look at it like this, okay, if it's sugar, it's done. All this is done with experience. We boil sugar according to the temperature of the air, and we boil it separately according to its coldness. Just cook it when it's 120, subtract it when it's 140; it won't work. If so, standard baklava will not come out. What is the beauty of mastery? You will always be making the same product. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this case, it is seen that as the experience increases, the standardization of the extracted product increases. Because a master who knows all the stages of the production process knows any error in the production process and its solution and sets it to a standard. In this direction, it is one of the standardization strategies for the product to be standardized by an experienced, single person doing that job:

HM1: If the baklava goes to the counter differently every day, it is not in this way. He says that today the baklava is different; when I cut the dolama today, the dough appears. We give it to the most experts so that this does not happen. In other words, we are doing this so that it will be a standard. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In this sense, routinization and specialization also have a significant share in the standard product. Masters who do the same job every day in routinization specialize in that job and ensure that the product comes out in a single way and properly. However, the fact that a single person makes the product is not one of the ways of standardization in factory-type production. Machines provide standardization in factory-type production. In this sense, when standardization is achieved in the production of baklava where the same person performs the craft-type production, the production is separated from the factory type production.

Routinization has another advantage in the standardization of the product and production. Work now consists of standard stages in a routine. Since the work done is determined with sharp boundaries and the distribution of tasks is done clearly, the

work has become dependent on the process itself, not on a single master. Master-Boss 5, the owner of one of the large-scale enterprises and also a master for 29 years, states how the production is standardized as follows: "I'm here now, right, I'll go out for three months, there will be no slippage in the system." (MB5). This shows that even when there is no authorized person in the production, there is no deterioration in work, and the standard does not deteriorate. This is achieved by providing a systematic production as in factory-type production. Within the framework drawn in this section, we talked about the standardization of both the production and the product. In short, mechanization, the development of measuring systems, the routinization of the work, and the precise determination of job descriptions also formed the necessary background for the standardization of the work and product in baklava workshops. Here, as a result, we see that this standardization in production begins to show a feature similar to the standardization of factory-type production. In this sense, craft-type production's unique product has been lost in baklava production.

In the next section, the effects of all these changes in the production process on the skills of the masters working in the process will be examined.

4.1.3. Transformation of the Master's Skills: From Master to Assembler

In this section, the transformation of the skill of the masters, which is the third variable of the baklava production process, will be elaborated. The change in the skills of the masters, who are the subjects of the production process, together with the effects of the entry of the machines into the production spaces and the change in the organization of production, will be discussed.

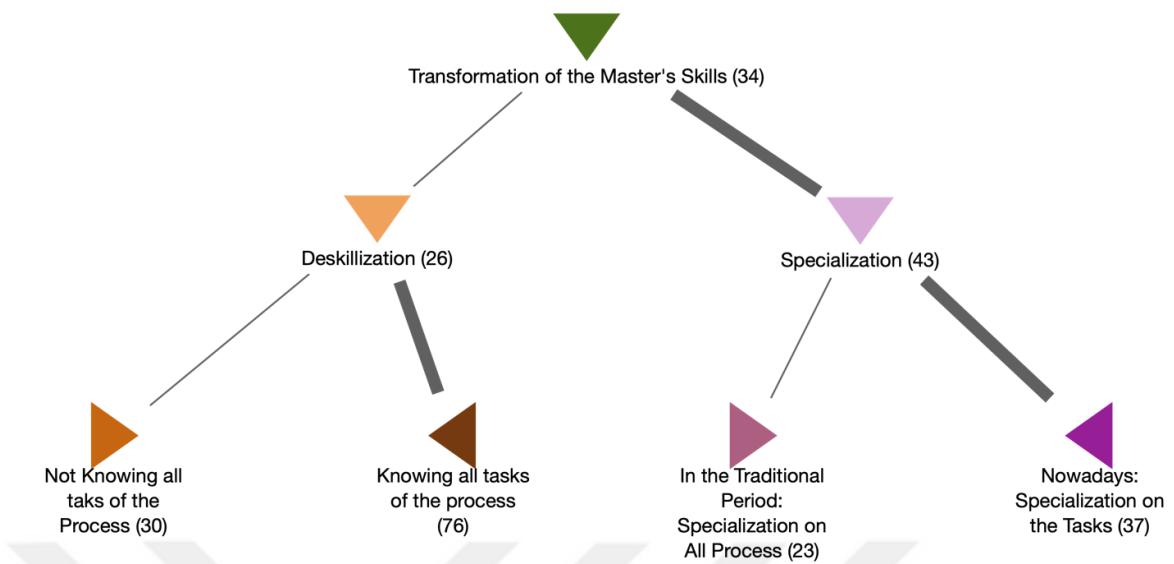


Figure 13 Cognitive Scheme for Transformation of the Master's Skill Chapter

The transformation of the masters' skills will be shown under two subheadings (as seen in Figure 13). As a result of the transformation of the production process mentioned above, the masters started to specialize in each job they did while their skills in other tasks decreased. For this reason, there are two titles in this section: (1) deskillization and (2) specialization. Under the title of deskillization, which is the first sub-section, the skills of the masters in the production process will be shared before mechanization; In this process, the masters dominate the entire production process. Then, it will be revealed that the masters show mechanization and division of labor as the reason behind the loss of skills. Then, it will be mentioned that the craftsmen working in the production process no longer know all the stages and only know a single stage under their responsibility. We can articulate about a deskillization. In the second sub-title of this section, specialization, it will be revealed that while the masters were experts in the whole process when the baklava production was completely craft-type production, each master was an expert only on a task as the process evolved towards factory-type production.

4.1.3.1. Deskillization

As in all other crafts, in the process of baklava production, the masters go through an intensive training process and learn all the stages of production. Due to the nature of craft production, the skills used in the production process have a labor-intensive structure and are based on manual labor. The development of these manual skills is entirely dependent on experience. The hand skills used in baklava production require the masters to have high-level skills. Certain stages of baklava production, such as rolling, slicing, laying, and baking baklava dough, involve processes requiring skill and experience.

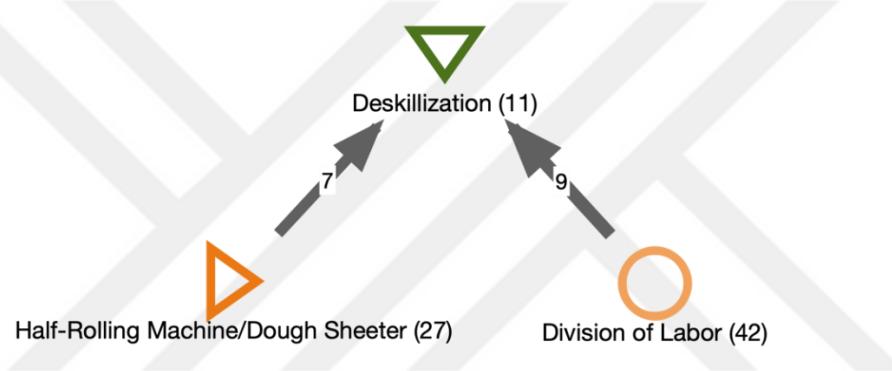


Figure 14 Deskillization and its determinants in baklava production process

Note. (→): Shows the dimensions that determine the deskillization

However, with the introduction of machines into the production process in the second half of the 1900s, these skills gradually disappeared. As seen in Figure 14, there are two main causes of deskillization. With the transfer of some stages in the production process to the *machines*, the skills used in some stages of the baklava production process either started to be forgotten or caused the new generation to never acquire these skills. Another variable that affects the skills of baklava masters is *the division of labor* and routinization, which are determined with precise lines. The division of all the tasks in the production process and the assignment of each task to a person caused people to move away from other skill-requiring tasks in the production stages, and the person who routinely performed the same task every day forgot the skills in other tasks.

On the other hand, baklava masters have started to be trained only for one production stage, so the new generation has never learned the tasks other than the one they have done. This section will discuss the changing structure of the baklava production process and the changes in the baklava masters' skill structures.

All the baklava production process stages were known to the masters in the periods when the baklava production process was utterly craft-type production, and manual labor was dominant. In this direction, the masters had the skills of each stage in the 13-stage baklava production, the diagram of which was given above. All the masters, starting from the apprenticeship, knew every step, from carrying trays to washing dishes, from rolling dough to pouring pistachios, from making slices to baking the baklava. Headmaster 1 evaluates these periods as follows: "Everything has changed; a master used to go through the stages I mentioned and know everything." (HM1). Headmaster 13, who has been in the baklava sector for 43 years, states that "a master who has been trained from apprenticeship knows the entire production process". Master 3 states that they learned the whole process of baklava production step by step:

M3: Of course, it is already known here step by step. For example, when you are an apprentice, you sweep floors, you bring water to the master, and you get tea. After the apprentice, you go to the lay, pour cream, and throw pistachios. Slowly, gradually, that is. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

Master-Boss 8 states that they have to learn all the other stages in order to learn how to roll dough, which is the last stage in mastery:

MB8: Yes. An apprentice who grows up in Antep and an employee who grows up in Antep have to know every step of baklava. Before rolling the dough, which we call "back," we should learn all kinds of making stages of baklava, after which it goes to the stage of rolling the dough. (13 years of experience, small enterprise)

In this context, all masters working in baklava workshops learn all baklava production stages during the craft type production period. This situation parallels the fact that the masters in other craft-type productions know all the details of the work.

Most of the craftsmen interviewed within the scope of this research (except for the masters who have less experience compared to the others) know all the stages of baklava production. For example, Boss 3, who has 48 years of experience, states that he knows all the stages of baklava production: "I make it alone. Even if there is no electricity, I can knead my dough by hand, roll the dough ball (*bazi*), flatten the ball, I can do everything from A to Z." (B3). Even if there is no electricity, the emphasis here points to the ability to perform all stages of baklava production without a machine. In this direction, almost all of the participants stated that they could produce baklava on their own. With these features, the masters continue the characteristics of the masters in the craft-type production period.

Since the machines were not yet included in the production in the period we mentioned, all stages of the baklava production process were manual labor. It was necessary to have a certain skill level to fulfill each task in the production process. Since the machines were not available at that time, all of the masters who had 30 to 40 years of experience knew the production system down to the last detail.

MB4: In the place where we learned the job, those machines did not exist. There was only one company with that machine; everyone would look at it like this, they are doing it with this machine, and so on. (Apart from there, everyone knew how to do all the steps by hand.) (32 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

The fact that most masters say that they can make baklava without a machine shows that most of the masters in baklava workshops did not stray too far from the craft-type production period of baklava.

Until 20 to 30 years ago, baklava masters used to not only do the production process but also sell baklava in the shop. Therefore, they also had skills such as packaging and sales. Headmaster 2, who has 31 years of experience working both in the workshop and in the sales areas, explains this situation as follows:

HM2: It was more difficult before; we worked both in the production part and in the sales area. You will both do it in production and stay at the sales place so that you need to learn not only the production of a single product but also the sale of it.... So we stood at the counter/shop for years. When you open a shop, they used to say how will you sell it. Come on, you can do it anywhere, our masters used to say. But the important thing is to sell it, they say, to learn the market for it. That's why we learned all about packaging, customer service, and service, thank goodness. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

This shows that all the masters trained in the craft type production period know all the stages, including the production process and sales. However, the training of masters who knew all the stages of baklava production was interrupted by two different dynamics: i) mechanization ii) division of labor. Especially with the introduction of machines into baklava production in the 1990s, newly trained apprentices began to be unable to learn all the job stages. With the transfer of the laborious parts of the work that require manual labor to the machines, the masters were trained without knowing the skills related to those tasks. This process also causes 'losing the skills', which is shown as one of the disadvantages of mechanization by the masters. When the masters were asked about the disadvantages of the machine, they stated that the introduction of machines into the production process caused baklava makers to lose their skills. Master-Boss 4, who has 32 years of experience, summarizes the relationship between the machine and the skill as follows: "Now, when the machine comes out, the skill/mastery is already over." (MB4).

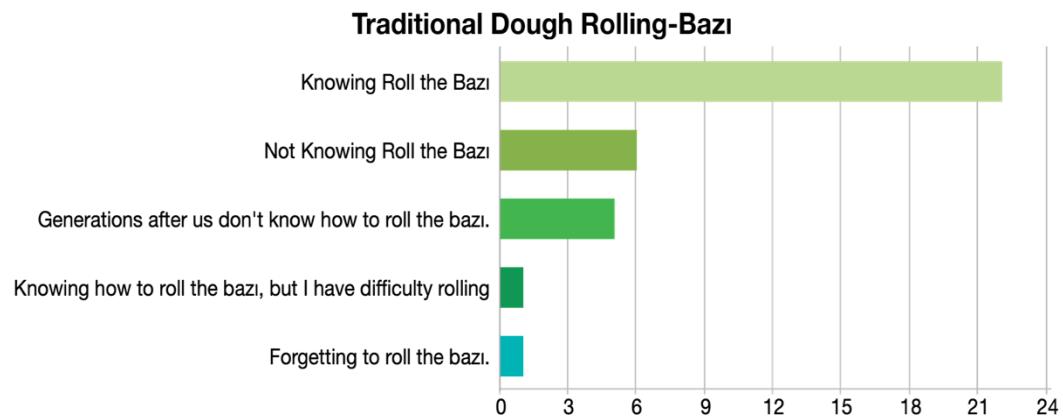


Figure 15 The situation of knowing how to open the dough ball in the workshops

Especially the second part of the 3rd stage, which is the dough rolling stage, has begun to be forgotten with the use of the half-rolling machine. Figure 15 shows the masters' skill/ability to roll out a dough ball in the workshops where the interviews were held. As Figure 18 shows, most of the masters in the workshops where the research is conducted still know the rolling the dough ball stage. All of the masters who started their profession before the arrival of the half-rolling machine know the rolling dough phase. However, with the emergence of this machine, Headmaster 13, who has 42 years of experience, explains that the new generation only has the skills to produce machines:

HM13: It wasn't long before the machine was discovered anyway. We used to say the dough ball (*bazi*), and we learned the job in the dough ball (*bazi*). Nowadays, people are learning with machine dough. The machine enlarges and extends. We didn't have that. At first, it was made into walnut-sized balls by kneading dough the size of a walnut, and some were rolled out in the form of plates. (42 years of experience, small enterprise)

Master-Boss 8 says that the machine prevents new apprentices from learning old skills. “The last generation of the seen the the dough ball (*bazi*) is my generation. Those after me never saw the *bazi* dough. They all have machines now.” and Headmaster 12 also supports this judgment: “Now, none of the new generations knows. But people of our time know. Now, none of those who grow up know.” (HM12). In this sense, newly

trained apprentices are trained without learning some skills in craft-type production, which leads to deskillization in apprentices who have just started the profession. Headmaster 10 explains the deskillization that the machine brings with it:

HM10: How did it harm the apprentice? He can't do the dough ball (*bazi*). If he says that I will make baklava at home one day, he cannot do it. Because he can't roll the dough. So it would be a kind of deficiency. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 2, on the other hand, states that after the half-rolling machine is included in the production, the newly trained masters only know how to roll dough with the machine:

HM2: The new apprentices don't know. Maybe those who grew up in my time know. The next generation doesn't know either. After the machine came out, everyone turned to the machine; that part of the process did not exist.... At the moment, we have friends who can't turn a rolling pin and can only use that machine. They only make baklava with the dough from that machine; they can't do handmade. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In the interviews, this 'new generation' was also encountered with the masters who started their profession after the machine entered the workshops. Headmaster 8, who has 15 years of experience, explains this situation as follows:

HM8: I saw the dough ball (*bazi*) but didn't open them. When I entered the profession, these half-rolling machines were out. We learned from it. The dough ball (*bazi*) had disappeared when we started. There were very few places, not many. We saw the half-rolling machine when we started, and we caught up with it. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

On the other hand, the arrival of the machine in the baklava workshops not only affected the skills of the new generation but also the skills of the experienced masters. Old/experienced masters who learn and know the dough rolling process cannot use these skills together with mechanization. This causes some masters to forget their dough rolling skills. Master 7 "I know rolling the dough ball (*bazi*), but I find it

difficult. It will take time for me to roll it the same way again.” While stating (M7) that he forgot to roll the dough without a machine, Headmaster 4 states that when there is no machine, the work will stop, and the necessary skills are forgotten: “I forgot. If the electricity goes out, we all stop working.” (HM4). In this sense, it can be said that the inclusion of the machine in production also causes the deskillization of experienced craftsmen.

The disappearance of the skills of the first part of the dough rolling phase made it almost impossible to roll out the baklava dough without a machine. Master-Boss 4, who is both a firm owner and a master, states that it will be difficult to produce without a machine: “...without that half-rolling machine, baklavacılık is disappearing. Because everyone has turned to it, the newly grown version does not know this system at all.” (MB4). This situation has caused the traditional production method of the product to be forgotten, as in many productions that have passed from traditional production to factory-type production. Not only the rolling dough machine but also the mixer that was used in production caused the traditional manual way of kneading the cream put between the dough to disappear, and this skill was not seen in newly trained masters:

HM11: ...now the mixer has arrived. We do not assign any of the children for the cream job. We used to have 20 kilos of the cream pour. Now, if you give 1 kilo to one of the children, it won't pour. Why? Because they don't know, they haven't seen it. They throw it in the machine, turn it with a mixer, and it's done. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

As of 2010, mechanization has increased with the participation of machines such as full-rolling machines and slicing machines into production. This situation has led to the mechanization of more stages in the baklava production process and the loss of skills required to make these stages. Master 1 states that this machine destroyed the skills: “The full-rolling machine is came in the production process. So they killed all the labor.” (M1). Headmaster 8 summarizes this situation as follows:

HM8: After this time, the man becomes a master; you say what do you know, he says he doesn't know anything. How did you become a master? It says there was a machine where I went. He says there was a slicing machine where I went, and I couldn't learn how to slice. He didn't learn anything, so how did you become a master? (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

This situation stated by the masters indicates that the people working in the workshops do not know the whole process. Therefore, the concept of master loses its meaning. In this case, it is seen that mastery is identified with being a master only in the task he performs. The framework drawn above has caused a decrease in the number of masters who are currently working in workshops and know all the work. The baklava masters interviewed underlined that the number of masters who know all the stages of the work and how to make baklava by hand is decreasing: "So in work, there are masters, five people like them or something." (MB5); "...who knows dough does not exceed five fingers." (M4); "At the moment, most of those who have grown up now have not seen the dough ball production. 35 masters are working inside right now, 5 of them know the dough ball. The rest are all machine-trained." (HM9). Headmaster 1, on the other hand, evaluates the decrease in the number of masters who know everything about the job as follows:

HM1: ...in current companies, for example, a man enters a company as a rolling pin, goes as a rolling pin, and cannot learn any of the others. So it was a fabricated system. That's why one person out of 10 understands all of them. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In this way, it is seen that the number of 'real' masters working in baklava factories, who know every stage of the labor process, decreases. This is due to the inability to teach the new generation all the stages of the work with the entry of these machines into the workshops. Now the tasks that they will learn are done by machines. This situation causes the number of 'ideal masters' working in the workshops to decrease day by day as mechanization increases.

In short, mechanization is one of the biggest reasons for baklava masters' deskillization. So that this deskillization is now an obstacle for a baklava master to be called a 'master.' Masters who know all stages of baklava production during the craft-type production period and do it by hand do not see the production that the new generation can only do with machines as a work of mastery, and they see them as workers of factory-type production who can only fulfill their own overflow. This shows that the masters in the baklava workshops have turned into unskilled workers.

Another reason for the disappearance of the skills of the new generation is based on the division of labor. The division of the tasks in the production process down to the smallest stage and then the new generation learning only their own task caused the other skills in the production process to not be learned. Boss 3 describes the relationship between the division of labor and the loss of skills as follows:

B3:... directly, for example, the production was divided into branches. In the past, an apprentice used to learn all about making, slicing, baking in the oven, sherbet, and so on, from kneading the dough to putting it in the store, and he would learn them step by step. Not so now. For example, the person who comes now, one of them (knows) how to roll dough, one to slice, one to lay, one to spread cream... (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

Headmaster 11, on the other hand, states that the skills of the new generation, who know only one task of the division of labor, are not enough:

HM11: Newly trained apprentices do not know every step. All newbies know a task. Let me give an example; the man rolls the dough; When the master says, "Would you like slicing?" he says, "I don't know slicing." ...It just rolls the dough. He knows nothing but dough. No slicing, no creaming, no laying, nothing. He rolled out dough. One of them is coming, he has nothing to do with dough rolling; he knows laying and pouring cream. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this case, division of labor causes deskilled and unqualified masters who are newly trained and do not know all the jobs. As an example of this situation, the 18-year-old

master, who has less experience in baklava production compared to other masters, states that he does not know one of the production stages: "I do not understand the oven, I do other than that." (M8). This shows that even today's masters do not know all the stages because of the division of labor.

On the other hand, the masters establish the relation of deskilling with the factory-type production system. Master-Boss 8 states that people who are described as 'masters' today do not know how to make baklava and the reason for this is the factory-type production system:

MB8: That's why some of the current masters don't know all about how to make baklava. Since it turns to fabrication, it is the point of view that everyone should be the master of their own job in fabrication and continue their lives. (13 years of experience, small enterprise)

The main reason why this production type is likened to the factory-type production system is that the workers working in the factory-type production system only know the task under their responsibility and do not know the rest of the production. In factory-type production, the division of labor, which is applied to a high degree, causes the employees not to know the entire production process and therefore become deskilled. This situation is also seen in baklava workshops, as can be understood from the reviews of the masters.

On the other hand, the masters emphasize that knowing the production process is essential in baklava production. Experienced craftsmen state that people who know all the stages of the production process can understand when there is an error in the product. However, the new generation cannot see these errors and does not know all the production processes.

B4: Our employees know all the stages. But some just roll out the dough or some only lay baklava. Some just do slicing. Since they know all the steps, if the previous thing, for example, if the dough is

rolled thick, not as thin as our standard, the maker separates it from production and removes it. Since he knows the other stage, he says this can be rolled more thinly, or they check each other's mistakes in a controlled way. He does not take the product he does not like to the production line.

The masters know the entire production process and have the skills of all stages shows that they are not alienated from the production process and can intervene in the wrong at any point of the production. However, today, those who grow up knowing only one stage in the production process cannot make such an intervention; in a way, they are alienated from the whole production process, like the workers working in factory-type production.

As a result, the masters state that the newly trained ones do not know all the skills and all the stages of production but only by learning the task that belongs to them in the division of labor. This situation shows that the newly trained masters become deskilled, and they cannot produce baklava on their own; Headmaster 13 expresses this situation as follows:

HM13: The man says that I only do laying, I am a layer, I don't know anything else... And there is a difference between the current master and the previous one. For example, now it is difficult for a new person to tell you to knead the dough and make baklava because he learned the dough, did not learn the slice, did not learn how to lay cream, or learned how to bake in the oven. (42 years of experience, small enterprise)

Headmaster 12 states that this deskillization is now common in baklava workshops:

HM12: No, not all those who are grown up today know this business from A to Z. ... At the moment, not everyone knows everything. Currently, those who roll the dough have learned how to roll the dough; they stay in the dough rolling. Most of the makers are in the making; it's pretty much like that in all shops.. (50 years of experience, large enterprise)

This shows that the masters working in the baklava workshop have turned into workers who do not know all the stages of factory-type production. The masters, who know all the stages of craft-type production, do not know all the stages of baklava production today. In this sense, the skills of the masters working in baklava workshops begin to disappear, and the concept of deskillization emerges as a concept that can be used when analyzing the situation of the masters in baklava workshops.

On the other hand, in this process, not only the skills in the production process but also the sales skills started to be lost with the effect of the division of labor. Headmaster 2 summarizes this situation as follows:

HM2: That's why we learned all about packaging, customer service, and service, thank goodness. The subsequent children don't, so they can't put the baklava in a box. Sometimes our customers come here, and I pack baklava. People here are surprised; they say, do you have a shop assistant? ...we used to work at the counter until the evening after the work was done, both the customer service and the package, we worked like this until we went to the military. In the past, the system was like that in Antep. There is currently no such system. After the workshop, we send the apprentices home. The staff of the counter and the sales place are separate. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As a result, all the dynamics described above caused the masters working in baklava production to lose their skills and thus become deskilled. The increased division of labor and the inclusion of machines in the production process is seen as the main dynamics behind this deskillization. These dynamics have caused the craftsmen, who dominate the entire production process in craft-type production and know all the skills required for production, to turn into workers who only know how to do the work under their responsibility and do not have complete control of the production process. The masters in the baklava workshops either grow up without learning all the skills in the production process or forget these skills due to the new production organization and new machines. In a way, it can be mentioned that the masters working in baklava factories have turned into assemblers. The framework which is drawn above shows

that deskillization has begun and can move in that direction. As mentioned above, specialization in baklava factories has become more widespread.

4.1.3.2. Specialization

Masters who repeat the same work with a specific routine every day, within a working day, specialize in their tasks. Baklava masters, who know all the stages in the production process, are also experts in all stages of the production process during the periods when baklava production is craft type. On the other hand, since a master did the work together with several people in these periods, he should have mastered all the stages. For this reason, people who know all the work and are experts in all works are called masters. However, with the division of the tasks in the production process and the division of the work among the baklava masters, this specialization began to be defined only through one task. The baklava master, who does only one task every day, has only started to specialize in that step. Specializations have been developed for each stage of the baklava production process. For example, the third stage, the dough maker, is only professional in rolling dough; another master is only specialized in slicing baklava. This chapter is aimed to deal with the specialization processes in baklava workshops.

In the craft-type production period, where the workshops do not become crowded and production does not increase, the masters are experts in each of these stages, as well as knowing every stage of baklava production. At the beginning of the deskillization section, we mentioned that the craftsmen know everything during the craft-type production period. The masters know every job; they have all the skills, and thus they have the specialization to make baklava on their own. Masters who are trained in the craft type production period and can learn/do every job are working as Headmasters today. Master 2 explains this situation as follows:

M2: For example, HM2 is assigned as the headmaster, keeper here. Would HM2 have been brought here if he didn't know everything from A to Z? It could not be brought. If he only knew the oven and

the slice, what would he do if they brought him here responsibly?
(16 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As Master 2 states, the master's specialization is over the entire production process during the craft-type production period. This situation is in parallel with the specialization features of the masters in other craft-type productions.

As can be seen below, as it can be understood from what Headmaster 4 says, in the period after the craft type production, the form of specialization and mastery has changed along with the transformation of the production process.

HM4: They only know how to roll out the dough in their hands. Master means understanding every part of the job and doing it in the best way possible. These are journeymen. It can make baklava, cut it, and throw pistachios, but it's not professional. He only has the professionalism of rolling out the dough. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

This shows that specialization has undergone a transformation from the past to the present. As seen in Figure 16, specialization moves from specialization over the entire production process to specialization on a single task.

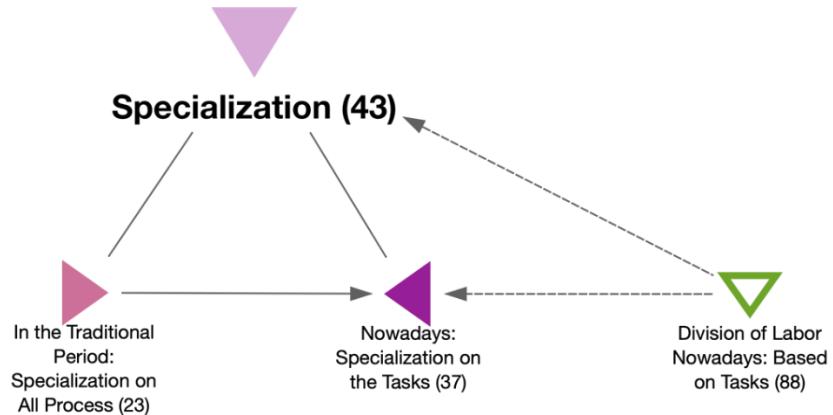


Figure 16 Transformation of Specialization in the Baklava Production Process and its Determinants

Note. (→) Shows Transformation (---→) Shows the Dimensions that Determine the Specialization

In this sense, as shown in Figure 16, the main reason for specialization to be reduced to task-based today is the division of labor. Just as the division of labor divides the work into tasks in baklava production and causes the newly trained masters not to know other jobs, it also causes the masters to perform the tasks assigned to them in the best way and specialize at that stage. Everyone is now an expert in one step. Master-Boss 8 describes the specialization as follows:

MB8: Everyone knows only one point, as they teach not only how to make baklava but only to roll dough, to lay dough or to slice, to bake in the oven. Therefore, everyone becomes a professional in that job, and it is easier to train staff. (13 years of experience, small enterprise)

Boss 3 depicts specialization as follows:

B3: That is because, for example, an employee grows up as a slicer. He knows nothing but slicing. An employee is cooking in an oven; he knows nothing but baking. But in terms of the production system, that's fine. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

As can be understood from the critiques above, specialization has also started to be seen in baklava workshops. Masters who know all stages of production in craft-type production and are experts in all stages have now started to specialize in a single task.

On the other hand, specialization does not mean that other stages are not known in baklava workshops. It is also said that the workers in the workshop, especially the experienced ones, know every stage, but the workers are professionalized in a single job. Everyone is employed in the area of his expertise, whichever he does better among the jobs he knows. Master 7 describes this situation as follows: "We started this profession after I learned, I moved to lay the baklava, I stayed in laying. Whichever you expert at, the boss keeps you there." (M7). Headmaster 9, who is the headmaster of L3, which is from large enterprises, states that everyone in the workshop is employed in their own specialized job:

HM9: ... actually everyone knows all the stages, but there is something that everyone does best. We professionalize our employees. For example, he was distributing tea, okay, stop the tea, switch to pistachios, drop pistachios, switch to cookies, now we don't do this. We have a master do what he does best. If a man's dough is good, we put him into rolling out dough; whoever slices the best slices it, whoever does the most practical and smooth laying, lays it. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

In Master 9's words, he states that everyone works in the production process where they are experts and do well:

M9: For example, this man says, "I am a master." You are a master, but he asks you what you do best, and you say that I roll the best dough. Okay, the master says you open the dough. He asks the other, "Master, I can slice the best, I can also roll the dough, but I can slice the best." he says; the master says, slice it. The man knows better how to do şöbiyet, and he does şöbiyet, the other bülbül yuvası, the other saray sarması... That is, he does what he can do better. (20 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

As stated by the masters, most masters working in baklava factories know all the stages of production. As mentioned in the deskillization chapter, there has not been a significant deskillization in baklava factories yet. However, with the development of the division of labor in the production organization, the masters perform the task that their skills are most suitable for instead of doing a different task every day during the production process. In this case, they become more specialized in their task. Boss 3 states that this is related to the size of the production:

B3: In such small businesses, everyone knows everything. There is no such baker, slicer, or rolling pin. He learns it all. In those big places, they are separating it so that the work will come out a little faster. Small shopkeepers like us potentially know everything from A to Z. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

As Boss 3 stated, this kind of specialization is also related to the production scale. In the production process, where 3-4 people work in small-scale workshops, the masters dominate the whole process as in the past. However, with the growth of production,

the increase in division of labor, and standardization, specialization has become more common in large-scale workshops. The biggest reason behind this seems to be to do the work fast, efficiently, and to the same standard. In this sense, production converges to factory-type production.

In summary, specialization has been observed in the baklava production process since the period when the production showed craft characteristics. However, the masters, who were experts in the whole process in the early periods, have recently started to specialize based on tasks, with the increase in the division of labor and the inability to learn all the stages of the profession. Although all the masters working in the workshop did not specialize only based on tasks, the masters started to specialize in only one stage of baklava production with the new generation. This situation shows this transformation towards specialization in factory-type production.

4.2. Transformation of the Production Place, Production Relations and Working Conditions

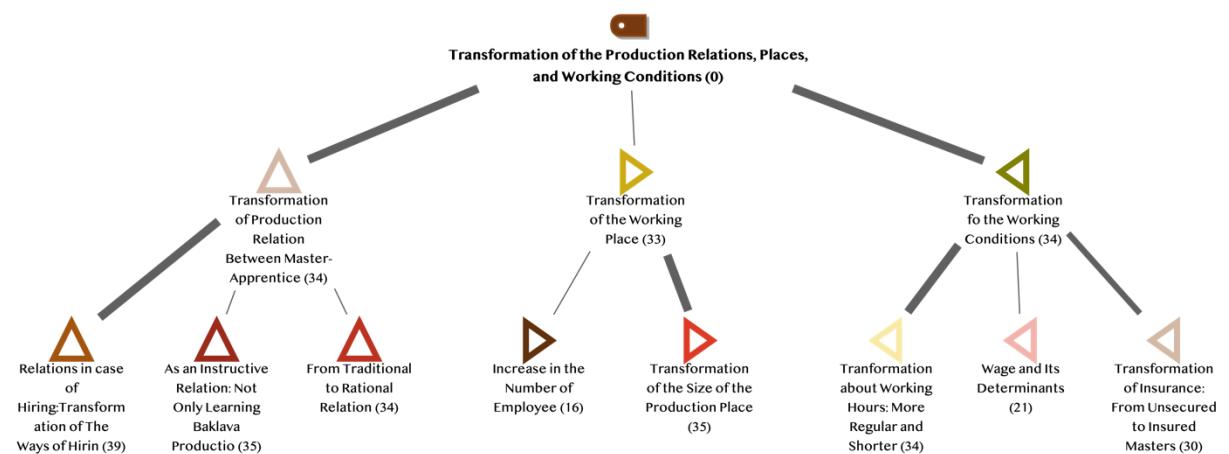


Figure 17 Cognitive Scheme of Transformation of the Production Relation, Production Place and Working Condition Chapter

In this section, we move on from the structural factors of the production process to the discussion of the social and physical conditions in the production of baklava. To examine the social aspects of the baklava production process, the relationship between the master and the apprentice will be revealed. This relationship includes many practices. Ways of getting a job, learning the craft, the general/traditional structure of the relationship, and the methods of disciplining in the workshops are among the relationship dynamics that will be discussed under this title. On the other hand, when we look at the physical conditions, the number of employees, the size of the production place, and working conditions are the factors that make up this physical structure. In this context, the change in the number of employees and the size of the production space in the evolution of the production space from workshops to factories will be revealed. Working hours, wages, and insurance dimensions will be discussed under the title of working conditions, which is one of the physical details. In order to better understand the working relations and working conditions, it is essential first to know the size of the place and the number of employees, namely the physical conditions.

4.2.1. Transformation of Production Place: From Workshop to Factory

The workshops where baklava is produced are called 'workshops' because they are seen as places where a craft is practiced. The workshops are small in terms of their physical structure and show the characteristics of a place where few people work. However, there have been transformations in this physical structure from past to present. Due to the increase in production, the increase in the demand for baklava, the entry of machines into the production areas, the manufactures, which are called workshops, have begun to turn into more extensive production facilities, where more masters, apprentices, and journeymen work, in a way, factories in terms of their physical characteristics (as seen in *Figure 18*).

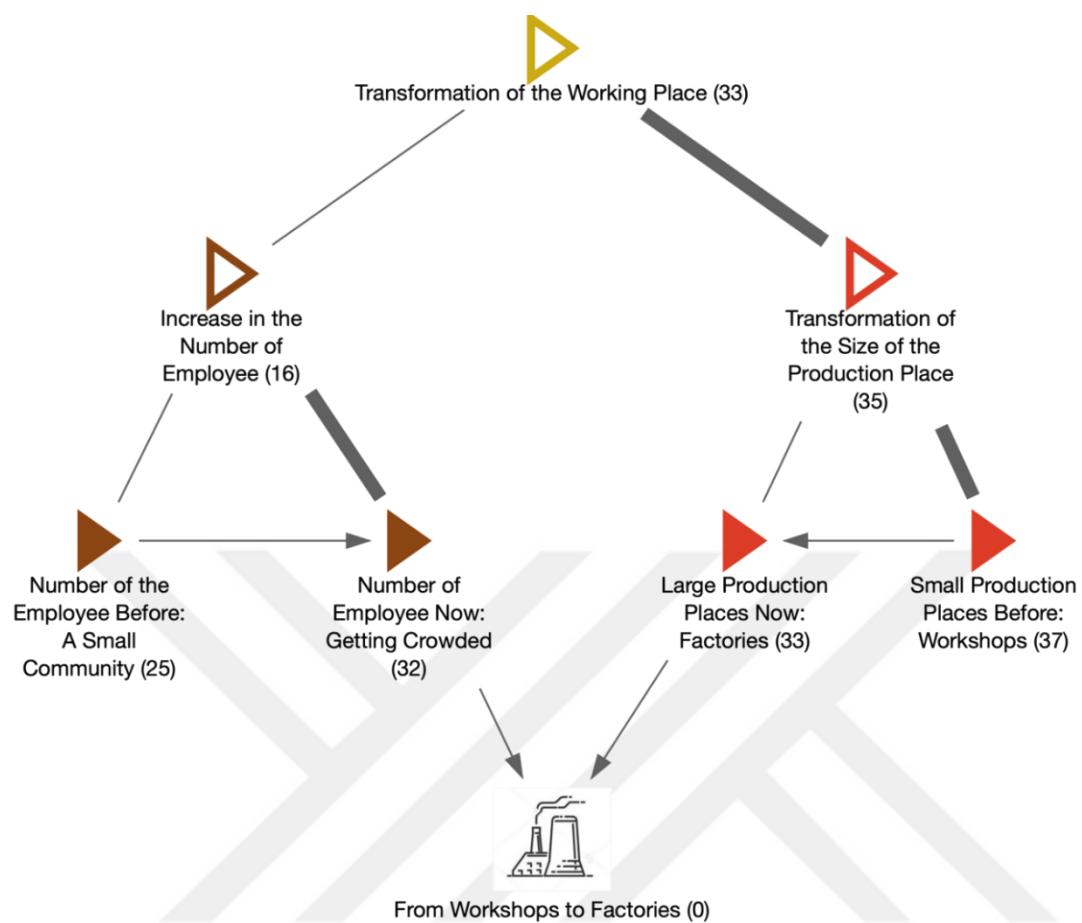


Figure 18 Transformation of the Working Place: From Workshop to Factory

Note. (→)Shows Transformation from Traditional Period to Factory-type Production of Baklava

In this section, the physical transformation of baklava production places will be examined under the headings of the *number of employees* and *the size of the production space*.

4.2.1.1. Increase in the Number of Employee

The number of masters, apprentices, and journeymen working in the baklava production process has changed with the transformation of the baklava production process (as seen in Figure 19). During the periods when baklava production showed

craft-type production, one master, one apprentice, and one journeyman worked together in baklava production. This number was sufficient to produce 3-5 trays of baklava per day. However, with the increase in production, the number of masters, apprentices, and journeymen working in the production process is insufficient. Remarkably, the division of labor and the division of tasks among the masters, the professionalization of everyone in a single job with specialization, required more people to work in production. For this reason, the number of masters, apprentices, and journeymen working in companies varies between 15 and 200, depending on the scale of production.

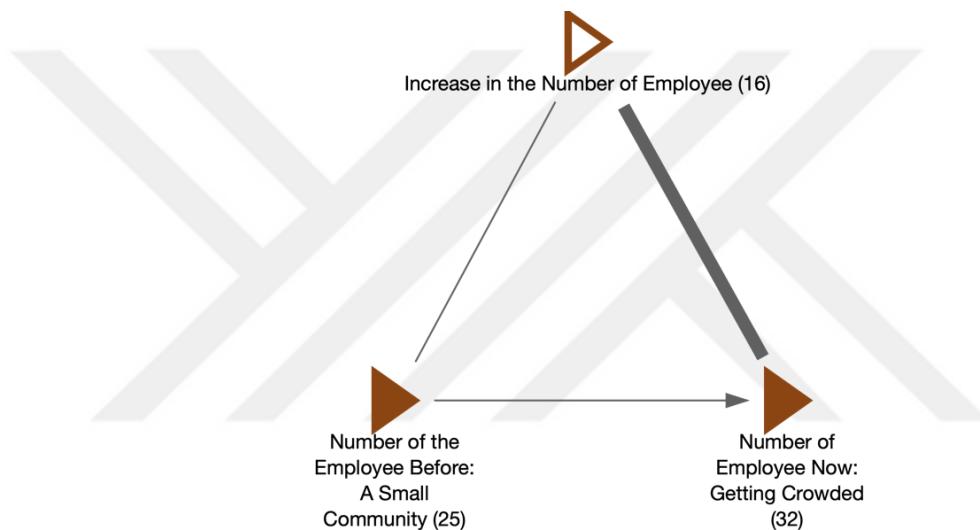


Figure 19 Transformation of the Number of Employees

Note. (→)Shows Transformation from Traditional Period to Factory-type Production of Baklava

As can be seen in *Figure 19*, this process has led to a transformation in the number of people working in production spaces. This section will discuss the total number of employees working in production according to scales.

When baklava production was small compared to today and the production was craft in all aspects, between 2 and 20 masters, apprentices, and journeymen were working in the production areas (as seen in *Figure 20*).

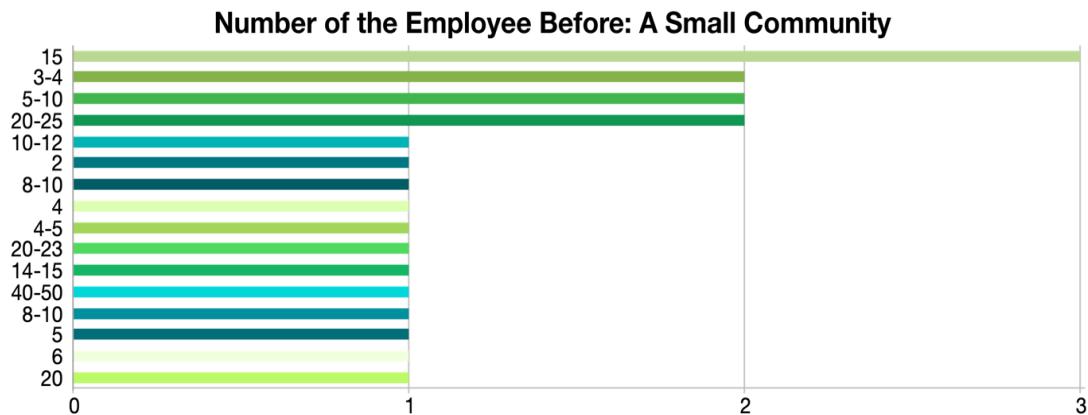


Figure 20 Number of Employee in Craft-type Production/Workshops

Although this number varied according to the company's scale, numerous employees were not needed in the production areas. Master-Boss 7, who started the profession 20 years ago, states that the number of employees was low when he first started, and they produced with 4-5 people. Master-Boss 4, who started the baklava sector 32 years ago, states that they started production with two people in their first production place. Master-Boss 3, who started his career 35 years ago, states that 8-10 people worked in production. Boss 3, who has been making baklava for four generations, states that three people worked at the first production site. In this sense, 35-40 years ago, production was carried out on a very small scale in production areas, and few people were employed. This situation is similar to the fact that in the past, production consisted of a small family unit.

On the other hand, more employees are working in production places such as L1, which has a deep-rooted history in the baklava sector in Gaziantep, compared to others. Master 5, who has been in the profession for 37 years, states that they worked with 20 people in the workshop where he first started working, while Master 6, who worked at L2, another well-established company, 30 years ago, states that they worked with 15 people. In this context, the history of the production spaces also affects the number of people working in the production space. However, these numbers do not cause them

to stay out of the traditional production type. Compared to today, these numbers can still be seen as the number of employees of small-scale enterprises.

These figures in the number of employees also include the firm owners. This is because, as we mentioned above, business owners also worked as masters in production in the past. Headmaster 9, who started the profession 32 years ago, stated that they work "6 people who make 3 journeymen for rolling the dough, two apprentices and one boss work" in production, while Headmaster 6, who started his profession 25 years ago and is now working in L1, one of the large-scale enterprises, also said that they work together with the boss: "When I entered here, we used to employ 10-12 people in total. So our boss was the master. Our boss now.". In this context, the number of employees reaches these numbers together with the business owners. This shows that the number of employees in the workshops is relatively low.

As in traditional production places, besides the bosses who owned the production, children and siblings worked together if the production was a family business. 48 years ago, Boss-3 stated that they worked with his father, brother, and himself with 3-4 people in their own workshop, while Headmaster 4 stated that they worked with 5-6 people in their own business with his father, brother, and himself. In this sense, these firms show the characteristics of a family business which is common in the traditional production period.

The workshops, which worked with relatively few masters in the 1990s, started to increase the number of employees as of 2010. With the increase in production and the insufficient number of employees, more masters, apprentices, and journeymen have started to be taken to the workshops. Headmaster 3 and Headmaster 8, who have 41 years of experience, describe this transformation with the increase in production: "We were not that crowded. We were ten people in total. Now, of course, as production increases, then we have to hire people." (HM3); "For example, when we first started, 15-20 people were working in companies, now these companies have increased to 40-

50 people. The production grew, and the staff had to multiply.” Headmaster 9, who has 32 years of experience, describes this transformation process by comparing it to the growth of a child:

HM9: Now a child is born, grows up; So was this business. When we first came, of course, how many years ago it was opened before us, it was opened 5-6 years ago. At that time, in the period when we were not there, the business reached a certain potential. It had a capacity of 3-4 people. After we arrived, 3-4 more people came. When they came, it did not fit into the production, it was small. When it was small, it was taken here. ... Here, too, a little more progress has accelerated. Because there was a branch, it became more known in terms of advertising, taste, and quality when it became the second branch. As he became known, things increased. As the work grew, more and more staff were needed. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As can be understood from these statements, the increase in the number of employees working in production has become compulsory with the increase in the demand for baklava and the increase in production. This situation caused the craft-type production dimensions of baklava to increase and reach the number of employees required by the factory-type production dimensions. In this sense, an increase was observed in the number of people working in production.

Number of Employee Now: Getting Crowded

Today, the number of people working in the workshop has increased compared to the past (as seen in *Figure 21*), according to the scale of production in the workshops (as seen in Figure 22).

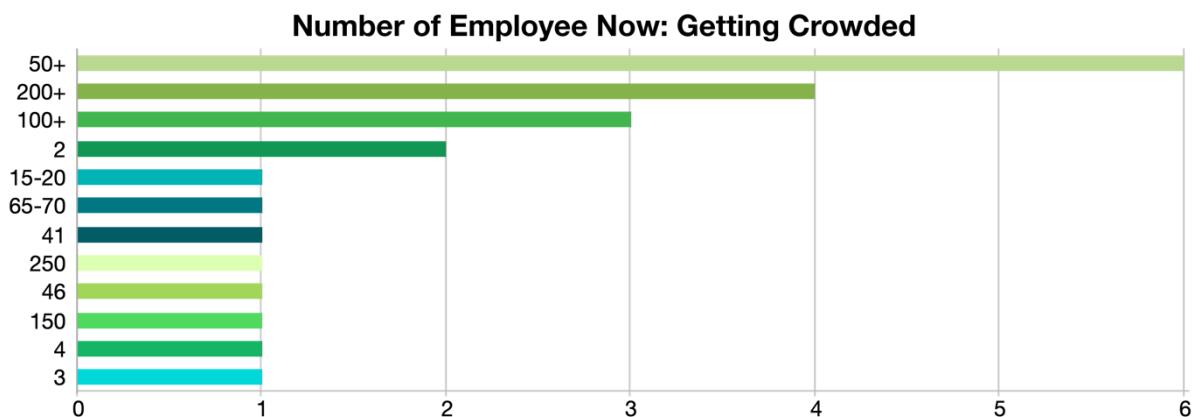


Figure 21 Number of Employee Today

In some enterprises, especially large-scale ones, the number of employees has increased ten times than in the past (as seen in Figure 22 with brown line). HM4, working in L4, one of the large-scale enterprises, states this number as follows: "Now we are close to 100 people here, including those who do the cleaning and the supply of products." B1 and Headmaster of L2, which is also one of the large enterprises, states that the number of employees at "around 100". In another large enterprise, L3, the workshop owner, MB5, states that "100-120 people" work in the workshop and says that this number reaches 200 people, including the sales personnel in the shops (MB5). In L4, as in other large enterprises, the number of employees is "We have over 200 people, I guess." (M5). One of the interviewed masters underlines that he worked with so many people in the baklava factory where he worked in Istanbul before: "150 people were working at the place where I worked. So from A to Z. From the accountant to the cleaner, to the maid, there were 150 people." (M9). In this sense, the number of employees closes the number of workers working in a factory-type production. It is seen that the number of employees in the baklava workshops is approaching the factories where production is made by 100-200 people.

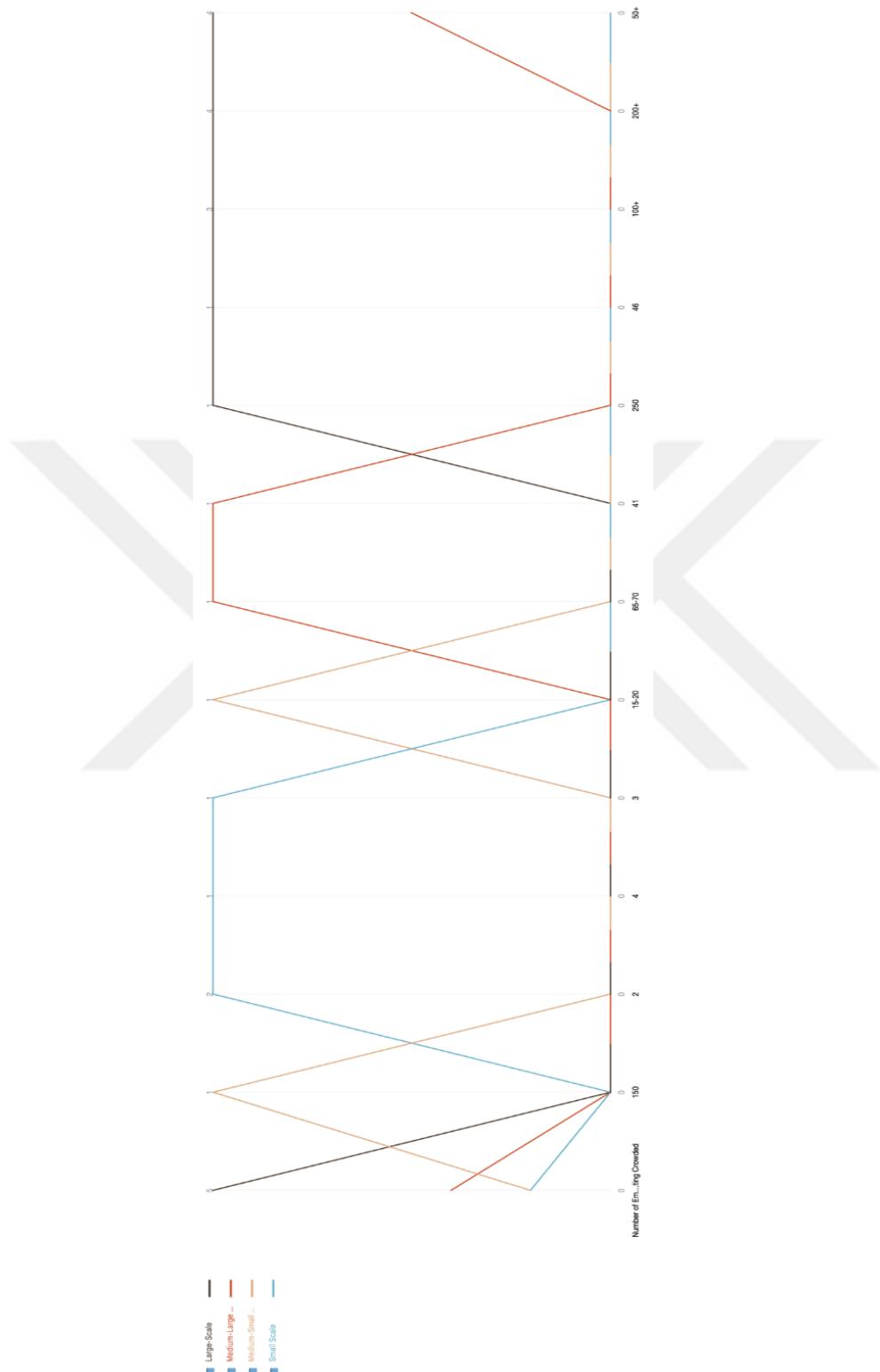


Figure 22 Number of Employee Today According to Scales of the Production

On the other hand, small-scale productions still work with a small number of workers, as in craft-type production (as seen in Figure 22 with blue line). For example, Master-Boss 9 works in the workshop despite being the boss, as in the past, and employs his wife as an assistant; "With two people. ... I work in the workshop with my wife." (MB9). On the other hand, S4, another small-scale business, employs four people, including the business owner (MB1). Another small business, S1, employs three people, father and son (MB6). On the other hand, two people work in another small-scale workshop that has just been opened:

HM8: We are working here with two people. For example, since this is a newly opened company, its business capacity is not very heightened. Since it's not high, the two of us are enough. But tomorrow, the day after, we will have to take teammates with us when this job arises. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

As it can be understood from these expressions, small scale enterprises that produce with few people continue to exist today. In these production centers, the family unit, which was the production unit of the craft-type period, continued. While the number of employees in MS1, which is one of the medium-small sized workshops, varies between 15-20 people today (MB7); In ML2, which is one of the medium-large enterprises, the firm owner said, "We reached up to 90 people, now demand have calmed down a bit. We fell back to 65-70 people" (MB4). The owner of ML1, one of the medium-sized enterprises, states the number of employees as follows: "There are currently 50 employees (together with administrative personnel)". In this sense, not all enterprises have a large number of employees and are not similar to enterprises engaged in factory-type production in terms of the number of employees. There are also differences between enterprises (as seen in Figure 22).

In short, in this process, it can be said that especially large-scale workshops employ almost as many workers as workers in factory production and increase their production capacity. At the same time, white-collar workers, clerks, and accountants have started to take place in this number of employees, especially for large-scale enterprises. These

numbers have led large-scale workshops to increase to factory-type production measurements gradually. These numbers have also progressed in parallel with the physical size of the production space and have been one of the reasons for the growth of the space. We will discuss the physical growth of the workshops in the next section.

4.2.1.2. Transformation of the Size of the Production Place

The growth of the production space, in a sense, means the physical growth of the space. When baklava production first started in Gaziantep, the production area was small, narrow, and stuffy. These features almost resembled today's production places that can be described as 'under the counter,' and there were no facilities such as windows or air conditioning. On the other hand, due to the characteristics of the baklava dough, there are still no large windows in the workshops to ensure specific air conditions. In the past, in these workshops, where one workbench was sufficient for dough rolling, laying, and slicing, the size of the workshops was sufficient since the number of employees and production were also less compared to today. However, with the increase in the number of employees and the increase in the demand for baklava, the need for more places in the workshops has begun to arise with the increased production. For this reason, baklava makers had to enlarge their workshops. In these places where more workers are employed, and more products are produced, the number of workbenches has increased, and at the same time, workshops have started to become two-three-story buildings according to their sales sizes. This section will discuss how the places of baklava production grew physically and what happened in the spatial transformation (as seen in *Figure 23*).

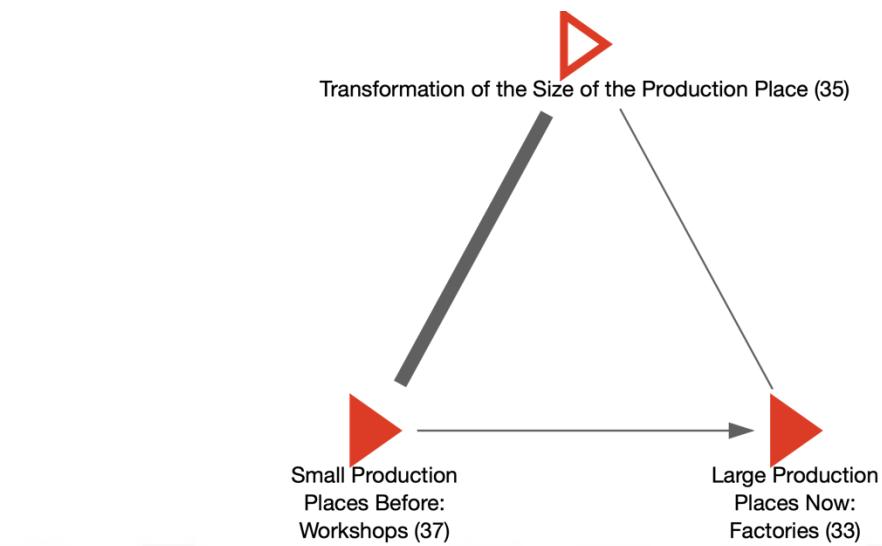


Figure 23 Transformation of the Size of the Production Place

Note. (→)Shows Transformation from Traditional Period to Factory-type Production of Baklava

Until 50 years ago, baklava workshops were small, narrow, stuffy, single-story workshops in the entirely traditional production periods. These workshops vary between 40 and 60 square meters. 32 years ago, Master-Boss 4, who owns a medium-small-sized business, stated the smallness of the workshop as follows: "We had a production area of 40-50 square meters." (MB4). Boss 4, the owner of one of the large-scale enterprises, used to define their workshops as "small places." (B4) describes it as. Headmaster 12, who also works in one of the large-scale workshops and has 50 years of experience, said that when he first started, the workshop he worked in was "small, narrow places, if you compare it with the previous one." (HM12). All the remaining masters describe the past workshops as small, narrow, and single-story places. When we look at the traditional production type, it seems natural for the workshops to show these characteristics.

On the other hand, the physical dimensions of these workshops vary depending on the production scale. Large-scale companies have had larger production sites and workshops than other small and medium-small-sized companies. For example, the

master of one of the biggest workshops in Gaziantep now describes his past workshop as one-fourth of today's workshop (HM6). On the other hand, there is spatial growth depending on the company's development. MS1, which was one of the small-scale companies in the past, has expanded its production space with the increase in its production and the growth of its scale, and today it continues to produce as a medium-small-sized company. For this reason, the growth of the large-scale firm by 1 in 4 has manifested itself with a growth of 1 in 10 (MB7) in this workshop. In this sense, the growth rate in production spaces is also parallel to the growth of the production scale. Therefore, the growth rate varies from scale to scale.

When the traditional production type was common, a single counter was generally used in workshops, and all stages of baklava production were carried out on the same counter. Headmaster 4 describes the workshop 42 years ago as follows: "Baklava was made on a small piece of a counter, slice on the same counter, and made with a single oven. (HM4). Again, Headmaster 2 states the smallness of the area in the production area as follows: "(30 years ago) The place where we started was smaller, of course. We were making baklava on a single counter..." (HM2). Considering the number of people working in production and the production scale, this number of counters seems to be sufficient in places where 3-5 people work, and 3-5 trays of baklava are produced.

In the relatively large-scale companies that did not use a single workbench in the periods when the baklava production showed completely craft-type features, all parts of the production were carried out in the same place, without separating the sections from each other, due to the small size of the workshops. 37 years ago, Master-Boss 5 described this coexistence in the production space as follows: "Everywhere in a production order would be intertwined. Dough rolling, laying, oven, all intertwined." (MB5). Also, Master 5 states this situation as follows:

M5: Let me describe it this way, it was as much as here (he only shows the area where the sherbet is poured)—everything in it. Oven,

dough rolling section, making section; It was like they were all tied together. (43 years of experience, large enterprise)

In the periods before the workshops grew, all the stages of production could not be done in the same place due to the small size of the workshop. For example, since the workshops were small, there was no oven in these workshops. For this reason, baking, which is one of the last stages of baklava production, was agreed with an oven in the neighborhood, and baklava was baked in those ovens. Master-Boss, who started his career 37 years ago, describes this situation as follows:

MB5: There was no workshop with an oven in my childhood in the past. ...we used to make baklava here, we used to bake it in the bakery, we didn't have an oven. Shopkeepers would go and cook baklava for each other. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 13, who started his baklava business 42 years ago, explains how they took the baklava to the oven outside the workshop:

HM13: Not everyone had a wood oven; for example, they had bakers in their neighborhood. They take baklava there and bake it there. It was cooked for a fee per tray. For example, let's say 5 lira or 10 lira per tray. How bakers and bread makers bake now, baklava makers used to bake per tray as well. By the end of the week, depending on how many were baked, 100 or 150, the baker would come and be paid. (42 years of experience, small enterprise)

Boss 3 describes the luxury of having an oven in the workshop 50 years ago:

B3: There would be no oven inside (the workshop). There was a bakery in the bazaar where all baklava makers baked in common. Craftsmen had 3, 5, 7 trays; everyone brought them according to their situation and had them baked in the baker's; it was very luxurious then. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

As can be understood from these expressions, the whole production cannot be done in a single place. The physical smallness of the space and the cost of establishing a wood oven caused the absence of an oven in the production areas. Considering the craft-based nature of production, this system necessitates several occupations working

together. In the same past, several professions (for example, baklava makers and baklava bakers) worked together to produce a product like guilds.

Large Production Places Now: Becoming Factories

After this process, with the increase in production and the number of workers, production places started to grow. When interviewed craftsmen asked for a comparison of the production space, all of them jointly underlined that the workshops started to grow later on and expressed their reasons. For example, the owners and masters of medium-small-sized enterprises, which connect the growth of the production space to the increase in production, summarize the situation as follows: "We moved here because it was insufficient." (MB4); "production began to be insufficient, we began to be unable to grow. We had to enlarge the shop, so we did." (MB7). In this context, one of the most significant factors in the growth of the production space can be shown as the increase in production. When the production number of enterprises that make 3-5 trays of baklava increased to 50-60 trays, it was inevitable to enlarge the production areas.

On the other hand, some attribute the growth of the workshops to the increase in the number of employees increased to keep up with the production growth. Head Master 9 states that the workshops are growing with the increasing number of masters, apprentices, and journeymen:

HM9: When they (new masters) came, it did not fit into the production; it was small. When it was small, it was taken here. Here is the upper part of the construction, the lower part of the construction, only the ground floor has a workshop, after that, we moved here. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

Along with the increase in production, the increase in the number of workers working in the production process and the production that cannot fit into small workshops and

a single workbench has led to the growth of production spaces and an increase in the number of counters.

Although today's production spaces vary according to the production scale, they are pretty large places compared to the small workshops in the past. The production areas observed during the field research have hygienic and big areas with many benches compared to the production areas described in the past. In fact, some workshops now carry out production in multi-story buildings (L2, L3, ML1, MS2). The interviewed masters describe the growth compared to the past as follows: Master-Boss 5, owner of L3 from large-scale enterprises, describes this growth numerically as follows: "It was 90 square meters, now we work in a 3500 square meter area." (MB5). The owner of the medium-large scale business, Boss 1, indicates the size of the production space numerically as follows: "Our production is very crowded, this place is 12000 square meters, four floors in total, 300 square meters on each floor is not enough for us." (B1). Based on these descriptions, it can be said that production spaces have evolved from small spaces called workshops to large spaces that can almost be described as factories. Of course, again, production scales show parallelism with the growth of production spaces.

As stated above, production is too much to be done in a single counter anymore. While an average of 15-20 counters are used only for the dough rolling stage in large workshops, there are separate benches for the stages such as laying dough, throwing pistachios, laying cream, and pouring sherbet. Master 4, working in L4, one of the large-scale workshops, states this increase in the number of machines as follows:

M4: Of course, our place was not that wide. We had only one oven, we had 8 counters. For example, now there are 17 benches inside, excluding the place for laying baklava. Previously, the place of production, the place of rolling, the oven, if you put them all together, we were 20 people, we had 8 benches. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

So much so that Headmaster 2, one of the masters working in one of the medium-large enterprises, likens this order and growth in the production space to 'fabrication': "It was smaller, this place is bigger. Even though this place is not a complete fabrication, we are working in that setting." (HM2). It can be said that this analogy is normal for the Headmaster who worked on a single bench 31 years ago. Headmaster 2, who works in a single-story production area on a single bench, now works in a 3-story production center that resembles a factory production space, where dozens of stalls are located together.

This spatial growth has also caused the stages of production to be carried out in the same production space, in different places. For example, in companies L1, L2, L3, L4, ML1, ML2, MS2, the section where the baklava dough is opened has been separated, the starch used while rolling the dough does not disturb the workers in another section, and the necessary ambient temperature is provided for the baking of the baklava dough. This spatial separation is provided by glazing or by production on different floors. In L1, the oven and sherbet pouring section are also separated from the baking and laying stages of the baklava. In L3, on the other hand, the baking and sherbet pouring stages are carried out on a lower floor. In L4, the production area is divided into 3, with dough rolling in a separate section separated by glass, dough laying and slicing in a separate section separated by glass, and oven and sherbet pouring in a separate section. The workshop of ML1 and ML2 also shows similar features to L4. In MS1, one of the Medium-Small enterprises, different stages of production are located in separate areas within a single space, without any distinction in the production space. In this framework, the division of production divisions also differs according to the scales of the enterprises.

As stated above, the production areas did not have an oven in the past. However, with the expansion of the workshops, all workshops now have at least one oven. In large and medium-large scaled workshops, the number of ovens rises to 5: "Now everybody

has an oven inside the workshop, everybody bakes it himself, serving it hot right away." (HM13); "This is Antep's first production with five ovens." (MB5).

In the past, since the production areas were small, needs such as cafeteria, changing room, and showering was neglected (B3), and no separate area was reserved for these activities. However, today this situation has changed in large (L1, L2, L3, L4) and medium-large scale (ML1, ML2) production spaces. There are cafeterias, masjids, dressing rooms, and showers in these two types of scaled workshops. In this sense, workshops are likened to facilities.

Headmaster 12, who has 50 years of experience and currently works in L2, one of the large-scale workshops, describes the transformation of workplaces as follows:

HM12: But our current working conditions are good; Our working environment is heated, people are comfortable in the winter, and the same in the summer. We have a dining hall, and we have sinks, we have toilets, and we have places to take a bath. We have locker rooms. So it's very nice compared to the old one. Our current place is huge. So you can't compare. They were small, narrow places if you compare them to before. (50 years of experience, large enterprise)

Boss 4, owner of L2, states that the production space has improved in terms of hygiene and size:

B4: Of course, we produce under hygienic conditions compared to the previous one. We also have good working conditions for our employees. In other words, warming, dressing, and all kinds of needs are met. Previously, it was glossed over at work, that is, according to the conditions of the day. ... Here, there are separate changing rooms, separate toilets, washing places, our warehouse is separated. ... We have a dressing room, we have a washing place upstairs, and we have a heater.

The owner of L3, one of the large-scale workshops, describes the transformation and growth in the production space as follows:

MB5: This is the first workshop with the kitchen, the dining hall, and the mosque. We did not have such conditions. ... In production, there was no sink, no shower. Now this place has become like a social facility. There are 16 showers and no waiting in line. Our master used to heat water and wash his head in the past. Now the man can shower when the morning comes, and he takes a shower when he leaves. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster of L1, which is also one of the large-scale workshops, states that with the growth of the workshop, all possibilities have developed: "Everything has grown with our production. Our dining hall, our changing room, our bathroom. It has evolved with all of that." (HM6). However, despite all this growth, no one calls the place of production 'factory' in baklava production; everyone uses the term 'manufacture.' MB5 explains this situation "for example, they say that some places say that I should go to the factory, no, we go to the manufacturing." specifies as.

It is seen that especially large, medium-large, and some medium-small workshops have a more modern production space than some factory-type production facilities in this sense. The fact that there are places for those working in the production where they can both eat, shower, and perform their religious rituals shows that baklava production areas are open to development and growth. In this sense, such production spaces increasingly resemble factory-type production places. On the other hand, not all production sites show the same characteristics. Especially in small and medium-small workshops, the characteristics of the production spaces of the traditional period are still seen. Some workshops are small, with few counters, and where there are no places to eat and shower. In this sense, not all production sites have undergone the same transformation. However, it should not be overlooked that there is a common feature in the growth of production places.

4.2.2. Transformation of Production Relation

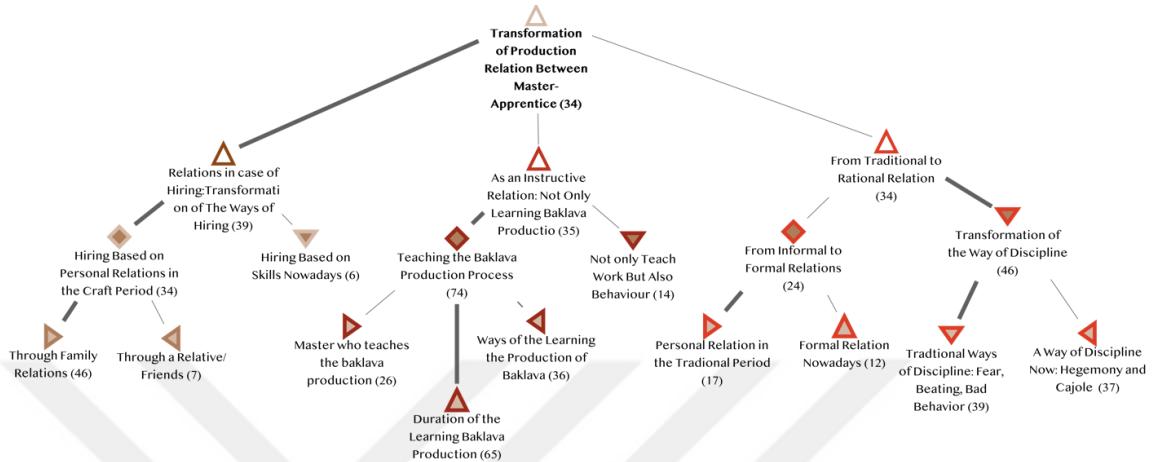


Figure 24 Cognitive Scheme of Transformation of the Production Relation Chapter

Under the sub-title of transformation of production relations, it is aimed to examine all relation dynamics in the workshop. Regarding production relations in baklava workshops, it cannot be argued whether the relationship between master and apprentice is primary or secondary. There are many dimensions to the relationship between master and apprentice in workshops. It is planned to discuss all relationship dynamics, from *hiring* to the *instructive relationship* between master and apprentice, including *discipline methods*, under this title.

4.2.1.1. Relations in case of Hiring: Transformation of The Ways of Hiring

Finding a job in the baklava sector, which is one of the traditional production methods, depends on having acquaintances working in the sector. This situation has not changed from past to present (as seen in *Figure 25*). Today, it is still vital to have acquaintances and good references to find a job in the baklava sector. This section aims to examine the employment stories of those working in the baklava sector, how they are recruited, and the transfer of the profession from generation to generation.

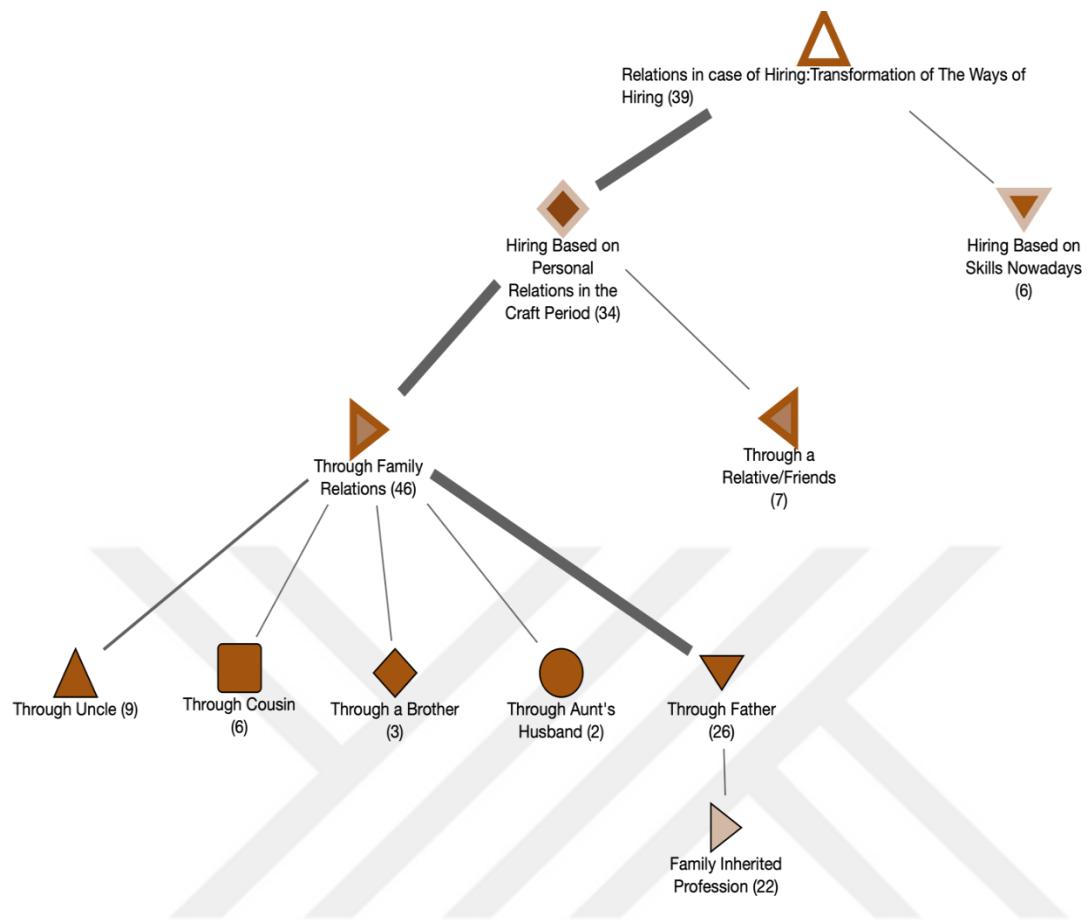


Figure 25 Transformation of The Ways of Hiring from Craft-type Production to Factory-type Production

Getting a job in the baklava sector is done through acquaintances, primary and secondary relatives. This method of starting a company, which is quite common in traditional working relations, is also encountered in the baklava sector. Some of the masters interviewed started to work in this sector thanks to their friends and some of their relatives. In this context, employment occurs in two primary ways: through an acquaintance or transferring from father to son. Master-Boss 2, the master and business owner with 46 years of experience, describes the general pattern of recruitment in the past:

MB2: ... we would not hire workers here if they were not the city's locals. If we don't know his family, we won't hire him if we don't know his uncle. For example, we used to say that his uncle is a man

like this, that man would not be accepted.Look, in our previous apprentice relationship, we were picking and hiring the man, we were not hiring the man whose family we did not know and whose father we did not know. (46 years of experience, large enterprise)

The traditional pattern seen in the hiring, stated by Master-boss 2, shows that all employees currently working in baklava factories are recruited by this traditional way. First of all, those who enter the baklava profession through acquaintances can be handled. Headmaster 12, who has 50 years of experience, states that he entered the baklava sector through acquaintances: "After graduating from school, my father and my master, together with their friends, asked me to enter the profession." (HM12). Headmaster 3, who has 41 years of experience, explains that they started their career thanks to a familiar master around them:

HM3: They used to employ people who did not study in Antep before. Let him have a profession so that he can eat a piece of bread in the future. Thanks to my aunt's husband, he was a close friend of the headmaster here. Thanks to him, I started here. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 2, who has 31 years of experience, explains that he started to work in the baklava sector, again through a master in his village:

HM2: There was a well-known Master Servet among the baklava maker in our village. His profession was excellent. Wherever you go in Turkey, when you say Master Servet, everyone knows him because he is very good at his job. Since my father also met his father, that great master's father put us in the profession. We entered the work through him. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Master 3, who has 36 years of experience, tells the story of starting the business through a neighbor who is a baklava master similar to the others:

M3: When I was nine years old, when I was going to 3rd grade, we had a brother and neighbor in the first semester; our neighbor said, "Shall we make you a baklava master?" I liked it too, that's when I

started. He was also a baklava maker. He was our elder brother; he was also our master. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

As can be seen from the methods of starting a business of the participants above, the role of acquaintances is essential in finding and starting a job in the baklava sector. Finding an acquaintance, a master's, or a reference to start a firm in this sector ensures finding a job and getting a job. In this sense, primary relationships were significant for employment in the past period when baklava production showed craft-type production characteristics.

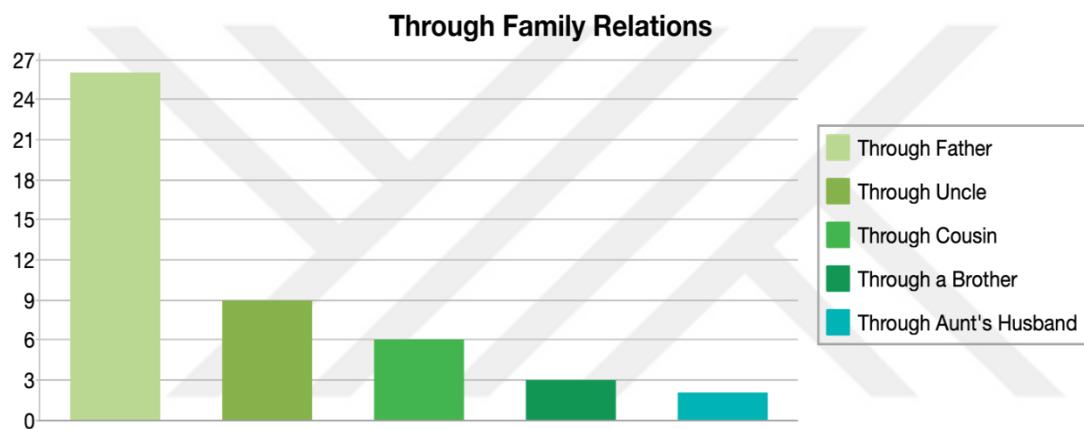


Figure 26 Relationship networks used when starting a job in baklava workshops

The support of individuals from the family is also essential to starting the baklava sector. Participants start work through their uncles, cousins, brothers, and fathers (*as seen in Figure 26*). Those who entered the profession through their uncle indicate this situation as follows: "I found the job through my uncle." (M9); "I finished primary school, I had an uncle, he brought me here and left me under the hands of our Master Hacı. After that, I started growing from the seed here." (M4). Again, Headmaster 1 said, "My uncle also helped me transition into the profession. He was a pastry maker; I started as a pastry maker. Then I moved on to baklava." He states that he started his career through his uncle. Similarly, Headmaster 5 and Headmaster 7 state that they started to work through their uncles as follows: "I did not go to school; my uncle

directed me to the profession after I finished primary school." (HM7); "my uncle brought it. 'I will put you in the baklava shop,' he said. At the age of 11, that is how we started our career." (HM5). As seen in Figure 16 and the participants' statements, primary relationships are significant in starting a business in baklava factories. Masters found jobs in baklava workshops thanks to primary relationship networks, which is one of the job-finding methods seen in craft-type productions.

On the other hand, a few masters state that they found a job in this sector thanks to their cousins who started the profession before. Master 5, Headmaster 8, and Headmaster 9 started the company similarly through their cousins: "My uncle's son was baklava maker; he already took me in 1978." (M5); "I have cousins on my mother's side; they are also baklava makers. I started this profession through them." (HM8); "He was there before I started my profession (baklava maker). My uncle's son, my aunt's son. I found this profession through them." (HM9). As can be seen from the masters who started to work thanks to their uncle and cousins, primary relationships were seen as a widespread method to start in the baklava sector 30-40 years ago. In this sense, familiarity, personal and traditional relationships are the first method to find a job in the baklava sector.

The second method of entering the baklava sector in the context of family relations is the transfer from father to son. Some participants also stated that they started baking baklava through their first-degree relatives, their brothers, and fathers: "I found the job through my brother." (M1); "I started with my siblings to this profession." (M9). Headmaster 11, who has 22 years of experience, states that his brother was a baklava maker before him and that he started his career with him as follows:

HM11: He (my brother) was instrumental. He said this job is good, he said it is comfortable, he said there is a future, he said that you would earn money. When I didn't attend school, I chose this job, and my brother was instrumental. I came to the baklava profession through him; he already brought it. He was instrumental. He was working here too, he worked here for 12 years. He brought me here;

we started here in 99. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In terms of the general characteristics of craft-type production, it is common that the profession is transferred from father to son, and boys continue their fathers' profession. This pattern is still valid for baklava production. Baklava producers transfer their profession to their sons.

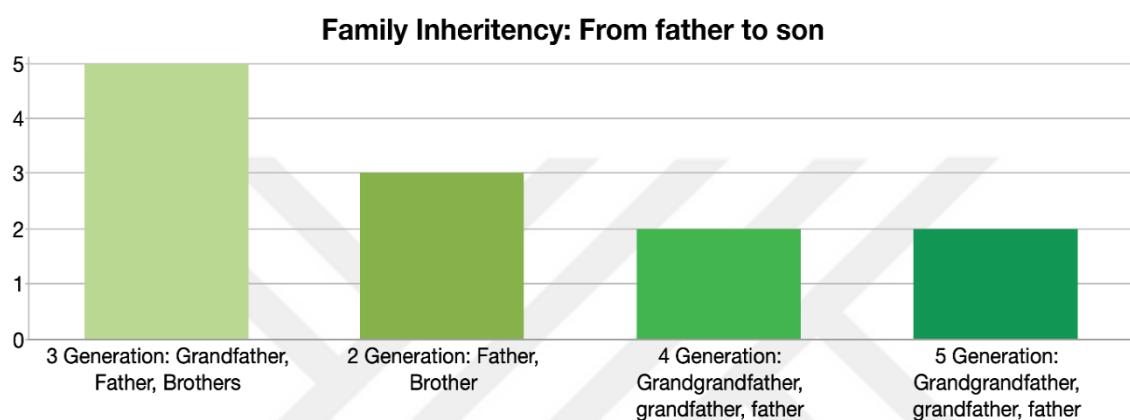


Figure 27 Family Inheritancy in the Baklava Production

As can be seen in Figure 27, while some of the i baklava masters have been making baklava for five generations, some have been continuing this profession for two and three generations. As can be seen above, the transfer continues from generation to generation; the brothers also continue to make baklava. Participants who learned the profession with their father and started the profession this way express this situation: "I started learning with my father. I grew up with my father, my apprenticeship and journeyman were with my father." (HM4). Similarly, Master-Boss 8 states that the job was transferred to him by his father: "I used to come and sit in the corner at the workshop since I was 5-6 years old because my father had a workplace. I started that way, bringing something in the production for helping the masters and seeing them during the production." (MB8). Master-Boss 2, owner and master of L4, who has been making baklava for four generations, expresses the transfer of baklava from generation to generation as follows:

MB2: This is my grandfather's father's shop, founded by my grandfather's father. But the establishment became famous under a (different) name, as everyone knows, with my grandfather's name. After my grandfather, my father has been here for roughly 73 years. But now he can't come due to health problems. I have been working with my father for 46 years, since 1974. (46 years of experience, large enterprise)

In the L2 company, the profession has been passed on from father to son for five generations. At the same time, all the brothers are making baklava in these five generations. Stating that this profession will continue after him, B4 states that his son will continue the business as the 6th generation: "It's a 150-year-old brand. I'm the 5th generation doing this job. ..My son is 6th generation." (B4). Boss 3, who raised his sons as the 4th generation, states that they will continue this profession: "...I am now the 3rd generation, my children are the 4th generation" (B3). As stated above, the transfer of work from father to son is quite common in the baklava sector, as in other craft-type traditional productions. It is still vital to transfer the work from father to son in the baklava sector to continue the production and workplace and transfer the craft to the next generation.

The Ways of Hiring Today

Today, while transferring from father to son continues, as mentioned above, recruitment also proceeds on the occasion of this familiarity. The headmaster of ML1, one of the medium-large sized workshops, explains the recruitment method as follows: "We usually recruit from the people working in our own territory." (HM1). Headmaster 8, who is newer than other masters and has 15 years of experience, says that he recruited the other master in the workshop where he is currently working through familiarity:

HM8: (After the company we worked for before) I went to another company; my friend went to another company. Then I came here, and I left that company as well. I was producing here by myself.

Then, when I needed another employee, I called his friend; let's work together. He came, and we started here together. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

In this sense, people who know each other can start working in the same company as a reference to each other. This shows that the familiarity relationship is still crucial in recruiting and finding a job. Master-Boss 5, owner of L3, which has been making baklava for 37 years and is one of the large-scale manufacturers, states that he still attaches importance to kinship relations in recruitment today: "We are working here, now there are more than 200 employees, 80% of them are always my own relatives, and all the team you see above grow up here." (MB5). Headmaster 9, who also works in the same company, states that familiarity is essential in recruitment:

HM9: He should show us a reference, a relative, someone from his connections so that I should hire the man. There is no one to vouch for the man, and you say stop. There are 100 men here, each from a village. I do not know. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As stated by Master-boss 5 and Headmaster 9, kinship relations still maintain their importance today. This shows that baklava production has not yet switched to rational methods for finding a job. On the other hand, some masters state that Gaziantep is very large and not everyone knows each other, so hiring through acquaintances falls into the background a bit, and recruitment is done according to skill as follows:

HM3: They wouldn't take everyone into this profession. They would ask the man, where are you from, where do you live, who are you, who is your father, who is your mother, and what are they doing. Well, we are not questioning anyone now. We evaluate the people who come and take them accordingly. Because our country has expanded. He comes here and says he is a master. How does he do it? How can he not? Does it roll or not? Is it close to our production? If it's a little handy, we try. And if it's bland, it's a good friend; we're trying to show it. If the man doesn't get any trouble from here, he goes on and on. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 10, with 32 years of experience, states that primary relationships begin to disappear in recruitment, similar to other masters:

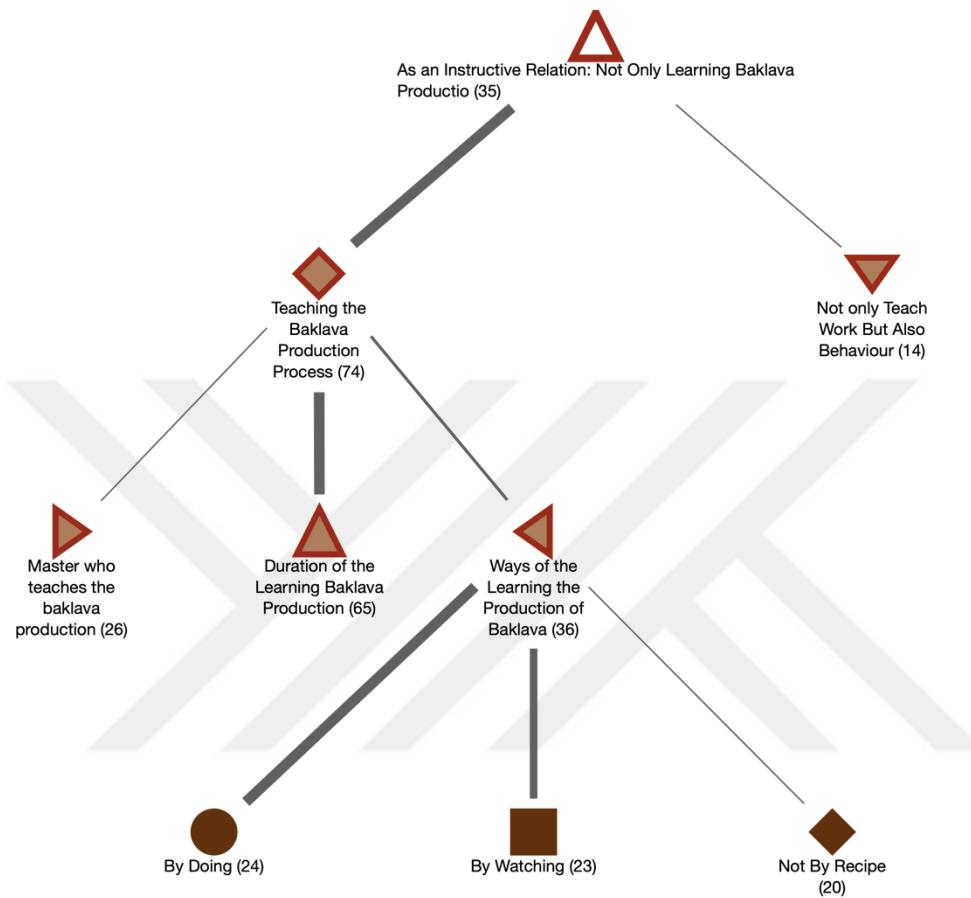
HM10: When you work with 2-3 people or 5 people, you know someone better, you choose a man accordingly. He will suit you. But as production grows, as the company grows, you inevitably have to hire a lot of guys, and you can't choose that either. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As Headmaster 3 and Headmaster 10 stated, transformation in recruitment have begun. As mentioned above, although the methods of familiarity and transfer of the profession from father to son are continued in recruitment in workshops, there has been a transition to recruitment methods according to experience, skills, and needs. Although recruitment is still carried out through familiarity, especially in well-established companies, due to the insufficient number of employees, it is not possible to look at the familiarity of the recruited people. This shows that primary relations in recruitment have begun to lose their importance. On the other hand, it has been observed that the boys of the masters who have been dealing with the baklava profession for generations in some companies have other professions. In this sense, although not in every company, the transfer of the baklava profession from father to son has begun to erode in a sense.

4.2.2.2. As an Instructive Relation: Not Only Learning Baklava Production But Also Behaviour

The masters working in baklava factories are not only concerned with baklava production. The masters are responsible for controlling the work in baklava production, training the apprentices, and teaching the apprentices about the profession. At the same time, baklava workshops not only have places where production is taught but also have a moral education mechanism where apprentices are trained morally. In this sense, the relationship between master and apprentice includes learning the work and moral values. This section will discuss the instructive and educational aspects of

the relationship between master and apprentice, how and how long the profession is learned (as seen in *Figure 28*).



*Figure 28 Instructive structure of relations in baklava production*⁴³

Baklava workshops are not just places where production takes place. At the same time, the apprentices are taught by the masters how to produce in the workshops. All participants interviewed in baklava workshops learned how to make baklava from a master without school. In this sense, masters are seen as teachers and guides who teach the job. The headmaster likens the workshop to the school and the master to the teacher: "Like school. The person was teaching, the masters were instructive." (HM9).

⁴³ As can be seen from the line thickness in Figure 28, the participants agree that it is crucial to learn by doing and watching baklava production.

Master-Boss 3, a 35-year-old master and owner, states that crafts will be learned from the masters: "We learned from the masters we worked within the manufacturing conditions at that time. Professions and crafts are all learned from masters." (MB3). Headmasters state their responsibilities in teaching apprentices about baklava production as follows: "We tell them what they lack, we direct them, and we continue like that throughout the day so that they can learn something to train them as well." (HM3). In this sense, baklava workshops function not only as a production place, but also as a school where knowledge is transferred and teachers are masters. Due to this feature, workshops are similar to craft guilds, which are seen as schools of craft-type production.

The 31-year-old master underlines the importance of this responsibility for raising new generations:

HM2: There are new friends, etc. We intervene where they make mistakes. We are kind of teaching them. ... We also try to teach what we have learned; we try to pass it on to apprentices and the next generation. It will not always be us; the next generations will continue to do so. That's why we don't want it to be hidden from us, let the next generation learn. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

The starting age in this profession is relatively young, and this is called 'training from the cradle.' Apprentices come as a seed at a young age and are trained by gradually learning the whole process. Although the ages of starting and learning the job of the interviewed masters vary, it is seen that this profession is generally started at the age of primary school.

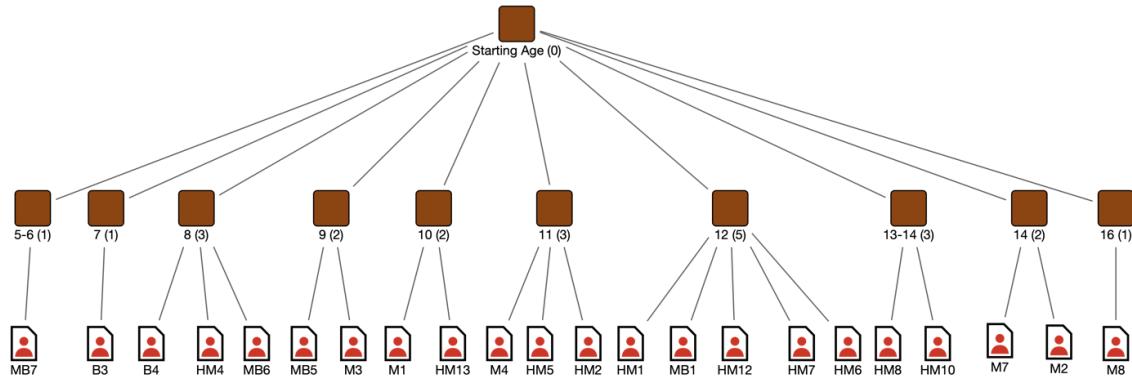


Figure 29 Age of starting the profession of the masters who are the participants in this research

As can be seen in Figure 29, every master who started the profession of baklava started this profession at a young age. Masters state that this profession is trained from the cradle and cannot be done otherwise: "I was a student since I was eight years old. I used to go to the workshop during the summer holidays. It's a matter of training from the cradle." (B4); "You can't do this job if you don't train from the cradle. If you brought a 23-24-year-old person and put them inside, you wouldn't be able to do this job." (M4); "We have something like this, the thing they call apprenticeship, that is, training from the cradle. Even when I was 5-6 years old, my father used to bring me to the shop. ...A child should arrive at 13-14 ages after finishing school. First of all, he has to learn according to the job; then he has to learn by doing it." (MB7).; "They say that as the twig is bent, so is the tree inclined; if he starts a little more when it is young, you can train a little more." (HM2); "Now I can't control a 16-18-year-old boy." (MB2). In this sense, the age to start work is essential in the baklava sector. In the figure above, considering the starting age of the masters, it is seen that the age of starting the profession is under the age of 18, in the childhood stage. This age range is the most suitable age range for learning and teaching the work, as stated by the masters. The age of starting work at such a young age is not just a situation seen in the baklava profession. There is a similar situation in craft-type productions in the guild period. As of this feature, baklava has a parallel feature with craft-type production.

Not by Recipe: By Doing and Watching

The method of teaching the profession is vital in the craft of baklava. In order to learn how to make baklava, it is necessary to follow the masters and make baklava with them practically. The masters state that this work cannot be done with a written recipe, and if it is done, it will only show the characteristics of home baklava. As can be seen in the frequency of the lines in *Figure 30*, the masters emphasized that baklava cannot be made with a written recipe and that it is necessary to see and practice in order to make baklava. Under this sub-title, we will examine how to learn how to produce baklava within the framework drawn above.

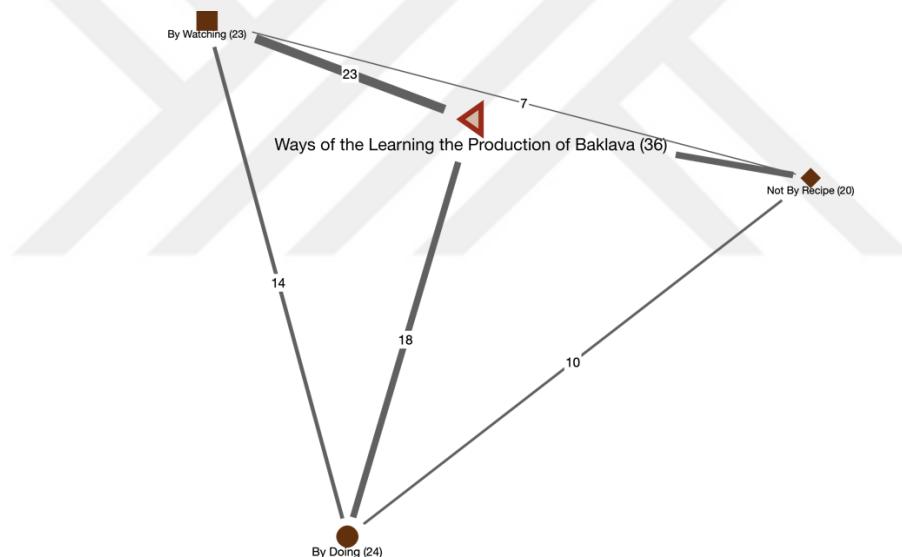


Figure 30 Ways of the Learning the Production of Baklava

The masters state that learning how to make baklava begins *by watching* the masters: "When the apprentice comes to the workshop, he watches the production, looks at the work, what they are doing, how they work, and looks at their organization of the production and the masters. In other words, the apprentice who comes to the workshop does not do anything; he watches". (M6); "While doing these, we always learned by

looking at the hands of our elders. What is our master doing? How he throws the dough, how he pulls the dough. We learned this with eye theft." (M4); "Masters teach slowly by showing and saying the methods, they say that "You will do this in this way." (HM11). The masters underline the importance of bowing acquaintance in learning this profession: "We can learn more quickly because we see it every day." (B3); "Since it was a grandfather's profession, even when we were little, they used to take us to the shop for at least making familiarity." (HM4). Headmaster 9 states that with this bowing acquaintance and constant observation, the apprentices get the job done as soon as the work begins to be put into practice:

HM9: But this child is being brought up because he is already in the business. He mentally processes everything, how the masters roll the dough, how he throws the pistachios, how he lays the cream. When he gets older, he can do all the work as soon as you give him.

As seen in Figure 30 and the expressions of the participants, it is extremely vital to watch how the masters do the work during the production process to learn the work. This situation creates one of the indispensable conditions for learning the job in craft-type productions. With this feature, the learning of baklava production is similar to craft-type production.

The second step after observing is *practice*. In order to learn how to make baklava, it is extremely important to do the baklava steps in practice. Experience is key to doing this job. The more opportunities to practice, the easier it is to learn. Each master teaches the stage he has made by showing his apprentice. When the apprentices enter the workshop, they do not directly start making baklava. Headmaster 11 states this situation as follows:

HM11: After that, he starts to do it with the masters; they don't give it directly, nor do they tell him to do it directly. He says come with me; we'll do it with him. After three years, they slowly get the job done. Other than that, they don't give the job directly. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this sense, it is essential to learn practical baklava production. Headmaster 2, who has 31 years of experience, states the importance of practice in learning how to make baklava:

HM2: For example, you gradually learn how to lay dough. For instance, if the master is free, he gives a piece to him, says you can lay it and shows him how to do it if he has a mistake. He learns a little from there, and he is shown to throw some pistachios and put cream. If they have older brothers, they say it is given to them; they should show you. He helps him under his hand, makes a little, gives it to him, and completes it correctly. That's how it improves itself. He gets used to it over time. Nobody learned this profession in the womb of their mother. He gets used to it over time by doing it; this job depends on his hand habit. You do; you learn. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Thus, it is seen that more experienced masters teach this profession by making apprentices practice. Apprentices are constantly learning how to make baklava by trial and error, learning from their mistakes and paying attention to these points in the subsequent trial. In this sense, the 16-year-old master Master 2 states the importance of experience and practice as follows:

M2: Experience is needed. For example, let me tell you about slicing. You say that I will do it, you just saw it inside, tried it, were you able to do it? You couldn't. It means that it is not possible by telling or by reading on paper. Because there is such a thing as dexterity, this handiness is not something that can happen suddenly. It can take years for some people. (16 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Based on the expressions of the masters, the learning of baklava production depends entirely on practice and observation. This situation also shows that production is dependent on skills and manual labor as in other craft-type productions.

The masters explain that making baklava *cannot be learned with a written recipe*, and learning how to make baklava definitely requires practice: "Baklava is not something that can be made with a written recipe." (M1); "It is necessary to pass the

apprenticeship stage. It is not possible to write and draw like that." (MB1). Master-Boss 5, who has 37 years of experience, states that unless the production of baklava is learned practically by doing, there will be deficiencies: "Write as much as you want and practice it is something different. In other words, there will always be something missing somewhere." (MB5). Headmaster 10 explains the difference between a written text and a practical application:

HM10: You have to see; first, you will see, you will live, it would be wrong to describe it in writing. In the recipe, I write that the dough is kneaded, the dough ball is made, the machine is extended, the dough is rolled out, and the laying is done. It may sound simple when you write them down. But today, when you go into it, you see such details, that is, in your profession, then you say that it was really something different. So putting it in writing is very different, and putting it into practice is very different. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As can be understood from the statements above, all the masters working in the workshops where the interviews were held agree that baklava cannot be made with a written recipe. This shows that baklava preserves its craftsmanship based on experience and skill. Headmaster 3, on the other hand, says that baklava cannot be made with a written recipe and also the ingredients are important for making professional baklava:

HM3: So now, you wouldn't be able to understand if I were to describe how thin the dough is, how thick it is, how the oil is, and how the pistachios are. Here we gradually understand everything from the color of the pistachio, the smell of the oil, whether the dough is good or bad, and whether the flour is bad or the starch is bad. Now, if I tell you, you will buy pistachios; you went and bought plain oil; but the color of the pistachio, the color of the oil, the rolling, the preparation, and the baking are all masterfully done. Otherwise, anyone can do it. You buy it, and you pour it from the market, you throw it away; it is baked, uncooked, has no sugar. Oh okay, I did it, you can't say you're a baklava maker, it's not like that. What you make is similar to baklava, but you cannot achieve that consistency. It is baked in a stone oven, it is baked in oak wood, all of these are important. It is not made from all standard flours. You can't know which flour the flour is, or you can't know if the oil is plain oil. They give you plain oil, but they have sheep, goats, and

cows, but they call you plain oil. Oils are also diverse among themselves. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

As a result, a specific experience is required for making baklava. Even if the materials and necessary conditions are provided, the lack of experience is the biggest obstacle to making professional baklava. The experience, which is increased by seeing and practicing, enables one to learn how to make baklava. As mentioned above, all the masters agree that baklava cannot be made with a written recipe. Boss 3 states that experience is required for quality baklava: "Only a person who gives years and finds the best with trial and error can achieve this quality." Headmaster 4, on the other hand, states the importance of experience as follows:

HM4: You have to give 20 years in this profession to say I am a master. After 20 years, you can see some things and produce this dessert. If you give a well-explained text to someone who has never done it or seen it and say, read it and do it, it may resemble something in shape, it may be sweet in taste, but it cannot make a dessert to be sold. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 8 states that even if baklava is produced with a written recipe, it cannot have the taste and quality of baklava made by masters in workshops; He states that the production of baklava requires a practical experience:

HM8: Let me tell you, it will definitely not have the same taste. But in other words, something close to it or something that will sweeten your mouth is done. This is so because of the nature of being a craft. It took me 3.5 years to learn something, some of my friends took 5 years, and some of my friends took longer. It's a kind of apprenticeship, something that comes from mastery relationships. It's about learning what a master does while learning with him. In other words, you can't do it with eggs, starch, and so on without seeing or learning anything. It is not a job to be done; it is a job with many stages. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

Headmaster 2 also states that, like other masters, baklava cannot be made with a written recipe and that production requires mastery and experience:

HM2: It is not made with a written recipe. Sometimes they give the recipe on TV. Home baklava is made at home with a simple recipe. But they cannot roll it like the dough in Antep. You have to overthrow a certain year, a mastery is required. You have to learn the tricks of it, they say; if you knew by looking, the cat would be a butcher. Cats are in front of butchers every day, but they cannot butcher. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Headmaster 4, Headmaster, and Headmaster 2 attribute the reason why baklava cannot be made with a written recipe based on the craft feature of baklava, and this feature cannot be provided with a written recipe. In this sense, baklava cannot be made by taking the written recipe like other food products. This shows that baklava production is a craft-type production. Although it is said that baklava can be made with a written recipe, as the masters stated, it does not show the same quality and features as the baklava produced by the masters in the workshops. This shows that the craft production in the workshops cannot be sustained at home.

The baklava learning process, which is stated above to be taught by watching and practice, is also essential. Learning how to make baklava, which requires experience and practice, is done *step by step*. From the day they enter the workshop, the apprentices begin to be trained in making baklava. Headmaster 8 describes this process as:

HM8: After working for a certain time, the man says to you, come and pour oil on this baklava; you are pouring its oil. Arrange that baklava like this, like that. Then you say wrap it, you wrap. Staying by your side, little by little, you are slowly advancing those stages step by step. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

In this sense, after the apprentices do the errands for 3-5 years, watching and observing the masters, the masters gradually begin to train them and teach them the craft. We mentioned the responsibilities of masters, apprentices, and journeymen in the *Division of Labor* section. Each step requires a different responsibility; it is necessary to learn each step to skip the other steps. Master 3 likens these steps to the classes in school: "Just as there are first grade, second grade and third grade in primary school, so is our

profession.” (M3). This requires passing all classes to reach the apprentice's highest competency stage. These classes can be thought of as all levels in the division of labor, separated by proficiency. As you learn each stage, a class is skipped, and journeyman and master competencies are gained, respectively. According to this situation, the masters state that learning how to make baklava is gradually and depends on practice:

HM1: Normally, in our conditions, they only learn how to throw cream and throw pistachios for 1 year, 1.5 years. After that, they gradually proceed to flooring. Once we learn, we show the rolling pin and how to roll the dough once every 2-3 days. As time passes, he starts to roll more and more. After that, he begins to roll a daily. Whenever it reaches the status we want, then he goes to the counter and rolls the dough every day. In the meantime, of course, he does not only roll the dough he goes to the master who makes the slice. For example, if he throws 11 knives on 1 tray, the master leaves 2 of them; he says, throws these 2 out. We do everything out of sight so that he can take that thing suddenly; it goes crooked. But gradually, he specializes. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As stated by Headmaster 1, the apprentice who starts the job first does the cleaning that does not require a skill. Afterward, it starts to learn the preparation stages in production that require skill, and this process continues until they learn the stages of dough rolling, slicing, sherbet pouring, and baking, which requires the most skill. Headmaster 8 who works at one of the small businesses, explains this situation in a way that supports Headmaster 1:

HM8: There is a superior to the apprentice, which we call journeyman, and a superior to them, which we call the master. When you first start there, you wash dishes, bring tea, sweep the floor, bring water; You're busy with things like this. After working for a certain time, the man says to you, come to me, put oil in this baklava, you can add oil.., you are slowly progressing through those stages step by step. You realize this after learning how to slice, bake, cook, sherbet, etc. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

As can be seen, the process of being a master is entirely dependent on experience and practice. From apprenticeship to mastery, all stages of production are learned one by

one and become a baklava master. A long period of experience is required for this whole process: "A good baklava master learns all the steps in only 10-12 years." (B4, MB1); "You can't become a master in six months, one year like that, it's not possible." (MB3). Especially for those who start this job at the age of 9-10, military service marks a turning point and approach to becoming a master: "Think, a child who enters the production at the age of 12-13 becomes a man in the military. We don't see a man like a master until he goes to the army." (MB5); "Now, masters would not teach a job easily until the apprenticeship went to the military. I don't know; they would wait for it to mature." (B3). Based on the judgments of the masters, it is seen that a baklava master grows up in approximately 10-15 years. This situation requires a process almost like a child's learning process until university. Apprentices pass many classes gradually until they become masters and gain proficiency. This learning process is parallel to the learning process of craft-type production both because the process is long, starts at a young age, and is based on experience.

Also, since this process starts from a young age, it is seen as a kind of growing up process. Therefore, it can be mentioned about the *learning of moral judgments* in production relations in baklava factories. The relationship between master and apprentice in workshops is not just about teaching the ways of production. Children who are taken to the workshop at a young age and handed over to the master by saying, "Don't spare the rod!" also go through a moral education in the workshops. In this sense, the workshop is a "military camp where both love and discipline are taught" (MB2); at the same time, it is likened to a school where the ahi-order in the guilds period is continued. It takes our discipline and order. Here, the line of apprenticeship and journeyman based on the ahi-order continues." (B4). The masters describe this training as follows:

HM10: We train apprentices. Here, we both teach as a profession, and we strive to become good individuals in the future as much as we can. We are trying to raise individuals who are devoted to their homes and family. We are trying to teach both morality and profession. Today, we tell him wrong in his career, and when he

does something morally, we say his wrongs. We say treat your family differently, don't smoke. We say, try to be better with your friends, be more respectful to your mother and father. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

Headmaster 9, who has 32 years of experience, states that it is essential to teach children about norms such as respect, love, and table manners:

HM9: Here we also train the personality of children. In other words, we do not want the child to grow up spoiled with ego. When he becomes a master, we are trying to learn his speech and manners. For example, when the child comes to work, he kisses the master's hand. So what is this? It's tradition, and it's custom. Kissing hands does not erode lips. It's a sign of respect. At the same time, we are trying to raise it in this sense; the workshop is a school. For example, he comes here, and he puts his spoon here, we say don't put it here. Here we say that he should wash his hands before starting work. When we bring tea, we say don't hold it here, son, you will hold it here. At home, his mother and father do not offer tea to the child. So here we teach this to the child as well. Come on, you learned the profession, and go; it doesn't work in this way. It matters at every stage. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As Headmaster 10 and Headmaster 9 stated, workshops are also places where traditions, customs, and norms are taught. This shows that the workshops also maintain traditional relationships as a family environment and are similar to craft guilds in terms of these features.

The fact that children are delivered to the workshops as 'don't spare the rod' causes them to feel responsible for the moral teachings of the masters. In this sense, Master-Boss5, the owner of one of the large enterprises, describes this responsibility as follows:

MB5: After that, we interfere with their shaving, we interfere with their clothing, we interfere with their social life, we get mixed up at what time they come and go to their house. ...Then, we pay attention. Sometimes my brothers say to me that the master does not do such a thing. You can't change me. Did they give them all like my son? I have to raise it properly. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

Since masters see their apprentices as their children, they see this responsibility as a duty and a necessity. This situation continues the traditional relations. In Master 1, he states that he taught moral norms and respect while raising his apprentices, just as his master taught himself:

M1: Now I have trained 4-5 apprentices. Ethics is important to me before work. Respect for the master is essential; A person who respects the master has respect for his mother and father. We need to teach them first, and we teach production too. In the next stage, we gradually teach the profession. ...I give more advice. A person learns from the master, the soldier, the teacher, except for the parents; learned something from them. Excuse me, if he doesn't find out, that person can't be a man. Since my brother, father and master raised me this way, I try to do the same. (22 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As a result, the workshops function as schools. In these schools, where the students are apprentices, both the stages of baklava production are taught, and the apprentices are trained until they become masters; in this process, moral judgments are taught to the apprentices in the workshops that function as a family institution. Since it is impossible to produce quality baklava with a written recipe, workshops have a special place for baklava production. In this sense, workshops are not only places where baklava is produced, where machines and masters are located, and where production relations are based only on doing the work. In this sense, they do not show the characteristics of places in large factories where people come together only for the purpose of production.

4.2.2.3. From Traditional to Rational Relation

The network of relations outlined above shows that the relations in the places of baklava production have traditional relations. However, the general structure of these traditional relations and why these relations are called traditional relations should be

discussed. This section aims to discuss the traditional structure of production relations in baklava workshops and the evolution of this relation into rational relations.

4.2.2.3.1. Informal to Formal Relation Between Master and Apprentice

The craft-type production style appears in informal, primary, and traditional production relation patterns. In the production relations in baklava production, this primary type of informal relation was published in the period when the production style showed all the features of craft-type production. In the production relations in the production space, the masters and apprentices see each other as a family, the masters see the apprentices as their children and brothers, and the apprentices see their masters as their fathers and brothers. However, with the increase in production, the crowding of production places, and the evolution of production towards factory-type production, this relationship evolved into more formal, secondary relations, and the family environment disappeared. Although informal relations continue today, there has been a shift towards secondary relations in some production spaces.

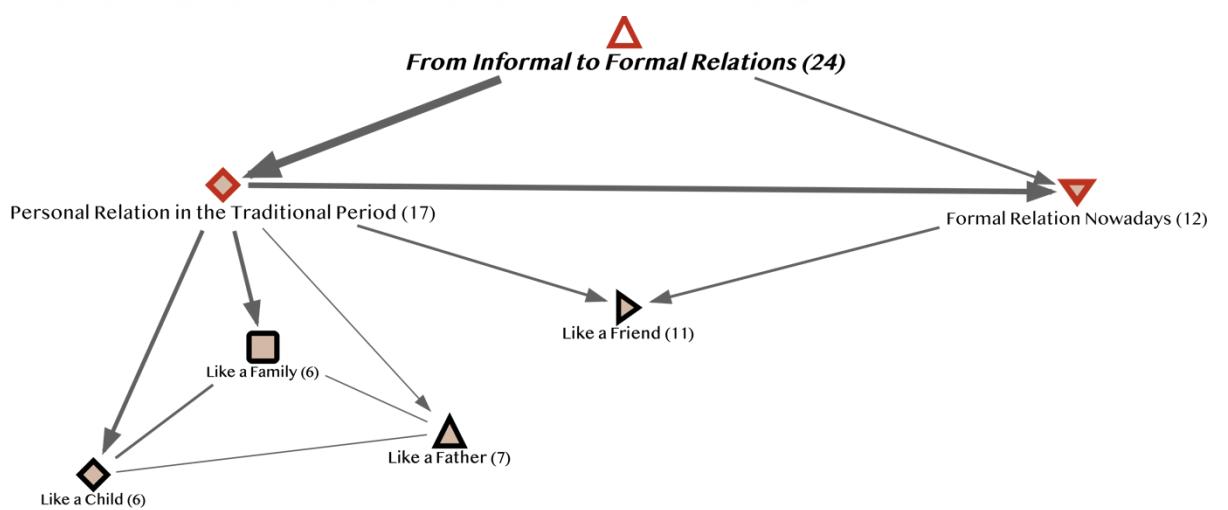


Figure 31 Transformation of the Relation: From Informal to Formal⁴⁴

⁴⁴ In Figure 31, we see that personal relations of production turn into formal relations. In the meantime, although the friendship between the master and apprentice shows similarity and continuity in the formal relationship period, it is seen that family relations are predominant in the traditional production period.

This section aims to examine how baklava production relations transform from informal to formal relations and its dynamics (as seen in *Figure 31*).

Baklava production relations showed purely primary/informal type relations characteristics during the periods when the traditional production style was quite prominent. Masters and apprentices working in production embrace the work as their own, and masters and apprentices feel themselves in *a family* environment.

HM10: Now, of course, we got to know each other while working there, and families got to know each other. For example, we met Master's mother, father, and aunts, and all of them. There was a family atmosphere there. In that family atmosphere, we saw them as family, and they saw us like family. When it was like this, we adopted the place we work as our own business. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

This family environment is similar to the working unit being a family in the craft-type production. Employees feel in a family environment even if they are not related by blood as in craft-type production. We can also see that the masters see their employees as family, taking part in family events such as betrothal and weddings:

MB5: So, of course, people here know me and our company better than our children. I do not distinguish employees from my children. I'll raise the same; we'll be in it all, whether it's a girl's request or a wedding tomorrow. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this family relationship, the masters see *their apprentices as their children*. Master-Boss 4, whose family has been making baklava for four generations, states that his father sees the apprentices as his children and that he has a love relationship once in a while: "For example, for my father, those workers were more valuable than us. Because he loved his son as much as he did." (MB2). Headmaster 3, who was an

As can be understood from the thickness of the lines, the judgments that traditional relations turn into formal relations outweigh.

apprentice during Master-Boss 4's father's mastery period, describes that period as follows:

HM3: Our master would take us to the farmhouse from here and feed us. He used to put 2-3 cents in our pockets, except for the weekly wages we bought here. His wife used to say, Master, give the money for the children, take them until a certain point with the car, the minibus does not go there. I saw those here (in the manufacturing plant) as a family, and they saw me as their sons. We saw our master as a family because we always spend our days here. We saw him not as a master, but as a father, as a half of a father. ... Well, we see this place as our family, so we work here all the time. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Based on the above statement, not only do masters see apprentices as their children, but apprentices also *see their masters as fathers*. This family relationship causes masters to be seen as fathers and apprentices to be seen as children.. Master 4 "After the father came the master." While describing the relationship as (M4), Headmaster 12 also said, "It's like a family. Just as a child has respect for his parents, in our workplace, he has to respect his master." (HM12). The judgments above show that there are highly traditional relationship patterns in baklava workshops. The family structure seen in the traditional relationship is also relatively high in the craft-type production period. Family activities are held together, and devotion to work and master is identified with devotion to family.

Masters also liken the relationship to a *brotherhood*: "It's like brother. Just like the apprentice master's younger brother, he is like his older brother. It's a traditional relationship." (HM2). For example, Master 4 describes the relationship between him and Headmaster 3, with whom he has been working for 36 years:

M4: Our foreman is 3 years older than me. So we are the same generation. For example, we went to the military together; we had our wedding here together, we married his children, I hope we will marry the girl. Mastery and brotherhood are always nice. If it weren't beautiful, it wouldn't be possible to work in a place for all these

years. For example, we see each other here more than our family.
(36 years of experience, large enterprise)

This brotherhood can also manifest itself *as a friend relationship*. This friendship applies not only to the master and apprentice but also to the relationship between all employees. Within this framework, it can be said that there is an informal type of relationship between master and apprentice, similar to family relationships, as the masters have stated above. The relationship between master and apprentice can be compared to the primary type, the traditional relationship between a father and son, rather than a worker-employer relationship. This relationship is not based on written rules and is passed on from generation to generation. This transference manifests itself when the current masters determine the relationship between their apprentices and the relationship styles they have learned from their masters.

Boss in the Production

When baklava production showed all the features of craft-type production, the owners of the enterprises, namely the bosses, were both the master, the accountant of the enterprise, and the boss. For this reason, bosses knew everyone who worked in the production process and had primary-type relationships with apprentices and journeymen. They are not only seen as a boss or master but as a father, brother, and friends, as mentioned above. The bosses' place in the production spaces is defined by Master-boss 1 as follows: "There is the owner of the workshop, and if the boss is not there, there is a foreman. There was no accountant back then." (MB1). In this sense, bosses, namely business owners, also play a role in this relationship as masters. Master 5 states that the bosses also took part in the production process during the period when baklava production showed the character of the traditional production type: "Of course (the bosses knew how to produce baklava). They worked with (masters) 20-30 years before." (M5). Headmaster 3 states that 40 years ago, the boss worked in production like other masters:

HM3: Our master used to come to the workshop every day, no matter what, he would come to the shop before the morning prayer. He would control us. He said, "my son do this like this, do that like that." We would go on and on like that; our life has always been like this. I have never seen that man not coming to the workshop. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this sense, in the past, all bosses also worked as masters in production and knew the whole production process. This situation coincides with the position of the master in other craft-type productions.

The owner of L4, one of the large enterprises, is still involved in the production process. During the field observation, it was seen that Master-Boss 2 was working with the masters in the workshop all day. Master-Boss 2 explains this situation as follows:

MB2: Of course, due to the size of our business, I still do kebabs, slice baklava, and do all of them to own the company. But managing the firm is also essential when the business grows. I am in the shop most of the day, and I have at least 15-16 hours of overtime, but I also work in manufacturing. (46 years of experience, large enterprise)

As you can see, today, there are workshops that still maintain this role of the boss. Master-3, who works in the same workshop, explains that Master-Boss 2 is still active in the production process like his father, and his role in the workshop is as follows:

M3: The son of our former master, our current boss, is just like him. So what he saw from his father continues the same.... He's also a person who cares a lot about work. It's not as insensitive as some bosses. Our master, who is always interested in the work, constantly looks at the job, and pays attention to the work. For example, we have masters in some big companies; they sit until the evening. Our master-boss is not like that; he goes in, makes kebabs, looks at meat, looks at baklava, looks at sugar, and looks at all of them. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this sense, business owners are not inaccessible, unreachable, and invisible in the specified period. Like other masters working in the baklava workshop, they constantly

show themselves and work in the production process in communication with other masters, apprentices, and journeymen.



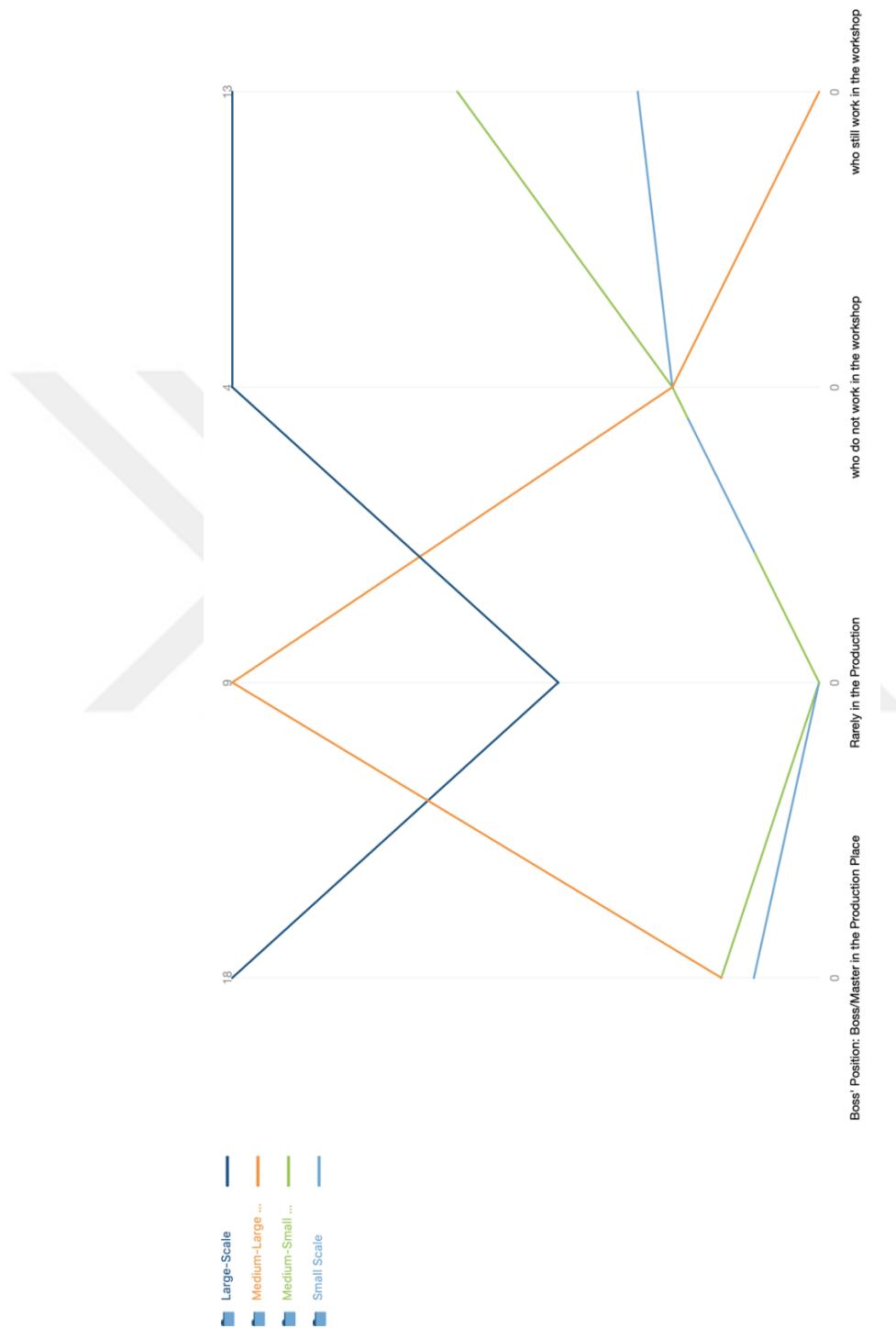


Figure 32 Whether the bosses know the production and their role in the workshop

However, with the increase in the number of employees, the bosses gradually started to exit the production areas. Bosses began to be seen less frequently in workshops where foremen/headmasters took control of them. However, many bosses do not participate in the production process but often go to the workshop, albeit for checking the production. As seen in Figure 32, the responsibilities of the bosses in the production process and their positions in the production process vary according to the scales. According to the figure, workshop owners rarely work in medium-large workshops. In large and medium-small-scale workshops, we see that the bosses still work in the workshop. For example, the owner of ML2, one of the medium-large enterprises, says that he enters the workshop every day, even if he is not participating in the production from morning to evening: "Well, I was changing my clothes and working one-on-one every day until the last one year. Now I will go into production again." (MB4). Master-Boss 5, who is the owner of one of the large-scale workshops, explains that he does not stay in the workshop all the time but visits it daily:

MB5: After this time, I am 46 years old, I cannot roll the dough, I cannot cope with the 20-year-old boy next to me. It doubles me. I need to know how to stand in my place.... I'm walking around in production right now. I'm looking for errors. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

In L1, which is also one of the large enterprises, the boss still comes to the workshop and controls the work but does not work in the workshop all the time:

HM6: We were very young then. When I entered here, we used to work 10-12 people in total. So he was our master then, now our boss. He still comes to production, but then, of course, it was more directing us. He is now managing. He was teaching then, he was showing. (25 years of experience, large enterprise)

In MS1, one of the medium-small-sized enterprises, the children of Boss-3, who opened the business and were the original owner, no longer had an active role in the production process as they entered the workshop. Master-Boss 7, whose father is also a baklava maker, explains that he carries out all the responsibilities as follows: "Both

production and sales. I do both because we have our own business. So I'm doing it all." (MB7). The owner of L2, which is also a baklava maker and one of the large-scale workshops, cannot enter the workshop: "I don't go in every day. Because some health conditions do not allow it anymore. Instead, I have my masters, my son, whom I trust. My son continues, too." (B4).

On the other hand, in MS2, which is another medium-small enterprise, the business owner also works as a master: "We are manufacturing baklava here. I am both a business owner and a master." (MB3). At the same time, all firm owners work as masters in production in all small enterprises. Based on Figure 22 and master's statements, the bosses of medium-small and small enterprises are the ones who take the most responsibility in production. In contrast, the bosses of medium-large and large enterprises do not visit the workshops occasionally or not at all. In this case, traditional patterns of production relations cannot be fully sustained.

In short, although the bosses' entry into production varies according to the scales, in general, the bosses still have a say in the production process. Even though they are not part of the production process, many bosses go into production daily and still enter the workshops to control production daily. This situation is related to the firm owners being also baklava masters. It is seen that Master-bosses, who are both masters and business owners who know the production process, have more responsibility and control over the production process.

As seen in Figure 31 and the expressions of the participants, in the craft-type production period, production relations show traditional features, and masters and apprentices find themselves in a family, friendship relationship. Although the positions of the bosses vary according to the scales, the bosses are still interested in the production process. At the same time, formal relations began to be seen in this process. In the rest of this section, the formal relations that started to be seen in baklava factories will be examined.

Although these informal relations continue today, *formal and secondary relations* have begun to spread to the production spaces. Master 2 summarizes this situation as follows: "You don't see bosses' faces for years." (M2). While production was made with the boss in the past, today, the workers state that they do not see the boss. This indicates that family relationship has been harmed and that there has been a transition toward formal relationships, just as innumerable mechanisms between the workers and the boss in the factories work between the boss and the worker.

At the same time, primary relations between employees have started to give way to *secondary relations*. Master-Boss 2, who has been making baklava for 46 years, and Master 7, who has been making baklava for 27 years, summarize this transformation as follows: "But now, such a relationship is gradually disappearing. Look, there are people who have worked in this shop for 40 years. However, loyalty, friendships, and good relations are gradually lost with these periods." (MB2); "The master-apprentice relationship has changed. The conversation is over; it used to be chat." (M7). Even Master 1, a 22-year-old baklava maker, who is relatively less experienced than the others, states that the relationship has changed in this process: "There is no old sincerity between friends, even in conversation, even in the work environment." (M1). Headmaster 10 explains that an increase in the number of employees changes relationships:

HM10: For example, when we were 5 people at first, we knew each other as a family, we used to visit each other. But you can't do that right now. No possibility right now. There are 100 people today, and there are many different people among them; there are also people who fit your mentality. Some people may or may not think like you. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As can be understood from the expressions of the masters, family relations and traditional relations seen in the workshops in the past have begun to disappear today. The increase in the number of people working in production and the loss of sincere relations of the old production environment caused the traditional relations in

production to be replaced by formal relations. Craftsmen, who liken production spaces to home and employees to family, see production spaces and relations almost exclusively as business relations. This shows that the relations may gradually shift to factory-type production's rational, formal relations.

On the other hand, there cannot be a direct connection between the growth of the production space and the increase in the number of employees, and the evolution of primary relations into secondary relations. For example, in L3, which is one of the large-scale workshops, the primary type, informal relations continue.

MB5: For example, the staff with a problem comes after changing their clothes, drinks their tea and coffee, solves the problem, and goes. ... His father is complaining to us about his son. He says my son has this mistake, just so you know; we adjust it. While we should normally call his father, his father calls us whenever there is a problem. For example, in the workshop, ask what is this about you, my father will say. If he has a problem with his wife, I can solve it; if he has a financial problem, I will solve it. If there is a need, I will give it. He asks his father what he cannot ask for. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this sense, primary relationships continue between the boss and masters, apprentices, and journeymen. Master 2, who works at ML1, which is one of the medium-large workshops, describes the relationship between the owner/boss as follows: "Of course, I have known him since 2015, he is like friends with the workers. It's not like other bosses you know." (M2). Headmaster 10, who works at L2, one of the large-scale workshops, also states that this primary relationship continues: "It's nice to work with MB5 too. MB5 is not a boss but always a friend to us. He is like one of my family." (HM10). Master-Boss 5 also states that he sees them not as workers but as friends: "Here, too, people say workers, staff, I don't call them, they are my colleagues." (MB5).

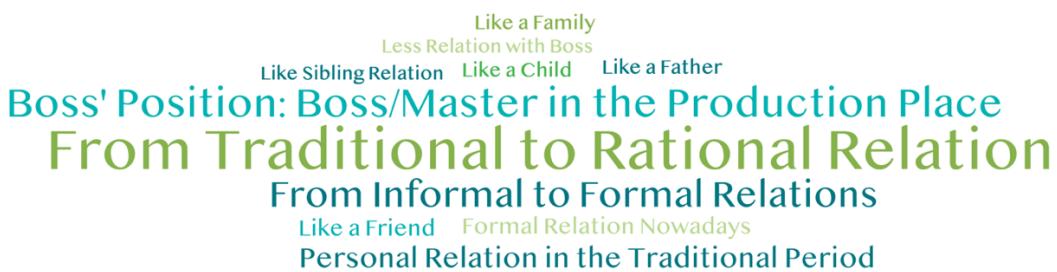


Figure 33 Code cloud accessed under the theme of transformation of the relation

In short, although there is a shift from informal to formal relations in production relations, it can be said that informal relations are common in some workshops. The fact that informal relations have not disappeared yet can also be understood from the fact that familiarity is a criterion in employment methods and that the instructive relationship between master and apprentice continues. As can be seen in the code cloud given in Figure 33, the codes of the answers to the questions asked to the masters about the relations of production show that the traditional relation continues but also undergoes a transformation. In this sense, the production relations in baklava production have not yet fully transitioned to the characteristics of factory-type production relations, which are based on formal and secondary relations with all their features. In this case, it can be said that the production relations in baklava workshops are still in the transition phase to factory-type production relations.

4.2.2.3.2. Transformation of the Way of Discipline

In baklava workshops, discipline is essential for the production process to proceed smoothly and for the job to be taught. The main reason there is a discipline title under the relations of production is that this dimension also constitutes one pillar of the relationship between the master and the apprentice. It is seen that the discipline provided by fear, beating, and love in the workshops is provided by consent and good behavior today. This title it is aimed to examine the transformation of disciplinary methods that regulate the production process.

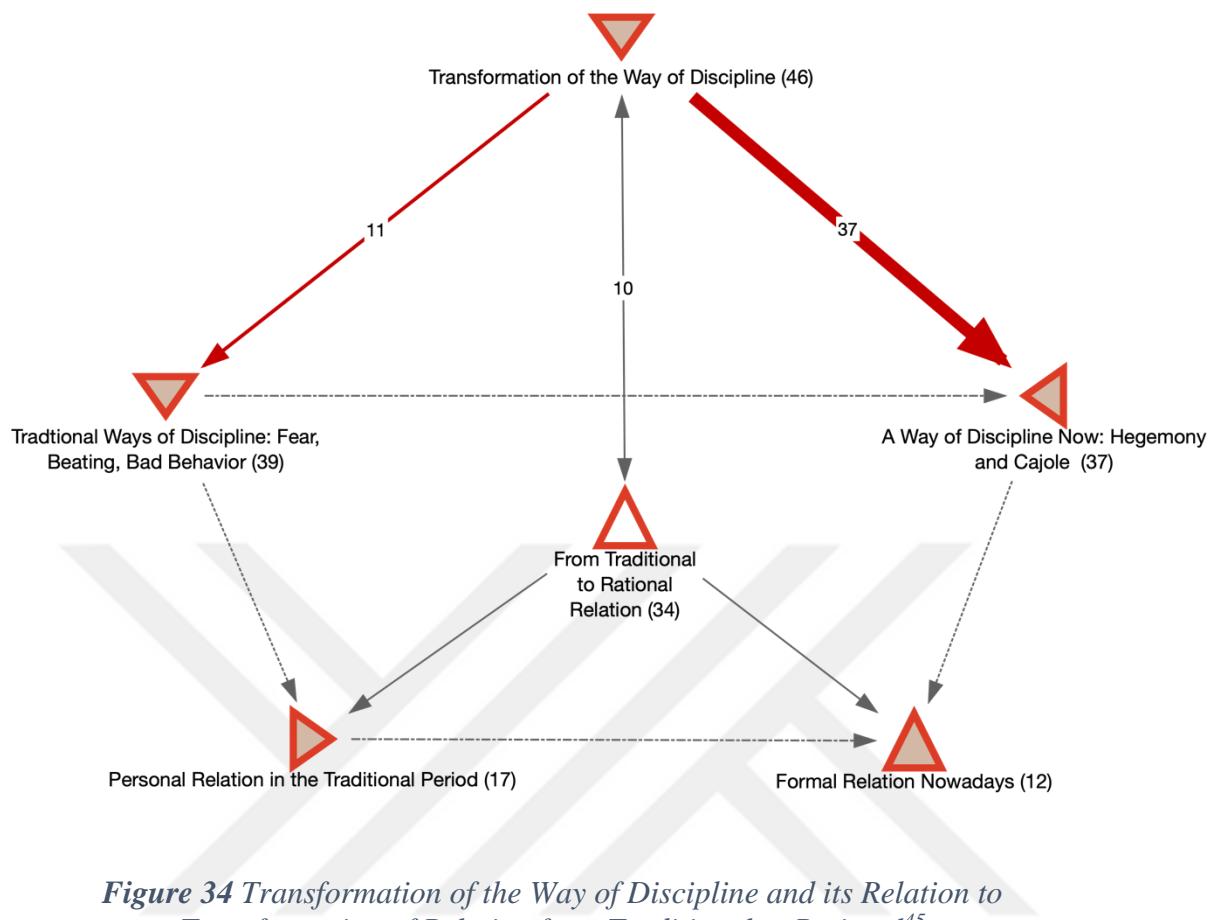


Figure 34 Transformation of the Way of Discipline and its Relation to Transformation of Relation from Traditional to Rational⁴⁵

Note. (→) Shows Sub-codes (---) Shows Transformation (↔) Shows Interralation

First of all, it is stated that discipline is vital in baklava factories. For the production process to proceed in a specific order and for everyone to work in this order, discipline is a must in baklava workshops, as it is in every production place. Masters attach great importance to ensuring this discipline, and they say that baklava production is a disciplined career. So much so that Master-Boss 2, who grew up in this period, says that his father sent him to work at L2, another big business of the period, in order to become a disciplined master:

⁴⁵ As seen in Figure 34, the methods of disciplining change depending on these types of relationships while transitioning from a traditional relationship to a formal one. In the period when personal relations are seen predominantly, traditional forms of discipline are dominant. In the formal relationship period, more formal forms of disciplining were introduced.

MB2: My father first sent me to Güllüoğlu for 2 years. Because whoever does not slap a stranger's slap thinks his own slap is a cannonball. For this reason, my father sent me there, I worked there for 17-18 months. After that, my father said you could come. Of course, it was a very disciplined place. Our workshop was also a disciplined place. (46 years of experience, large enterprise)

The discipline in the baklava workshops and its importance are explained as follows: "So there is a respect and discipline. For example, I can say it for our colleagues as well. These are disciplined institutions." (B4). Master-Boss 2 conveys the comment of a writer visiting L4 about the order and discipline in the workshop: "In fact, an American came to us. she went into our production, this place looks like the same church she said. She said there is awe and discipline. That is very important." (MB2). These judgments show that baklava production places have been very disciplined places since the past. This situation parallels the typical structure of other craft-type productions.

The people responsible for maintaining the discipline are the masters in the workshops, and there are different methods of ensuring this discipline. When baklava production showed purely craft-type production characteristics, the feeling of *fear* was generally used together with beating to ensure discipline. Today's masters, who were trained in the traditional period, interpret the behavior of old masters as follows: "The previous masters were ruthless. We were beaten a lot, and we were beaten by a rolling pin." (M3); "In the past, the masters were much crueler, so they certainly would not forgive the mistake." (HM11); "In fact, our masters were a bit harsh, that is, while learning the job." (HM2). Headmaster 3 states that this is normal as he sees the workshop as a family environment: "He would shout and beat because we are a family." (HM3). In the past, beating was one of the most crucial discipline methods. This method, which is dominated by fear, provides discipline without any written rules. In this sense, there was no rational behavior in providing discipline in the past.

This form of discipline, which is seen as a training method according to the masters, enables the job to be learned better. The masters state that it is necessary to be beaten to learn the job: "Sometimes there were mistakes, they were beating to our neck. They continued until we did that without mistakes." (HM8); "...if you're going to learn a trade, you have to be beaten from your neck. Otherwise, it won't." (M4); There used to be some violence. We were making him work by crushing him, even if it was forcibly. So we were raised." (M6); "In other words, we used to flatten what we call some dough; our masters would hit our hands with a roller. That's how we learned about the profession." (HM7). Comparing the beating of the masters with the anger of the teacher at school, the 34-year-old master explains the situation as follows:

HM9: What about the harshness, for example, if you go to school, the teacher scolds you about something you do not know. This is whipping you somewhere, you can say why I didn't know this; I wish I could work. The master was actually doing it. I was beaten a lot, but I was not beaten unfairly. I was beaten for my mistake. Every time I was beaten, I was greedy, I was questioning myself why I couldn't do this, why I did it wrong. At that time, I was making an effort to do better. But if my master had not beaten me and scolded me, it would have been incomplete. Then my craft would be incomplete; my profession would be incomplete. ... Or why would a master beat an apprentice? He beats for his craft. No one can beat the child for enjoyment. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

The masters state that beating is a must for learning the job; it increases productivity, accelerates learning, and apprentices learn in this way. Headmaster 3, who has 41 years of experience, sees his master's teaching him the job by beating him as an act for his own good:

HM3: While learning this profession, we heard bad words and were beaten. But later on, we solved the problem in our own minds when we reached a certain level. So, our master did this to us; we said it for our own good. They were raising people so that they would not say bad words behind their back, saying that a master raised this man. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Master 4, who has 36 years of experience, states that beating is a must in learning and raising baklava:

MB5: I trained them all by beating them. ...They broke my finger, they broke my head, they beat me, they broke the rolling pin on our back. Is it possible to break a rolling pin on the man's back by being hit? A rolling pin broke on my back. But now, we always pray for them. Among these 200 people, there is the personnel I beat. Now they are the people I work with the most efficiently. Well, now when you make a mistake somewhere, when you get slapped there, you remember that slap every day when you get there. It's not arbitrary. Here he made a mistake; he burned the oil, sliced the baklava wrong, and rolled the dough wrong. But now ask him who your favorite person is? He tells me before his father. Because his father didn't give me what I gave him. In us, they say, the father gives the man sackcloth, and the master gives the man a hand. (37 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this framework, discipline provided by fear is seen as a prerequisite not only for maintaining order, but also for learning the job well. This disciplinary method is used not only to teach the profession but also to ensure the control of the production site and the order of the apprentices:

MB2: ... I was a child, one of the master's shoes squeezed his foot, and he bent the back of the shoe. The master struck the man's heel at least 5 times with his cane, that hard round part of the cane. He said, "Is this a cafeteria, you are laying the heel of your shoe." You can't drink tea during the production, you can't chat with someone during the production. (46 years of experience, large enterprise)

Even if the apprentices who are handed over by the families saying 'Don't spare the rod.' are beaten during this period, the families continue to send them to work because they see this as a method of discipline: "Our elders used to say, "My son, listen to what your master says. They said that your master will beat you, love you, and be angry with you." (HM3); "They would even beat an apprentice, the apprentice would come again in the morning. Because the family would say you will go, they would say to the master, 'don't spare the rod.'" (HM1); "They used to beat the boy, and when he went home, his father would also beat him. What did you do to your master that you made your master angry by saying that he beat you?". (HM11); "Now the new generation and the old generation are not the same. For example, in the old generation, when an

apprentice was handed over to the master, his family would say don't spare the rod. He used to beat, get angry, and shout. He couldn't run away from work." (MB1). In this sense, the father-son relationship, which expresses informal relations in the traditional production process, legitimizes this beating/fear method. Just as beating is a method that is often not questioned in family relations, beating in workshops was also considered normal by families and craftsmen when production relations were likened to family relations.

In this sense, masters training their apprentices by beating is seen as a discipline and teaching method. The prevalence of this method in the past is also an indication that the informal relationship within the family has moved to the workshops. This disciplinary method can be seen as a reflection of the disciplinary method in the family in the traditional production type period, where primary type relationships are common, where the masters see their apprentices as their children and the apprentices as the fathers of the masters. Fear is the main element of this method of discipline.

The Way of Discipline Now

It is seen that the methods of discipline are beginning to change today, and all masters agree that this method has changed. This change has evolved from a violent method such as beating to softer methods, and apprentices have begun to be treated better. When the interviewed masters were asked how the relationship between master-apprentice changed, the masters stated that today's apprentices are luckier than themselves; they had a more comfortable apprenticeship period, and their behavior towards them changed. Headmaster 9 with 32 years of experience and Headmaster 2 with 31 years of experience indicate the change in the attitudes of the masters: "So our apprenticeship there was more difficult. Conditions for children today are better. The conditions of our masters at that time were more difficult." (HM9); "In that way, the guys are relieved right now. ... At the moment, that beating is gone, if there is, it is infrequent. It was much more before. The old masters were a little tougher. Now they

are gone." (HM2). Master-Boss 5 also evaluates this change as follows: "The things of the masters have changed. Now we do the soft mastery. Our masters used to be very tough. Now, we don't have anything to beat or curse the apprentices like before. It wasn't like that before." (MB5). Headmaster 11, who has 22 years of experience, states the change in the discipline method as follows: "As I said, the master-apprentice relationship has changed like this, the masters are a little more sensitive to children... Right now, we provide discipline by rubbing the right way. we said that you are like a lion; you do well." (HM11). As it can be understood from the expressions, the transition in the behavior of the masters towards their apprentices changed from fear to consent to good behavior.

At the same time, he states that when the masters are beaten today, the apprentices complain, so this method is not applied: "If such a thing happens now, the polices, the police station come." (MB5); "But now you cannot beat new generation, say a bad word because we don't have the right. Because he immediately complains about the smallest thing. That's why we started doing production by always calling our apprentices my pasha, my rose, and my dear." (M4). This situation also led to a change in the method. It caused layoffs: "Currently, everyone is against the slightest violence, but when this violence happens, we do not have any employees. There are layoffs." (M6). For this reason, discipline is now provided by treating the apprentices well and with their consent. however, this consent and good behavior is not provided by written rules. Discipline is still maintained with a set of verbal rules. In this sense, there are still no rational, written rules in baklava factories.

Masters do not want apprentices to leave the job. Because finding an apprentice in the profession is not as easy as it used to be. For this reason, when apprentices are being trained, they are treated well: "The foreman says to you, "Son, we already have one apprentice at our dumping. If we send him, we have to do the cleaning ourselves." that's why you can't say something obligatory." (M9); "Well, sometimes we say okay to apprentices' behaviors . Otherwise, it was all about cleaning, we have to do all of

them." (HM1); "It is difficult, there are no apprentices anyway. Some masters now show their warmth and tolerance. The other journeymen have to be a little warm to him so that the apprentices don't escape." (HM13). This situation caused the masters to become more valuable than the apprentices in the workshops. Master 2 evaluates this situation as follows: "Well, current apprentices are more valuable than masters. Now apprentices used to be valuable. You can neither ask for an account nor say anything." (M2). In this sense, the fear of leaving the apprentices requires that the masters treat the apprentices well while disciplining and raising them.

The attitudes of the families towards the approach of the masters also changed. While there was no interference with the child who was beaten in the past, families no longer allow masters to beat their children: "...his family is coming, what right do you have to hit my child? Now, when the thing happens, he immediately calls his mother, my master beat me; what should I do; his mother says come home. Now, where will this child grow up?" (MB5); "They used to say to the master that does not spare the rod. Now it's not like that; when you say something to the child, he says why you are yelling at my child. This causes apprentices to learn the profession late." (HM1); "Now, when you hit a child, his mother, father, uncle all come out. You cannot interfere now. And the current masters don't get involved either." (HM11). Headmaster 3 states that families no longer accept this method:

HM3: Now, if we hit the apprentice so that he can learn a profession, his family may come and react because you don't have the right to hit my child. However, he does not say that the master is raising my child. He does not say that he will have a profession in the future. But he says you don't have the right to torture my child and hit my child. There is a huge difference between our time and now. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Based on the expressions of the masters, with the change in the approaches of the families about the discipline method, the discipline methods made the apprentices more understanding. This situation brought about the transformation in the method of disciplining.

However, with the change in the methods of this discipline from the past to the present, the discipline in the baklava workshops has also decreased. This is how Master-Boss 2 sums it up:

MB2: I look at the man with the phone in his hand, playing with the phone, lingering. The man is waiting for a message from someone, he is texting someone. ...I went work at 3 am in Güllüoğlu. If you didn't go at 3:00, you couldn't get in the door. There is no such thing now. Now you tell the man to come at 5 o'clock. The man arrives at 6.Now we don't have that awe, we don't have that discipline. (46 years of experience, large enterprise)

Within this framework, it is seen that the methods of disciplining and maintaining order in the baklava workshops have changed considerably compared to the past. Discipline, which is maintained by fear and beating, is mainly provided with smiling faces and consent today. In this sense, it can be said that the method of discipline is provided more formally compared to the past. However, there is no discipline method provided by written rules and punishments in baklava workshops, as in factories; however, the discipline provided traditionally in the traditional production style period is no longer. On the other hand, this consent, which replaces beating and fear in ensuring discipline in production, seems to be provided by laws protecting workers' rights. As the masters have stated, any attitude that will occur in the workshops and harm the personal rights of the workers are prevented by law enforcement and the law. This transformation in disciplinary methods also shows that informal relations in production are harmed. The beaten culture, which was legitimized by the father-son relationship in the workshop, which was seen as a family relationship in the past, did not leave a ground for beating to legitimize itself as the relations shifted to a formal structure and the workers learned their rights. This network of relations in the disciplinary method has evolved into a consent-based structure that is based on regular, rules-based, and legal relations in factory-type production. The hegemonic relationship that replaces the fear seen in factory-type productions with consent has gradually started to be seen in these workshops as well. Finally, as can be seen in

Figure 24, the change in the method of discipline is also parallel to the *transition from traditional to the rational relationship*. As relationships began to rationalize, traditional methods of discipline, such as beatings, gave way to the more rational consent. This situation has also been shaped because business friendships have replaced family relations.

4.2.3. Transformation of Working Conditions

This section addresses the changing working conditions in the transition from craft production to factory-type production. Three dimensions are examined under the heading of changing working conditions: *working hours*, *wage*, and *insurance* (as seen in *Figure 35*).

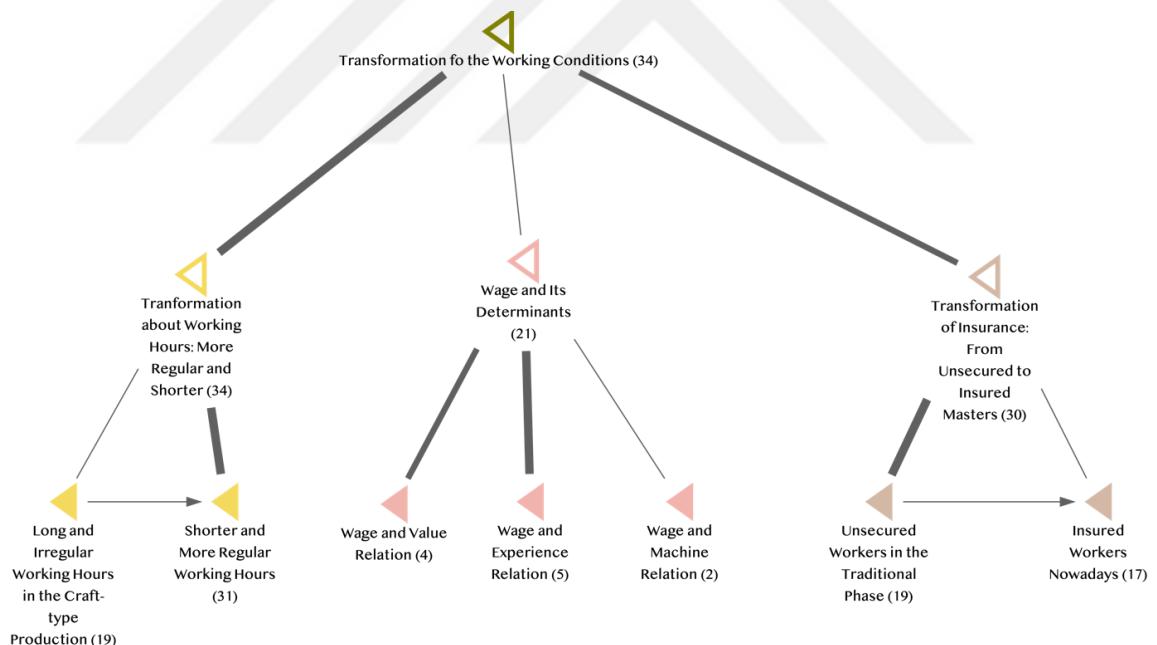


Figure 35 Cognitive Scheme for Transformation of the Working Conditions

4.2.3.1. Change of Working Hours: More Regular and Shorter

Working hours in Gaziantep workshops were quite long and irregular in the early periods when baklava production showed completely traditional production characteristics. Masters, apprentices, and journeymen shape their working hours according to the demands of the baklava and end the working day whenever production ends. The break times varied daily depending on the rhythm, and the off days were not determined strictly. However, there is something that is the same for every production. Baklava workshops start production between 04:00 and 06:00 at night. When baklava production transitioned towards factory-type production, working hours were tried to be regulated in workshops, and a specific hour interval was tried to be determined for working hours. However, today, strictly determined entry-exit times cannot be seen. The strict structure is only visible on working days and off days.

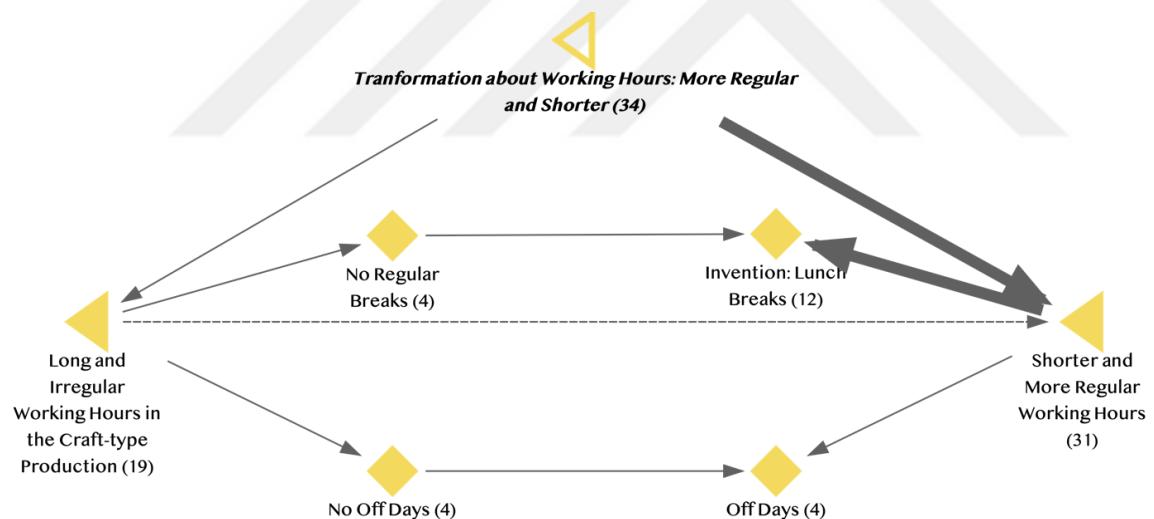


Figure 36 Transformation of Working Hours⁴⁶

Note. (→)Shows Transformation from Traditional Period to Factory-type Production of Baklava

⁴⁶ The left side of Figure 36 shows the working hours of the traditional period, and the right side shows the working hours today. From here, we can understand the transformation in working hours.

In this context, working hours, working days, and break periods in baklava production will be discussed in this section (as seen in *Figure 36*).

In the period when baklava production was purely craft-type production, it was not possible to talk about a strictly drawn working hour regulations. During this period, working hours were shaped according to baklava demands, and break times during the day were determined according to workflow. When the masters interviewed within the scope of the study were asked about the working hours when they first started the profession, all the participants stated that their working hours were longer in the past. For example, Master-Boss 4, who started his career 32 years ago, states that he works in the workshop for almost 20 hours a day: "For example, when I was little, I used to leave the shop at 22:00 - 23:00, I was in front of the door at 04:00 every day." (MB4). Master 4, who started his career 36 years ago, states that there are no working hours while working in the company, which is also a kebab maker during his apprenticeship:

M4: It was (formerly) longer. For example, during my apprenticeship, there was no concept of a baklava maker. You would come to the production in the morning; the production was finished, and you would go to the kebab shop. At the kebab shop, we had to work until our master Hacı said to us, okay, good luck, go away. We have never worried about working hours. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

During craft-type production period, the work does not end with the end of the production in the workshop, as *the employees also work in the sales place after the production is finished*. In this context, one of the reasons for the prolongation of working hours can be shown as continuing to work in the shop after the workshop. Headmaster 1 states this situation as follows: "The apprentice didn't have a chance to go and rest at home after his work in production was finished." (HM1). Headmaster 2, who has 31 years of experience, summarizes the situation of these long working hours concerning the workload as follows:

HM2: So you take care of the cleaning there. We used to work at the workshop until the evening; after the work was done, we would both serve the customer and make packages. In the past, the system was like that in Antep. ...Previously, it was more difficult, both at the manufacturing site and the shop. You will do it both in production and in the shop so that the person not only produces but also needs to learn how to sell it. (31 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this sense, responsibility to work at the shop is another reason for extending working hours in this sense. Since the division of labor is not strictly done, the job descriptions of apprentices and masters are flexible, which means that they cannot leave the job until they complete all the work. However, in order to establish the balance, the workers in the workshop determined a shift schedule among themselves, and different people, who were determined every day, went to work at the shop so that the same person would not stand at the shop every day:

HM11: When the work was finished, if there were five children, one of them would stay in the shop until 10 pm after the work was done. Others would go at 3/4. In other words, they would go to the shop after the production; the shop would be cleaned, and if there was a place to go, they would go to them. They would leave after the work to be done in the shop, and it would be 3 to 4 o'clock. One of us was also on duty until the shop was closed in the evening, until 10 to 11. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

Based on these judgments, it can be concluded that the only reason that causes long working hours is not the intensity of production. Significantly, the fact that the apprentices move to the sales place after they finish their work in the workshop creates a situation that causes long working hours. For this reason, the working hours of those working in baklava factories in the past were almost 15-20 hours. This situation is in parallel with the working order of the people working in the craft production in the guilds. Working hours are long and irregular in guilds that both produce and sell in small production places.

Also, stating that the *working hours depend on the completion of the work*, the 31-year-old baklava maker Headmaster 2 states the day working situation as follows:

HM2: It wasn't like that before; the job would be over, if the order didn't come, we would do the cleaning, we would prepare for the next day, we would arrange our pistachios, and so on. If the pistachios were to be ground, we would grind them and clean the garbage and shells. We would prepare them; we would prepare for the next day. We didn't have a certain working hour; after we finished them, we would close the workshop when we had no work left. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

As it can be seen from the experiences shared above, in the past, during the apprenticeship of the current masters, there was no definite working hour regulation. Masters and apprentices determine their own entry and exit times according to their work and production situation. In addition to this uncertainty, the length of working hours draws attention. It can be said that the working hours without a definite order are extended due to both the intense manual labor and the small number of employees. This situation has caused the workers in the baklava factory to have 15-to 20-hour shifts in the past.

Master-Boss 5 states that there are no concepts such as *permission* and *overtime* in the periods when working hours are shaped according to incoming demands: "In the past, our workers did not have annual leave, there was no weekly leave, nothing social right, there were no such concepts as overtime. Now we have all." Boss 3, who has 48 years of experience and whose family has been baklava makers for three generations, expresses this situation as follows: "...when we were little, there was no such thing as a Sunday holiday or a religious holiday." (B3). HeadMaster13 also supports this judgment: "For example, we grew up in difficult conditions. We did not have a Sunday holiday, religious holiday, or holiday." (HM13). In this sense, employees continued to work on public holidays such as Sundays and public holidays in the past. Working hours are not certain, and working days are also uncertain in this sense.

Based on the framework drawn above, it is seen that working hours, breaks, and permissions are irregular in the craft-type production period. At the same time, the

working hours during this period are pretty long. Employees spend almost all the hours they do not sleep in the workplace, just like the employees in the guild period.

Shorter and More Regular Working Hours Nowadays

Today, working hours in baklava factories are more regular than in the past. Master-Boss 5, who has been in the baklava sector for 37 years, states that the working hour system has just begun: "...normally, the concept of time has just entered the system, we come at 5, exit at 2-3, so we have 8-10 hours of work, 2 hours of rest and breaks." (MB5). Headmaster 2, who has also been in the baklava production for 31 years, states that the standardization of working hours has taken place in the last period: "Actually, there was no standard, they have limited working hours to a certain time in this recent period. I'm throwing it to start at 5 o'clock, end of work at 2 o'clock now" (HM2). The expressions of the masters show that today's working hours are more regular than in the past, and with this system, parallels with the working hours of factory-type production are seen.

Although this order has been provided, working hours can still be extended or shortened according to incoming demands. Among the 13 workshops where the interviews were held, the number of workshops where the hours are determined strictly does not exceed 4 (ML1, L1, L2, L3). Even in them, this time can be stretched when the demand for production/baklava is high. In this direction, the masters work for approximately 8-10 hours. For example, Headmaster 4 working in the large-scale, production-intensive L4 workshop specifies the working hours as 06:00-17:00. While the employees in the L4 company work 13 hours, another large-scale manufacturing, L1, "at 1.30 at 1, at 2 (ends)." It is seen that the production is 8 hours. In this direction, working hours vary between productions depending on the intensity of the work. For example, Master 4, working in L4, one of the large-scale workshops, states this situation as follows:

M4: It changes according to the day. For example, some days we come at 3 o'clock in the morning, we come at 5 o'clock in the morning. Some days, the work is done at 1 o'clock, or it is finished at 3 o'clock. According to the situation, we do not have a set hour. (36 years of experience, large enterprise)

Like Master 4, Master 5, who works in L1, also states that the working hours still depend on the intensity of production: "Well, it's not obvious. Sometimes we come at 5 o'clock, we also come at 6 o'clock. We also come at 4 am. It depends on the situation, production." (M5). In this sense, although working hours are tried to be regulated in large-scale workshops, which have factory-type production characteristics with their physical characteristics, some irregularities can be observed in working hours according to the demands of baklava.

This situation is also irregular in small-scale workshops. Master-Boss 1, the owner and master of S4, a small business, states that his working hours are still irregular: "Depending on the situation. If the work is too much, we will work again until 5 pm. There is no set standard time."(MB1). Even in ML1, which has relatively stricter working hours than other workshops, the production hours are determined, but with the increase in demand, the working hours may be longer. HM2, who works in ML1, indicates this situation as follows:

HM2: Our working hours are currently 8 hours excluding breaks. If we start at 4-5, our check-out time is at 2 o'clock. It makes 8-9 working hours. If we have to work again after 8-9 hours, we will be overtime. It may depend on production. Although not constantly, it changes according to the amount of work. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Master 9, who previously worked in a baklava production factory in Istanbul, states that the production hours in the factory are more strict and work in shifts: "It works 24/7, just like that. We arrived at 8 in the morning, our work was finished at 4 and 5, and we were leaving. At 7 o'clock, the other shift was coming until 5 a.m." All the judgments mentioned above about working hours today show that working hours can still become irregular depending on the production intensity, even if a strict order is

tried to be made regarding the production time. Even though large and medium-sized enterprises, in particular, adopt new regulations regarding working hours, working hours do not show the same time interval every day as regularly as the shifts of a factory. In this sense, it can be said that baklava workshops do not switch to factory-type production in the context of working hours today.

There are some situations that cause the working hours to be extended. Working hours increase, especially in the *pre-holiday period*. The intensity of the work could be observed in this period, as the field research also included the period before the religious holiday. Working hours became irregular in this period, and the workshops started to work at full capacity in order to fulfill the orders. Even in this period, appointments could not be made to interview the masters, and observations in the workshops were not allowed due to the workload. The masters state the intensity that has been this way for years: "There is no sleep day and night during the holidays." (MB1); "Now, according to the busy period of work, we come at 3 in the morning, at 4 in the morning, we start at midnight during the holidays." (HM4); "In our baklava, you will work when everyone is on vacation because you're going to sell it at everyone's vacation time. You cannot travel during the holiday; you will sell the holiday baklava." (HM13). In this context, working hours increase, especially during the festive periods when baklava orders are high. This situation again points to one of the situations where baklava production is getting closer to traditional production because of the irregular working times.

In short, as mentioned above, working hours do not yet show strict features in baklava production. In this sense, the regular structure of factory-type production cannot be seen in the baklava sector yet.

Reasons for Shortening Working Hours

However, despite all these uncertainties, there is a common opinion that working hours are shortened. Some craftsmen attribute the shorter working hours compared to the past to the arrival of the machine and the acceleration of the work. Master 4, who has 36 years of experience, states the shortening of working hours with machines compared to the past: "Well, the machine sounds like a blessing. Let me explain it this way, for example, instead of arriving at 3 o'clock and working until noon; it is to arrive at 6 o'clock with a machine and finish at 11 o'clock." (M4). Master 7, who has 27 years of experience, also establishes the connection between machines and working hours as follows: "As the machines increased, working hours became shorter." (M7). Boss 3, who has been a baklava maker for 48 years and owns one of the big workshops, compares the working hours of the pre-mechanism period with today's machines as follows:

B3: In the past, the day was a little difficult; when we came in the morning, we would arrive very early, at 4 am. Of course, since everything was done by hand and wrist power, a little more time was needed. We used to bake less baklava in more hours. We used to cook those 4-5 trays of baklava until noon, until 12-1. Gradually, when you say that it will go to the oven, it will be cooked, it will be inline on the oven, your baklava will come, it will be late, it will be early... not so now. Everything is in the workshop. For example, we don't need to come that far at 4 now. If we come at 6 o'clock, now we are a little mechanized. As soon as we knead the dough, our baklava comes out after 1 hour. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this framework, *the inclusion of machines* in production significantly affects shortening the working hours in the workshops. In the period of craft-type production, production, which was completely dependent on manual labor, was carried out at the speed of human resources. However, with the replacement of manual labor with machines that do the same work, the work accelerated, and the acceleration of the work caused the working hours to shorten.

Another phenomenon that shortens the working hours is the *change in the order of going to the sales place after the production* is over. Headmaster 13 and Master 7 indicate this distinction as follows: "Now he is up too, the shopkeeper is the clerk, the baklava maker is the baklava maker. So they are separated." (HM13). Working hours have been shortened with the departure of the sales staff. All the masters say that the personnel of the sales place has been separated. Headmaster 11 states the relationship between this situation and working hours: "Look, now the apprentice of the shop is different, the apprentice of the workshop is different.... So you can't bring any child in at four and work until 11 at night like before." (HM11). Headmaster 12, who has been in the industry for 50 years, states the new system as follows:

HM12: I mean, for the last 5-6 years, we have separated the shop's and the workshop's workers. We hired those standing at the shop as clerks for the convenience of those who work a little more. They're just clerks, people who don't know how to manufacture; manufacturers are already working in the workshop. This is in terms of convenience to the employee. So if you do both, it will be a bit heavy. Come early in the morning and stay up late; you cannot employ apprentices like before. (50 years of experience, large enterprise)

In this sense, making a strict division of labor in baklava factories and drawing the limits of everyone's duties shortened the employees' working hours. The determination of the place of the employees in the workshop as only the workshop and the location of the employees in the shop as only the shop had such an effect on the employees' working hours.

Day off, Permissions and Break Times

Masters, apprentices, and journeymen working in the workshop have one *day off* per week; any baklava workshops are not working on Sundays. On Saturdays, the workshops work half-days, and the employees also take leave during the holidays: "But on Sunday, many places, I can say almost all of them, are not open." (B4); "Yes, we are off on Sundays, holidays." (HM6); "For example, on a Sunday, in our case, for

example, Sunday is a rest day. For example, we work until noon on Saturday. These are advantages for us, for example." (HM1). At the same time, HM1, who works in a medium-large-scale workshop, states that they can easily take leave when they need to take leave during their working days: "When we have a patient here, my child is sick, my wife is sick, and I am sick, we say okay. We're getting **permission**, but you don't have such a chance in a factory." On the other hand, due to the fact that entry and exit times were not strict in the past, employees could go home after the work was done. However, today, even if the job is finished, being at the production site during working hours is mandatory in ML1; this situation resembles the working hours of Headmaster 2 factory-type production:

HM2: We didn't have a working hour; after we finished our work, we would close the workshop and leave. Right now, the bosses are saying you will stay until check-out time. It is called this time to start work and this time to exit. It is said that even if there is no job, you will be here. How is it in factories, there is a work out time, there is a working hour. They are slowly applying it in the baklava shops as well. (31 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In this sense, it can be underlined that although the days off are closer to factory-type production, with the feature of being more specific compared to the past, today's working days and the way of taking leave are not like in factory-type production.

Today, **break times** during working hours are also more precise. Mealtimes and smoking breaks for masters, apprentices, and journeymen are determined with precise lines, especially in large-scale production places with cafeterias. Headmaster 4, who works in L4, one of the big companies, states that the meal times are specific: "Standard meal times in working here, breakfast, lunch, all in a different way." (HM4). Boss 1, owner of ML, one of the medium-large enterprises, describes the daily breaks as follows:

B1: For example, our foreman comes in at 4 in the morning and kneads the dough or something. Our other masters and apprentices arrive at 5 o'clock and start work. It works from 5 to 8. Of course,

there is a tea break every hour or every 2 hours, and smokers go out and smoke. Then breakfast is served. Usually, breakfast is not given in firms, but breakfast is given so that our workers can increase their power and work. Afterward, they go down to the lunch break at 12 o'clock and eat their meals for half an hour. After that, they start work again at 12:30. They finish the work from 13.30-2.00. (15 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In summary, it cannot be said that there is no strict determination of working hours when compared to the past. Working hours in baklava production are determined according to demands. Although the masters say they do not work as long hours as before, they produce within long working hours compared to most professions. However, on the other hand, a more regular system has been adopted in terms of leave days and break times. In short, although the efforts to regulate the working hours in the baklava workshops are not similar to the working hours on a shift basis of factory-type production, the layout differs from the working hours in the craft-type period. As such, the working hours indicate that the baklava production is in a transitional phase in terms of working conditions.

4.2.3.2. Wage and Its Determinants

Wages constitute another dimension related to working conditions. The wages are given to the people working in baklava production generally differ according to the hierarchical positions of the people working. Master, journeyman, and apprentice are charged depending on their *experience*, with the highest wage being the master, then the journeyman, and the lowest wage being the apprentice. This procedure is still practiced, unchanged today. The things that change are the number of wages received and the starting of the weekly wage to be given monthly.

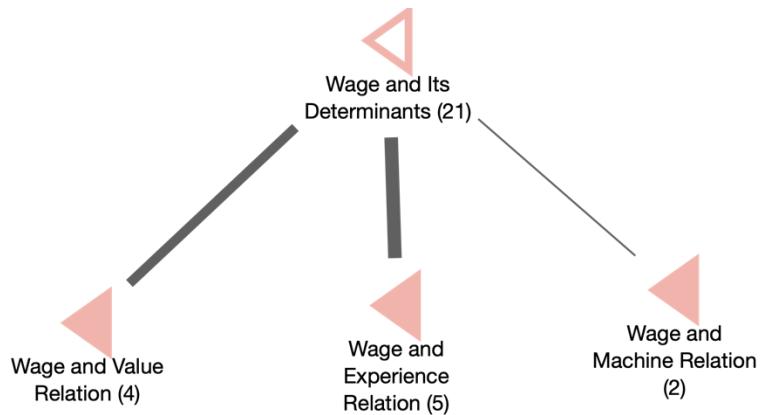


Figure 37 Transformation of the Wage Dimension and Its Determinants⁴⁷

This section will examine the relationship between the wage amount and experience, the change in the wage amount today, and the reasons behind this situation (as seen in *Figure 37*).

In the baklava profession, wages contain continuities from the past to the present. This continuity is explained by the fact that the wages of the master and the price of the baklava go in parallel:

MB8: The employee's wage is always indexed to the price of the baklava. Whenever there is a raise for baklava, then the worker gets a raise; this is always the case. The higher the rate of increase for baklava, the higher the increase for the worker. (13 years of experience, small enterprise)

Headmaster 11 states that the wage changes according to the conditions of the day:

HM11: The wage is paid according to the conditions of the day. Let me give an example, for example, when I first started my job 22 years ago, my salary was 4 lira per week. Currently, apprentices receive 400 liras. We were doing the same position, they are apprentices, and we were apprentices. According to the conditions,

⁴⁷ As can be seen from the thickness of the lines in Figure 37, participants emphasize the relationship between pay and value and between pay and experience.

the year will pass, and it will definitely increase. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

In this sense, it is not possible to make a definite judgment about the wage amount. Wages are shaped according to current conditions and the market price of baklava.

One of the changing situations in terms of wages from the past to the present is how often and how the wage will be paid. This is again related to the written *regulations regarding the wages*. Baklava makers were paid by hand and weekly during the period when the production showed traditional characteristics. However, this situation has changed today; the wage is paid monthly and from the bank. Headmaster 3, with 41 years of experience, summarizes the transformation as follows:

HM3: Of course, now everything is done as soon as he starts the job. You go and do your transactions right away, the money is deposited in the bank immediately.. At that time, there was a weekly system. Our master would come, give the money and he said that buy something with this. So we used to work happily. (41 years of experience, large enterprise)

Master-Boss 4, who has 32 years of experience, describes the way the wages were received in the past as follows:

MB4: I have not yet come across my master from one day to another and said to give this much weekly. He used to bend the money, make it small, and give us. We used to count him as going two blocks ahead, so he wouldn't see us counting money. (32 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

Based on these judgments, it is seen that wages were paid not systematically, weekly, and by hand, not through banks in the past. In this sense, the payment of wages is the same as the traditional methods in other forms of artisanal production.

At the same time, while there was no extra charge for overtime hours in the past, an additional fee is paid for overtime work today:

HM1: In the past, there was a rule like this; you come in the morning, how much is the list, how many hours does it end? It ends in 10 hours. Normally, for example, if it is 8 hours of work, they would not give those 2 hours as overtime wages. It's not like that right now. You worked 8 hours, and you worked 2 hours more; you get that 2 hours wage. It is multiplied by 1.5 in the same way. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

This shows that the social rights of employees are more protected today. This situation distinguishes the wage-payment methods in the traditional period from today's wage-payment methods. This situation can also be associated with the uncertainty of working hours. In the period of craft-type production, since the working hours are uncertain and the entry-exit times are not sure, there is no concept of overtime wage.

In general, when asked whether they are satisfied with the wage issue and how the wage has changed compared to the past, some of the masters stated that wages had increased today:

B3: The current masters are paid very well; the workers are also well paid. Masters also earn good money. My father was a master for 20 years, he did not have a car. He used to go to work by bike. Well, now all of the staff working with me have a car. So understand the difference. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

Headmaster 1 attributes the reason for this increase to the absence of a baklava master in Gaziantep. Headmaster 1 explains the reflection of the decrease in the number of masters on wages as follows:

HM1: It was very good. Why? It was reflected in everyone's wages in general. For example, while the salaries were a thousand liras, due to the lack of a master, everyone had a raise of 10%, 20% to keep what they had. That aspect was good. (14 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

The fact that the new apprentices did not grow up, that the trainees did not have all the skills and therefore the number of masters decreased, on the one hand, caused an

increase in the wages given to the masters in the market. this indicates the disappearance of skilled craftsmen of craft-type production. On the other hand, when the masters are asked about their satisfaction with the wage and how the wages have changed compared to in the past, some masters say that the wages have decreased. They attribute this to two reasons: i) mechanization and ii) the decreasing the value of mastery. Master 1, who connects the decrease in wages to **mechanization**, establishes the relationship between these two variables as follows:

M1: There was not much change in pay. If you ask "why?" some things were fabricated, and the machine came out. For example, we have masters working outside the city right now; they get 6 thousand 7 thousand liras. If the machine did not exist, the salary of the baklava maker would be at least 10 thousand ... It killed the quality, reduced the wage, and also made the labor of people wasted. (22 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

With the transfer of the skills to the machines, which caused the high wages, there was a decrease in the wages. The labor of baklava masters, who are seen as craftsmen, started to be replaced by machinery, which caused baklava masters to receive low salaries similar to those of manual laborers. Another reason behind the decrease in wages is the decrease in **the value of the baklava master**:

HM8: In the past, baklava masters were very valuable. There is currently no value. Salaries used to be very high. Now, if we compare the money received at that time with the money received now, it is 1/3. Thus, there was a decline. At that time, a master had a value; a master was paid 2-2.5 times the minimum wage. Everyone wanted to be a master, to get a high salary. This is not the same now. Wherever you look, it's the minimum wage. Wherever you look, it's the minimum wage. In the past, they would ask if you were going to study or become a baklava maker, and they would say I will be a baklava maker. The salary of the baklava master was higher than the people who went to university. There isn't much left now. Do not learn any profession, travel until the age of 18-20, then go to work in a factory, you will get the same money as our profession because it has no value. Mastery has no value. That's why there is no salary difference, it has decreased a lot. There is a considerable difference between the salary then and the current salary. (15 years of experience, small enterprise)

Measuring the decrease in the value of the baklava master with the relationship between the baklava masters and the civil servants, Master 1 expresses this situation as follows:

M1: In the past, civil servants did not receive the salaries we received. As I said above, when you want to marry a girl, when you say you are a baklava maker, they would give you blindfolded. This was not how it used to be. It was reversed. (22 years of experience, medium-large enterprise)

In this sense, based on the expressions of the masters, it is seen that the value of the baklava master has decreased. Masters are now seen as manual workers, and the craftsmen of the past are losing their dignity. This situation causes them to receive similar wages to the unskilled manual workers in the factory.

In short, although there is no consensus on the increase or decrease in wages, it can be said that wages have changed compared to the past; there is no mention of a salary like the minimum wages received by factory workers, wages have become more regular, especially with the insurances discussed in the next section. On the other hand, there is a common consensus that the ways wages are paid have changed. In-hand and weekly wages have changed to monthly and are paid through bank wages. This shows that the wage policy in baklava production has moved away from traditional methods and has become more systematic. In this sense, wages are regulated in a way by a written rule determined by the state. This shows that the approach to wages is rationalized and calculable. This shows that the rationalization in relations is also reflected in the wage issue. Also, reasons (mechanization and the decreasing value of the masters) behind the decreasing wages are very similar to the workers of factory-type production. They show that baklava production has evolved into factory-type production in terms of wages.

4.2.3.3. Transformation of Insurance: From Unsecured to Insured Masters

The last aspect that we will deal with in terms of working conditions is related to insurance. The regulation of the dimensions mentioned above and subjecting them to specific rules, on the other hand, brought the subject of insurance to the agenda. When baklava production showed traditional production, it was not possible to talk about any system in which social rights such as insurance were provided and protected. In this period, it is said that the controls on insurance are laxer. However, as the years passed and the inspections became more frequent, every paid master, apprentice, and journeyman was obliged to work as an insured. Today, there is not a single uninsured worker in the workshops. This shows that baklava factories have undergone a transformation in terms of social security (as seen in *Figure 38*).

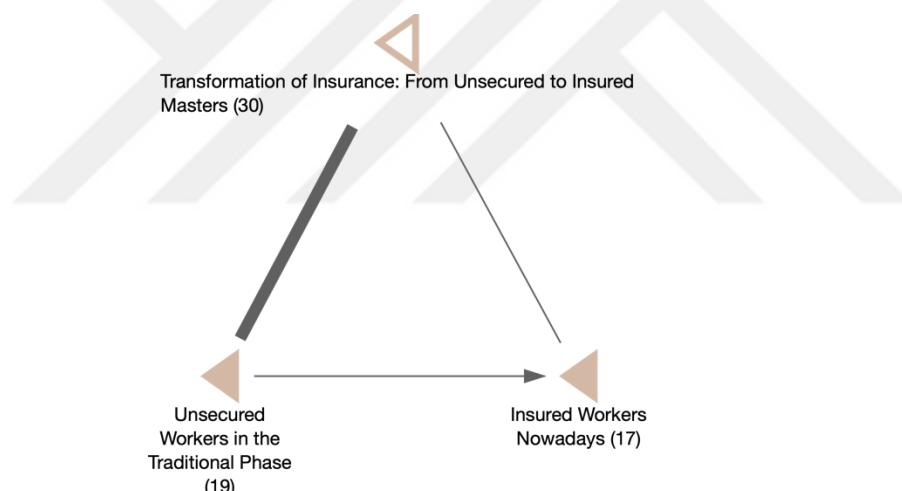


Figure 38 Transformation of Insurance: From Unsecured to Insured

Note. (→)Shows Transformation from Traditional Period to Factory-type Production of Baklava

Until the early 2000s, the necessary dedication could not be shown for the workers' insurance in the baklava factories, and the employers ignored this right. In this direction, the masters were working without security. Headmaster 11, who has 22 years of experience, states that insurance was a sensitive issue in the craft production

period and that asking for insurance was seen as the reason for dismissal: "In the early days, no one would request insurance. You could not ask your boss for insurance. You were willing to go out whenever you wanted. They would not have insurance." (HM11). Master 9, who has 20 years of experience, explains that he cannot benefit from social rights due to a lack of insurance:

M9: In the past, the right of the worker was not defended so much, there was no insurance. Child benefit, official day allowance, none of these existed before. For example, I entered at the age of 13, and when we were going to join the military, they forced us to take out insurance. I pushed the man to take out insurance. ... my insurance was forcibly made for the last 1 month and 2 months while I was going to the military. (20 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

Master 5, who has 43 years of experience, explains that insurance was scarce in the 1990s and that it was made by force when insurance was made, and the effect of this on the retirement age today:

M5: In that day, for example, even in our mastery period, many people did not have insurance. Our uncle's son even helped us; he made me insurance early, which allowed me to retire at the age of 48. Others are now waiting 60-70 years old to retire. (43 years of experience, large enterprise)

Even Headmaster 1, who has only 14 years of experience and is relatively newer than other masters, states that they could not benefit from social rights at first: "As I just said, our insurance and other social rights were ignored." (HM1). Based on these statements, it is seen that there was no social security system in the periods when baklava workshops made craft-type production. Due to the traditional structure of production, without any written contract, employees work with the words taken from the bosses.

Although insurance was available in most sectors in the past, this is not common in the baklava sector. Headmaster 4, who has 42 years of experience in the industry, states

that insurance has not been examined this much in the past: "There was insurance again in our childhood, but it is not so controlled." (HM4). Since the workers in the workshops work without insurance, these workers are hidden during the inspections, or uninsured workers are allowed on the days of the inspection:

B3: When such an insurance inspector came, they used to say that insurers were walking around in the bazaar in my childhood. All workers were allowed that day. Nobody could go and complain because if they did, they wouldn't be able to find that job again. Back then, work was a hard thing to find. (48 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

Headmaster 9, who has 32 years of experience, describes his escape from inspections as follows:

HM9: ...the police would come then, they would say to us, hide, because most people did not have insurance. If there are 30-40 people in that business, only the foreman has insurance. They said to hide. No action would be taken. (32 years of experience, large enterprise)

As it can be understood from the expressions of the masters, although there is a social security system in the country, there is no social security understanding due to the traditional feature of production.

Masters say that the *experience* period must be long for insurance to be made in the past. They also state that long periods are expected for insurance. Headmaster 3 states that insurance is not common for employees of a certain age: "Insurance was a bit of a thing back then, insurance used to be after a certain age. There wasn't that much insurance before." (HM3). Master-Boss 8 states that the fuse is not common:

MB8: Of course, you cannot say that there was no insurance; there was insurance. But you couldn't do that to every employee. There was no such thing as everyone who came to get started immediately. It works for 1 year and 2 years; if you see that he will continue to

work, you can ensure accordingly. (13 years of experience, small enterprise)

In this case, they state that experienced masters can be insured. However, inexperienced apprentices and journeymen are expected to return from the military for insurance: "We used not to know what insurance was until we enlisted in the military." (MB4); "In the past, in our profession, they did not insure until the military. After coming from the military, 5-6 months later, such small tradesmen would not do it again." (HM1). In this context, insurance was not common 30 years ago, when baklava production showed the characteristics of craft-type production. Insurance is made only for a few experienced craftsmen, and they are expected to work for a while to insure the employees. In this environment, where the insurance situation of the employees is not common, employees who do not have insurance have easily evaded the controls, which shows that the controls are not strict in the traditional period.

The "beautiful side" (M5) of the changes in the baklava sector is ***the insured workers, today.*** inspections have increased, and insurance has begun to be made as soon as they are employed. While it is said that "in the last 15 years" (HM11), insurance has become widespread, it is stated that insurance is started as soon as you get a job, and there is no waiting as in the past, "everyone has to take out insurance as soon as they get old" (HM1). For this reason, Headmaster 9 states that insurance is made regardless of experience and age: "In the past, only a master was insured. Now when you start the job, you are given all your social rights." (HM9). Boss 3 states that both employers and employees are aware of insurance. (B3). Master 9 establishes the relationship between tight inspections and widespread insurance coverage as follows:

M9: I mean, it's different compared to the past, now you're going for business, the man says, prepare your insurance documents and come. So much better than before. The situation has improved, not because of the job, but the strict controls. (20 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

HM11, on the other hand, states that insurance has increased with the change in controls and the state's approach to employee rights:

HM11: Since this state put a little more emphasis on protecting workers' rights, it was absolutely opposed to employing uninsured workers. Since it makes the penalties heavier, everyone from the little child to the eldest master has insurance at the moment. (22 years of experience, medium-small enterprise)

Headmaster 4, who works in a large-scale workshop, states that today's employees can benefit from all social benefits together with insurance:

HM4: Now the importance of insurance has increased a lot, opportunities, health insurance, retirement when he gets old, came to the fore more. In the past, although it was in the times we remember, maybe it was not this much, now these issues have become more sensitive issues. He is insured, has four days off per month, and this workplace is a workplace that makes calculations until the last minute. It is better. (42 years of experience, large enterprise)

As a result, all employees are insured in all workshops where interviews are held today. Workers who are paid overtime, annual leave, health insurance, etc., can benefit from all the rights covered by the insurance. For this reason, all the interviewed masters underline that insurance has developed well compared to the past. This shows that insurance transactions are carried out in a more systematic, controlled, and self-sacrificing manner compared to the traditional period. The order regarding insurance in factory-type production facilities is now evident with the transformation in baklava workshops. This situation also causes bureaucratic and rational systems to be seen in baklava workshops as well as in factories.

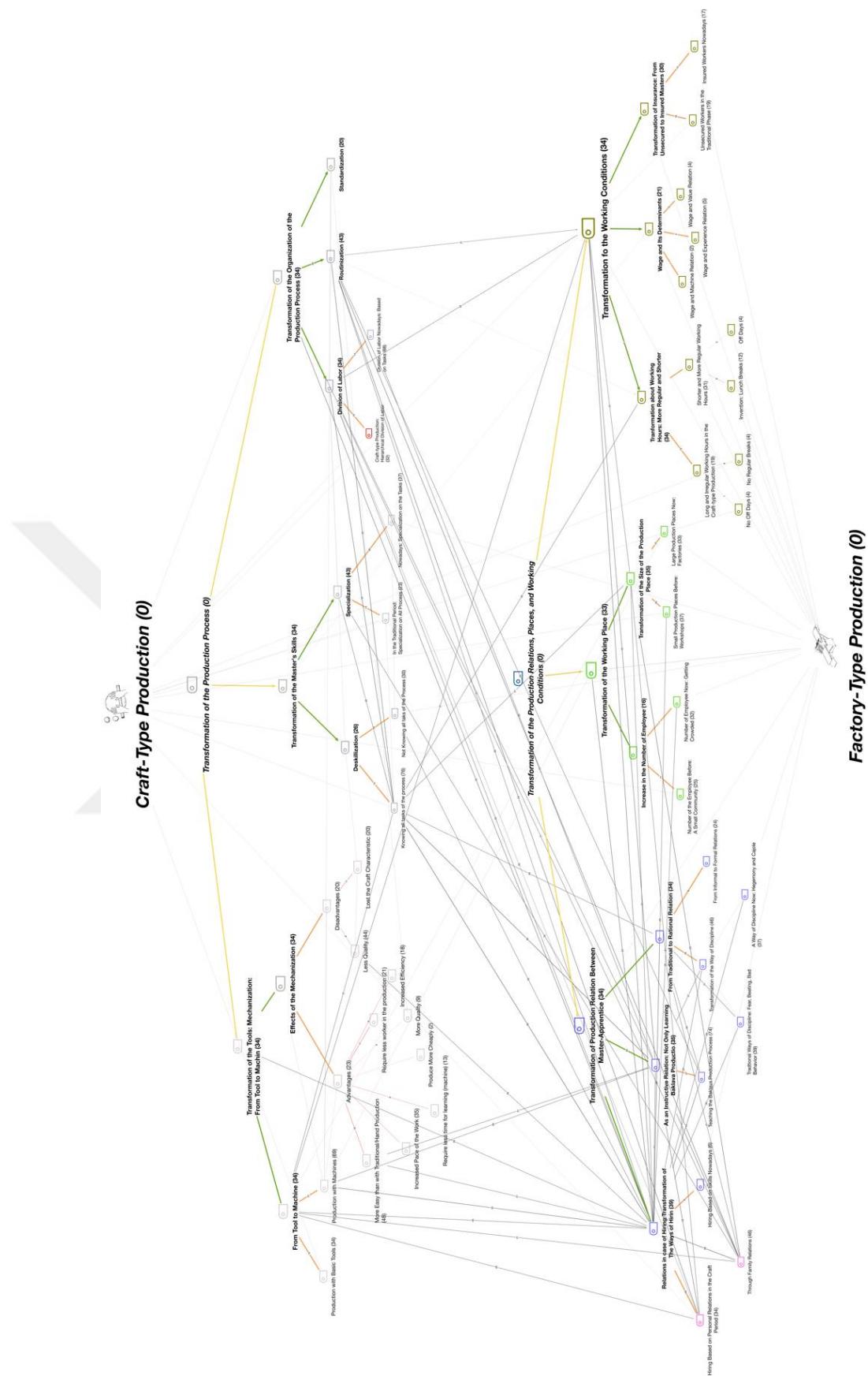


Figure 39 Relationship Map of Research Findings

As a result of the data analysis, as seen in *Figure 39*, the transformation experienced in the production process also brought about the transformation in production relations, production place, and working conditions. Each examined dimension is in a relationship with the other. In this sense, no change in the production process can be considered separately from each other. As can be seen from the diagram, the transformation in each dimension has brought the production process closer to factory-type production.

Chapter 4 has presented quantitative research findings addressing the four research questions of this study. Chapter 5 represents conclusion, discussion and recommendation for future research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

After the Industrial Revolution, the mode of production, production relations, production place, and working conditions were transformed. The transformation in this process was affected not only by mechanization but also by the transition to rational methods in production and organization of production. This process caused a change in the mode of production and the transformation of the craft-type production of the pre-industrial period into the post-industrial factory-type production. This research examines how the production style, relations, production place, and working conditions were transformed during the transition from craft-type production to factory-type production. Baklava production is discussed to examine this transformation. In this context, in-depth interviews were conducted with 36 people in 13 different baklava enterprises on four different scales (large, medium-large, medium-small, and small scale) and Gaziantep Chamber of Industry.

Each craft has experienced its transformation towards factory-type production in different ways at different times (Adamson, 2012; Stott, 1996). The transformation in the baklava, which is seen as a craft, started to be seen in the 21st century, which is a late period compared to many sectors that transformed in the 19th century; and the transformation of the work is mainly handled through these sectors (Blauner, 1964: 89; Walker and Guest, 1952: 9). Unlike other studies in the literature, the transformation of a food industry is discussed in this study. In the case of Gaziantep, when the studies in the literature are examined, studies on the textile sector and studies on the touristic/gastronomic features and handicrafts of Antep have been found. This research differs from the studies in the literature by describing a production in

transition to factory-type production with reference to the sociology of work literature. This study also offer a holistic study that deals with the entire transformation process by gathering all the discussions about industrialization in the sociology of work literature.

Firstly, *the transformation of the production process* in the transition from craft-type production to factory-type production is discussed within the scope of this research. As Marx (1976) noted, manufacturing created a "new order" in the labor process. In order to understand this new order in the labor process, the transformation of the tools used, namely mechanization, the transformation of the organization of production, and the transformation of the skills of the masters, who are the actors of the production process, are examined under the title of transformation of the production process.

Within the scope of the transformation of the production process, firstly, *the transformation of the tools* used in production was examined; It has been observed that the tools used in production have undergone a transformation in the transition from craft-type production to factory-type production, and there has been a shift from simple hand tools to machines. In this transformation, which is called mechanization, in the traditional period, about 70 years ago, in the baklava making, which Blauner (1964) expressed as "craft technology," with simple hand tools such as rolling pins and manual labor/body power; With the introduction of machines such as dough kneading, mixer, pistachio cracking into the workshops, production started with simple machines. Towards the 2000s, the more advanced "half-rolling machine" entered the workshops; this step eliminated a few steps of production; The entry of this machine into the workshops has been shown as a significant break in the craftsmanship of baklava production. However, this machine is seen as a factor that "facilitates production and supports human labor" in the sense that Adamson (2012: xvi) evaluates the first machines that entered production rather than being a machine that completely eliminates human labor. The half-opening machine is available in workshops of all sizes in terms of its production facilitating characteristic. In the early 2000s, the full-

rolling machine started to be used by baklava producers. Although this machine has not become widespread yet, it is used in 2 of the interviewed businesses. The entry of these machines into the workshops shows that the workshops are shifting towards the "machine-tending technology," which Blauner (1964) states, where there are relatively complex machines. Today, with the slicing and sherbet pouring machines into the workshops, baklava has made progress toward conveyor belts and automated technology (Blauner, 1964); manual labor has left its place on machines. However, these machines, added to production after the 2000s, are not yet used in Gaziantep baklava workshops. In this sense, baklava workshops in Gaziantep are a transition phase between craft-type production and factory-type production in terms of the machines they use.

During this transition, some advantages facilitate the inclusion of machines in production, and some disadvantages are seen as an obstacle to their inclusion in production. The *advantages of using machinery* in the baklava sector are that the machine is easier compared to traditional production, accelerates the work, reduces the number of people working in production, takes less time to learn the use of machinery than to learn traditional production methods, standardizes the production and makes the product better quality and cheaper than when it is made with human labor. In short, the most crucial result that legitimizes the use of machinery can be seen as increasing efficiency in production. Because of these features, it can be said that there is a positive relationship between the mechanization reasons of sectors such as textile and automotive, which were mechanized before the baklava sector (Babbage, 2009; Marx, 1976; Schneider, 1957; Volti, 2012) and their use of machinery in baklava production.

While the advantages mentioned above can be shown as the reasons for the acceptance of the use of machinery in baklava production, some features cause serious resistance to the use of machinery in production and make the production with machinery *disadvantageous*. The primary view of those who do not want machines to participate in baklava production is that the machines will produce the baklava of poor quality.

Thus, the baklava will lose its craftsmanship. On the other hand, as discussed in the deskillization section, there is a thought that the production to be done with the machine will make the masters forget the traditional method skills. These three disadvantages show why the baklava factories do not go into full automation even though there are already machines.

As seen in this section, the machines used in the production of baklava have their advantages and disadvantages in a contradictory situation. There is no common opinion among the masters that the machine produces better or less quality dough. The reason for this is the masters who think that the machine produces better quality dough by bringing standardization, and the masters who put manual labor in the foreground instead of this standardization.

Another topic covered under the title of transformation of the production process of the research is *the organization of the production process*. During the transition from craft-type production to factory-type production, one of the most significant changes in baklava production took place in the production organization. The rationalization of the production organization, which Marx (2010: 327) describes as "natural laws of the modern mode of production," has also been seen in baklava production. Of course, this was not done consciously as the "rationalization of production" in baklava workshops and was not built in the context of a Taylorist or Fordist scientific approach. However, the organization has transformed by its principles, in the sense of increasing productivity, the end served by the same Taylorist and Fordist principles. Baklava production shows craft-type features, and in the period 80 years ago, as in other craft-type productions (Braverman, 1974: 87), a simple organization in production is mentioned. However, as we mentioned above, Marx's "new order" shows a transition from the traditional working order to the rational organization. This new order has started to be provided in the baklava sector with the division of labor, routinization, and standardization.

Division of labor is seen in all types of production organization but different ways. In this sense, there was a unique division of labor in the period when baklava production showed traditional characteristics. However, this division of labor is arranged simply hierarchical, and this hierarchy is based on skills. In this type of division of labor, which is based on skills, the jobs that require the most skill and dexterity are done by the master, the jobs that require less skill are journeymen, and the apprentices perform the jobs that do not require a skill. In this triple division of labor, which is seen in baklava production, all stages of the production process are shared between these three people. In the craft-type period, when baklava production is low, the production is carried out easily with these three people. While the apprentice cleans and tidies up in this production organization, the journeyman lays the floor, pours cream, and throws pistachios. The master rolls the dough, slices the baklava, pours sherbet, and bakes the baklava. However, with the increase in production, this division of labor was not sufficient, and efficiency had to be increased. For this reason, the organization of production is divided down to the smallest task, similar to a Taylorist and Fordist organization in Adam Smith's pin factory. With this division of labor, as many jobs as the number of tasks and master/apprentice/journeyman started to work in the production system. In this process, the hierarchical division of labor continued, and the jobs were again ordered from the master with the most experience and skill to the apprentice who did not have the skill. In this framework, the division of labor is divided into sections both vertically and horizontally. Within this division of labor, baklava production continued with the parallel execution of each task. In this context, baklava production has gradually approached factory-type production in terms of division of labor. This type of division of labor creates an order in which Marx likened employees belong to the organs of the production process (2010: 329), and Weber (1947: 226-227) likened them to a symphony orchestra. As a result of this division of labor in baklava factories, efficiency has also increased. However, this division of labor varies according to the scale of the enterprises. It has been revealed that in small-scale enterprises, the craft-type division of labor structure continues because there are

few employees. However, as the number of employees increases as it moves toward large-scale enterprises, the division of labor approaches factory-type.

The second title within the scope of the production process organization is *routinization*. The baklava production process has its own routine in the traditional production period, as in other craft-type productions (Sennett, 2008; Rorabaugh, 1986). The stages created by the division of labor mentioned above were carried out in a specific routine and sequence during the craft-type production period. However, the production process is not set in a strict routine in the context of certain entry-exit and break times. With the regulation of production in a more rational and rules-based manner, a routinization similar to that seen in factory-type production was encountered in baklava production. They arrange the entrance and exit times and breaks, the production process is carried out in the same and a specific order every day, and the arrangement of this order, together with the division of labor, made routinization to be seen in baklava production as well. However, this routinization is still not exactly like a factory-type of production. The reason for this is that the working hours change according to the demand for baklava, the intensity of the work. This shows no complete factory-type production feature in terms of routinization, and baklava production is still in the transition phase between production processes. On the other hand, routinization also varies according to the scales of baklava factories. The routinization increases as the company's size increases, as the production shows factory-type production characteristics. So much so that the boss of one of the large-scale enterprises likens this routinized production to assembly-line production. This situation shows how close baklava production is to factory-type production.

The third and final theme related to the organization of the production process is *standardization*. It is not easy to provide standardization in craft-type production (Blauner, 1964: 36). However, with the evolution of production towards factory-type production, standardization has been made in product and production. Standardization, which was created in relation to labor division, mechanization, specialization, and

routinization, has also started to be seen in baklava production. During the craft-type production period, baklava production, which did not show standard product and production features like other craft-type productions, started to resemble the standard product and production features of factory-type production with both mechanization and division of labor. Mechanization, especially with Fordism, causes craft-type production products to become standardized (Blauner, 1964: 90; Edgell, 2006: 93). In the context of the relationship between standardization and mechanization, it is said that machines roll out the baklava dough with a more standard and consistent feature. In this sense, machines produce a more standard product than the dough rolled by hand. It can be mentioned that baklava has become more standardized in parallel with the transition from a half-rolling machine to a full-rolling machine, that is, with the increase in mechanization. This standardization is also associated with the advantage of the machine, that the baklava dough produced by the machine is of higher quality. On the other hand, standardization is also related to routinization. As routinization increases, when the production organization is placed in a specific order, the standardization of production also increases. In this sense, the increasing routinization in baklava factories brings with it an increase in standardization. Finally, product standardization can be the linked-to division of labor and specialization. The masters who do the same task daily specialize in their tasks and start producing products of the same standard every day. This situation increases the standardization in production and product. In short, baklava production has approached nearly factory-type production characteristics in terms of standardization.

From the part where the production process is examined up to this point, we can deduce that the mechanization and rationalization of the organization of production have brought the production in baklava workshops closer to factory-type production. As Drucker and Blauner underline, a direct cause and effect relationship cannot be established between mechanization and rationalization of production (Drucker in Braverman, 1974: 86; Blauner, 1964: 95), but we can say that these two dynamics that transform the production process creates a new order together. Technology is at the

forefront of an industrialized, mechanized production process, and features such as rationalization in production and bureaucratization in relations are seen. This situation is also essential for understanding the transformation in the baklava sector. Since baklava production has become mechanized, production has not been rationalized; on the contrary, the rationalization of production has not brought about mechanization, but these two dynamics have created a new order in the baklava production process. This new order is seen in the baklava sector and also shows that, as Braverman says (1974: 124), "technical revolution and technical management took place in parallel." This new order caused baklava production to shift from craft-type production to factory-type production. Similar to Schneider's (1957: 3) analysis of the new order, in the baklava production process, in which machines are put into production in a scientific and rational sense, the organization of production has been changed, and masters have started to work in a specialized, routinized, and mechanized environment. However, this new order does not show a factory-type of production in every sense. For example, the division of labor and standardization mentioned above create a new order, but not a fully factory order in the Fordist sense, including the assembly line. In other words, in terms of production organization, although there is a factorization in the Taylorist order, baklava is not a factory-type production in the complete sense of the machines used; This situation makes it a production that is in the process of transition to factory-type production.

The last topic examined under the transformation of the production process is the *transformation of the master's skills*. In the craft-type production period, when the division of labor was made between only three people and simple hand tools were used, a master working in baklava factories was trained by learning the whole production process down to the smallest detail. Like other craft-type productions, baklava production in this period required a high degree of skill based on practical experience. Of course, everyone in the production process did not have the same skill level as in other craft type productions (Babbage, 2009: 137); Slicing the baklava, pouring sherbet, baking the baklava required high-level skills that the master had while

laying, scattering pistachio, pouring cream required medium-level skill that journeyman had. However, a master has the skills of all stages in the production process. Craftsmen working in baklava production had both technical and practical knowledge during the period they were in; in this sense, baklava masters fit the analogy of 'thinking like a craftsman' as described by Sennett (2008); In the production process, he was both making the whole production and finding solutions to the problems in the production.

The theme of *Transformation of the Master's Skill* is discussed under two sub-titles: *deskillization* and *specialization*. Under this title, the effects of the new machines entering the baklava workshops and the new production organization on the workers' skills in the workshops are examined. In the first dimension, *deskillization*, it was found that baklava masters lost some skills in the new production style compared to the craft-type production period. The half-rolling machine, which first entered the workshops towards the end of the 1900s, caused the masters to forget their dough rolling skills, and the new generation could not acquire this skill at all, leading to deskillization. Similar to the findings of James R. Bright's study in 1958, mechanization in the baklava sector also led to a decrease in the skills of the masters working in production, namely deskillization. The decrease in the number of people who learn all the stages of the work from the masters working in production at the moment also shows a transition towards deskillization. However, it cannot be said that the masters have lost all their craft-type production skills and have turned into assemblers working in factory-type production. The reason for this can be explained by the degree of mechanization. Since there is no mechanization in the whole process yet, the machine used in the dough rolling stage only caused the loss of skill in that step, causing that part of the work to be done without a machine; a semiskillization has emerged, not cause a deskillization. In short, Faunce (1965: 154) mentioned that "artisans using tools gave up their place to semi-skilled machine operators" in a way is true, but the "mystery" of all skills and crafts (Sennett, 2008: 84) has not been fully transferred to machines. This shows that baklava is at the stage of transition to factory-

type production in terms of the skills of the masters working in production, but it is not precisely factory-type. It has been observed that when the number of machines used in production has increased, and in large-scale workshops that include the full-rolling machine in the production process, this deskillization has increased, the skills of one more stage of production are forgotten, and in this way, the masters approached factory-type production in terms of skills.

On the other hand, another dynamic that causes deskillization is the division of labor, which is under the theme of organization of production in this study. Fordism and Taylorism's order, dividing the production process and craft skills down to the minor tasks, is similar to the dimensions discussed in the literature (Klekot, 2020: 218; Braverman, 1974; Blauner, 1964: Stott, 1996) caused deskillization of baklava masters. In baklava production, the division of the production process into the minor parts and the fact that the person responsible for each task does that job in the same routine every day caused him to forget or not learn the other tasks in the production process. While the masters stated that the new generation was brought up by learning only one task and other tasks were forgotten, it was seen that the deskillization started to increase. On the other hand, apprentices who know the production process and sale of the product by working both in the production area and in the shop during the craft-type production period; With the division of labor and the separation of the people working in production and sales, they also lost their sales skills. Although all of the interviewed masters stated that they knew the whole production process, raising the new generation in this way will lead to an increase in deskillization in the future. This situation shows that although baklava production does not show the feature of factory-type production in the total sense, it is close to this production type in terms of losing skills in the transition phase.

Another and last topic about *Master's Skill* is about whether the skills of the masters working in baklava production increase and whether the masters specialize in their work. In the context of the research, it was tried to establish a link between

specialization and upskilling, and it was found that the increase in the specialization of the masters in their work brought them to experience upskilling in a sense. Routinization is another dimension we mentioned above in the production organization section, which also causes deskillization, causes specialization, and upskilling. With the division of labor, many specialties emerged in a single production, and everyone was assigned to those specialties. The masters, who did the same task in routinization every day, began to specialize in their work. In the period of craft-type production, the craftsmen specialized in the entire production process as they knew the whole production process, had more responsibility in the division of labor, and learned the whole process in the best way. However, only one task specialization started with the division of labor and routinization. In this sense, it can be said that Fordist and Taylorist methods and division of labor lead to specialization. On the other hand, specialization maintains the characteristics of the craft-type period in small-scale workshops, and a small number of employees maintain their expertise over the entire production process.

Shortly, the skill still has an essential place in baklava production, and there is no complete deskillization. Among the masters working in production at the moment, some know the whole process, although they are employed in different tasks with the division of labor since they are trained from the cradle. In this framework, the masters of baklava production are between Arendt's (1998) animal laborans and homofabers; they are neither wholly deskilled nor thoroughly familiar with the entire production process.

In this part, although it seems like a contradictory situation has arisen with the coexistence of deskillization and specialization in terms of skill, togetherness does not create a contradiction. Although the masters cannot learn the whole production process, the specialization they experience ensures both the standardization of the product and the best in the tasks they do. In this sense, it is inaccurate to attribute negative meaning to specialization.

In short, in this transformation, it has been seen that the baklava production process has passed from the craft-type production period, which is based on traditional technique and organization, simple tools and where skills are valuable, to a factory type production with a rational organization, where machines are started to be used, and skills gradually lose their importance. The situation of convergence to factory-type production has changed depending on the scale of production in this section. As the scale grows, it becomes closer to the features of factory-type production.

The second main topic within the scope of the research is *Transformation of the Production Place, Production Relations and Working Conditions*. Industrial Era witnessed a transformation not only in the production process but also in physical conditions and social relations. This section aims to deal with the physical and social structure of production. In order to deal with the physical and social structure of baklava production, place of production, relations of production, and working conditions were examined.

The first sub-title that examines the transformation in the physical characteristics of baklava production is *the transformation of the production place*. While transitioning from craft-type production to factory-type production, the production places started to grow physically, and the number of workers increased.

Under this title, firstly, the theme of *increase in the number of employees* was examined. Within the scope of this title, it has been concluded that the number of employees in baklava factories has increased. In baklava's craft-type production period, production is carried out as a family business with a small community, 3-4 people, usually family members. This situation parallels the features seen in many other craft-type productions (Volti, 2012; Sennett, 2008). Due to the increase in production and the demand for baklava, an increase has begun in the number of people working in baklava workshops. Today, especially large-scale workshops produce with

150-200 people, and they approach factory-type production with these features. However, this increase varies depending on the scale of production. Small-scale workshops still continue their production with 3-4 people, similar to the traditional type of production. The family relationship between the employees in this type of workshop also continues; brothers and fathers work together and continue their family business characteristics. In this sense, while some enterprises are similar to factory-type production in the number of workers working according to their scales, some continue the characteristics of craft-type production with a small number of workers. Similar to Blauner's analysis of the technology used in production and the development of the organization of production (1964: 46), it was observed that the number of workers increased as the machinery used in baklava workshops and the organization of production shifted towards factory-type production.

The last theme taken under the title of transformation of the physical conditions of production is *Transformation of the Size of the Production Place*. Under this theme, the physical dimensions of the places where baklava production is made are discussed, and it is concluded that the production spaces have grown from the craft type period to the present. Baklava workshops, where craft-type production features were seen, were small and had physical characteristics with few counters. Due to the small size of the baklava workshops, there was no oven in the workshops. However, with the increase in the number of people working in production and the inclusion of some machines in production, the production areas have started to expand. In order to respond to the increasing production and demand, the number of counters in the production areas increased along with the increasing number of workers; In the workshops that used to have 1-2 counters, 15-20 counters are now being seen. The growth of production spaces has caused the production process to be carried out in different sections separated by glass or on different floors of several-story workshops. On the other hand, ovens came to the workshops that did not have an oven in the past, and some large-scale workshops began to have more than one oven. As of this feature, workshops have started to turn into factories. On the other hand, changing rooms,

showers, masjids, and dining halls were also established by using the size of the space, especially in large-scale workshops. This situation caused the workplaces to become production complexes and to resemble factory-type productions. Of course, the size of the production places also varies according to the size of the baklava companies. Small and medium-sized workshops show the same characteristics as those in the period when craft-type production was common in the past, and they continue production in single-story, small workshops.

The transformation of the production relation includes dimensions such as *hiring*, *learning the profession*, and *discipline methods* in production relations. While these dynamics based on the skill hierarchy between master-apprentice and journeyman in the craft-type production period showed traditional and personal characteristics, this relationship turned into a rational and formal relationship network in the transition to factory-type production. In this sense, a new social setting has begun to be created in production, and the traditional structure has eroded. It is seen that the production relations in the baklava workshops have undergone this type of transformation.

This transformation first appears with the change in hiring procedures. Under the title of production relation, the change in recruitment methods in baklava factories was discussed with the theme of *relations in case of hiring*. In the craft-type production period, recruitment was mainly based on kinship and acquaintances, and craft was passed on from father to son. Cousins, uncles, and brother-in-laws played a role in the start of the baklava profession; men in the baklava profession have transferred their profession to their children. All the craftsmen interviewed started the business through an acquaintance or relative, and some of them continued their father's profession. In this sense, the recruitment pattern of the craft-type production period is also seen in baklava. In the craft-type production period, the recruitment methods based on kinship and father-to-son transfer have evolved into more rational recruitment based on skills in the transition to factory-type production. Considering that Gaziantep is now a metropolitan city and urbanization is increasing, it is understandable that it is difficult

for hiring to proceed through acquaintances. In hiring, even if the masters are foreign, they start the job if they have the skills to do the job. This situation is similar to today's recruitment is based on diplomas and skills. However, as in most professions today (Volti, 2012; Landes, 1986; Smelser, 1959), family ties are still significant in the hiring of baklavacılık. In this sense, it is seen that recruitment based on skills has not become widespread in baklava workshops as in factory-type productions. This shows that the relations still maintain the traditional features of craft-type production.

The second theme under the title of production relations is about teaching the profession of baklava and transferring skills and knowledge; this theme is discussed under the heading *As an Instructive Relation: Teach Not only Work But Also Behavior*. It has been shown that the relationship between master and apprentice under this theme also includes an instructive relationship. This situation is similar to the period in which guilds are seen as schools at the same time in traditional production periods. The apprenticeship period covers a period of approximately 9-10 years, which starts at the age of 7-8 years in the profession of baklava as "training from the cradle." This situation parallels the training period of the apprentices raised in the craft guilds in the past (Holmes, 2015; Sennett, 2008), which shows that baklava production also requires craft training. As the experience time increases, the skill increases in this process, and the apprentice rises to mastery by learning all the stages of production step by step. Apprentices learn the craft from their masters or, if they work with their fathers, from their fathers. In this sense, they do not go through vocational school education and use the workshops as a school. Like other crafts (Rorabaugh, 1086; Schneider, 1957), this training is all practice-based. As the interviewed masters supported, the profession of baklava cannot be taught and made with a written recipe; In order to learn this profession, it is necessary to observe the masters and practice with them. Today, baklava workshops still maintain these instructive features, and they perform the same function for learning the profession as the schools of the traditional period.

This instructive relationship includes not only professional knowledge but also behavior. Since apprentices start their profession at a young age and the relationship between them and their masters has a traditional structure, this relationship also includes a process in which customs, traditions, and general moral rules are learned. This relationship, which teaches moral norms, continues in baklava workshops. Since relation with apprentices is not as common as in the past, this process remains in the background, and the relationship begins to show a more rational, formal relationship.

It is necessary to make a last conclusion for this title, which covers the instructive relationship in production relations. The production system, which divides production into tasks with the division of labor, caused the newly trained apprentices to learn a single task. Although it is desired to train the apprentices by teaching the whole process, the training period of the apprentices has been shortened due to the division of labor. This situation also brought with it deskillization, causing the apprentices to grow up without learning other tasks. On the other hand, as stated in the advantages of mechanization section, a shortening of the apprenticeship period has been observed since machines' learning time is shorter than the apprentices' learning time for manual labor. In this sense, it has been observed that there are some transformations in the production learning methods of the traditional period, and a transition towards a more rational teaching process with a more rational relationship has begun. However, the process of training the apprentices is vital for the masters, and they ensure that the apprentices learn the whole process as much as they can.

Production relations, including the stages of joining the baklava profession and raising as a baklava maker, generally show traditional and informal relations. Under the theme of *From traditional to rational*, it aims to examine the transition of this relationship from informal to formal and the disciplinary methods that regulate this relationship.

First, the transformation of the relationship between master, apprentice, and journeyman was examined under the theme of *informal to formal relations*. In the

traditional period when baklava showed craft-type production characteristics, the relationship between these three actors of the production process was based on an informal and traditional, personal relationship, and the relationship showed a hierarchical relationship based on skill. As seen in other craft-type productions and craft guilds (Sennett, 2008: 53), the relationship between master and apprentice showed the characteristics of a family relationship, the workshop was seen as a house, and the relationship between master and apprentice was likened to a father and son relationship. However, today, it can be said that this family relationship has turned into a money relation, similar to the production relations of the post-industrial period. Considering the interviews and observations made in the baklava sector, it can be said that although the traditional structure continues in the relations between masters and master-apprentice, the informal relations of the traditional period have been replaced by more secondary relations. The crowding of the factories and the increase in physical and social distance can also be shown as the reasons for this transformation. It is now possible to talk about an environment where all masters and apprentices do not know each other and come together only for business relations. Nevertheless, traditional relationship networks are tried to be continued.

At the same time, *the boss's position* within the framework of production relations has also been transformed. As seen in other craft-type productions, the boss both works as a master in workshops and provides management during the period when baklava production showed craft-type production characteristics. However, with the increase in the number of people working in the production areas, the management becomes complicated, and with the rationalization of the production, the white-collar employees help the bosses to provide the management in the production spaces. However, white-collar workers are not very common in baklava production, white-collar workers, which are common in factory-type production, are only seen in large-scale workshops, and the bosses still provide the management of companies. On the other hand, the bosses no longer work in production full-time; instead, they assign headmasters to control the production. This situation is similar to the fact that bosses do not work in

production in factory-type production forms. However, in factory-type productions, the boss does not know the production. As of this situation, most of the bosses of baklava factories differ from this feature of factory-type production; most bosses know every step of baklava production. Some still work in workshops. It is seen that the bosses also work as masters, especially in small and medium-small scale workshops. This situation is also the same in some of the larger factories. In short, although factory-type production is approached in this situation, not all workshops do not show this feature fully yet.

A wholly rational and bureaucratic relationship is not seen in manufacturing plants as in factories. However, a relationship built with the traditional norms and unwritten rules of the past is also decreasing. Masters still derive their authority from tradition; In this sense, one cannot speak of a master type in Weber who takes his authority from rational bureaucracy. In short, while the production relations are shifting towards the production relations of factory-type production, the traditional production relations features still maintain their weight. Due to this feature, baklava workshops are similar to the environment in which both traditional and formal relations exist in today's production spaces (Volfi, 2012: 59; Blauner, 1964: 60; Schenider, 1957: 33).

Another theme that has changed in the transformation process from traditional relationship to formal relationship and discussed under this title is *transformation of the way of discipline*. Baklava workshops are production centers where production is carried out in a very disciplined way. This discipline is provided by verbal rules, not by written rules. As in the past, this situation continues today. However, the methods of providing this discipline have changed from past to present. The discipline provided by pressure, force and beating in baklava workshops has started to be provided today with consent, good behavior and hegemony where consent and power coexist. In baklava workshops, masters provide discipline with more fear in order to teach the job and ensure the order of the apprentices. However, today, this discipline method has lost its validity, and a more moderate approach has been adopted in order not to lose

the apprentices and the reactions from the families. In this way, discipline is ensured by hegemony in production centers that switch to other factory-type production. In this sense, it is seen that the method of providing discipline in the baklava production relations has the feature of factory-type production relations.

In short, although the production relations of baklava production preserve the characteristics of the traditional period in most aspects, it can be said that the rational and formal characteristics of factory-type production have been approached with the establishment of discipline, the withdrawal of the bosses from the production process, and the starting to consider skills as a criterion in recruitment. However, traditional relationship features still predominate.

The last title of the transformation in production is *working conditions*. Under this title, the transformation of working conditions is discussed under working hours, insurance, and wage dimensions. A shift towards factory-type production was observed in all three dimensions, and very few traces remained of the working conditions of craft-type production.

Within the scope of working conditions, the theme of the transformation of working hours was first discussed under the title of *Transformation of Working Hours: More Regular and Shorter*. Under this title, break times, entry and exit times, and off days in baklava production are revealed. During the craft-type production period, the working hours in baklava production are pretty long, and the hours of entry and exit to work are pretty irregular. Production in baklava factories always starts around 4-5 midnight. However, this does not indicate that the working hours were regular because the working hours were not strictly determined during the craft-type production period, and long and irregular working hours were observed. As with other craft-type productions, workers were working almost all the time they were awake. On the other hand, another reason that extends the working hours is working in the shop after the workshop during the craft-type production period. For this reason, working hours do

not end when the work in the workshop is finished but end when the shop is closed. In this period, when the entry-exit times were not fully determined, break times were not determined, and the employees arranged their break times according to the work span. On the other hand, the off days are not subject to a specific regulation during this period. As discussed above in the section on production organization, working hours began to be regulated as production became more standardized and routine. The baklava producers, who switched to factory-type production, tried to reduce their working hours to 8 hours, stopped working on Sundays, and the break times were arranged in a specific order. The separation of the people working in the shop and the workshop, together with the division of labor, also ensured that the working hours of the people working in the factory ended when the work in the factory was finished. Speeding up the work, which is one of the advantages of mechanization, also affected the working hours and shortened the working hours of the faster production with the machines. Although working hours are tried to be regulated, the working hours in the workshop can still vary according to the intensity of the demands from the customer, and the working hours can reach 12 hours during the periods when the demands are high. In this sense, although the working hours and the established order are not as irregular and long as in craft-type production, a strict order as in factory-type production has not been reached yet. This shows that baklava production is still in the transition phase.

Another theme discussed under the title of working conditions is wage. This theme, which is discussed under the title of *Wage and its determinants*, discusses how the wages of masters and apprentices working in the baklava sector have been transformed from craft-type production to the present. In line with Thompson's judgment that wages were determined according to social prestige in the past (2015: 294), it was concluded that those who made baklava in Gaziantep were considered prestigious during the craft production period and received more wages than a civil servant. In this sense, wages are high in this period when baklava is seen as valuable. Although there is no overtime wage in craft-type production, wages are also paid for overtime today,

and in this sense, it is seen that the wage policy of the traditional period has been abandoned. On the other hand, wages vary in workshops hierarchically depending on skill; The highest wage is for the master, the middle wage is for the journeyman, and the lowest wage is for the apprentice. This situation continues today. Another transformation in wages can be the linked-to skill. The masters, who started to lose their skills in baklava production and started to be seen as almost assemblers, began to receive low wages like the assemblers working in the factories without any skills. In this sense, mechanization and division of labor caused a decrease in wages. While wages were paid weekly and by hand in the craft-type production period, it is seen that today it is getting closer to factory-type production, and the wages are paid monthly from the bank. As a general feature of craft production, we mentioned that apprentices generally work to meet their food, shelter, and clothing needs and do not have a regular income. However, with the transition to a money economy, it has been seen that apprentices work to earn money rather than meet these needs. In short, wage-related dimensions have begun to show the characteristics of factory-type production.

The last theme under the heading of working conditions is about *insurance*. Under the title of *Transformation of Insurance: From Unsecured to Insured*, the insurance of masters and apprentices working in baklava factories has been examined. The insurance, which is rarely seen in craft-type production, is sometimes made only for masters, sometimes even for masters; Today, it is done by everyone from the youngest apprentice to the master. Workers' rights, which are trying to be protected by the regulations made by the guilds in craft-type production, started to be protected by an institutionalized social security system in baklava after the 1980s. Considering the working conditions in this sense, it can be said that there has been a significant increase in the number of insured employees. In this situation, it is seen that the uninsured employees of the traditional period are replaced by the secure working situation, which is one of the working conditions of the modern period. This situation also enabled the wage and working hours listed above to be regulated according to these social security rights.

In short, although the traditional structure of baklava production relations continues predominantly in this transformation, it is seen that the relations began to rationalize and approached factory-type production with the growth of the production space and the regulation of working conditions. Convergence to factory-type production, depending on the scale of production, as seen in the previous main title, it has been observed that baklava factories are getting closer to factory-type production characteristics as the scale grows.

In general, there are major reasons for this transformation in the production process and the decline of craft-type production. The reasons behind this transformation in the mode of production also show parallelism with the transition to industrial-type production in the 19th century. A few of the many developments that triggered the transition to industrial production can be observed in this process. Expanding the baklava production to the wide market and the increase in the demands coming with the development of the trade made it necessary to grow in order to be able to produce more. On the other hand, developments in technology have also affected this sector, and the use of new machines has been seen as a solution to increase productivity and facilitate work. In this sense, the effects of the industrial revolution have begun to show themselves, although it has been a long time. In addition, with the transition to the money economy, the work done only to learn the job and fulfill the basic needs in the craft type production showed itself with the loss of the value of the craft type production with the transition to professions where more money can be earned. Finally, educational reform can be shown as the reason for declining the craft-type feature of baklava production. The 4+4+4 education system caused apprentices who grew up from the core to leave the workshops and enroll in schools, and this resulted in a decrease in the number of apprentices, the inability to find someone to teach the job, and the loss of the craft-type production feature of the profession. All these reasons coincide with the reasons given as the reasons for the disappearance of craft-type production in the literature under the title of declining of craft production. In this

process, where professional chambers in Gaziantep replaced guilds, craft-type production also declined due to the reasons listed above.

In brief, technological development cannot be shown as the only reason behind the transformation of baklava production; in this sense, technological determinism cannot be made. The facilitation of transportation means increased demand for baklava, and the desire to increase efficiency to meet this demand coincided with mechanization. However, mechanization is not directly the determinant of the whole process. On the other hand, when the relations of production are considered, both the rational production organization and urbanization, population growth, and the fact that individuals no longer know each other as much as they used to have caused a transformation in production relations from traditional to rational. In this sense, it is not possible to talk about a transformation brought about by mechanization. Finally, when the transformation of working conditions is taken into consideration, we encounter changes in the approach of state policies rather than the transformation of mechanization or production organization. As a result, it can be said that behind this transformation, there is a remarkable transformation beyond mechanization.

As a result, this research examined the production process of baklava production, the organization of production, production relations, the place of production, and the transformation in terms of working conditions concerning these dimensions. Baklava production is less developed compared to factory type productions; manual production rather than machine production is continued in a way that resembles the pre-industrial period; the masters working in the production process preserve their skills, and there is no alienation; more routinized and more standardized in terms of organization of production compared to the past; While it shows more traditional features in terms of its social structure, that is, production relations, it shows a characteristic close to factory-type production in terms of its physical structure and working conditions.

In this context, it has been seen that baklava production is in a transition period between craft-type production and factory-type production in terms of production method, production organization, production relations, production space, and working conditions. In this sense, the characteristics of the two production types were seen together in baklava production, and the production of baklava did not completely turn into factory-type production. The most crucial reason why baklava production did not completely turn into factory-type production is due to the importance of manual labor in production and the fact that mechanization is still seen as a disadvantage.

We mentioned that the change in the mode of production is not abrupt and involves a transition period. We can say that baklava production is in the transition phase, during the transition from craft-type production to factory-type production, and it is at the manufacturing stage according to the periods in which Marx (1976: 589) separated the production types. And also, according to Faunce model (1965: 152), baklava production is in the mechanized production. In line with this analysis, Blauner's (1964) study comparing four industries in terms of the degree of mechanization and rationalization of division of labor is also essential for the framework of this research. Assuming that the production of baklava shows different production models in these four industries, it can be said that in baklava production craft technology and machine tending technology is used at the same time. However, the baklava sector also has its own differences. According to their scales, some enterprises (large, medium-large ones) show features closer to factory-type production and machine tending technology. In contrast, some enterprises (small, small-medium ones) are closer to craft-type production and craft technology.

In this part, something can be said about the fact that baklava production in Gaziantep is still male dominated today. As stated in the introduction and as can be seen from the participant profiles, today's baklava production continues to be male dominant. It is a prevailing opinion among baklava masters that making baklava requires strength, and therefore women cannot play a role in baklava production. Although production seems

to have become easier with mechanization, women still do not take an active role in the production process. Women are assigned to baklava production workshops' dining halls or simple tasks such as cracking pistachios. The assignment of women to simple tasks such as cracking pistachios, on the one hand, brings to mind the labor of children/apprentices. This task, which was undertaken by children/apprentices, that is, unskilled workers in the past, is now made by women who are seen as unskilled.

Two interpretations can be made for the future of baklava production. According to this transformation process followed by baklava production, although traditional production methods maintain their importance today, it can be predicted that baklava production will switch to factory-type production in the future, just like other industries that have completed their stages. Today, the biggest obstacle to the non-factorization of baklava is that, as in other non-factory professions (Stott, 1996: 14; Blauner, 1964: 169), it is not possible to produce the product with factory-type production and maintain the same quality and taste characteristics even if machines make it. On the other hand, considering that Sennett (2008: 9) sees craftsmanship as a way of life and a basic human desire that will never end, baklava can also maintain this lifestyle by maintaining all its transitional characteristics. However, some indicators show that baklava will evolve towards the first story. The inability to train apprentices, especially with the 4+4+4 education system; The fact that masters and families do not want their children to become baklava makers, thinking that the profession has lost its value, shows that the mystery of the craft cannot be transferred in this profession and the production will lose all its craft characteristics.

It is seen that this research does not fully include a comparison between experienced masters and today's apprentices. The frame drawn above was created with the opinions of experienced craftsmen who have been working in baklava production for many years. Future researchers can carry out this research by involving both experienced masters and apprentices. In this way, the research can provide comparative research by revealing the current apprentice profile, the relations of the apprentices with their

masters, the skills of the apprentices, the wages they receive, and their insurance status. At the same time, this study proposes a model for examining the transformation of a craft in all its stages in the future. Future studies can reveal the stage of the transformation process by comparing these aspects of the modes of production they have studied using this study/model of the production process, the organization of production, the relations of production, the place of production, and working conditions.



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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARASTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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20 Mayıs 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Ayça ERGUN OZBOLAT

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Münire Büşra TUFAN'ın "Atölyeden Fabrikaya: Gaziantep Baklava Atölyelerindeki Dönüşüme Baklava Üretime ve Tüketimi Arasındaki İlişki Üzerinden Bir Bakış" başlıklı çalışması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **165-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Dr.Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
İAEK Başkan Vekili

B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS / BİREYSEL GÖRÜŞME FORMU

A. Katılımcıya Ait Bilgiler

1. Yaşınız nedir?
2. Medeni Durumunuz nedir?
3. Eğitim Durumunuz nedir?

B. Katılımcının İş Tanımı ve İşi Bulma Yolları

4. Ne iş yapıyorsunuz?
 - ✓ Ailenizde ya da yakın çevrenizde daha önce baklavacılık sektöründe çalışan var mı?
 - ✓ Bu mesleği neden seçtiniz?
 - ✓ İşinizi nasıl buldunuz?

C. Bir İş Günü

5. Bir iş gününde istisnasız her gün yaptığınız aktiviteler nelerdir?
 - ✓ Bir günlük süreçte, çalışma rutininizin dışına çıktıığınız faaliyetler nelerdir?
 - ✓ Çalışma saatleriniz ve günlük iş yükünüz hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

D. Baklava Sektöründeki Deneyim

6. Kaç senedir bu işi yapıyorsunuz?
 - ✓ Baklavacılığı/baklava yapımını kimden/nasıl öğrendiniz?
 - ✓ Mesleğe başladığınızdan beri baklava yapımının aynı aşamasında mı çalışıyorsunuz?
 - ✓ Daha önce hangi aşamalarda çalışınız?
 - ✓ Baklava yapımının diğer aşamalarındaki işleri de yapabiliyor musunuz, nasıl yapıldığını biliyor musunuz?

- ✓ İmalathaneye makinenin/teknolojinin girmesi baklava yapımına ilişkin tecrübenizi nasıl etkiledi?

7. İlk başladığınız zamana kıyasla baklava imalatında neler değişti?

- ✓ İlk girdiğiniz zaman ile şimdiki kıyaslamanız gerekirse çalışma koşulları açısından farklılıklar nelerdir?
- ✓ İmalat süreçleri açısından farklılıklar oldu mu?
(Eğer çalışma saatine ve ücrette yönelik bir şey söylenilmezse;)
- ✓ Çalışma saatleri nasıl değişti?
- ✓ Çalışma koşulları nasıl değişti?
- ✓ Ücrette nasıl bir değişim oldu?

8. Yaptığınız işten memnun musunuz? Başka bir işte çalışmayı ister misiniz?

9. Şimdiki çalışma koşullarınızı ve ortamınızı geçmişle karşılaştırığınızda;

- ✓ Olumlu olarak değerlendireceğiniz yönler nelerdir?
- ✓ Olumsuz olarak değerlendireceğiniz yönler nelerdir?

10. Üretimin artışı ile beraber imalathanede neler değişti?

- ✓ İmalathaneye makine ne zaman girdi? Makineyi kullanabiliyor musunuz?
- ✓ Makine kullanımının avantajları ve dezavantajları nelerdir?

E. İmalathanedeki Usta-Çırak İlişkisi

11. Üretimde usta-çırak ilişkisinden bahsedebilir misiniz?

- ✓ Siz çırakken çıraklığınızı nasıl deneyimlediniz?
- ✓ Siz usta olarak usta-çırak ilişkisini nasıl deneyimliyorsunuz?
- ✓ Geçmişle bugünü kıyasladığınızda usta-çırak ilişkisinin nasıl değiştiğini düşünüyorsunuz/nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

F. Mesleğin Devam Ettirilmesi/Aktarılması

12. Çocuklarınızın bu işte çalışmasını ister misiniz? Neden?

C. GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATION CERTIFICATE



T. C.
TÜRK PATENT ENSTİTÜSÜ

COĞRAFI İŞARET TESCİL BELGESİ

Tescil No	: 95
Başvuru Tarihi	: 28.03.2005
Başvuru No	: C 2005/005
Yayın Tarihi	: 27.04.2007
Türü	: Mahreç İşareti
Başvuru Sahibi	: Gaziantep Sanayi Odası
Başvuru Sahibinin Adresi	: İstasyon Cd. No:2/3 GAZİANTEP
Ürünün Adı	: Baklava
Coğrafi İşaret	: Antep Baklavası
Kullanım Biçimi	: Markalama
Coğrafi Sınırları	: Gaziantep İli
Diger bilgiler ektedir.	

Teknik özellikleri ve denetim biçimi ekte verilen coğrafi işaret; 27.04.2007 tarih ve 26505 sayılı Resmi Gazetede ilan edilmiştir. 555 sayılı Coğrafi İşaretlerin Korunması Hakkındaki Kanun Hükmünde Karamname'nin 12. nci maddesi gereğince 28.03.2005 tarihinden geçerli olmak üzere tescil edilmiştir.



Uzman: Gonca İLICALI 
Daire Başkanı: Kutay KUMBASAR 
Enstitü Başkan Yrd: Prof. Dr. Habip ASAN 

TÜRK PATENT [] ENSTİTÜSÜ

Tescil No : 95
Coğrafi İşaret : Antep Baklavası

Ürünün Tanımı: "Antep Baklavası" geleneksel Türk mutfağına ait bir tatlıdır. Gaziantep'te babadan oğla, ustadan çırاغa öğretilerek, üretim şekli ve lezzeti ile ev yapımı baklavalardan farklılaşmıştır. Ürün çok ince hamur katmanları arasına fistık ve kaymak konularak pişirilip, üzerine şerbet ilave edilmek suretiyle elde edilen tatlıdır.

Ürün yaş ve kuru olmak üzere ikiye ayrılmaktadır. Üretim şekli aynı olmakla birlikte kuru ile yaş arasındaki tek fark, raf ömrünü uzatmak için, kuru baklavanın, kaymak kullanılmadan sadece hamur katmanları arasında fistık kullanılarak üretilmesidir.

Antep Baklavasının hammaddeleri:

Hamur: Sert buğdayunu, sade yağ, (%99.9 yağ içeren, katılımlardan arındırılmış, saf tereyağı), yumurta ve tuzdan elde edilen sert buğday hamuru.

Şerbet: Şeker veya tatlandırıcı (diyabetik türü için) elde edilen şerbet.

Kaymak: İrmik ve süten elde edilen kaymak.

Antep Fıstığı: Coğrafi işaretre sahip Antep fıstığı.

Nişasta: Buğday nişastası

Ürünün Ayırt Edici Özellikleri: Fıstık: Ağustos aynının ilk haftasında daha yeni yeni olgunlaşan ve halk arasında "firik veya boz-ıç" diye tabir edilen, 1 kilosunda 110-170 gr fıstık içi veren, koyu yeşil renkli, aroması yoğun Antep Fıstığıdır. Antep Baklavası, imalat tarzı ve kullanılan Antep Fıstığı ile ülke genelindeki ün ile Gaziantep vilayeti ile özdeşleşmiştir.

Antep Fıstığının Coğrafi işaret tescili Gaziantep Ticaret Odası tarafından yapılmıştır.

Sade yağ: Keçi sütünden elde edilmiş ve tuz ve diğer içeriğinden arınarak %99.9 yağ barındıracak şekilde hazırlanmış saf tereyağıdır.

Kaymak: Keçi, koyun veya inek sütünün 105-108 C°ye kaynatılıp, içine irmik katılarak elde edilir. (1000 gr süte 100 gr irmik)

Un: Sert buğdaydan elde edilmiş undur.

Pişirme: 30-45 dakika sürekli çevrilerek, 200-300 C° de, tercihen meşe odunu ağacının ateşinde, taş (zeminli) fırnlarda pişirilmektedir.

Üretim Metodu:

Hamur hazırlanması: Baklava hamuru için sert buğdayunu kullanılır. 1 kg una 2-4 yumurta katılır, 10 gr kaya tuzu atılır ve su ile karıştırılır. Kulak memesi yumuşaklığında hamur elde edilir. Hazırlanan hamur çok ince açılmalı, yaklaşık 35-40 adet 2,5-3 cm'ye siğdirilmelidir.

Şerbet (kıvam) hazırlanması: 1 kg baklavaya yaklaşık olarak 1,750 gr şerbet katılır.

Kaymak (krema) hazırlanması: 1 kg süt, 100 gr irmik ile 100 derecede kaynatılır. Katılaşınca soğumaya bırakılır.

Genel üretim tarifi: Un ile yumurta (1kg unda 2-4 adet yumurta), tuz (1 kg-10 gr kaya tuzu) ve su ile karıştırılır. Kulak memesi yumuşaklığında hamur elde edilir. Hamur, 50-100'er gramlık bazılar şeklinde açılır, kenarları kesilerek inceltilir. Bazıların en az 9-11-13-15 tanesi bir oklavaya sanılarak aralarına buğday nişastası eklenir. Hamur, 1-1,5 metre enine ve 2 metre boyuna gelene kadar inceltilir. Daha önceden sade yağla yağlanmış tepsİYE en az 15-20 kat hamur konulur. Hamur katları aralarına sade yağ serpiştirilerek tepsİYE döşenir. Daha önceden hazırlanmış ve soğultulmuş kaymak, ince tabaka halinde hamur üzerine yatırılır. Onun üzerine Antep fıstığı serpiştirilir. Bunun üzerine yeniden en az 15-20 kattan oluşan hamur katmanları konulur, aralarına sade yağ serpiştirilerek üst bölümü yapılır. Hamurun kenarları düzeltilir. Bu aşamadan sonra baklava dilimlenir, yağ verilir. Fırına verilen baklava tepsisi 30-40 dakika pişirilir. Fırından çıkarılan baklava üzerine 102-110 C° de kaynar şerbet dökülür.

Tescil No : 95
Coğrafi işaret : Antep Baklavası

Üretim Yöntemi: (4 kg. 1 tepsı baklava imalatı için)

- Sade yağ ile tepsı yağılanır.
- Tepsiye iki adet tek parça sağlam hamur (yufka) serilir.
- Üzerine parça parça hamur (yufka) serilir. (550-650 gr. kadar)
- Üzerine 450-550 gr kadar kaymak (krema) serilir ve bıçak yardımıyla düzleştirilir.
- Kaymak tabakasının üzerine 400-450 gr. kadar Antep fistığı serpilir. Fistığın altından kaymak görülmemelidir.
- Ancak kuru Antep Baklavası yapılacaksa kaymak serilmemelidir.
- Kaymak-Fıstık tabakasının en üstüne 15-20 kat daha yekpare hamur (yufka) serilir.
- Hamurlar serilirken aralarına buğday nişastası serpilir.
- Tepsiye taşan hamurlar bıçakla kesilerek tepsı ebadında düzlenir.
- Hazırlanan tepsı, isteğe göre, küçük dilim (küçük dikdörtgen şekli), mekik (baklava şekli), muska dilim (üçgen), kare, havuç dilimi (tepsi ortasından kenara doğru büyük üçgen dilimler) şekillerinden tercih edilen şekilde eşit parçaları bölünerek kesilir.
- Bunun üzerine 600-650 gr kadar eritilmiş süzülmüş sade yağ sıcak halde dökülür.
- Bir süre bekletilerek fırında pişirilir.
- Üst yufka kabaran tepsı fırından alınır. Pişen baklavaların dilim araları bıçakla hafifçe genişletilir.
- İki dakika kadar bekletilir.
- Daha önce hazırlanan kıvam (şerbet), sıcak olarak, fırından sıcak çıkan tepsiyi dökülür.
- Servise hazırlır.

Muhteviyatı: 1 kg "Antep Baklavası"ının ortalama muhteviyat dağılımı şu şekildedir (±%3 tolerans ile);

Antep Fistığı	% 10-11
Krema (Kaymak)	% 12-13
Yağ	% 15-16
Şerbet(Kıvam)	% 35-36
Un (Hamur)	% 25

Ambalajlama: Ürün, ağırlık esasına göre satıldığından, ürünün bozulmasına imkan vermeyecek ve sağlık kurallarını ihlal etmeyecek şekilde müşterinin isteğine göre 1,2,3,4 kg. lik paket veya tepsilerde veya tüketicinin talep ettiği miktarda tepsili veya paketlerde satılabilicektir. Ürünün iki türlü olduğundan, hangi tür satıldığı tüketiciye satış esnasında bildirilecek ve paketlerin üzerinde de tüketicinin rahatlıkla okuyacağı şekilde: kuru tip için "KURU ANTEP BAKLAVASI" veya yaşı tip için "YAŞ ANTEP BAKLAVASI" şeklinde yazılarak belirtilecektir. "Yaş" ibaresi her ne kadar ürünü ifade etse de, ürün geleneksel olarak bu türde üretildiğinden, ifade olarak üreticiye bağlı olarak kullanılacaktır. Ürünü üreten üreticimi, Antep Baklavasının özellikleri ve nasıl servise hazırlanacağını paketlerin içinde belirtilecektir.

Denetleme: Geleneksel Türk tatlılarından olan baklava, ürün olarak ülke genelinde her yerde imal edilmektedir. "Antep Baklavası" olarak baklava imal eden firmalar, esnaf ve ticaret sicil kayıtlarından, vergi kayıtlarından tespit edilecektir. Ayrıca, Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birlliğinden, tüm Türkiye'deki odalar aracılığıyla Antep Baklavası üreten firmalar tespit edilecektir.

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Çalışma kavramı pek çok boyutu içerisinde barındırır. Bu boyutlar, üretim süreci, çalışma ilişkileri, üretimin mekânı ve çalışma koşulları olarak sıralanabilir. Çalışma kavramı, bu boyutları ile beraber tarihsel süreç içerisinde sürekli olarak dönüşüme uğramıştır. Çalışmanın anlamı ve boyutlarında yaşanan bu dönüşüm, tarihsel olarak oldukça önemli kabul edilmiş; öyle ki çalışma biçimleri tarihsel dönemlerin adlandırılmasında kullanılmıştır. Tarihsel dönemler, çalışmanın anlamı ve boyutlarında dönüşümler yaşandıkça isim değişirmiştir, avcı toplayıcı toplumlardan sanayi ve sanayi sonrası toplumlara kadar bu isimler temel üretim biçimlerine bağlı olarak dönüşmüştür. Bu dönüşüm hem üretimde kullanılan araçların dönüşümü ile, hem de üretimin organizasyonun değişimi ile gerçekleşmiştir.

Üretim biçimindeki en önemli dönüşümlerden biri sanayi öncesi toplum ile sanayi toplumu arasında gözlemlenmiştir. Zanaat tipi üretimin temel üretim biçimi olarak görüldüğü sanayi öncesi toplum, Sanayi Devrimi ile beraber fabrika tipi, manifaktür üretim biçimine doğru evirilmiştir. Tekstil, otomotiv ve diğer pek çok üretimin günden güne yayılarak endüstrileşmesine sebep olan bu dönüşümü (Braverman, 1974: 139; Adamson, 2013: xiii) her üretim farklı coğrafyalarda, farklı zamanlarda deneyimlemeye başlamıştır (Adamson, 2013: 14). Üretim biçiminde yaşanan bu değişim üretim sürecinde, çalışma ilişkilerinde, üretimin mekânında ve çalışma koşullarında da kendisini göstererek bütüncül bir dönüşüme sahne olmuştur.

Bu araştırma, bu çerçeve içerisinde, zanaat tipi üretimden fabrika tipi üretme doğru üretim sürecindeki, üretim ilişkilerindeki, üretimin mekanındaki ve çalışma koşullarındaki dönüşümü incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Dönüşümün boyutlarını ortaya koyarak zanaat tipi üretimin hangi aşamalarda ve hangi boyutlarda dönüştüğünü göstermek için bir model ortaya koymayı amaçlayan bu araştırma, dönüşümün temel özelliklerini göstermek istemektedir. Diğer taraftan bu dönüşümün yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi teknolojinin gelişimi ve yeni üretim organizasyonları ile bağlantısının kurulması amaçlanır. Teknolojinin gelişiminin, diğer bir deyişle

makineleşmenin ve rasyonelleşmenin yeni üretim organizasyonları yaratması bu süreçteki etkisi yadsınamaz derecede önemli gözükmektedir.

Bu amaç doğrultusunda, araştımanın sorusu şöyle şekillendirilmiştir: Zanaat tipi üretimden endüstri tipi üretime geçişte üretim süreci, üretim ilişkileri, üretimin mekâni ve çalışma koşulları hangi özellikleri bakımından ve nasıl farklılaşmaktadır? Bu araştırma sorusu dört alt araştırma sorusunu da beraberinde getirmiştir: i) Bu süreçte üretim süreci nasıl dönüştür? ii) Bu süreçte üretim ilişkileri nasıl dönüştür? iii) Bu süreçte üretimin mekâni nasıl dönüştür? iv) Bu süreçte çalışma koşulları nasıl dönüştür?

Bu soruları yanıtlamak için araştımanın konusu baklava üretiminin dönüşümü olarak seçilmiştir. Hem zanaat tipi hem de fabrika tipi üretim biçimi özelliklerinin bir arada görüldüğü bu üretimde, geçiş sürecinin incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaçla baklava üretiminin bir marka haline geldiği Gaziantep ili bu araştımanın gerçekleştirilmesi için uygun görülmüştür. Hem geleneksek üretimin hem de sanayileşmiş üretimin bir arada bulunduğu bir kent olması göz önünde bulundurularak seçilen Gaziantep (Bortaçina, 2003: 16-50; Gaziantep, 2016: 219-227), aynı zamanda baklavanın Coğrafi Tescil Belgesi'ne de sahiptir. Bu özellikleri itibarı ile hem üretim sürecinin dönüşümünü hem de baklava üretiminin incelenmesi için gerekli kriterleri karşılamaktadır.

Bu araştırma, yeni bir konu sunar ve literatürdeki hem Gaziantep ile ilgili hem de çalışma sosyolojisi ile ilgili yapılan diğer çalışmaların iki yönüyle ayrılmaktadır. Gaziantep hakkında yapılan araştırmalar iki özellik gösterir; ilki kentin gastronomik, turistik yapısı ve geleneksel üretimler ile ilgilidir (Olcay, Mısırlıoğlu ve Karalar, 2017; Özdal, 2018; Kaya ve Sormaz, 2017; Solunoğlu ve Nazik, 2018; Demircioğlu, 2020). Gaziantep ile ilgili literatürdeki diğer araştırmaların konusu ise Türkiye'deki ilk sanayileşmiş şehirlerden biri olması sebebiyle Anadolu Kaplanları'ndan biri olarak anılması ve kentin sanayi üretimi ile ilgilidir (Bedirhanoglu ve Yalman, 2009; Eraydın, 1999; Özaslan, 2016; Karadaş, 2011; Güler ve Şimşek, 2017). Bu araştırmada ele

alınan baklavacılık ise ne yemenicilik, bakırcılık gibi geleneksel üretimin tüm özelliklerini gösterir, ne de tekstil ve otomotiv gibi tamamen sanayileşmiş bir üretimdir. Fabrika tipi üretime geçiş aşamasında olan bu üretimin zanaat tipi, geleneksel üretimden fabrika tipi üretime geçiş özelliklerini anlayabilmek için önemli olduğu düşünülmüştür. Bu araştırma aynı zamanda literatürdeki diğer araştırmalara katkı olarak, yalnızca üretim sürecini ya da sadece çalışma koşulları ve üretim ilişkilerini incelemek yerine bütüncül bir yaklaşımla üretimin tümünü incelemeyi amaçlamıştır.

Zanaat tipi üretimden fabrika tipi üretime geçişte üretim sürecinin, üretim ilişkilerinin, üretimin mekanının ve çalışma koşullarının dönüşümünü anlamak isteyen bu araştırmada nitel araştırma metodu kullanılmıştır. Bu metot kapsamında amaçlı örneklem çerçevesinde katılımcılar seçilmiştir. Katılımcılara anahtar kişiler vasıtası ile ulaşılmıştır. Katılımcıların baklava üretimindeki deneyim süresi bu seçimde önemlidir. Deneyim süresinin önemli olmasının sebebi, görüşme yapılacak ustaların hem geleneksel üretim metodlarını hem de günümüzdeki makineleşmiş üretim metodlarını bilen, bu dönüşüm sürecini deneyimlemiş kişiler olması ve bu iki süreci karşılaştırmalı olarak anlatabilmesidir. Bu çerçevede baklavacılık sektöründe en az 15 sene deneyimi olan 13 ustabaşı, 12 işletme sahibi ve 10 baklava ustası ile yarı yapılandırılmış, 34 sorudan oluşan soru kağıdı ile birlikte derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Aynı zamanda Gaziantep Sanayi Odası'ndan 1 gıda mühendisi ile de görüşülmüştür. Görüşmelerde ses kaydı alınmış, ses kaydı alınması için katılımcılardan aydınlatılmış onam formları ile onay alınmıştır. Bu kapsamında katılımcılar aynı zamanda çalışıkları işletmelerin ölçekleri de göz önünde bulundurularak seçilmiştir. Büyük, orta-büyük, orta-küçük ve küçük ölçekli olarak dört kategorideki işletmelerin seçiminde çalıştırıdıkları usta sayısı ve üretimde kullandıkları makineler göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Katılımcıların çalıştığı 13 farklı baklavacıdan 5'i küçük ölçekli, 2'si orta-küçük ölçekli, 2'si orta-büyük ölçekli ve 4'ü büyük ölçeklidir. Görüşmeler imalathanelerde, ustalar çalışırken ya da molalarda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Saha araştırması 35 gün sürmüştür, sabah 6'dan öğleden sonra 2'ye kadar imalathanelerde gözlemler yapılmıştır. Bu sayede saha araştırması

boyunca pek çok imalathaneye girip üretim sürecini, iş bölümünü ve kullanılan makineleri görme şansı elde edilmiştir.

Covid-19 dönemine denk gelen saha araştırması bazı zorluklarla da karşılaşılmıştır. Araştırma pandemi koşullarına rağmen, Zoom ya da online platformlar yerine yüz yüze görüşmeleri gerekli kılmıştır. Katılımcı profili göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, katılımcılarla kurulan ilişkide güven ortamını sağlamak ve daha sağlıklı/güvenilir veriler toplamak amacıyla saha araştırması Gaziantep'teki baklava imalathanelerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmanın konusu da göz önünde bulundurulduğunda üretim biçimini, çalışma koşullarını ve üretim ilişkilerini gözlemlemek için de saha araştırmasının yerinde yapılması gereklidir. Bu nedenle Covid-19'a rağmen, bazı durumlarda sosyal mesafeyi de göz ardı etmek durumunda kalarak saha araştırması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bunun yanında karşılaşılan bir diğer zorluk ise baklava üretiminin bir zanaat olarak görülmesi ve üretimin bir sıra olarak saklanmak istenmesinden kaynaklanmıştır. İmalathane sahipleri başlarda imalathanelerini ve üretim süreçlerini göstermekte çekimser davranışlarındır. Bunun sebebi ise üretim metotları hakkında diğer firmalar ile bilgi paylaşılmasından ötürü olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Ancak saha araştırması sırasında kurulan güven ilişkisi sayesinde bu zorluğun önüne geçilmiş ve imalathanelerde gözlem yapılması için gerekli izinler alınmıştır.

Sahadan toplanan verilerin analizi ise MAXQDA 2022 programı ile yapılmıştır. Derinlemesine görüşmelerde alınan ses kayıtları transkript edilmiş, bu transkriptler MAXQDA 2022 programına aktarılmış ve bu programda oluşturulan kod, alt kod ve temalarla araştırmanın analizi yapılmıştır. Araştırmanın analizinde kullanılacak olan temalar, saha öncesinde yapılan literatür araştırması ekseninde, çalışma sosyolojisinde kullanılan kavramlar tema olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu yöntem Hsieh ve Shannon'un veri analizi çeşitlerinden “Doğrudan İçerik Analizi Metodu” (2005: 1281) ile benzer özellikler taşımaktadır. Bu analiz kapsamında 2 ana tema, 6 alt tema ve 184 koda ulaşılmıştır. Her bir tema altında baklavacılığın geçmişteki ve günümüzdeki üretim biçimini karşılaştırmalı olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu anlamda baklavanın tamamen zanaat

tipi üretim özellikleri gösterdiği dönem ile fabrika tipi üretim özellikleri göstermeye başladığı dönem kıyaslanmıştır.

Araştırmmanın teorik çerçevesinde, üretim tipleri hakkında bütüncül bir çerçeve çizilmesi amacıyla, çalışma sosyolojisi literatüründeki pek çok teoriye ve araştırmaya yer verilmiştir. Bu kapsamda hem zanaat tipi üretim hem de fabrika tipi üretim hakkında yazılan, aynı zamanda zanaat tipi üretim tipinin dönüşümü ile ilgili olan araştırmalar teorik çerçevenin konumlandırılması amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Richard Sennett'in (2008) zanaat tipi üretimi tüm ayrıntıları ile anlattığı modeli, Sjoberg'in (1965) endüstri öncesi ekonomik yapıyı anlattığı kitabı, makineleşme ile ilgili ilk teorisyenlerden olan Babbage (2009), Braverman (1974) ve Bright'in (1958) vasıfsızlaşma teorileri, Blauner'in (1964) üretimde teknoloji kullanımı ve yabancılılaşma yaklaşımı, Marx'in (1976) üretim tipleri ve yabancılılaşma ile ilgili kurguladığı teorileri bu çalışmada kullanılan teorilerin başında gelir. Bu teorisyenlerin yanında yeni üretim organizasyonu yöntemlerinin tartışıldığı Fordizm, Taylorizm, rutinleşme ve standartlaşma da kuramsal çerçevede yer verilen tartışmaların başında gelir. Tüm bu teori ve teorisyenler zanaat tipi üretim ve fabrika tipi üretimin üretim süreci, üretim ilişkileri, üretimin mekânı ve çalışma koşulları hakkında geniş bir çerçeve çizilmesine katkıda bulunmuştur.

Bu çerçevede zanaatın ve zanaat tipi üretimin genel özelliklerinden bahsedilebilir. Zanaat her ne kadar tanımlaması zor bir kavram olsa da literatürde genel anlamı ile yaratıcılık, kökleşmiş, otantik, beceri, güç ve akıl kelimeleri ile tasvir edilmektedir (Adamson, 2013: xvii; Visser, 1994: 13). Barişa ise zanaat ile üretilen materyallerde işlevselligin yanında güzelliğe de vurgu yapıldığını belirtir (1985: 3). Zanaat üretimi kalite odaklıdır ve yüksek kaliteli, el yapımı üretimi ima eder (Sennett, 2008: 24); ancak bu üretim yalnızca estetik güzelliği değil aynı zamanda kullanışlılığı, devamlılığı ve kolektif bir davranış da içinde barındırır (Schneider, 1957: 36). Bu anlamı ile sanat ve zanaat birbirinden ayrılır (Poser, 2008: 81; Sennett, 2008: 66).

Zanaatın kurumsal yapısına bakıldığından loncalar ile karşılaşılır. Loncaların bu üretim biçimini için önemli olmasının ve loncalara bu çalışma kapsamında yer verilmesinin bazı sebepleri vardır. En önemli sebep loncaların üretim biçimini, üretim ilişkilerini ve çalışma koşullarını belirleyen bir özelliği olmasından ileri gelir. Loncalar aynı türden üretim yapan üreticilerin bir araya getirilmesi ile oluşmaktadır (Lopez, 1971: 127) ve Orta Çağ'da bakırcılık, ayakkabıcılık, dokuma gibi bir çok meslek için loncalar vardır (Volti, 2012: 29). Bu loncaların en büyük işlevi üretimi, üretim ilişkilerini ve çalışma koşullarını düzenleyen kurallar yaratması ve bu şekilde üretimi düzenlemesidir (Weber, 1950: 138; Rorabaugh, 1986: 4-5; Aynur, 2005: 184; Schenider, 1957: 5; Volti, 2012: 31; Yi, 2005: 55). Bu şekilde koyduğu kurallar ile üretim üzerindeki kontrolü de sağlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda loncalar üretimin öğrenilmesi yani üretim hakkındaki bilgilerin aktarılması konusunda da önemli bir işlev sahiptir ve bir okul görevi görür (Sjoberg, 1965: 192). Bu anlamda loncalar aynı zamanda yeni zanaatkarların yetiştirmesini ve zanaatların sürdürülmesini de sağlamaktadır.

Loncaların düzenlediği bu üretim biçimine bakıldığından üretim sürecinin temel bazı özellikleri ile karşılaşılır. Zanaatlarda kullanılan araçlara bakıldığından basit el aletleri ile karşılaşılır. Geleneksel becerilerin ön planda olduğu üretim sürecinde, aletler yalnızca zanaatkarların kullandığı ve yön verdiği araçlar olarak görülür; üretim tamamıyla zanaatkarın kontrolü altında ve zanaatkarın el becerisine bağlıdır (Blauner, 1964: 42; Faunce, 1965: 152-153; Holmes, 2015: 482; Sjoberg, 1965: 196). Bu çerçevede zanaat tipi üretim zanaatkarların yani ustaların becerileri temelinde şekillenir, geleneksel beceri bu üretim tipinde son derece önemlidir (Hambleton, 2016: 67; Sennett, 2008). Bu beceri sürekli olarak tekrar eden bir pratiğe, birikim ve yaratıcılık gerektiren bir yapıya sahiptir (Blauner, 1964: 37; Holmes, 2015: 482; Veblen, 1914: 306). Bu beceri, ustaların tüm üretim süreci hakkında bilgilerinin olmasını ve tüm üretim sürecindeki işlerin becerisine sahip olarak tüm üretim sürecinde uzmanlaşmış olmasını gerektirmektedir (Schneider, 1957: 199-200; Blauner, 1964: 97; Sjoberg, 1965: 187, 197).

Zanaat tipi üretimin organizasyonuna bakıldığında da belli başlı özelliklerle karşılaşılır. İlk olarak iş bölümüne bakıldığında, usta, çırak ve halfe arasında olan hiyerarşik bir iş bölümü ile karşılaşılır. Sennett bu anlamıyla zanaat tipi üretimin kolektif bir etkinlik olduğunu belirtir (2008: 66). Üretim organizasyonunun standartlaşmasına bakıldığında ise, standart bir üretim ve standart bir ürünle karşılaşılmaz; tek standart olan şey londaların düzenlediği ürünün kalitesi ve kullanılan hammaddenin kalitesi hakkındadır (Sjoberg, 1965: 214; Schneider, 1957: 199-200). Üretim organizasyonunun rutinleşmesine bakıldığında ise zanaat üretiminin kendine has bir rutininin ve ritmininmasına rağmen (Adamson, 2013: 14; Sennett, 2008: 66, 175) üretim saatlerinin belirli bir rutine yerleştirilmediği görülür.

Zanaat tipi üretimdeki üretim ilişkilerine bakıldığında ise yapılan çalışmalar genel anlamda birincil ve geleneksel ilişkilerin yaygın olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu üretim tipindeki üretim ilişkilerinin aktörleri usta, çırak ve halfedir. Bu aktörler beceriye, yaşa ve deneyime göre hiyerarşik olarak konumlandırılır (Schneider, 1957: 27; Holmes, 2015: 482; Sennett, 2008: 54,61; Kickinger, 2005: 290-291; Klekot, 2020: 220; Sjoberg, 1965: 189). Usta bu hiyerarşide beceri ve deneyim bağlamında en üstte, halfe onun altında, çırak ise en az beceri ve en az deneyime sahip olan üretim aktörü olarak en altta yer alır (Blauner, 1964: 43; Schneider, 1957: 36; Kickenger, 2005: 290-291). Çırak yaşı olarak da en küçük olan üretim aktördür, çıraklar zanaat üretimine erken yaşıta başlar. Bu durum ise işi öğrenmenin küçük yaşılda daha kolay olacağı yönündeki düşünceden ve çırakların çoğulukla babalarının ya da akrabalarının mesleklerini devam ettiriyor olmalarından kaynaklanır (Volti, 2012: 32; Blauner, 1964: 47).

Zanaat tipi üretim ilişkilerinin en önemli özelliklerinden biri de bu ilişkinin aynı zamanda bilgi aktarımını da içermesidir. Zanaat tipi üretimde bilgi aktarımı pratiğe ve gözleme dayalıdır; ustadan çıracha aktarılır, usta aynı zamanda bir öğretmen gibidir (Mokyr, 2000: 22-24; Sjoberg, 1965: 192; Chalcraft, 2005: 342; Scott, 1998; Adamson, 2013: 61, 63). Zanaat tipi üretimde bu öğretici ilişki yalnızca üretimin öğretilmesini değil aynı zamanda ahlaki bir boyutu da içerisinde barındırır, usta çıracha

gelenek, görenek ve kuralları da bu ilişki içerisinde öğretir (Volti, 2012: 32; Lembecke, 2002: 19; Rorabaugh, 1986: vii). Bu öğrenme süreci uzun bir süreyi kapsar, 3 ile 10 sene arasında sürer (Babbage, 2009: 132; Braverman, 1974: 109- 444; Volti, 2012: 32). Bu çerçevede loncalar birer okul işlevi de görür (Volti 2012: 32; Thompson, 2015: 314).

Yukarıda çerçevesi çizilen hiyerarşik ilişkisi geleneksel, birincil, resmi olmayan bir ilişki yapısına sahiptir (Schneider, 1957: 37, 38, 210; Blauner, 1964: 9, 47). Bu ilişki bir güven ilişkisi temelinde, aile ilişkisine benzetilir (Sennett, 2008: 53; Volti, 2012: 23). Bu durum zanaatın babadan oğula aktarımı ile, çırakların çoğu zaman zanaat sahiplerinin oğulları olmasından da kaynaklanmaktadır (Yi, 2005: 66; Ackers, 2018: 182). Bu geleneksel ilişki çıraklar arasında da görülür, bu durum da yine çırakların da aynı aileden ya da aynı mahalledeki kişiler olmasından ötürüdür (Schneider, 1957: 38; Blauner, 1964: 76). Bu geleneksel ilişki iş bulma pratiklerinde ve disiplinin sağlanması konusunda da karşımıza çıkar. Zanaat tipi üretimde iş bulma birincil ilişkiler aracılığıyla sağlanır (Blauner, 1964: 77; Sjoberg, 1965: 191); disiplin ise aile içi ilişkilerdekine benzer bir şekilde korku ve baskısı ile sürdürülür (Schneider, 1957: 5, 105, 107).

Zanaat tipi üretimin mekânsal özelliklerine bakıldığından ise üretimin mekanının genellikle yaşam mekani ile aynı yerde konumlandırıldığı (Sennett, 2008: 53; Sjoberg, 1965: 197-198; Volti, 2012: 31) ve küçük, dar, havasız, karanlık mekanlar olduğu görülür (Thompson, 2015: 299; Chalcraft, 2005: 353). Bunun yanında bu küçük mekanlarda genellikle aile üyeleri ile beraber toplamda en az 2 en fazla 25 kişinin çalıştığı belirtilir (Sjoberg, 1965: 197; Volti, 2012: 10; Sennett, 2008: 53; Blauner, 1964: 46).

Zanaat tipi üretimde gözlenen çalışma koşullarına bakıldığından, koşulların yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi loncalar tarafından denetlendiği görülür. Ancak çok düzenli bir sistemden bahsedilemez. Bu sistem içerisinde usta ve çıraklar sigortasız, düzenli

ücretlendirme olmadan ve uzun çalışma saatleri ile çalıştırılır (Senneett, 2008: 75; Volti, 2012: 12; Chalcraft, 2005: 354; Rorabaough, 1986: 181; Thompson, 2015: 294).

Bu çalışma tipi tarihsel olarak Endüstri Devrimi'nin ardından yaygın üretim tipi olarak görülmemeye başlanmıştır (Schneider, 1957: 40), bu üretim tipinin yerini yavaş yavaş fabrika tipi üretim almaya başlamıştır. Bu dönüşüm süreci her coğrafyaya ve her bir üretim nesnesine farklı bir dönemde sirayet etmiştir. Ancak zanaat tipi üretimin düşüşe geçmesinin tek sebebi Endüstri Devrimi olarak gösterilemez. Globalleşme ve yeni marketlerin oluşumu (Schneider, 1957: 39-40; Kickinger, 2005: 286-287; Baer, 1964: 138, 144, 149), teknolojik gelişmeler (Rorabaugh, 1986: 33; Whitaker, 1967: 37), para ekonomisinin gelişimi (Rorabaugh, 1986: 68) ve eğitimde yaşanan reformlar (Rorabaugh, 1986: 113) zanaat tipi üretimin düşüşe geçmesinin diğer sebepleri olarak sırlanabilir. Bu sürecin ardından yeni bir tarihsel döneme, yeni bir üretim biçimini olan fabrika tipi üretime geçilmiştir.

Zanaat tipi üretimden fabrika tipi üretime geçişte ele alınan ilk boyut üretim sürecinde kullanılan aletlerin dönüşümüdür. Bu dönüşüm içerisinde basit el aletleri yerini daha kompleks makinelere bırakmıştır. Bu dönüşüm fabrika tipi üretimin en belirleyici özelliklerinden biri olarak gösterilir (Blauner, 1964: 6; Marx, 1976: 485; Walker, 1992: 59). Diğer yandan fabrika tipi üretimde üretimin organizasyonu da değişmiştir. Rasyonelleşme ile beraber verimliliği artırmak için Taylor'ın bilimsel yönetim kurallarının üretim mekanlarına girmesi üretimin organizasyonunda ve çalışma koşullarında oldukça önemli bir dönüşüm yol açmıştır (Schneider, 1957: 45, 85; Braverman, 1974: 86). Bunun yanında Fordist üretim metotları da üretimin parçalara ayrılması, üretimin hızının kontrolü ve ürünün/üretimin standartlaşması konusunda yeni bir üretim biçimine geçilmesine neden olmuştur (Edgell, 2006: 93). Bu yeni organizasyon sistemi sayesinde zanaat tipi üretimdeki üçlü iş bölümü daha fazla parçalara ayrılmış, üretim sürecinin her bir aşaması farklı kişiler tarafından yapılmaya başlanmıştır, iş bölümü ve iş tanımları katmanlaşmıştır (Schneider, 1957: 178; Braverman, 1974: 73; Rosenberg, 1976; Smith ve Snow, 1976: 521). Bu üretim organizasyonunda uzmanlaşmanın biçimini de dönüşmüş, zanaat tipi üretimde tüm süreç

üzerinde uzman olan işçiler, üretimin yalnızca bir aşamasında uzmanlaşmaya başlamıştır (Babbage, 2009: 134; Volti, 2012: 63-64; Marx, 1976: 469; Adamson, 2013: 9). Bu yeni üretim biçiminde rutinleşme ve standartlaşma da artmış, üretim süreci daha rutin ve daha standart bir hal almış; üretilen ürün de bu süreçte standartlaşmıştır (Neal, 2007: 10; Schneider, 1957, 186; Blauner, 1964: 81, 82, 90, 97; Jones, 1992: 44; Fox, 1972: 30).

Üretim sürecindeki bu dönüşüm zanaat tipi üretimde çalışan ustaların becerilerinde de dönüşüme neden olmuştur. Beceri konusundaki akademik tartışmalara bakıldığından iki uç görünür: i) makineleşmenin ve artan iş bölümünün yarattığı vasıfsızlaşma (Bright, 1958; Braverman, 1974), ii) tek bir görev üzerinde artan bir beceri durumu (Burawoy, 1985; Wood ve Kelly, 1982; Walker, 1992). Bu çalışma kapsamında Bright'ın makineleşme ile beraber işçilerin vasıflarını kaybetmeleri üzerinde durduğu teoriye, Braverman'ın yeni üretim organizasyonunun yarattığı vasıfsızlaşma üzerinde durduğu çalışmasına ve Walker'ın hiçbir zaman becerilerin kaybolmadığı tezine yer verilmiştir. Bunların yanında çalışma sosyolojisi literatüründe önemli olan yabancılılaşma kavramına da değinilmiş, Blauner'ın (1964) teknoloji ile yabancılılaşma arasında kurduğu ilişki ve Marx'ın (1970: 422-423) işçilerin üretim sürecine yabancılılaşma yaklaşımı da ele alınmıştır. Blauner'ın (1964) zanaat teknolojisi ve makine teknolojisini karşılaştırdığı yabancılılaşma tezi bu çalışma için oldukça önemlidir.

Çalışmanın kuramsal çerçevesinin son kısmında ise fabrika tipi üretimin fiziksel ve sosyal özellikleri hakkındaki tartışmalara yer verilmiş, üretim ilişkilerinin, üretimin mekanının ve çalışma koşullarının zanaat tipi üretim dönemi ile nasıl farklılaşlığı tartışılmıştır. Üretim ilişkilerine bakıldığından, fabrika tipi üretim ile beraber ilişkilerin daha rasyonel ve ikincil ilişkilere doğru evirildiği görülür (Schneider, 1957: 46; Blauner, 1964: 89; Rorabaugh, 1986: 139). Artık üretimde çalışan bireylerin bir kan bağlı yoktur, bir aile ilişkisi içerisinde değillerdir; işçiler arasında yalnızca bir iş ilişkisi olduğu görülür (Edgell, 2006: 8). Bu durum iş bulma pratiklerine de yansımıştır. Zanaat tipi üretim döneminde tanıdkılık ve aile içi aktarım vasıtası ile bulunan işe alımlar yerini beceri ve bilgi temelli yani yetkinliğe bağlı, daha rasyonel işe alımlara

bırakmıştır (Volti, 2012: 22, 63). Üretim hakkında bilginin aktarımı ise usta-çırak ilişkisinin bir boyutu olmaktan çıkmış, belirli bir okul eğitimini gerekli kılmaya başlamıştır (Sennett, 2008: 35). İşlerin parçalara ayrılması ile beraber üretimin aşamalarını öğrenmek de zanaat tipi üretimdeki kadar zaman gerektirmeyen bir duruma gelmiştir (Blauner, 1964: 96; Braverman, 1974: 203). Diğer yandan zanaat tipi üretim ilişkilerinde korku ve baskın ile sağlanan disiplin, fabrika tipi üretimde rıza ve yazılı kurallar ile sağlanmaya başlanmıştır (Blauner, 1964: 175; Salamon, 2000: 84; Burawoy, 1979; Beşpınar, Topal ve Kalaycıoğlu, 2014: 228).

Üretim mekanının fiziksel özelliklerine bakıldığından, fabrika tipi üretimin mekanının zanaat tipi üretim mekânı olan atölyelere kıyasla oldukça büyük olduğu belirtilmiştir. Bu anlamda küçük atölyeler yerlerini büyük fabrikalara bırakmış, çalışan sayısı geçmişe kıyasla artış göstermeye başlamıştır (Blauner, 1964: 60, 92, 176; Babbage, 2009: 173-174; Volti, 2012: 40). Fabrika tipi üretimin fiziksel koşulları hakkındaki bir diğer boyut olan çalışma koşulları da rasyonelleşmenin etkisi ile dönüşüme uğramıştır. Ücret, sigorta ve çalışma saatleri bu kapsamda daha düzenli, yazılı kurallara bağlı özellikler göstermeye başlamıştır. Zanaat tipi üretim döneminde usta ve çıraklar yalnızca barınma ve yeme, içme ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için çalışırken, fabrika tipi üretimle düşük de olsa bir ücret alma dönemine geçilmiştir (Braverman, 1974: 81; Salamn, 2000: 17; Edgell, 2006: 59). Çalışma saatleri ise zanaat tipi üretimdeki gibi uyanık kalınan tüm saatler yerine giriş ve çıkış saatlerinin belirlendiği bir düzen içerisinde kurgulanmıştır (Thompson, 1970; Kumar, 1988; Thompson, 1967; Schor, 1993; Volti, 2012: 13; Edgell, 2006: 12). Sigorta ise fabrika tipi üretim ile beraber oldukça önemli bir konu olarak gündeme gelmiş, sigortasız çalışma yasalar ile yasaklanmıştır (Murphy, 2005: 651; Pechman ve diğerleri 1968: 29; TÜSİAD, 1997: 27; Nadir, 2006).

Kuramsal çerçeveyin ardından araştırmancın bulgularına yer verilmiştir. Saha araştırmasının bulguları 2 ana başlık altında toplanmıştır: i) üretim sürecinin dönüşümü ve ii) üretimin sosyal ve fiziksel özelliklerinin ele alındığı üretim ilişkilerinin, üretimin mekanının ve çalışma koşullarının dönüşümü. Baklava üretim

sürecinin dönüşümü başlığı altında ilk olarak üretimde kullanılan araçların dönüşümüne yer verilmiştir. Baklava üretiminin zanaat tipi üretim özellikleri gösterdiği dönemde, üretimde oklava, bıçak gibi basit aletlerin kullanıldığı ve insan emeğinin ön planda olduğu görülmüştür. Ancak bu durum 1990lerin ikinci yarısında, fistık kırma, hamur yoğurma, kaymak mikseri gibi basit makinelerin üretim sürecine dahil edilmesi ile beraber değişmeye başlamıştır. 2000li yıllara doğru ise yarıma açma makinesinin üretime dahil edilmesi ile üretimdeki hamur açma aşaması olarak belirtilen bir aşama daha makineleşmiştir. 2000lerden sonra da tam açma makinesi, dilimleme makinesi ve şerbet dökme makinesi ile birlikte üretimin neredeyse tüm aşamaları için bir makine kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Her ne kadar Gaziantep'teki imalathanelerde 2000lerden sonra gelen makineler yaygın göstermese de yarıma açma makinesi neredeyse tüm imalathanelerde kullanılmakta, tam açma makinesinin kullanımını da yavaş yavaş yaygınlaşmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, makineleşme anlamında üretim süreci zanaat tipi üretimden fabrika tipi üretime doğru bir geçiş göstermektedir. Makineleşmenin ustalar için bazı avantajlarının ve dezavantajlarının olduğu görülmüştür. Ustalar makineleşmenin avantajlarını geleneksel üretim yönteminden daha kolay bir üretime olanak sağlama, işin hızını artırması, üretimde daha az işçiye ihtiyaç duyulması, verimliliği artırması, üretimin öğrenilmesinin hızlanması, daha kaliteli ürün üretilmesi ve daha ucuza üretim yapılması olarak sıralamışlardır. Makine kullanımının dezavantajları ise ürünün daha az kaliteli olması ve üretimin zanaat özelliğini kaybedilmesi olarak gösterilmiştir.

Üretim sürecinde dönüşüme uğrayan bir diğer boyut ise üretimin organizasyonudur. Baklava üretimi zanaat tipi üretim döneminde usta, çırak ve halfe arasında hiyerarşik bir iş bölümüne sahipken, günümüzde fabrika tipi üretime yakın bir şekilde üretim sürecinin küçük parçalara ayrılması ile beraber katmanlaşmış bir iş bölümü özelliği göstermeye başlamış, üretim süreci üçlü bir iş bölümünden on üç basamaklı bir iş bölümüne doğru evrilmiştir; ancak iş bölümündeki deneyime bağlı hiyerarşik iş bölümünün de devam ettirildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Baklava üretiminin organizasyonu aynı zamanda zanaat tipi üretim özellikleri gösterdiği dönemden günümüze doğru daha fazla rutinleşmiş ve standartlaşmıştır. Üretim sürecinin saatlerinin ve görevlerin

sıralarının kesin olarak belirlenmesi, makineleşme ve uzmanlaşma işi rutinleştirmiştir, bu durum üretimi standartlaştırmıştır. Üretilen ürün ise geçmişe kıyasla belirli ölçülerle daha standart hale getirilmiştir.

Üretim sürecinde çalışan ustaların becerilerindeki dönüşüme bakıldığında iş bölümünün katmanlaşması ve makineleşme ile beraber bir vasisizlaşma durumunun meydana geldiği görülmüştür. Zanaat tipi üretim döneminde baklava üretiminin tümünü bilen ve tümü üzerinde uzmanlığı olan ustalar, fabrika tipi üretime doğru işin yalnızca tek bir aşamasını bilen ve tek bir aşamada uzmanlaşan ustalara/ışılere evirilmiştir.

Baklava üretimindeki üretim ilişkileri de zanaat tipi üretim döneminden fabrika tipi üretim dönemine geçişte geleneksel olandan rasyonel olana doğru bir dönüşüm geçirmiştir. Baklava üretiminin geleneksel özellikler gösterdiği dönemdeki tanıdkılığa, arkadaşlığa ve akrabalığa dayanan işe alma pratikleri yerini daha rasyonel ve beceriye dayalı işe alma biçimlerin bırakmıştır. Baklava üretimindeki bilgi aktarımı ise ustadan çırاغa aktarım biçiminde günümüzde de devam etmektedir. Üretimin günümüzde de zanaata dayanan yapısı, öğrenmenin uzun bir süreç gerektirdiğini ve çıraklığın küçük yaşta başlamasından ötürü çekirdekten yetişme pratiklerine sahip olduğunu gösterir. Aynı zamanda diğer zanaat tipi üretimler gibi baklava üretiminin öğrenilmesi de pratige ve gözlemlemeye dayanmaktadır. Ustadan çırاغa aktarılan bilgi, diğer zanaat tipi üretimlerde olduğu gibi yalnızca üretimin bilgisi değil aynı zamanda ahlaki bazı öğretileri de içermektedir. Ancak usta ve çırak arasındaki ilişkinin genel yapısı itibarı ile aile ilişkisine benzeyen geleneksel ilişkiden daha rasyonel ilişkiye doğru kaydığını görülmüştür. Disipline etme yöntemleri de dayak yönteminden daha çok rizaya ve iyi davranışa doğru bir yönde gelişmiştir. Tüm bunlar üretim ilişkilerinin zanaat tipi üretim özelliklerinden fabrika tipi üretim özelliklerine dönüştüğünü kanıtlar niteliktedir.

Baklava üretiminin fiziksel koşullarına bakıldığında üretimin fabrika tipi üretim özellikleri göstermeye başladığı görülmüştür. Her ne kadar işletmelerin ölçeklerine

göre bu fiziksel özellikler değişiklik gösterse de, üretimin mekanı küçük atölyelerden büyük, kompleks üretim tesislerine doğru dönüşmeye başlamıştır. Özellikle büyük ölçekli imalathaneler neredeyse birer fabrika biçimini almaya başlamış, çalışan sayıları da bu çerçevede artış göstermiştir. Zanaat tipi üretim döneminde küçük, havasız yerlerde 2-3 kişi ile yapılan baklava üretimi, fabrika tipi üretme doğru dönüştükçe 150-200 kişinin çalıştığı 2-3 katlı imalathanelere doğru gelişmiştir.

Son olarak baklava imalathanelerindeki çalışma koşullarının dönüşümüne bakıldığından rasyonelleşmenin etkisinin olduğu görülür. Zanaat tipi üretim döneminde haftalık verilen ücretler, sigortasız çalışan işçiler ve 12 saatten uzun/belirsiz çalışma saatleri fabrika tipi üretme yaklaştıkça yerini aylık ücret tarifesine, sigortalı işçilere ve 8 saatlik/görece düzenli çalışma saatlerine bırakmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, baklava üretiminin üretim süreci, üretim ilişkileri, üretimin mekânı ve çalışma koşulları açısından zanaat tipi üretim ile fabrika tipi üretim arasında, fabrika tipi üretme yakın bir konumda, geçiş aşamasında, Marx'ın deyişiyle manifaktür aşamasında (1976: 589) olduğu görülmüştür. Elbette bu değişim işletmelerin ölçeklerine göre değişiklik göstermekte, özellikle büyük ve orta-büyük ölçekli işletmelerin bu geçiş aşaması özelliklerin gösterdiği görülmektedir. Hem teknolojinin gelişmesi ile birlikte gelen makineleşme hem de rasyonelleşme ile beraber gelen yeni üretim organizasyonu yöntemleri baklava üretiminin, 19. Yüzyılda zanaat tipi üretimden fabrika tipi üretme geçiş gösteren diğer zanaatlarla paralel bir dönüşüm süreci içerisinde olduğunu göstermektedir. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma ile üretim biçiminin dönüşümünü incelemek isteyen yeni araştırmalar için de bütünlüklü bir araştırma modeli ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır.

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): From Workshop to Factory: The Transformation of Craft in the Case of Gaziantep Baklava Production

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