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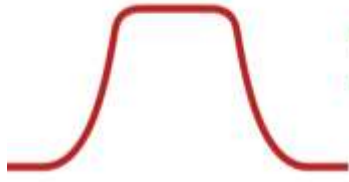
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## **The Socio-Political Enigma: The State**

**İzzettin ÖNDER<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

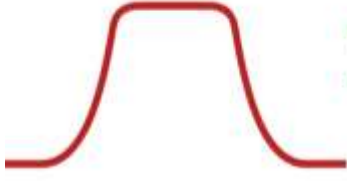
The state is a multifaceted administrative-political organization that has various functions in different economic systems. Therefore, a simple definition for the state cannot be given in the face of its different role in different economic systems as well as the polymorphic nature it displays to fulfill its capital accumulation function in capitalism. Confined to its role in the capitalist system, two main functions of the state can be discerned: contribution to capital accumulation and legitimization of the system. That the state needs tax revenue to perform its duties makes it necessary for the state to favor capital to foster economic activity. However, the process of capital accumulation gives rise to “public nuisance” and social harm to some groups in the society. To have a peaceful society and secure a social and political system, the second function of the state takes over the job of putting some measures in effect to legitimize the system. Thus, the state is burdened by two opposing and mutually exclusive public functions that are badly needed in capitalism to have a relatively healthy society. Therefore, the state appears as if it is an enigma in terms of its various functions in different systems and polymorphic nature, especially in capitalism.

**Keywords:** The State, Capital Accumulation, Legitimization of the System, Polymorphic Nature of the State, Economic Crisis, Social Welfare Policies

**JEL Codes:** H11,H41,H53,D60,D70.

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## Sosyal-Politik Muamma: Devlet

### Özet

Devlet, farklı ekonomik sistemlerde çeşitli işlevlerle yükümlü çok görünümlü bir siyasi-yönetimsel örgüttür. Bu nedenle, farklı sistemlerde farklı rolleri olan, kapitalist sistemde ise sermaye birikimine uygun polimorfik niteliğine sahip devlet için geçerli tek tanım yapılamaz. Kapitalist sistemle sınırlı olarak devlet iki temel işlevle yükümlüdür; sermaye birikimine katkı yapmak ve sistemi meşrulaştırmak. Devlet, kamusal işlevlerini yerine getirebilmek için kamu gelir sistemine ihtiyaç duyduğundan sermayeyi gözetmek ve ekonomiyi işler vaziyette tutmak zorundadır. Ancak sermaye birikimi süreci bazı guruplara “kamusal maliyet” yıkararak zarar oluşturur. Huzurlu bir toplum oluşumu ve politik güvenlik açılarından, sistemin meşrulaştırılması için devletin devreye girmesi ve sistemi meşrulaştırıcı bazı önlemleri alması gündeme gelir. Böylece, görece sağlıklı bir toplum için devlet kapitalizmin şiddetle ihtiyaç duyduğu iki çelişkili ve birbirini dışlayıcı kamusal işlevlerle yükümlü olur. Bundan dolayı devlet, farklı sistemlerde farklı işlevleri ve kapitalizmde de polimorfik niteliği ile bir çeşit sosyal-politik muamma gibidir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Devlet, Sermaye Birikimi, Sistemin Meşrulaştırılması, Devletin Polimorfik Niteliği, Ekonomik Krizler, Sosyal Refah Politikaları

**JEL Kodlar:** H11,H41,H53,D60,D70.

## **1. General Introduction**

As an administrative and political organization with a past trajectory of ever changing appearance in terms of both its size and functions, the state tends to have an unpredictable future under both internal and foreign changing economic and political conditions. Therefore, with such high volatility in nature, the state cannot be definitely delimited in size, and neither can it be defined accurately for all cases and under all conditions. Just the reverse, depending on prevalent conditions, one can define the state differently from various perspectives and viewpoints in terms of both economic and political conditions.

However, a correct definition of the state cannot be made for all times and under all conditions because the size and appearance of it vary depending on both the economic system and the level of economic activity. Against such complications, the state can surely be defined in its simplest form as a political and administrative organization responsible for simply securing law and order for the community. The general definition of the core structure of the state is given as a political agent responsible, first, to enact some rules, laws, or decrees as its legislative function, second, to administer such enacted rules and laws as its administrative function, and third, to enforce such laws and rules whenever necessary by using power to make the general public abide by the laws and regulations as its judiciary and repressive function. Thus, as is well known, the three main functions of the state referred to as legislative, administrative, and judiciary functions are generally attributed to its political-administrative functions. But when we shift to the economic side of the picture, another important function of the state comes to the forefront as first contributing to private capital accumulation, and then subsidizing the society to legitimize the system.<sup>2</sup> As to the macro function of the state the basic role is to put the system on a stable path by means of necessary fiscal measures. Thus, two different aspects of the multifaceted state become obvious: one being a purely political and administrative function aimed to achieve a calm and peaceful society, and the other being an economic and fiscal function aimed to steer the economy on a stable path. In this paper, I put the state to the forefront regarding its functions related to economic and fiscal affairs.

## **2. The Trajectile Appearance of the State**

It is an important duty to trace the historical trajectory of the state to find out the origin of such organization with tremendous power. In this regard, two philosophers who laid important and path-breaking laws concerning the nature and political origin of the state became important figures. Without going into a detailed analysis of the origin of the state retrospectively, I try to give an historical flavor to the definition of the state by referring to the two important philosophers. One of them is a British philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, who presented the state as the Leviathan, implying that the state owns enormous tools at its command that it can use to make the general public subservient to the Leviathan. According to Hobbes, autocratic rule is unavoidable in order to have a peaceful and democratic society. As is well known, the theory boils down in terms of political functions from Plato, though in Plato's system, slaves had no right to vote, let alone to be elected. The cure that Hobbes proposed was to redress the state by means of rules and regulations to curtail its political domain by the constitution. The second philosopher was Jean Jacques Rousseau, who lived about a century after Hobbes and defined the state as an arbitrator constructing the bridge between the state and the general public by means of a social contract. Both Hobbes and Rousseau who were in favor of social pluralism, developed the idea of "social contract," which is an abstract agreement between the individual and the state, limiting the freedom of the individual in exchange for security (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987).

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<sup>2</sup> These two successive functions of the state were put forth by both O'Connor (2009) and Jessop (2016).



Though the two philosophers were from different time periods and different societies, their theories resemble each other regarding security in the sense that danger may come not only from abroad but also from the same society during social interactions and/or economic activities. Hobbes laid down the rule that the state should launch necessary laws and regulations so firm as to prevent individuals from being in conflict with each other for economic or any other social reasons. Thus, the aim of the state was defined as securing a cozy society that necessary for both economic and social reasons. Their ideas were valuable not only for the past but also for the present, though additional functions have been added to the duties of the state as economies have advanced further and problems have become more complex in modern times. The early period when Hobbes and Rousseau developed such theories was recognized as the initial stage of capitalism where the role of the state was simply to eliminate feudalism completely and lay down the rules and administrative organization for capitalism to flourish.

Approaching the state from the historical viewpoint, one perceives the state in its trajectory as a political-administrative organization functioning broadly in the form of two sequential administrative functions responsible for various distinct roles in each period (Jessop, 2016, pp. 21–22). In the initial stage of capitalism, as it is mentioned above, where remnants of feudalism had not been totally eliminated, the state was embodied with rulers (i.e., king, emperor, etc.). A good example of this case is the saying of Louis XIV while he was going to death: *L'Etat, c'est moi*, or “I am the state.” This fact of embodiment of the state in person around the seventeenth century was contrasted in the eighteenth century by the Prussian Emperor Frederic II who separated himself from the state and accepted and carried out his duty not in the form of an embodied state but as the “first servant of the state” by adopting rules and carrying out his public functions according to objectively established system.

It is important to notice the grand structure of the state organization that the state on one side and the ruler or the political leader on the other are two distinct phenomena that were sometimes mixed up during the transitional period in the beginning era of capitalism. It is understandable that it took quite a long period of time to adapt to a new condition of the modern state, referred to as the “polity” at the top level representing the principle, and its political and administrative agents at “politics” and “policy” levels.

In the second phase of historical change of the state during early period of capitalism, the state theoretically became an abstract phenomenon, disembodied from both political administrators and/or the society. In this stage and thereafter, the state has been perceived as an ontological entity (i.e., an artificial person or *persona ficta*), composed of three successive stages, on the top of which is the general political-institutional structure called “polity” and under which are two sub-agents, “politics” and “policy” (Jessop, 2016, p. 21). The polity is the main backbone of the state defined and delimited by the constitution. While polity is the static facade of the state set by the constitution, politics and policies are dynamic segments of the state operated by political agents according to the constitution. The relationship between the state and society is formed as “principle” and “agent.” In this form, the state is the agent acting under the principle society, while politics and policies are the agents acting on behalf of its principle, polity. The complicated relationship between the state and society on the one hand, and the polity and policy on the other is overcome by means of the basic rules set by the constitution. That the constitution is the founding institution of the economic and social system of the society, it defines at the same time the functions of the state in terms of its economic and fiscal functions. In other words, neither the state (i.e., the polity) nor the policy and policies can circumvent the general rules accepted by the society and laid down by the constitution. It is worth mentioning in passing that the constitution is made neither by present political parties nor the established assembly. The duty of writing the constitution falls only on a special assembly called the Constituent Assembly, instituted solely for the purpose of constructing the

constitution. Thus, formally, it is the constitution that shapes the political feature of the society by defining the type of the mode of production and the property right.

### **3. The Capitalist State**

The trajectory appearance of the state changes as the mode of production changes from primitive stages of capitalism to its advanced forms. Due to the changing role of the state in accordance with changing economic conditions, it becomes of primordial importance to select adequate terminology to express alterations in state functions. A change in the economic system implies a radical change in polity and eventually in politics and policy as well, while a change within the system implies a change only in politics and policy, keeping the polity intact. In other words, in the first case, a radical change takes place in the function of the state together with changes in politics and policies, whereas in the second case, there will be no change in the main functions of the state at the polity level—only some minor changes may take place at the politics and policy levels. Therefore, while changes within the system, as in the second case, are labeled “changes” or “transformations,” the radical change taking place in the structure of the state during a system change is called “metamorphoses,” implying a complete change in the structure and function of the state (Jessop, 2006, pp. 42–44). In this context, the polity that is responsible for the main functions of the state is kept constant while subsections may have tremendous changes according to the claims of the capital in order to foster private capital accumulation. This change can be traced clearly both to the time when Keynesian policies were effective and in policies pursued afterward.

As it is well known, while before the Keynesian Revolution took place, small sized balanced budget policies were on the agenda, after the 1929 crisis, it was propagated that deficit financing and big budget size should be effective at politics and policy levels. The aim was to create a required level of aggregate demand in order to increase national income to promote employment. It is understandable that the state with polymorphic nature tries to match ever changing conditions and needs of the capital in such a way to provide as much opportunity as possible to capital according to the present conditions. For instance, policies of public or private production of some services like health and education may be pursued depending on market conditions and claims of capital. In either case, the aim of the polity is to contribute to private capital accumulation and make the necessary arrangements at politics and policy levels, accordingly. Therefore, while shifting from the Classical era to the Keynesian era, there was no need to make any change at the polity level of the state because there was no change in the mode of production, but some minor arrangements were made according to the change of production relations and claims of capital. Thus, such a process is not a metamorphosis at the polity level, but simply transformation or changes realized at the policy and politics levels. It is obvious that neither the shift from the Classical period to Keynesianism nor the shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism can be labeled as metamorphoses.

During Keynesian policies, a voluminous state was in charge of producing various social services like health and education through socializing their costs with the aim of supplying qualified human power to industry when huge amount of manpower was needed. Getting rid of the production cost of the main inputs to industry was a huge contribution to the private accumulation at the cost of social burden. Nowadays, when production conditions have changed, and labor-intensive methods have been replaced by technology-intensive methods, the need for live labor has decreased, causing a decrease in exchange value of labor to industry. Under this newly emerging condition in production, according to the business viewpoint, education could be privatized in the face of decreased human capital cost on the one hand and the emergence of a new market opportunity for capital to produce education and make profit on the other. Thus, education has acquired the property of private good that can be privatized and

produced on the private market. In this way, a new but different channel could be opened up to capital: first, because of privatization and relieving the state of some burden there could relatively be a tax cut, and second, privately producing an education service implies an emerging market for capital to make profit. As it is well known, a slogan was developed saying that students are (not) consumers. The same process was operated for health services, too. The same slogan was raised for health services: patients are (not) consumers. In either case, from the capital viewpoint, beneficiaries are considered consumers, but from the beneficiaries viewpoint, they are not consumers. Under such conditions, the main function attached to the polity has not changed—only minor changes have taken place in politics and policies to match the claims of the capital.

To make an in-depth analysis of the real function of the state, the state budget should be put in the forefront. The state performs its main functions through two main channels in the public budget. First, the state spends an enormous amount of money through the budget in the form of public expenditures to produce goods and services known as public goods or public services. Theoretically, such services cannot be provided privately for the simple reason that they cannot be sold at the market because such commodities or services have two very important properties by which they are qualified as public goods/bads. First, consumers are not excludable, which implies that consumers are not in competition with each other in consumption. When a service is produced and supplied to the society, everybody can get the benefit of it without curtailing the benefit to the rest of the consumers. This property makes people avoid the cost of production and behave as free riders. The second property of a public good is non-rivalness in consumption. Following the first rule, in the second rule, it is argued in the same way that individuals are not rivals with each other. Therefore, it cannot be imagined that a private entrepreneur would dare undertake the production of such services. However, such services are valuable to society, and therefore, they must be produced in one way or another. The production of such commodities can be carried out either at the public sector or at the private sector. If a commodity is produced at the public sector, it is said that it is a publicly provided public production. In other words, production has been carried out at the public sector, and financing has come from the general budget. The alternative way of producing the service is a contracting-out system through which production is left to the private sector. However, the firm cannot undertake the cost in production, simply because the commodity cannot be sold at the market. In this case, the state would be responsible for the cost. This model is known as publicly provided (financed) private production.<sup>3</sup>

The nature and properties of public commodities may change as technology evolves. One example of such change may be given by lighthouses used to warn and guide ships to protect them from being wrecked by hitting the shallow areas. While in old times, this service was being undertaken by a light emitting system, the service nowadays can be provided by radio waves, making the service a privately supple commodity in exchange for some payment in the form of a relevant tax. So many public services may lose their public properties as technology evolves and makes services individually consumable commodities—still without banning the consumption of potential consumers. However, it is worth mentioning that the domain of production of a commodity or service, either at the public sector or at the private sector, does not indicate any change in the basic property of the commodity. Therefore, the classification of a commodity as private or public does depend on the method of financing, not on the sector of production. Thus, we arrive at the golden rule that whether a commodity or service is called public depends on the method financing the production cost. This formulation,

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<sup>3</sup> For further details concerning properties of public goods, their production, and provision conditions, see (Musgrave, 1959; Brown and Jackson, 1990).

by making a strict distinction between the public good and the private good, simultaneously delimits the areas as private and public, depending on the method of financing. Therefore, we can have publicly produced public goods as well as privately produced public goods. The difference depends not on the sector of production but on the method of provision. Irrelevant of the area of production if a commodity is provided publicly, that is if costs are covered through the public budget, it is a public good.<sup>4</sup>

In tracing the developmental path of the state, it becomes obvious that as economies develop, the state undergoes enormous changes in terms of the ramification of public services.<sup>5</sup> Though there is not a standard trajectory of public expenditures for all countries and at all times, some main turning points can be traced out. Such a pattern can be caught through changes in public expenditures.<sup>6</sup> To begin with, during early periods of the capitalist development, the role of the state was defined as undertaking large infrastructural investments. This initial period was the beginning of the competitive era in which the role of the state was defined as solely acting as a night watch, responsible only for establishing and securing law and order. During that time, the public sector had acted as the leverage to the private sector. As everything vaporizes, the quiet and smooth capitalist period also began to vaporize too, and the first unfavorable signals appeared as distributional problems arose toward the end of the nineteenth century. Unequitable income distribution put two crucial problems in front of the public decision-makers to be solved. Distributional problems caused social unrest on the one hand, and it also created a tendency to develop economic crisis due to market shortage on the other. The first problem needed to be solved to make people loyal to the system, and the second problem needed to be solved to enlarge the obstructed access for capital accumulation. Thus, in addition to securing law and order, a second role emerged for the state (i.e., securing a more equitable income distribution by means of expenditure and taxation policies). The second phase of the state, a state of redistributive function, was set forth by Adolph Wagner. Wagner's argument was that as the size of the public sector had increased parallel to industrialization, there would be more room for the state to alter income distribution.<sup>7</sup> It should be noticed that some social programs had been implemented long before Wagner. For example, it is reported that public poor relief programs were launched by Christian charity and for the purpose of achieving social rest around the fourteenth century in some European countries. Just to cite some such programs, note the 1601 Poor Law Act in England, Bismarck's Old Age and Disability Insurance Bill of 1889, and the United Kingdom Pension Act of 1908 (Barr, 2004, p. 18).

Wagner's ever increasing public expenditures law<sup>8</sup> was tested by two eminent British professors, Peacock and Wiseman (1967). The Peacock-Wiseman hypothesis runs as such. There are two forces exerting power on public expenditures. On the one side, there are demanders for public services that push public expenditures from the bottom upward. As opposed to this group, there are suppliers of public services who push public expenditures from the top downward. During social and economic stable periods, because opposing forces are in equilibrium, a stable pattern in expenditures appears which is called "plateau." In cases of a social or political unrest or economic upheaval periods, power exerted from the bottom may overcome the opposing power coming from the top, causing a shift in the expenditures and

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<sup>4</sup> This definition should not be mistaken with private-public ownership or the private-public participation method. The definition is also important in discussions concerning global public goods, which is discussed towards the end of the paper.

<sup>5</sup> The change in the size of the state expressed by changes in tax volume and structure is studied by Hinrichs (1966).

<sup>6</sup> The stages of the development of the state as economy develops in broad lines is given by Derivationists, especially by Altvater, Picciotto, and Radice (Barrow, 1993, p. 83).

<sup>7</sup> Wagner had been effective on Bismarck in launching social state policies.

<sup>8</sup> For Wagner's Law, see (Musgrave and Musgrave, 1989, p. 114).

putting it on a higher level. This process is known as the “displacement effect” in public expenditures. Thus, the polymorphic nature of the state is determined by ever changing conditions of capital and the relations of production prevalent at the time.

This classification of public expenditures was first made by Musgrave in his trailblazing book published in 1959.<sup>9</sup> After the 1929 crash and especially during the years following the Second World War, Marxist economists and political thinkers began to evaluate the role of the state during the economic crisis, and much literature in this area was developed in a ramified fashion, which we turn now to.

#### **4. Economic Crisis and the State**

Up to this stage, it has been obvious that first, the economic size of the state is given by the size of the public sector, and administrative size is determined by some decrees and regulatory orders issued by the government. Second, both the size of the state and the magnitude of public expenditures, though they are usually the same, are not stable but in the nature of ever changing depending on present conditions and sometimes contingencies. Third, during economic and social upheavals, what is clear and straightforward is that the unique function of the state in capitalism is to provide a favorable atmosphere for private capital accumulation and at the same time to save the system from any economic and social disturbances by the help of legitimization actions. It is therefore obvious that the nature and functions of the state depend on the system that is defined by the mode of production.

After having made this point clear, we go on with the analysis of the behavior of the state during economic crisis.<sup>10</sup> Among various theories, two distinct paths are of great importance. In the first path, all mainstream ideas on the issue can be summarized as this: the state acts as an autonomous administrative body in a democratic society that is composed of different groups belonging to various income levels, but neither the rich can assert any policy on his behalf nor the poor is totally left alone and/or devastated in the system. On average, they make equal contributions to and get relatively equitable benefits from the state. Surprisingly, some thinkers defended basically mainstream approach while accepting the existence of class society. Their argument was that every individual, regardless of their classes, approached the state with the same feeling of citizenship and benefited almost equally from the state. Two important individuals who supported this view were Alfred Marshall, a British economist, and Thomas Humphrey Marshall, a British sociologist.<sup>11</sup>

Until the 1929 crash and the Second World War, the state issue did not appeal to Marxists to the extent that attracted the attention of classical philosophers like Weber, Veblen, Rousseau, Hegel, Hobbes, etc. The reason that Marxist philosophers had been so ignorant of the core issue of the state was twofold. First, Marx had not constructed a coherent theory of the state, although there are scattered passages about the state in his writings. Second, up to the 1929 crash, no major issue with regard to the major functions of the capitalist system or any other problem, like distributional or stabilizational, had arisen. Therefore, philosophers and economists were indifferent toward the subject of the state, especially in the face of assertions of mainstream economists that the state should be minimum in size and there would be no interference to the functioning of the economy from the state.

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<sup>9</sup> Musgrave’s trailblazing study classifies public functions under three sequential headings: allocative function, redistributive function, and stabilization function. See (Musgrave, 1959, Ch. 1).

<sup>10</sup> A good review of state theories is given in (Dunleavy and O’Leary, 1987). Both Barrow (1993) and Clarke (1991) present an exhaustive review of Marxist state theories.

<sup>11</sup> Buğra, 2006, p. 11; Marshall, 1950; Marshall, 1959, Ch. 1.

However, the 1929 crash had changed the calm situation both in economics and political areas and gave rise to two strands of thought that developed almost at the same time. In 1936, Keynes published his famous book *The General Theory of Money, Interest, and Employment*, which opened the access to the social welfare state<sup>12</sup> in most European countries. After two years of the publication of Keynes' book, in 1938, the Walter Lipmann Symposium held its first meeting, presided by Frederic von Hayek and attended by Milton Friedman and many other liberal thinkers (Dardot and Laval, 2009). It was inevitable to launch welfare policies backed by Keynesian theory in effect in European countries in the face of the increasing threat of Communism in capitalist economies. Such economic turmoil triggered parallel fluctuations in Marxists in understanding crises and in setting up appropriate policies to overcome economic fluctuations and crises. At the initial level, Marxist theoreticians set forth some elementary theories for developing prognoses and cures to such turmoils and crises. During such turmoils, Paul Sweezy published his famous book *The Theory of Capitalist Development* in 1942, by which he opened up a period for Marxists who had been latent until then. In his book, Sweezy explained the very nature of class societies and highlighted imperialism as a source of a primary capital accumulation method employed in developed capitalist countries. Sweezy stressed the point that the emergence and existence of developed nations had been at the cost of backward nations. This approach to international economic problems was just the opposite of the view that was developed then by distinguished academicians financed by the World Bank scholarship program.<sup>13</sup> Sweezy's view had been the ignition for Marxist thinkers to dwell on the issue of the state and especially the method employed by the state to prevent a crisis.

Following Sweezy-Baran methodology, quite a rich literature had been accumulated by contributions made by various Marxists. The first important and trailblazer contribution was made by Ralph Miliband with his valuable book titled *The State in Capitalist Society* and published in 1969. Miliband argued in his view, which is parallel to that of Sweezy, that in a society composed of classes, the state serves the interest of the rich to exploit and repress the poor. This approach is referred to as the "Instrumentalist Approach" (Barrow, 1993, Ch. 1) in which the wealthy group controls the government to repress and exploit the subordinated groups. The theory depends on two basic principles developed by Marx. The first one is the principle of commodification, and the second is the general law of capital accumulation. The principle of commodification explains that in capitalist societies, the use value of wealth can be converted into exchange value for political prestige to be used for steering the state parallel with class interest. The similar view that some prestigious groups in the society may have some power in the state has been introduced to sociology literature by Bourdeau (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 162). The second principle is the principle of accumulation, which acts as a companion to the principle of commodification and asserts that accumulation leads to the concentration and centralization of wealth. The instrumentalist approach asserts that conglomerates can affect the government not only by their wealth and power but through designing high-level policies in public offices (i.e., by putting their CEOs as employed personnel in strategic governmental offices).<sup>14</sup> Such a manning policy has been so powerful as to enable big corporations to carry their economic activities to foreign domains (Perkins, 2005).

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<sup>12</sup> For Welfare State, see Barrow, 1993, pp. 89–95; Claus, 1984.

<sup>13</sup> For this purpose, many books had been financed by the WB and published. Some of them are as follows: Rosenstein-Rodan, 1943; Nurkse, 1952; Baran, 1952; Wallich, 1952; Rao, 1952; Singer, 1952; Viner, 1953; Clark, 1953; Scitovsky, 1954; Myint, 1954; Meier, 1954; Kuznetz, 1954; Lewis, 1954; Fleming, 1955; Bronfenbrenner, 1955; Eckaus, 1955; Chanery, 1955; Rostow, 1956; Baumol, 1951; Meier and Baldwin, 1957; Sweezy, 1942; Kindleberger, 1958; Higgins, 1959; Agarwala and Singh, 1958. Among such literature, the report on Turkey was published in 1951 with title *The Economy of Turkey*.

<sup>14</sup> For CEOs employed in government offices as high-ranking personnel, see (Baker, 2016, Appendix).

Another giant philosopher in this area who essentially admits Miliband's approach but makes some additions and raises critics to it in some important aspects is Nicos Poulantzas, who proposed the Structural Approach by his two main contributions to literature. One of them is *The Problem of the Capitalist State*, published by New Left Review in 1969, and the other is *Political Power and Social Classes*, published in 1978. The main difference between these two giant forerunners<sup>15</sup> is that Poulantzas did put the state within the system as an organic unity of it whereas Miliband presented the state as an agent outside of the system but encompassed it by the capital through manning policies. Poulantzas defines the conjunctures between the state and capital within the paradigm of distinctive structure of the state. According to Poulantzas, the state has a double-deck structural construction composed of "state power" and "state apparatus," which operate cooperatively in parallel with the interest of capital. He asserts that the governing class becomes dominant in controlling the state apparatus not directly but indirectly through the state power, which is an ontological phenomenon with the same genetic nature of capital origin. In other words, Poulantzas implies that it is not required for the capital to man the state departments to be effective in public decisions just because the state by its organic structure and nature resembles the capital with respect to its interest and behavior. The organic resemblance between the state and capital stems to begin with from the educational system and goes on with established social institutions and interactions between two sides. Just to check the structural coherence between the state's power and the state apparatus, such a question can be raised: if the working class could break the symmetry between the state power and the state apparatus, would there be any change in public policies in favor of the working class? Poulantzas' answer to the question is not in the affirmative because the state power is linked to the capital due to the need for tax revenue to fulfill the public duties and secure legitimacy of the system.

After the 1968 student revolt that took place in Paris and then spread all over some other developed nations, Marxist philosophers and writers perceived Miliband-Poulantzas' argument redundant and set forth some new and maybe more explanatory arguments until the 1970s. American Marxists took over the role of explaining the intricate relationship between the state and the capital, believing in the idea that the state has the capacity to control crises and make the system work without inflicting damage. Led mainly by Elmer Altvater, most of Marxist writers began to make a more careful reading of *Capital* and came up with the idea that Marx had explained the capital accumulation process as a smoothly developing phenomenon without any external interference is needed for the system to operate. However, it was understood that as capital accumulation increased to some degree, some obstacles might appear, and as a result, the system might plunge into a deep economic and social crisis. Thus, American Marxists came to the conclusion that the silent condition of the capital accumulation process developed in the short run at an historical segment did not guarantee in any way that the favorable condition would continue in the long run, too. Just the reverse, in the long run, some inherent forces would gain power and obstruct capital accumulation and cause a crisis. Therefore, the result of the short-term analysis of some writers of smoothly operating systems in an historical time segment were left and caused most of the Marxist writers to divert their attention to long-term processes. This fact constituted a turning point for Marxists in the way of analyzing the system to perceive the role of the state in making the economy work smoothly without being hampered. For this purpose, Altvater highlighted four basic measures toward the aim of making the system operate smoothly in the long run. The measures developed for this purpose were as follows: (1) launching the necessary political and legal system; (2) establishing an administrative body to enforce established law and order; (3) regulating capital-labor relations to enable capital to get the necessary portion out of added value for accumulation; (4) constructing the necessary

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<sup>15</sup> The debate between two authors after globalization is well presented by Barrow, 2016.

infrastructure to build links between the production centers and markets (Altvater, 1973). This approach was designed according to phases of the capitalist system; in other words, the project was in the nature of complementary adjustive mechanisms to the system with some additional policies. This approach is referred to as the Derivative Approach, implying that all measures are in coherence with the system without intending to make any radical change in the operation. However, it is worth mentioning that according to most of the Marxists, the social welfare state policy was put in effect historically in developed economies from the end of the Second World War until the middle of the 1970s as a wedge, but the policy had been a futile effort to subvert the insidious effects of economic crisis (Offe, 1984; Borchert et al., 2016).

As capitalism developed, a recurring crisis repressed the authority of the state and limited its area of dominance, a fact which led some Marxists to delve into an in-depth analysis of the system and develop a behavioral pattern for public policies geared toward the sequences of the capital accumulation process. Thus, the role defined for the state to stabilize the economy was replaced by the idea of defining crisis tendencies of late capitalism in order to better understand the inner forces of capitalism. Some Marxists like Habermas (1975), Gorz (1989), and Offe (1985) advocated for the role of the state to be observed in four successive stages defined as such: first, the exclusion principle would be adopted for capital accumulation to rise, in which any policy measures against the capitalist policy would be avoided. Second, it was stressed that all rules and decisions would be toward capital accumulation by way of providing incentive to capital accumulation and employment. Third, in the face of necessity for the state to raise tax revenue, it was compulsory for the state to avoid putting any measures in effect against capital accumulation. Fourth, the state had to take all measures and precautions to legitimize the system. Legitimization of the system is inevitable in order to produce the consent of the general public and make the people loyal to the system.

System Analysts<sup>16</sup> set forth that the state launched welfare policies to mitigate economic recessions and pave the way for capital accumulation. Based on this historical experience, James O'Connor laid down a general formula for the state in his book entitled *Fiscal Crisis of the State* in 1973 where he defined the role of the state as first, making the contribution to private capital accumulation, and second, taking the necessary measures to legitimize the system. The first policy measures can be enforced by socializing some production costs that would burden entrepreneurs otherwise and providing some services to capital, either to increase the productivity of fixed capital or decrease the cost of variable capital (i.e., labor). The legitimization policy aimed to stabilize the system is enforced by undertaking some social expenditures like unemployment pay and various other social insurance measures.

As capital accumulation took place and the capital reached enormous volume and consequently began to subordinate the state and social institutions, Marxists turned their attention to real state policies. In this final stage, the Organizational Realist Approach appeared as the one defining the modern state forms in dealing with late capitalist states. In this stage, the state is defined as the political organization with the important role of attracting resources by means of administrative capacity and coercive controls (Skocpol, 2015). The idea was that the bifurcated aim of the state was establishing law and order at home and dealing with international issues abroad. According to the idea, depending on internal and external conditions, mainly two forms of the state can emerge. Under a quiet and calm condition at home and without any foreign risk, a weak government form may appear with relatively low tax burden on the economy. At the other extreme, under a difficult condition prevalent both at home

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<sup>16</sup> See Barrow, 1993, Ch. 4.



and abroad, a strong government form may appear with a relatively high tax burden on the economy (Skowronek, 1982).

### **5. The State in the Era of Globalization**

After having gone over various views concerning the position of the state during a crisis to give a general outlook, it becomes of primordial importance to complete the picture by considering the state within the context of globalization since globalization can be seen as the worldly means of coping with the crisis of late capitalism. After the 1970s, especially since the 1980s, an enormous volume of international capital flow has taken place both among developed nations and between developed and developing nations as well. The era following the 1980s is known as neo-liberalism, in which national boundaries are lifted for capital flows, which put strict constraints on political agents in controlling international capital movements.

That prefix “neo” before the term “liberalism” to make it “neo-liberalism” has been so important as to change the whole world economic system as well as causing the hegemony of the state to slide backward in terms of forming public policies and controlling national economy. The reason for the emergence of such policies is straightforward. Decline in the rate of profit forced entrepreneurs at the first instance to resort to the government for tax concession on the one hand and to laborers for wage cut on the other. At the second level, the capital owners began to enlarge markets for both commodities to increase sales revenue, and capital markets to repress production costs by shifting production to low-wage areas. Shifting capital in the form of financial source, especially to emerging markets, began to yield higher interest than profit on equity capital. Thus, as return on equity capital declined toward the mid-1970s, capital in either form tried to enlarge all markets both physically by globalization and intertemporally by financialization. However, as the capital was spreading all over the world, it was necessary to have secure and capital-oriented market conditions everywhere. This aim was achieved quite successfully by establishing the set of rules referred to as the “Washington Consensus” (Williamson, 2004), informal but mandatory international regulations that have had a degrading effect on the authority of the state. As national boundaries were trespassed by capital flow according to the international capital rule, a unique and degrading effect on the hegemony of the state took place, setting capital flow free but banning labor flow internationally. Thus, the state was put in a situation where economic and social problems were increasing while the political power of the state, especially in developing countries, was decreasing. The state in emerging markets was repressed and subordinated not only by inflowing advanced foreign capital but some developed economies through international interest and/parity wars. This quite intricate situation forced governments to move in two distinct directions. Some governments attempted to increase public budget to protect their citizens against detrimental effects caused by foreign capital inflows. Regarding on the Compensation Hypothesis, Dani Rodrik explains the reason why open economies are prone to have bigger governments (Rodrik, 1998). On the other hand, some governments attempted to decrease public spending relatively in order to pave the way for private capital to flourish in order to be stronger to cope with keen competition coming from abroad. Taking this path, Garret and Nickerson put forth persuasive reasons for relatively decreasing the trend in public expenditures in some economies (Garret and Nickerson, 2001).

During globalization, almost all nations have been affected to various degrees from enormous changes taking place on a world scale. However, globalization did not bring nations together to form a global nation or economy, but it enlarged economic and social channels among nations through which they can be affected by each other more easily. Before recent globalization became effective, there had definitely been some activities that exerted international or even global effects on economies as well. A good example is the harm to the

ozone layer caused by greedy industrialization of mainly developed economies, which almost all nations and humanity have been affected badly. It is hoped that as globalization brings nations closer to each other, an international forum or congress might be organized to eliminate or at least mitigate such a demise of industrialization. Alas, there has been no positive result in the Kyoto Protocol or in any others. To sum up and classify the problems faced in globalization, the following explanation will serve the purpose. First, some general or global issues are in the nature of global primary concern. Second, as the result of globalization, some benefits and/or costs are in the nature of specific and national basis. In the first group of effects, goods or bads are classified as global public goods or global public bads, which have the same properties as national public goods or bads but at the global level. This definition is analogous to pure public goods and public bads concepts developed in public finance by Musgrave in 1959. A pure public good, which is primarily in the nature of service, is the one that affects all countries, socioeconomic groups, or generations positively without excluding any of them. As to the coverage of the service, socioeconomic groups may be scattered and dispersed among various nations; whatever their locations may be, they must all be covered for the service to be accepted as a global public service or global public good. Considering the destruction of some parts of the ozone layer is a typical kind of global public bad, as it affects all countries and people without discrimination. If the effects of a service cover some countries or socio-economic groups, the service/good is referred to as impure global public good/bad.

Globalization caused additional difficulties in steering economies due to two newly emerging conditions. First, international capital flow in two different forms has the tendency to cause economic crisis by means of curtailing the domain of maneuver of central banks, which is in charge of controlling both the value of money and the interest rate at home simultaneously. This post of controlling both the value of money and the interest rate at the same time is almost impossible in developing economies. As it is well known, in the earlier era of capitalism, foreign exchange fluctuations were due solely to foreign trade activities in such a mutual relation between exports and imports that after a relatively short period of foreign imbalances, the system would arrive at equilibrium automatically. But during globalization, cash inflows and outflows distort such an automatic balancing condition by acting as a wedge between foreign trade. Economies getting cash inflow to close their balance of payment deficit may increase imports due to decreased parity or overvalued domestic money and may find themselves eventually in a heavier foreign trade deficit. A developing economy with a shallow financial market suffers also from the risk of crisis if for any reason financial capital leaves the economy abruptly. This potential risk is perceived by foreign real capital investment, which is more important for a developing economy than simply cash flow. Mutually exclusive conditions between financial capital and foreign real capital investment in emerging economies appear as an inhibiting factor for foreign real capital investment.

Though foreign real capital investments may be preferable for emerging markets, the resultant crowding out effect should be carefully considered while designing policies for alternative investment opportunities. Even under conditions of extreme necessity of foreign capital investment in emerging markets, the resultant probable wage differential that would take place eventually among laborers employed in foreign capital versus domestic capital units may make it necessary to follow a convergent wage policy to prevent any friction among laborers. Another important issue with regard to foreign capital investment is establishing a link between imported and domestic technology for technology transfer to be realized at home. Otherwise, a foreign capital investment might use the host country just as a production base and may employ its own high-ranking personnel to keep high technology a secret. Foreign direct investment might also export high-quality products and contribute to foreign payment balance. But foreign direct investments can neither contribute technology nor improve employment policies, let

alone correct the balance of payments due to profit transfer to the country of origin. However, there are some authors who have defended globalization and foreign capital investment depending on the argument that foreign capital would make valuable contribution to the host economy with regard to technology improvement, wage increases, and even improvement in the balance of payment (Bhagwati, 2007).

### **Conclusion**

The state is a multifaceted enigma demonstrating itself in various forms and functions depending on claims of the capital but without changing its systematic function of creating all ways and means of making contribution to private capital accumulation. This function is inevitable for the state because while transforming from feudalism to nation states, factors of production were left in the private sector while only political and administrative bodies were shifted to the public sector. Therefore, the state is badly in favor of capital accumulation, simply because otherwise the state would be deprived of tax revenue.

The state is a kind of enigma because its roles and appearance might change throughout changes in relation to production. Such changes take place at the level of public politics and policies, but never at the polity level, implying that the size and the way of production/provision conditions of some services may change between public and private sectors without any change in the basic function of the state. This specific character of the capitalist state reflects its polymorphic nature, which enables it to foster private capital accumulation through responding differently according to different needs of the capital. Therefore, it is of primordial importance to notice that during neoliberalism, which is a phase of capitalism, there has been no change in the main function of the state for securing the optimum condition for private capital accumulation. Just the reverse, the aim in realizing changes at the policy and politics levels is to enhance the contribution to private capital accumulation by providing more market opportunities and tax relief to the private sector. For example, by privatization education and/or health services, the private sector gets a better chance to extend their activities and earn additional income.

The basic function of the state has not changed during globalization, either. However, in globalization, due to the free flow of capital among economies, the role and function of nation states have increased in launching their policies according to the claims of globalized capital. Two main points gain importance during globalization. First, when both capital and cash flows take place, it becomes difficult to launch the optimum policy to realize the balance of payment equilibrium. Second, the state of emerging markets faces the problem of keeping and also increasing the competitiveness of domestic capital against harsh competition coming from abroad. As it was mentioned above, this intricate problem has been considered differently under different conditions; some countries have attempted to increase the size of the budget to keep the living standard of the general public as much as possible, and some countries have tended to give tax concessions to domestic firms and relatively decreased the size of the public budget to enhance the competitiveness of domestic firms.

Globalization degraded the central authority of the state and caused the dispersion of the decision-making process both downwards and sectorwards. Local authorities and various other local and even private sector committees partook in public decision-making processes. The ramification of public authorities and the dispersion of decision-making processes are referred to as governance, meaning that the central public authority is not the sole responsible agent in making public decisions, but local public authorities like municipalities and also private sector agents may participate in public decision-making processes. It is also observed that some local authorities in a country could get in touch with local authorities in other countries as well.

All such large range of communicative decision-making web is formed according to the administrative demands coming from global capital. Thus, the destatization at home, which is referred to as governance, may be coupled with internalization where the decision-making process is shared among various national bodies or organizations. Globalization also forced nation states to accommodate some non-state and/or civil societal organizations in the decision-making process to establish a direct link between capital centers and political bodies. It is obvious that the whole picture implies not only a democratic way of making public decisions by the participation of local authorities but also sharing public the decision-making process with the private agents as well.

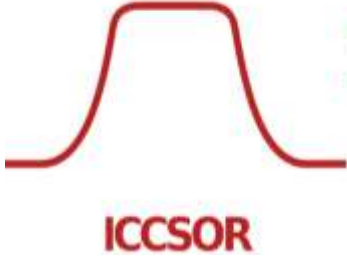
This sharing of public decisions with the private “power elite” is understandable according to mainstream political scientists, but this process is strongly rejected by Marxists depending on the opinion that such a decision-making process undermines the opinion of the general public, especially the poor in favor of the rich. As globalization developed, the position of nation states in the general ranking was determined according to their capital stock and technology level. During globalization, a common global state has not been erected, but by means of international capital flow, on the one hand, and the shifting of decision-making web to the international level, on the other one, can say for sure that in a way, a pseudo global nation has been organized. Since a strong attempt has been made to globalize such important areas like health, knowledge and information, peace and security, etc., one can say that quite a long way has already been gone (Kaul et al., 1999).

This paper essentially depends on a classical capitalist system with its basic assumptions and prerogatives. However, a rather radical view has been adopted as a general fragrance in order to reflect the genuine function of the state in capitalism. Thus, it is proper to conclude the paper by stating that the state is an ideological super-structure of the system with intrinsically designed functions in a disguised form. This property is the trade-mark of the state, which makes it appear as an enigma.

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## Covid-19 Virüsünün Hane Halkı Üzerine Etkisi: Mersin ilinin Diğer İllerle Karşılaştırmalı Analizi

Erkan AKTAŞ<sup>1</sup>

### Özet

Küresel bir salgına dönüşen Covid-19 virüsü yalnızca sağlık krizi değil, ekonomik ve politik krizlere de dönüşmektedir. Küreselleşme seviyesi salgını küresel salgın (pandemi) haline hızla getirmiştir. Covid-19 virüsü, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra yaşanan küresel en büyük ekonomik krize dönüşme tehlikesini de beraberinde getirmiştir. Salgınla mücadelede oluşturulacak politikalar, ülkelerin ekonomik süreçlerini çok önemli oranda etkileyecektir.

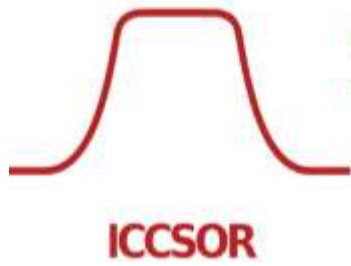
Salgının ekonomik etkisini daha ayrıntılı incelemek, ekonomi politikası için önemli bir referans olacaktır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Covid-19 virüsünün Mersin'de 2020 yılının Nisan ve Mayıs aylarında hanelerin ekonomik etkilerini incelemektir. Bu çalışmada internet ortamında 1058 hane ile anket yapıldı. Ankete Katılanların %40'ını (421 hane) Mersin'de yaşayan haneler oluşturmaktadır. Aynı zamanda toplam 55 farklı ilden katılımı sağlandığı için Mersin ilinin diğer illerle karşılaştırma imkânı sağlamaktadır.

Yapılan analiz sonucu, Mersin ilinde Covid-19 sonrası hanelerin %55,1'inde gelir kaybı olduğu belirtilmiştir. Covid-19 öncesi Mersin'de geniş işsizlik oranı yaklaşık %23 olarak hesaplanırken, Covid-19 sonrası bu oran %33,3'e yükselmiştir. Mersin ilindeki Covid-19 sonrası işsizlik artışı ankete katılan diğer iller ortalamasından daha yüksek olmuştur. Pandemi ile birlikte, istidamın önemli oranda yükünü taşıyan KOBİ'lerle ilgili yeni ekonomik paketlerin açıklanması işsizlikle mücadelede ciddi destek olacaktır. Bu desteklerin, özellikle istihdam yükünü artıracak sektör ve bölgelere göre farklılaşması, pandemi sonrası ülkede resesyon riskini de azaltabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Covid-19, Hane Halkı, Ekonomik Etki, Mersin, Türkiye

**JEL Kodlar :**D10, E24,C83.

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## **The Impact of Covid-19 Virus on Household: Comparative Analysis of Mersin with Other Cities**

### **Abstract**

The COVID-19 virus, which has turned into a global epidemic, is not only a health crisis, it is turning into economic and political crises. The level of globalization has rapidly turned the epidemic into a global epidemic (pandemic). Covid-19 virus, It brought along the danger of turning into the biggest global economic crisis after the World War II. Policies to be created to combat the epidemic will significantly affect the economic processes of countries.

It will be an important reference for economic policy to examine the economic impact of the epidemic in more detail. The purpose of this study is to examine the economic effects of the Covid-19 virus on households in April and May 2020 in Mersin. In this study, a survey was conducted with 1058 households on the internet. 40% of the participants (421 households) are households living in Mersin. At the same time, it provides the opportunity to compare Mersin with other provinces, as a total of 55 different provinces have participated.

As a result of the analysis, it was stated that 55.1% of the households after Covid-19 in Mersin province lost income. While the wide unemployment rate in Mersin before Covid-19 was calculated as approximately 23%, this rate increased to 33.3% after Covid-19. The increase in unemployment after Covid-19 in Mersin province was higher than the average of other provinces surveyed. With the pandemic, the announcement of new economic packages regarding SMEs, which bear a significant burden of employment, will be a serious support in the fight against unemployment. It supports, in particular the differentiation according to the sector and to increase the employment of charge, after the pandemic in the country may also reduce the risk of recession.

**Keywords:** Covid-19, Household, Economic Effect, Mersin, Türkiye

**JEL Codes:**D10, E24,C83.



## 1. Giriş

Tarih boyunca insanlar, birçok salgın hastalıklarla birçok defa karşı karşıya gelmiş ve hayatımızı doğrudan etkileyen bu salgın hastalıklarla mücadele etmişlerdir. İnsanlar özellikle toplu yaşamaya başladıktan sonra birçok unsur ile mücadele etmek durumunda kalmış; salgınlar ise bu mücadelenin en zorlu halkası haline gelmiştir. Kısa sürede yayılım gösteren salgınlar, hiçbir ayırım gözetmeden bütün insanlığı doğrudan etkilemiş ve yaşam seyrini değiştirmiştir.

Günümüzde küresel bir salgına dönüşen Covid-19 virüsü, yalnızca sağlık krizi değil, aynı zamanda, ekonomik ve politik krize dönüşmüştür. Küreselleşme seviyesi, yaşanan salgınları hızla küresel salgın (pandemi) haline getirmiştir. Covid-19 salgını, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra küresel en büyük ekonomik krize dönüşme tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya bırakmıştır. Salgınla mücadelede oluşturulacak politikalar, ülkelerin ekonomik süreçlerini çok önemli oranda etkileyecektir.

Salgın nedeniyle ortaya çıkan maliyetleri çevre ekonomisi açısından değerlendirdiğimizde, oluşan negatif dışsallık doğrudan ve dolaylı ekonomik etkiler şeklinde iki kısma ayrılabilir. Doğrudan ekonomik etkiler; salgınla ilgili sağlık harcamalarının artmasıdır. Bu maliyetlere katlanılmadan salgınla mücadele olası değildir. Dolaylı maliyetler ise, hasta ve bakıma muhtaç iş gücü ve onlara bakanlardan oluşmaktadır. Bir de panik maliyetlerine dayalı maliyetlerin de ekleneceği belirlenmiştir. Özellikle, panik durumuyla birlikte, hastanelere ve diğer sağlık tesislerine ani ve aşırı talep artışı nedeniyle sağlık sistemlerinin çökebileceği belirtilmiştir (Demir 2020:7).

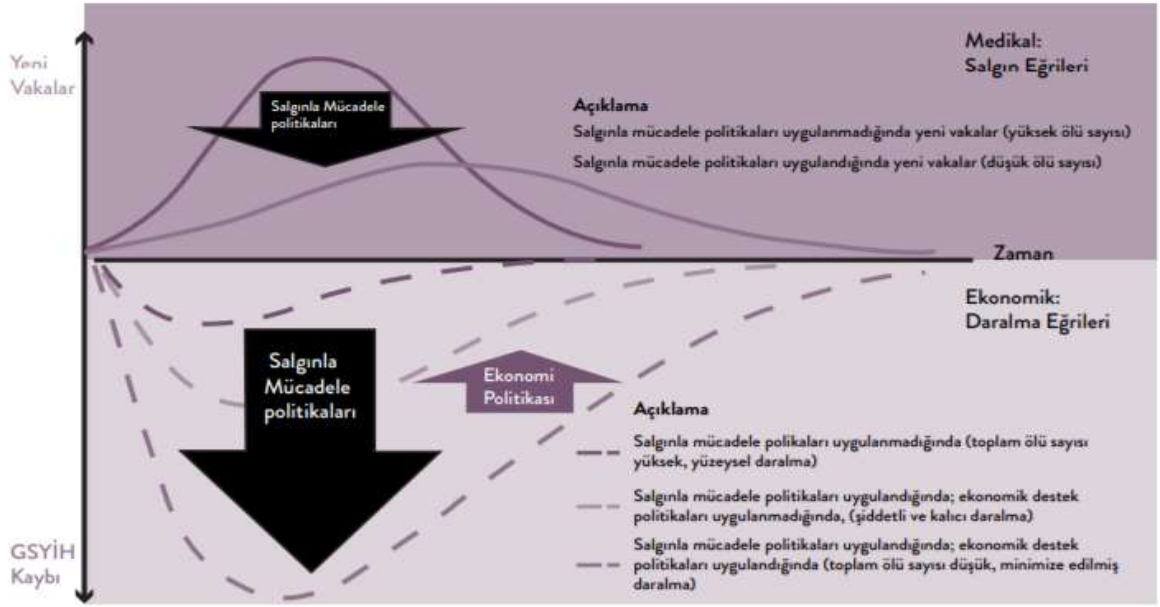
Aşağıdaki şekilde salgının iki farklı koşulda ortaya çıkan seyir eğrileri görülmektedir. Burada salgına karşı farklı politikalarda olası ekonomik maliyetlerin nasıl olabileceği gösterilmektedir. Örneğin, yayılımına izin verildiğinde, ekonomideki resesyon riski ve buna bağlı maliyetler düşük olabileceği belirtilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, salgının yayılmasına yönelik tedbirlerin alınması durumunda salgınla mücadele süreci aynı zamanda incelenmiş ve salgının yayılmasına yönelik tedbirlerin alınması durumunda salgınla mücadele zamana yayılabileceği belirtilmiştir. Dolayısıyla salgının yayılma süreci ile ekonomik resesyon riski arasında ters yönlü bir ilişki olduğu görülmektedir. Bu grafikte salgına karşı tercih edilecek politikaların hem ekonomi hem de salgın süreci üzerine olası etkilerini özetlemektedir (Baldwin, 2020).

Baldwin (2020) salgınla mücadele ve ortaya çıkan ekonomik maliyet arasındaki bu ilişkiyi Şekil 1'de ortaya koymaktadır. Şekil 1'de iki ayrı panelden oluşmakta ve üsteki panelde salgının iki farklı mücadele durumunda ortaya çıkabilecek eğrileri görülmektedir. Burada ilk

durum, salgının serbestçe yayılmasına izin vermek yani engelleyecek herhangi bir tedbir almamaktır. Bu durumda, en yukarıdaki eğri ile gösterilen salgın yayılma eğrisi elde edilecektir. Burada salgın süresi kısa sürmekle birlikte, oldukça yüksek vaka sayısı ile karşı karşıya kalacak olan ekonomi için maliyeti düşük olacaktır. Şekil 1'in alt tarafındaki eğriler ile de salgınla mücadele durumunda ekonomide ortaya çıkabilecek resesyon riski açıklanmaktadır. Buna göre, hiçbir önlem almadan ve olası tedbirlerin ekonomik maliyetlerin artmamasına ve dolayısıyla, ekonomideki resesyon riski çok az olacağı, alt panelin en üst eğrisi ile gösterilebilir. İngiltere ve ABD pandemi başlangıcında bu yöntemi benimsemişlerdi. Bu ülkeler, pandeminin ülkesinde yayılımına müdahale etmeyerek, virüsün tüm ülkeyi etkilemesini beklemek ve bu şekilde vatandaşların vücut dirençlerinin artmasını bekleyerek virüsle mücadele edilmesi benimsenmişti (Sürü Bağışıklığı). Salgına tedbirler alınması durumunda salgınla mücadele daha da zamana yayılabilir ve vaka sayısının daha düşük seviyelerde tutulması sağlanabilir. Üst panelde daha yaygın salgın yayılım eğrisi bu durumu açıklamaktadır. Alınan tedbirlerin artması

ile birlikte hem doğrudan mücadelenin maliyeti, hem de alınan tedbirlerin yol açtığı ekonomik kayıplar maruz kaldığı toplam maliyetin artmasına neden olunacaktır. Ancak ortaya çıkan bu maliyetin de minimize edilmesi mümkündür. Ortaya konacak ekonomik destek paketleri ile maliyetlerin düşürülmesi ve dolayısıyla resesyon riskinin azaltılması mümkün olabilecektir. Ülkelerin yapacakları destek paketlerinin boyutları ve niteliğine ile gösterilen resesyon eğrisi daha da küçülecektir. Ülkelerin pandemiye karşı oluşturdukları kapsamlı ekonomik destek paketleri ile oluşacak resesyon riski, Şekil 1'in alt panelinde ortadaki resesyon eğrisi ile açıklanmaktadır. Pandeminin yayılma süreci ile resesyon riski arasında ters yönlü bir bağıntı oluşmaktadır (Baldwin, 2020, Çeviren Bayar ve ark,2020:7-8).

**Şekil 1: Salgının Seyri Eğrisi ile Ekonomik Maliyet Eğrileri**



Kaynak: Baldwin, 2020, Çeviren Bayar ve ark,2020:7)

Bayar ve arkadaşları Covid-19 salgınının 2020 yılında Türkiye’de hane halklarının gelirleri üzerindeki etkisini iki senaryo üzerinden analiz etmişlerdir. Temel bulgularına göre iki senaryo temelinde ve kamunun müdahalesi öncesinde salgının istihdam üzerinde olumsuz etkileri görüldüğü ve buna göre istihdam oranının ve doğal olarak bağımlılık oranının sırasıyla % 40 ve % 30’a kadar düşmesinin beklendiği tahmin edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, işsizlik oranının ise, %18,9 ve %25,9’a kadar yükseleceği, Gini katsayısı ise %47 şeklinde olacağı tahmin edilmiştir (Bayar ve ark;5:12). Başka bir çalışmadaki senaryoya göre işsizlik oranın %31,4’e kadar çıkabileceği tahmin edilmiştir (Taymaz, 2020).

Covid-19 salgınının Türkiye ekonomisine 2020 yılında olası yük ve maliyetlerini bir genel denge modeli sistematığı içerisinde inceleyen başka bir çalışmada ise; Salgının ekonomik maliyetlerini gayri safi yurtiçi hasılda %26.7 ve toplam işgücü istihdamında da %22.8’lik bir kayıp olacağı tahmin edilmiştir. İşsizlik oranında beklenen artış, %14 düzeyinden, %33’e, işsiz sayısının da 4.7 milyon kişiden, 11.7 milyona çıkacağı tahmin edilmiştir. İstihdamdaki bu gerilemeye koşut olarak hane halkı harcanabilir gelirlerinin de 2019’a görece olarak %46 düşeceği tahmin edilmiştir (Voyvoda ve Yeldan,2020:18).

“Kovid-19 Salgınının Seyri ve Türkiye Ekonomisi” isimli diğer bir çalışmada ise, kısa dönemli basit bir hesaplamayla, ekonominin %20 yavaşlayacağı varsayımı altında 30 günlük tahmini GSYH kaybının yaklaşık 63,5 milyar TL olabileceği belirtilmiştir (Demir 2020:15)

Covid-19'un tüketicilerin harcama talebi üzerine olan etkisi TEPAV tarafından "Covid-19 Tüketici Harcamalarına Etkisi" raporunda ortaya konulmuştur. 13 Mart – 8 Mayıs 2020 arasında kredi kartına dayalı tüketim harcamalarındaki daralmanın en fazla olduğu kalemler belirlenmiştir. Tüketim harcamasındaki daralmanın en fazla olduğu kalemler sırasıyla, havayolları, konaklama, eğlence yerleri, seyahat ve taşımacılık, yemek, giyim ve aksesuar harcamaları şeklinde belirlenmiştir. Buna karşı, tüketim harcamalarında en fazla artış, sırası ile marketler, elektrik-elektronik eşya, bilgisayar ve çeşitli gıdalar olmuştur (Dündar,2020:3).

Salgının ekonomik etkisini daha ayrıntılı incelemek, ekonomi politikası için önemli bir referans olacaktır. Bu çalışmanın amacı Covid-19 virüsünün Mersin'de 2020 yılının Nisan ve Mayıs aylarında hanelerin ekonomik etkilerini incelemektir. Aynı zamanda Mersin ile diğer illerin<sup>2</sup> karşılaştırılması da yapılmıştır.

## 2. Veri Seti ve Yöntem

Bu çalışmada internet ortamında 1058 hane ile anket yapıldı. Ankete katılanların %40'ını (421 hane) Mersin'de yaşayan haneler oluşturmaktadır. Bu örneklem, Mersin'de yaşayan haneleri temsil gücü olmakla birlikte, Mersin hane halkı hakkında da bilgi verebilir niteliktedir. Aynı zamanda toplam 55 farklı ilden katılımı sağlandığı için Mersin ilinin diğer illerle karşılaştırma imkânı sağlamaktadır. Araştırmaya konu olan değişkenler arasındaki bağımsızlık testlerinde ki-kare analizi kullanılmıştır. Bu analiz bu tür analizlerde kullanılan en yaygın yöntemlerden biridir (Kartal, 1998:119-123; Donald ve Lindgren,1996:522-523).

Çalışmada ekonomik etki, hane halkı geliri ve işsizlikle açıklanmıştır. İşsizlikte ise geniş işsizlik oranı temel alınmıştır.

TÜİK, istihdam halinde olmayan (Yevmiyeli, kâr karşılığı, ücretsiz ya da ücretli olarak hiçbir işte çalışmamış) kişilerden iş aramak için son dört hafta içinde iş arama kanallarından en az birini kullanmış ve iki hafta içinde işbaşı yapabilecek durumda olan 15 yaş ve daha yukardaki kişileri işsiz olarak tanımlamaktadır. 2014 yılından önce, iş arama kriterinde referans dönemi olarak "son dört hafta" yerine "son üç ay" kullanılmaktaydı. Dar tanımlı resmi işsizlik oranı işgücü piyasalarındaki durumu bütün boyutlarıyla ortaya koyamadığı için geniş tanımlı işsizlik oranından faydalanılmaktadır. Dar tanımlı işsizlik hesaplarının taşıdığı kısıtların her geçen gün tartışılmasından dolayı, işsizliğin gerçek boyutlarının anlaşılması için alternatif yeni işsizlik hesaplamalarına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. İşsizlik hesaplamaları konusunda farklı yöntemler kullanılmaktadır. Örneğin ILO, AB ve ABD'de geniş tanımlı işsizliği rakamları da yayınlanmaktadır. Türkiye'de bazı sendikalar (TİSK, DİSKAR vb) geniş tanımlı işsizlik verilerini hesaplamışlardır. DİSK-AR da uzun yıllardır geniş tanımlı işsizlik oranlarını hala hesaplamaktadır. DİSK-AR'ın kullandığı geniş tanımlı işsizlik hesaplaması beş unsurdan oluşuyor: 1) Dar tanımlı işsizler, 2) İş aramayan fakat çalışmaya hazır olanlar iki gruba ayrılıyor: 2-a) İş bulma ümidini kaybedenler, 2-b) İş aramayan ancak çalışmaya hazır olan diğer bireyler, 3) Mevsimlik çalışanlar, 4) Zamana bağlı eksik çalışanlar (DİSKAR, 2020). Bu veriler TÜİK'te ham veri şeklinde bulunmaktadır. TÜİK istihdam politikalarının daha sağlıklı analizi için dar tanımlı işsizlik yanında geniş tanımlı işsizlik oranlarını kullanabilir.

<sup>2</sup> Diğer iller, Türkiye'deki diğer iller ortalamasını temsil etmemektedir. Online ankete katılan Mersin dışındaki illeri kapsamaktadır.

### 3.Araştırma Bulguları

Yapılan anket sonucunda ortalama hane genişliği 4,3 ve Mersin ise 4,1 olarak hesaplanmıştır. TÜİK verilerine göre, Türkiye'nin hane halkı genişliği 3,4 ve Mersin'de ise 3,3 olarak hesaplanmıştır (TÜİK,2020). Ankete katılanların nüfus genişliği ile Mersin ortalamasına göre biraz yüksek çıkmıştır. Ankete katılanların eğitim durumu çizelge 1'de verilmiştir. Anket internet yolu ile yapıldığı için Mersin ortalaması üstünde üniversite ve yüksek lisans kişisi ile anket yapılmıştır<sup>3</sup>.

**Çizelge 1. Ankete Katılanların Eğitim Durumu**

	Mersin		Diğer İller		Toplam	
	Adet	Yüzde	Adet	Yüzde	Adet	Yüzde
İlkokul	74	17,6	113	17,7	187	17,7
Ortaokul	62	14,7	113	17,7	175	16,5
Lise	109	25,9	176	27,6	285	26,9
Üniversite	142	33,7	209	32,8	351	33,2
Yüksek lisans	34	8,1	26	4,1	60	5,7
Toplam	421	100,0	637	100,0	1058	100,0

Ankete katılan kişilerin gelir gruplarına göre dağılımına baktığımızda, Mersin ilinde de diğer illerde de Covid-19 sonrası gelirlerde önemli oranda azalma görülmektedir (Çizelge 2). Yapılan ki kare analizine göre ankete katılan Mersin'deki hanelerle diğer haneler arasında gelir grupları arasında bir farklılık olduğu görülmektedir. Mersin ilindeki gelir dağılımının diğer illere göre daha dengesiz olduğu söylenebilir. TÜİK verilerine göre de Mersin, gelir eşitsizliğinin en yüksek olduğu iller arasında yer almaktadır (TÜİK.2019).

<sup>3</sup> Bu durum çalışmanın bir kısıtı şeklinde değerlendirilmeli.

**Çizelge 2. Ankete Katılanların Covid 19 Öncesi ve Sonrası Gelir Durumu (%)**

	Covid-19 Öncesi		Covid-19 Sonrası	
	Mersin	Diğer İller	Mersin	Diğer İller
2500 TL ve altı	24,2	29,4	44,2	51,3
2501-5000 TL	41,3	44,0	27,1	30,1
5001-7500 TL	14,3	13,7	13,8	9,4
7501-10000 TL	12,4	8,3	8,6	6,4
10001 TL ve üstü	7,8	4,7	6,4	2,7
Total	100,0	1,0	100,0	100,0
Ki Kare Değeri	11,2	P:0,024	17,9	P:0,001

Ankete katılan kişilerin Covid-19 sonrası gelirdeki değişimine baktığımızda, Mersin ilindeki hanelerin %43,2'sinin gelirinde bir değişim olmadığı belirtilmiştir. Mersin ilindeki hanelerin %55,1'inde ise gelirinde bir azalma olduğu belirtilmiştir. Diğer illerdeki hanelerin Covid-19 sonrası gelir değişimi paralellik göstermiştir. Yapılan Ki kare analizi ile birlikte, Covid-19 sonrası hanelerin bulunduğu il ile gelirdeki değişim arasında bir ilişki belirlenmiştir. Mersin Üniversitesi öğrencileri ile yapılan bir çalışmada da öğrenci ailelerinin büyük çoğunluğu (%65,3) Korona virüsü sonrası gelir kaybına uğradığını belirtmişlerdir. Pandemi sonrası geliri değişmeyen öğrenci ailelerinin oranı ise %35,2 olarak tespit edilmiştir (Aktaş,2020:19)

**Çizelge 3. Ankete Katılanların Covid-19 Sonrası Gelir Durumu Değişimi (%)**

	Mersin	Diğer İller	Toplam
Çok azaldı	17,8	18,2	18,1
Azaldı	37,3	39,6	38,7
Değişmedi	43,2	40,8	41,8
Arttı	1,7	1,4	1,5
Total	1058	100,0	100,0
Ki Kare Değeri	11,2	P:0,024	

Covid-19 öncesi de Mersin'de önemli oranda işsizlik sorunu yaşanmaktadır. Covid-19 öncesi anket yapılan ailelerin yaklaşık %44'ünün işsizlik sorunu yaşadığı ve Covid-19 sonrası ise bu oranın %56'ya çıktığı görülmektedir. Covid-19 öncesi diğer illerdeki hanelerde işsiz oranları arasında önemli fark yok iken, Covid-19 sonrası fark olduğu yapılan Ki kare analizi ile birlikte ortaya çıkmıştır.

Covid-19 öncesi Mersin’de geniş işsizlik oranı yaklaşık %23 iken, Covid-19 sonrası bu oran %33,3’e yükselmiştir. Covid-19 öncesi diğer illerde geniş işsizlik oranı yaklaşık %27,5 iken, Covid-19 sonrası bu oran %37,3’e yükselmiştir. Mersin ilindeki Covid-19 sonrası işsizlik artışı daha yüksek olmuştur. Covid-19 sonrası Mersin’de işsiz sayısının daha da yüksek artması, Mersin’de hizmet sektörünün istihdam içindeki payının yüksekliği ile açıklanabilir. Pandemi sonrası yapılan diğer çalışmalarda da işsizlik rakamlarının benzer olduğu görülmektedir. Bayar ve arkadaşları pandemi sonrası Türkiye’deki işsizliği %31, Voyvoda ve Yeldan ise %33 olacağını tahmin etmişlerdir. Bu çalışmadaki yatay veriler sonucu hesaplanan geniş işsizlik oranı ile buradaki oranlar örtüşmektedir.

**Çizelge 4. Ankete Katılan Hanelerdeki Covid-19 Öncesi ve Sonrası İşsiz Sayısı ve Geniş İşsizlik Oranı (%)<sup>4</sup>**

İşsiz sayısı	Covid-19 Öncesi			Covid-19 Sonrası		
	Mersin	Diğer İller	Toplam	Mersin	Diğer İller	Toplam
0	56,3	50,2	52,6	43,7	36,9	39,6
1	22,8	23,4	23,2	25,2	26,8	26,2
2	13,1	15,5	14,6	19,7	18,7	19,1
3	7,1	9,3	8,4	9,0	14,1	%2,1
4+	0,7	1,6	1,2	2,4	3,5	3,0
Toplam	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Geniş İşsizlik Oranı	23,3	27,5	25,6	33,3	37,3	35,0
Ki Kare Değeri	5,8	P:0,22		9,8	P:0,044	

Çizelge 5’e bakıldığında anketimizde elde ettiğimiz geniş işsizlik oranları ile Türkiye’nin oranları arasında çokta bir farklı olmadığı görülmektedir. Bu mevcut farklılığın ise geniş işsizlik oranının hesaplama farklılığından kaynaklandığı söylenebilir.

<sup>4</sup> Hane halkının kendi beyanına göre işsiz sayısı belirlendi. Buradaki nüfusun %75’i aktif nüfus olarak alınmıştır (TÜİK İşgücü İstatistikleri, Mart 2020 verileri Türkiye ortalaması baz alınarak %75 belirlemiştir (TÜİK 2020)). İşgücüne katılım oranı hesaplanmadı için işsizlik oranı=İşsiz sayısı/aktif nüfus şeklinde belirlenmiştir. Bir nevi geniş işsizlik oranı olarak ta tanımlanabilir.

**Çizelge 5. Türkiye’de Resmi ve Geniş İşsizlik Oranı (Bin Kişi)**

		2019 Temmuz	2020 Temmuz
1	15 Yaş ve üstü nüfus	61.507	62.626
2	İşgücü	33.113	31.491
3	İstihdam	28.517	27.263
4	Çalışmaya hazır + mevsimlik çalışanlar	2.448	4.227
5	Zamana Bağlı Eksik İstihdam	320	1252
6 (2 + 4)	Geniş İşgücü	35.561	35.782
7	Resmi İşsiz Sayısı	4.596	4.227
8 (4 +5+7)	Geniş İşsiz Sayısı	<b>7.364</b>	<b>9.770</b>
9 (7 / 2)	<b>Resmi İşsizlik Oranı (%)</b>	<b>13,9</b>	<b>13,4</b>
10 (8 / 6)	<b>Geniş İşsizlik Oranı (%)</b>	<b>20,7</b>	<b>27,3</b>

TÜİK, 2020b. TÜİK’ten alınan verilerden yola çıkarak geniş işsizlik hesaplanmıştır.

Zamana bağlı eksik istihdam verileri de son dönemlerde önemli şekilde artmıştır (Uysal ve akr,2020:8). Zamana bağlı eksik istihdam verileri Aralık 2019 döneminde 320 bin iken, pandemi ile birlikte 1 milyon 252 bine çıkmıştır. Türkiye’deki işsizlerin sadece yüzde 15’inin işsizlik ödeneğinden faydalandığı için pandemi döneminde işten çıkartmalar yasaklanmış ve bunun yerine kısa çalışma ödeneği sistemi ile işsiz sayısının hızla artışı engellenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Kısa çalışma ödeneği verilerine göre ödenekten faydalanan sayısı, Şubat ayında 17.862 kişiden Nisan ayında 2 milyon 591 bin kişiye yükselmiştir. Bu rakam Mayıs 2020’de 3 milyon çalışana ulaşmıştır. Bu bireylerin önemli kısmı mevcut koşullarda etkin olarak çalışmadığı ancak gelir kayıplarının da bir miktar azaltıldığı varsayılabilir (Uysal ve akr,2020:8). Özellikle kamu dışında hizmet sektöründe kayıt dışı çalışan kişiler için aynı durum geçerli olamamıştır. Bunlar ya işsiz ya da çok az ücretlere çalışmak zorunda kalmışlardır. Fakat özellikle Mersin ilinde kayıt dışı hizmet sektöründe çalışanları işsizlik durumunu kısa çalışma ödeneğinden faydalanamadığı söylenebilir. Bu durum Mersin ilindeki geniş işsizliğin daha artmasına neden olmuş olabilir.

Mersin ilinde anket yapılan hanelerin %39’u devletten destek için başvurur iken diğer illerden başvuru oranı ise %43 olmuştur. Mersin ilinde devletten destek alan hanelerin oranı ise %13 iken diğer illerde bu oran %14 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Mersin ilinde yakınlarından destek alan hanelerin oranı ise %9 iken diğer illerde bu oran %8 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Mersin ilinde Kredi ertelemesi yapan hanelerin oranı ise %21 iken diğer illerde bu oran %22 olarak gerçekleşmiştir.

Mersin ilinde yakınlarına destek olan hanelerin oranı ise %33 iken diğer illerde bu oran %28 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Bu çalışmada “Biz bize yeteriz” kampanyasına destek verenlerin oranı ise Mersin’de %24 iken bu oran ankete katılan diğer iller de bu %19 olarak hesaplanmıştır.

#### 4.Sonuç ve Öneriler

Son yıllarda kısa sürede yayılım gösteren salgınlar bütün insanlığı doğrudan etkilemiş ve yaşam seyrini değiştirmiştir. Fakat bu salgınlar tarihte milyonlarca insanın hayatını kaybetmesine neden olmuştur.

Günümüzde küresel bir salgına dönüşen Covid-19 virüsü, özellikle ekonomik ve politik krize dönmüştür. Covid-19 salgını II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra yaşanan en büyük küresel ekonomik krize dönüşme tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya bırakmıştır. Salgınla mücadelede oluşturulacak politikalar, ülkelerin ekonomik süreçlerini çok önemli oranda etkileyecektir.

Salgına karşı farklı politikalar farklı ekonomik maliyetlere neden olacaktır. Pandemiye karşı sürü bağışıklığını tercih etmek, ekonomide resesyon riskini ve buna bağlı maliyetler düşük neden olacağı öngörülmektedir. Bununla birlikte, Covid-19'un yayılmasına yönelik tedbirlerin alınması durumunda, ekonomik resesyon riskini arttıracığı öngörülmektedir. Bu konu etkili ekonomik politikalarla ekonomik resesyonun etkisini azaltılacağı belirtilmiştir.

Salgının seyri ve ekonomik maliyetlerine etkisini daha ayrıntılı incelemek için hem mikro hem de makro iktisadi analizler de önemli bir referans olacaktır. Bu çalışmanın amacı doğrultusunda, Covid-19 virüsünün Mersin'de 2020 yılının Nisan ve Mayıs aylarında hanelere olan ekonomik etkilerini incelemiştir. Yapılan analiz sonucu, Mersin ilinde Covid-19 sonrası hanelerin %55,1'inde gelir kaybı olduğu belirtilmiştir. Covid-19 öncesi Mersin'de geniş işsizlik oranı yaklaşık %23 olarak hesaplanırken, Covid-19 sonrası bu oran %33,3'e yükselmiştir. Mersin ilindeki Covid-19 sonrası işsizlik artışı ankete katılan diğer iller ortalamasından daha yüksek olmuştur. Mersin'de ilinde hizmet sektörünün istihdam içindeki payının yüksekliği, Covid-19 sonrası işsiz sayısının daha artmasına neden olduğu söylenebilir.

Mersin ilinde anket yapılan hanelerin %39'u devletten destek için başvurur iken diğer illerden başvuru oranı ise %43 olmuştur. Mersin ilinde devletten destek alan hanelerin oranı ise %13 iken diğer illerde bu oran %14 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Mersin ilinde yerelden destek alan hanelerin oranı ise %9 iken diğer illerde bu oran %8 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Mersin ilinde yakınlarından destek alan hanelerin oranı ise %9 iken diğer illerde bu oran %8 olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Mersin ilinde kredi ertelemesi yapan hanelerin oranı ise %21 iken diğer illerde bu oran %22 olarak gerçekleşmiştir.

Salgının seyri ve aileler üzerine ekonomik etkisi incelendiğinde, bu durumun her gelir grubunu olumsuz etkilediği görülmektedir. Fakat, özellikle çalışanlar üzerine ağır yükler getirdiği ve ciddi oranda işsizliğe yansıdığı görülmektedir. Kısa çalışma ödeneğini ile birlikte, yaşanan pandemi ile birlikte resmi işsizlik oranı görülmektedir. Birçok ülkede resmi işsizlik oranı yanında geniş işsizlik oranına da bakılmaktadır. Türkiye'de pandeminin işsizlik üzerine etkisini geniş işsizlik oranı ile de net bir şekilde görülmektedir. Bu yüzden, TÜİK resmi işsizlik oranı yanında geniş işsizlik oranını da hesaplayarak yayınlaması alınacak istihdam politikalarına daha sağlıklı olmasını sağlayacaktır.

Pandemi ile birlikte, işsizlikle mücadele için kapsamında oluşturulan kısa çalışma ödeneğinde milyonlarca çalışan faydalanırken, işsizlik fonundan faydalanan işsiz sayısının sınırlı olduğu gözlenmiştir. Türkiye'de her 3 kişiden 1'i kayıt dışı çalıştığı düşünüldüğünde kısa çalışma ödeneğinden faydalanamayan önemli sayıda çalışan da olduğu ve bunların pandemi ile birlikte daha ciddi işsizlik sorunu yaşadığı söylenebilir. İstidamın önemli oranda yükünü taşıyan KOBİ'lerle ilgili yeni ekonomik paketlerin açıklanması işsizlikle mücadelede ciddi destek olacaktır. Bu desteklerin özellikle istihdam yükünü artıracak sektör ve bölgelere göre farklılaşması pandemi ile birlikte ülkede resesyon riskini de azaltacaktır.



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### **Administration Teacher Education in Nigeria: Problems and Suggestions**

**Niyi Jacob OGUNODE<sup>1</sup> & Nathan O.J AGWOR<sup>2</sup>**

#### **Abstract**

The article discussed the problems facing the administration of teacher education in Nigeria. Secondary data was used to support the points raised in the article. The secondary data were sourced from print material and online publication by recognized institutions and individual author. There are many problems facing administration of teachers education in Nigeria. Some of the problems include; inadequate funding, inadequate academic staff, shortage of infrastructural facilities, institutional corruption, weak school administrators, brain-drain and unstable academic calendar. To solve this challenges, this article recommends: that the government should increase the funding of teachers education, employ more academic staff, provide more infrastructural facilities, ensure stable academic calendar, appointment of competent school administrators and fight all institutional corruption.

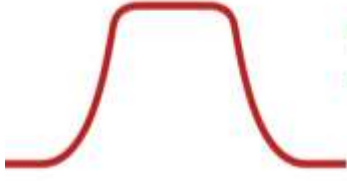
**Keyword:** Administration, Education, Education Management, Teachers, Teacher education, Problems

**JEL Codes:** A2, H52, I2,I100,P46

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## Nijerya'da Öğretmen Eğitim Yönetimi : Sorunlar ve Öneriler

### Özet

Makalede, Nijerya'da öğretmen eğitimi yönetiminin karşılaştığı sorunlar tartışıldı. Makalede öne sürülen noktaları desteklemek için ikincil veriler kullanıldı. İkincil veriler basılı materyallerden ve resmi kurumlardan ve yazarların bireysel yayınlarından çevrimiçi olarak elde edildi. Nijerya'da öğretmen eğitimi yönetiminin karşılaştığı birçok sorun var. Sorunlardan bazıları şunlardır: yetersiz finansman, yetersiz akademik personel, altyapı tesislerinin eksikliği, kurumsal yolsuzluk, zayıf okul yöneticileri, beyin göçü ve değişken akademik takvim Bu zorlukları çözmek için, bu makale, Nijerya hükümetine öğretmenlerin eğitime yönelik finansmanını artırmasını, daha fazla akademik personel istihdam etmesini, daha fazla altyapı tesisi sağlamasını, istikrarlı bir akademik takvimin uygulanmasını, okul yöneticilerinin liyakata göre atanmasını ve tüm kurumsal yolsuzluklarla mücadele etmesini öneriyor.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yönetim, Eğitim, Eğitim Yönetimi, Öğretmenler, Öğretmen eğitimi, Sorunlar

**JEL Kodlar :** A2, H52, I2,I100,P46

## **1. Introduction**

The teacher education institutions are designed to produce manpower in teacher education. The institutions that are given recognition by the government to provide teacher education are as follows: Education colleges, education faculties, institutes of education and National Teachers institute. The objectives of teacher education in Nigeria according to the National policy on (2004) include; to produce highly motivated, conscientious and efficient classroom teachers for all levels of our educational system; to encourage further the spirit of enquiry and creativity in teachers; to help teachers fit into social life of the community and society at large and enhance their commitment to national goals; to provide teachers with the intellectual and professional background adequate for their assignment and make them adaptable to changing situations; and enhance teachers' commitment to the teaching profession.

The realization of the objectives of teacher education programme in Nigeria objectives depend on the effective administration. The success of the educational institutions hinge comprehensive planning, quality administration, effective supervision and proper funding. Administration of School refer to an organized process that deals with effective utilization of educational resources to actualize the objectives of educational institutions. School administration as the application of human and material resources and programmes available for education in the realization of educational goals. School administration is the systematic arrangement of both human and materials resources in the scientific ways of using them to actualize the objective of educational institutions.

The objectives of school administration include: (a) to realize the objectives of educational system (b) to ensure proper coordination of human resources (c) to ensure effective and efficient application of both human and materials resources in the management of education (d) to eliminate wastages in the management of education (e) to promote accountability in the management of education (f) to ensure effective plan action for the implementation of educational programme (g) to ensure quality policies that will aid the management of educational programme. NCCE (1996) and Mukhtari (2012) all agreed that teacher education deal with the teacher production and development.

Higher institutions administration in Nigeria takes two dimension. The external and internal administration. The external administration deals with supervision of the institutions through the agencies established by the government such as the National Universities Commission (NUC) for universities, colleges of education National commission for colleges of education (NCCE) while the National Board for Technical Education for the polytechniques (NBTE). These agencies ensure quality, standard, effective programme accreditation and supervision in all the higher institutions in the country. The internal administration is handled by the school administrators who are appointed by the government to coordinate the activities of the institutions with support from management team and governing councils.

Higher education which include the colleges of education in Nigeria is facing many issues regarding poor quality. The quality of higher education is falling. This is manifesting in the quality of the output from the various higher institutions in the country. Teaching and learning is poor resulting to poor absorption in the labour market. This situation can be described as "institutional failure" because of skill mismatch. Noun (2011), Saint, Hartmet and Strassner (2003), Mohammed and Gbenu 2007 and Obayan 1999, Babalola (2007).

The fact remains that teacher education in Nigeria over the years has witnessed a series of reforms. With this lourdable reforms, the Nigerian teacher education is still faced with many challenges and programme. Lawal, (2014). Eduwen & Osagie-Obazee, Gloria (2016) all agreed

that the Nigerian teacher education is facing a lot of challenges that is preventing the sector from realizing its objectives.

There are many factors responsible for poor quality of education in all the levels of Nigerian educational system. One of these major factors is poor administration. When the educational institution's administration is ineffective, it affects the performance of the entire educational institution. This paper is aimed to discuss the challenges facing the administration of teacher education in Nigeria.

## **2. Concept of Teachers Education**

Teacher education is the programme of education designed and planned for the production of professional teachers for the various educational institutions in the country. Teacher education is a special education programme designed for the production of middle manpower in the educational institutions across the country. Teacher education is the education programme formulated and implemented for the training, retraining and development of teaching and researching in the teaching profession. Teacher education is the education provided for those who want to engage and develop career in the teaching profession. The teacher education programme in the colleges of education is meant for three years while in the university system it is for four years.

The objective of teacher education in Nigeria includes: to produce quality teachers, to carry out research in the teaching and learning, to develop the teacher professionally, to encourage teacher to be more committed to teaching profession and to provide room for training and retraining programme for teacher through in-service. From the above, teacher education can be seen as a programme designed purposely for training of professional teachers and for training and retraining of teachers through the in-service programme. The teacher education programme in Nigeria is aimed to prevent shortage of professional teachers in all the forms of educational system.

The Colleges of education offer three years programme for teacher education in the country. The certificate issued by the Colleges of education is Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE). The Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) is the minimum qualification for teaching in the Nigerian education institutions starting from the early child to junior secondary schools. To ensure quality and standard in the teacher education institutions in the country, the Nigerian government established National Commission for Colleges of education (NCCE). The Colleges of education are under the supervision of the agency. National Commission for Colleges of education (NCCE) is saddled with the following responsibilities: to ensure quality supervision of instruction, to accredit the various programmes offered in the colleges of education, to regulate the colleges of education, to register new colleges of education, to audit the academic and non-academic staff of the colleges of education, to lay down policies, guide line for programme verification and curriculum development and to design requirement standard for the colleges of education. The other functions include to collect, collate and analyze data and information on teacher education in Nigeria, to make recommendation for the planning and development of Agricultural programme, pre-vocational programme, technical programme, business programme and Home Economics programme in all the public and private primary school and secondary school education in the country. The National Commission for Colleges of education (NCCE) supervises all the colleges of education in Nigeria which include the federal, states and private colleges of education. The commission periodically goes for inspection, supervision and auditing of all the colleges of education in the country to ensure quality control and quality assurance in the system. (NCCE, 1996)

### **3. Methodology**

The objective of this research is to discuss the problem facing the administration of teacher educations in Nigeria and specifically to proper suggestions on how to improve the administration of teacher education. The researchers in view to achieve the aims of the article employed the services of professional in sourcing for the secondary data. Sites were listed to source for the secondary data and the sites included: SAGE, JSTOR, Springer, IEEE, CEON, Hindawi, Nebraska, LearnTechlib and Elsevier amongst others. Published secondary data from reputable sources including review of published articles from reputable international journals were collected on the topic problems facing the administration of teacher education. The sourced materials were subjected to need assessment verification to only collect the needed data for the research. Content Analysis was adopted to analyze the whole data collected from the relevant secondary sources. The collected abstract and texts were analyzed based on the topic. This study has adopted content analysis style by identifying the content relevant to the various literatures have link with the subject matter; and the reviewed literature enable allowed the development of the study which ordinarily centered on theoretical and conceptual exploration.

### **4. Problems facing the Administration of Teacher Education in Nigeria**

Teacher education is one of the higher education in Nigeria. Teacher education in Nigeria is one of the education institutions that is facing many problems. Some of the problems facing the teacher education include; inadequate funding, inadequate academic staff, shortage of infrastructural facilities, institutional corruption, weak school administrators, brain-drain and unstable academic calendar.

#### **4.1. Inadequate Funding**

Inadequate funding is one of the major problem facing the administration and management of teacher education programme across the country. The budgetary allocation for the teacher education programme in the country is inadequate and is affective the effective administration of the programme leading to poor quality of education. Okoli, Ogbondah, & Ewor, (2016) also acknowledged that one of the major challenges facing the management educational sector is inadequate funding. The budgetary allocation devoted to education has been considered to be grossly inadequate considering the phenomenon increase in students' enrolment and increasing cost, which have been aggravated by inflation. Inadequate funding is responsible for poor development of teacher education in Nigeria. The teacher education programme for decades have not been adequately funded by the federal, and states government due to lack of political will to allocate the 26% standard prescribed by UNESCO. The inability of the government to adequately fund the teacher education programme is resulting to poor quality of teachers in the country. The teacher education programme is characterized with inadequate academic staff, inadequate infrastructural facilities, and shortage of instructional materials, poor researching and poor supervision due to funding challenges. There are some factors responsible for poor funding of the teacher education programme in Nigeria. Some of the factors include corruption, mismanagement, diversion of funds, non-implementation of financial budget, fall in oil price in international market and lack of political will. Ogbondah (2010) noted that inadequate financing of universities has been one of the major problems facing university education today. Much money is required to maintain the existing infrastructure, execute capital projects, embark on educational research and pay salaries of staff. The major issue in educational development is shortage of funds. Eduwen & Osagie-Obazee, Gloria (2016) and Ogunode (2020) agreed that inadequate funding is a problem facing the teacher education in Nigeria.

## **4.2. Inadequate Academic Staff**

Inadequate academic staff is another challenge facing the administration of teacher education programme in Nigeria. Majorities of the teachers education institutions are not have adequate academic staff to enhance effective teaching and research in their institutions across the country. One of the challenges facing the administration of teacher education in Nigeria is inadequate academic staff. The inadequate academic staff was capture in the NEEDS, (2014) report that disclosed that universities, colleges of education, polytechniques, secondary and primary schools are faced with shortage of professional teachers. According to the report, infrastructural problem and manpower problems are factors responsible for the decline and poor in scholarship in Nigerian universities and other form of educational institutions. The Nigerian higher institutions especially the universities are understaffed. The NEEDS (2014) on the assessment of higher institutions in Nigeria revealed that majorities of the higher institutions are facing problem of staff shortage. The report indicated that there were 37,504 academic staff in the 74 public universities in the country. The number compare to the student population is inadequate. The shortage of the academic staff resulted to the high students-teacher ratio in most of the universities in the country. For instance, University of Abuja had staff to student ratio 1:122, Lagos state university had a ratio 1:144 and National Open University had a ratio 1:363. The report also showed that 43% of the lecturers in the Nigerian universities had PhD while other have less qualification. The reported also revealed that only 50% of the academic staff have required skills and pedagogical skills, counselling and ICT competencies required for efficient service delivery in tertiary institutions. The report indicated that the shortage of lecturers in majorities of the higher institutions are in the area of sciences, engineering, medicine and surgery, law, early child education, special education etc. The inadequate lecturers in majorities of the higher institutions in the country is responsible for the falling standard of higher education. There are many reasons responsible for shortage of academic staff in the Nigerian universities, some of the reasons include; low salaries and poor motivation compare to other institutions in the country where they pay high salaries and allowances. Teaching of large classes and rising workload in the universities are also some of the reasons. Brain-drain and poor working environment and lack of manpower planning for higher institutions in the country. The Nigerian higher institutions need about 22,496 teachers to improve the quality of teaching and academic service delivery in the higher institutions (NEEDS,2014).

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## **4.3. Shortage of Infrastructural Facilities**

Infrastructural facilities are very important compound of educational system. Infrastructural facilities aids effective delivering of teaching and research services in the educational institutions. Infrastructural facilities includes; classrooms, offices, laboratories, chair, tables, sport ground, roads, water, electricity etc. Majorities of teacher education institutions in Nigeria do not have adequate infrastructural facilities and this is affecting the administration of teacher education programme. Salisu (2001) did study on influence of school physical resources on students' academic performance. Salisu (2001) discovered that there was a positive relationship between academic performance of students and school physical resources. The Inadequate infrastructural facilities like good classrooms, lecture halls and laboratories is a threat to the survival and sustainability system performance and its sustainability hence education to some extent is falling due to low standard. Okoli, Ogbondah, & Ewor, (2016), Ojo (2018), John, (2016), Udida , Bassey, & Udofia, (2009) also agreed that inadequate infrastructural facilities is a problem preventing ffective administration of higher institutions specially the teacher education in the country.

#### **4.4. Institutional Corruption**

Institutional corruption is another problem preventing effective administration of teacher education programme in Nigeria because funds budgeted for the administration of the teacher education programme are been diverted or mismanaged by the some school administrators and officials in the ministries of education. The inadequacy of allocations to the public university system, any fund made available often go down the drain through the corrupt practices of those entrusted with the implementation of university programmes due to inadequate monitoring of university income and expenditure, such is the grim state of affairs, thus the future will need a paradigm shift (Okoli, Ogbondah, & Ewor, 2016, Uzoka, 2007, Dare 2008, Ogbondah, 2010). The Nigerian public institutions are known for corruption practices. This practices have penetrated all most all the educational institutions especially the higher institutions. The Nigerian higher institutions which is made up of the universities, colleges of education and the polytechnics are not exempted from the evil of corruption. Various of forms of academic corruption found in the Nigerian higher institutions include; examination malpractices, bribing of lecturers for unmerited scores, fiscal extortion from students, sex for marks, mismanagement of funds, funds diversion and forgery of certificates. Among of this forms of corruption, fund diversion and mismanagement is the worst affecting the development of infrastructural facilities in the higher institutions. The implication of institutional corruption on the teacher education is the fall in the standard of education and poor quality of teachers turning out every year. Corruption within an educational institutions such as funds diversion, funds misappropriation and mismanagement are major problem preventing effective administration of higher education in Nigeria.

#### **4.5. Weak Administrators**

School administrators have a lot to do with the effectiveness of educational institutions. When school administrators are effective, competent and possess the relevant skills and charisma, the educational institutions realize it objective but when the school administrators is weak and lack the leadership skills to coordinate the programmes and activities of the school, the schools fails completely. School administrators can either be a blessing or a course. Many school administrators in Nigeria lacks the managerial skills and leadership qualities to effective coordinate the school activities towards the realization of its goals especially in the higher institutions. Udida, Basse, &

Poor leadership in many higher institutions in Nigeria is responsible for poor administration and poor performance of the students and the school generally. Leaders appointed to head many higher institutions in the country do not have the right knowledge or skills. Many school administrator lack the leadership competent to lead, organize formidable team and inspires the team to a great height. Some of the school leaders do not poses the leadership gift, charisma and good human relations skills required for effective and efficient leadership in the educational institutions.(Udida, Basse, Udofia, & Egbona, 2009 cited Ujomu (2001).The inability of schools administrators in the various teacher education institutions to provide the needed leadership in the effective administration of the institutions is responsible for poor quality of education.

#### **4.6. Brain-Drain**

Brain-drain refers to the mass movement of professionals from developing countries to developed countries for a better job that offers better working condition. Many academic staff which include professors and other professional within the Nigerian higher institutions are leaving the countries for a better offer in other countries across the world and this is affecting the administration of teacher education programme in Nigeria. Professional teachers and



experienced professors are now few and limited in major teacher education institutions across the country due to brain-drain. Many academic staff are leaving because the working condition is poor, the salaries and motivation packages are un-attractive. Many of the lecturers are leaving because of poor funding of education, insecurity, lack of modern infrastructural facilities and poor welfare. Okoli, Ogbondah, & Ewor, (2016) submitted Nigerian public universities are faced with rapid faculty exodus or brain drain. Some faculty members abandoned universities for other sectors of the economy where professionals and scientists receive higher salaries and greater social recognition. The result of the faculty exodus is observed in the quality of graduates that our universities produce. The brain-drain problem is seriously affecting the quality of teacher education programme in Nigeria because students do not have adequate professional teachers and professors that will mentored and grown them up. There are many factors responsible for brain-drain problem in the Nigerian higher institutions and they include: poor working condition, poor motivation, insecurity challenges and strike actions.

#### **4.7. Unstable Academic Calendar**

Unstable academic programme caused by the continuous strike actions of unions groups within the various teacher education institutions is another major problem preventing effective administration of teacher education programme in Nigeria. Ogunode (2020) discovered that that ASUU/NASU Strike, students' election, communal crisis, increase in school fees, cultic conflict, National programme and public holiday are factors responsible for unstable academic calendar in higher education in Nigeria. It was also established that half bake graduates, poor coverage of syllabus, resources wastage, students' involvement in criminal activities and students prolonged years of graduation are the effects of unstable academic calendar. The following were recommended that the government should always try to honour whatever agreement reached protracted strikes can be averted if necessary steps are taken to build a good relationship between both parties. Unstable academic programme caused by the continuous strike actions of unions groups within the various teacher education institutions is another major problem preventing effective administration of teacher education programme in Nigeria. Strike actions in the Nigerian higher institutions is not new to students and lecturers because every year one union group must embarked on strike as a result of government failure to honour the various agreement entered with the union. No any meaningful teaching, researching and learning can take place in an atmosphere where school programme are always put to hold due to internal crisis like strike actions. The students, academic and non-academic staff are all affected whenever any union group decided to go on strike. Ogunode, & Abubakar, (2020), Okoli, Ogbondah, & Ewor, (2016), Ahunanya and Ubabudu (2006) established that strike actions is one of the major problem facing the administration and management of higher education in Nigeria

## **5. Possible Solutions**

To solve this challenges, this article recommends: that the government should increase the funding of teachers education, employ more academic staff, provide more infrastructural facilities, provide adequate instructional, ensure stable academic calendar, appointment of competent school administrators and fight all institutional corruption.

### **5.1. Adequate Funding of Teacher Education**

To achieve the objective of the teacher education in Nigeria, the government should increase the funding of education especially the teacher education. This will enable administrators of teacher education spend more on the administration of teacher education in the country.

### **5.2. Employment of More Academic Staff**

Teachers are strong member of the educational institutions. The roles of teachers cannot be replaced. Teachers are the implementer of the school curriculum. The government should direct school administrators to employ more academic staff. This will help to improve the quality of education in the country.

### **5.3. Provision of Adequate Infrastructural Facilities**

The government should provide more infrastructural facilities to all the teacher education in the Country. This will aid delivering of quality education in the teacher education in the country. More classrooms, exam halls, stable power supply, water, stable internet service and offices should be provided.

### **5.4. Stable Academic Programme**

Maintaining stable academic calendar is very important for the attainment of educational institutions objectives. It promote the image of the educational institutions and help to reduce educational wastage in the system. The government and school administrators should always ensure agreement reached with different unions groups within the educational institutions are well implemented as agreed to avoid strike actions in the educational institutions.

### **5.5. Appointment of Competent Administrator**

Leaders appointed to head educational institutions have a lot to do with the realization of educational objectives. When school administrators appointed are weak and do not have the right experiences, qualifications and charisma it affects the performance of the institutions. So, the government should ensure that administrators elected or appointed are qualified in terms of qualifications, experiences and leadership competent.

### **5.6. Fight all institutional corruption**

Corruption practices have than more harms to the educational institutions. Corruption within the educational institutions have created bad image for the Nigerian educational institutions. Corruption is also responsible for the poor quality of education because funds meant for development of facilities that supposed to have improved the quality of education have been diverted. So, the government and school administrators should designed an effective monitoring and valuation system that will monitor the movement of funds within the system. The government should direct all its anti-corruption agencies to work with the educational institutions with the aims of eradicating diversion of funds within the system.

### **5.7. Motivation of Staff**

The government should design policies and implement programme to motivate the academic and non-academic staff in the educational institutions across the country. Salaries and other benefits should be paid on time, Effective training programme should be provided.

### **Conclusion**

Teacher education is a special education programme designed for the training of professional teachers in Nigeria. The teacher education program for some times now have been facing many challenges. The article discussed the problems facing the administration of teacher education in Nigeria. This paper identified the following; inadequate funding, inadequate academic staff, shortage of infrastructural facilities, institutional corruption, weak school administrators, brain-drain and unstable academic calendar as the problem facing the administration of teacher education in Nigeria. To solve this challenges, this article recommends: that the government should increase the funding of teachers education, employ more academic staff, provide more infrastructural facilities, ensure stable academic calendar, appointment of competent school administrators and fight all institutional corruption.

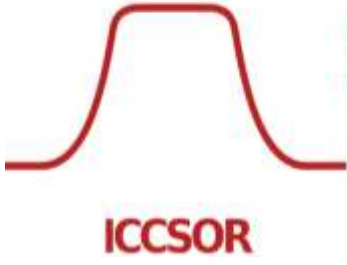
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## Hasta Kayıt Defterlerine Göre Hasköy Tersanesi Çalışanların Sağlık ve İş Güvenliği Profili

Murat KORALTÜRK<sup>1</sup>

### Özet

Bu çalışmada Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri Genel Arşivi'nde bulunan Şirket-i Hayriye'nin Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarına ait 1929-1944 yıllarını içeren “mezuniyet” ve “hasta” defterlerindeki verilerden yararlanarak tersane işçilerinin en çok maruz kaldıkları hastalıklar ve bunlardan en çok hangi meslek mensuplarının etkilendikleri; meslekler ve hastalıklar arasındaki ilişki tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu hastalıkların hangilerinin “meslek” hastalığı olarak değerlendirilebileceği üzerinde de durulmuştur. Hastalıklar yanı sıra Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının iş kazalarına da uğradığı bilinmektedir. Bu bağlamda hangi meslek grubundan olan işçilerin daha çok iş kazalarına uğradıklarına da bakılmaktadır. Hastalıklar ve iş kazalarının yanı sıra Şirket-i Hayriye'nin iş yeri hekimliği uygulamasına da dikkat çekilmeye çalışılmıştır.

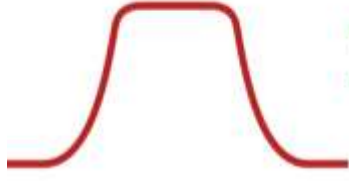
**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İş Kazaları, Meslek Hastalıkları, Tersane İşçileri, Emek Tarihi, Hasköy Tersanesi, Şirket-i Hayriye

**Jel Kodları:** N00, N15, N350, N75.

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Bu çalışma 4-5 Mayıs 2017 tarihlerinde İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde yapılan *Uluslararası 9. Türk Deniz Ticareti Tarihi Sempozyumu*'nda sunulmuş bildirinin genişletilmiş halidir. Bu makalenin ortaya çıkmasında kendisiyle yaptığımız görüşmeler sayesinde özellikle tersanedeki işleyişe dair bilgiler veren ve 7 Aralık 2020'de Covid 19 salgını nedeniyle hayatını yitiren Haliç Tersanesi eski müdürü Gemi İnşa Yüksek Mühendisi Ali Can Bey'i minnet ve rahmetle anarım. Ayrıca bu çalışmanın dayandığı defterlere ulaşmamı sağlayan TDİ Genel Arşivi eski müdürü Ali Bozoğlu'na da teşekkür ederim.



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## **Health and Work Safety Profile of Hasköy Shipyard Employees. According to Patient Records**

### **Abstract**

In this study, the diseases that shipyard workers are most exposed to and which members of profession are most affected by them; the relationship between professions and diseases have been tried to be determined by using the data in the “graduation” and “patient” books containing the years of 1929-1944 belonging to the employees of Hasköy Shipyard of “Şirket-i Hayriye” found in the General Archive of Turkish Maritime Organization. It also focused on which of these diseases will be considered as “occupational” diseases. In addition to diseases, Hasköy shipyard workers are known to have suffered work accidents. In this context, it is also looked at which members of profession are more likely to suffer occupational accidents. In addition to diseases and accidents at work, it has drawn attention to the practice of workplace physician of “Şirket-i Hayriye”.

**Keywords:** Accidents at Work, Occupational Diseases, Shipyard Workers, Labor History, Hasköy Shipyard, “Şirket-i Hayriye”

**Jel Codes:** N00, N15, N350, N75.



## 1.Giriş

Son yıllarda emek tarihi araştırmaları artış göstermektedir. Türkiye iktisat tarihinde önemli bir yere sahip olan Şirket-i Hayriye'nin çalışanları grev ve benzeri eylemleri, örgütlenme girişimleri, sahip oldukları sosyal güvenlik imkanları bağlamında araştırmalara konu olmaktadır. Bu makalede de Şirketi Hayriye'nin çalışanlarından Hasköy Tersanesi işçilerinin sağlık ve meslek hastalıklarına dair durumları tespit edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Bu amaçla Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarına ait 1929-1944 yıllarına dair “mezuniyet” ve “hasta” defterlerindeki verilerden yararlanılmıştır. Bu defterlerdeki kayıtlardan yararlanılarak Hasköy Tersanesi işçilerinin en çok hangi hastalıklardan mustarip oldukları, hangi mesleklerden olanların daha çok hangi hastalıktan etkilendiği veya meslekler ve hastalıklar arasındaki ilişki ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu hastalıklar arasında hangilerinin “meslek” hastalığı olarak değerlendirilebileceği üzerinde de durulmaktadır. Hastalıklar yanı sıra Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının iş kazalarına da uğradığı bilinmektedir. Bu bağlamda hangi meslek grubundan olan işçilerin daha çok iş kazalarına uğradıklarına bakılmaktadır. Hastalıklar ve iş kazalarının yanı sıra Şirket-i Hayriye'nin iş yeri hekimliği uygulaması da konu edilmektedir.

## 2.Modern Dönemde İstanbul'da Ulaşım ve Şirket-i Hayriye

XIX. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşanan modernleşme süreci ile İstanbul'da şehiriçi ulaşım talebinin artışı arasında ilişki vardır. Şehrin büyümesi, yaşam biçimindeki ve tüketim alışkanlıklarındaki değişim ulaşım talebini artırdı. Bir yandan artan ulaşım talebi, diğer yandan teknolojik ilerlemeler ve buharlı gemiciliğin gelişimi İstanbul'da XIX. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren şehiriçi ulaşımında vapurların kullanımını gündeme getirdi. (Koral Türk, 2010: 18)

XIX. yüzyılda Osmanlı toplumsal ve ekonomik yapısında, tüketim toplumuna doğru yönelişin bir belirtisi olarak sayfiye alışkanlığının gelişmesi ve yaygınlaşması, özellikle İstanbul ile hemen yanı başında bulunan Boğaziçi arasındaki ulaşım gereksiniminde de artışa neden oldu. Seyir güvenliği bulunmayan kayıklar giderek artan şehiriçi ulaşım talebini karşılayamaz hale geldiler.

Boğaziçi'nde artan ulaşım talebini karşılamak üzere, önce yabancılar buharlı gemi işletmeye başladılar. 1837'de biri İngiliz, diğeri Rus bandıralı bu gemiler ile yapılan taşımacılık kısa bir süre sonra devlet tarafından yasaklandı. Ancak artan gereksinimi gidermek üzere devlet harekete geçti. 1838 yılında Tersane-i Âmire'ye ait olan *Mesir-i Bahri* ve *Eser-i Hayır* adlı buharlı gemiler işlemeye başladı. Bu gemilerden biri İstanbul'da, diğeri ise Marmara Denizi'nde İstanbul ile Bandırma, İzmit ve Tekirdağ arasında yolcu taşıdı. (Koral Türk, 2010: 18)

Bu girişimi diğerleri izledi. 1851 yılında Boğaziçi'nde yolcu taşımak üzere Şirket-i Hayriye kuruldu. Şehrin Anadolu yakasında Kadıköy ve Pendik, Rumeli yakasında ise Yeşilköy gibi kıyı şeridi yerleşimleri ve Adalar'a yolcu taşımacılığı işini bir devlet girişimi olarak 1847'de kurulan Hazine-i Hassa Vapurları İdaresi üstlendi. Haliç'te buharlı gemilerle yolcu taşımak üzere ise ilk kez 1856'da bir imtiyaz verildi.

1851'de Cevdet ve Fuat Paşaların girişimleri ile kurulan Şirket-i Hayriye, 1945'te hükümet tarafından satın alınıncaya kadar İstanbul ve Boğaziçi arasında vapurlar ile yolcu taşımacılığı yaptı. Şirket-i Hayriye, Osmanlı Devleti'nde kurulmuş ilk anonim şirkettir. Kuruluşunda iki temel amaç güdülür. Bu amaçların biri İstanbul ile Boğaziçi iskeleleri arasında daha önce kayıklar ile gerçekleştirilen ulaşımı kayıklara göre daha konforlu ve güvenli olan buharlı gemilerle sağlamaktır. Diğeri ise bu ilk amacı gerçekleştirmek için kurulacak anonim şirketin Osmanlı ekonomisinde şirketleşme sürecini başlatacak bir örnek oluşturması düşüncesidir. Ancak bu beklenti gerçekleşmedi. Zira Osmanlı Devleti'nde şirketleşme hareketi

beklenen ilgiyi II. Meşrutiyet dönemine kadar görmedi. Şirket-i Hayriye ise kuruluşunda amaçlandığı gibi Boğaziçi'nin gelişiminde önemli rol oynadı. Boğaziçi ile İstanbul arasında düzenli ulaşım imkânı sağladı. Bu imkân, bundan önce daha ziyade sayfiye olarak nitelendirilen Boğaziçi'nde daimî ikametini ve imarın yaygınlaşmasına neden oldu. (Koraltürk, 2007: 92-100)

Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında filosundaki birçok gemiyi asker ve mühimmat taşınması amacıyla ordunun hizmetine veren Şirket-i Hayriye, bu gemilerin önemli bir bölümünün yitirilmesinden dolayı zarar gördü. Mütareke dönemi ve ardından Cumhuriyet'in ilanını izleyen yıllarda İstanbul'un başta nüfusunda yaşanan azalmaya bağlı olarak şirketin gemileri ile taşıdığı yolcu sayısında gerileme kaydedildi. Böylece başlayan sıkıntılı bu dönem, Şirket-i Hayriye'nin 1945'te Hükümetçe TBMM'de büyük tartışmalara yol açan bir satış sözleşmesi ile satın alınarak Devlet Denizyolları İşletmesi bünyesine katılmasıyla sona erdi. (Koraltürk, 2007: 29-31)

### 3.Hasköy Tersanesi

Şirketi Hayriye faaliyet gösterdiği süre boyunca toplam 77 parça gemiye sahip oldu. Bunların ikisi hariç geri kalanların tamamı İngiltere, Fransa ve Almanya'da inşa edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte daha ilk dört geminin İngiltere'de inşa edildikten ve İstanbul'a gelip işlemeye başladığı Nisan 1852'den çok kısa bir süre sonra, bu gemilerin ve sipariş edilecek diğer gemilerin bakım ve onarımları için bir tersane kurulması gündeme geldi. Bu aşamada yani başlangıçta henüz bir tersane kurulmadan önce gemilerin bakım ve onarım ihtiyaçlarının giderilmesi için 1854-1864 yılları arasında şirketin müdürü olan Ali Hilmi Efendi'nin döneminde bir tekne içinde buhar makinesi ve marangoz atölyesi bulunuyordu. Şirketin Büyükdere'de ve Hasköy'de çilingirhane ve kereste deposunun bulunduğu birer arsası vardı. (*Boğaziçi, Şirket-i Hayriye, Tarihçe, Salnâme*, 1914: 15) Bir tersane inşası için gerek Haliç gerek Boğaziçi'nde Serviburnu'nda yer arayışları 1860'ların başlarına kadar sürdü.<sup>2</sup> Uzun arayışlardan sonra Haliç kıyısındaki Hasköy uygun görülerek 1861'de tersane yapılması için arsa satın alındı. Hemen ardından inşasına girişildi.<sup>3</sup>

Yeni gemi inşasından ziyade mevcut gemilerin bakım ve onarımlarının yapılması amacıyla kurulan Hasköy Tersanesi, başlangıçta birkaç binadan ibaret bir atölye idi. Şirket-i Hayriye'nin yurt dışında inşa edilen bazı gemileri de bu tersanede monte edildi. Bu tesise 1884'te 45 metre uzunluğunda bir kızak, buharla çalışan bir ırgat eklendi. 1910 yılında ise yeni bir kızak daha inşa edildi. Bu arada ırgat da buhar yerine elektrikle çalışır hale getirildi. Tersane bünyesinde torna tezgâhları, inşa atölyesi ve marangozhane oluşturuldu. (Koraltürk, 2007: 138)

Bir yandan tersanenin kapasite ve olanaklarının artırılması, diğer yandan Şirket-i Hayriye'nin yeni gemiye duyduğu ihtiyaç 1930'ların sonuna doğru Hasköy Tersanesi'nde ilk kez gemi inşasını gündeme getirdi. Bu bağlamda Hasköy Tersanesi'nde inşa edilen birbirinin eşi olan gemilerden Kocataş 1937'de, Sarıyer ise 1938'de denize indirildi. (Koraltürk, 2004: 301-308)

1939'da tersanenin arkasında yer alan lengerhane binasının da üzerinde bulunduğu arazi Şirket-i Hayriye tarafından satın alınarak tersane alanına dâhil edildi.

Hasköy Tersanesi 1945'te Şirket-i Hayriye'nin Hükümetçe satın alınmasına bağlı olarak Devlet Denizyolları ve Limanları Umum Müdürlüğü'ne devredildi. 1952'de ise Denizcilik Bankası'na devredildi. Başlangıçta Haliç Tersanesi'ne bağlı bir başmühendislik olarak faaliyet gösteren tersane, 1954'ten itibaren Gemi İnşa ve Tamir İşletme Müdürlüğü adını alarak

<sup>2</sup> Bu konu hakkında Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivi'nde yer alan şu belgelere bakılabilir: BOA, MVL, 824.43. BOA, A.}MKT.MVL, 108.81. BOA, A.}MKT.MHM, 174.3.

<sup>3</sup> Bu konu hakkında Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivi'nde yer alan şu belgelere bakılabilir: BOA, A.}MKT.MVL, 137.86.

bağımsız bir birim olarak faaliyetlerini sürdürdü. 1984'te Türkiye Gemi Sanayi A.Ş.'ye bağlandı. Bu süreçte Hasköy Tersanesi'nde bakım onarım hizmetlerinin yanı sıra küçük ölçekli deniz araçlarının inşası da gerçekleştirildi. Tersane kapandıktan sonra, 1997'de iş adamı Rahmi Koç tarafından müze olarak düzenlenmek üzere satın alındı. 2001 yılında esaslı bir restorasyonun ardından tersane alanı ve yapıları da kapılarını ilk kez 1994'de ziyaretçilere açan Rahmi M. Koç Müzesi'nin bir parçası oldu.

#### 4. Tersane İşçilerinin Eylemler ve Grevleri

Şirket-i Hayriye zamanında Hasköy Tersanesi'nde yüzü aşkın çalışan bulunmaktaydı. Örneğin 1914 yılı itibariyle bakılacak olursa Hasköy Tersanesi'nde on üç memur, sekiz idarehane hademesi ve bir kapıcının yanı sıra Galata'daki tamir atölyesindekiler dâhil olmak üzere yüz on kişi çalışmaktaydı. (*Harb-i Umûmi ve Şirket-i Hayriye*, 1921: 6) Bu sayının Şirket-i Hayriye döneminin sonuna doğru, örneğin 23 Haziran 1934 tarihli bir listeye göre 139 ve 1 Ekim 1941 tarihli bir listeye göre ise 138 kişi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Zaman içinde kapasitesindeki artışa bağlı olarak istihdam ettiği işçi sayısında da artış yaşandığı anlaşılan tersanede 1967'de 300-350 işçi çalışmaktaydı. (Demir, 1967: 33)

Gerek üretim kapasitesi gerek istihdam ettiği işçi sayısı itibariyle İstanbul'da devlete ait diğer tersanelerle mukayese edildiğinde daha küçük ölçekli bir sanayi kuruluşu olduğu anlaşılan Hasköy Tersanesi'nin buna karşı Türkiye işçi hareketleri tarihinde önemli bir yeri vardır. Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanları Şirket-i Hayriye'nin diğer çalışanları ile olduğu gibi yalnızca tersane çalışanları olarak da grev ve eylemlerde bulundular. Bu bağlamda Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının özellikle 1870'ler ve 1908'de gündeme gelen işçi eylemleri ve grevlerde öne çıktıkları görülür. Bu bağlamda Hasköy Tersanesi işçilerinin Ocak 1872'de ilk grevlerini gerçekleştirdikleri bilinmektedir. (Güzel, 1985: 805) Bunu takiben Şubat 1876'da ücretlerini alamadıkları için tersanenin İngiliz makinist ve işçilerinin grevi gerçekleşir. (Yıldırım, 2013: 211)

1908'de II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanından sonra işçi eylem ve grevleri hız kazandı. Ancak Hasköy Tersanesi işçilerinin daha II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanından kısa bir süre önce Mart 1908'de grev yaptıkları bilinmektedir. (Yıldırım, 2013: 223) Aynı yılın sonbaharında aleyhinde yürütüldüğü anlaşılan kampanya karşısında Şirket-i Hayriye yönetim kurulu başkanı Raşid Bey'in görevinden ayrılması üzerine, 24 Eylül 1908'de Hasköy Tersanesi'nde çalışanlar greve gittiler. Gemilerde görevli Şirket çalışanları da greve gitmeyi düşündülerse de ulaşımın aksayacağı gerekçesi ile bu düşüncelerinden vazgeçtiler. Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanları Raşid Bey'in yönetim kurulu başkanlığına getirilmemesi, ücret ve emeklilik haklarına ilişkin önceden geçerli olan koşulların tekrar yürürlüğe konmaması halinde atölye kapılarını açmayacaklarını ve eylemlerine devam edeceklerini bildirdiler. Bunun üzerine şirket müdürü Zaptiye Nezareti'ne başvurdu. Nezaretten gönderilen asker, jandarma ve atlı polislerin müdahalesi ile grevci işçiler eylemlerini sona erdirdiler. Çalışanların tekrar eylemde bulunabileceği haberini alan sadrazam, harbiye, ticaret ve zaptiye nazırları ile bir araya gelerek Raşid Bey'i huzura çağırdılar. Kendisinden Nafia Nezareti tarafından da kabul edilmemiş olan istifasını geri alması istendi. Bunun üzerine Raşid Bey tekrar görevine geri döndü. (*İkdam*, 28 Şaban 1326/25 Eylül 1908, Sayı 5150, 3.)

Şirket-i Hayriye yönetimi ve kaptanlar, dümenciler, birinci ve ikinci sınıf makinistler, memurlar, biletçiler ve ateşçiler arasında istekleri üzerine temsilcileri ile gerçekleşen görüşmeler sonucu ücretlerine zam yapıldı. Akabinde yönetim merkezinde çalışan memurların maaşlarına yapılacak zam ile ilgili çalışmalar sürerken, Hasköy Tersanesi'nde çalışan işçiler tekrar greve gittiler. Şirket-i Hayriye yönetiminin bir temsilci aracılığı ile isteklerini kabul ettiğini bildirmesine karşın Hasköy Tersanesi işçileri yalnızca grev yapmakla yetinmediler;

Şirketin yönetim merkezini kuşatarak içeriye giriş ve çıkışları engellediler. Gemi mürettebatlarını da greve çağırdılar. Grevci işçiler kendileri ile görüşmek isteyen yönetim kurulunu muhatap olmadıklarını, Ticaret ve Nafia Nezaretinin isteklerine cevap vermedikçe görüşmeyeceklerini bildirdiler. Şirket yönetimi de bu gelişmeyi nezarete ilettiler. (*İkdam*, 29 Şaban 1326/26 Eylül 1908, Sayı 5151, 3)

Şirket-i Hayriye çalışanlarının ücret artışı, emeklilik koşulları ve diğer sosyal haklara dair talepler doğrultusunda 1908 yılı boyunca giriştikleri eylem ve grevler şirket yönetimi tarafından sempati ile karşılanmadı. Hatta 1908 yılı bilançosunda önceki yıla göre maaş giderlerinde yaşanan artışın nedeni olarak da bu eylemler gösterilmiştir. (*Şirket-i Hayriyye'nin 1322 ve 1323 ve 1324 Seneleri Varidat ve Masarifat-ı Vakıasıyla Muvazenesini Mübeyyen Cedveldir*, 3-6.)

### 5. İşçi Sağlığı ve İşyeri Hekimliği Uygulaması

Şirket-i Hayriye, Hasköy Tersanesi ve çalışanlarına dair bu girişin ardından, Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının sağlık profillerini değerlendirmeye geçmeden önce Türkiye’de işçi sağlığı ve işyeri hekimliğinin çok da geriye gitmeyen geçmişine kısaca değinmekte yarar vardır.

Türkiye’de işyeri hekimliği erken Cumhuriyet döneminde, 1930 yılında kabul edilen “Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu” ile yasal bir dayanak kazandı. Bu düzenlemeden önce, XIX. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren işyeri hekimliğinin silik de olsa izlerine rastlanır. (Gülmez, 1983: 272-273)

İlk kez Dilaver Paşa Nizamnamesi olarak da bilinen 1867 tarihli “Ereğli Kömür Madeni Hümeyunu İdaresi Nizamnamesi”nin 30. maddesinde madenlerde hekim bulundurma zorunluluğu ifade edilir. (Anıl-Merey, 1942: 94) 1869 tarihli Maadin Nizamnamesi’nde 1887’de yapılan değişikliklerle madenlerde eczane ve hekim bulundurma zorunluluğu getirildi. (Makal, 1997: 289) 1906 tarihli Maadin Nizamnamesi’nin 77. maddesinde bu koşul “*Maden mültezimleri madenlerde birer eczane ile şahadetnameli birer tabip bulundurmağa mecburdurlar*” şeklinde ifade edilir. 78. maddede ise kazazede işçilere ve ailelerine tazminat ödemeleri şartı da getirilir.<sup>4</sup> (Anıl-Merey, 1942: 63-64) 1908’de yaşanan ve farklı iş kollarından işçileri kapsayan grev dalgasında, örneğin Şark Demiryolları Şirketi çalışanlarının talepleri arasında tıbbi hizmetlerin geliştirilmesi talebi de yer alır. (Makal, 1997: 289; Karakışla, 1998: 35-36) Ancak bu taleplere karşın işyeri hekimi uygulamasını zorunlu kılan ve yasal zeminini oluşturan bir düzenleme henüz ortada yoktur.

Cumhuriyet’in kuruluşundan sonra çalışma hayatına dair taslak halinde kalmış yasal düzenlemelerde işyeri hekimliğinin dile getirildiği görülür. Örneğin 1924’de hazırlanan “Mesai Kanunu Layihası”nın 83-88. maddeleri “Tababet Umuru” başlığı altında işyeri hekimliğini düzenlemektedir. (Gülmez, 1983: 272-273) Layihanın 83. maddesinde “*ondan ziyade amelesi bulunan her müessesese ve teşebbüsün hususi bir tabibi bulunmak mecburidir*” ifadesi yer alır. 84. maddesinde ise işyeri hekimlerinin görevi “*müessesenin ve amelenin şerait-i sıhhiyeye muvafakatini temin etmek ve ilk muavenet-i tıbbiyeyi ifa eylemek ve netice-i muameleyi müessesenin muayene defterine kaydeylemektir.*” şeklinde ifade edilir. Aynı maddede hasta işçilerin ve işçilerin hasta aile fertlerinin devlet ve belediye hastanelerinde ücretsiz tedavi edilebilecekleri dile getirilir. 85. maddede işyerlerinde ilk müdahale için “*amele tabibi veya daimî ameleden*” birinin idaresine verilen bir ecza dolabının bulunacağı; şehirlerden en az 3 kilometre ve daha uzak yerlerde bulunan işyerlerinde hastalar için bir oda ve yeterli sayıda yatağın bulunması gerektiği de belirtilir.

<sup>4</sup> 11 Eylül 1921 tarihli Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyesi Maden Amelesinin Hukukuna Mütcellik Kanun’un 12. Maddesiyle 77. ve 78. maddeler ilga olur. (Anıl-Merey, 1942: 163)

Aynı kanun bağlamında Ticaret Encümeni'nin hazırladığı mazbatanın "Tababet İşleri" başlığı altındaki 55-59. maddeleri işyeri hekimi veya mazbatada ifade edildiği şekliyle "işçi tabibi"nin görevleri ile ilgilidir. (Gülmez, 1983: 296-297) Layihadan farklı olarak, mazbatada hekimlerin işyeri için tutmak zorunda oldukları muayene defterinin bir benzerini Ticaret Vekâleti veya iş müfettişlerine talep ettiklerinde vermek üzere tutmakla yükümlü kılındıkları anlaşılmaktadır. İşe alınacak işçilerin hekim muayenesinden geçmeleri; bulaşıcı hastalıkları olan, bünyeleri yapacakları işe uygun olmayanların ise işe alınamayacakları koşulu getirilir.

İşyeri hekimliğine değinen ancak hayata geçmeyen bir diğer yasal düzenleme 1927 tarihli "İş Kanunu Layihası"dır. 12. maddede "Her müessesese ehemmiyetine ve çalıştırdığı amele miktarına göre tanzim kılınacak talimatnameye tevfikân alat-ı tahlisiye, teskere, dispanser, hastane, ecza-yı tıbbiye dolabı, eczane gibi vesait-i sıhhiyeden tamamını veya bir kısmını tesis ve ihzara ve lüzümüne göre tabib, eczacı, hasta bakıcı gibi memurin ve müstahdem-ini sıhhiye tanzif etmeye mecburdur. Birbirine yakın olan müesseselerin birleşerek bu tedabiri müştereken ittihaz eylemeleri caizdir." denilerek işyeri hekimi uygulamasının altı çizilir. (Gülmez, 1983: 336)

1927 "İş Kanunu Layihası" kapsamında Amele Teali Cemiyeti de bir kanun layihası hazırlar. Layihanın 6 maddeden oluşan ve hastalıklarla ilgili 10. Bölümünün 4. maddesinde "Şehir ve kasabalardan uzak bulunan ve elliden fazla işçi çalıştıran müesseseler, fabrikalar, imalathaneler veya maden civarında amelenin miktarıyla mütenasip olan bir hastane tesis etmeğe ve bir daimî hasta bakıcı, diplomalı eczacı ile tabip bulundurmağa mecburdurlar." ifadesiyle işyeri hekimi uygulamasına değinilir. (Gülmez, 1983: 296-297)

Hiçbiri hayata geçmeyen, yani taslak halinde kalmış yasal düzenlemelerin ardından, Cumhuriyet döneminde işyeri hekimliği uygulamasını zorunlu hale getiren ilk düzenleme daha önce de ifade edildiği gibi 6 Mayıs 1930'da yayınlanarak yürürlüğe giren 1593 sayılı "Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu"dur. Kanununun 180. maddesinde "Devamlı olarak en az elli işçi çalıştıran bütün iş sahipleri, işçilerinin sıhhi ahvaline bakmak üzere, bir veya müteaddit tabibin sıhhi murakabesini temine ve hastalarını tedaviye mecburdur. Büyük müessesatta veya kaza ihtimali çok olan işlerde tabip daimî olarak iş mahallerinde yahut civarında bulunur. Hastanesi olmayan mahallerde veya şehir ve kasabalar haricinde bulunan yerlerdeki iş müesseseleri bir hasta odası ve ilk yardım vasıtalarını ihzar ederler. Yüzden beş yüze kadar daimî amelesi olan müesseseler bir revir mahallî beş yüzden yukarı amelesi olanlar yüz kişiye bir yatak hesabıyla hastane açmağa mecburdurlar." denilerek zorunlu işyeri hekimliği uygulamasının yasal dayanağı ifade edilmiş olur. (Makal, 1998: 343-344)

## 6.Şirket-i Hayriye'nin Hekimleri

Türkiye'de zorunlu işyeri hekimi uygulamasının kökenine dair bu genel çerçevenin ardından Şirket-i Hayriye bünyesinde işyeri hekimi uygulamasının geçmişine veya kökenine bakmak gerekir. Bu bağlamda Şirket-i Hayriye'nin imtiyaz fermanından, hükümetle yaptığı mukavelenameye, şartnameye, nizamnameye, dâhili nizamnameye ve tekaüt sandığı nizamnamelerine kadar idari ve çalışanlarla ilgili düzenlemeler incelendiğinde, şirket bünyesinde zorunlu işyeri hekimi uygulamasına dair herhangi bir hükme rastlanamamıştır.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Şirket-i Hayriye mevzuatı için şu kaynaklara bakılabilir: Boğaziçi, *Şirket-i Hayriye, Tarihçe, Salnâme* (1330/1914), İstanbul: 180-219. Osman Nuri Ergin (1995), *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, İstanbul: İBB Yayını, 2288-2335. Koraltürk, 2007, 179-182, 197-204. "Şirket-i Hayriye Müstahdemine Mahsus Tekâüt Kararnamesi", *Sicilli-i Kavanini*, Cilt 11, 378-380. *Şirket-i Hayriye Me'm Şirket-i Hayriye Me'murin ve Müstahdemine Mahsus Tekâüd Sandığı Nizamnamesi*, Sabah Matbaası, İstanbul 1330. *Şirket-i Hayriye Me'murin ve Müstahdemine Mahsus Tekâüd Sandığı Nizamnamesi*, Bahriye Matbaası, İstanbul 1340. *Şirket-i Hayriye Memur ve Müstahdemlerine Mahsus Yardım Sandığı Cemiyetinin*

XIX. yüzyılda ve erken XX. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde kurulu bulunan çeşitli şirket ve kurumların çalışanlarına sağlık, sosyal yardım ve emeklilik gibi konularda imkânlar yaratmak amacıyla teavün ve tekaüt sandıkları kuruldu. (Özbek, 2006: 73-74) Bunların bazılarının tıpkı faaliyet konusu itibariyle Şirket-i Hayriye'nin bir benzeri olan Haliç Vapurları Şirketi'nin olduğu gibi "şirket tabibi" yani işyeri hekimi istihdam ettikleri de bilinir.<sup>6</sup> Dolayısıyla Şirket-i Hayriye dışındaki şirket ve kurumların da işyeri hekimi istihdam ettikleri, bu uygulamanın Şirket-i Hayriye'ye özgü veya münferit bir uygulama olduğu söylenemez. Yasal bir zorunluluk olmamakla birlikte kurumsal işletmelerin gerek işe alma sürecinde gerek işte çalışanlarının sağlık durumlarını daha yakından takip etmek amacıyla yani şirket çıkarları için bu uygulamaya başvurduğu söylenebilir.

Nitekim Şirket-i Hayriye'nin de 1910'lardan itibaren, herhangi bir yasal zorunluluğu olmamakla birlikte bünyesinde bir hatta aynı zamanda birden fazla hekim istihdam ettiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda "Şirket-i Hayriye Başhekimliği"nin ve Hasköy Tersanesi kastedilerek "Şirket-i Hayriye Fabrika Hekimliği"nin ihdas edildiği bilinmektedir. Şirket-i Hayriye'de istihdam edilen hekimlerin hastalık ve kaza hallerinde işyerinde ve gerektiğinde evlerine giderek çalışanlara tıbbi hizmet sundukları, yani Şirket-i Hayriye'nin işyeri hekimi uygulamasında bulunduğu ileri sürülebilir.

Şirket-i Hayriye bünyesinde kimlerin hekimlik yaptığına gelince, uzun yıllar sertabip yani başhekim olarak şirkette çalışmış olan Ali [Çalımlı] Paşa'nın 1914'de, Dr. Refik [Tanberk]'in ise 1925'te şirkette tabib-i sani olarak çalışmaya başladığı anlaşılmaktadır.<sup>7</sup> Bu iki hekimin yanı sıra, Ali Paşa'nın ardından sertabiplik de yapan Dr. Neş'et [Usman], Dr. B. Kemal, Dr. Necati Ballı ve Dr. Şerafettin'in de Şirket-i Hayriye'nin hekimleri arasında bulunduğunu belirtmek gerekir.

## 7.Hasta Kayıt Defterleri

Çalışmanın bu aşamasında araştırmanın ana kaynağı olan mezuniyet ve hasta kayıt defterlerinden söz etmekte yarar vardır. Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri Genel Arşivi'nde bulunan defterlerden "mezuniyet" konulu kayıtları içeren defterlerde, adından da anlaşılacağı üzere ilgili kişilerin ne gerekçe ile ve ne kadar süreyle, hangi tarihler arasında izin kullandıkları yazılıdır. Bu defterlerde hastalık kaynaklı yani raporlu olunan günlere dair de kayıtlar vardır. 1929-1935 yıllarını kapsayan Tayfalar, Birinci Makinistler, İkinci Makinistler, Memur ve Gişe

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*Nizamnamesi* (1936), İstanbul: Ekspres Basımevi. 1888 tarihli şartnamenin 4. maddesinde, çalışanların hem emeklilikleriyle hem de sağlık imkanlarıyla ilgili olarak "Şirket istihdam edeceği memurların azil ve nasbları ve hakkı-ı tekaide mazhariyetleri ve ailelerinin maaşa nailiyetleri hakkında işbu şartnamenin tarih-i tasdikinden itibaren bir sene zarfında bir nizamname tanzim ve Hükümet-i seniyyenin nazar-ı tesvibine arzeyecek ve memurin ve müstahdeminden Dersaadet'te meskeni olmayıp esna-yı hizmette hasta olanların tedavisi için hastane ittihaz edeceği gibi bir kaza vukuunda muhtac-ı iane olanlara ve hüsn-i hizmetle mükafata kesb-i istihkak edenlere verilmek için hesabat-ı seneviyyesinde münasib miktar akçe tefrik edecektir." ifadesi yer alır. Bu maddeden hareketle şirket bünyesinde bir revirin oluşturulması düşüncesinin gündeme geldiği söylenebilir.

<sup>6</sup> Haliç Vapurları Şirketi Memurinin Muavenet-i Tıbbiye ve Teavün Sandığı Nizamnamesi'nin 2. maddesinde "Muavenet-i tıbbiye sandığı müdürünün taht-ı emrinde bulunan ve meclis-i idare tarafından nasb ve tayin kılınan Haliç Vapurları Şirketi Tabibi' unvanını haiz şahadetnameli bir tabip tarafından idare olunacak ve memurin ve müstahdemini tedavi ettirerek onlara lazım gelen edviyyeyi ihzar edecektir. Şirket tabibi muavenet-i tıbbiyenin bilcümle umur-ı idaresine ait hususat için müdüriyete malumat verecektir." denilmektedir. (Ergin, 1995, 2389)

<sup>7</sup> Şirket bünyesinde istihdam edilen hekimlerin varlıklarını maaş bordrolarından öğrenmek mümkündür. Örneğin Mart 1933 Maaş Bordrosuna göre Dr. Ali [Çalımlı] Paşa 140 lira aylık ücretle sertabip, 60 lira aylık ücretle Refik Bey ise tabip olarak kayıtlıdır. Aynı bordroda İşletme Müdürü Sadi Akant'ın maaşı 249 lira olarak ifade edilmektedir.

Memurları ve İdare-i Merkeziye ve Hasköy Fabrikası çalışanlarına ait beş adet mezuniyet defteri vardır.

Bu defterlerin yanı sıra 1936-1945 yıllarına ait kayıtları içeren ve “hastalar” defteri olarak isimlendirilen beş deftere daha ulaşılmıştır. Bu defterlerin “mezuniyet” defterlerinden başlıca farkı, yalnızca hastalık ve sağlık sorunları nedeniyle alınan izin ve rapor kayıtlarını içermesidir. Bu defterlerin Memurlar 1, Memurlar 2, Yağcılar-Ateşçiler-Kömürcüler, İskele Çımacıları-Tathirat Kamarotları-Sancakdarlar ve Hasköy Fabrikası Amelesi için ayrı ayrı düzenlendiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu defterlerin, mezuniyet defterlerinin devamı niteliğinde olduğu söylenebilir.

Bu 10 defterden ikisinde yani *Şirket-i Hayriye Hasköy Fabrikası Amelesi Hastalar Defteri ve Şirket-i Hayriye İdare-i Merkeziye ve Hasköy Fabrikası Mezuniyet Defteri*'nden Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının kayıtlarının yer almaktadır ve bu çalışmanın dayandığı veriler bu defterlerden alınmıştır. Dolayısıyla tablo ve şekiller de bu iki deftere dayanmaktadır.

“Hastalar” ve “mezuniyet” defterlerinde kayıtlar benzer biçimde kaydedilmiştir. Buna göre hastalık nedeniyle izin ve rapor alan çalışanın adı, marka yani sicil numarası, işi-görevi sayfanın başında yazılıdır. Hastalık ve rapor kayıtları ise tarih, kısaca hastalık veya sağlık sorununun ne olduğunun ifade edilmesi, hastalığın türüne göre Şirket-i Hayriye hekimleri dışında bir başka uzman hekime veya hastaneye sevk gerçekleşmişse onun kaydedilmesi, izinli ve raporlu kabul edildiği sürenin ifade edilmesi ve son olarak bütün bu durumu Şirket-i Hayriye adına bir anlamda onaylayan Şirket-i Hayriye hekiminin yani bir anlamda iş yeri hekiminin ilgili raporuna atıf yapılır.

Bu defterlerdeki vaka kayıtlarının Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının sağlık profillerini temsil kabiliyetine veya bu defterlerin ve dolayısıyla kayıtların tarihsel belge olarak değerine gelince, bu defterlere bütün sağlık sorunlarına dair vakaların eksiksiz kaydedildiği söylenemez. Gerek dosya bazında gerek defter bazında işçi sicil kayıtları incelendiğinde kimi işçilerin bazı sağlık sorunlarının bu defterlere yansımadağı görülür. Ayrıca az sayıda da olsa Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanın örnek başlarına gelen iş kazaları gazetelere de haber olarak yansır.<sup>8</sup> Dolayısıyla bu defterlerin eksiksiz bütün vakaları içerdiği söylenemez. Ancak özellikle vakalar sınıflandırıldığında bu defterlerde yer alan kayıtların Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının sağlık profillerine dair, özellikle iş kazalarına ilişkin durumu yansıtmaya kabiliyeti olduğu söylenebilir.

Defterlerde bulunmayan ancak Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının profillerini görmek için önem taşıyan bazı bilgilere de işaret etmekte yarar vardır. Buna göre işçi sicil dosyalarının bazılarında öğrenildiğine göre hastalık nedeniyle izinli ve raporlu olan çalışanlara “istirahat yevmiyesi” adı altında yarım yevmiye ödeme yapılmaktadır. Tedavi giderlerinin de Şirket-i Hayriye tarafından karşılandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu yarım yevmiye ödeme yapılması uygulamasının kazanın veya zehirlenmenin işyerinde gerçekleşmesi halinde de geçerli olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

<sup>8</sup> Örneğin 17 Ekim 1932 tarihli Cumhuriyet gazetesinin haberine göre marangoz Yakup Usta, kızakta duran bir geminin üstünden dengesini kaybederek düşer ve belini kırar. Balat Musevi Hastanesi'ne kaldırıldığı söylenen Yakup Usta'nın defterlerde diğer sağlık sorunlarına dair kayıtlar yer almasına karşın bu vakanın kaydı yer almaktadır. Aynı gazetenin 2 Mart 1938 tarihli nüshasında ise bekçi İsmail Yavuz'un odun keserken makineye elini kapırdığı, beş parmağının kesildiği ve hastaneye kaldırıldığı haberi yer alır. 13 Ekim 1943 tarihli Cumhuriyet Gazetesi'nde ise 74 numaralı vapurun kazan tamiri sırasında elektrik çarpması sonucu 14 yaşındaki Muhiddin Aksoy'un hayatını kaybettiği yazılır. Bu iki olaydan ilkinin mağduru olan İsmail Yavuz'un defterlerde diğer sağlık sorunlarına ilişkin kayıtlar yer alırken gazeteğe yansıyan olayın kaydı yer almaz. İkinci vakada hayatını kaybeden çırağın ise hiçbir sağlık kaydı defterlerde yer almaz. Bu genç işçinin geçici işçi olması muhtemeldir.

## 8.Hastalar-Hastalıklar

Bu defterlerdeki kayıtlardan Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanları arasında meslek hastalıkları ve daha çok iş kazalarının izi sürülmeye çalışılmaktadır. Ancak yeri gelmişken bu iki kavramın arasındaki ayrıma da vurgu yaparak mevzuatta ilk kez 1945'ten itibaren yer aldığını, dolayısıyla bu çalışmanın kaynağını oluşturan Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının hastalık kayıtlarının tutulduğu yıllarda mevzuatta henüz bu iki kavramın yer almadığını ifade etmek gerekir.<sup>9</sup>

İki defterlerde toplam 118 işçinin hastalık ve sağlık sorunları ile ilgili kayıtlar bulunmaktadır. Bu 118 işçinin tersanede ne işler yaptıklarına, yani mesleklerine göre dağılımına bakıldığında %22'sinin tesviyeci, %13'ünün kazancı, %8'inin rençper olduğu görülmektedir. Akabinde her biri %6'lık paya sahip olan marangozlar, elektrikçiler, siliciler ve memurlar gelmekte; bekçilerin %5'lik, demircilerin %4'lük paya sahip oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. İnşaat işçilerinin, tornacıların ve kaynakçıların meslek grupları olarak her birinin %3'lük, nakkaşlar, yorgancılar, burgucular, dökümcüler ve meydancıların %2'lik; modelci, dalgıç, borucu, odacı, ressam, saatçi, tenteci ve tuzcuların %1'lik payı vardır. Bir hastanın ise mesleğinin ne olduğu belirtilmemiştir.<sup>10</sup> (bkz. Tablo 1-Şekil 1)

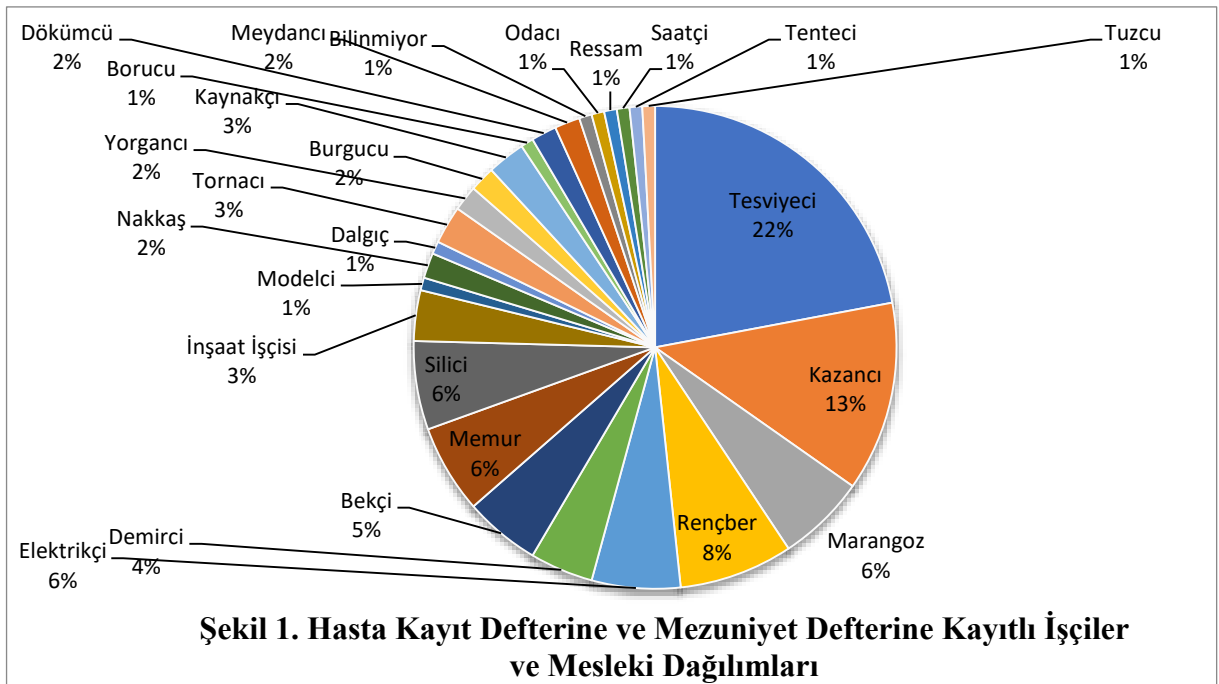
İki defterde 118 işçiye ait toplam 294 vaka kaydı bulunmaktadır. (bkz. Tablo 2) Bu vakaların, Hastalıkların Uluslararası Sınıflaması'na göre (ICD-10) 13 ana grupta toplandığı görülür. Bu 294 vakanın %22'sinin “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dış Nedenlerin Diğer Bazı Sonuçları”, % 16'sının “Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar”, %10'unun “Göz ve Gözle Bağlantılı Doku Hastalıkları”, %9'unun “Sindirim Sistemi Hastalıkları”yla ilgili oldukları, “Kas İskelet Sistemi ve Bağ Dokusu Hastalıkları” ve “Solunum Sistemi Hastalıkları”nın %8'er paya sahip olduğu, “Deri ve Derialtı Dokunun Hastalıkları”nın %5 ve geri kalan hastalık türlerinin her birinin ise %5'in altında paylarının olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. (bkz. Şekil 2)

<sup>9</sup> İş kazası ilk kez 27 Haziran 1945'de TBMM'de kabul edilen İş Kazalarıyla Meslek Hastalıkları ve Analık Sigortaları Kanunu'nda “İş kazası, sigortalının aşağıdaki hal ve durumlardan birinde vuku bulan ve sigortalıyı hemen veya sonradan bedence veya ruha arızaya uğratan olaydır: a) Sigortalının işyerinde bulunduğu sırada; b) İşveren veya vekili tarafından yürütülmekte olan iş dolayısıyla; c) Sigortalının işyerinde can kurtarmak için veya işverenin, yahut işyerinin veya yürütülen işin çıkarına ve faydasına çalıştığı sırada; 3008 sayılı İş Kanunu'nun 40'ncü maddesine göre günlük iş süresi içinde sayılması gereken zamanlarda” ve meslek hastalıkları ise “Sigortalının çalıştırıldığı işin mahiyetine göre tekrarlanan bir sebep veya için yürütüm şartları yüzünden uğradığı geçici veya daimi hastalık veya sakatlık halleridir.” şeklinde tanımlanır. İki kavram arasındaki ayrımın neredeyse bu kanuna kadar bilinmediğini söylemek mümkündür. Örneğin iş kazaları üzerine bir kitap yazan Dr. M. İsmail Gümüşel kitabının girişinde iş kazalarını “iş esnasında işten mütevellit ve birdenbire tahassul eden hadisatı maraziye” olarak tanımlanırken, meslek hastalıkları yerine “mesleki kazalar” terimini kullanır ve “her bir meslekte diğerlerinden daha çok vuku bulan ve bazen yalnız o meslek ve sanat erbabı arasında görülen kazalar” şeklinde tanımlar. (Gümüşel,1939, 7) Burada “sıklık” vurgusu ile meslekten kaynaklanan risk anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak kaza ile hastalık arasında çok net bir ayrım olduğu malumdur. Gümüşel ya bu ayrımı gerçekten bilmemektedir ya da bilinçli olarak bu ifadeyi kullanmaktadır. Bilinçli kullanmasının nedeni ne olabilir diye düşünüldüğünde şunlar akla gelmektedir: Kazanın ortaya çıkmasında maruz kalan kişinin hata ve ihmali gibi kusurları rol oynaya bilir yani iş kazası kavramında insan unsuru etken olabilir. Dolayısıyla kazanın mağduru aynı zamanda nedeni de olabilir. Bu da işverenin lehine değerlendirilebilir. Hastalık ise kendiliğinden ve insan unsurunun kazaya göre daha az etken olduğu hatta edilgen olduğu bir şeydir. Belli mesleklerde vakaca yoğunlaşan belli hastalıkları o mesleklerden kaynaklanan “meslek hastalığı” olarak nitelermemek yine sorumluluğu çalışanlara yüklemek niyetinin bir parçası olabilir.

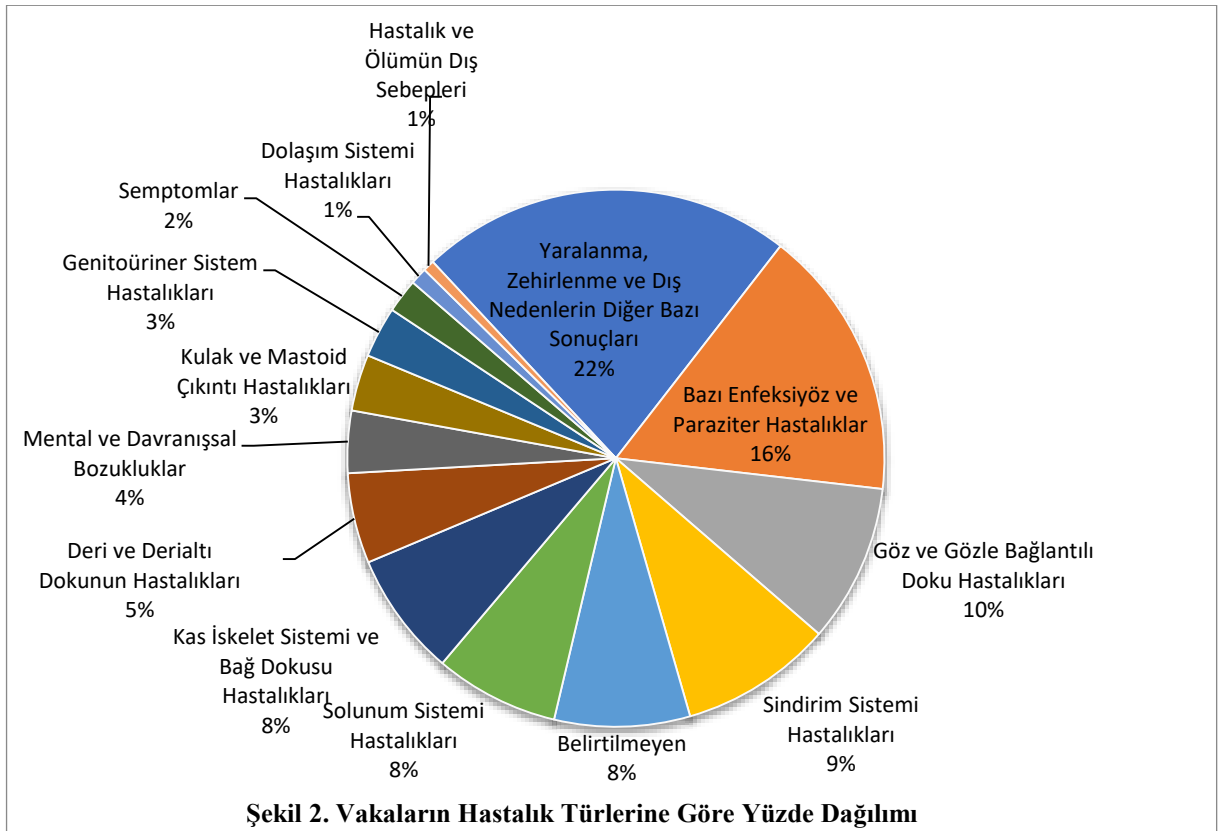
<sup>10</sup> Hasköy Tersanesi'ndeki iş süreçleri ve bu süreçlerde çeşitli mesleklerden işçilerin rollerini tasvir etmesi açısından 1937 yılında *Yarımay Mecmuası*'nın 15 Nisan 1937 tarihli 53. sayısında yayınlanmış olan Sabih Alaçam'ın Şirket-i Hayriye Tezgâhlarında Neler Gördüm?” başlıklı makalesi önem taşır.



<b>Tablo 1. Hasta Kayıt Defterine ve Mezuniyet Defterine Kayıtlı İşçiler ve Mesleki Dağılımları</b>	
<b>Meslek</b>	<b>İşçi Sayısı</b>
Tesviyeci	26
Kazancı	15
Rençber	9
Marangoz	7
Elektrikçi	7
Memur	7
Silici	7
Bekçi	6
Demirci	5
İnşaat İşçisi	4
Tornacı	3
Kaynakçı	3
Nakkaş	2
Yorgancı	2
Burgucu	2
Dökümcü	2
Meydancı	2
Modelci	1
Dalgıç	1
Borucu	1
Odacı	1
Ressam	1
Saatçi	1
Tenteci	1
Tuzcu	1
Bilinmeyen	1
<b>Toplam</b>	<b>118</b>

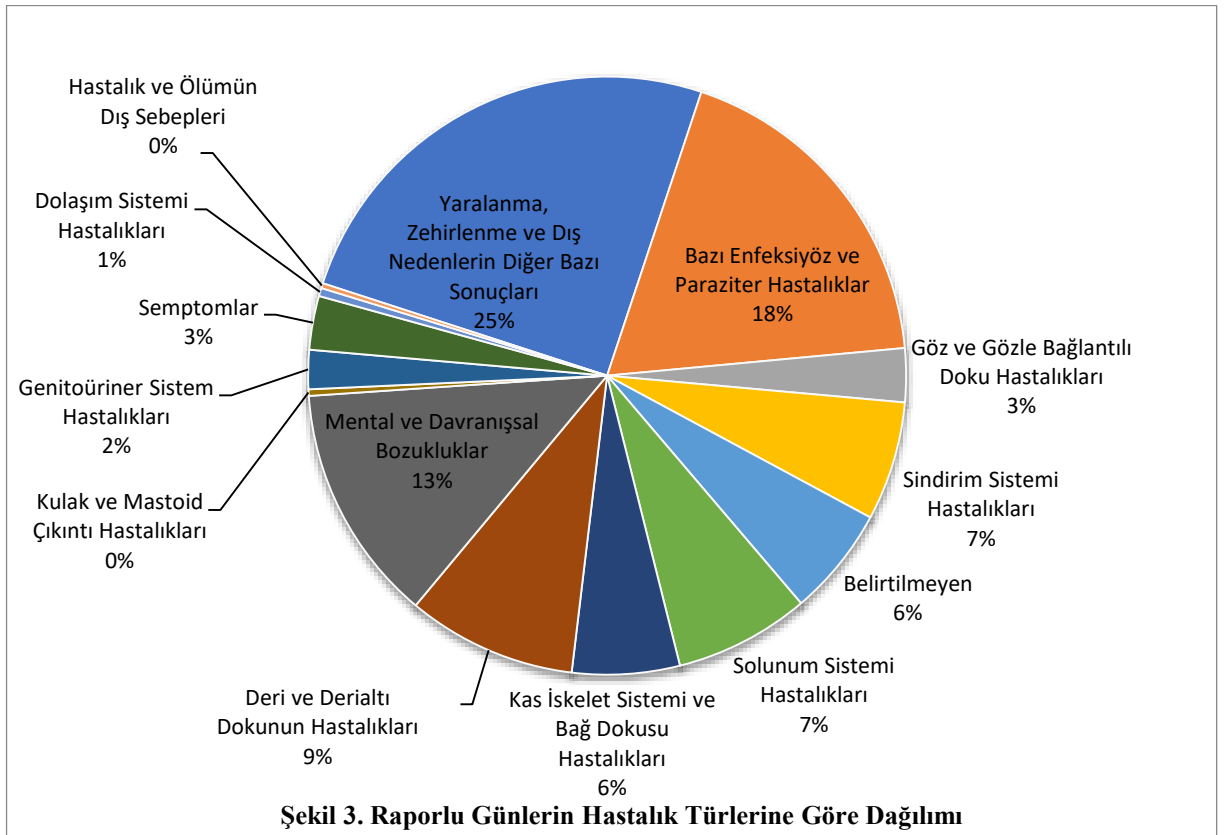


Tablo 2. Hastalık Türlerine Göre Vaka ve Raporlu Gün Sayısı		
Hastalık Türleri	Toplam Vaka Adedi	Toplam Raporlu Gün Sayısı
Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dış Nedenlerin Diğer Bazı Sonuçları	66	285
Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar	48	209
Göz ve Gözle Bağlantılı Doku Hastalıkları	28	33
Sindirim Sistemi Hastalıkları	27	73
Belirtilmeyen	24	67
Solunum Sistemi Hastalıkları	22	83
Kas İskelet Sistemi ve Bağ Dokusu Hastalıkları	22	66
Deri ve Derialtı Dokunun Hastalıkları	16	104
Mental ve Davranışsal Bozukluklar	11	146
Kulak ve Mastoid Çıkıntı Hastalıkları	10	4
Genitoüriner Sistem Hastalıkları	9	24
Semptomlar	6	33
Dolaşım Sistemi Hastalıkları	3	5
Hastalık ve Ölümün Dış Sebepleri	2	3
<b>Toplam</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>1135</b>



## 8.1.Hastalıklara Göre Raporlu Gün Dağılımı

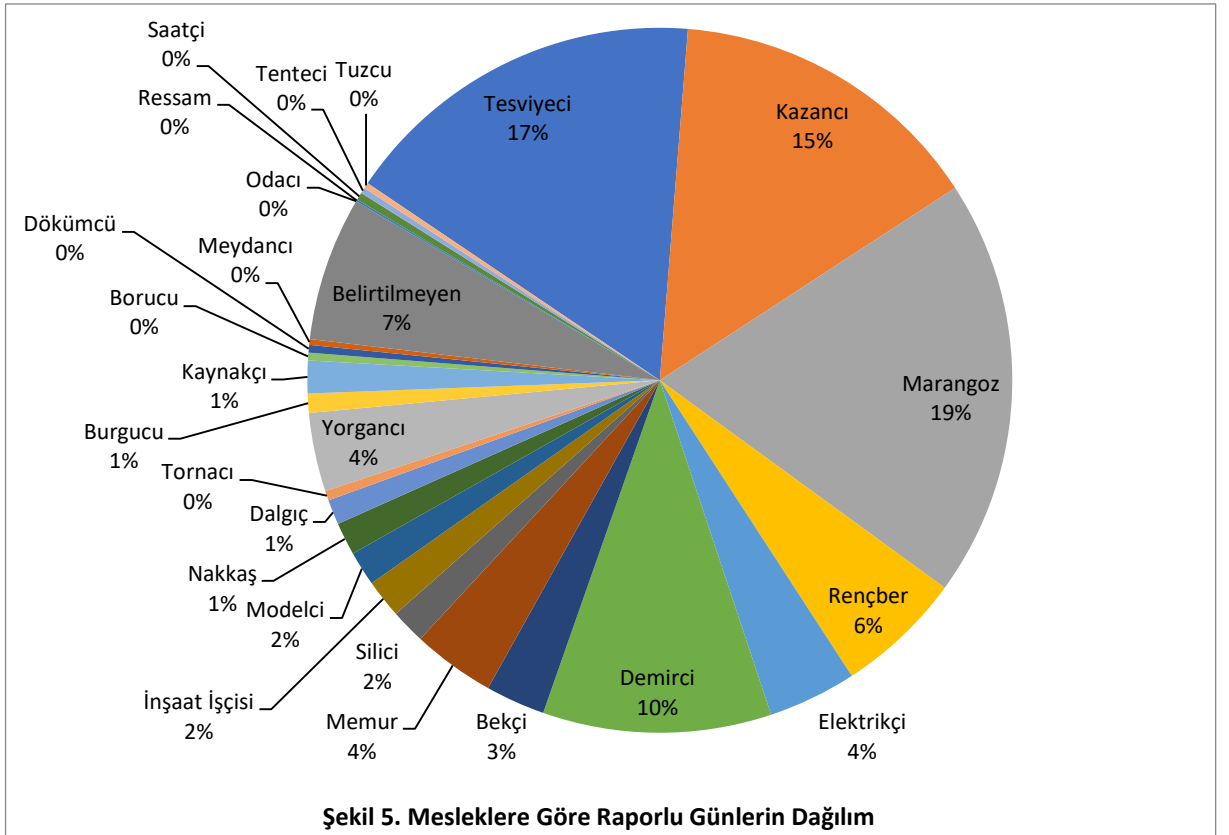
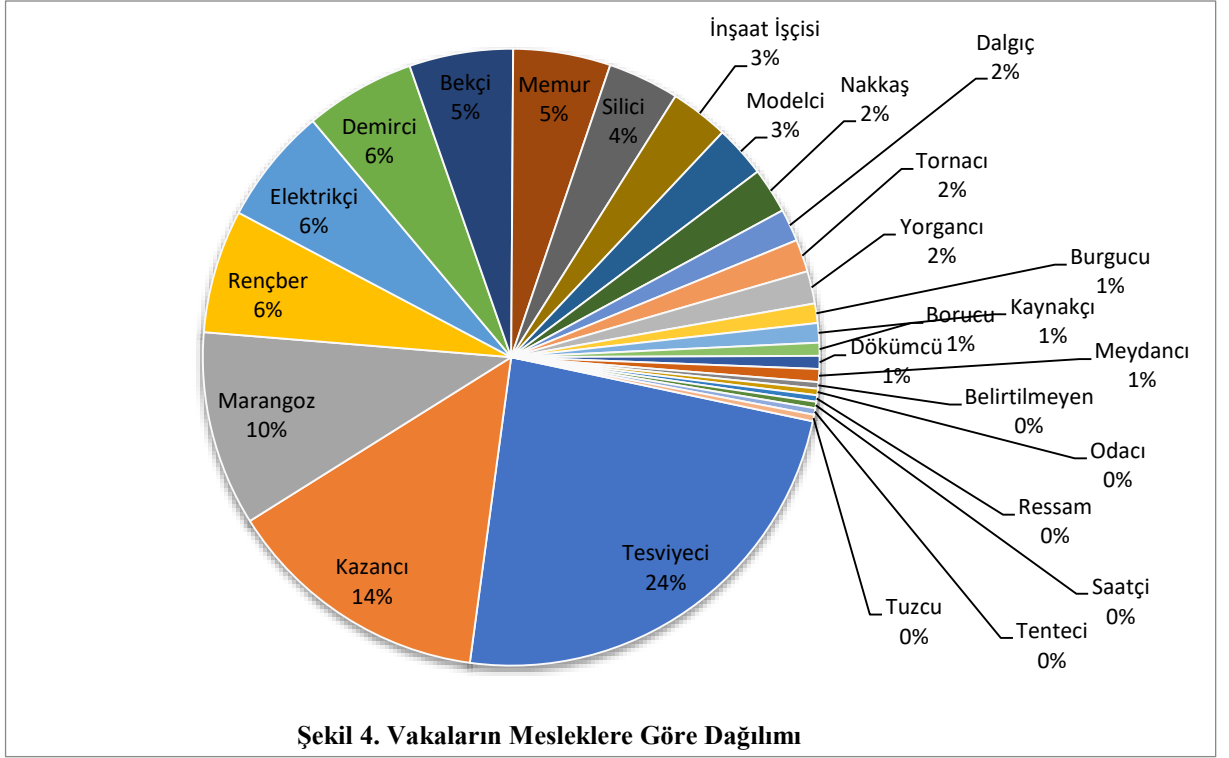
Vakaların yanı sıra, bu vakalardan kaynaklanan toplam 1135 raporlu gün kullanımı vardır. Bazı hastalık türlerinde vaka oranına yakın oranda rapor kullanımının söz konusu olduğu, bazı hastalık türlerinde ise bunun söz konusu olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Örneğin vakalar içinde en büyük paya sahip olan “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dış Nedenlerin Diğer Bazı Sonuçları”ndan kaynaklanan raporlu gün kullanımını %25’lik payı ile ilk sırada yer alır. Bu başlık altında toplanan ve çoğu iş kazası niteliğindeki vakaların, çalışanın evde veya hastanede yatarak tedavisini gerektiren türde sorunlar olmasıyla doğrudan ilgisi olduğu düşünülebilir. Bir başka örnek, vaka olarak %5’lik bir paya sahip olan “Deri ve Derialtı Dokunun Hastalıkları”ndan kaynaklanan raporlu gün sayısı toplam raporlu gün sayısının %9 oranındadır. Keza “Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar”, “Solunum Sistemi Hastalıkları”, “Sindirim Sistemi Hastalıkları”, “Kas ve İskelet Sistemi ve Bağ Dokusu Hastalıkları” gibi hastalıkların toplam vaka içindeki payları ile toplam raporlu gün içindeki payları birbirlerine yakın seviyelerdedir. Bu da, söz konusu hastalıklardan muzdarip işçilerin çoğunun tedavi sürecinde raporlu olduklarını göstermektedir. Ancak örneğin göz gibi hayati bir organı ilgilendiren sorunların toplam vaka içindeki payı %10 iken, bu sorunlardan dolayı kullanılan raporlu günlerin toplam raporlu günlere oranının %3 ile sınırlı olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Daha somut açıklamak gerekirse, “Göz ve Gözle Bağlantılı Doku Hastalıkları” olarak sınıflandırılan vakaların önemli bir bölümünün göze yabancı bir cismin kaçmasından ibaret olduğu söylenebilir. Bu gibi durumlarda işçiye müdahale edildiği, ancak her zaman rapor verilmediği görülür. Bu bağlamda defterlere yansımayan ancak işçi sicil dosyalarındaki belgelerden öğrenildiğine göre 1930’ların sonlarına doğru işçilerin gözlerini yabancı cisimlerden korumak üzere önlem olarak gözlük kullanılmalarının zorunlu hale getirilmesi önerilir. (bkz. Şekil 3)



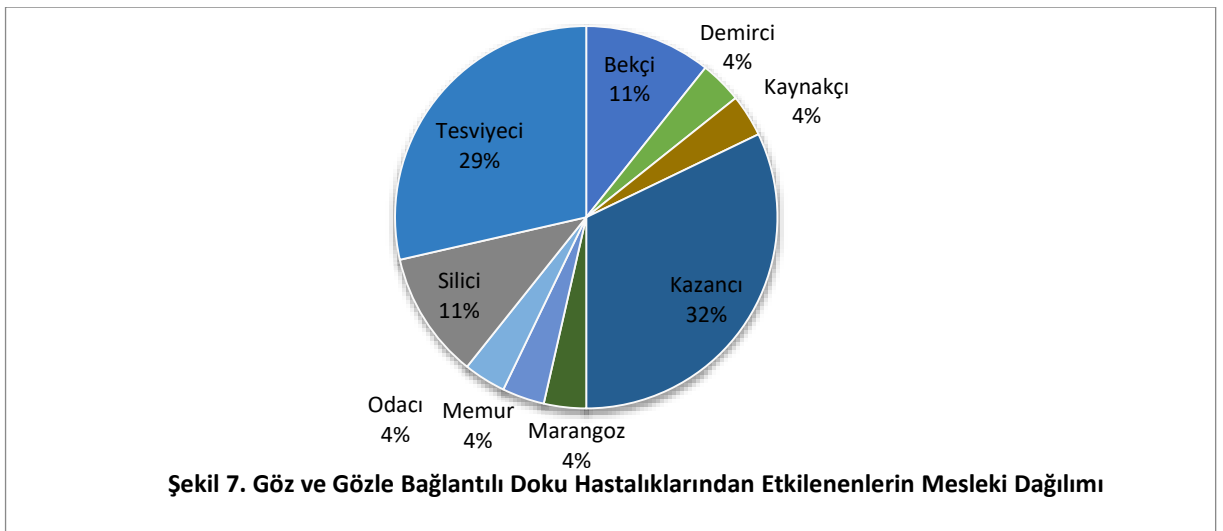
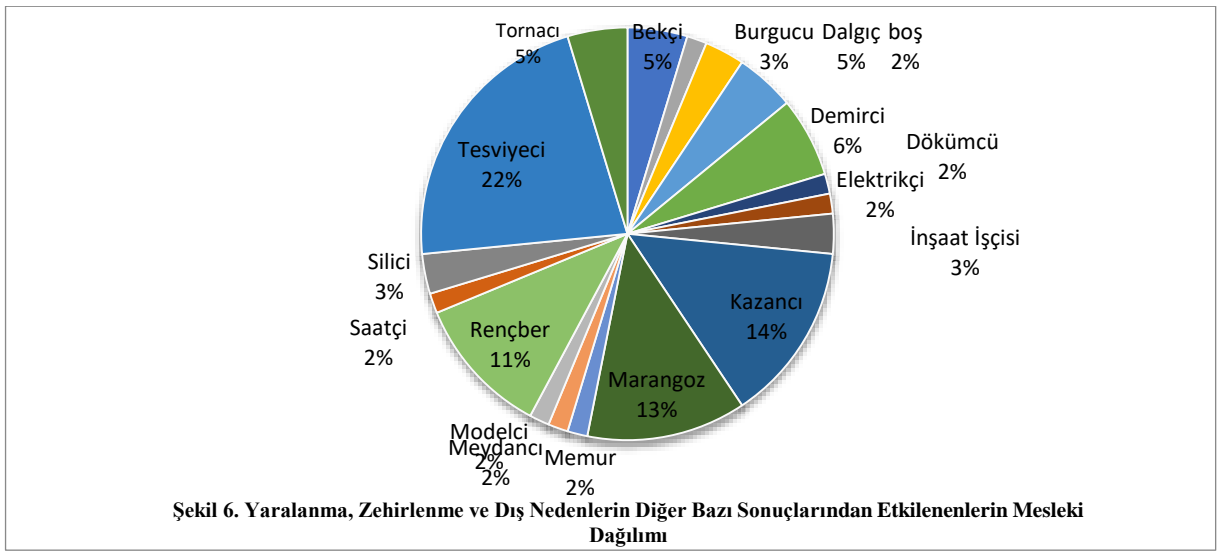
## 8.2. Riskli Meslekler

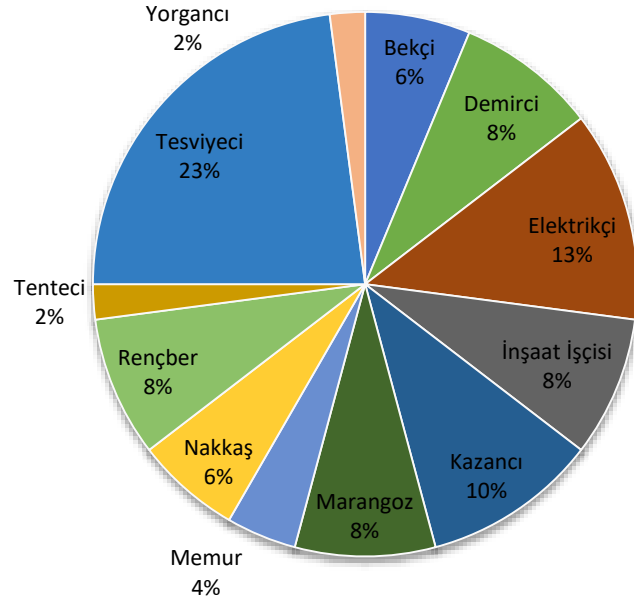
Vaka ve raporlu günlerin hastalık türlerine göre dağılımının ardından bu hastalıklardan en çok hangi meslekten işçilerin etkilendiğine bakmak gerekir. (bkz. Tablo 3) Başka bir ifadeyle vakaların mesleklere göre dağılımına bakılacak olursa, tesviyecilerin %24, kazancılarının %14, marangozların %10, demirci, elektrikçi ve rençberlerin %6'lık, geri kalan mesleklerin ise %5 ile %1 arasında değişen paylara sahip oldukları anlaşılır. Bu tablodan tesviyeci, marangoz ve kazancılarının tersane çalışanları arasında en çok risk altında bulunan mesleklerin başında geldiği söylenebilir. (bkz. Şekil 4) Vaka sayısının yanı sıra raporlu günlerin sayısı da bu eğilimi destekler niteliktedir. Buna göre 1135 raporlu gününün %19'u marangozlar, %17'si tesviyeciler ve %15'ini kazancılar kullanmıştır. (bkz. Şekil 5)

<b>Tablo 3. Vakaların ve Raporlu Günlerin Mesleklere Göre Dağılımı</b>		
<b>Meslek</b>	<b>Vaka Sayısı</b>	<b>Raporlu Gün Sayısı</b>
Tesviyeci	70	191
Kazancı	41	165
Marangoz	30	218
Rençber	19	66
Elektrikçi	18	46
Demirci	17	119
Bekçi	16	31
Memur	15	43
Silici	11	18
İnşaat İşçisi	9	20
Modelci	8	18
Nakkaş	7	17
Dalgıç	5	13
Tornacı	5	5
Yorgancı	5	41
Burgucu	3	10
Kaynakçı	3	17
Borucu	2	4
Dökümcü	2	4
Meydancı	2	3
Belirtilmeyen	1	75
Odacı	1	0
Ressam	1	1
Saatçi	1	4
Tenteci	1	3
Tuzcu	1	3
<b>Toplam</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>1135</b>

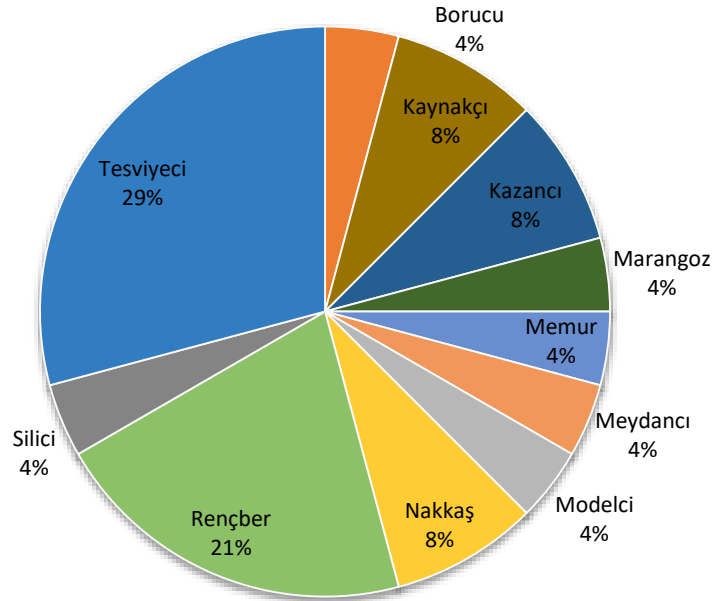


Tersane işçilerinin en çok maruz kaldıkları hastalıklar ve bunlardan en çok hangi meslek mensuplarının etkilendiklerini, bundan dolayı raporlu sayıldıklarını ifade ettikten sonra, meslekler ve hastalıklar arasındaki ilişkiye biraz daha yakından bakmakta yarar vardır. Buna göre vaka toplamının yaklaşık %60'ını oluşturan “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dış Nedenlerin Diğer Bazı Sonuçları”, “Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar”, “Göz ve Gözle Bağlantılı Doku Hastalıkları” ve “Sindirim Sistemi Hastalıkları”ndan en çok kimlerin etkilendiği araştırıldığında “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dış Nedenlerin Diğer Bazı Sonuçları”nda en çok tesviyeci, marangoz ve kazancının etkilendikleri görülür. (bkz. Şekil 6) “Göz ve Gözle Bağlantılı Doku Hastalıkları”ndan etkilenenlerin başında da kazancı, tesviyeci ve siliciler gelmektedir. (bkz. Şekil 7) Tesviyecilerin “Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar”dan ve “Sindirim Sistemi Hastalıkları”ndan da etkilenenlerin başında geldikleri anlaşılmaktadır. (bkz. Şekil 8 ve Şekil 9)





Şekil 8. Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklarından Etkilenenlerin Mesleki Dağılımı

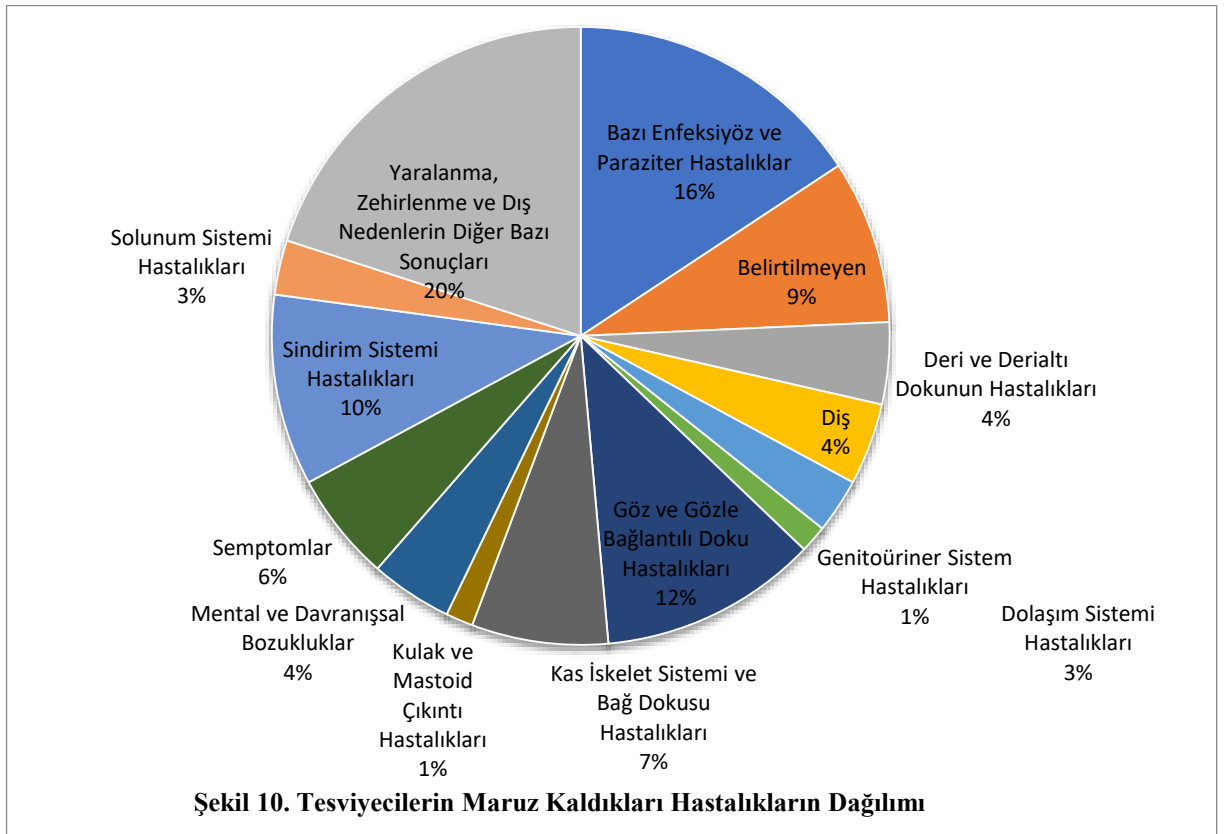


Şekil 9. Sindirim Sistemi Hastalıklarından Etkilenenlerin Mesleki Dağılımı

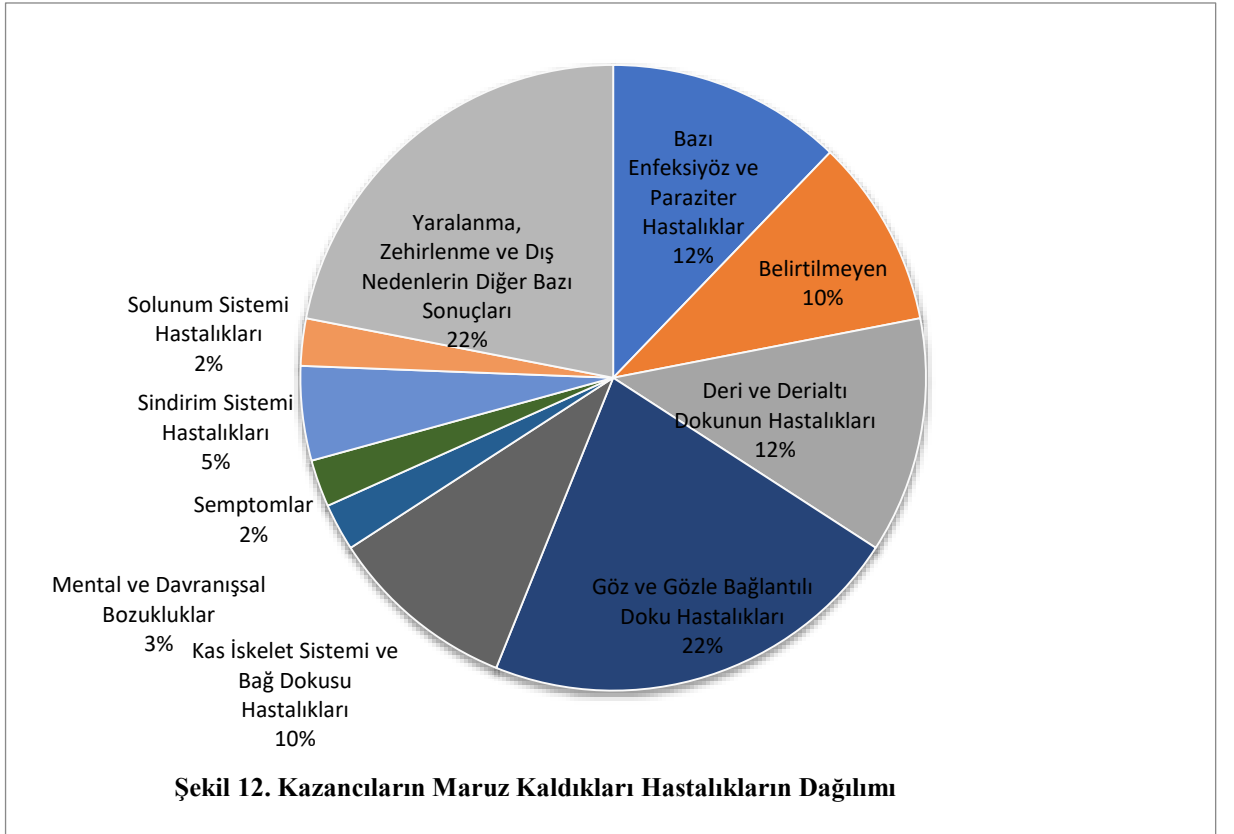
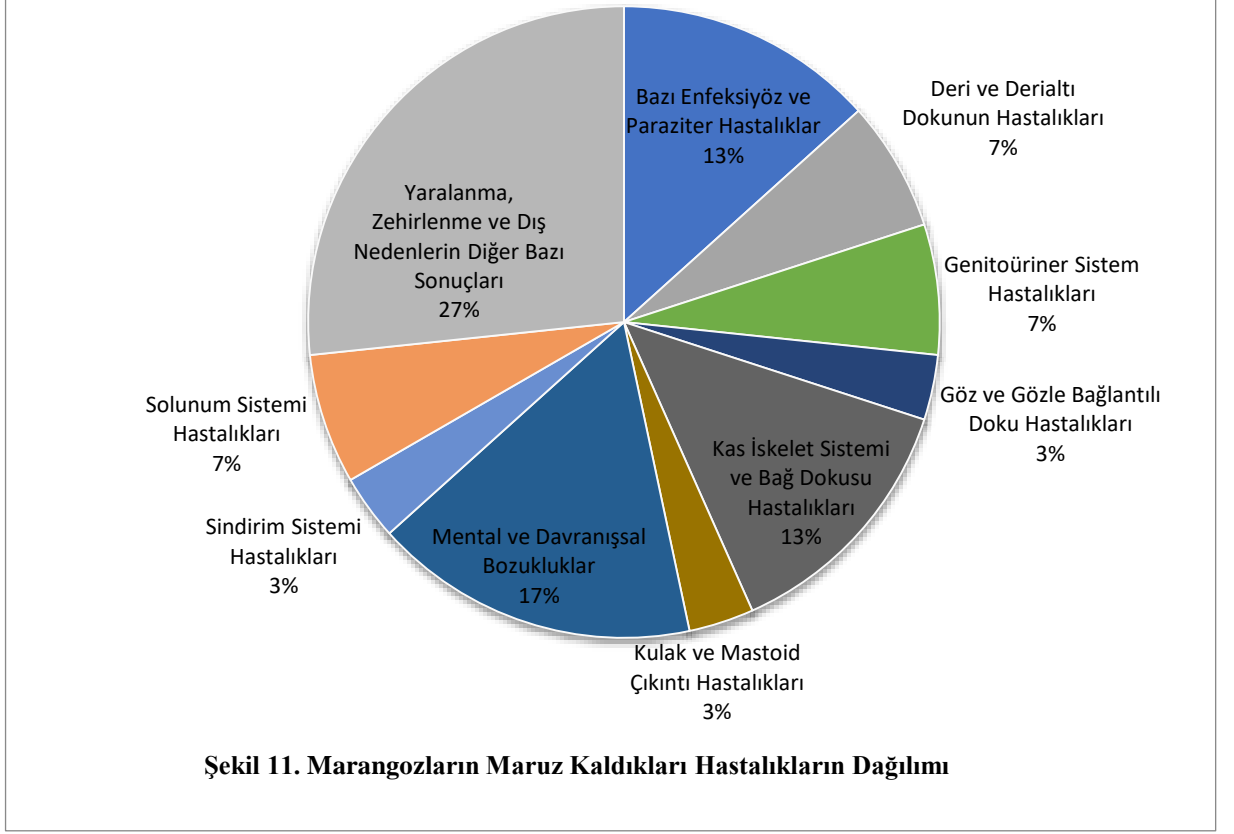
Bu noktada daha çok sađlık sorunu yařayan mesleklerin sađlık profillerine daha yakından bakmakta yarar vardır. Bu bađlamda tesviyecilerin maruz kaldıkları hastalıkların bařında %23'lük pay ile “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dıř Nedenlerin Diđer Bazı Sonuđları”nın bařta geldiđini, bunu %16 ile “Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar”ın, %11 ile “Göz ve Gözle Bađlantılı Doku Hastalıkları”nın ve %10 ile “Sindirim Sistemi Hastalıkları”nın izlediđi görülür. (bkz. řekil 10)

Marangozlara gelince, onların da maruz kaldıkları hastalıkların bařında %27'lik payı ile “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dıř Nedenlerin Diđer Bazı Sonuđları”, %17'lik payı ile “Mental ve Davranıřsal Bozukluklar”, %13'lük paylarıyla “Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar” ve “Kas İskelet Sistemi ve Bađ Dokusu Hastalıkları” izler. (bkz. Grafik 11)

Kazancılara gelince “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dıř Nedenlerin Diđer Bazı Sonuđları” ve “Göz ve Gözle Bađlantılı Doku Hastalıkları”nın %22'lik, “Bazı Enfeksiyöz ve Paraziter Hastalıklar” ve “Deri ve Derialtı Dokunun Hastalıkları”nın %12'lik, “Kas İskelet Sistemi ve Bađ Dokusu Hastalıkları”nın ise %10'luk payı bulunur. (bkz. Grafik 12)







### 8.3.İş Kazaları ve Meslek Hastalıkları

Vakalardan yoğun olarak etkilenen meslekler ve bu mesleklerin daha çok hangi hastalılardan etkilendiğine dair buraya kadar çizilen tablo, Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının iş kazaları ve meslek hastalıklarına maruz kaldıklarını da gösterir.

Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının hastalık kayıtları içinde hangilerinin iş kazaları olduğu hangilerinin meslek hastalığı olduğu hususuna gelince, kol, bacak, el kırık-çıkık ve ezilmesi, yanığı, çivi batması, bıçkıya el veya parmak kaptırmak, başına veya ayağına ağaç veya metal düşmesinden kaynaklanan “Yaralanma, Zehirlenme ve Dış Nedenlerin Diğer Bazı Sonuçları” şeklinde sınıflanan vakaların hemen büyük bir bölümünün iş kazası olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Keza göze çapak kaçması gibi nedenlerden dolayı yaşanan vakaların “Göz ve Gözle Bağlantılı Doku Hastalıkları” olarak sınıflandırılabilmesi ve bunların da iş kazası olduğuna kuşku yoktur. Bu iş kazalarından etkilenen tersane çalışanları içinde en çok risk altında olanların tesviyeciler, marangozlar ve kazancılar olduğunu da belirtmek gerekir. Sayıca ve vaka olarak çok olmamakla birlikte demirci, tornacı, kaynakçı ve dökümcü gibi meslek mensuplarının da iş kazası riski altında olduklarını ifade etmekte yarar vardır. İş kazası olarak nitelendirilebilecek vakaların ve bunlardan dolayı raporlu gün kullanımının toplam vaka ve raporlu günlere oranının ¼ olduğunu da söylemek mümkündür.

Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının karşılaştıkları sağlık sorunları içinde iş kazası olarak nitelendirilebilecek olanları ayırmak daha kolayken, vakaların hangilerinin meslek hastalığı olabileceğini söylemek daha zordur. Bununla birlikte örneğin “Kas İskelet Sistemi ve Bağ Dokusu Hastalıkları” kapsamına giren bel ağrısı vakalarını meslek hastalığı olarak nitelemek mümkündür. “Solunum Sistemi Hastalıkları” arasında yer alan zatürre vakalarının da tersanede işçilerin soğuk ve elverişsiz koşullarda çalışmaları ile ilgili olduğu söylenebilir.

#### Sonuç

Şirket-i Hayriye, Osmanlı Devleti’nde kurulan ilk anonim şirket ve İstanbul’da faaliyete geçen ilk şehiriçi toplu taşıma işletmesi olarak Türkiye iktisat tarihinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Filosundaki gemilerin büyük bir bölümü yurt dışında inşa edilmiş olan Şirket-i Hayriye’nin Hasköy’de kurulan tersanesinde genel olarak gemilerin bakım ve onarımları yapılmış, demonte olarak gelen bazı gemilerin montajı ve az sayıda gemi ise bu tersanede inşa edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Hasköy Tersanesi ise Türkiye’de gemi inşa sanayinin tarihsel olarak gelişiminde önem taşır. Hasköy Tersanesi, bir sanayi kuruluşu olarak çalıştırdığı işçilerin grev ve eylemleriyle Türkiye emek tarihinde de önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Bu makalede Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının 1929-1944 yıllarını içeren kayıtlara dayanarak hastalık ve iş kazalarından oluşan sağlık profilleri çizilmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışanların sağlık durumlarını yaptıkları işin niteliği yani ağırlığı tersanede çalışma koşullarının önemli ölçüde belirlediği, dolayısıyla bugün olduğu kadar açık tanımlanmış bir meslek hastalığı kavramının söz konusu olmadığı bu dönemde, Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanlarının mustarip oldukları hastalıkların bir bölümünün meslek kaynaklı olduğu söylenebilir. Keza bazı vakaların ise iş kazası niteliğinde olduğu ifade edilebilir.

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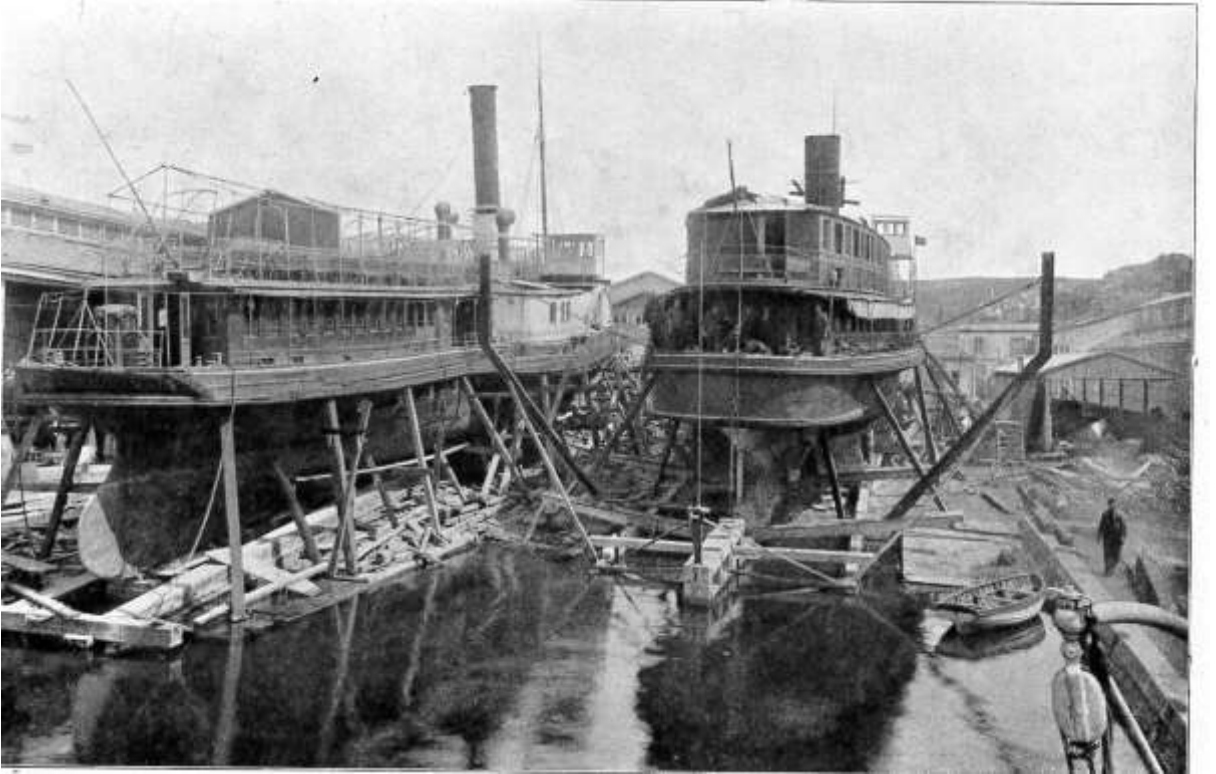
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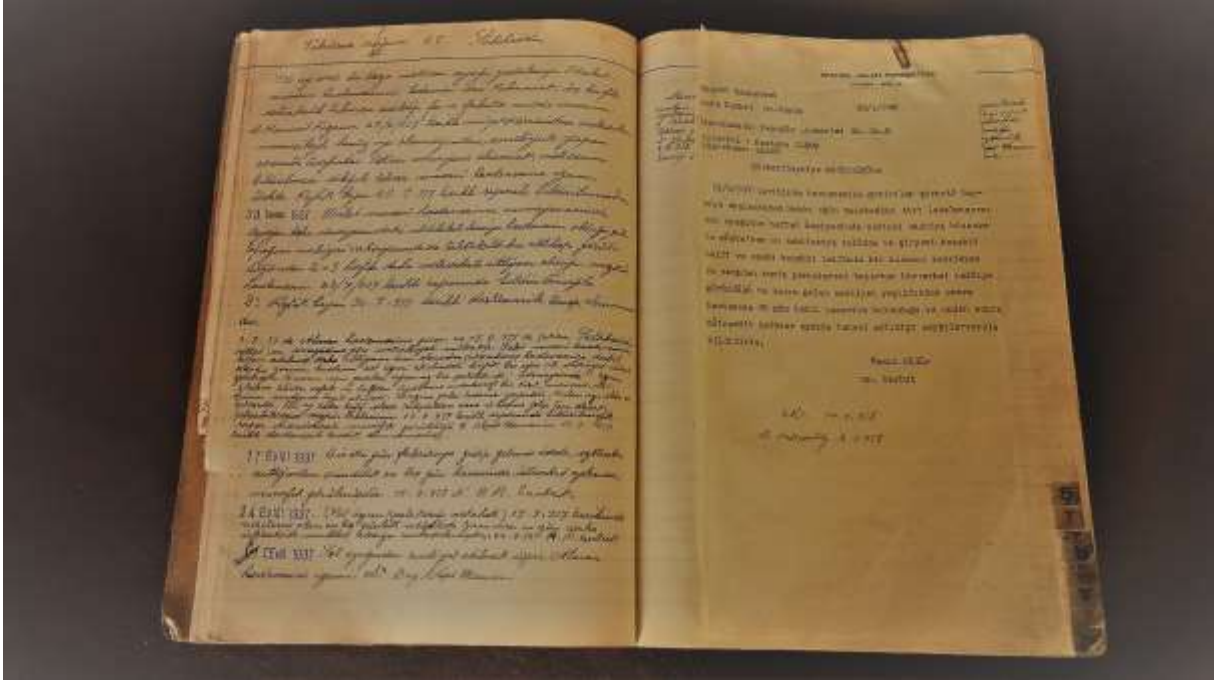
## Resimler



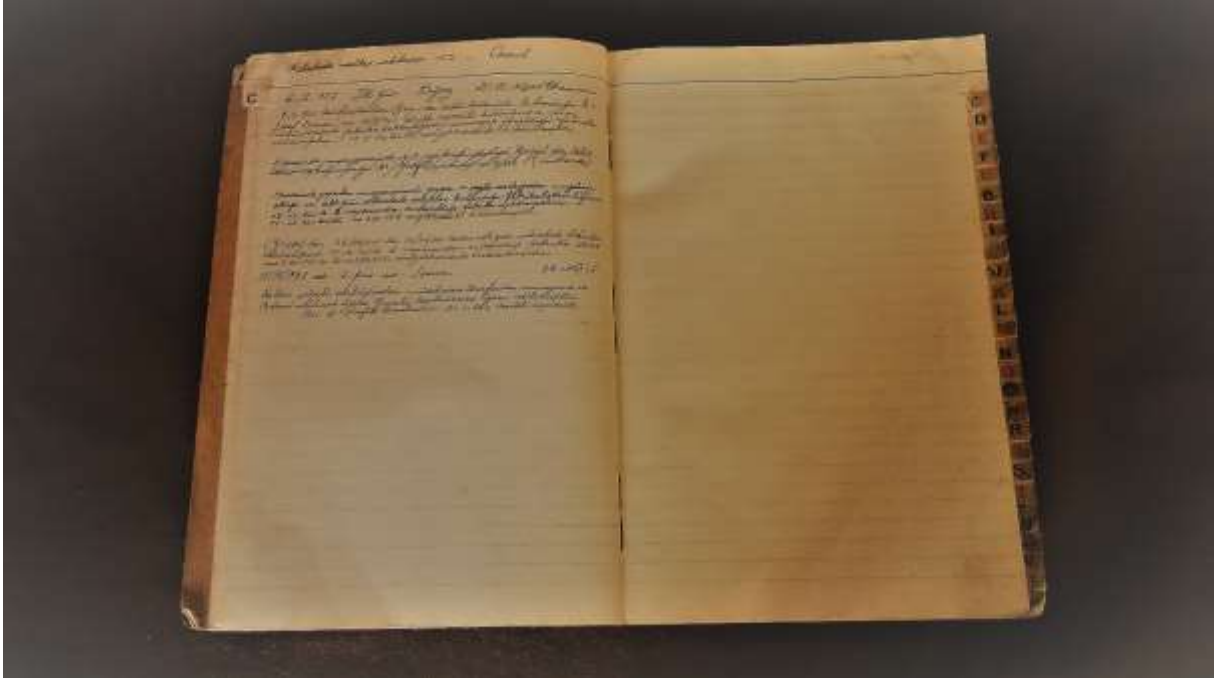
Hasköy Tersanesi çalışanları toplu halde (1914)



Hasköy Tersanesi (1914)



Hasta Kayıt defter sayfalarından örnek.



Hasta Kayıt defter sayfalarından örnek.



124  
İSTANBUL—GALATA FERMENCİLER  
TELEFON : 44701 2,3

ŞİRKETİHAYRİYE  
Fabrikası  
No.....

Hasköy : 7/12/938

Baş hekimliğe

Fabrikamız nakkaşbaşısı Cemil ustanın sağ  
ayağının üstüne teneke düşüğünden icrayi mua-  
yenesini rica ederim.

Fabrika müdiri

*İsmail*

*8/12/938 den 5/12/938  
kadar istirahat  
7/12/38  
D. Nesip*

Doktora sevk yazısı örneği.

12

**ŞİRKETİHAYRİYE**  
Başhekimliği

2/42-1942 14/0X50 Ekspres Basımevi

Hastanın ismi	Markası	Vazifesi	Hastalığı	Mezuniyet müddeti gün	Mülâhazat
Şükür	-	Kaçım atelyasında Korla fater	sağ sırtta iltihap	iki gün	14/12/1942 L. R. P. B. V. M.

14/12. 942 M.

Doktor raporu örneği.

13

**ŞİRKETİHAYRİYE**  
Fabrika Hekimliği

2-42 1942 50/10 Secid Basımevi

Hastanın ismi	Markası	Vazifesi	Hastalığı	Mezuniyet müddeti gün	Mülâhazat
Pensel	152	Bayır. fırın	grip		

3. 3. 44

K. H. P. B.

Doktor raporu örneği.





Istanbul-Galata.....Hasköy.....  
Fermeneçiler. 18/12/340

26

## Şirketihayriye

TELEFON : 44703,2,1

Fabrika  
Servis .....

No. ....

Fabrika müdürlüğüne

152 Marka Cemil ustanın evinde yapılan muayenesinde grip ve nezleli sadriyeden rahatsız olup altı gün istirahati lazım olduğunu saygı ile bildiririm.

Fabrika hekimi

*[Handwritten signature]*

Doktor raporu örneği.

**Şirketihayriye**

Fabrika

Tarih:

Hasköy  
15/5/944

Mü. Ta. Müdüriyetine

14/5/944 Pazar günü kızakda bulunan 71 numaralı vapurun borda saçıların kaynak işlerinde çalışan muvakkat işçilerden 91 marka Tarık'ın, her nasılsa kaynak lambasına merbut bulunan lastik hortumun parlaması hasebile vücudunun muhtelif yerlerinden yanan mumalyleh, kendisini denize atmak suretile daha büyük bir tehlikeden kurtarmıştır.

Çagıralın cankurtaran ile Cerrahpaşa hastanesine sevkedilen ve hâlen hastanece tedavi altına alınan Kandıracı Tarık'ın işini bilir bir usta olması dolayısıyla diğer işçilerimize verilmekte olan istirahat yevmiyesinin kendisine de verilmesine müsaade buyurulmasını deren saygılarımla rica ederim.

Fabrika müdürü

*Osman Bey*

Kazazede işçiler hakkındaki usule tevfiKAN yarım yevmiyesinin yürütülmesi muvafıktır.fabrika müdiriyetine 18/5/944

*1/6/944 tarihinde işe başla  
manında mahzur yoktur 19/5  
1/6/944*

İş kazası örneği.

ŞİRKETİ HAYRİYE

8-2-938

Baş hekimini General Altı çıtımli

Diploma No. 760

Müdüriyeti umumiyei aliyeye

Birsene zarfında fabrikada onbeşi müteceviz x  
öze çapak girmesi vakası görülmekte ve bazıları x  
gözde mühim ârizalar tevlit etmektedir. avrupa ve x  
sair mumasil fabrikalarda buna karşı tehaffuz tedbi-  
ri olmak üzere kullanılmakta olan gözlüklerin fabri-  
kamızda da mecburî olarak kullanılması için fabri-  
ka direktörlüğine lazım gelen emir verilmesini arz  
eylerim.

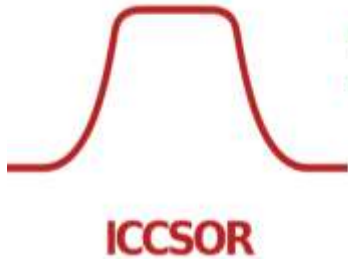
Baş Hekim

*Dr. N. N. N.*

16.8.8-2-38

2/40-1585-300 Ekspres Basımevi

İş kazalarına karşı gözlük kullanımı hakkında yazı.



## Good Enough for Jazz: Vietnam's Road to Be an Emerging Market

Ömer Faruk ÖZKILINÇ<sup>1</sup> & Başak ÖZCAN<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

In political economic studies, it is widely discussed the development patterns of most-income countries, especially the ones which are seen, once upon a time, as the “third-world” countries such as Japan, South Korea, China. Although their stories are charming and interesting, for us, the processes that these countries went through constitute very complex and hard-to-believe images for other countries in which, even in today, poverty is literally a crucial problem. On the other hand, there are stories in the economic history which offer, arguably, simpler and trackable ways of development for the countries which are already being suffered by hunger, economic instability such as Sub-Saharan African countries and closed economies of Asia. Vietnam, as an old low-income country, constitutes a hopeful adaptable example to deal with the “scarcity-generating mechanisms” of “under-developed” countries. In this paper, firstly, we are going to describe briefly what were the mechanisms that generate poverty in Vietnam. Then, we will look to how and which legislative, economic regulations and institutions converted a closed, interventionist economy into a coordinated export-oriented one which brought economic growth. Lastly, we will try to understand implications of this economic success and discuss in which ways Vietnam's road to be an emerging market can constitute a sample for other low-income countries.

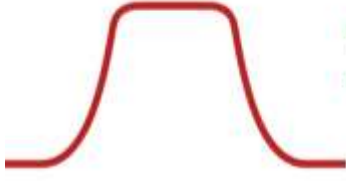
**Keywords:** Vietnam, Economic Growth, Growth Measurement, Developing Economies, Wealth Data

**JEL Codes:** N15, N25, O10, O47, O53

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ICCSOR

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## Düşük Gelir Grubundan Büyüyen Bir Ekonomiye: Vietnam'ın Hikâyesi

### Özet

Siyasal İktisat çalışmalarında, özellikle Japonya, Güney Kore, Çin gibi bir zamanların “üçüncü dünya” ülkeleri olarak görülen, şimdi ise yüksek gelir grubu ülkelerinin kalkınma modelleri yaygın olarak tartışılmaktadır. Hikayeleri hem uluslararası gözlemcilerin hem de akademisyenlerin ilgisini çekse de bu ülkelerin geçirdiği dönüşüm, bugün hala yoksulluğun hayati bir sorun olduğu düşük gelir grubundaki ülkeler için çok karmaşık ve uygulanması zor gözükten modeller teşkil etmektedir. Öte yandan Vietnam'ın, halihazırda açıklıktan ve ekonomik istikrarsızlıktan mustarip olan Asya'nın içe dönük ekonomi ekonomileri ve Sahra altı Afrika ülkeleri için daha basit ve izlenebilir bir siyasi ve iktisadi politika seti sunduğunu düşünüyoruz. Bu yazıda, öncelikle Vietnam'da fakirliği var eden “mekanizmaların” neler olduğunu kısaca açıklayacağız. Daha sonra hangi hukuki ve ekonomik düzenlemelerin kapalı, müdahaleci bir ekonomiyi ihracat odaklı bir ekonomiye dönüştürdüğünü inceleyeceğiz. Bu dönüşümün getirdiği ekonomik başarıyı sayısal verilerle ortaya koyduktan sonra, bu başarının etkilerini anlamaya çalışacak ve Vietnam'ın dönüşümünün diğer düşük gelirli ülkeler için nasıl bir örnek teşkil edebileceğini tartışacağız.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Vietnam, Ekonomik Büyüme, Büyüme Ölçümü, Gelişen Ekonomiler, Varlık Verileri

**JEL Kodlar:** N15, N25, O10, O47, O53

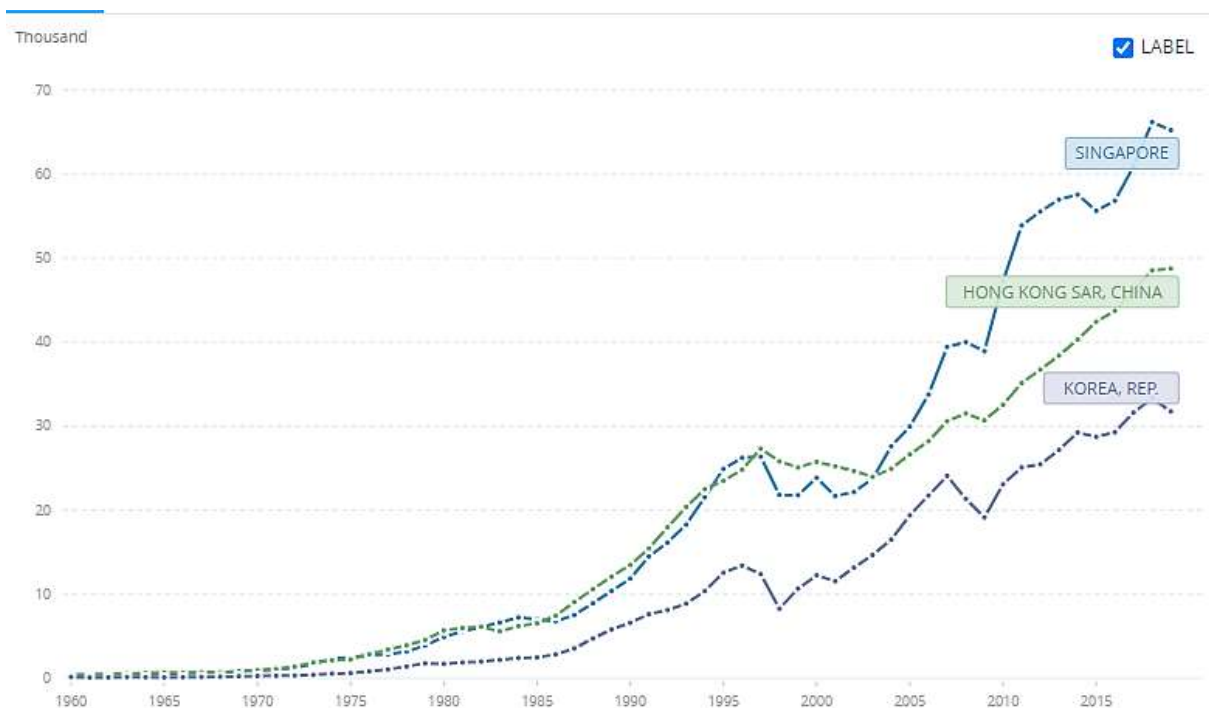
## 1. Introduction

Good enough for jazz; that is, it is good enough, so, it meets the purpose, although it is not perfect. The story of Vietnam's development may be best explained by this pattern; it may not be the miracle of the century or the Tiger or Dragon of Asia, but it is good enough.

The four countries of South Asia; Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan, were described as “Asian Tigers” due to their development in the last quarter of the last century. The common feature of the Asian Tigers was their rapid industrialization and export orientation. Hong Kong and Singapore have become influential on financial centers globally, while South Korea and Taiwan have made notable breakthroughs in the automotive, electronics and IT sectors.

**Graph-1:GDP per capita (current US\$) - Singapore, Hong Kong SAR, China, Korea, Rep.**

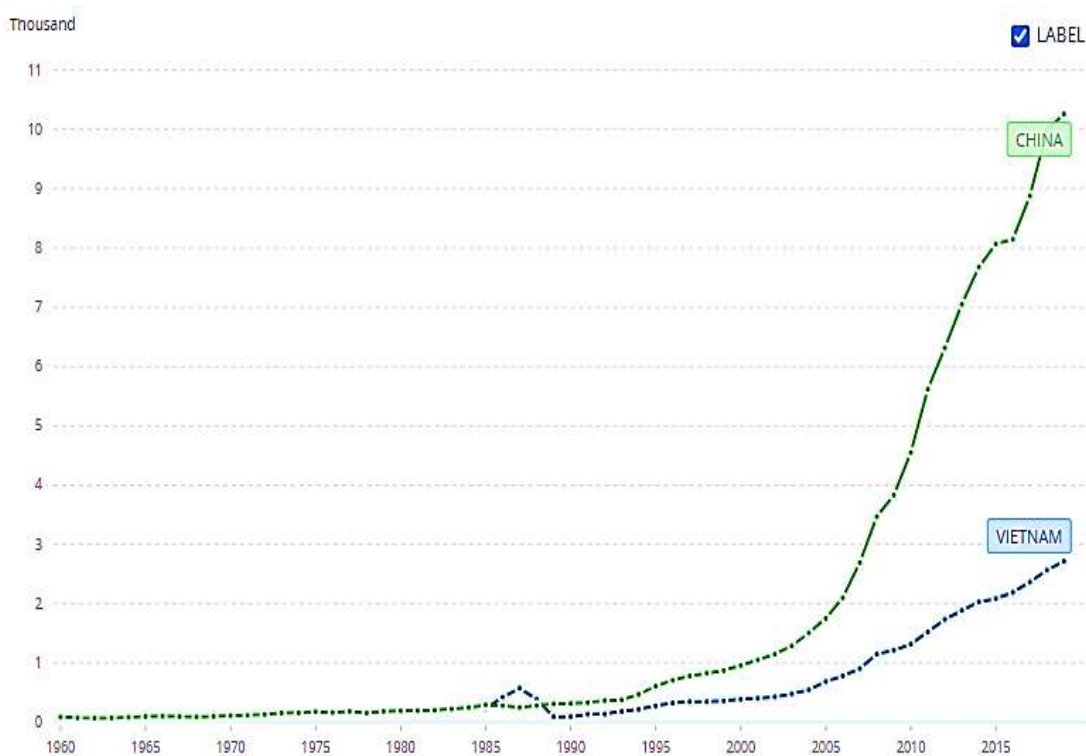
Source:<https://data.worldbank.org/share/widget?indicators=NY.GDP.PCAP.CD&locations=SG-HK-KR>



This nearly 30-year process of high economic growth and transformation was shown as a model for many countries during the liberalization period in the 1980s. While the efficiency of human resources was increased through education, savings were increased, and the public sector supported the growth process by making large savings. This development process was shaken by the Southeast Asian crisis that broke out in 1997, but continued thereafter.

When talking about the rising Tigers of Asia, we should also refer to China, the "Dragon" of Asia. China, which did not make itself apparent economically much until the 1980s, in fact, experienced serious misery, also began to mention itself after these dates. In the 1980s, China also switched to an export-oriented strategy. Since there was an abundance of labor, workers were prepared to work on low wages and as costs were low, there were significant increases in supply. Besides, as the rate of urbanization was low and the consumption of the countryside was insufficient, there had been a huge surplus of supply that can be exported and China grew rapidly. The world's major brands and multinational companies had begun to shift their production to this country due to cheaper costs. China's rapid capitalist transformation was surprising. After all, China has become the second largest economy in the world with this rise.

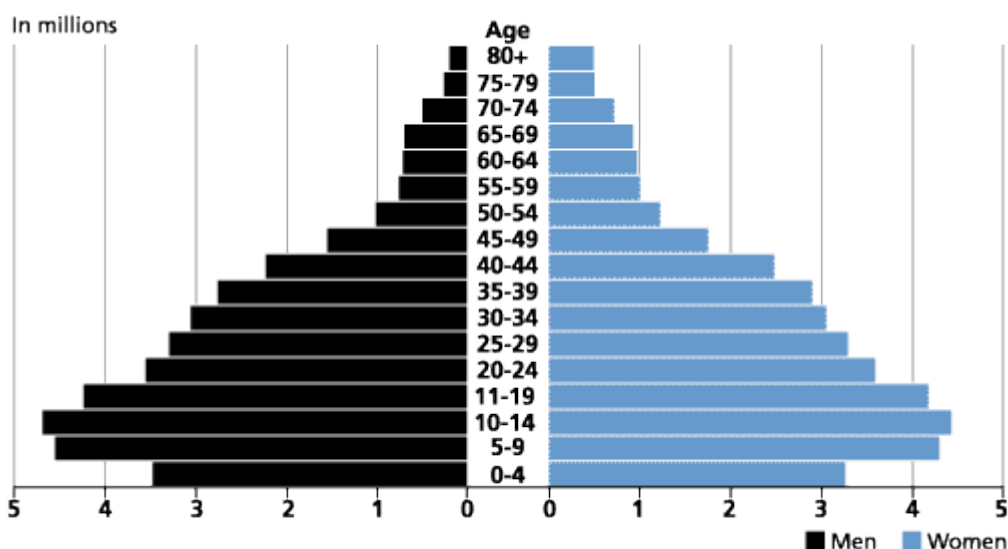
**Graph-2: GDP per capita (current US\$) - Vietnam, China**



Source: <https://data.worldbank.org/share/widget?indicators=NY.GDP.PCAP.CD&locations=VN-CN>

Vietnam, which was as poverty-stricken as a Sub-Saharan country as a result of the long war before 1990, has the second fastest growth rate in the world after 1990, reminds us of the miracle of the Asian Tigers mentioned above. The Economist (2016) estimates that if Vietnam can maintain a 7% pace over the next decade, it will follow the same path as Asian Tigers.

**Graph-3: Vietnam Population Pyramid 2000**



Source: Ministry of Health, Health Statistical Yearbook 2000.

Vietnam's one of biggest advantage is its rapidly growing labor force. About 75 percent of the population in the country is under the age of 40, and the literacy rate is quite high. As Vietnam transitioned to a higher-value economy, the importance of creating productive jobs to meet its labor needs increased more. Equipping this young workforce with sufficient skills is also an agenda for the expanding manufacturing and service sector (Elder, 2014). Vietnam has set a goal of increasing the proportion of trained employees to 60-62% by the end of 2019, and 24-25% of employees have a certificate (VNA, 2019). Another important driver of the economy is international trade agreements.

Vietnam's participation in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Free Trade Agreement in 2001. With Vietnam's participation into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2006, it became the first developing Asian country to join the WTO after China in 20<sup>th</sup> century. WTO membership led to significant changes in the country's economic and trade regime to integrate with world trade. Also, allowing trade liberalization for Vietnam, it facilitated access to foreign markets, and thus increased exports, especially in textiles. In addition, the extra power it received from the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), a joint trade agreement with the United States that covers 11 countries which is signed in 2015, has also had a big impact on Vietnam's growth. On the other hand, these agreements and WTO membership together with the protection of intellectual property rights, privatization of state-owned enterprises, such as the need to make legal arrangements to the agenda, made the country more attractive for foreign investors (Ni, 2016).

In developmental studies, it is widely discussed the development patterns of most-income countries, especially the ones which are seen, once upon a time, as the “third-world” countries such as Japan, South Korea, China. Although their stories are charming, the processes that these countries



went through constitute a complex and hard-to-believe image for other countries in which, even in today, poverty is literally a crucial problem.

On the other hand, there are stories in the economic history which offer, arguably, simpler and trackable ways of development for the countries which are already being suffered by hunger, economic instability such as Sub-Saharan African countries and closed economies of Asia. Vietnam, as an old less-income country, constitutes a hopeful and adaptable example for these cases as we will show. We argue, Vietnam's transformation is based on simply its structural transitions which allow the market to do its job. Therefore, Vietnam's road would be a path for other low-income countries we wish this article to contribute for further research on Vietnam in that regard.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1. Which Success?**

These words are repeatedly mentioned so far in this article: Development, growth, success. This section aims to make a sense of what is meant by these words for Vietnam's case. If we consider Vietnam as a "new Asian Tiger", it is necessary to understand what the concepts mentioned above also mean in the context of the Asian Development. The rise and development of Asia has shown itself in all areas of social life, such as the transition to a market economy, migration from rural areas to city, transition from the labor-intensive production to the advanced use of technology and women's role in the economy. One of the evidence of how successful Asian countries were in this process is that, while they were in the group of countries with the lowest income level at the end of the Second World War, they made huge strides along with the development process and rose to the top position in terms of income level. Development has not only been limited to the economic dimension; it has been realized in many areas such as art, sports, philosophy, environment, urbanization, politics.

In the development of Vietnam, which is next to the 4 Tigers of Asia and The Dragon of Asia, the wind in the region has also had an effect. It has been a good alternative to China with its young workforce army and policies that attract foreign investment. In the same way, Vietnam has achieved surprising rankings in education, as we have seen in South Korea before. In the PISA 2009 assessment of 15-year-olds, Korea is the top-performing OECD country in reading and mathematics and among the top-performing OECD countries in science (OECD, 2014). Vietnamese education experts also regularly examine curriculum reform in high-performing countries such as Korea. Based on the PISA results in 2012, Vietnam is one of the highest performing countries among the countries taking part in the test, despite being one of the countries with lower income per capital. Vietnam is one of the highest performing countries among the countries taking part in the test, despite being one of the countries with lower income per capital.

In addition, A McKinsey Global Institute report (2019) finds that \$12 trillion could be added to global GDP by 2025 by advancing women's equality. For Vietnam, the official equality of men and women in society is recognized as one of the legacies of the socialist revolution. In the Vietnam, women composed almost half of small business entrepreneurs, with labor force participation almost at the level, making it one of the highest rates in the world.

Vietnam has a very fragmented structure due to many years of war and occupation, as well as ethnic differences. There are more than 50 ethnic elements in the country, and there are obvious differences between the northern and southern parts. Similar contrasts arise in the approach to relations with the West and with China. The Vietnam War resulted in the victory of North Vietnam at the same time as the Eastern Bloc. The United States, with a great military force, was defeated and separated from the war. It is estimated that more than eight million tons of explosives were dropped on rural and urban areas by American forces during the air war. In Vietnam, the hardest hit

by poverty are those who are usually engaged in agriculture in the countryside, so the bombs left over from the war prevent the soil from regenerating or becoming fertile (Trueman, 2015).

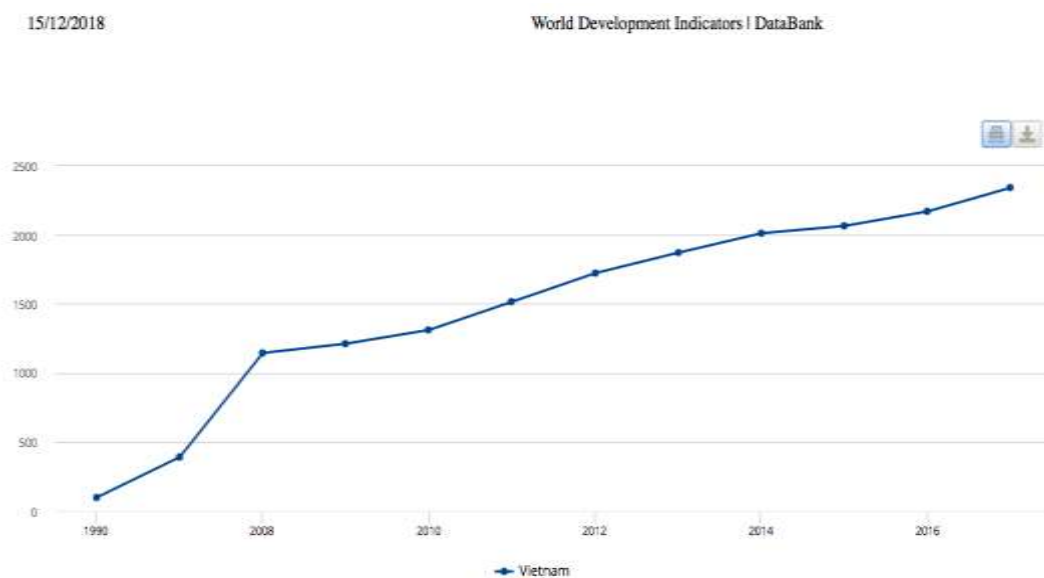
**Table-1: Poverty Rate Using International Standard (%)**

	1993	1998	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
National average	58.1	37.4	28.9	19.5	16.0	14.5	20.7	17.2

Source: General Statistics office of Vietnam, 1993-2013, [https://www.gso.gov.vn/Default\\_en.aspx?tabid=491](https://www.gso.gov.vn/Default_en.aspx?tabid=491)

As it is showed on the chart, in 1990s, Vietnam’s poverty rate is very similar to Sub-Saharan African countries and millions of people were living under the hunger threshold. There is a dramatic decline which will be evaluated as success through the paper.

**Graph-4: GDP per Capita, Vietnam**



Source: World Development Indicators  
 Series : GDP per capita (current US\$)  
 Created on: 12/14/2018

*“Vietnam has achieved tremendous results in reducing poverty and improving the quality of life for millions. The decline in poverty amongst ethnic minorities is encouraging, and more focused efforts on improving their incomes can further broaden their opportunities and reduce persistent inequalities,”* (Ousmane Dione, World Bank Country Director for Vietnam)

Following the decrease in poverty rate, there is a steady increase in GDP per capita starting from 1990s to the 2010s. These two different data correspond with the wake of two milestones of Vietnam economic history which transformed economy from a communist economy into a coordinated-market economy. Besides the success which is shown above, transition to a more capitalist, competitive market, generally, comes with the question of distribution of wealth and social equality. Although it is argued liberal economy policies will not be helpful for social equality whether there are welfare policies or not (Önder, 2020), Vietnam’s liberal economic success speaks for a growth which is shared by the society as a whole. In addition to increase in GDP per capita data, GINI index will be also useful to analyze the issue of distribution. Besides the decline of poverty rate, GINI coefficient also implies that there are not much more unequal distribution of wealth. From 1990s, while the size of pie is consistently growing, there is no much more differences in the relative share of diners. This is another success of Vietnam economy.

**Graph-5: Vietnam – GINI Index**



Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/vietnam/gini-index-wb-data.html>

**2.2. Inefficiency-Generating Mechanisms of Vietnam:**

In the article “Why People Cannot Feed Themselves”, Lappe, et al. (1977) makes sense of how being fed, as a primary physical purpose of human beings, becomes a deadlock for millions of people. To explain the situation, they coined a term, “Scarcity-Generating Mechanisms”, which implies that the extreme poverty has its historical roots and societies are made underdeveloped mostly by colonial powers. While their explanation focuses on exogenous factors of underdevelopment, we intend to describe internal factors of Vietnam’s underdevelopment before 1990s and will refer these factors as inefficiency-generating mechanisms.

While U.S forces were leaving the country after Vietnam War in 1975, they also left, as expected, a huge backlash of leftist populism against capitalism, free market and free trade. During the post-war period, any commercial activity was closely controlled by the State, and was unlawful unless expressly authorized by law (Odell and Castillo, 2008). Agricultural production, which will be the locomotive of the growth after renovations, on the other hand, was strictly under the control of state. There were individual and collective lands and cooperatives were forced to deploy people

to work for collective fields in which most of the profit is taken by state (Kerkvliet, 2005). Besides these, trade and private enterprises were mostly controlled by state which led a non-competitive market, a huge cartelization around the bureaucratic elites and a disequilibrium for various products, therefore, a huge shadow economy.

Taking into account these restrictive policies of state, it is not surprising to encounter with a highly-cartelized, non-competitive economy. We argue that these two features of Vietnam economy before renovations are the endogenous mechanisms behind the underdevelopment. For an economy, firstly, structures such as cartels, as Olson stated, could be understood as a “Distributional Coalitions” which primarily seeks to maximize their profits by expand their share from the economic pie instead of increasing the pie by increasing the efficiency (1983). Since interventionist economic policies paved the way for these kind of coalitions, sources were not used efficiently, generated a shared decline for the country’s economy. Secondly, non-competitiveness, since there is less incentives for producers or sellers to make their product better for customers, made markets functioning in an inefficient way. These all together made less attractive and riskier for people to participate in economic activities and constituted inefficiency-generating mechanisms on macroeconomic level.

### **2.3, Milestones of Development: Top-Down Reforms of Vietnam**

From 1975 to 1986, Vietnam economy suffered by obstacles on production, inefficiencies in using and distributing of sources and debt issues. These after war years strengthened the hands of reformists in the Communist Party. In 1986, at the sixth Party Congress, it is decided to give up highly-centralized economy and to adopt a market-based economy firstly to abandon poverty trap by encouraging the foreign direct investment. One of the most important decisions were following:

- “Concerted efforts to increase the production of food, consumer goods and exportable items.” (Stern, 1987). Which implies an open economy, integrated market and export oriented production.
- “To regenerate the planning bureaucracy while making the economic management system more efficient by decentralizing authority and making room for more independent decision-making” (Stern, 1987).
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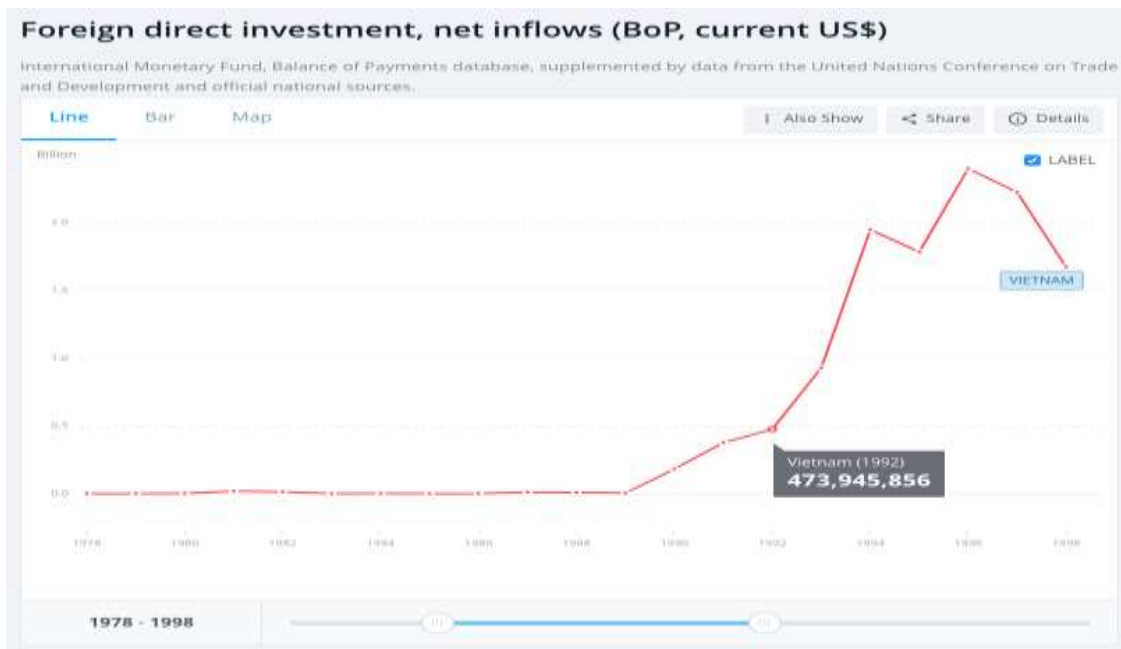
These decisions were implying an open economy, integrated market and export oriented production. Fundamentally, the state was building a less governed and a more liberal economy. As confirming Polanyi’s argument on liberal economy, which argues that a free-market economy, ironically, requires a series of politic and economic regulations to come into existence (Polanyi, 1944).

In 1990, Law on Private Enterprises which provided a legal basis to private firms was enacted, while Companies Law acknowledged Joint-stock company and private limited liability company (Katariina, Hakkala and Kokko, 2007). Although reforms of 1986 gave way to private entrepreneurship, this law could be seen as an important step to provide property rights for individuals making feel more secure local and foreign investors.

The other dramatic transformation occurred in 1992, following Doi Moi, constitution of the country was revised in line with requirements of a coordinated-market economy. Doing so, the state was redefining its position on economic activities by defining one of state’s object as “promote a multicomponent commodity economy functioning in accordance with market mechanisms under the management of the State and following a socialist orientation.” (Socialist Republic of Vietnam Constitution, art 15, 1992). Besides that, constitution of 1992 was officially recognizing the role of

private sector. This meant the market were opened to foreign investors now, granting them with the legal ownership on their property. By the new constitution, state accepted its borders and reinvent its relationship with citizens, investors, lands, and properties.

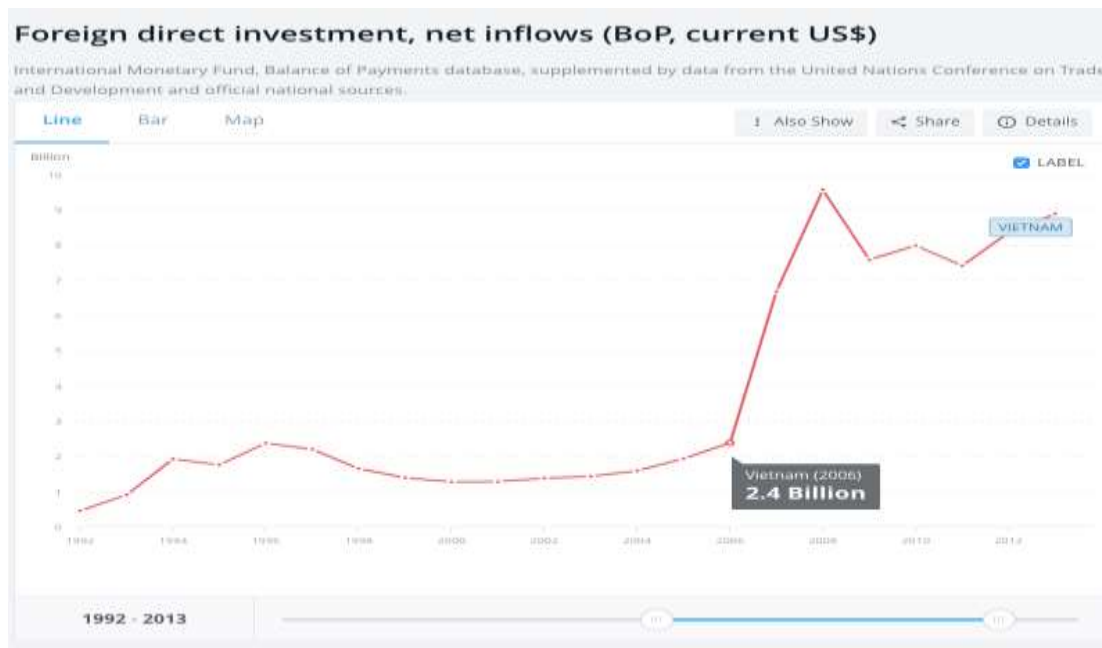
**Graph-6: Foreign Direct Investment, Net Inflows 1978-1998**



Source: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.CD.WD?end=2013&locations=VN&start=1992&view=chart>

To not to exceed the extent of this paper, we will step over to the 2006 in which another milestone for Vietnam economy to be integrated into world economy is achieved. In 2006, Vietnam joined to World Trade Organization following the China. Here, it is needed to be understood the FDI competence of Vietnam and China. Since these two countries have very similar geopolitical location and both of them offer their comparative advantage on human resources to the foreign investors, their integration processes went together. After China joined to WTO, Vietnam had to join to attract investors. Although Vietnam is relatively late-comer, joining into WTO had another dramatic increase on FDI.

**Graph-7: Foreign Direct Investment, Net Inflows 1992-2013**



Source:<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.CD.WD?end=2013&locations=VN&start=1992&view=chart>

During the Covid-19 pandemic, FDI rates were maintained due to continued interest in Vietnam's industrial areas. Vietnam's manufacturing industry, consisting of high-tech and some digital technology weighting products, remains a very serious source of revenue even in a global pandemic. Vietnam's IT sector is experiencing impactful growth thanks to low costs and the contribution of an educated young workforce, the country is now the eighth largest provider of IT services in the world (Samuel, 2019). Although this impressive development parallels the Vietnamese government's desired shift towards high-tech production, low-tech products such as garment and textiles still rank among Vietnam's top five exports (Nguyen, 2020) .

## Conclusion

Good enough for jazz; Vietnam's development story has lessons for other countries. Among Asia's Tigers and Dragons, Vietnam's rise will be one of Asia's new economic miracles, perhaps going beyond this "good enough" pattern. As we can see in the example of Vietnam, economic development predicts a change in the economic structure and output distribution, as well as economic growth in the long run. These changes (Nafziger, 2006), which cover a wide area from improving the financial welfare of individuals who constitute the poor in the society to decreasing the share of the agricultural sector in production and increasing the shares of the industry and services sector, from increasing the quality in the education system to and raising skilled workforce , and the fact that it is not realized at the same level causes the difference between poor and rich countries in terms of income and living standards to increase day by day.

The East Asian model, in which the government invests in the main sectors of new industries in the private sector, is still effective, as we see in Vietnam's economic development story. Vietnam's rapidly growing young population, the education system developed on the basis of other developed Asian countries, international trade agreements and undoubtedly foreign investments have been the cornerstones of its development. Whereas a highly-cartelized, non-competitive economy constituted

inefficiency-generating mechanisms on macroeconomic level, Vietnam's new economic model makes country more attractive and less risky. The Vietnamese market continues to increase its importance with an increasing momentum in parallel with the Vietnam economy that has been expanding and developing since the first half of the 2000s. Vietnam is getting closer to its position as "the shining star of South East Asia" with its exit from the closed economic model that attaches importance to agriculture.

Vietnam, from 1990s onwards, has exhibited an impressive development performance on global standards. Between 1990-2016, its GDP per capita has increased from 95 US dollars, to 2170 US dollars and poverty rate fall from 58% to the under of 17%. As we argued previously, these developments are results of the legal and economic regulations of state towards a market economy. Providing property rights, competitiveness in markets, integrating into the world economy, Vietnam escaped its poverty trap and became an example for other "underdeveloped" countries. However, there are still debatable issues and further questions exist for Vietnam. Such as, it is interesting that economic liberalization and development did not go parallel with political rights and development on civil liberties. According to Freedom House 2018 report, Vietnam is considered in "not free" status and there is no much change since 1999 which is the first year Vietnam's score is evaluated. It could be argued that, similar to China, Vietnam is growing within an economically coordinated capitalism and a politically authoritative rule. It remains a further question for further research that is this system sustainable? Or a more existential question is that how much valuable an economic growth coming without the fundamental human rights?

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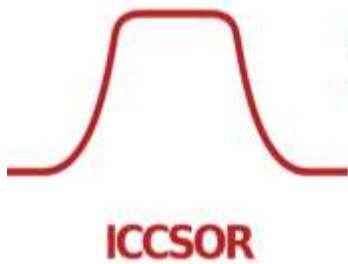
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## **Using MLT to Estimate Corruption Patterns from The BEEPS**

**Alexander Shemetev<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

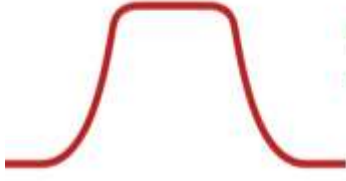
The paper describes the opportunity for using machine learning technologies (MLT) for estimating corruption by clustering. We used the enhanced BEEPS data (The Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2014)). It contains 1672 variables and 59619 observations produced by well-respected agencies like Nielsen for the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development. The analysis of different indicators with the MLT allows us to cluster the countries by the types of potential corruption patterns. We suggested this method could overcome the shortcomings of the classical survey surveillance approach because we can estimate countries with some distortion or insufficiencies in the data (for example, when the business units may want to lie about the corruption due to some reasons). This gives us an additional measurement that can be used for analyzing the true corruption field. This can be useful for business units, scientific people, and policymakers for analyzing the patterns of corruption in different countries.

**Keywords:** Corruption, Cluster Analysis Of Corruption, Corruption Patterns, Eurasian Countries, Corruption Index

**JEL Codes:** D73, D79, R00

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## BEEPS'ten Yolsuzluk Modellerini Tahmin Etmek Üzere MLT Kullanımı

### Özet

Makale, kümeleme yoluyla yolsuzluğu tahmin etmek için makine öğrenimi teknolojilerini (MLT) kullanma fırsatlarını anlatmaktadır. Makalede, Avrupa İmar ve Kalkınma Bankasının 2014 yılına ait Gelişmiş İş Ortamı ve İşletme Performansı Araştırması (BEEPS) verileri kullanıldı. Avrupa İmar ve Kalkınma Bankası için Nielsen gibi saygın kurumlar tarafından üretilen 1672 değişken ve 59619 gözlemden faydalanıldı. MLT ile farklı göstergelerin analizi, ülkeleri potansiyel yolsuzluk modellerine göre kümelememize olanak tanımaktadır. Bu yöntemin klasik alan araştırması yaklaşımının gözlem eksikliklerinin üstesinden gelebileceğini ifade ettik çünkü bu yöntemle verilerinde bazı çarpıklıklar veya yetersizlikler bulunan ülkeleri de tahmin edebilmemiz mümkün hale geldi. (örneğin, firmaların bazı nedenlerden dolayı yolsuzluk hakkında yalan söylemek isteyebileceği zamanlarda). Bu yöntem bize gerçek yolsuzluk alanını analiz etmek için kullanılacak ek bir ölçüm sağlamaktadır. Ulaştığımız sonuçlar, farklı ülkelerdeki yolsuzluk modellerini analiz etmek için firmalar, bilim adamları ve politika yapıcılar için yararlı olabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yolsuzluk, Yolsuzluğun Küme Analizi, Yolsuzluk Modelleri, Avrasya Ülkeleri, Yolsuzluk Endeksi

**JEL Kodlar:** D73, D79, R00

## **Introduction**

Corruption is a very interesting topic for research. Some researchers say that corruption is something like a sort of business (Lindgreen & Lindgreen, 2004). Other researchers say that corruption is nothing like a business (for example, Катц, 2020; Sallaberry et al., 2020). They say that, unlike business, even if a corrupt official earns the same amount of money, - it may bring the negative effects up to 10 times higher than the profits that the corrupt official earned (Čábelková and Hanousek, 2004; Hanousek and Kochanová, 2016; Катц, 2020). Thus, even if corrupt officials and entrepreneurs may have the same houses built with comparable amounts of money, - the total impact on the economy may be dramatically different. Entrepreneur earns money by providing useful service commodities or some work. This creates a win-win situation for the economy, for the entrepreneur, and for society as a whole.

Our research question is if we can find any corruption patterns with the use of machine-learning technologies (MLT) for clustering by comparing different countries. Answering this question will allow us to answer the related research questions: what is corruption and what factors influence it the most; which countries surveyed by the BEEPS are the most corrupt?

Our main hypothesis is that there is a significant chance to see the corruption pattern within specific economies by using the MLT for clustering: even if the data from a specific country look biased or insufficient – we can still evaluate its corruption pattern by comparing the cluster this country is referred to. This hypothesis leads us for checking the related hypotheses: firm size should form one of the 2 corruption types – small firms “grease their wheels”, while big firms use corruption to beat their competitors and take advantage of the market mostly. It is assumed the entire BEEPS firms and countries contain 3 to 4 clusters, – the optimal number of clusters is estimated by using the MLT. Our second related hypothesis is that clustering by corruption type is possible from usually limited input data we usually have and the limited trust factor of this input data. We argue the classical methods cannot deal with the limited and distorted input data that is a common case even in the qualitative databases about corruption like BEEPS. We propose a method of MLT for clustering the countries by corruption types and estimating the main factors of corruption.

Answering the research question and testing our main hypothesis is our main purpose.

## **Literature Review**

There are many questions on how to estimate corruption. Corruption is something hidden, something that corrupt officials do not want to be obvious to the other people. Thus, we face the limitation of the input data and it can be quite difficult to estimate the true level of that corruption any country has (Mauro, 1995). Corruption can be a threat even on the macroeconomic level. There results from the reforms can be dramatically different if corruption persists (Babecký and Campos, 2011; Babecky and Havranek, 2014). Since many regulations of the modern economy are based on the DSGE (dynamic-stochastic general equilibrium) models, corruption may change the results of applications of this model. DSGE are models that allow us to answer a very narrow question due to the huge amount of input data. They are used by central banks and analytical agencies in different countries to model economic processes. DSGE models do not initially consider the possibility that a part of the economy may be hidden by a corruption component. The corruption component creates errors for these models at the input. As a result of these errors, we get an increase in the error of the analysis result of this model at the output. Therefore, the DSGE model may become inapplicable because of an incorrect analysis of the corruption component in the economy. Hence, the economy can become more complicated to predict and more difficult to manage (Slobodyan and Wouters, “Learning in an Estimated Medium-Scale DSGE Model”, 2012; Slobodyan and Wouters, “Learning in a Medium-Scale Dsge Model with Expectations Based on Small Forecasting Models”, 2012).

There is a concept of bureaucratic harassment (Kaufmann, 1997). There exists some very complicated bureaucratic procedure. It is so complicated that most entrepreneurs do not know how to overcome it without corruption. This type of corruption we could call as “grease the wheels”(Méon and Weill, 2010; Méon and Sekkat, 2005, p. 70). Undertakers pay to corrupt officials some bribes or some sums (or create some other benefits) in order for the business to go smoother. This looks like a business deal. Entrepreneurs pay money and receive some advantages from the government.

Another type of corruption is based on legal harassment(Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011; Jain, 2001). This is the most devastating form of corruption (Thompson, 2018). It maximizes the losses of business and society (Silver and Rand, 1978). We call it the corruption of the second type in our search. Undertakers try to beat their competitors with the corruption mechanisms. Entrepreneurs pay in order to receive some superior advantages over their competitors. This means that the entrepreneurs receive some superior competitive advantage. For example, this could be some right to build a supermarket at a certain place. Alternatively, this could be some specific license for selling some specific commodities right here and right now. Moreover, it can be some payment to control for participating in governmental purchases. This payment is usually made in order to make competitors off the market with the help of the government. This is not necessary to be actually a money payment. This can be, for example, sharing a specific part of stocks or of some obligations. This could be some presents to some corrupt officials like real estate or expensive jewelry or benefits for the business of the family members of the corrupt official. This type of corruption goes off the free market principles(Smith, 1776).

There is a multiple effect of corruption on the economy. It is proven that corruption makes the unofficial economy expanding. Corrupt officials cannot spend money as normal undertakers. They have to hide their wealth. Moreover, the gray market asks for the government for help in exchange for bribery. This creates this positive correlation between the core option and unofficial economy growth(World Bank, “Helping Countries Combat Corruption”, 1997; World Bank, “Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank”, 1997).In addition to this, corruption increases the tax burden on firms. Undertakers who use bribery, they escape partial losses in taxes, while the fair firms, at the same time, have to pay more taxes and, thus, their tax burden increases(World Bank, “Helping Countries Combat Corruption”, 1997; World Bank, “Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank”, 1997).

These creates unfair environment. It makes the fair agents to pay more and to suffer more losses, while it makes unfair agents to benefit and suffer fewer losses. It may create additional motivation for more firms to become corrupted. Moreover, this creates more incentives for the public officials to accept bribes and to participate in corruption. Fair public officials will suffer smaller incomes, while unfair public officials will enjoy additional incomes. This creates incentives for the public officials to deviate from a normal behavior and participate in different corruptions schemes. Thus, corruption creates more corruption. It creates penalty for fair agents and benefits for unfair ones.

### **Methodology and Data**

We used the BEEPS (The Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2014)) data. It contains 1672 variables and 59619 observations. A high number of variables should help at selecting the proper parameters for better clustering. It is quite difficult to obtain any good data about corruption. We used the BEEPS survey. This is an extensive economic survey undertaken as a joint initiative of the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The survey provides data for 37 countries from 1999 to 2014. Almost all the countries belong to the Eurasian area. The survey consists of 17

sections none of which is directly devoted to corruption (topics like infrastructure, sales, competition, ...).

**Figure 1. Descriptive Statistics Representing The Availability Of The BEEPS Data**



- Note to chart 1: BEEPS – is a supportive variable related to the expected quality value of the original data devoted directly to corruption estimation (modelled estimation); the lacking data was modelled with the use of machine learning technologies and then compared with the original pattern for not having contradictions. For the firm size in the modern research waves we compared the data with the one received from the Russian statistical office (for modelling and making better expectations about the missing values in the research).

We have created a special code in the R programming language that would allow us to display the missing data in the databases like BEEPS. We named the R package “alexandershemetev” (Shemetev, 2020). The “alex\_na\_plot” function creates the plot like fig. 1 that shows green for years and indicators for which we have most of the data available. Indicators for which we have about half of the data are shown in yellow. Red color shows indicators for which we have approximately 25% of the data. The gray color is typical for the data for which we have the order of 0 to 10% of the data available. We collected the 1672 parameters into 6 large groups named “corrtype” and labeled them with numbers from 1 to 6 (it is related to the types of corruption some certain data could be applied for). We also entered data on the size of firms and industries. We created the generic BEEPS indicator that measures the overall quality of the data for assessing corruption using standard methods. We see that for almost all years we have very little sufficient

data to use classical methods for estimating corruption in different countries, even within the framework of such qualitative research as the BEEPS. Thus, we assumed that the use of machine learning technology and the cluster approach should help us fill this gap in the original data. This approach allows us to conduct the analysis more qualitatively than if we would use the classical methods of interview analysis.

The paper suggests that if an analyst uses classical methods for analyzing corruption, he will face the problem that he will lack input data as seen in Figure 1. It is believed that the BEEPS study is one of the highest quality studies on corruption data. It is conducted by leading analytical agencies for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank. Therefore, it is believed that databases like BEEPS are like a treasure trove of useful information about corruption in different sectors in different countries. This method of data analysis is suggested in this paper. It allows analyzing databases, such as BEEPS, which allows a better assessment of the pattern of corruption. Machine learning is used to match each country as accurately as possible to each individual cluster. The results of this cluster analysis are quite logical. The suggested method will make it possible to assess corruption even by the missing input data. This is the advantage of our proposed method.

**Table 1. Descriptive Statistics Representing the BEEPS Data (As Taken From The BEEPS)**

Descriptive Statistics								
Indicator	Variable Type	N obs.	Mean	Min.	25 %	Median	75 %	Max.
BEEPS	Coded factor	4,090	0.980	0	1	1	1	1
year	Numeric	59,619	2007	1999	2005	2008	2009	2014
corrtype1	Coded factor	16,854	1.350	0*	1	2	2	2
corrtype2	Coded factor	16,577	1.036	0*	0	0	0	1
corrtype3	Coded factor	2,697	0.857	0*	2	2	2	2
corrtype4	Coded factor	30,176	1.286	0*	1	2	2	2
corrtype5	Coded factor	6,287	0.788	0*	1	2	2	2
corrtype6	Coded factor	59,619	0.067	0	0	0	0	1
Firm size	Coded factor	21,516	1.776	1	1	2	2	3
Industry	Coded factor	35,255	38.236	2	24	45	52	72

**Notes to the table 1:**

✓ “0\*” is a numerical representation of the code “-9” from the BEEPS which means people denied to answer the question. This “0\*” is not a numerical zero – this mostly is a factor variable that catches the people denied to reply for the certain questions related to a specific corruption type. Since the replies come as factors (except those directly related to a numerical scaling), we cared them properly over the analysis. The descriptive statistics for

the coded factors is given to highlight the distribution of the coded variables (how often there can be met a specific factor in the dataset).

- ✓ Year row interpretation: the accurate mean value is 2007.129 – means year 2007 plus 12.9% of the time of year (late Winter- early Spring 2007); Standard deviation is 3.996; it means the standard deviation from the mean year 2007 is about 4 years.

- ✓ BEEPS – overall indicator performing the cases of corruption when firms receive additional benefits (0-1 estimate);

- ✓ year – specific years of the survey;

- ✓ **corrtype 1 to 6** – represent the different questions related to corruption in the basic BEEPS survey with encoded answers. The main questions that we paid attention to are represented below. We used most of the variables to control for the correctness of the chosen proxies for the MLT. We used all variables included in these categories separately as they are; we just used these macro-categories to make a simpler representation of the analysis and output.

- ✓ **Corruption type 1 (corrtype1)** is payments for implementing the basic needs for the functioning of any business (the main proxy is taken is attaching to electric supply without which no business (with rare exceptions) may run in the country. The main question here sounds like this: “informal gift/payment expected or requested for an electrical connection?”, which can also be controlled by questions like: “how much of an obstacle is electricity to the current operations of this firm?”. We consider electric supply to be a natural monopoly connected with government regulations – if bribery is high within the country, - asking to pay for electricity connection will be on the priority list. The paper considers that almost no business can operate without electricity. Electricity is something most firms need to receive from a natural monopoly (and relatively rarely from other sources). If government corruption exists, - the government allows accepting bribes by its controlled natural monopolies (like electric supplies). The government may also prevent any competitors of entering the electric markets (like alternative energy producers as competitors to the natural monopolies). Firm managers will more fair tell about difficulties in getting electricity than about direct bribery of officials. The research considers electric supply difficulties are something that everybody knows in the country and so managers will speak more freely. That is why this qualitative variable is a proxy for the real 1-st type of corruption in the country. This variable will correlate similar to the real index of the corruption of the 1-st type, but the input data will be fairer. “0\*” means a person denied to reply to this question. “0” – means a person said no. “1” means a person confessed to some indirect clue of corruption (like saying he did not give any bribes as a top-manager or business owner, but telling, for example, he receives 50% of electricity from an owned generator and faces obstacles for operating in the business). This type 1 corruption means the government is unable to remove the obstacles from the natural monopolies by having an inefficient control system that should heathen the good background for the corruption of the 1st type. “2” means there are many shreds of evidence from the top-managers and business owners (respondents of the BEEPS) who directly confess the corruption of the 1st type exists in their country.

- ✓ **Corruption type 2 (corrtype2)** is related to licensing and obtaining the necessary legal documents to function in this country officially. Licensing is taken as a proxy for this corruption type estimation. We would be happy to see a fair reply to the main



question in this group: “unofficial payments to get licenses and permits”, “frequency of unofficial payments/gifts to obtain business licenses and permits” or “when you applied for an operating license was an informal gift requested?”. We understand that people, maybe, not willing to reply fairly to such questions. That is why we do not consider this question as a good proxy for the corruption of the 2nd type for all countries, but just as an important variable. In some countries, people speak more “yes” to these questions, but in some countries, people may reply “no” but hiding the true answer. We could try to establish it from the related questions like: “application to obtain an operating license submitted over last 2 years?” or “obstacle: business licensing and permits (yes/no)”. People will be more freely saying about the true term to get a license, than directly answering if they gave gifts to public officials. One can compare the variation. If it is high, say, for one firms and low for others, this may mean that some firms might use corruption for obtaining permits for operating. That is why a qualitative total output is used. “0\*” means people (top-managers and business owners) denied to answer the set questions; “1” means highest sure there is a corruption of the 2-nd type judging by the answers to the questions. We also had a catch-question “change in total costs if business licensing and permits no longer an obstacle (yes/no/moderately/don’t know/deny to reply)”. If a business pays bribes for licenses but denies saying freely about this, it will, most probably, answer freely if an increase in the official cost of getting a license may become an obstacle. We suggested the sum of the bribe might be incomparable more to license cost; hence, business owners may lose their attention at the price of the license (our assumption). So, if a business owner pays bribes much higher than the license cost – it might not mention the official price of the license as substantial (we have special questions if a firm needs any license at all). We considered it as one of the good clustering questions. We did not put any regression coefficients or analyzing the scales like in the classical approach; we used MLT clustering to judge by answers if a country is within a specific cluster. This gives a huge advantage to the classical approach – we do not interpret or modify the data – we just cluster it with MLT. Thus, this can manage to get sibling-like countries. In addition, it will be sufficient to estimate properly just one from the entire scope (by concentrating all the data we have) to say about the entire cluster (about all the similar countries). In our opinion, this gives us a big advantage in our approach. The values used in the descriptive table mean next: “0\*” means a person denied to reply to this question; “0” – means a person said no; “1” means there are many pieces of evidence from the top-managers and business owners (respondents of the BEEPS) who directly confessed the corruption of the second type exists in their country. Other questions used as control variables for clustering.

✓ **Corruption type 3 (corrtype3)** is created to estimate what percentage of sales a firm should pay to secure its normal functioning. Through the reason we have a limited number of “confessions”, we had to work only with the data when we are sure about the percentage of the contract. A set of questions is used:

- 1) “% of unofficial payments to get licenses and permits”;
- 2) “% of unofficial payments to get connected to public services”;
- 3) “% of unofficial payments to get licenses and permits”;
- 4) “% of unofficial payments to deal with taxes and tax collection”;

- 5) “% of unofficial payments to gain government contracts”;
- 6) “% of unofficial payments when dealing with customs/imports”;
- 7) “% of unofficial payments when dealing with courts”;
- 8) “% of unofficial payments when dealing with health/fire inspections”;
- 9) “% of unofficial payments to influence the content of new laws decrees”;
- 10) “% of unofficial payments for other things”.

For people who denied answering a question we used “0\*”; “0” means people replied no; “1” means there are payments but they are relatively low (comparing to other countries); “2” – other (means firms pay grafts for functioning and often confess it). This corruption type means a business has to go to long-run relations with the public officials to function and pay a certain percentage as a sort of “unofficial salary” to the decision-makers. This part concerns the business corruption for running companies only; it doesn’t cover such cases as, for example, paying % of salary to have a specific position in some company either to public officials or to some company management. We considered this type of corruption is the most difficult to evaluate. This could be a topic for further researches in the field of corruption.

✓ **Corruption type 4 (corrtype4)** is related to foreign companies who potentially may want to enter the local country market if they should be ready to face corruption for this. One of the proxies taken for this estimation is informal gifts and payments needed to obtain import licenses. The primary question was: “application to obtain an import license submitted over the last 2 years?”. If the reply is no – then we did not consider it as a company that may suffer this type of corruption, because either a company has no relation to imports or too much time left to recall the details. If the reply was yes, then we looked at such questions as:

- 1) “when you applied for an import license, was an informal gift requested?”;
- 2) “average number of days for imported goods to clear customs in last fiscal year”;
- 3) “unofficial payments or gifts: to deal with customs or imports”.

For people who denied answering this question we used “0\*”; “0” means people replied no; “1” means there are payments but they are relatively low (comparing to other countries); “2” – other (means firms pay grafts for functioning and often confess it).

✓ **Corruption type 5 (corrtype5)** is related to the possibility to face bribery at normal functioning by inspection officers (like fire inspectors, health inspectors, labor security inspectors, tax inspectors) which can mean additional charges for having smooth business processes. The question sounds like: “in any of these inspections was a gift or informal requested?”. For people who denied answering this question we used “0\*”; 0 means people replied no; 1 means there are payments but they are relatively low (comparing to other countries); 2 – other (means firms pay grafts for functioning and often confess it).

✓ **Corruption type 6 (corrtype6)** is a variable created to estimate the total intensity in dealing with public authorities in terms of corruption based on the scoring system of the expected level of corruption modeled in the survey. Connecting the time variable and corruption type we received the estimation of trends of corruption represented on charts in the presentation to this survey. We understand all types of corruption may be somehow interrelated and even country corruption may be interrelated too – better research data is needed to estimate these effects. This variable is a dummy that is 0 if no clues for estimating any types of corruption, 1 otherwise.

- ✓ Firm size – the size of the companies (small-medium-big);
- ✓ Industry – enlarged industry indicator representing the coded values for classified in this analysis industries (72 industries in total that were compressed to 10 macro-industries in the later analysis).
- ✓ N – number of observations with the related responses.

As we have factor variables in most cases with meaning more than 2 (so, the classical dummy approach is not a remedy), we cannot use the classical regression analysis. We suggest using the MLT clustering to estimate the corruption patterns better.

A couple of strange things in the data were found: All the respondents are either function at point populated with X or work at some sector: 2 surveys combined. Less than 52% of firms have the only owner; 88.8% of firms are domestic (not foreign); 1/3 of firm owners are females. It means, the BEEPS combines several surveys at once. It is better to cluster such data rather than analyze it with the standard methods. 15.27% of firms used corruption to receive electricity supply; Only 40% of firms had no significant problems with a power outage (no more than 2 hours). Corruption exists in every country in Survey: the correlation between the answers when people told they know and replied and the people who told they don't know is – 94%. Thus, in countries with potentially low corruption patterns, we see a greater number of people refusing to answer yes or no. This may mean the countries where we do not observe corruption – still can have a significantly higher level of corruption than can be directly estimated from the BEEPS survey.

## **Methodology**

We see that on many parameters, even in such qualitative studies as BEEPS, we lack data. Consequently, using classical approaches to the analysis of corruption may not be applicable even for very high-quality data. Classical approaches involve the use of regression methods or a rating scale and their further interpretation. It is very difficult to interpret when there is any missing data. It may happen that data on different subjects of different types of corruption may be present for some parameters and absent for others. As a result, we can get incomparable data with the classical approach. This can reduce the quality of the analysis. It is proposed to use machine-learning technologies (MLT) to create clusters of corruption within the framework of different factors and types of corruption. It is expected this approach to be beneficial. It will be enough to split the data into clusters.

At first, it was assessed the data of the survey. There were many variables and many contradictory data in the survey. Even countries were not always easy to identify. For example, country code 46 represents Sweden which has a number of observations, although, it should not be in the database, according to the instructions provided to the data. Some data represent unique case studies of only a few countries. For example, there was a survey devoted to Ukraine and Uzbekistan only. Secondly, there were noticed indicators that could be useful in estimating the potential corruption levels in the countries represented in the survey. It was paid attention that there could be separated into 2 types of corruption. The first type of corruption makes business processes more smooth, for example, firms can provide a gift to receive a better electricity supply or better phone connection (such data can be found in the survey). The second type of corruption should give advantages to the business units, like, for example, receiving a governmental grant. There is a common pattern of the survey. The data is devoted to developing the post-communist world (circa 98% of the data) and some closely related countries (circa 2% of the dataset). We can divide all the countries into several regions:

- ✓ region related to the post-communist countries;

- ✓ Region Europe (it has some overlaps with the previous region);
- ✓ region Vietnam,
- ✓ region South Korea
- ✓ strange regions (Sweden persists in the country codes 46; Switzerland persists as a country code 41 – both countries are unusual for the BEEPS survey and, maybe, data errors or input errors into the primary data).

This division may show us if there are some regional patterns in the data. For example, in Turkey “baksheesh” (kickback) is not related to a bribe; in Korea, gifts may be considered a normal phenomenon. Some geographic regions can have a unique way of development that can show different results in the functioning of the firms.

The three main methods used in this analysis are descriptive statistics, which summarize data from the BEEPS survey using indexes such as means, correlations, standard deviations, and inferential statistics, which draws conclusions from BEEPS data that are subject to random variation (e.g., observational errors (like with data from „Sweden“); and methods related with machine learning techniques for classification of the BEEPS panel data called hcluster [industrial standard method for MLT]).

We see that the most number of observations in the survey is devoted to Russia and some other populated countries; the correlation between the number of observations in the survey and the country population is 91%; however, if we estimate the number of population in the country divided by the number of observations in the BEEPS survey, we will find, that, for example, Russia is double underestimated comparing to the other countries (less number of observations per limited number of population).

The BEEPS data was joined with the 5 databases to estimate the main parameters (source: DBNomics and national statistical offices). We were interested in economic indicators like population, inflation, GDP, GDP deflator, and currency exchange rate changes. These data were necessary to compare the BEEPS data with the macroeconomic data we receive to compare the results from the BEEPS questioning if they do not contradict the macroeconomic data. We found no big contradictions with the macroeconomic indicators of what the respondents were answering. Moreover, we could visually compare the corruption pattern and the macroeconomic indicators like output; the quantitative estimation of them can be a topic for future research.

We suggest MLT k-means and hclusters are sufficient for estimating the different patterns of corruption. They are sufficiently effective for this job. The MLT for clustering uses dots to join the data. Usually, the first step is putting a random dot at the multidimensional field. The number of dimensions is connected with the number of parameters we put into the model. Then the model assigns the second and third multidimensional dots and estimates the potential distance between them. The model continues to put the dots unless no further changes are optimal. MLT gives a huge contribution in minimizing residuals, hence, maximizing the correctness and efficiency of the model. Changes are optimal only when we can put an observational dot so that the distance between the dots inside some cluster is the nearest; at the same time, each dot from each cluster should be as far as possible from other clusters (otherwise additional clustering still makes sense and the model will continue processing the data). Thus, we find the 3 or 4 clusters (optimal for our data) that are maximum different from each other and maximum close to each other. If, for example, we do not have sufficient data for a country named “X” – we can say (judging by the survey responses we have) that it is maximum close to country Z where we have sufficient data. Hence, we can say that the corruption pattern in country “X” is, most probably, similar to the corruption pattern of country Z; at the same time, both X and Z are maximally distant from any countries from different clusters

and maximally close to the countries within their cluster. Some data for some countries may look weird. For example, people deny to reply they pay bribes, but additional questions reveal there should be a good basis for corruption. Therefore, such weird patterned countries will, most probably, turn to another cluster that will collect all such weird patterns and allow the researchers to pay more attention to them. We suggest MLT k-means and MLT hclusters methods to be sufficient to spread the countries by groups.

### **Main Strategy Used**

*There are performed 3 types of analysis.*

1) Analysis of answers where people replied they know about corruption (without mentioning the sums and so on); this was used as a proxy for greasing the wheels corruption – when companies use corruptions to make their business smoother;

2) Analysis of answers where firms replied they gave a certain percentage of the contract to receive the contract – it was used as a proxy for having an advantage corruption – when companies use corruption to beat all their competitors and receive important contracts and deals;

3) Machine learning cluster analysis of corruption (both types of corruption) by the industry patterns, company size patterns (Shemetev, 2012), and corruption types (among these two mentioned) patterns. The results of all the 3 methods were very similar. The results of cluster analysis revealed: Corruption is mostly related to Corporate Size: Neither industry nor geography has a strong impact on participating in corruption as corporate size. 2 previous types of analysis were used to check if MLT output has nothing strange or unusual at these or that assumptions.

### **Empirical Results and Discussion**

Thus, we analyzed the population in each country, GDP, GDP per capita; data from local statistical offices were used to check if the data presented in the BEEPS corresponds with the national statistical offices' data. This data is used to verify the data patterns in the BEEPS survey: if the data we see in the BEEPS survey correlates with the statistics taken from other sources. For example, Russia, as a country with the maximum number of observations in the survey, is chosen as one of the most important sample countries to compare. The results coincided within 20% confidence intervals between the data in BEEPS and local statistical offices. This reveals the BEEPS survey is more or less reliable for analysis.

**Figure2. Corruption Trends Revealed From The BEEPS Data**



Figure 2 is created by the author in the statistical programming language R. CI is the corruption index on the map representing the total percentage of cases where corruption was mentioned; it has a negative (“-“) sign on a scale as a proxy for the penalty for the output. The closer this index to 0 – the better it is for the economy. The formulas for estimating the index are stated below:

$$Y*(1+(CI))^t = rGDP \quad (1),$$

$$CI_i = -100*\sum C_{ij}/n_i \quad (2)$$

Notes:

i – country or region within a country;

j – a specific observation with complex questioning;

Y is an effective output (like effective GDP that could potentially be produced if there would be minimum corruption),

CI – is the corruption index that is negative in our case. For example, if effective GDP is 100 currency units produced for a country – corruption index can reduce it to some number (like 10% (if CI = -10); 15% (if CI = -15)). CI should combine the effective output of a country with the real GDP produced by the country in reality,

$C_{ij}$  – corruption control cluster for a country based on the replies to the most effective estimation questions that are represented below. We used MLT k-means to estimate it. It shows the correction term for a specific country for the corruption level (depending on the cluster the country is in). The more positive answers to any of the most important corruption questions we receive, – the higher will be the value. It is recommended to have data from top-managers of not less than 300 companies of different sectors and sizes for having objectivity. We estimated there is no sense to ask direct questions about the size of profit company pays – we estimated the represented below

questions generate sufficient proxy for clustering for estimating the corruption penalty within the express-method;

$t$  – period (1 year for the CI presented in figure 1),

$n_i$  – the number of observations for a specific country,

rGDP – is the real GDP produced by the country (it is estimated by the national statistical offices and the international bodies like the World Bank or IMF). rGDP can be replaced with rGRP. This is the real gross regional product. If we estimate corruption on the level of regions if the data is available – CI then should be estimated for a region in the same way as for a specific country.

Calculating CI – is an express-method for getting a proxy for the estimation of the corruption (may be used k-means or hclust methods described above). It is important to follow the next algorithm to create this index for a country. The first step is creating a dummy variable for each observation that is equal to 1 if any of the corruption cases persists and is confirmed by the positive answer of top-manager or business-owner (the list of express-method questions is represented below). This can be any positive answer by any type of corruption question for a specific observation. The research suggested the next 5 questions to be the most effective and even sufficient for estimating the corruption for express-method:

- ✓ What % of senior management time was spent dealing with government regulations?  
Explanation: This is a control proxy – if time is too high, - this should cause suspicions.
- ✓ Was an informal gift or payment requested in any of these inspections?
- ✓ What percentage of contract value average firm pays in informal gifts to the government to secure a contract?
- ✓ When you applied for an operating license was an informal gift requested?
- ✓ Was an informal gift/payment expected or requested for a construction-related permit?

This method is quite easy and, at the same time, effective to estimate the corruption at the country-level, if questionnaires are made by respected companies like Nielsen for a country. This method generates a proxy that estimates corruption losses from indexes. It can be used as an express method to estimate the countries for corruption patterns. This research revealed these questions are the most effective (out of 1672 questions) to estimate the corruption level. These questions may potentially be slightly modified. Then, even simple k-means in R with the simplest MLT package could perform this express analysis without losing much time and effort. At the same time, such an approach can easily save time and money at planning and performing researches about corruption. Any researcher can perform this questionnaire on condition if he will be able to represent his questioning at a similarly high level as it would do a respected international agency or company.

It is considered 3 to 4 to be an optimal k-value for dividing the clusters for the countries represented in the BEEPS survey for the clustering like k-means (we prove this hypothesis below). Researchers may use  $\theta = 1$  to calibrate their model.

Our model performed the next summary statistics for the corruption penalty in terms of CI. Minimum is 0%; 1 quintile is -3.43%; median is -6.5%; mean -6.1%; 3 quintile -8.8%; max -18.73%. Our data is skewed in distribution. Generally, the countries interviewed in BEEPS more tend to suffer corruption patterns closer to minimum values rather than to maximum (the most popular values), although, we have some significant corruption outliers that shift the median away from the mean. We think corruption takes a part of the output as a penalty. The research suggests one may use this express method with express questions to estimate the approximate level of the corruption

penalty within a region or a country. One only needs to guarantee the quality of questioning, including the need for the research to be representative.

Corruption index is developed in this research penalty for corruption that country or region has each period. Each year country loses part of the output on corruption. Corruption brings negative effects on the economy. If this is “grease wheels” corruption or “taking advantage” corruption, – this all grants an unfair advantage and turns the competition from the main market principles. This always is less effective than if the competition would be fair.

We think CI suggested in this research has an advantage over the international corruption indexes, because international indexes are made, to some extent, by expert conclusions and are like a black box for the external observer. Our index has a computation basis for estimation. Improvement of our CI can be a topic for future research.

The paper suggests a more complex cluster analysis using the majority of the questions from the BEEPS (not just a few like in the previous research for the most effective questions). It is important to notice the 4 cluster groups can be revealed in the BEEPS data using machine learning technologies. Clusters C1-C3 are ranged by the machine-learning clustering technology according to the score of the expected corruption that business uses. In “Minimal corruption cluster” (C1) – corruption is more a rare phenomenon and is expected to be usually used for making business operations smoother and, usually, bigger firms may have more deals with corruption in this cluster. “Heavy corruption cluster” (C3) reveals the second type of corruption is maximum often to be expected, like, using gifts for having contracts; we may expect that firms in this cluster pay up to 100% to grafts for having contracts and for running a business. “Intermediate Corruption Cluster” (C2) is an intermediate cluster between C1 and C3 that has signs of both types of corruption at a higher level than in C1 and lower level than in C3 countries; firms pay grafts, usually from 20 to 50% of the contracts. “Potentially high corruption cluster” (CX) is related to the countries where machine learning could not establish a clear pattern related to cluster C2 or C3. Although, the pattern is different than in C1 as well; therefore we may suggest in such countries corruption level can be potentially high, but human confession is relatively low that is why the BEEPS survey is insufficient to give a perfect picture in these countries. These countries cannot be directly categorized from the BEEPS data. The main significant factor uniting all the clusters is the company size – big companies more often use corruption of the second type to have an advantage, while small ones try to use it to have more smooth business processes (like having fewer losses from inspection). Interesting results can be seen from the cluster analysis: Georgian managers say they have a similar level of corruption to Germany; Turkey has a unique corporate corruption pattern that doesn’t look similar to any other country (according to the replies). Vietnam, although provided little data can have similar cluster corporate corruption pictures with Macedonia; Romania; Kazakhstan; Azerbaijan; Armenia. Such results were received by seeing the output of the machine learning technologies for clustering.



**Figure3. Corruption Clusters Revealed From The BEEPS Data**



Figure 3 is an important key to understanding our research. We see corruption has 4 clusters and no direct geographical pattern. CX cluster is the cluster with the weird pattern. One can observe enhanced corruption patterns in the post-communist world. One might assume this could be the consequences of the regimes of the past. Most countries have positive patterns of corruption which means corruption decreases. It is analyzed internal corruption only, that is, corruption within each particular country or region (there performed a regional analysis for Russia that revealed the highest corruption patterns are closer to the central and eastern parts of the country in percentages, but not in absolute numbers). We understand that analyzing Russia by its regions could be a topic for future researches. We saw that higher levels of corruption correlate with lower levels of the GDP. We pretend the idea of the method for calculating the penalty for corruption for the output is new (compared to the other literature we studied).

### **Conclusion**

We prove the categorization of corruption that partially corresponds with prominent researches. For example, corruption types 2 and 4 corresponds with a subtype of legal harassment (Jain, 2001; Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011); however, we split this type of corruption for foreign companies entering the local markets (type 4) and type 2 – for the domestic firms. We think such splitting provides more precise information for businesses. Foreign companies entering the local markets (or foreign investors) want to know how to be better prepared for the corruption they may potentially face entering some local market. Domestic companies would like to know corruption barriers from competitors abroad and barriers for their potential foreign investors they may face; type 4 would be important for them. Type 2 is important for local companies to understand the situation better. It becomes even more important if we are able to receive regional data. Companies may be interested to know what to be prepared to enter the markets in other regions of the same country. Thus, splitting corruption that makes difference with (Jain, 2001; Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011) creates practical application benefits, this study suggests.

In addition, some researchers (Thompson, 2018; Silver and Rand, 1978) suggested that corruption in taking advantage of the competitors is the most devastating form of corruption. It maximizes the losses of business and society. It is very difficult to estimate this form of corruption

from the data, because entrepreneurs may tend to deviate from direct answering „yes“ to this question. They may not want to confess. They may want to preserve the competitive advantage they received at the price of corruption. We suggested a proxy that is easier to get and simpler to implement. Corruption type 1 (in addition to corruption types 2 and 4) is designed to catch this. We suggested if this form of corruption is widespread – it should touch the primary branch necessary for any type of business (electric supply). The easiest way to prevent competitors from entering the market is to prevent them from getting electricity. This guarantees the maximum advantage. Small businesses are less likely to be powerful enough to use this corruption type. Thus, they can reply fair to the questions about the difficulties with the electric supply with higher probabilities. Businesses of all sizes may contribute to answering these questions. Small business units may be fairer. Thus, this is a proxy obtained from a wider range of sources that make more opportunities to get a piece of qualitative information. If there is a problem with electric supply, there are higher probabilities there are difficulties with the type 1 corruption as well, this study suggests.

Corruption type 3 is another type of information. It could be so that the business pays interest from its revenue or profit to some public officials for having absolute benefits. We decided to split this „taking advantage“ into 4 types of corruption. And since „greasing the wheels“ and „taking advantage“ are not expected to be corner solutions (when businesses aim at only one purpose at once), at some measure these types of corruption may measure both of the mentioned in scientific literature types (legal and bureaucratic harassments). This creates additional new points in this research compared to the scientific literature.

Corruption type 5 is a suggested proxy for “greasing the wheels” corruption (Méon and Weill, 2010). Unlike the study of (Méon and Weill, 2010), we suggest using a proxy to have a better opportunity to view this type of business. Such an approach creates a practical application benefit, – it becomes easier to evaluate and estimate this type of corruption. Small businesses will more likely use this type of corruption and more likely answer these questions about the inspections they face.

Another interesting pattern is revealed that each company confesses in a maximum of only 1 type of corruption (0 cases when it is not true) in all countries in all periods in the survey. No firm paid, say, gift for more than 1 thing like if a company paid for electricity supply – it did not pay gift for anything else. It means BEEPS merged several questionnaires in one dataset. It makes more benefit in applying our approach that can deal with such a pattern and still effectively evaluate corruption from the cluster analysis. The free software (programming language R) used to receive these results.

We see that big firms tend to use “taking advantage” of corruption, while small firms tend “to grease their wheels”. We suggest small firms are difficult to act together as a one team. Hence, each small firm has few opportunities to gain money for “taking advantage” through corruption. Big companies are more interesting for public officials. They tend to pay more attention to these types of businesses. Therefore, big businesses might have an incentive to deviate from fair market practices and apply corruption to bit their competitors and secure the market positions. Firm becomes closer to an oligopoly position at the market when securing the market position. A country may lose rather than win from corruption. This is visible from the concept of the penalty for corruption. Our suggested method for estimating the CI may be improved in future researches. It may become more precise.

## **Summary**

There are several types of corruption. Two of them create two main patterns of corruption. Corruption of the first type can be called “greasing the wheels corruption”. It means that business participates in it to make some business processes smooth and make bureaucratic procedures easier.

Corruption of the second type is connected with the legal issues and has, thus, benefits over their competitors. Both types of corruption are devastating to the economy. Corruption creates incentives for fair agents (like politicians or firms) to become unfair ones. Bigger firms have higher incentives for participating in corruption procedures. On the other hand, unfair public officials are more interested in working with bigger companies because they can pay more. We can say that company size is the main factor that influences corruption.

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