



# REPORT on WORKING CLASS PROTESTS in TÜRKİYE 2023



This report has been prepared with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Association's Turkey Representation.



# WORKING CLASS PROTESTS REPORT 2023

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We would like to thank Cihan Hüröğlü and Osman Demirci for their help in the preparation of the report.

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**WORKING CLASS  
PROTESTS  
REPORT  
2023**

protests

2023

report

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# Summary

**2023** saw high inflation and price increases erode the wages of workers and civil servants. In response, workers, particularly those employed under collective bargaining agreements in unionized workplaces, engaged in numerous protests demanding the renewal of contract terms and the signing of additional protocols.

Unlike 2022, when we witnessed a wave of non-legal strikes, particularly among non-unionized workers, 2023 saw a focus on protests by unionized workers within the framework of their collective bargaining demands. In this context, the protests of metalworkers against MESS (Turkish Employers' Association of Metal Industries), the protests of municipal workers for additional protocols, and the collective bargaining protests by civil servants emerged as the prominent protests of the year.

After the earthquakes on February 6, which affected 10 cities in Turkey and resulted in an official death toll of 53,000, the country's agenda changed completely. By February 2023, there had been a decrease in the number of worker protests compared to previous years. In the post-earthquake period, the general elections in May dominated the national agenda. It is difficult to determine whether the elections had a direct positive or negative effect on worker protests. However, after the elections, particularly in the summer months, it was observed that workers carried out more protests demanding wage increases, due to the significant negative impact of inflation on wages. As a result of this wave of protests, a minimum wage increase took place in July 2023. Notably, municipal workers and health workers in the public sector organized nationwide protests.

In 2023, a total of 1,654 worker and civil servant protest events were reported in the press. In other words, the Turkish working class carried out an average of 4.5 protests per day in 2023. The number of individual protests was 1,556 in 2022, with a daily average of 4.3. When we aggregate consecutive individual protests related to the same issue, for example, multiple protests in a workplace concerning a particular issue, the 1,654 individual protests are grouped under 809 protest cases. These include industrial, political, and solidarity protest cases. The number of industrial protest cases was 562, political protest cases was 225, and solidarity protest cases was 22.

From 2022 to 2023, the number of political protest cases decreased from 275 to 225, and the number of industrial protest cases decreased from 600 to 562.

In 2023, the number of industrial protest cases was 562, with 99,000 participants. Compared to 2022, which witnessed a wave of non-legal strikes in the first two months and the highest number of industrial protest cases since 2015, there was a decline in both the number of protests and participants in 2023. However, it should be noted that the number of industrial protests in 2023 was the second-highest level since 2022. To briefly recall, the number of industrial protest cases in 2015 was 628, but during the authoritarian period from 2016 to 2019, it dropped to a range of 420-438. In 2020, due to government policies favouring employers during the pandemic, this number decreased further to 389. This number rose to 468 in 2021 and reached 600 in 2022. In 2021, the number of participants in industrial protests increased to 83,000, the highest since 2016. In 2022, this number surged to 155,000, surpassing even the 2015 "Metal Storm."

	PROTEST CASES	AVG. NUMBER OF PROTESTERS
2015	749	220,050
2016	608	139,105
2017	614	156,294
2018	633	144,803
2019	624	371,544
2020	710	66,803
2021	826	122,857
2022	875	209,649
2023	876	201,990
	<b>6,515</b>	<b>1,633,095</b>

On the other hand, in 2022, 72% of industrial protest cases aimed at enhancing rights, marking a significant increase compared to previous years, as noted in our previous report. In 2023, this figure was slightly lower at 71%. Thus, similar to 2022, the majority of worker protests in 2023 focused on improving rights.

In 2023, protests related to collective bargaining agreements (CBA) were particularly prominent. Protests for additional protocol agreements were categorized under both CBA and 'Additional payment.' The percentage of de facto strikes increased from 30% in 2022 to 32% in 2023. This slight rise can be attributed to workers and civil servants from various sectors frequently going on de facto strikes to push for their CBA demands. In particular, metalworkers, who regularly engaged in de facto strikes for three months during the MESS period, contributed to this increase.

In conclusion, based on the data from 2023, it can be said that the rise seen in 2022 was largely sustained, particularly with the continued increase in de facto strikes.

## Key aspects of 562 industrial protest cases

### 99 THOUSAND

The approximate number of workers participating in industrial protest cases.

### 47% PERMANENT WORKERS

47% of industrial protests were carried out by permanent/regular employees in the private sector. 19% of the protests were carried out by public workers, and 15% by workers employed in public subcontractors and municipal companies.

### 54% PRESS RELEASE

In 54% of industrial protest cases, press releases were issued. In 32% of the cases, de facto strikes occurred, while 13% involved simple protests in the workplace, and 10% included long-term protests.

### 40% COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT

40% of industrial protest cases were related to collective bargaining demands. In 15% of the cases, layoffs were the cause, while an additional protocol played a role in another 15%, and unionization was a factor in approximately 12%.

### 8 DAYS

The average duration of the 562 industrial protest cases is 8 days. On the other hand, 340 of these cases (60%) were completed within a single day.

### 35% STOPPAGE

In 35% of industrial protest cases, workers stopped or slowed production. This percentage was the same in 2022.

### 71% ENHANCING WORKERS' RIGHTS

71% of industrial protest cases focused on expanding rights, while the rest were aimed at defending existing ones. In 2021, this proportion was 65%, rising to 72% in 2022. A similar pattern continued in 2023.

### 2,485 DISMISSED

At least 2,485 workers were dismissed for seeking their rights. Among them, 1,250 were dismissed due to unionization.

### 16% METAL

16% of industrial protest cases occurred in the metal industry, 15% in general services, and 7% in the health and social services sector.

### 61% TRADE UNION

61% of industrial protest cases were organized by trade unions, 18% by public sector unions, and 19% were carried out independently by workers without any organizational involvement.

### GENEL İŞ

The unions that organized the highest number of protest cases are led by Genel-İş, affiliated with DİSK, with 52 cases, followed by Birleşik Metal with 46 cases, and SES, affiliated with KESK, with 34 cases.

## 225 Political protest cases

### 102,705 THOUSAND

The approximate number of workers participating in political protest cases, including May Day rallies and demonstrations

### 40% MAY DAY

The leading cause of political protest cases is May Day, accounting for 40%. This is followed by low wages at 14% and workers' health and safety at 8%.

### 67% PRESS RELEASE

The most common type of protest is press release. This is followed by rallies at 19% and simple workplace protests at 9%.

### 35% DİSK

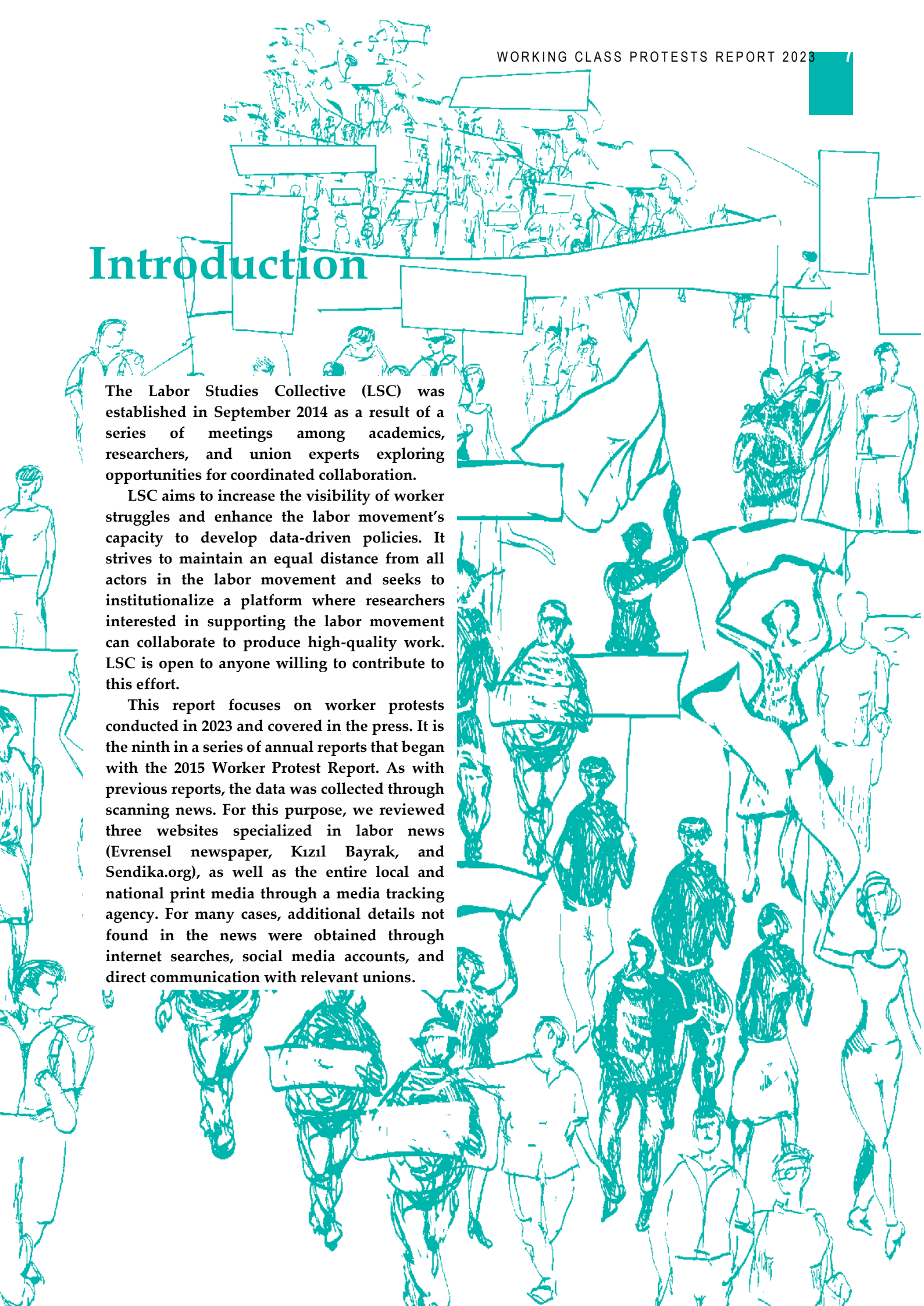
35% of political protest cases were organized by unions affiliated with DİSK, followed by 28% by KESK and 15% by Türk-İş.

# Introduction

The Labor Studies Collective (LSC) was established in September 2014 as a result of a series of meetings among academics, researchers, and union experts exploring opportunities for coordinated collaboration.

LSC aims to increase the visibility of worker struggles and enhance the labor movement's capacity to develop data-driven policies. It strives to maintain an equal distance from all actors in the labor movement and seeks to institutionalize a platform where researchers interested in supporting the labor movement can collaborate to produce high-quality work. LSC is open to anyone willing to contribute to this effort.

This report focuses on worker protests conducted in 2023 and covered in the press. It is the ninth in a series of annual reports that began with the 2015 Worker Protest Report. As with previous reports, the data was collected through scanning news. For this purpose, we reviewed three websites specialized in labor news (Evrensel newspaper, Kızıl Bayrak, and Sendika.org), as well as the entire local and national print media through a media tracking agency. For many cases, additional details not found in the news were obtained through internet searches, social media accounts, and direct communication with relevant unions.



# Key concepts in the report

## WORKING CLASS

Anyone employed for wages is defined as a member of the “working class.” This definition includes all workers and employees (white-collar /blue-collar, secure/ precarious), as well as civil servants.

## LEGAL AND NON-LEGAL STRIKES

Strikes conducted in accordance with the relevant law following a deadlock in collective bargaining negotiations are referred to as legal strikes. All other strikes are categorized as non-legal strikes. Non-legal strikes are typically short in duration. Although rare, when a non-legal strike escalates into a workplace occupation, it is classified as a workplace occupation as well.

## PROTEST CASE, PROTEST EVENT and TYPES

Three types of protest case are defined in the report.

### 1. Industrial protest case

Industrial protest cases are carried out by workers at a specific workplace to address issues or demands related to that workplace. This concept is inspired by the research conducted by İrfan Kaygısız in 2013 and 2014. It can last from a few hours to several months. It may occur not only at a single workplace but also simultaneously across multiple workplaces of the same company. These protests can also take place outside the workplace. If a second protest occurs at the same workplace within the same year for a different reason, it is considered a separate case.

On the other hand, simultaneous protests carried out at different workplaces targeting the same employer and for the same reason are considered a single workplace-based protest case. A typical example of this is when civil servants from a ministry hold press release in front of that ministry's buildings in different cities on the same day.

For instance, if workers organize press releases on four consecutive Saturdays regarding an issue at their workplace, we define this as a single workplace-based protest case. However, we record these as four individual protest events within that case.

In the report, we use the terms “event” and “case.” As seen in the two examples mentioned above, multiple events can take place within a single case. An event refers to a single protest as commonly understood in everyday language.

### 2. Political protest case

We define political protest cases as worker protests that address broader demands related to working life or political demands beyond the workplace, aimed at influencing political authorities or the public.

Similar to industrial protest cases, political protest cases can also include multiple events carried out simultaneously. For example, we classified a trade union's series of press releases over several days in different cities to voice a general demand to the government as a single political protest case. Similarly, a union setting up a petition campaign in a city centre for five days and holding two mass demonstration together with press statements in the same square during that period was counted as a single political protest case. However, May Day protests held in different cities were considered separate political protest cases due to the diversity and plurality of participants in each location.

### 3. Solidarity protest case

Solidarity protest cases are carried out by a group of workers in support of the struggles of workers at another workplace.

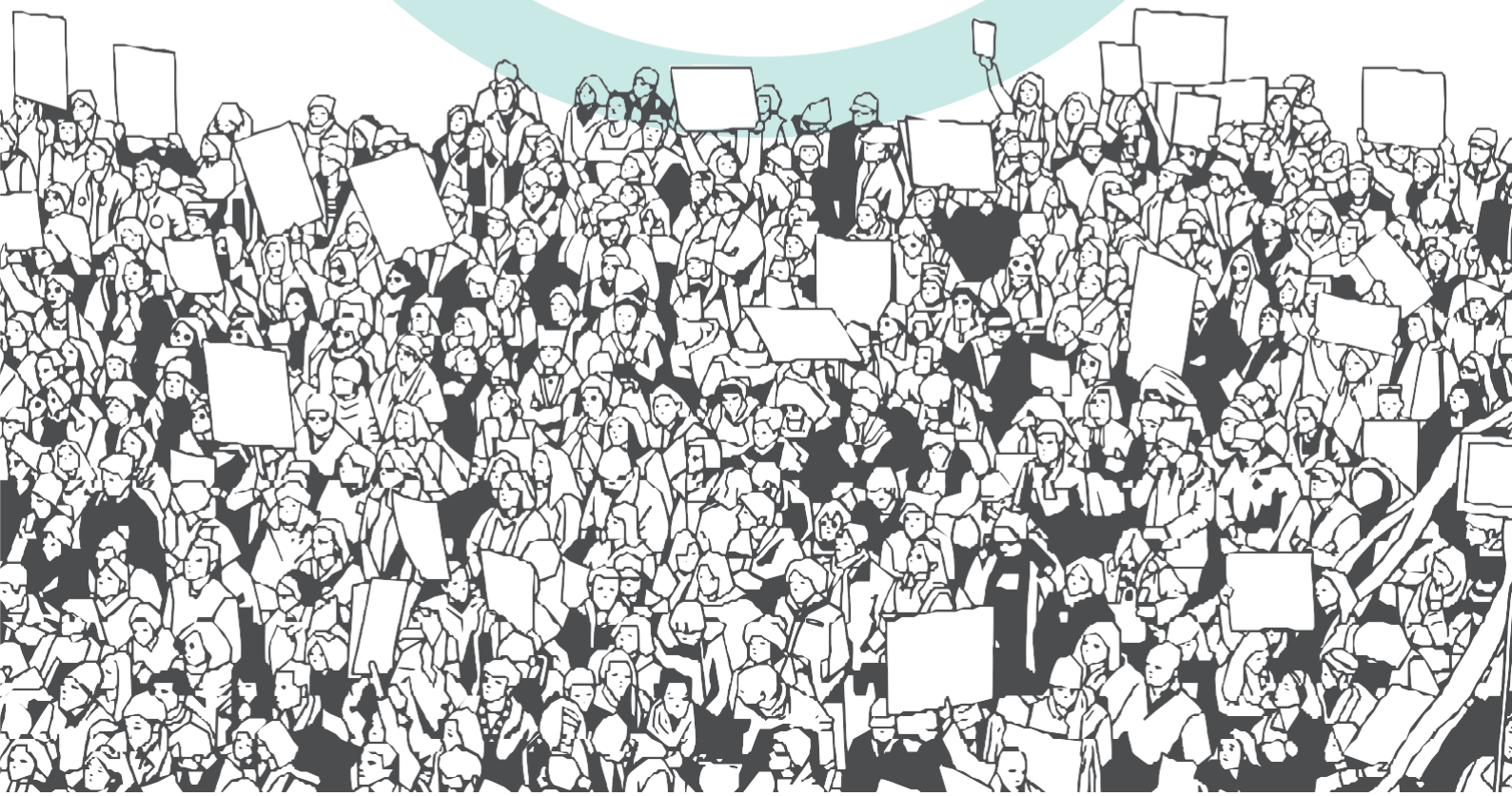
# 2023 Overview





## Overview

Industrial protests accounted for 69% of the total 809 cases in 2023, the same proportion as in 2022. During 2020 and 2021, the number of industrial protests decreased due to the pandemic. However, in 2022, there was an increase in such protests, driven by a wave of non-legal strikes. Despite the absence of a similar strike wave in 2023, the consistency of these figures suggests that this upward trend in industrial protests may continue.



## Working Class Protests 2015-2023

YEAR	INDUSTRIAL CASES	POLITICAL AND SOLIDARITY CASES	TOTAL
2015	610	139	749
2016	420	188	608
2017	438	178	616
2018	420	213	633
2019	424	196	620
2020	389	317	706
2021	468	359	827
2022	600	275	875
2023	562	247	809

A total of 809 protest cases were observed in 2023. In 2015, 749 cases were recorded, while between 2016 and 2019, the numbers decreased and remained stable in the range of 608 to 633. During these four years, marked by extraordinary political conditions and authoritarianism stemming from the coup attempt and the subsequent state of emergency, the number of workplace-based protests hovered between 420 and 438. In 2020, the number of workplace-based protest cases dropped further to 389. However, in 2021, there was a significant rise, with industrial protest cases increasing from 389 to 468 and political protest cases rising from 317 to 359. This marked a notable increase in the working class's inclination to assert their rights and protest. This trend in 2021 was a precursor and the first step toward the continued rise observed in 2022.

In 2022, high inflation eroded wages, prompting a significant surge in worker activism across Turkey. It was the year with the highest number of protest cases since 2015 and the largest participation in workplace-based protests. The first two months of 2022 witnessed a massive wave of non-legal strikes, which we documented in a report with the Newspaper Evrensel in March 2022, highlighting its key characteristics. This wave set the tone for the rest of the year, elevating the overall indicators for 2022. In 2021, the number of participants in workplace-based protests had risen to 83,000, the highest figure since 2016. In 2022, this number surged to 155,000, surpassing even the levels recorded in 2015.

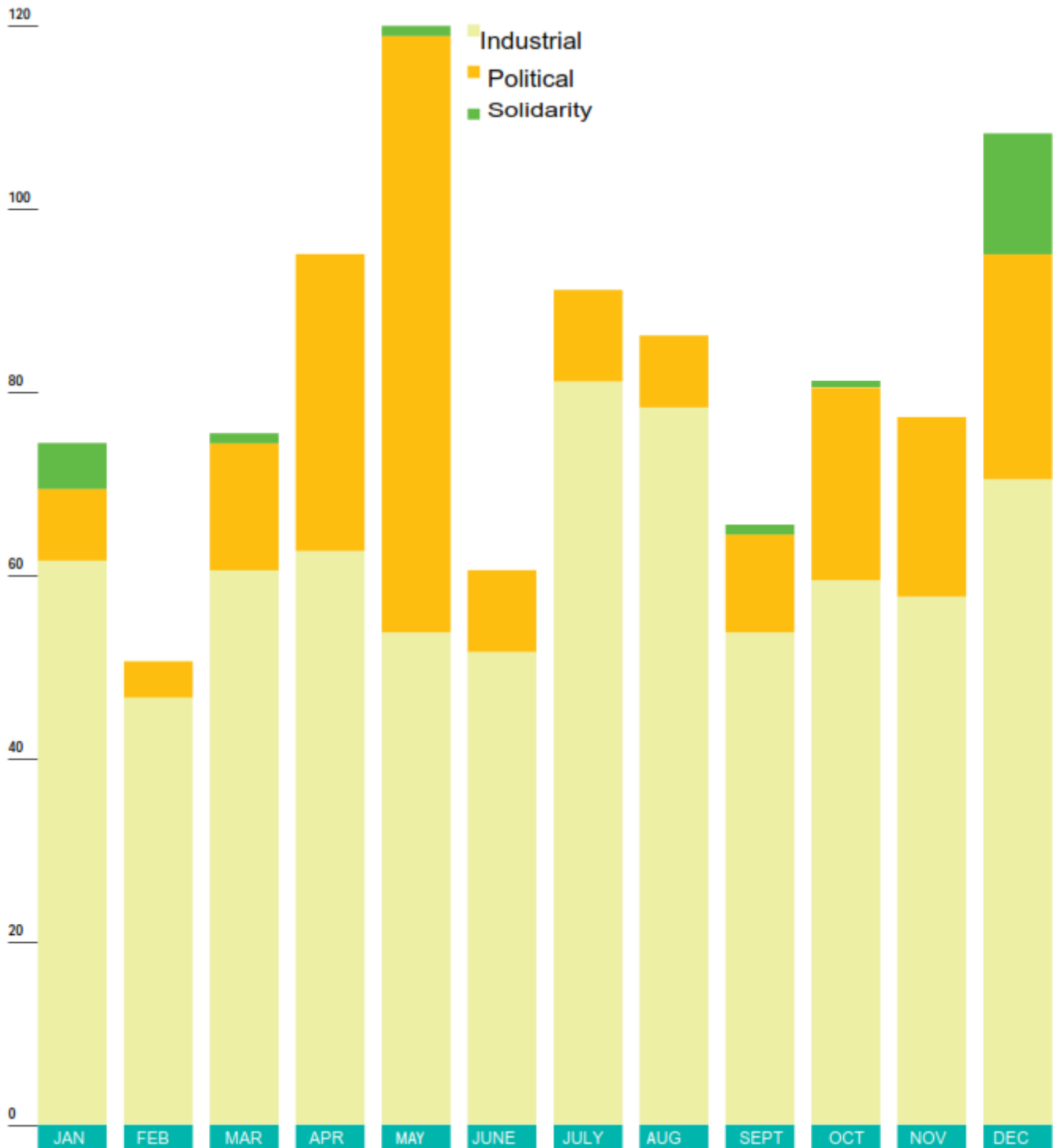
In 2023, although the number of industrial protests slightly decreased compared to 2022, it still reached the second-highest level since 2015. The earthquakes in February 2023, which affected 10 cities in Turkey, significantly altered the national agenda and directly impacted worker mobilization that year. Additionally, an increase in protest activity was observed in the post-election period. The primary driver of this rise was the persistently high inflation and its severe negative impact on wages. Protests starting in late May predominantly focused on demands for wage increases. One significant outcome of this wave of protests was the 34% additional raise in the minimum wage announced on July 23, 2023.

The wave of strikes and industrial protests in 2022 largely stemmed from the demands of workers in non-unionized workplaces for wage increases. In contrast, the defining protests of 2023 were predominantly led by workers under collective bargaining agreements, focusing on improving the conditions of these agreements with demands for additional raises and additional protocols. This shift is reflected in the increase in the proportion of cases organized by trade unions, which rose from 49% in 2022 to 61% in 2023. Key protest waves of 2023 included protests by metal workers during the collective bargaining process, civil servants during their collective bargaining negotiations, and municipal workers engaged in nationwide additional protocol protests.

In 2023, a total of 1,654 protest events were carried out. In other words, the Turkish working class carried out an average of 4.5 protests per day in 2023. By comparison, the number of protest events in 2022 was 1,556, with a daily average of 4.3.

## Protest Cases by Month

The graph shows the total number of protest cases that occurred within each month. Long-term protest cases are counted again for each month they continued, which is why the monthly totals exceed the annual total. On average, 83 protest cases occurred per month in 2023.



# Industrial Protests

In this section of the report, we will focus on industrial protest cases. In 2023, 562 industrial cases included a total of 1,318 protest events.

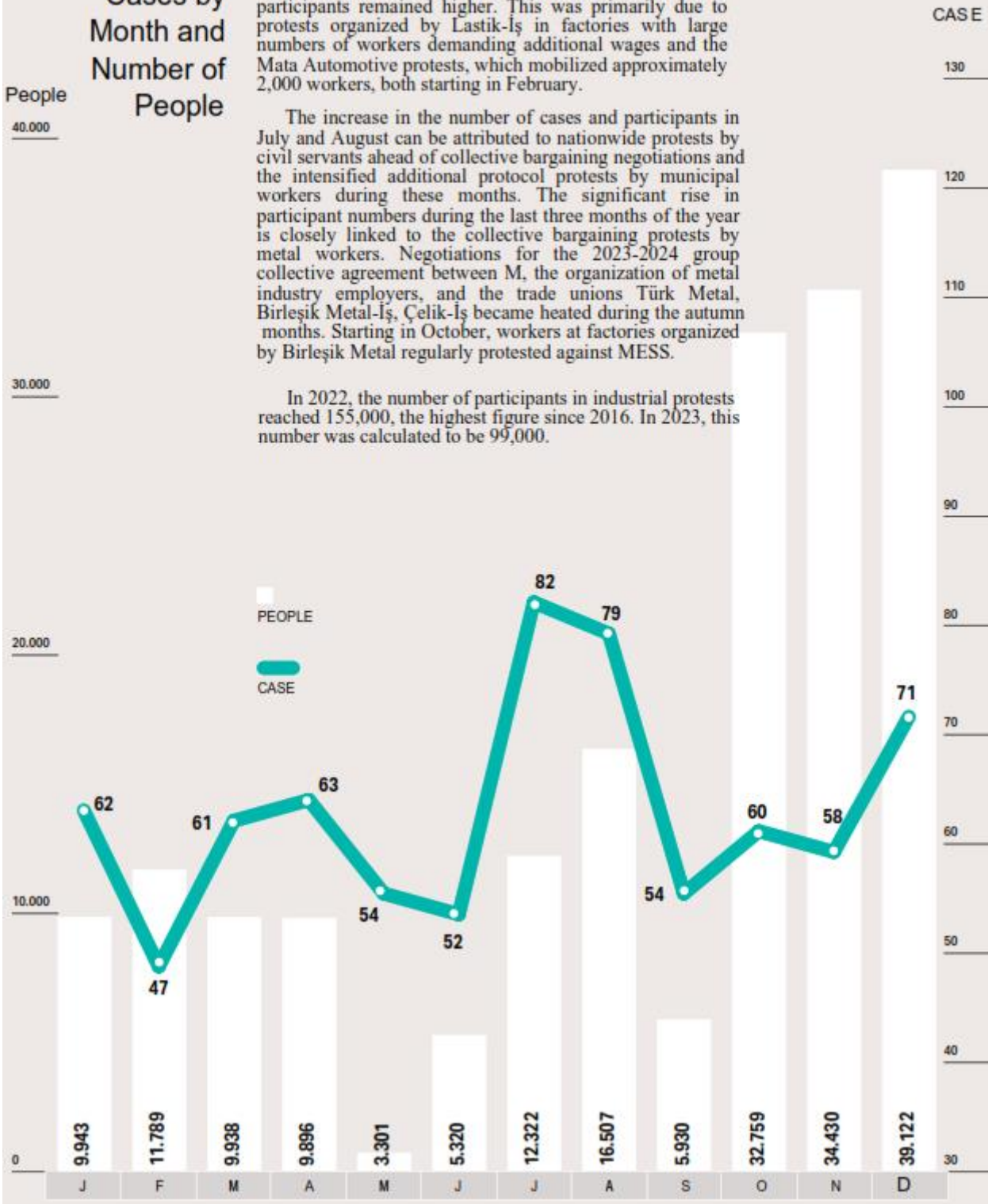


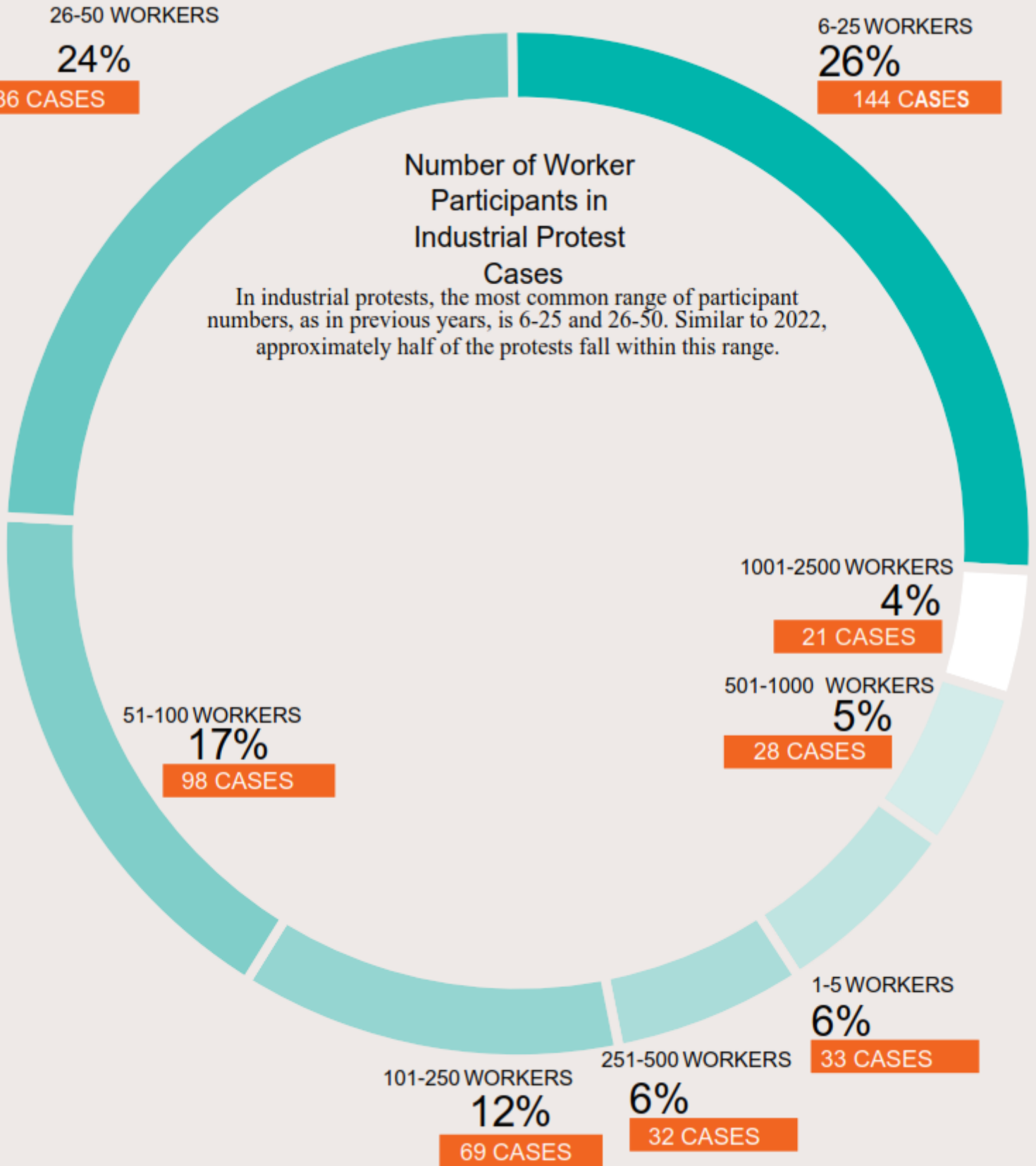
### Industrial Cases by Month and Number of People

The graph shows the monthly number of cases and participants. Although the number of cases decreased in February 2023 due to the earthquake, the number of participants remained higher. This was primarily due to protests organized by Lastik-İş in factories with large numbers of workers demanding additional wages and the Mata Automotive protests, which mobilized approximately 2,000 workers, both starting in February.

The increase in the number of cases and participants in July and August can be attributed to nationwide protests by civil servants ahead of collective bargaining negotiations and the intensified additional protocol protests by municipal workers during these months. The significant rise in participant numbers during the last three months of the year is closely linked to the collective bargaining protests by metal workers. Negotiations for the 2023-2024 group collective agreement between M, the organization of metal industry employers, and the trade unions Türk Metal, Birleşik Metal-İş, Çelik-İş became heated during the autumn months. Starting in October, workers at factories organized by Birleşik Metal regularly protested against MESS.

In 2022, the number of participants in industrial protests reached 155,000, the highest figure since 2016. In 2023, this number was calculated to be 99,000.





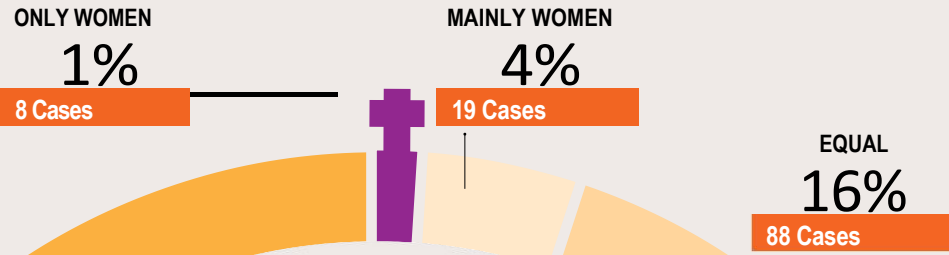
### Contract type in industrial protests (%)

Permanent - Private	47
Civil servant	19
Subcontracted - Public	15
Regular worker - Public	10
Subcontracted - Private	8
Irregular workers	2

47% of the protest cases in 2023 were organized by permanent workers in private sector. They are not subcontracted workers, and do not work irregularly. The distribution of employment status in 2023 aligns with the annual averages of the 2015–2021 period.

In 2023, the proportion of permanent workers in private sector and civil servants showed a slight decrease compared to 2022. On the other hand, the proportion of protest cases organized by workers employed through subcontracted employees in the public sector (including state and municipalities) increased from 10% to 15%. Considering that the vast majority of additional protocol protests were carried out by subcontracted employees in municipalities, this increase is understandable.





### Gender in industrial protests

The proportion of cases in industrial protests where the number of women was equal to or greater than the number of men was 21% in 2022. In 2023, this proportion was similarly 20%. The predominance of men in these protests is primarily related to the fact that the proportion of men in employment is significantly higher than that of women. Additionally, the sectors with particularly high numbers of protests in 2023, such as the metal and general services sectors, are male-dominated industries.



## Types in industrial protests

	CASES	%
Press release	305	54
Non-legal strike	181	32
Simple protest at the workplace	75	13
Lon-term resistance	43	8
March	32	6
Legal strike	12	2
Slowdown	7	2
Sit-in	6	1
Climbing a crane or rooftop	6	1
Refusing overtime	4	1
Occupying an educational institution	4	1
Petition campaign	3	1
Not leaving the workplace or occupation	3	1
Other	3	1

The graph displays the types in 562 industrial protest cases. It should be noted that multiple individual protests and multiple types of protests can occur in a single case. This is why the total percentages exceed 100%.

In 2023, at least one press release was made in 54% of the 562 industrial protest cases. This type of protest has been the most dominant since 2015, for understandable reasons.

In 2022, we observed an increase in the proportion of non-legal-strikes. It can be said that this upward trend continued in 2023. The proportion of non-legal strikes, which was 30% in 2022, rose to 32% in 2023. This is the highest rate recorded since we began our research in 2015.

In third place, unlike previous years, is the category "simple protest at the workplace," which we use for protests carried out within the workplace that do not slow down or halt production. Workplace marches and protests with applause fall under this category.

The proportion of long-term resistance type has decreased compared to previous years, ranking fourth at 8%. This type of protest generally refers to long-lasting protests, often involving workers who were dismissed after unionization efforts and set up tents in front of their workplace.

In fifth place, at 6%, are marches conducted outside the workplace. Legal strikes follow in sixth place at 2%. The proportions of these two types of protests have shown only a slight decline compared to 2022.

The creative protest type known as "occupying an educational institution," implemented by the Private Sector Teachers' Union, was included in our 2022 report and has maintained its position on the list in 2023. For instance, this includes protests against private schools that force employees to work on official holidays, protesting and exposing these practices.

When we cross-examine protest types with employment types, it is worth noting that the proportion of press statements among public employees rises to 93%, the proportion of non-legal strikes among subcontracted employees rises to 43%, and the proportion of lon-term resistance among workers in private sector rises to 10%.



## Causes for industrial protests

	CASES	%
Collective labor agreement	227	40.4
Dismissal	87	15.5
Additional protocol	85	15.1
Low wages	67	11.9
Wage theft while at work	63	11.2
Unionization	62	11.0
Worker health and occupational accidents	35	6.2
Working conditions	29	5.2
Earthquake	23	4.1
Post-dismissal wage Severance pay theft	21	3.7
Inactive trade union	18	3.2
Intimidation, arbitrary penalties	18	3.2
Workload, excessive overtime	16	2.8
Bank promotions	13	2.3
Demand for permanent employment and tenure	11	2

The graph above shows the reasons for industrial protests observed in at least 10 cases. It should be noted that most cases involved more than one reason for the protest. For example, in the case of workers dismissed for unionizing and engaging in long-term resistance in front of their workplace, both unionization and dismissal were coded as reasons. Similarly, in protests where workers opposed dismissal and the theft of their severance pay, both dismissal and post-dismissal wage/severance pay theft were coded as reasons. In total, 843 reasons were recorded across 562 industrial protest cases.

In 2022, low wages were the leading reason for protests, accounting for 36%. In 2023, however, collective labor agreements took the lead with 40.4%. The main reason for this shift was the erosion of existing agreements due to high inflation and rising costs.. One of the main reasons for this was the protests by workers covered by collective labor agreements demanding

the signing of "additional protocols" to address the erosion of their contracts due to high inflation and rising costs. Additional protocol protests are carried out by workers to increase their wages without waiting for a new collective labor agreement process when the wages determined in the previous one have been eroded by high inflation. Protests demanding additional protocols were coded under the reasons "Collective bargain" and "Additional Protocol." In 2023, 84 protests were held demanding the implementation of additional protocols to increase wages and social benefits based on previously negotiated collective bargain agreements. This shows that additional protocol protests accounted for 15% of all industrial protests.

Apart from additional protocol protests, collective bargain-related protests by unionized workers aimed at improving their existing rights also remained high in 2023. The increase in protests related to this reason was particularly driven by metal and petrochemical workers' collective bargain protests.



## Durations in industrial protests

Number of days	Cases	%
0-1	340	60
2-7	146	26
8-14	41	7
15-30	11	2
31-60	9	2
61+	15	3

The graph above shows the durations of protests in industrial protests cases. These rates have remained relatively consistent since 2015. The proportion of protests that were carried out and concluded within a single day is 60%. This rate was 64% in 2022 and 59% in 2021. In 2023, the average duration of protests per case was 8 days, compared to 13 days in 2022.

## Durations of strikes in industrial protests

Number of days	Legal strikes	Non-legal strikes	Total
0-1	112	1	113
2-7	38	-	38
8-14	3	1	4
15-30	2	1	3
31-45	-	2	2
46+	-	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>163</b>

The graph shows the durations of non-legal and legal strikes. In 2022, we had highlighted a significant increase in the number and proportion of non-legal strikes. While the number of non-legal strikes in 2023 showed a slight decline compared to 2022, their substantial share among industrial protest cases was maintained, with a total of 155 non-legal strikes recorded in 2023, compared to 180 in 2022.

Non-legal strikes are generally shorter than legal strikes. Looking at strike durations in 2023, most non-legal strikes lasted for just one day. These strikes predominantly consisted of protests by metal workers preceding negotiations with MESS and by municipal workers demanding additional protocols. These were often short, one-day strikes, spread out and repeated over several weeks.

In 2022, unlike previous years, there was an increase in non-legal strikes lasting 8–14 days. However, no such prolonged non-legal strikes occurred in 2023.

The average duration of non-legal strikes was 2.6 days in 2022, but this dropped to 1.5 days in 2023. In 2021, the average duration was 1.4 days. Thus, it can be said that the shorter durations of non-legal strikes in 2023 mark a return to the levels observed in 2021.

## Improvement of workers' rights in industrial protests

	Total cases	Enhancement	%
Permanent - Private	263	213	81%
Subcontracted - Public.	82	60	73%
Regular worker - Public	59	40	68%
Civil servant	107	68	64%
Subcontracted - Private	44	12	27%
Other	9	9	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>562</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>71%</b>

In the research, protests are coded based on whether they aim to improve rights or defend rights. Rights improvement refers to efforts to enhance existing working conditions for the better, while rights defense involves protecting existing rights against a perceived attack or threat. Examples of protests with a rights improvement focus include unionization efforts, wage increase demands and calls for permanent employment. The nature of improvement or defense is determined by the reason behind the protest. In 2021,

the proportion of cases with a rights improvement focus was 65%. This rate increased to 72% in 2022 and remained very close to that level in 2023, reaching 71%. It is worth noting that in 2023, privately employed workers were the most proactive in this regard, with 81% of their cases being rights improvement-focused, while private subcontracted workers, due to their precarious conditions, had the lowest rate at 37%.

## Workers dismissed for seeking their rights

	Number of people dismissed	Number of people dismissed for unionization	Number of cases where workers dismissed
2015	4,158	1,789	133
2016	2,793	1,016	89
2017	1,547	972	49
2018	2,677	964	57
2019	1,428	881	40
2020	817	597	42
2021	1,736	1,634	82
2022	2,699	1,533	106
2023	2,485	1,250	77

In 2023, at least 2,485 workers were dismissed for seeking their rights and engaging in struggles. Among them, 1,250 were dismissed specifically for participating in unionization efforts in 44 cases of 77. Workers who were dismissed for seeking their rights but did not engage in protests that gained media coverage are not included in these figures.

For instance, in some cases, workers may be dismissed for unionizing, but the relevant union may not organize a protest in response. In 2023, there was a noticeable decline in both the number of workers dismissed for seeking their rights and the number of cases where such dismissals were identified, compared to 2022. This decrease can be considered alongside the reduction in unionization cases observed in 2023.

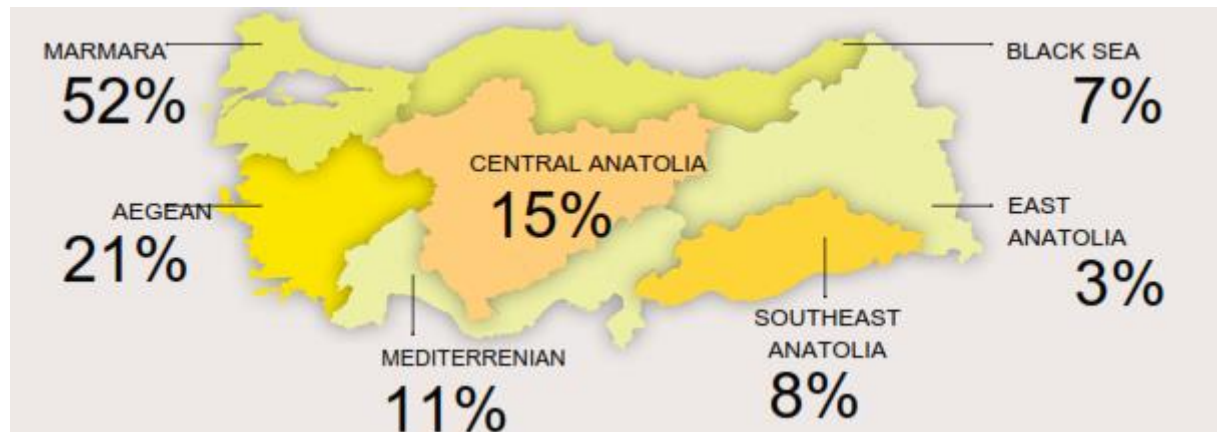
### Industrial protest by cities

	City	Cases	%
1	Istanbul	168	29.9
2	Izmir	92	16.4
3	Kocaeli	74	13.2
4	Ankara	63	11.2
5	Bursa	34	6.0
6	Adana	27	4.8
7	Gaziantep	22	3.9
8	Antalya	20	3.6
9	Diyarbakır	20	3.6
10	Eskişehir	18	3.2
11	Mersin	15	2.7
12	Muğla	14	2.5
13	Manisa	13	2.3
14	Balıkesir	12	2.1
15	Denizli	11	2.0
16	Hatay	10	1.8
17	Tunceli	10	1.8

The graph shows cities with at least ten industrial protest cases. As in the previous three years, Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, and Kocaeli ranked in the top four in 2023. Following these four cities, Bursa, Adana, and Gaziantep are next in line. Istanbul alone accounted for approximately one-third of the cases.

### Industrial protests by regions

The map shows the regional distribution of industrial cases. In 2023, the regional distribution followed the horizontal trend observed in previous years. Slightly more than half of the industrial cases occurred in the Marmara Region. As in previous years, the Aegean and Central Anatolia regions followed. Since a single case can span multiple cities and regions, the total of percentages for the regions exceeds 100%.

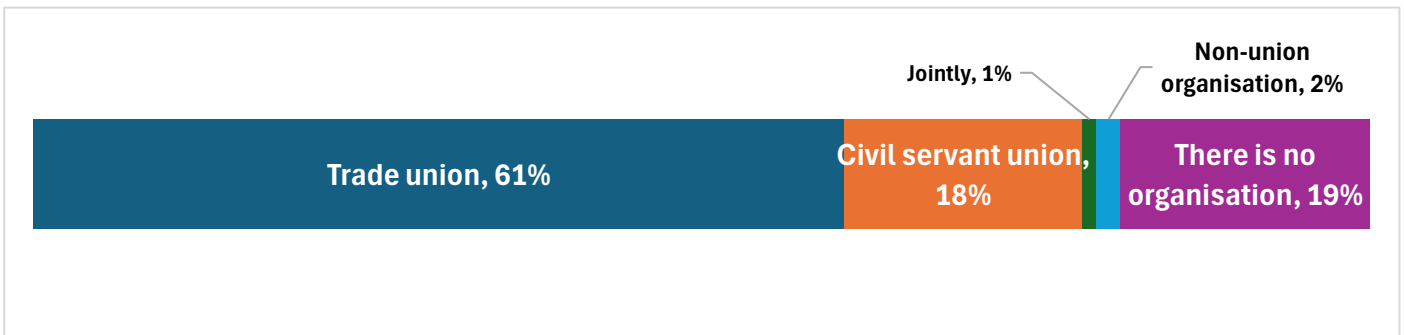


Metal	%16
General services	%15
Civil servants – Health and social services	%7
Petroleum, chemical, rubber, plastic, and pharmaceuticals	%7
Construction	%7
Textiles, ready-made clothing, and leather	%7
Commerce, office work, education, and fine arts	%5
Shipbuilding and maritime transportation	%4
Health and social services	%3
Energy	%2
Civil servants – Local government services	%2
Civil servants – Office, banking, and insurance services	%2
Transportation	%2
Civil servants – Education, training, and science services	%2
Civil servants – Press, media, and communication services	%2

### Industrial protests by sector / service

The graph on the left illustrates the sectors and service branches with at least 10 industrial protest cases. Civil servants are governed by Law No. 657 on Civil Servants, while all wage earners in public institutions or the private sector fall under Labor Law No. 4857. As a result, civil servants' classifications are referred to as service branches, while those of other workers are categorized as sectors.

In 2022, the textile/ready-made clothing sector ranked first. However, in 2023, the metal sector rose to the top position due to the MESS protests in October and December. The general services sector ranked second with 15%, largely driven by additional protocol protests carried out by municipal workers throughout the year. The health and social services branch, where civil servants are employed, maintained its third-place position, similar to 2022. Following these were the petroleum/chemical, construction, and textile/ready-made clothing sectors, each accounting for approximately 7%.



### Who organized the protest?

The graph above shows industrial protest cases organized by an institution. In 2022, 49% of the cases were organized by trade unions, while this proportion increased to 61% in 2023. This means that more than half of the cases were organized by a trade union. When considering both trade unions and civil servant unions, the proportion of cases organized by a union rises to approximately 80%.

The high proportion of union-organized cases in 2023 can primarily be attributed to the prevalence of protests stemming from collective labor agreements. These protests were concentrated in workplaces with existing unionization, where workers sought to improve their conditions.

In this context, there was a significant decline in the proportion of cases organized without institutional support. In 2022, the proportion of cases without an organizer institution was 28%, but this fell to 19% in 2023.

In the analysis, jointly organized cases refer to protests where both a civil servant union and a trade union collaborated. Non-union institutions, such as the Turkish Medical Association (TTB), are also included in the analysis under the category of non-union institutions.

	Cases	%
GENEL-İŞ (DİSK)	52	12
BMİS (DİSK)	46	10
SES (KESK)	34	8
PETROL-İŞ (TÜRK-İŞ)	30	7
TÜRK METAL (TÜRK-İŞ)	21	5
DEV YAPI-İŞ (DİSK)	20	4
ÖZEL SEKTÖR ÖĞRETMENLERİ SENDİKASI	15	3
BES (KESK)	15	3
HABER-SEN (KESK)	14	3
BİRTEK-SEN	14	3
DEV-SAĞLIK-İŞ (DİSK)	12	3
LİMTER-İŞ (DİSK)	12	3
KESK	10	2
TEZKOOP-İŞ (TÜRK-İŞ)	9	2
LASTİK-İŞ (TÜRK-İŞ)	9	2
BİRLEŞİK KAMU-İŞ	9	2
TÜM-BEL-SEN (KESK)	8	2
SAĞLIK-İŞ (TÜRK-İŞ)	8	2
BELEDİYE-İŞ (TÜRK-İŞ)	8	2
EĞİTİM-SEN (KESK)	8	2
İNŞAAT-İŞ	8	2
ENERJİ-SEN (DİSK)	8	2
İYİ-SEN	7	2

## Cases organized by trade unions

The cases were organized by unions, with the graph displaying the share of these unions within the 447 cases. Unions with a share below 2% are not included in the graph.

In 2022, SES was the union that organized the most industrial protest cases. SES, which had held the top spot for the past three years due to the impact of the pandemic, dropped to third place in 2023. However, in 2023, the top spot was taken by Genel-İş, largely due to the protests by municipal workers throughout the year demanding additional protocols. BMİS ranked second, driven by the MESS protests conducted between October and December.

Notably, the Private Sector Teachers' Union, which ranked 13th with 10 cases in 2022, rose to 7th place in 2023 with 15 cases. Similarly, the independent union BİRTEK-SEN experienced a significant rise, moving from 17th place in 2022 to 10th place in 2023.

## Confederations in cases organized by unions

	Cases	%
DİSK	169	38
TÜRK-İŞ	105	23
KESK	92	21
BAĞIMSIZ	55	12
HAKİŞ	18	4
BİRLEŞİK KAMU-İŞ	9	2
TÜRKİYE KAMU-SEN	4	1
MEMURSEN	1	0.2

In this graph, the unions from the distribution above are categorized by their confederations. The industrial protest cases in 2023 were distributed as follows: 38% were organized by unions affiliated with DİSK, 23% by those affiliated with TÜRK-İŞ, and 21% by those affiliated with KESK.

In the 2022 report, we noted an increase in the proportion of cases organized by independent unions. This rate, which stood at 18% with 74 cases in 2022, declined to 12% with 55 cases in 2023. However, independent unions maintained their fourth-place position.

### Industrial protests organized by unions for unionization

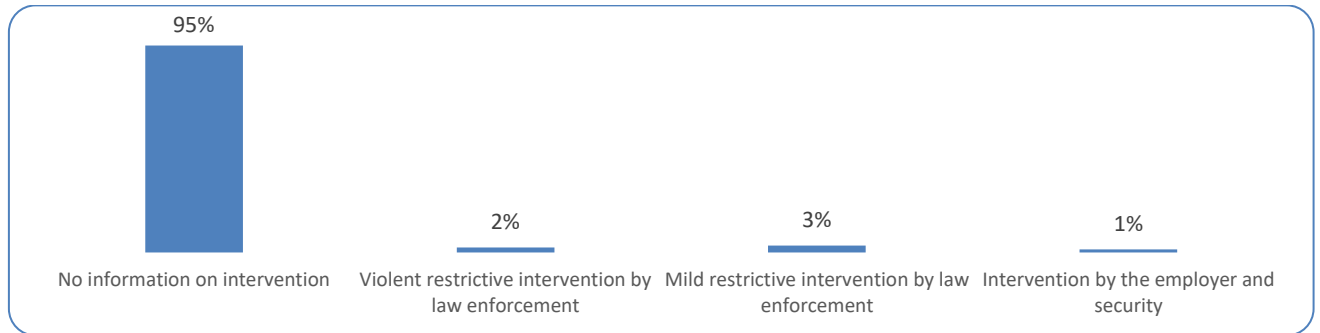
	Cases	%
BMİS (DİSK)	8	13
TÜRK METAL (TÜRK-İŞ)	6	10
ÖZ İPLİK-İŞ (HAK-İŞ)	4	6
PETROL-İŞ (TÜRK-İŞ)	4	6
TEZKOOP-İŞ (TÜRK-İŞ)	4	6
BİRTEK-SEN	3	5
ÖZEL SEKTÖR ÖĞRETMENLERİ SENDİKASI	3	5
TEKSİF (TÜRK-İŞ)	3	5
BAĞIMSIZ MADEN İŞ	2	3
ENERJİ-SEN (DİSK)	2	3
GIDA-İŞ (DİSK)	2	3
ÖZ GIDA-İŞ (HAKİŞ)	2	3
PTT-SEN	2	3

This graph shows the number of industrial protest cases organized by unions as part of their unionization efforts. Unionization cases are often accompanied by dismissals, as workers attempting to unionize are fired, prompting unions to organize a protest in response. The graph includes unions that organized at least two protests with a unionization goal.

Unionization was among the reasons for protests in 62 industrial protest cases. The graph also displays each union's share of the total unionization-related protest cases. Compared to 2022, where there were 98 such cases,

unionization-related protests dropped significantly to 62 cases in 2023.

In 2023, unions shifted their focus from new organizing efforts to addressing collective labor agreement processes and additional protocol demands arising in already organized workplaces. As a result, the proportion of protests aimed at unionization remained relatively low. In 2022, independent unions such as Birtek-Sen, Tomis, and Bağımsız Maden-İş appeared on this list. In 2023, Birtek-Sen and Bağımsız Maden-İş retained their positions, while the Private Sector Teachers' Union was newly included.



## Intervention in Protests

The graph above illustrates the interventions in protests. A single case may involve multiple forms of intervention. In 2023, restrictive interventions by the state or employers showed a slight decline compared to 2022. The proportion of mild restrictive interventions by law enforcement decreased from 6% to 3%, while violent interventions by law enforcement dropped from 3% to 2%.

The proportion of protests without any intervention increased from 90% to 95%. However, it should be noted that this reflects the proportion of cases with interventions among industrial protest cases. The graph provides an overview of interventions in protests. It is important to note that in 2023, police intervened very harshly and systematically in certain specific cases.

## Outcome of protests

	Cases	%
Full gain	131	23
Partial gain	95	17
No gain	304	54
Not known	32	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>562</b>	<b>100</b>

We began collecting data on the outcomes of protests in 2021 and continued this effort in 2023. Determining the outcome of protests is a complex and labor-intensive process, and in some cases, it is impossible. The graph above illustrates the achievement status in industrial protests.

In 2023, compared to 2022, there was a significant 8-point increase in the proportion of cases with full gains, while the proportion of partial gains remained the same. Considering both full and partial gains together, the proportion of cases with positive outcomes rose from 32% in 2022 to 40% in 2023. This increase is primarily attributed to the higher number of union-led protests related to collective labor agreements, which have a higher likelihood of yielding at least partial

achievements.

In 2023, the proportion of cases without any gain was 54%, while the proportion of cases with undetermined outcomes dropped significantly to 6%. This decrease in undetermined cases can be linked to the fact that many protests were organized with unions, making information about their outcomes more accessible. For instance, if an additional protocol was signed following a protocol-related protest, it was likely reported in local or national media. On the other hand, determining the results of unorganized protests remains more challenging due to the lack of available information.

# Analysis of Political Protest Cases



## Reasons for political protests

	Cases	%
May day	90	40
Low wage	32	14
Worker health, occupational accidents	19	8
Taxes	17	8
Earthquake	16	7
Price increases, inflation	13	6
Demand for permanent employment and tenure	12	5
Minimum wage level	11	5
Gender-related issues	10	4
Palestine	9	4
Penalties, closures, or threats against unions	4	2
Retirement Age Regulation (EYT)	4	2

In 2023, we identified 314 individual protests within 225 political protest cases. In comparison, 364 individual protests were observed in 257 cases in 2022. One significant reason for the change in the overall figures for 2023 is the decrease in May Day celebrations. However, the general election atmosphere in May 2023 shifted May Day protests from district levels to cities, leading to a noticeable increase in participant numbers.

Another reason for the decline in 2023 was the qualitative shift in workers' responses to economic hardship. Unlike the previous year, workers and their unions organized workplace-based protests targeting employers rather than collaborative public protests aimed at political institutions. Nevertheless, the focus of political protests in 2023 remained the ongoing economic downturn in Turkey and its devastating impact on workers.

33% of the protests—approximately one-third—were economically driven protests organized nationwide by confederations and institutions. Issues such as low wages, taxes, inflation, and the minimum wage level were the most prominent. The prominence of low wages as the second most frequent cause reflects retirees' near exclusion from public policy. Retirees organized numerous nationwide protests demanding increases to their pensions eroded by inflation.

The earthquake on February 6, 2023, was another key concern for workers. Workers and unions organized a series

of protests calling for political protest to address the escalating threats to housing, employment, and public health caused by this large-scale disaster.

The "Palestine" protest reason in the distribution reflects individual and joint protests organized by workers and unions in workplaces and city centers. These protests called for an end to the systematic attacks, occupation, and massacres carried out by the Israeli state against Palestine since October 7, 2023.

Worker health and occupational accidents remained central themes of political protests in 2023. Protests were held across various provinces to commemorate workers who lost their lives in industrial accidents, such as the explosions at the Coşkunlar Fireworks Factory, the Bartın Amasra mine disaster, and incidents in TTK Zonguldak-Kozlu and Soma mines, and to demand accountability from those responsible.

The "Gender-Related" reason in the 2023 distribution primarily includes protests expressing women workers' demands and reactions in public spaces or workplaces. These were mainly organized around March 8 (International Women's Day) and November 25 (International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women).

## Types for political protets

	Cases	%
Press release	150	67
Rally	42	19
Simple protests at work	20	9
March	11	5
Distributing leaflets	4	2

As in industrial protest cases, press releases were the most dominant form of protest in political protest cases as well. Rallies ranked second. Despite a decline in the number of protests within political protest cases compared to 2022, the prominence and share of "press statements" and "rallies" remained unchanged. No significant changes were observed in the distribution in 2023 compared to the previous year. Of the 42 rallies held in 2023, 36 were organized for May Day. Additionally, rallies in Ankara and Istanbul organized by retirees and workers affected by the EYT regulation were particularly noteworthy. Short and simple workplace protests ranked third in the distribution. Workers and their unions organized workplace protests addressing issues such as tax injustice, the occupation of Palestine, renewed threats to severance pay, and gender inequality.

## Location for political protests

	Cases	%
City center, square, park	172	76
Inside the workplace	19	8
In front of the workplace	19	8
In front of the governor's office, district governor's office, or ministry	8	4
In front of the courthouse	6	3

City centres stand out as the most frequently chosen locations for protests, serving as spaces to express grievances and demands. Compared to the previous year, the prominence of city centres increased by 8 points, meaning that in 2023, 3 out of 4 protest cases were held in city centres.

The share of political protests taking place at workplaces was calculated at 18% in 2023, marking an 8-point decrease compared to 2022.

Ministries, in particular, became the focal points for protests addressing public policies that concern large segments of the workforce, such as minimum wage increases, allocations from the state budget, and fair taxation.



## Political protests by cities

	Cases	%
İstanbul	50	22
İzmir	32	14
Kocaeli	27	12
Ankara	24	11
Bursa	10	4
Denizli	9	4
Mersin	9	4
Antalya	8	4
Edirne	7	3
Samsun	6	3

Since 2021, the four major cities of Istanbul, Izmir, Kocaeli, and Ankara have consistently ranked at the top in the distribution of political protest cases. In 2023, Istanbul was the city with the highest number of protests. Izmir retained its second position in the distribution compared to the previous year, though its share decreased by 5 points. Kocaeli, an industrial hub, moved up in the rankings and increased its share in 2023. The large cities where the majority of Türkiye's working class resides (Istanbul, Izmir, Kocaeli, Ankara, Bursa) accounted for 63%. Additionally, political protests in Denizli, a growing manufacturing city in Anatolia, increased compared to previous years. The protests organized by retirees and EYT-affected workers in Denizli were the primary drivers of this activity.

## Trade unions in political protests

	Case	%		Case	%
DİSK	78	35	Tüm Emekliler Sendikası	12	5
KESK	63	28	Kesk Eğitim-Sen	12	5
TÜRK-İŞ	34	15	Hakış	8	4
TTB	30	13	Özel Sektör Öğretmenleri Sendikası	7	3
TMOBB	25	11	Birleşik Kamu-İş Eğitim-İş	7	3
Disk Genel-İş	15	7	Birleşik Kamu-İş	6	3
Türk-İş Petrol-İş	15	7	KESK Ses	6	3
Disk Emekli-Sen	12	5			

In large-scale protests organized and led by confederations, the confederations themselves are recorded as the organizing bodies rather than individual unions. DİSK remained the leading confederation in 2023. Excluding May Day protests and rallies, DİSK organized protests addressing issues such as minimum wage increases, fair taxation, and resistance to inflation and price hikes. KESK, while organizing relatively fewer political protest cases at the confederation level outside of May Day, focused on significant issues, including a public budget for the people, earthquake response, and November 25 protests. Protests organized by doctors over lawsuits aimed at dismissing the TTB (Turkish Medical Association) leadership elevated the professional organization to third place in the distribution.

TÜRK-İŞ ranked third. All political protest cases it organized or participated in at the confederation level were May Day actions. Its member union, Petrol-İş, organized workplace-based political protest cases to address high inflation, rising prices, and threats to severance pay.

Tüm Emekli-Sen featured in the analysis with 12 cases, acting as the primary organizer of numerous protests held across various provinces demanding pension increases. Additionally, the Private Sector Teachers' Union's protests addressing the hardships faced by educators in earthquake-affected regions were particularly noteworthy.

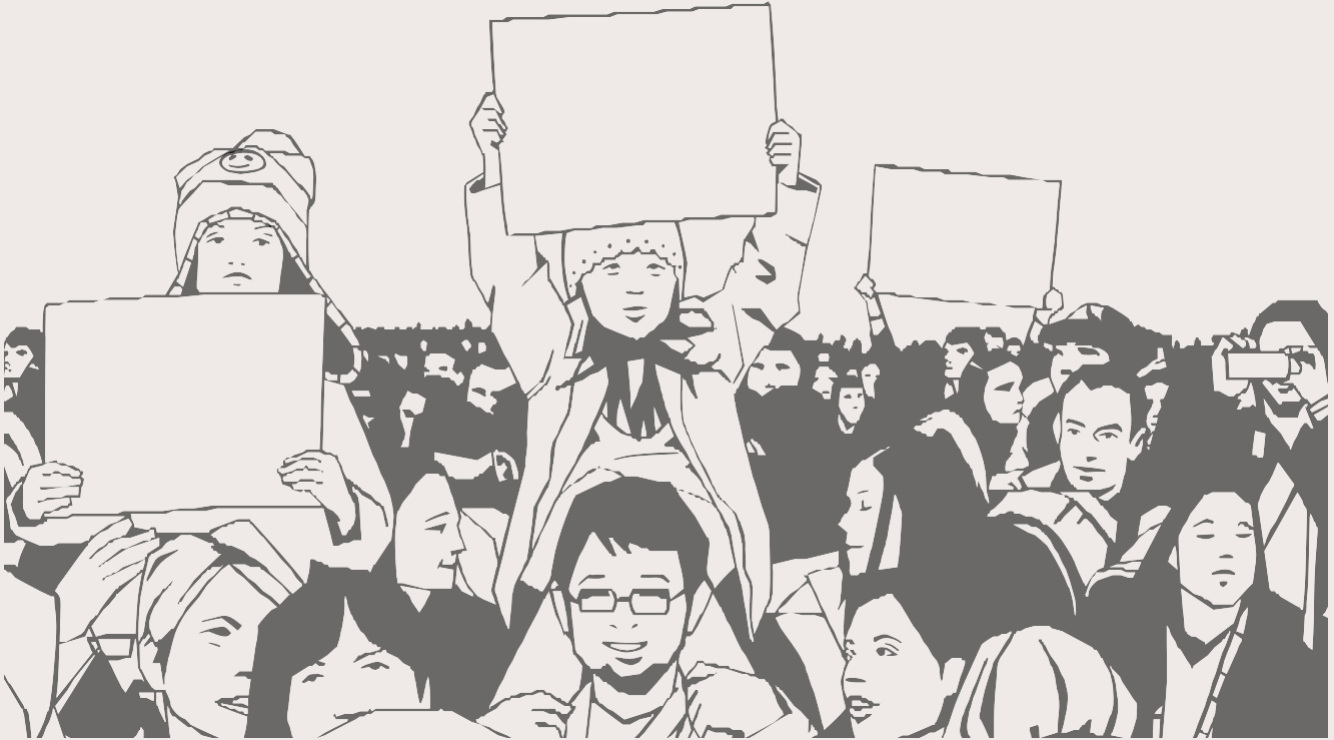


## Confederations of unions in political protests



In many political protests, different unions acted jointly, resulting in the total number of confederation-involved cases exceeding the total number of political protest cases. In 2023, slight changes were observed in the distribution of confederations. Despite a 2-point decrease in its share compared to 2022, DİSK remained the confederation that organized the most protests in 2023. KESK, despite a 6-point decrease in its share compared to the previous year, retained its second position. TÜRK-İŞ, despite an 11-point increase in its share, maintained its position in the

distribution in 2023. The fourth category, "Independent," includes unions that are not members of any confederation, as well as associations and professional organizations. In 2023, retirees' unions and associations played a significant role within this category. Notable independent labor organizations in 2023 included Bir-Tek Sen, EYT Associations, and the Private Sector Teachers' Union, which stood out as significant independent entities in the labor movement.



# Close-up: Notable protests in 2023



## 1. Agrobay

In August 2023, approximately 40 workers at Agrobay in Dikili, İzmir, went on strike due to unpaid wages, poor working conditions, and the denial of union rights. Among them, 120 workers who were actively involved in union activities and members of the Agricultural Workers Union (Tarım-Sen) were dismissed under "Code 46." At this workplace, where women workers formed the majority, women also took the lead in the resistance, demanding reinstatement for dismissed workers, payment of wages, and recognition of union rights.

The employer's actions, such as blocking public roads and using security forces and gendarmerie interventions to suppress the workers, intensified the resistance. From the early days, other workers joined the protest, halting production. The struggle, led by Tarım-Sen, an independent union established in 2022, faced challenges during its first seven months as the workers were largely ignored. However, on March 18, 2024, the workers began a march from Bergama to Ankara to draw attention to their just cause.

Although the Minister of Labor and Social Security, Vedat Işıkhan, did not meet with them, the workers met with representatives from AKP, İYİ Party, and CHP. They concluded their protest with a press statement in front of the Miners' Monument, joined by supporters and labor allies. Agrobay workers also received support from international solidarity networks. Agricultural sector organizations in Europe sent messages of solidarity and organized campaigns in support of the workers.

The permanent resistance that began in Bergama in August 2023 evolved into a worker march to Ankara on March 18, 2024. According to a statement by Tarım-Sen, the workers achieved their first victories, with wages and seized severance payments being paid. However, their demands for union rights were not fully met. The Agrobay resistance highlighted the obstacles to organizing in the agricultural sector and underscored the significance of struggles led by women workers.

## 2. Özak Tekstil

In November 2023, 700 workers at Özak Textile Factory in Şanlıurfa began a resistance due to the denial of their right to choose a union. Frustrated by the pressures and mobbing practices of Öz İplik-İş, the union already present in the factory, workers started organizing under the Independent Textile Workers Union (BİRTEK-SEN). When the factory management began dismissing workers, 500 workers went on strike and launched a resistance. More than 500 workers resigned from Öz İplik-İş and joined BİRTEK-SEN to continue their fight for rights. Although women made up only 25% of the

workforce, they played a prominent role in the resistance and became its symbol. During the resistance, workers faced severe interventions, including violent crackdowns by the military, detentions, and legal pressures such as protest bans. A total of 192 detentions occurred, and 400 BİRTEK-SEN members were dismissed. Despite these challenges, the workers strengthened their solidarity and continued the struggle, receiving support from both national and international audiences. Worker unions and solidarity organizations in Europe organized campaigns against the oppression of Özak workers.

Throughout the 80-day resistance, the workers fought resolutely to defend their union rights. While some of their demands were partially addressed, the collaboration between the employer and the government posed significant challenges to the resistance. Nevertheless, the workers of Özak Textile highlighted the importance of union organizing and provided a powerful example of resistance that became a notable chapter in the history of Türkiye's labor movement.

## 3. Ağaç AŞ.

On August 14, 2023, workers employed by Ağaç AŞ, a subcontractor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) and organized under DİSK's United Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Union (BTO-SEN), began an indefinite protest in front of the İBB building in Saraçhane, demanding wage improvements.

A recently signed collective labor agreement between another İBB subcontractor, Boğaziçi AŞ, and the DİSK/Genel-İş Union served as a key reference point for the Ağaç AŞ workers. They demanded the same benefits granted to Boğaziçi AŞ employees, rejecting the prospect of being confined to minimum wage levels. These workers, responsible for cleaning and maintaining parks, gardens, and coastal areas across Istanbul, also raised concerns about their physically and psychologically demanding working conditions. Their primary demands included reducing weekly working hours from 45 to 40 and securing wages that would allow them to live decently amid the ongoing economic crisis. Throughout the process, the workers received support from various unions, political parties, and representatives of several organizations. After eight days of protest, on August 21, it was announced that their resistance had resulted in a victory. The agreement included substantial wage increases, a reduction in weekly working hours to 40, and the introduction of holiday bonuses and premiums.

As a result, the Ağaç AŞ employees, who had initially sought equal conditions with other İBB workers, not only secured wage improvements but also additional benefits, marking a significant achievement through their successful protest.

## 4.Sputnik

The collective bargaining negotiations between Sputnik's Turkish employer, part of the Moscow-based international media organization, and the Journalists' Union of Türkiye (TGS), which began in February 2023, reached an impasse due to the employer's intransigence and refusal to offer a wage increase. The deadlock intensified when Sputnik threatened to dismiss 20 union-member journalists, effectively halting the negotiation process. In response, the employees declared a strike on July 24 in front of Süzer Plaza in Istanbul, initiating a struggle to defend their rights.

Following the strike declaration, 24 union-member journalists, including TGS's workplace representative, were dismissed. On August 17, the striking journalists announced that they would continue their struggle until the dismissed employees were reinstated, and their demands were met. The strike, held in front of Sputnik's Ankara and Istanbul offices, garnered widespread support from unions, political parties, and other organizations.

Significant legal victories were achieved during this period. On the 15th day of the resistance, a court rejected Sputnik management's request to halt the strike. In November, the court ruled in favor of reinstating TGS's workplace representative. As the strike reached its 200th day, the struggle shifted to a different phase. During a meeting with its members, TGS decided to continue the strike while ending the picketing actions at strike sites, focusing instead on advancing the legal process.

This prolonged resistance, which marked its first year in August 2024, serves as a critical example of how precariously employed and underpaid journalists can defend their rights through solidarity and determination. It highlights the power of collective action in the face of challenging conditions.

## 5.Harb-İş

Workers employed at various enterprises under the Ministry of National Defence protested against their wages, which were close to the minimum wage, leaving them unable to meet basic needs such as rent and food amidst eroding purchasing power. On April 3, 2023, these workers gathered in front of the Ankara headquarters of the Harb-İş Union, affiliated with Türk-İş, to protest the union's low wage demands during the Public Framework Protocol negotiations, which concerned 700,000 public workers. The workers opposed the union's demand for a 45% wage increase, considering it insufficient.

Kayseri, Kocaeli, and Izmir, holding demonstrations in front of union offices and city squares. On April 13, workers extended their protests to Türk-İş headquarters, demanding greater transparency in collective bargaining negotiations, an immediate raise for the lowest wages above the poverty line, subsequent wage increases based on that threshold, a shift from two-year to one-year collective bargaining periods, and the stabilization of income tax at 10%.

On May 9, five days before the general elections, the Public Framework Protocol was signed, granting a 45% wage increase, including a welfare share. However, following post-election price hikes, the workers' purchasing power further diminished. In response, in August, workers held a series of protests in Kartal, Gölcük, Ankara, Kayseri, and Adana, demanding additional wage increases. They highlighted that wages for public defence and security workers were lower than those of their private sector counterparts and reiterated their calls for wage hikes and fair taxation.

Finally, on September 23, after their request to attend Harb-İş's 17th Ordinary General Assembly was denied, workers burned their pay slips in front of the assembly hall as an act of protest.

## 6.Mata Otomotiv

In February, Mata Automotive, located in the Tuzla Free Trade Zone in Istanbul, rejected the union and workers' demand for an additional protocol to increase wages by 20%, as per the previous collective labor agreement (TİS), during discussions with Birleşik Metal-İş Union. When their demands were unmet and they were threatened with dismissal, the workers convened the same week, raised their wage increase demand to 25%, and announced they would conduct one-hour work stoppages during each shift until their demands were met.

On February 27, the workers began their protest and soon escalated it to an indefinite occupation of the factory. The employer attempted to suppress the resistance by locking the factory toilets, throwing workers' personal belongings from lockers onto the street, hiring bodyguards to intimidate them, and sending dismissal threat messages. Despite these tactics, the protest continued with support visits from nearby factories. When workers faced difficulties entering the Free Zone, the protest shifted to the zone's entrance.

On the 15th day of the protest, Mata management requested a meeting with the President of DİSK and the General President of Birleşik Metal-İş Union. However, after the meeting, the union announced that the employer had refused all demands and that no agreement was reached. Following this, Mata began

Within the same week, Harb-İş members staged protests in

dismissing workers, with the number of fired workers reaching 620 by March 20.

The dismissed workers and union leaders gathered in front of the Free Trade Zone and decided to march to Ankara on March 27. However, the march was blocked by police intervention. Despite this, a delegation met with the Ministry of Labor the following day in Parliament. Unfortunately, no positive developments occurred throughout April, and the resistance ended on the eve of May Day.

## 7. Private Sector Teachers' Union - 2023 Protests

Founded in August 2021, the Private Sector Teachers' Union rapidly grew in membership through its efforts and organized numerous actions throughout 2023. In January, the union campaigned in Ankara for the right to a base salary for private sector teachers. That same month, during a meeting with the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education, the union raised the issue of private schools forcing teachers to work on officially declared holidays, such as the mid-term break. The union also took action at Açı Anatolian High School in Gaziosmanpaşa, Istanbul, which had forced teachers to work during the holiday, and successfully cancelled lessons at Küpkök Schools in Bursa. Representatives from the union faced violence when they protested illegal practices at Tümay Eğitim, a school that conducted classes during the holiday in violation of the law.

The union also fought for its members who were dismissed. In March, it organized a press statement in front of Bakırköy Final Schools in Istanbul to protest the dismissal of two union-member teachers, who were terminated for allegedly failing to inform management of their union membership.

The union also took action after the dismissal of its president, Eren Edebalı, and executive committee member, Nur Ülküm Ülkü, from Özel Evrim Schools in Şişli, Istanbul. The dismissals were justified under the pretext of "motivation and trust." The union responded by launching further protests.

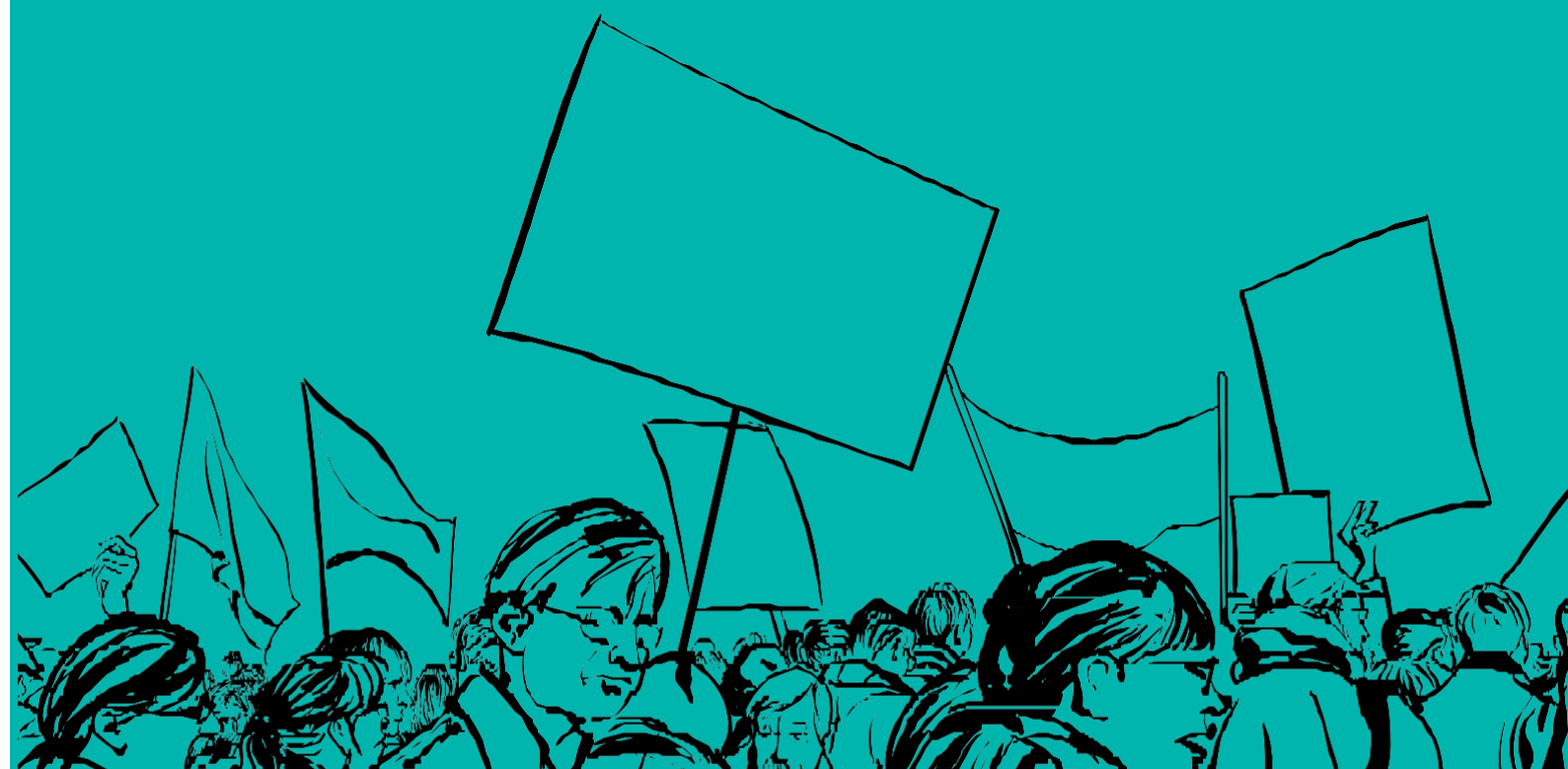
The union organized protests to address various issues faced by teachers at several institutions: At İTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı Schools and Fevziye Mektepleri Vakfı's Işık Schools, protests were held demanding improvements in teachers' salaries, which had been eroded by inflation. At Eryaman Yolculuk Schools, the union took action for teachers who had not been paid for months.

For teachers at Doğa Schools, the union advocated for an increase in wages, which were around the minimum wage, as well as for overtime and additional lesson payments. They also demanded accessible and transparent payslips. At Bahçeşehir College, where many teachers were reportedly earning minimum wage, the union organized protests to address this issue.

The union also organized a protest in April in Ankara to meet with the Ministry of National Education, demanding the unconditional permanent employment of private sector teachers affected by the earthquake. In Izmir, the union's efforts for private school teachers to gain discounted transportation rights under equal conditions with public school teachers resulted in a victory.

# List of Workplaces Where Industrial Protests Occurred

Numerous industrial protests have been carried out at some of the workplaces listed below. For example, the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Health are among the first that comes to mind.



1. 112 Acil Çağrı Merkezi
2. A101 Depo
3. ABB Elektrik
4. Accuride Wheels Bilecik Jant Sanayi A.Ş.
5. Açı Koleji
6. Acıbadem Benesta
7. Acron Elektronik
8. Ada Tersanesi
9. Adalet Bakanlığı
10. Adana Balcalı Hastanesi
11. Adana Büyükşehir Belediyesi
12. Adin Oto Donanım
13. AFP (Agence France-Presse)
14. Ağaç Aş
15. Agrobay Seracılık
16. Ahenk Halı
17. Aile ve Sosyal Hizmet İl Müdürlüğü (Tunceli)
18. Akçakoca Devlet Hastanesi
19. Akdeniz Üniversitesi Hastanesi
20. Al Jeri
21. Alarko Holding
22. Algoritma Emu Elektromekanik
23. Alperdem
24. Altındağ Belediyesi
25. Altınova Tersan Tersanesi
26. Altun Market
27. Aluform Pekintaş
28. Amana Foods
29. Anel Elektrik-Sinay Enerji
30. Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi
31. Ankara Çankaya Belediyesi
32. Ankara Etimesgut Belediyesi
33. Ankara Mamak Belediyesi
34. Ankara Üniversitesi Tıplılar Vakfı
35. Ankara Yenimahalle Belediyesi
36. Antalya Büyükşehir Belediyesi
37. Antalya Kumluca Devlet Hastanesi
38. Antalya Muratpaşa Belediyesi
39. Aperam Çelik Merkezi
40. Arçelik (Eskişehir fabrikası)
41. Arçelik Servisi
42. Arfesan
43. Arıtaş Kriyojenik
44. Armetal
45. Arnavutköy Belediyesi
46. Artemis Halı
47. Artvin Borçka Belediyesi
48. As Plastik
49. AS Teknoloji (Finans Merkezi taşeronu)
50. Asır Plastik
51. Asko Tekstil
52. Ataş Anadolu Tasfiyehanesi
53. Ataşehir Belediyesi
54. Atışkan Alçı
55. ATMTURK
56. Avcılar Belediyesi
57. AVM Yapı
58. Aydın Didim Belediyesi
59. Azık Gusto
60. Bahçeşehir Koleji
61. Bakırköy Belediyesi
62. Bakırköy Mazhar Osman Ruh ve Sinir Hastalıkları Hastanesi
63. Balıkesir Bandırma Belediyesi
64. Balıkesir Edremit Belediyesi
65. Barutçu Tekstil
66. Başbuğ Otomotiv
67. Başöz Enerji
68. Batman Belediyesi
69. Batman Kozluk Belediyesi
70. Baykan Denim
71. Bayraklı Aş. (Bayraklı Bel taşeronu)
72. Bekaert
73. Beşiktaş Belediyesi-Memur

74. Beşiktaş Tersanesi
75. Bilsar Tekstil
76. Bingöl Fırın İşçileri
77. Birey Okulları
78. Birleşik Kamu-İş: TİS Protestosu
79. Blend Tekstil
80. BMİS: MESS TİS
81. Bolu Belediyesi
82. Bosch
83. Boyar Kimya
84. Brisa
85. Çanakkale Bayramiç Belediyesi
86. CarrefourSa Depo
87. Çaybaşı Belediyesi
88. Çayırova Boru
89. Çaykur
90. Çelik Halat
91. Çemaş
92. Cengiz Makina
93. Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi
94. Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Prof. Dr. Murat Dilmener Hastanesi
95. Ceta
96. Ceva Lojistik (Amazon)
97. Çevre Mühendisleri Odası
98. Chinatool
99. Çibel Aş (Çiğli Belediyesi taşeronu)
100. Çiftçiler Birlik Kağıtçılık
101. Çiğli Belediyesi
102. Çimsetaş
103. Çimtaş
104. CMS Jant
105. Çolakoğlu Metalürji
106. Colgate Palmolive
107. Corning
108. Çorum Vergi Dairesi
109. Çukurova Üniversitesi işçileri
110. DEDAŞ
111. Demisaş Döküm Emaye Mamulleri Sanayi A.Ş.
112. Denizli Cam (Şişecam)
113. Dersim Belediyesi
114. Detay Kahve
115. Dicle Üniversitesi Hastanesi
116. Diler Demir Çelik
117. Diyarbakır Bağlar Belediyesi
118. Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi
119. Doğa Koleji
120. Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hastanesi
121. Doruk Madencilik
122. Dostel
123. Drogsan
124. DSİ
125. Duray Raylı Sistemler
126. Durden Plastik
127. DYO Boya
128. Edirne Keşan Belediyesi
129. Edirne Uzunköprü Belediyesi
130. EEY Demir Çelik
131. Efeler Belediyesi
132. Ege Gemi (Aliğa Gemi Söküm Bölgesi)
133. Ege Linyit
134. Ege Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Hastanesi
135. Ege Yapı Firma
136. Ejot Tezmaç
137. Ekin Koleji
138. Ekur Et Entegre
139. Elektromak Mühendislik
140. Elif Plastik
141. Enişte Nakış
142. Enka Madencilik
143. Enpay
144. Entegre Madencilik
145. Erciyes Üniversitesi
146. Erkaplan Halı

147. Erođlu Makine
148. Eryaman Yolculuk Okulları
149. Esenler Belediyesi
150. Eskişehir Tepebaşı Belediyesi
151. Eti Maden
152. Etkin Plastik
153. Euroserve AŞ. (Koç Üniversitesi Hastanesi taşeronu)
154. Eyüp Devlet Hastanesi
155. Farplas
156. Federal Mogul
157. FedEx
158. Final Okulları
159. Finans Merkezi İnşaatı
160. Fırat Aksa Elektrik Hizmetleri AŞ (FEDAŞ)
161. FL Konfeksiyon
162. Flomak
163. Folkart Life
164. Fontana Kalıp
165. Ford Otosan
166. Gama Tekstil
167. GAMAK Motor
168. Garanti Koza
169. Gaziantep Şehir Hastanesi
170. Gaziantep Üniversitesi Şahinbey Araştırma ve Uygulama Hastanesi
171. GEM (Genel Elektrik Montaj)
172. Gemaş Genel Mühendislik AŞ
173. Gemek Tersanesi
174. Genel-Sağlık İş (Ülke Çapı): TİS Protestosu
175. Getir
176. Gezer Terlik
177. Giza Halı
178. GM Yapı
179. Goethe Enstitüsü
180. Gökçeada Devlet Hastanesi
181. Goodyear
182. Grid
183. GSM Şirketi
184. Gübretaş
185. Güral Porselen
186. Gürdesan
187. Habaş Demir Çelik
188. Hakbey İnşaat
189. Halkalı Tema 2
190. Has Tavuk
191. Hatay Antakya Belediyesi
192. Hatay Defne Belediyesi
193. Hatay Defne Devlet Hastanesi
194. Hidromek
195. Hisar Çelik
196. Hitachi Power
197. Hopa Devlet Hastanesi
198. HSA Enerji AŞ
199. İDÇ (İzmir Demir Çelik Sanayi A.Ş.)
200. İnşaat İşçileri - Adana
201. İSFALT
202. Işıl Tekstil
203. İşper AŞ.
204. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi
205. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Metro AŞ
206. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Şehir Hatları AŞ
207. İstanbul Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi
208. İstanbul Kalkınma Ajansı
209. İstanbul Kartal Belediyesi
210. İstanbul Sabiha Gökçen Havalimanı
211. İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi
212. Isuzu (Anadolu Isuzu)
213. İTÜ
214. İTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı Okulları
215. İyidere Lojistik Liman İnşaatı
216. İzdeniz
217. İzelman
218. İzenerji

219. İzmir Atatürk Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi
220. İzmir Bayraklı Belediyesi
221. İzmir Belediyesi Evde Bakım İşçileri (Ozan Grup)
222. İzmir Bornova Belediyesi
223. İzmir Buca Belediyesi
224. İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
225. İzmir Demokrasi Üniversitesi
226. İzmir Karşıyaka Adliyesi
227. İzmir Karşıyaka Belediyesi
228. İzmir Karşıyaka Belediyesi Kent AŞ - Tersane Kafe
229. İzmir Menderes Belediyesi
230. İzmir Metro A.Ş.
231. İzmir Narlıdere Belediyesi
232. İzocam
233. İzomas
234. Kadıköy Belediyesi
235. Kafkas Gemi
236. Kaplanser Hali
237. Karşıyaka Belediyesi Kent AŞ
238. Karşıyaka Belediyesi Personel A.Ş.
239. Kartal Belediyesi
240. Kartal Hali
241. Kartal Mermer
242. Kartonsan
243. Karyapsan
244. Kaynak İplik
245. Key Teknik
246. Kiler Holding
247. Kırklareli Lüleburgaz Belediyesi
248. Kırşehir Belediyesi
249. Kluh Temizlik (LC Waikiki)
250. Kocaeli Dilovası Belediyesi
251. Kocaeli Şehir Hastanesi
252. Koza Hali
253. Kroman Çelik
254. Kul Endüstriyel Makine
255. Kule Vinç Operatörlerinin eylemi
256. Küpkök Okulları
257. Kütahya Porselen
258. Limter-İş: İş Cinayeti
259. Lionel Hotel
260. Makina Takım Endüstrisi A.Ş.
261. Mako
262. Maltepe Belediyesi
263. MAN
264. Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Hafsa Sultan Hastanesi
265. Marbit
266. Mata Otomotiv
267. Mavro İnşaat: Gebze-Darıca Metro İnşaatı
268. Maya Mekanik
269. MDZ İplik
270. Mehmet Akif Ersoy Devlet Hastanesi
271. Mercedes Benz Otomotiv Ticaret ve Hizmetler A.Ş.
272. Mersin Akdeniz Tapu Müdürlüğü
273. Mersin Büyükşehir Belediyesi
274. Mersin Toptancı Hali
275. MESS
276. Milli Savunma Bakanlığı: TİS
277. Milli Savunma Bakanlığı İşletmeleri
278. MilMay Tekstil
279. Mimarlar Odası
280. MKS Transformatör
281. MMK Metalurji
282. Mosi Tekstil
283. Motokuryeler: ÖTV zammını protesto
284. Mplus Çağrı Merkezi
285. MRV İnşaat
286. Muğla Büyükşehir Belediyesi
287. Muğla Marmaris Belediyesi
288. Muğla Milas Belediyesi

289. Muğla Valiliği İl Tarım ve Orman Müdürlüğü
290. Mutlu Akü
291. MYC Orman Ürünleri (Şişli Bel. taşeronu)
292. Narbel Aş. (Narlidere Belediyesi taşeronu)
293. NATO Müttefik Kara Komutanlığı
294. NCG Metal
295. Neo Trend Tekstil
296. Neolife Tıp Merkezi
297. Nermanoğlu Hafriyat AŞ.
298. Novares
299. ODTÜ
300. ODTÜ Mezunları Derneği Vişnelik Tesisleri
301. Oğuzkaan Koleji
302. Okmeydanı Ağız ve Diş Hastalıkları Hastanesi
303. Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi
304. Oniks Yapı
305. Öz Sağlık İş (ülke geneli): TİS farkları eylemi
306. Özak Tekstil
307. Özay Moda Tekstil
308. Özdemir Antimuan Madenleri AŞ.
309. Özel Evrim Okulları
310. Özgüneş Taşımacılık
311. Özka Lastik
312. Özsever Tekstil
313. Özsoy İnşaat
314. Pakkens
315. Pamukkale Üniversitesi Hastanesi
316. Paşabahçe
317. Pelsan Tekstil
318. Pendik Uygulama Grup Müdürlüğü
319. Pilenpak Ambalaj
320. Pirelli
321. Plasmek Makina
322. Polifleks Faurecia
323. Polinas
324. Poliport
325. Polyak Eynez Enerji Üretim Mad. San. Ve Tic. A.Ş.
326. Portakal Plastik
327. Posco Assan
328. Prof. Dr. Cemil Taşcıoğlu Şehir Hastanesi
329. Prometeon
330. Prysmian
331. PTT
332. Pulver (Conta Elastik)
333. Ravago Plastik
334. Ravago Tekpol
335. Recticel
336. Renault
337. Reuters
338. S.C.M. Sistemi Comandi Meccanici
339. Sabo Süspansiyon
340. Şafak Elektrik
341. Sağlık Bakanlığı
342. Şahinkul Makine
343. Şair Abay Konanbay Anadolu Lisesi
344. Samandağ Devlet Hastanesi
345. Samsun Tekkeköy Devlet Hastanesi inşaatı
346. Sandoz Novartis
347. Şanlıurfa Balıklıgöl Devlet Hastanesi
348. Sanofi İlaç
349. Sarkuysan
350. Satera Elektrik
351. Schneider Elektrik (Manisa)
352. Sedaş
353. Sefine Tersanesi
354. Selahaddin Eyyübi Devlet Hastanesi
355. Selçuk Belediyesi (İzmir)
356. Sembol İnşaat
357. Seval Kablo
358. Seyfi Demirsoy Hastanesi
359. SGK
360. Siemens
361. Silivri Belediyesi
362. Sinay Enerji

363. Sinetek
364. Şireci Tekstil
365. Şirikçiođlu Tekstil
366. Şişecam
367. Şişli Belediyesi
368. Smart Solar
369. Soda Kromsan (Şişecam)
370. Soho Hotel
371. Söylemez Kauçuk
372. Sözleşmeli öğretmenler
373. Sputnik
374. Standard Profil
375. Star Havuz ve Bilişim Ürünleri AŞ
376. Stow Depo ve Ekipman AŞ
377. Sumiriko Hose
378. Süperlit Boru
379. Supervise Gözetme Etüd Kontrol Servisleri (SGS)
380. Taksim Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi
381. Talha Nakliyat
382. Tambay Taşımacılık
383. Taner Triko
384. TCDD
385. Tek Çelik
386. Tekirdağ Büyükşehir Belediyesi
387. Tekno Kauçuk
388. Tekzen
389. Telemobil İnşaat
390. Temsan Makina
391. TES-İŞ'e yönelik TİS protestosu
392. Tezcan Galvaniz
393. TMOBB - Kocaeli: 3 Mart İş Cinayetlerine Karşı Mücadele Günü
394. Tofaş
395. Totomak
396. TPI Composite
397. Trelleborg
398. Trendyol Depo
399. Trendyol Go
400. TRT
401. TTK Zonguldak
402. Tümay Eğitim Kurumları
403. Tunceli Aile ve Sosyal Hizmet İl Müdürlüğü
404. Tüpraş
405. Türk Telekom taşeronu
406. Turkuaz Tekstil
407. Tuzla Gemi Tersanesi
408. Tuzla Hidrodinamik Tersanesi
409. Uğurteks
410. Uluğ Enerji
411. Ünal Sentetik
412. Uno Ekmek
413. Ünüvar Elektronik
414. Uşak Sivashlı Belediyesi
415. Üstay
416. Vakıf Üniversiteleri Akademisyenleri
417. Van Büyükşehir Belediyesi
418. Vera Ambalaj
419. Vibracoustic Air Springs
420. Voestalpine
421. Weidmann
422. Yapı & Yapı Holding
423. Yapı İş Mühendislik
424. Yapı Merkezi (Tanzanya Demiryolu inşaatı)
425. Yedikule Göğüs Hastalıkları Hastanesi
426. Yemek Sepeti
427. Yeni Anadolu Madencilik
428. Yonga Mobilya
429. Yücel Boru
430. Zeytinburnu Belediyesi
431. ZF Lemförder
432. ZF Sachs
433. Ziem Tekstil

# WORKING CLASS PROTESTS REPORT

The Labor Studies Collective (EÇT) emerged in September 2014 from a series of meetings among academics, researchers, and union experts exploring opportunities for coordinated collaboration. Since 2015, it has regularly published annual Worker Class Protests Reports. The collective has also organized various meetings and workshops with the participation of academics and researchers focused on labor issues. In 2018 and 2019, it organized two union school programs and prepared bibliographies on labor studies.

