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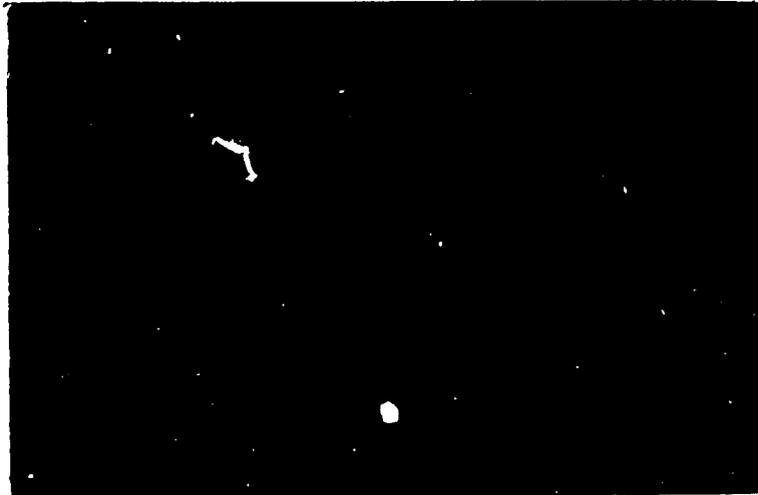
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Discussion Paper No. 16

TOWARD A HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PLAN
FOR TURKEY

Duncan Miller

This is a revised and updated version of a paper ("Türkiye İçin Bir İnsan Kaynağı Geliştirme Planına Doğru") presented at the Annual Congress of the Ministry of Labor (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu) in November 1972. The author wishes to thank Dr. İhsan Çetin, USAID, for his assistance and critical comments.

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**TOWARD A HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR
TURKEY**

Duncan Miller

**The failure to create meaningful employment is
the most tragic failure of development 1/**

The Pearson Commission

Abstract

Economists and other social scientists increasingly are becoming aware of two general trends concerning economic development planning: (1) at best Gross National Product growth is a less than sufficient measure of economic development and (2) comprehensive economic development planning has emphasized physical investments (usually large scale, capital-intensive industry or infrastructure) and relatively neglected human resource investments. This paper urges Turkish manpower planners and other related authorities to establish a separate Human Resource Development Plan which will address all of the many issues of human capital formation and set out detailed human resource development targets and strategies. The Human Resource Development Plan should then constitute the framework with which to integrate efforts in manpower, health, population, education, community development and even many more social and cultural projects undertaken by various Ministries and action agencies.

Since present Turkish planning efforts are oriented toward an overall macro-sectoral approach, the Human Resource Development Plan would offer planners the opportunity to address relatively neglected micro issues including the spatial distribution of the population and detailed demographic and economic base studies by regions or provinces. Thus, the Human Resource Development Plan would complement the overall Third Five Year Development Plan by starting at the bottom (micro and local levels) and working up to the top (macro and national levels); the Human Resource Development Plan would therefore (1) be a consistency check on the overall physical plan, (2) highlight development "bottlenecks", and (3) constitute a more rational basis for investments and project implementation. Although this paper does not pretend to present such a plan, it does summarize some of the more basic issues to be addressed in human resource planning.

I. Human Resources and Economic Development Planning

For the past 20 years, or more, many developing nations have followed a strategy of seeking to maximize growth by rapid, capital-intensive industrialization. This industrialization process has often been narrowly concentrated in certain sectors and regions and has been coupled with import-substitution policies. One almost axiomatic consequence of this process has been chronic and rising urban unemployment and underemployment, along with disguised unemployment in agriculture, especially in simple, one crop economies. Although this phenomenon of urban unemployment has reached large proportions in some areas, ^{2/} theoretical economic development literature has remained relatively silent on this matter. Moreover, even less serious investigations have been devoted to the implications, if any, on economic growth rates of adopting a more labor absorbing development strategy. In fact, with few notable exceptions, comprehensive economic development planning has assumed Gross National Product (GNP), per capita or aggregate, as the relevant maximand and treated labor force and employment as a function of aggregate sectoral output growth. Other areas of human resource development such as education, health, and other social services have generated heated debate amongst planners but have yet to be fully incorporated into plan formulations. For example, although Turkish planners have engaged in some attempts to identify and project manpower requirements, insufficient efforts have been undertaken to coordinate, much less to integrate, educational and manpower planning.

Development planning to date has most often been devoted to physical, capital-intensive, long-term investments, especially in infrastructure and basic industries; consequently, planners have yet to devise appropriate methodologies with which to isolate and investigate human resource development. ^{3/} Recent experience, at least in the relatively more developed countries, appears to indicate three basic trends necessitating more intensive human resource planning. Studies of United States growth in GNP tend to show that less than one half of output growth can be attributed to measurable productivity increases of either physical capital or direct labor inputs; this trend has led many economists to conclude that human capital investments, especially education and on-the-job training, are at least as important as non-human (physical) investments. ^{4/}

Secondly, the factor labor can no longer be treated as a homogeneous entity; many nations are now facing skilled labor constraints as severe as capital constraints were once envisioned. ^{5/} The required gestation period for human capital investments is at least as long, if not longer, than most physical capital investments; for example, the average

gestation period to create a university graduate in Turkey is about 16 years; few, if any, physical investments take so long to establish. Lastly, persistent problems of unemployment and inflation especially in the United States has led to the realization that comprehensive manpower policies, along with monetary and fiscal policies, now constitute a major tool for managing the macro economy.

Time does not allow for a complete review of human resource development in Turkey; moreover, much of Turkey's manpower and human resource development experience has already been articulated elsewhere. ^{6/} Enough scholarly research has been conducted to indicate however that Turkey's economic development faces near-term human resource constraints especially in terms of skilled, technical, and managerial talents. ^{7/} The major aim of this paper is to propose that Turkish manpower planning authorities initiate a process to establish a Human Resource Development Plan which should be as comprehensive as the overall Third Five Year Development Plan but need not be legally binding. In other words, every aspect of human resource development should be explored and all related projects integrated. The following observations in no way constitute such a plan nor does the author purport to have devised the appropriate planning methodologies with which to initiate such a plan. The purpose here is much more modest, to simply summarize some of the relevant issues to be addressed in human resource planning.

II. Issues in Human Resource Development Planning

1. Population Size

Any investigation of human resource development must begin with a comprehensive understanding of the demographic characteristics of population, namely, size, growth, composition and age cohort structure. Population affects both the static and dynamic conditions of development; its size and growth rate influence the amount and distribution of investment, the supply of manpower, and the size of the domestic consumer market. Earlier consternation about the absolute size of population in any given area has subsided and efforts at defining an "optimum" population have given way to more general considerations of the effects of population growth and age distribution on critical economic development parameters. The demographic patterns of population growth in Turkey have been extensively analyzed; consequently, only some more salient features will be presented here. ^{8/}

Table 1 presents some key population characteristics as of the most recent demographic survey. From these, we can discern sizeable urban-rural and interregional variations in population characteristics. The

major economic implications of continued high fertility rates are exhibited in Table 2. The results show that, by the year 2000, per capita GNP under declining fertility would be 40 percent greater than under constant fertility; in other words, a one percentage point reduction in the rate of growth of population means a one percentage point increase in the rate of growth of GNP per capita. The dependency ratio would be 97.9 and 58.7 under constant and declining fertility respectively. Although the absolute size of the total labor force would fall somewhat, the labor force participation rate would be substantially higher and unemployment three percentage points less under declining fertility. In fact, the respective levels of unemployment would be 1.3 and 3.0 million under declining and constant fertility respectively. Declining fertility would yield a 15 percent greater capital stock per worker, thus allowing productivity to rise. Moreover, the rate of net domestic saving out of GNP would rise not only because of the decreased dependency rates but also because of the increased per capita incomes. In terms of demands for social services, reduced fertility would allow a 19 percent less demand for teachers and 68 percent less necessary health facilities than under constant fertility. ^{9/}

TABLE 1

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

<u>Region/Area</u>	<u>Mid-year Population (000)</u>	<u>Depen- dency Ratio</u>	<u>% Literate</u>	<u>Net Migration 1/Rate per 1,000</u>	<u>Net Population Increase Rate per 1,000</u>
Turkey:					
Total	31,899.1	87.6	53.2	-	25.0
Rural	20,862.7	92.7	45.1	-20.3	27.2
Urban	11,036.4	77.9	67.9	17.4	20.7
Ankara	657.3	73.0	79.4	51.4	21.8
Istanbul	1,063.3	56.0	82.0	32.9	12.6
Izmir	414.1	60.0	74.0	44.4	14.3
<u>REGION</u>					
Central Anatolia					
Rural	5,828.5	96.1	42.9	-25.0	31.0
Urban	1,900.8	88.3	63.4	- 3.8	23.5
Black Sea					
Rural	4,963.4	88.7	45.3	-13.8	23.2
Urban	1,265.5	91.6	63.1	- 0.4	24.2
Aegean & Marmara					
Rural	4,087.6	77.0	55.2	-17.8	20.9
Urban	2,241.5	71.8	68.8	18.0	15.6
Mediterranean					
Rural	2,347.9	98.8	52.0	-26.0	27.1
Urban	1,809.1	84.8	65.7	15.0	23.0
Eastern Anatolia					
Rural	3,634.8	109.2	30.8	-20.5	34.2
Urban	1,145.0	98.4	50.0	- 6.1	31.7

1/ Ages 8 years and over

Source: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, School of Public Health, Vital Statistics from the Turkish Demographic Survey (Ankara, 1970) Tables 2, 5, 11, 35 and 14 respectively (from left to right).

TABLE 2

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTANT
AND DECLINING FERTILITY: TURKEY
Year 2000

Variable	Base Year 1965 (1)	Constant Fertility (2)	Declining ^{a/} Fertility (3)	Declining/(3/2) Constant % (4)
Population (millions)	31.4	93.5	64.1	0.69
GNP (\$ billions)	8.04	64.58	60.08	0.93
GNP/Population (\$)	256	690	937	1.36
Urban Population (millions)	10.7	49.9	34.1	0.68
Population, Ages 0-14 (millions)	13.1	43.1	20.5	0.48
Primary School Age Population, Ages 7-11 (millions)	4.27	13.01	6.64	0.51
Ratio of Population, Ages 0-14 to Population Ages 15-64	0.776	0.910	0.500	0.56
Total Labor Force (millions)	13.4	37.2	32.0	0.86
Employed Labor Force (millions)	12.0	34.2	30.4	0.89
Unemployment Rate (percent)	10.0	8.0	5.0	0.62
Ratio of Labor Force to Population	0.426	0.397	0.498	1.26
Capital Stock per Employed Worker (\$ thousands)	1.33	3.56	4.08	1.15
Ratio of Domestic Savings to GNP (percent)	9.1	12.0	13.4	1.05

Source: General Electric, TEMPO, Turkey: The Effects of Falling Fertility (Santa Barbara, California: General Electric, 1969, p.2.)

^{a/} Fertility declines linearly over a 25 year period.

Thus, the economic benefits of declining fertility are profound and ubiquitous. As great as the benefits of reduced fertility may be, they will accrue to the economy only after a considerable lag; therefore, even if Turkey should embark on an ambitious program to reduce fertility rates, more near term human resource problems must be investigated. The most basic issues to be addressed are summarized below. As Weisbrod has aptly stated, additions to human capital generally take three forms: "the principal forms of direct investment in the productivity and well-being of people are: health, learning (both in school and on the job), and location (migration). ^{10/}

2. Spatial Distribution of the Population:

All too often, development plans neglect spatial aspects of planning; in other words, where you do something may often be of crucial importance, sometimes as important as what you do. Table 1 yielded insights as to the pattern of migration from rural, and sometimes urban, areas into larger urban centers; such a pattern is also evident in Table 3. From Table 3, we can see that the growth of settlement sizes has constantly shifted. The 1950-1955 population growth of cities 15,001 to 20,000, for example, was replaced with a growth in population of cities 20,001 to 25,000 over the period 1955-1966; specifically, this implies both a growth in indigenous population and in-migration such that 20,001 to 25,000 cities grew and more cities became that size. It is obvious from this table, and birth rates shown in Table 1, that internal migration within Turkey is almost explosive. Although somewhat spatially unstable, rapid population growth rates are, at an increasing rate, being shifted forward and upward into larger settlement sizes. The average city size, for example, about doubled from 1950 to 1970 and increased almost 25 percent from 1965 to 1970. Moreover, the percent of city population residing in cities of 25,001 or more inhabitants jumped from slightly over 50 to 72.4 from 1950 to 1970. Consequently, unabated future migration trends probably will foster even greater concentration of population in large settlements.

The implications of migration on development planning are quite dramatic. As rapid urbanization continues, the size and nature of demands for public services (electricity, water, schools, transportation, etc.) housing, entertainment and other facilities will alter significantly, all with public and private costs and benefits which must be calculated. For example, continued urbanization, on the one hand, will generate external economies to individual entrepreneurs (in terms of greater access to markets, inputs, and supportive financial and administrative institutions); yet, on the other hand, migration will cause greater demands for urban, industrial jobs with urban overt unemployment already projected to reach about 30 percent in the 1980's. ^{11/}

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF CITIES AND ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF POPULATION - TURKEY

By Size of Inhabited Centers

<u>Size Group</u>	<u>No. of cities</u>			<u>G r o w t h r a t e s</u>				
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1940- 1950</u>	<u>1950- 1955</u>	<u>1955- 1960</u>	<u>1960- 1965</u>	<u>1965- 1970</u>
0-500	7	4	0	-	-	-	-	-
501-2000	113	104	40	3.1	2.5	2.8	1.8	-9.2
2001-3000	70	96	63	3.0	6.8	4.3	5.9	-8.2
3001-5000	96	124	129	0.6	4.5	3.4	3.0	2.3
5001-10000	97	144	161	1.5	5.4	3.5	5.1	0.3
10001-15000	42	47	30	0.3	-3.3	5.5	6.3	6.6
15001-20000	19	22	38	3.7	11.3	-5.0	-3.2	15.3
20001-25000	10	22	13	-0.2	2.4	15.5	5.4	-16.4
25001-50000	20	30	58	-	6.0	2.6	7.4	6.2
50001-100000	6	18	24	0.1	14.0	10.9	-1.8	8.2
100000- +	5	9	32	4.2	7.2	6.7	7.0	6.1
TOTAL	485	620	638	1.6	5.7	5.0	4.1	4.8

Compiled from Population Census Data

With public services already constrained in Turkey's large urban agglomerations and a vast majority of population living in gecekondu areas where few, if any, public services are available, it is not obvious how the already congested cities of Istanbul, Ankara, Adana, etc. will support an even greater population in the near future. Consequently, if Turkey is to not repeat the urban development mistakes made in Western Europe and the United States, attempts to identify future spatial settlement patterns must be made. In other words, will the hierarchy of cities indicated in Table 3 lead to a situation where, as in the United States, over 70 percent of the population inhabit only one percent of the land? If so, human resource planners must look forward to vastly increasing demands for urban housing, health facilities, schools and, most importantly, jobs; if not, planners must somehow devise ways to stimulate growth and employment in medium sized cities of, say 15,000 to 30,000 people. In either case, knowledge of both present and future settlement patterns is of utmost importance. In this regard, it is unfortunate that the Third Five Year Development Plan (1973-1977) somewhat cavalierly announces that in 1995, 75 percent of the 55.9 million Turks will reside in urban areas - almost three and one-half times that of 1972. Where will they all live and how?

3. Education and Training

Society's most direct, and possibly most important, investment in her members is in the form of education and training. Literacy trends, as the most basic level of achievement, are presented in Table 4. Although significant increases in literacy achievement are apparent, sizeable interregional variations persist as do male-female differentials. The index of relative change indicates the plight of Eastern Anatolian females. Not only has literacy fallen relative to population but the absolute percentage of literates has also decreased. Educational attainment and sector of economic activity data are presented in Table 5. Here, two major trends are obvious: (1) although the labor force is becoming more educated, the rates of educational attainment, especially for women, remain extremely low overall and (2) the more educated labor force (i.e., lycee, vocational, and higher) are highly concentrated in certain sectors of the economy. To measure the concentration of the educated labor force in each sector of economic activity, we simply distributed the total amounts of each educated group across the economic sectors; in other words, for example, what percentage of total illiterates were employed in agriculture.

TABLE 4

LITERACY TRENDS

TOTAL POPULATION BY
CENSUS YEARS AND REGIONS
(%)

Region	1955			1965			Index of Relative Change ^{1/}		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Marlara	57.8	69.4	44.7	66.2	76.9	54.2	159.9	144.9	187.5
Middle Anatolia	39.5	56.9	22.8	50.3	67.2	33.4	211.1	174.7	282.5
Aegean	48.4	63.6	33.1	57.1	71.0	42.8	173.3	145.7	224.1
Antalya	43.7	62.9	25.3	51.0	68.5	35.2	175.0	137.2	270.7
Çukurova	39.5	56.5	23.1	49.7	66.1	32.1	184.3	155.2	228.5
Western Black Sea	34.4	51.7	18.1	43.2	60.8	26.3	228.9	185.2	336.4
Eastern Black Sea	31.0	49.7	14.2	38.0	57.8	21.1	210.6	166.7	326.8
Eastern Anatolia	28.8	39.4	17.3	31.0	46.4	14.6	131.1	171.3	38.5
Total Turkey	40.9	55.7	25.5	48.7	64.0	32.8	178.3	159.4	218.4

^{1/} (% change in Literates) / (% change in Population)

Source: 1955 Population Census, Table 29 a.

1965 Population Census, Table 27.

Education and Economic Activity
1965

	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Manufacture</u>	<u>Commerce</u>	<u>Services</u>
% Total Labor Force	71.4	7.2	2.9	6.3
% Distribution of Total Educated Labor by Sector				
Illiterate	90.7	2.3	0.5	1.6
Primary	52.3	14.7	4.9	8.2
Secondary	10.3	15.2	16.0	23.2
Lycee	3.1	10.5	22.7	32.0
Vocational	2.1	11.3	5.4	51.5
Higher	1.4	6.4	9.7	49.4

This indicates a very heavy concentration of illiterates in agriculture and educated, presumably managerial and white collar workers, in the commerce and service sectors. Female concentration rates were even more drastic with 98 percent of all female illiterate workers in agriculture and over 80 percent of all higher education graduates in the service sector alone. Moreover, the polarization of illiterates in agriculture and highly educated workers in the service sector increased slightly between 1960 and 1965. Although the concentration of illiterates in agriculture might have been hypothesized, it is not clear whether the concentration of educated workers in services, rather than a more equal distribution including manufacturing, transport, utilities, and commerce, is due to market (employer) effective demand or imperfections and rigidities in the labor market.

Unfortunately, adequate data do not exist to estimate what proportion of GNP growth is due to human capital formation or even calculate exact rates of return to each level of additional education. Estimates by Krueger, however, indicate private rates of return as follows: ^{12/}

Rate of return on	(1) secondary (technical) School	21-23%
	(2) lycee	23-25%
	(3) university	25-27%

Thus, the return to the individual laborer due to additional education is quite high. Moreover, as Monson's study of "experienced-generated learning" within Turkish industrial enterprises indicates, education - training and experience on the job have both direct and indirect effects. The direct effect of additional education, training, or industrial experience is reflected in the time and skills acquired by the worker

himself; the indirect effects are those each individual worker benefits from working with more skilled and/or more experienced co-workers on the job. In fact, a worker's output in any time period (marginal product) can be expressed as follows:

$$X(t) = f[\bar{K}(t), h_1(t), h_2(t), e(t)],$$

$X(t)$ = a worker's output in time t .

$K(t)$ = physical capital combined with an inexperienced worker.

$h_1(t)$ = number of skilled workers with whom an inexperienced worker is employed.

$h_2(t)$ = experience level of co-workers.

$e(t)$ = experience level of the worker.

Such a formulation clearly highlights the importance of training and industrial experience on a worker's productivity. Very useful, indeed necessary, research should be conducted to ascertain the skill composition required by each major industrial sector. Recent theoretical models also tend to emphasize the fact that unlimited transfer of labor from the traditional sectors, especially agriculture, to modern sectors is no longer possible. Simply put, given modern technology - even fairly labor intensive technologies - a certain amount of skilled and semi-skilled, experienced workers along with physical capital necessary for the productive utilization of unskilled workers. ^{13/}

In summary, education and training are fundamental factors in any investigation of human resource development. Expansions of industrial training, especially on-the-job, will be further necessitated as Turkey approaches status as a full member of the European Common Market. Education and training also have a spatial characteristic. As Miller ^{14/} points out, it may be both socially and economically beneficial to give industrial training before migration rather than after a migrant joins the ranks of the urban unemployed.

4. Public Investments and Economic Base Studies

The amount and composition of public investments in a region have long been regarded as a primary moving force in regional economic development. Many regional development economists advocate a policy of allocating public expenditures based on the economic base (structure) of a region and its relationships, including spatial, to other regions or centers, i.e., the so-called pole de croissance. ^{15/} Such theoretical models

have relevance to human resource development planning in that they advocate a great deal of concentration of human capital formation in the relatively lagging areas of a country; specifically, they realize that the lack of a relatively skilled labor force is a severe constraint impeding private entrepreneurs from investing in lagging regions, such as Eastern Turkey.

Expenditure data in Turkey for the period 1963 through 1968 are presented in Table 6. ^{16/} From these, two general trends can be discerned: (1) per capita public expenditures in the East clearly lag behind the West; (2) the distribution of both education and total expenditures follows the population distribution more closely in the East than in the West. Obviously, a development strategy emphasizing greater human capital formation implies higher levels of expenditures on education in the East, both aggregate and per capita. The same applies for greater concentration on health, sanitation, and other public services as part of a human resource development strategy.

TABLE 6
Regional Public Expenditure Data

<u>Region</u>	<u>Per Capita Expenditures (TL)</u>		<u>% Distribution</u>		
	<u>Education</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>1965 Population</u>
Marmara	465	1137	21.1	22.1	19.6
Middle Anatolia	435	1191	23.1	23.0	22.9
Aegean	415	1108	11.1	10.8	11.6
Antalya	467	1261	3.3	3.2	3.0
Çukurova	477	1114	6.6	5.6	6.0
Western Black Sea	422	979	4.6	3.9	4.7
Eastern Black Sea	405	988	12.0	10.7	12.8
Eastern Anatolia	407	1262	18.2	20.6	19.3
Total Turkey	432	1185	100.0	100.0	100.0

In conclusion, major human resource factors of population, education and training, mobility and public investments should constitute the framework toward establishing a Human Resource Development Plan for Turkey. The plan should articulate a concise set of plan targets and strategies and establish a mechanism by which all human resource projects can be integrated. By its nature, the Plan must be based on regional economic and social structures; it must be flexible yet consistent with the overall Third Five Year Development Plan. Most importantly, it must be geared to people - their present positions, problems and future prospects.

FOOTNOTES

1. Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development, Lester B. Pearson, Chairman (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 58.
2. For a general review of these trends, see, among others, Barbara Ward, "The Cities that Came Too Soon", Economist, December 6, 1959.
3. For present purposes, human resource development means any direct or indirect addition to human capital formation, namely, health, education, mobility, access to information or public services, etc.
4. See, for example, M. Blaug, ed., Economics of Education (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), especially T. W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital", pp. 13-33.
5. W. Baer and M. E. A. Herve, "Employment and Industrialization in Developing Countries, Quarterly Journal of Economics 80 (1), February 1966, pp. 88-107. Baer and Herve demonstrate that, like physical capital, some minimum amounts of skilled labor are required to utilize productively unskilled labor. This is of particular importance given the relatively inelastic supply curve for skilled labor.
6. For a good review of labor force, see D. Miller, ed., Essays on Labor Force and Employment in Turkey (Ankara: United States Agency for International Development, 1971).
7. Concern over possible skilled labor constraints in Turkey has been growing for some time. Recent findings by T. Monson, "Migration, Experience - Generated Learning and Infant Industries: A Case Study of Turkey." Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1972, highlight such concern. It is therefore not surprising that Third Five Year Plan 1973-1977 1972 skilled labor shortages of some 480,000.
8. For a concise review of population dynamics in Turkey, see D. Miller "Population Growth and Population Planning in Turkey," Istatistik 1 (8-9), pp. 67-81.
9. General Electric - TEMPO, Turkey: The Effects of Falling Fertility (Santa Barbara, California: TEMPO, 1969) pp. 17-19.
10. B. A. Weisbrod, "External Effects of Investment in Education," p. 56 in Blaug, ed., Economics of Education, op. cit.

11. See, for example, M. Celasun, "Prospective Growth of Non-Agricultural Employment in Turkey - 1972-1982," p. 155 in D. Miller, Essays on Labor Force and Employment in Turkey, op. cit.
12. A. Krueger, "Turkish Education and Manpower Development: Some Impressions," p. 249 in D. Miller, Essays on Labor Force and Employment in Turkey, op. cit.
13. For references see footnotes 5 and 7 above.
14. D. Miller, "Village Vocational Improvement Centers: A Possible Strategy for Turkish Education and Manpower Planners," unpublished paper.
15. See, for example, A. R. Kuklinski, ed., Growth Poles and Growth Centers in Regional Planning (Hague: Mouton, 1972).
16. For a detailed review of education in Turkey, see D. Miller and Ihsan Çetin, "Regional Variations in Educational Attainment in Turkey - A cursory Review of Some Existing Statistical Evidence," United States Agency for International Development, Economic Staff Paper No. 12, December 1972.