

APPROACH OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN RELATION TO
EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT:
ÇATOM AS AN EXAMPLE

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ÖZEN GÜVEN

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Prof. Dr. Meliha Benli Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Meliha Benli Altunışık
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Kibaroğlu
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şule Güneş (METU, IR) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Kibaroğlu (METU, IR) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç (METU, Sociology) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Özen Güven

Signature :

ABSTRACT

APPROACH OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN RELATION TO EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT: ÇATOM AS AN EXAMPLE

Güven, Özen

M. Sc., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Kibaroğlu

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This thesis is meant to describe and analyze approach of international organizations in relation to education, development and empowerment as well as their role at the intersection of these three concepts. In its attempt to understand the nature of international involvement in education with a development discourse and particularly to see the effects of this involvement on the target groups of the projects and programs, the thesis explores Multi-Purpose Community Centers (ÇATOMs) in Turkey's southeast. The thesis identifies, on the one hand, that the ÇATOM project supports the analyses in the literature regarding the role of international organizations in the institutionalization of the idea of 'education for development' and in the standardization and dissemination of their own discourses about this idea. On the other hand, the current work proposes that ÇATOMs as a project supported by international organizations have produced rather limited but meaningful outcomes in terms of its economic effects on the participants; however, more importantly, it has also created qualitative changes on the daily life of the beneficiaries, which may contribute to social transformation of the region in the long term.

Keywords: International Organizations, education, development, empowerment, ÇATOM

ÖZ

EĞİTİM, KALKINMA VE GELİŞME BAĞLAMINDA ULUSLARARASI ÖRGÜTLERİN YAKLAŞIMI: ÇATOM ÖRNEĞİ

Güven, Özen

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Bu tez eğitim, kalkınma ve gelişme bağlamında uluslararası örgütlerin yaklaşımını ve aynı noktada bu örgütlerin rolünü tanımlamayı ve analiz etmeyi hedeflemektedir. Çalışma, uluslararası örgütlerin kalkınma söylemine dayanarak eğitim alanındaki varlıklarını ve özellikle bu varlığın yürütülen proje ve programlardaki hedef grupları üzerindeki etkilerini anlamaya çalışırken, Türkiye'nin güneydoğusundaki Çok Amaçlı Toplum Merkezleri'ni (ÇATOMs) incelemektedir. Tez, bir taraftan, ÇATOM projesinin, uluslararası örgütlerin 'kalkınma için eğitim' fikrinin kurumsallaşmasında ve bu fikirle ilgili kendi söylemlerinin standartlaşması ve yayılmasındaki rolüne yönelik literatürdeki analizleri desteklediğini belirlemektedir. Diğer taraftan ise, ÇATOM'ların, uluslararası örgütler tarafından desteklenen bir proje olarak, katılımcılar üzerinde ekonomik etkileri bakımından oldukça kısıtlı ama anlamlı sonuçlar ortaya çıkardığını, ancak daha önemli olarak, projeden yararlananların günlük hayatlarında niteliksel anlamda değişiklikler yarattığını ve bunun belki uzun vadede bölgenin sosyal dönüşümüne katkı sağlayabileceğini önermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası Örgütler, eğitim, kalkınma, gelişme, ÇATOM

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÇATOMs	Multi-Purpose Community Centers
EFA	Education for All
EIP	Educational Investment and Planning Programme
EPTA	Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance
ESD	Education for sustainable development
GAP	Southeastern Anatolia Project
GAP RDA	Southeastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
SHD	Sustainable human development
SPO	State Planning Organization
TKV	Development Foundation of Turkey
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the 20th century, a universal quest for forward movement targeting economic, social, and political progress placed *development* at the center of policy objectives both at the national and international levels. Likewise, the faith in the virtues of human being in the way of progress drew attention to the ways to better and *empower* individuals, thereby earning *education* an unprecedented importance. These developments, along with the recognition of ‘education’ and ‘development’ as universal human rights, brought these concepts to the attention of both nation-states and international community, and thus helped them establish a link among these concepts recognizing education as a key dimension of empowerment and socio-economic development.

Meanwhile, there were also other changes in the perceptions of international community bringing the idea of multilateralism back into focus after the devastating years of World War II. These changes led to the proliferation of international organizations following the foundation of the United Nations in 1945, and thereafter, they have become crucial actors of a world order long dominated by nation-states.

In the course of these parallel processes, that is the proliferation of international organizations and the establishment of a positive link among education, development and empowerment, development-minded nation-states and international organizations began to be increasingly involved using education as a tool for human, social, and economic development. As a result, while existing international organizations increasingly incorporated education in their development discourse, new development organizations mushroomed, some of which being specifically for the purpose of educational development.

The involvement of international organizations in the realm of education using the rhetoric of development and empowerment has been a subject matter much discussed in terms of rationales, goals, and outcomes. Not only the involvement of international organizations in education with a development discourse but also the nature of their collaboration with national governments has attracted much attention. While the process is supported by some as a collaboration limited but valuable in the way of transformation, it is condemned by others as a system perpetuating the current problems and deepening the inequalities within and between countries. No matter how this involvement is observed by international community, the fact is that there are countless on-going projects and programs assuming a developmental approach to education, and ÇATOM is only one example of them.

Multi-Purpose Community Center (ÇATOM) is an integral part of a series of projects implemented in the framework of Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) in order to integrate social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainable human development program in cooperation with the UNDP. 35 ÇATOMs in 9 provinces target mainly women, but also men and children, from the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in Turkey's southeast. The objective is to ensure active participation of these groups in the development process so as to achieve social welfare and empowerment of the participants in particular, and to contribute to the sustainable development of the region in general. The project includes courses in subject areas such as literacy, computer, maternal education, health, legal and civil rights as well as programs on income generating fields such as textile, machine knitting, sewing, stone works and hair dressing. Along with the UNDP, which is the most prominent international organization as a partner, ÇATOMs cooperate with a wide range of actors at international (e.g. UNICEF and ILO), national (e.g. Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Health), and local (e.g. local governors and directorates) levels in the development and implementation of the project. Although ÇATOMs are acknowledged as one of the most important accomplishments of GAP, they are also not without criticisms

which have been directed for decades to the projects and programs supported and implemented by international development organizations.

Therefore, in the way of understanding the approach of international organizations in relation to education, development and empowerment as well as their role at the intersection of these three concepts, this thesis attempts to explore ÇATOMs. There are two central reasons behind the selection of ÇATOMs as an example. On the one hand, it is an educational development project, having a non-formal education focus, incorporated into a larger project with an economic dimension (GAP). The economic dimension began to be supplemented by educational activities, along with other social aspects, with a belief in their worth for sustainable development and empowerment of local groups. In this regard, an intensive exploration of ÇATOMs can be illuminating about the contribution of education to empowerment, and hence to development process. On the other hand, launched in 1995, ÇATOM is an on-going project which has gone beyond the original objectives. Recognized as an important contribution to the life of beneficiaries, ÇATOMs have been founded in all provinces of Southeastern Anatolia and entered into institutionalization process. Acknowledging ÇATOMs' accomplishments, international, national, and local organizations/institutions as well as foreign countries and private companies contribute to the process. Studying ÇATOMs can thus provide a meaningful insight about the role of different actors, particularly of international organizations, in the utilization of education for development and empowerment.

While writing this thesis on the aforementioned theme, the author mainly seeks answers to the following questions: “How are international organizations involved in the utilization of education for development and empowerment?” and “What are the effects of this involvement on the target groups of their projects and programs?” In respect to the first question, the thesis aims to understand the approach and changing discourses of international organizations about the goals and ways of using education as a tool for development and empowerment as well as the actual practice of these approach and discourses through their policies, projects and programs. Regarding the latter question, on the other hand, the

current work is interested in the social and economic outcomes of the educational development projects/programs supported or implemented by international organizations, particularly through exploring the example of ÇATOMs.

While exploring ÇATOMs, the thesis asks further questions such as: *“What are the objectives of ÇATOMs? To what extent have they achieved these objectives in overall analyses and to what extent have they achieved them according to participants? In what ways do ÇATOMs cultivate change in social values, attitudes and skills of participants as a way of empowerment? What are the concrete consequences for the economy at the individual, local, and regional level? What are the contributions of international organizations to the project in terms of needs assessment, personnel, and resources? What kind of cooperation exists between international organizations and national bodies? etc.*

In response to the main questions, the thesis has specified in the literature that international organizations have been critical actors in the idea of education for development and empowerment since the emergence of a positive link among these concepts. They have not only been involved in the institutionalization of the idea but also played a central role in the standardization and dissemination of their own approach and discourses about it. To this end, international organizations have been engaged in projects and programs through activities such as providing technical and financial assistance have always attracted criticism for perpetuating the problems rather than bringing a positive transformation. The current work proposes that ÇATOMs, one example of these projects and programs, support the analyses in literature because it serves consolidation and dissemination of the contemporary approach and discourses of UNDP and ILO in a national context. The thesis also suggests that ÇATOM as a project supported by international organizations reflects some of the criticisms directed to multilateral involvement in education especially in terms of the existence of a neoliberal agenda in educational activities and training programs. The project maintains/serves the value-patterns of the current neoliberal order in political, social and economic terms through ideological and economic reproduction. Celebrating individual entrepreneurial liberties and skills, the courses and programs aim to equip

participants with necessary capacities so that they can be a part of the market and labor force. Ambitious goals are specified with respect to economic outcomes in terms of production, income, employment, and starting businesses, yet the outcomes are rather limited and confined to the beneficiaries of the Centers rather than having a larger effect at the regional or national level. More importantly, however, ÇATOMs have also created qualitative changes on the life of the beneficiaries such as facilitating self-confidence and raising awareness about their problems, which may contribute to social transformation of the region in the long term. It is particularly this social dimension that marks the project as one of the most important accomplishments in the framework of GAP.

An important aspect of ÇATOM which differentiates it from most other projects is the incorporation of “sustainable human development” and the corresponding “education for sustainable development” approaches into the project. A participatory approach has been applied in line with the objectives of sustainable human development encouraging the contribution of local people to all levels of the project, and thereby facilitating their support to the Centers which have continuously increased in number over one and a half decade. Since the failure to involve local populations actively in the process not taking local needs and conditions into consideration is usually reported as reasons for the poor outcomes of the projects (Banya, 1988; Cox, 1968; Nagel & Snyder, 1989), this cooperation with local populations can possibly be lying behind the current situation of the Centers which have even entered the institutionalization process.

In the course of asking the questions above and generating the conclusions, this thesis has mainly depended on primary and secondary sources. Relevant reports, covenants, and declarations by international organizations as well as publications of the GAP Administration have been analyzed throughout the thesis. Official websites of international organizations and GAP Administration have also been constant sources of information. Since there is rather limited information about the Centers that can be used for the purposes of the current work, a questionnaire (Appendix) was prepared to be completed by the people in charge of the Centers through e-mail correspondence. The questionnaire reached 9

ÇATOMs, yet only 4 ÇATOMs completed the questionnaire. These questionnaires are the main sources of information for the national and local actors in the ÇATOM experience examined in Chapter 4 which explores the role of international, national, and local level actors in the project using ‘levels of analysis’ as the method of discussion. In order to gather information for ÇATOMs and for the role of different actors in the process, the author has conducted a face-to-face interview with Aygül Fazlıoğlu, who is in charge of the social projects in the framework of GAP, and a telephone interview with Adalet Budak, who is a beneficiary of ÇATOMs and currently works in the GAP Administration. Regarding the role of ILO and UNDP, the author could not arrange an interview for the former but was able to interview Gönül Sulargil on the phone, who is in charge of the UNDP work in the social projects of GAP.

The most important limitation of the current work is that it is not based on a field study. Moreover, the author could not make field visits in order to conduct interviews particularly with the beneficiaries of the Centers because of time limitations. Field study and field visits could compensate for another limitation of the thesis that is the absence of research and literature on ÇATOMs especially to answer the research questions of the thesis. Most of the literature is in the mainstream so it was difficult to find and analyze critical perspectives for the Centers. Lastly, the questionnaires were aimed to reach all 35 ÇATOMs, yet it only reached 9 ÇATOMs with the help of Adalet Budak. The fact that only 4 ÇATOMs completed the questionnaires made it difficult to gather information for Chapter 4.

This thesis is structured in five chapters. Following the Introduction, Chapter 2 gives a general account of the relationship between international organizations and education in the way of empowerment and development. This descriptive review is given in a historical perspective focusing on policy changes across decades and drawing attention to the goals, outcomes and criticisms. The chapter attempts to provide a general answer to the main questions of the current study, particularly the first one, based on the literature review before exploring the example of ÇATOMs. Although the importance of non-governmental

organizations is not disregarded but mentioned at certain points, international governmental organizations are the main focus throughout the thesis. Chapter 3 is also descriptive in content giving a general overview of the GAP and ÇATOMs in the beginning but also presenting a socio-economic assessment of ÇATOMs in the end. This part is of special significance to understanding the context and participants of the project as well as the goals and outcomes. Based on the picture presented in regard to ÇATOMs in the previous chapter, Chapter 4 examines the role of international, national and local actors in the process. The emphasis is naturally on the contribution of international organizations to the ÇATOM project in line with the objectives of the thesis. At the international level, although foreign countries and universities also contribute to the process, the work of UNDP and ILO is the focus of attention as the two prominent international organizations in the project with particular attention to their goals and the outcomes. At the national level, the focus is on the works of relevant ministries, non-governmental organizations, and private companies. Finally, at the local level, the role of local governors and administrations, and provincial directorates are investigated. At certain points, the relationship among those levels is presented in order to understand its affects on the success or failure of the project, which is of paramount importance to the thesis. Chapter 5, in the end, gives analyses of the main points and answers the central questions of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THE RISE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AT THE INTERSECTION OF EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT

Since the end of World War II, the concept of development has gained critical importance both for underdeveloped and advanced countries. The less developed countries have tried to change their status as poor and stagnant players in world politics and to overcome their weaknesses of poverty, diseases, overpopulation, and malnutrition among others. Similarly, the advanced countries have extended their search for development to alternative arenas such as groundbreaking improvements in information technology, revolutions in health sector, and even exploration of outer space. In short, there has emerged a universal idea of forward movement with a quest for economic, social, and political progress placing human being at the center of it.

Although there has been a world-wide aspiration for it, *Development* is not a concept which has a single meaning appealing to all the groups. Rather, it is a term which has diverse meanings for different groups as discussed in the work of Harbison and Myers (1964, pp. 1-2):

...In many countries development means industrialization. In some it symbolizes the achievement of independence, politically and economically. In others it encompasses opportunity for education, the construction of a huge dam, the building of skyscrapers, steel mills, and television networks in once primitive lands, or even the creation of a new nation's capital in wilderness. Development may also mean movement from rural to urban areas, and it certainly includes the achievement of instantaneous, world-wide communications and jet airplane travel.

Drawing attention to the relationship between modernization and development, and at the same time how it is perceived in different fields of study, Harbison and Myers continue:

The sociologists and political scientists tend to think of development as the process of modernization, and they concentrate their attention primarily on the transformation of social and political institutions. Economists tend to equate modernization and development with economic growth; they are concerned primarily with such matters as savings and investment, national income, productivity, and balance of payments.

As observed by Harbison and Myers, therefore, there are different meanings and connotations of *Development* which show variety across countries and groups according to their perceptions and needs. Despite this variety, it should be noted that development has commonly been associated with economic growth and the expansion of goods and services which are considered to constitute the process of economic development (e.g. commodity or income approach) (Saito, 2003; Sen, 1999). Dissatisfaction with this approach, however, in achieving quality of life (e.g. longevity rate, literacy, escaping morbidity, etc.) and living standards led to the emergence of alternative development models in the late 1980s and beyond which focus more on the social aspects of development (e.g. sustainable (human) development, rights-based approach, capability approach). The basic concepts of these models emphasize features such as participation, multidimensional conceptualization of poverty, and empowerment (Frediani, 2010).

It is important to mention at this point that the dissatisfaction with ‘development’ is not just confined to a particular understanding of the concept because there is also resistance to the idea of development itself. Post-development analyses, for example, claim that ‘development’ is the means to Westernize developing countries. Through the rhetoric of helping the poor, ‘universal values’ and ideologies that are associated with international capitalism are imposed on developing countries by means of subtle mechanisms such as governance programs and poverty alleviation policies. The development alternatives, as mentioned above, are also claimed to be appropriated, which creates conformism and perpetuates the current problems. Rather than eliminating subordination and oppression, popular concepts of new development paradigms,

e.g. ‘participation’, are used in an instrumental manner, reproducing the processes of exploitation (Frediani, 2010).

In spite of those criticisms, ‘development’ occupies a significant place on both international and national agendas, and thus the current work is interested in the concept but from an educational perspective with special emphasis on the economic and social dimensions of development. The example of the thesis, ÇATOM, is a project based on the sustainable human development approach but putting too heavy emphasis on productivity and income. The current work is, therefore, interested in the economic growth approach, yet it gives particular attention to more human-centered understanding of development so as to examine the transformation of social aspects in a society (e.g. quality of life in a society, accessibility of institutions, equality, gender relations, etc.) as created by the ÇATOM project.

The development-oriented thinking has given rise to a number of changes in the perception of education as well. Although there had long been an interesting link between education and different forms of politics, the advent of a particular relationship between education and development came with the emergence of development-minded nations and international organizations during the post-war. Acknowledging ‘education’ and ‘development’ as universal human rights, international community has assumed a positive relationship between them recognizing education as a key dimension of economic, political, and social development in the way of modernization. Chabbott and Ramirez (2000, p.164) state two rationales for the emergence of such confidence in education as a viable path towards development both at the individual and collective levels. The first one is related to the construction of education as an investment in human capital to increase “the productivity of labor and contribute to economic growth and development at the societal level” in line with the global norms of progress, material well-being, and economic development. The other rationale is about the construction of education as a human right by utilizing education as a means to help individuals enhance their abilities and take an active part in all economic, political, and social aspects of their societies. Both of these rationales are well

reflected in “human resource development” (Harbison & Myers, 1964) which is “the process of increasing the knowledge, the skills, and the capacities of all people in a society” (p.2). This process can be described as the accumulation of human capital as an investment in the development of an economy; as the preparation of people for participation in political processes and democracy; and, as the equipment of individuals with necessary tools so that they can lead more meaningful lives. Thus, the outcomes of human resource development process are manifested in all economic, political, social, and cultural terms in the way of modernization. There are several ways to develop human resources ranging from improvements in health and nutrition to self-development techniques, yet the most obvious one is education with its formal (primary, secondary, and higher education including the colleges, universities, and technical institutes) and non-formal types (informal training, adult education, lifelong learning and literacy programs) (Harbison & Myers, 1964).

The faith in education as a tool for development, therefore, led to the emergence of a new ideology of education, namely “educational development ideology”. According to the ideology as defined in Cox’s work (1968, pp.314-315);

...investment in human resources is very likely to produce a higher return in terms of economic growth than investment in physical capital and that such investment also socially more beneficial because it improves individual welfare and earning capacity.

Educational development ideology became increasingly attractive to international community from 1950s on and was widely utilized in support of development projects and programs (Cox, 1968).

In order to understand the relationship between education and development as an investment in human capital both as an actor and beneficiary of change and progress, another concept, *Empowerment*, also needs attention at this point. Although it is a broad concept, this thesis is interested in ‘empowerment’ from an educational perspective as defined by UNESCO:

How individuals/communities engage in learning processes in which they create, appropriate and share knowledge, tools and techniques in order to change and improve the quality of their own lives and societies. Through empowerment, individuals not only manage and adapt to change but also contribute to/generate changes in their lives and environments.
(www.unesco.org/education/educprog/lwf/doc/portfolio/definitions.htm)

Just as an international consensus was beginning to be reached with respect to a positive link between education and development in the aftermath of World War II, a similar consensus was also being reached on the relationship between education and empowerment, and its consequences for development. Ever since this consensus international community has placed emphasis particularly on adult education and lifelong learning associating them with “social, economic, and political justice; equality of gender relations; the universal right to learn; living in harmony with the environment; respect for human rights; recognition of cultural diversity; promotion of peace and the active involvement of women and men in decisions affecting their lives” (Kwapong, 2009, p.31). The post-war period, therefore, also witnessed the emergence of education, mainly non-formal education, as a tool for the empowerment of marginalized groups such as women and rural populations which could, in turn, lead to the development of human resources in particular and society in general.

At the intersection of these three concepts, international organizations have appeared to play a central role, which constitutes the main theme of this thesis. In line with a series of changes occurring in the second half of the 20th century, critical transformations also took place in the world order long dominated by nation-states. As the idealism of interwar years resurfaced as a response to the catastrophic experiences of World War II, a refreshed faith in multilateralism firstly materialized in the foundation of the United Nations in 1945 and then followed by the proliferation of international organizations as crucial actors of the changing world order.

2.1. Confirming Education as a Developmental Concern of International Agencies

As the discourse about development began to gain a wide-spread appeal for national agendas, it acquired a new dimension for the international community with the incorporation of *Development* as a human right in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948). Article 25, Para 1 of the Declaration states that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself [*sic*] and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services..."

Obviously, the Declaration was a huge step for the recognition of development as a universal goal. Nevertheless, what is more remarkable is that it helped create an order of developed and developing countries. The process was further facilitated when the nonbinding 1948 Declaration was translated into binding international covenants which make it an imperative for states, on the one hand, to ensure individual development, and a responsibility for wealthier states, on the other, to provide assistance to poorer states to help them catch up with the world (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000).

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living . . . and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent. (International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, United Nations, 1966, Article 11, Para 1)

The advent of foreign aid and development assistance for a wide-range of development activities along with an increase in the number of independent 'developing' countries paved the way for a rapid increase in the number of organizations engaged in development. By the early 1990s, over 1500 international organizations referred to 'development' and/or 'developing countries' in their first or second aim. Besides, more than 2500 non-governmental

organizations based in wealthy countries declared that they were engaged in development activities or development education (Chabbott, 1998).

The factor that was effective for the inclusion of education in the agenda of these organizations as an instrument of development, on the other hand, was a single word occurred in the aforementioned documents: *everyone*. The documents do not declare the national economy, “wealth of nations”, as the target of development, but everyone. Thereby, individual development has become a viable path towards national development. Equated with individual development, therefore, individual education acquired a dominant place in international documents (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000). The best known of these include the UN documents mentioned above. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) recognized education as a human right, which was a commitment more about education’s material consequences for society rather than its more complex dimensions (Jones & Coleman, 2005). Likewise, following the example of the Declaration, Articles 13 and 14 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (United Nations, 1966) further elaborated on the theme.

Upon the adoption of ‘education for development’ as a rational discourse, international organizations began to play a central role in the standardization and dissemination of educational development ideology. Balzer and Rusconi (2007) claim that this ideology reflects the norms which originated within the ideational frame provided by international organizations themselves and then became a standard for both international and national agendas. In harmony with this proposition, McNeely strongly argues that

One purpose of these internationally active organizations is to facilitate the establishment of uniform ideology, structure, and practice by nation-states. International organizations – particularly those with potentially universal membership – have supported the spread of a standardized theory of development. Indeed, the worldwide view of education as a crucial means to development and as a basic human right, alongside the remarkable expansion of education according to world models, has emerged under the aegis of international organizations. (as cited in McNeely, 1995, p. 484)

The result of the process, in the end, is an increase in common educational principles, policies and practices across countries in spite of their diverse socio-economic and political characteristics. Chabbott and Ramirez (2000) argue that international organizations achieve this standardization and dissemination through some coordinating activities, particularly international conferences, which bring together not only national delegations but also a large number of international organizations. Table 2.1 shows the list of major international conferences on educational development between 1934-1990 which produced international declarations, conventions, and frameworks for action to be implemented by national governments, and hence played a major role in the institutionalization of educational development ideology.

Table 2.1 Illustrative list: major conferences on educational development: 1934–1990

International education conferences prior to 1934

1876	International Congress on Education in Philadelphia
1880	International Congress on Primary Education in Brussels
1908, 1912, 1922	International Moral Education Conferences in London, the Hague, and Geneva

International conferences on public education: sponsored by International Bureau of Education

1934–39, 1946	7 annual conferences (IBE only) producing: 20 recommendations
1947–63, 1965–68	21 annual conferences (IBE and UNESCO) producing: 45 recommendations
1970–90	10 bi-annual conferences (IBE and UNESCO) producing: 12 recommendations

Regional conferences of ministers of education (including preparatory and follow-up meetings): UNESCO, OAS, others

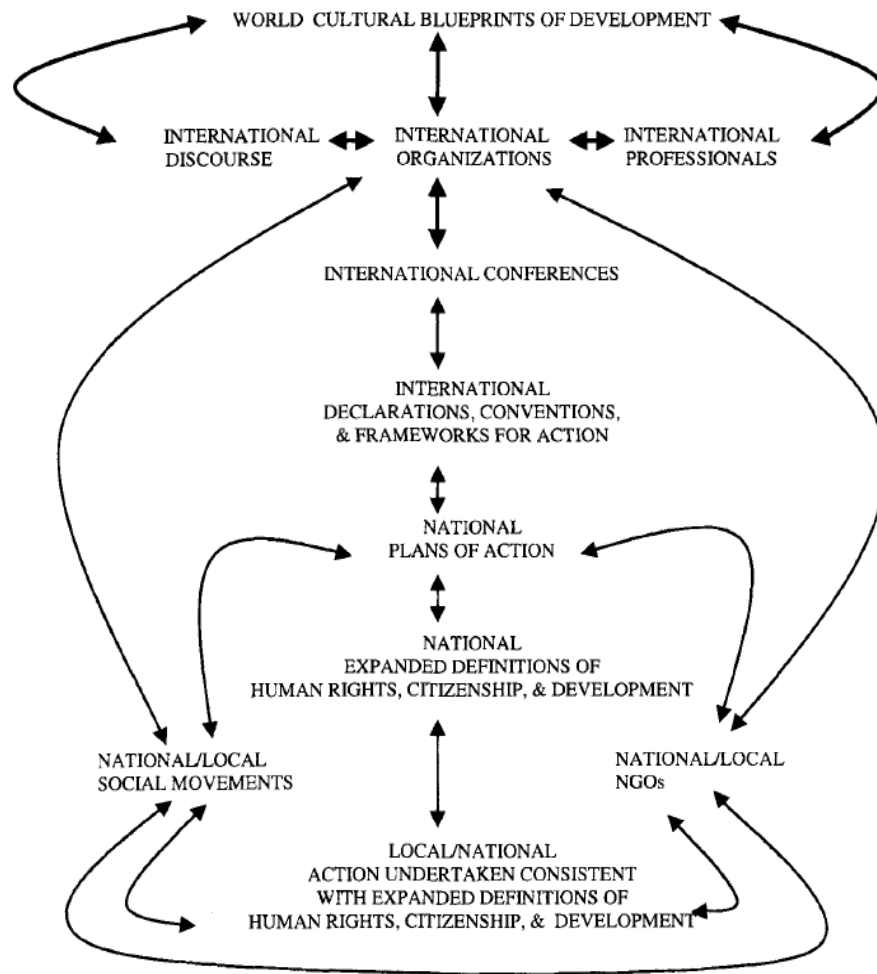
1936–87	12 meetings in Latin America producing: Lima Declaration (1956), Mexico Declaration (1979)
1952–85	11 meetings in Asia and the Pacific producing: Karachi Plan (1959)
1960–85	14 meetings in Africa producing: Addis Ababa Plan (1961), Harare Declaration (1982)
1960–87	8 meetings in the Arab States

Table 2.1 Illustrative list: major conferences on educational development: 1934–1990
(cont'd)

<i>International literacy conferences, symposia, and consultations: UNESCO</i>	
1965–82	5 + conferences producing: the Persepolis Declaration (1975)
1984–90	7 Collective Consultations of NGOs on Literacy and Adult Education
<i>Donor meetings</i>	
1961–63	3 seminars in Washington, DC on the Role of Education in Economic Growth, etc., sponsored by USAID
1967	International Conference on the World Crisis in Education in Williamsburg, sponsored by U.S. Dept. of State
1972–79	3 meetings at Bellagio and 2 meetings in Geneva, under the auspices of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations
1982–90	3 meetings of the International Working Group on Education, sponsored by the Int'l Inst. for Educ'l Planning
1988–90	4 meetings of the Donors to African Education, in Paris, London, and Vienna, sponsored by World Bank and UNIDO
?	Various meetings of the European Donors to Education

Source: Chabbott (1998, p. 213)

As the discussion so far illustrates, institutionalization of the idea of educational development started with a global support for progress. Translated into a developmental discourse, progress at the individual level gained prominence with the help of international organizations, thereby bringing education into focus on both national and international agendas. Assuming a central role in this procedure, these organizations have further contributed to the process through standardization and dissemination of the ideas they themselves produce for the role of education in development. Figure 2.1 illustrates the course of this process, at the center of which international organizations are key players by organizing international conferences that produce declarations, conventions, and frameworks for action to be transformed into national action plans.



Source: Chabbott (2003, p. 9)

Figure 2.1 Mechanisms for constructing and disseminating world cultural blueprints of development

This cycle of conference-declaration-national plan has been a focus of discussion for producing common principles and practices which are implemented uniformly by countries in spite of their different characteristics, particularly at the subnational level. These principles and activities are criticized for not taking local values and characteristics into account and for not cooperating with local populations, hence perpetuating national problems rather than contributing to a positive transformation in a society (Banya, 1988; Cox, 1968; Nagel & Snyder, 1989). Subjected to those criticisms, international governmental organizations

have recently begun to support cooperation with different actors at international, national, and local levels in their discourse through new development paradigms such as “sustainable development” as will be discussed in the next section.

2.2. Evolving Policies of Educational Development

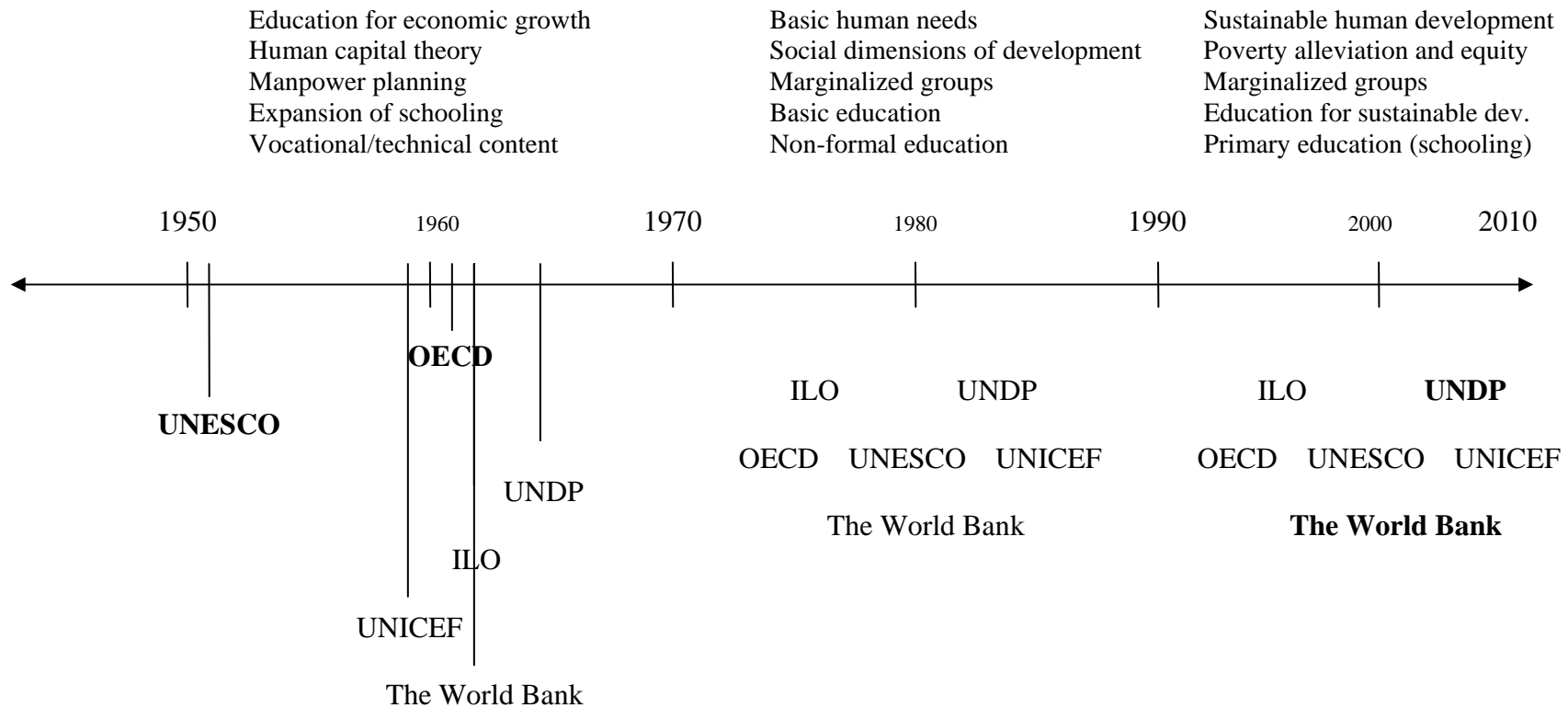
Notwithstanding a unified declaration for the worth of education in the way of development, a unified position has never been a subject matter neither among the organizations nor across the time as regards the questions of Why? and How?, thereby producing interagency versus intra-agency policy differences. Interagency policy differences stem from the arguments that focus on the goals and ways of utilizing education as a means to development and can be classified in two groups. “Instrumental” arguments tend to think of education from mainly an economic point of view drawing on ‘human capital theory’ (Schultz, 1963). It is primarily neoliberal organizations such as the World Bank, IMF and OECD which support this argument. “Normative” arguments, on the other hand, perceive education as a human right and a contribution to the individual with an emphasis on democracy, justice and self-determination. The organizations which employ this line of argument are more progressive agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF. Of considerable significance to the relationship between education and development are also the policy shifts within a single agency across time that mirror the changes both in world politics and in national perceptions of development. An overview of the intra-agency policy changes illustrate that educational development ideology has shifted from an exclusively instrumental view of education as a tool for economic growth towards more normative, integrated arguments that perceive education as a viable path towards sustainable (human) development. In this section, therefore, this inter and intra-agency policy differences will be explored to see how educational development ideology has evolved in the decades after World War II and what role international organizations have played in this process.

Although the discussion of these policy differences is presented below in periods, the ideas presented for each decade show an overlapping quality. The

newer approaches became more prominent over the decades, yet they did not completely replace the older ones. Since it is impossible to examine the education policies of all international organizations which adopt a development discourse, the current work places emphasis on two international organizations in each period. One reason why the thesis has selected these organizations as examples is that they are either the leading agencies or the prominent supporters for the ideas and practices described in the periods below in which they are discussed. Another reason for the selection of ILO, UNICEF and UNDP, on the other hand, is that these organizations contribute to the ÇATOM project, example of the thesis, and thus it is important to learn about their approach and discourses. Exploration of the two organizations in such time periods does, however, not mean the absence of these organizations in other decades and vice versa. Actually all six international organizations discussed below have been prominent actors in the idea of education for development and empowerment since the 1950s and 60s, and reflected the similar policy shifts in their projects and programs. Figure 2.2 illustrates how all the international organizations discussed in this section have been involved in educational development since the 1950s and 1960s. However, it should be noted that these are just some of the organizations active in these periods supporting the corresponding ideas because most of the international development organizations advocated similar policies in the periods (Chabbott, 1998; Chabbott and Ramirez, 2000; Jones and Coleman, 2005; Resnik, 2006).

2.2.1. 1950s – 1960s: Education as a means to economic growth

Left with a heavy blow in their economies with the devastating years of World War II, the world began to see economic development as a priority. Following the issue of employment, education became a significant factor of this economic growth by the end of the 1950s. Econometric economists of education thus demanded a radical change in the perception of the education system (Resnik, 2006).



Source: Own compilation based on Chabbott (1998), Chabbott and Ramirez (2000), Jones and Coleman (2005); Resnik, (2006).

Figure 2.2. Themes in national development and educational development discourse as supported by international organizations, 1950-2010

* The organizations presented in bold shows the leading agencies of the educational development discourse in this period.

** For the period 1950s-1960s, the organizations are presented according to the time of their emergence in the realm of education with a development discourse.

Until the 1960s, economists actually saw education as a consumption good depending on personal needs, family income, and the cost of education. They even did not pay attention to post elementary education. However, the revolution in the idea of education as an instrument of economic growth occurred at the turn of the 1960s with the emergence of human capital theory (Resnik, 2006) which Schultz (1963) developed to support his idea that healthy and rightly-educated individual was an important economic asset, and thus investment in education of populations could result in economic expansion. Based on this theory, Harbison (1966) further generated quantitative indicators of ‘human resource development’ so that he could examine the relationship between human resources and economic development. Through their development of human capital theory and human resources development approach, therefore, Schultz and Harbison made a huge contribution to the idea of ‘education for economic growth’.

A significant turn in the consolidation and diffusion of this education-economic growth black box¹ (Resnik, 2006) was a resolution by the UN General Assembly which stressed the importance of education for economic development, hence legitimizing the process. The resolution states that “Technical training, education and pre-investment assistance, whether undertaken by international organizations or by individual Governments, should be regarded as an important factor in the economic development of under-developed countries” (United Nations, 1960).

An interesting point is that this link between education and economic growth was established at a time of rapid decolonization in the Cold War context. Believing that material progress was a crucial means to stability, postcolonial thinking focused on the right kind of economic and social development to deter any appeal for communism in the developing world. In order to integrate the south into the western or eastern spheres, the Cold War strategies focused on ‘formal education’ to promote modernization, state formation, economic growth, and global integration. As a result, developing countries enthusiastically

¹ Resnik (2006) uses “black box” as a term that means “knowledge that is accepted and used on a regular basis as an unquestioned matter of fact”.

embraced formal schooling as recommended by international organizations in the late 1950s to address their “underdevelopment”, hence dumping previously popular ‘fundamental education’ which was a form of adult literacy training program to provide social skills and knowledge for community development (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

In the aftermath of the 1960 Resolution, there was a rapid increase in education budgets encouraging education expansion, particularly in developing countries. Through a coordination of international conferences, regional organizations, and national educational planning institutions, national governments adopted the education-economic growth discourse, and thereby got access to international aid. As a result, while developing countries embarked on the policy of education expansion, developed countries, less influenced by international organizations, engaged in reforming their education systems with economic considerations. In the meantime, the overall outcome was an increase in the influence and power of international organizations (Resnik, 2006).

There have been severe criticisms directed to this education-economic growth approach and the consequent expansionist policies since the 1960s. In spite of these criticisms, which will be explored in the next section, international organizations embraced the idea of investment in education as a viable path towards economic development. One factor that was effective in this welcoming manner was the characteristics of education-economic growth idea which were neutrality, objectivity and calculability. These characteristics could help international organizations to ensure international cooperation on educational problems in an apolitical manner (Resnik, 2006). As the two enthusiastic supporters of the idea, therefore, OECD and UNESCO will be explored below.

OECD – The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has, from its establishment in 1961, concentrated on the issues in educational policy from a perspective of economic development (Martens, et. al., 2007; Rutkowski, 2007). Unlike UNESCO, OECD had no formal mandate for education when it was created as the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in

1948: its original purpose was to facilitate the reconstruction of Europe. It was the Cold War politics which initiated its mandate in education. Upon the success of the USSR's Sputnik mission, an office for Scientific and Technical Personnel was created with the funding by the US and an OECD program was initiated to support a new curriculum and better trained scientists across member states. Following this event, the OECD expanded its scope of educational activities with a range from special and disability education to participatory pedagogy (Mundy, 2007). Reflecting its organizational stance, the OECD employed instrumental rationales for its role in these activities. It was particularly in the 1990s that education policy has become one of the OECD's core subject matters (Martens, et. al., 2007); yet, for the purposes of this thesis, OECD activities of education-economic growth approach in the 1960s will be examined.

Upon the inception of the education-economic growth ideology at the beginning of the 1960s, OECD, along with UNESCO, became a medium of construction and diffusion of the ideology for experts and researchers from 'developed' countries. Noticing the low level of education in Europe with the implementation of the Marshall Plan in 1952, most European countries took part in consultation activities about the framework of the OECD (Resnik, 2006). This framework of the OECD brought Western European ministers, civil servants and scholars together to consult each other in the way of cooperation. Following these works, France and Sweden, "the more obvious examples of the application of the education-economic growth black box in practice" (p. 189), engaged in a series of educational planning activities to integrate the democratization of education systems into an economic vision so that they could both reach democratic ideals and meet economic needs. These activities were, in turn, useful to international organizations since the key actors of the processes collaborated with the OECD and UNESCO later on (Resnik, 2006).

Following the success of France and Sweden, similar educational planning activities began to be applied all over the world. In order to promote similar experiences for other countries of Europe, OECD founded several institutions, one of which is Educational Investment and Planning Programme (EIP). OECD

also provided models for national agencies which wanted to utilize education for economic orientations. In the end, in the 1960s, all 22 member states of the OECD were participating in educational planning projects based on their economic needs (Resnik, 2006).

UNESCO – It was a focus of discussion whether to include education in the UN charter during the final negotiations in San Francisco in April-June 1945, and much of the controversy was around the establishment of a specialized agency dedicated to education. In the end, with special efforts of the developing countries and NGOs, education was included in the charter, hence creating the prospect of a specialized agency. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was thus founded in November 1945 as a specialized agency in the UN system with the basic purpose of contributing to peace and security through educational cooperation. Even though other agencies of the UN included education in their agenda in the 1960s as well, UNESCO has remained the lead agency in education.

UNESCO is the single UN agency which extensively uses normative justifications, particularly human rights, for its mandate for education. Since its foundation, it has promoted the universalization and institutionalization of both formal and non-formal systems of education merging its justifications with economic considerations of state formation, modernization and development. Because of its limited budgetary capacity, its timely referrals to ‘development’ have been really important for UNESCO to survive within the UN system since ‘development’ is “without doubt the predominant functional commitment throughout its (UN) history and the most important determinant of its educational policies and programs” (Jones & Coleman, 2005, pp. 27-28). Compatible with mainstream UN concerns, its commitment to development and human rights helped UNESCO “strengthen its authority and expand its task” to emerge in the international arena as a main executor of educational development programs in the 1950s and 1960s which mark UNESCO’s ‘golden ages’ (Cox, 1968, pp.313-314). In those years, UNESCO was indeed the most prominent UN agency in

promoting the idea of education as a “factor” in economic and social development (Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 197). Below is an example of how UNESCO became successful in adapting to the transformations around it with a shift of policy from fundamental education to formal schooling in line with the education-economic growth approach.

From its inception, UNESCO regarded fundamental education (non-formal education, adult education and literacy education) as a high priority on its agenda on the grounds that ‘equalization’ should be achieved across and with member states to narrow the economic and educational gap between the peoples of the world. This would be achieved through an enriched universal literacy program for both children and adults in order to help them acquire minimum knowledge and skills so that they could attain an adequate standard of living. However, following the adoption of the education-economic growth approach by international organizations with a focus on measurable components of education and its returns, UNESCO, alongside other agencies, shifted its focus to formal schooling, and hence to education expansion. Jones and Coleman (2005) claim that this shift took place “not through any change in the organization’s commitment to them but because of external funding realities” (p. 61). Actually, in the 1960s UNESCO signed a number of cooperative agreements with the World Bank, UNICEF, and UNDP acting as the executor of the programs and project.

Following the example of the OECD with European countries, UNESCO organized a series of international conferences and regional meetings so as to promote the idea of education-economic growth in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Ministries of education came together in conferences which were held in Karachi (for Asia) in January 1960; Addis Ababa (for Africa) in May 1961; and Santiago (for Latin America) in March 1962. Goals for expansion were fixed in those conferences to be followed by periodic assessment of how far they were attained in signatory countries (Cox, 1968). Consequently, since loans and aids were granted only for educational planning based on economic needs, state officials were urged to embrace the education-economic growth discourse and to

focus their budgets on formal education, particularly on secondary and higher schooling in subjects related to industrialization. To this end, UNESCO sent missions and experts especially to the developing countries to advise governments on educational planning in the framework of economic development. It founded The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in 1963 in cooperation with the World Bank, the United Nations, and the Ford Foundation. The institution organized training seminars and offered instruction on educational planning for officials responsible for education in developing countries (Resnik, 2006).

The discussion above illustrates the cycle of conference-declaration-national plan as exemplified by the OECD and UNESCO. These organizations played a major role in constructing ‘educational planning’ as a policy in the way of disseminating the principle of ‘education for economic growth’. In doing so, they urged national governments to adopt the practice of expanding their education systems in order to achieve the mentioned objectives, which, in turn, led to a rapid increase in national budgets spared for educational activities. The trends of the 1950s and 1960s would not last for long, however. In the 1970s, both OECD and UNESCO, along with other multilateral agencies, began to display significant changes on their agendas again in line with the developments on the world which affected ideas with respect to both national development and educational ideology.

2.2.2. 1970s – 1980s: Basic and non-formal education to empower disadvantaged groups

Faith in economic growth as an outcome of educational expansion had resulted in large investment in education for more than a decade. In the early 1970s, though, this faith began to fade when it was speculated that economic growth was increasing, rather than decreasing, the ranks of the poor in many countries. Problematic as equated with economic growth, therefore, the concept of development was expanded to include social aspects as well. Basic human needs

became an issue within and among nation-states and so a responsibility for international community (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000).

In line with the shift in the understanding of development towards a more human-centered approach, international organizations changed their perception of education as well to conceive education not only as a means to economic growth but also as a basic human need. Aware of the weaknesses of ‘manpower planning’ of the 1950s and 1960s in preparing most countries to deal with their economic and educational crisis, they began to place special emphasis on human resources development especially in the 1980s. In doing so, they began to concentrate on *basic education* so as to equip both adults and children with the necessary means to help them actively participate in their societies. Education became an aim to equalize economic opportunity and to integrate marginalized groups in society. During this phase, priority still laid firmly with formal schooling although the goal was to improve efficiency and capacity of primary and secondary schools to serve all individuals rather than to expand education systems on a large-scale. Other than formal schooling, however, non-formal (out-of-school) education emerged as a significant policy area on the agendas of international organizations in their search for development, thereby drawing attention to the previously disadvantaged groups such as women, out-of-school youth, and educationally deprived children (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000; Jones & Coleman, 2005).

Requiring mention at this point is the scope and content of basic education. Although the interest in the concept has increased since the 1970s, ‘basic education’ does not have a clear-cut meaning in terms of its scope and content. The meaning shows disparity not only among particular countries but also in important international documents of education policy (UNESCO, 2007). This disparity notwithstanding, Pigozzi (1999) gives a comprehensive definition of basic education underlining some fundamentals:

...Key competencies include reading, writing, and numeracy. Without these competencies it is difficult for an individual to pursue learning in modern times. Knowledge should be both theoretical and practical. An example is the area of basic science. Its content, for instance, will likely vary according to the particular context, but it must provide learners with

the basic scientific concepts and experience that will allow them to function on a daily basis in such areas as food, nutrition, water, and sanitation. Skill provides an individual with the ability to use knowledge effectively and easily. There are many different types of skills. Survival skills are those that are basic to survival, such as finding food and seeking protection. Life skills enable an individual to have access to a better life. These might include skills for work, problem-solving skills, communication, analysis, and logic. Attitudes are feelings about or positions towards certain purposes or aspects of life. These include self-esteem, tolerance, cooperation, and civic responsibility... (p. 3)

Thus, 'basic education' includes both formal and non-formal education practices. It is aimed to meet basic learning needs of all individuals (children, youth, and adults) as the "basis" for lifelong learning (World Conference on Education for All, 1990) so that they can enrich their knowledge and improve their qualifications so as to creatively contribute to their communities.

Rather than elaborating further on the universally-recognized formal schooling to see how it was practiced upon increasing interest in basic education, this section focuses on non-formal educational practices of international organizations in order to illustrate the shift from expansion of education systems to education of adults, out-of-school youth, and educationally deprived children through promoting lifelong learning. Also of special significance to the understanding of this period, therefore, is the definition of *lifelong learning* which emerged as a key concept, along with basic education, in the 1970s towards social, economic, and cultural development.

Emphasizing the formal and non-formal nature of lifelong education, Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education (UNESCO, 1976) gives the definition as follows:

...the term "life-long education and learning", for its part, denotes an overall scheme aimed both at restructuring the existing education system and at developing the entire educational potential outside the education system;

in such a scheme men and women are the agents of their own education, through continual interaction between their thoughts and actions;

education and learning, far from being limited to the period of, attendance at school, should extend throughout life, include all skills and branches of

knowledge, use all possible means, and give the opportunity to all people for full development of the personality...

Basic education in the context of this thesis, therefore, not only promotes a particular form of education, such as basic literacy, but encompasses all forms of education which target adult disadvantaged populations and aim to empower them for social, economic, and cultural development. As a tool of empowerment towards development, basic education programs include range from basic literacy and preventive healthcare, through economic empowerment and environmental sustainability to the education for the peace, citizenship, and democracy (Kwapong, 2009).

As discussed above and shown in the UNESCO Recommendation, basic education and lifelong learning with particular attention to non-formal practices were included into development discourse in the 1970s. This inclusion, in turn, attracted attention to the empowerment of disadvantaged groups as exemplified in the works of the ILO and UNICEF which are consecutively discussed below.

ILO – The International Labor Organization (ILO) was established in 1919 as part of the League of Nations to deal with labor issues and became a specialized agency of the newly formed United Nations in 1946. ILO groups its tasks around four strategic objectives:

- Promote and realize standards and fundamental principles and rights at work
- Create greater opportunities for women and men to secure decent employment and income
- Enhance the coverage and effectiveness of social protection for all
- Strengthen tripartism and social dialogue

(http://www.ilo.org/global/About_the_ILO/Mission_and_objectives/lang--en/index.htm)

Although originally it did not have a mandate for education, ILO increasingly became involved in educational activities in the aftermath of World War II mainly based on the second objective. Its early interest in education

reflects the spirit of the day launching an ‘operational manpower program’ for economic growth through activities such as vocational training, management development, and productivity improvement. These manpower activities, in turn, helped ILO expand its tasks and maintain its place among other international organizations (Cox, 1968).

In line with the new consensus on a more human-centered approach to educational development in the early 1970s, ILO also began to be engaged in human resource development activities to promote lifelong learning. To this end, its primary concern was ‘paid educational leave’² in order to enhance work-related and general education of adults (Jakobi, 2007). ILO recognized the need of individual workers for continuing education and training to handle the challenges of constant changes in social, economic, and technological arenas by adopting Paid Educational Leave Convention (ILO, 1974). The Convention established paid educational leave as the policy of ILO and required the member states to grant it to the workers for the purposes of “training at any level; general, social and civic education; and trade union education” (Article 2) which, in turn, would contribute (Article 3):

- (a) to the acquisition, improvement and adaptation of occupational and functional skills, and the promotion of employment and job security in conditions of scientific and technological development and economic and structural change;
- (b) to the competent and active participation of workers and their representatives in the life of the undertaking and of the community;
- (c) to the human, social and cultural advancement of workers; and
- (d) *generally, to the promotion of appropriate continuing education and training, helping workers to adjust to contemporary requirements.* (emphasis added)

One year later, ILO expanded its work in lifelong learning by adopting Human Resources Development Convention (ILO, 1975a) in order to promote

² In 1974 Paid Educational Leave Convention, the term *paid educational leave* is defined as “leave granted to a worker for educational purposes for a specified period during working hours, with adequate financial entitlements” (Convention C 140, Article 1).

vocational guidance and vocational training as relevant to the issue of employment (Article 1). Of special significance was the incorporation of disadvantaged groups as the target populations into the corresponding Human Resources Development Recommendation (ILO, 1975b) which stated that particular attention should be paid to such groups as persons who had never been to school or who left school early; older workers; members of linguistic and other minority groups; and handicapped and disabled persons (VII) as well as promoting equality of opportunity of women and men in training and employment (VIII).

The ILO interest in lifelong learning as a means to development is still prominent in the 21st century as can be seen in the adoption of another Recommendation on Human Resource Development in 2004. However, there are certain transformations in its perspective towards a more neoliberal standing in line with the changes which occurred in the last two decades. Table 2.2 illustrates this shift through the comparison of the 1975 and 2004 ILO Recommendation on Human Resource Development. This comparison makes it explicit that ILO displays a new commitment to neoliberal approaches in the field of educational development in general and lifelong learning in particular at the beginning of the 21st century.

UNICEF – The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) was founded in 1946 as a temporary agency of the United Nations to provide supplies, material, services and technical assistance for children’s well-being in conflict-ridden societies. Although UNICEF is not an autonomous specialized agency of the UN unlike UNESCO and ILO, it became a permanent agency in 1953 as one of ‘funds and programs’. From then on, UNICEF has been a prominent player in the UN system. The key to UNICEF’s sustainability is that it mainly engages in highly practical activities with a strong in-country presence. More importantly, it relies on voluntary contributions (both governmental and private), and thereby avoids the budgetary basis which causes the specialized agencies depend on member states for their budgets through mandatory financial assessments.

Table 2.2 Comparison of the 1975 and 2004 ILO Recommendation on Human Resource Development

	Recommendation 150	Recommendation 195
Year of Adoption	1975	2004
General Policy	‘Members should adopt and develop comprehensive and co-ordinated policies and programs of vocational guidance and vocational training, closely linked with employment, in particular through public employment services’ (II.4.1)	‘Members should, based on social dialogue, formulate, apply and review national human resources development, education, training and lifelong learning policies which are consistent with economic, fiscal and social policies (I.1)
Educational Development	Training policies and programs should enable and encourage individuals to develop their skills, and should encourage enterprises to accept responsibility for training employees (I.4.4, I.4.5)	Realization of lifelong learning is based on commitment of governments, enterprises and individuals (I.4.f) ‘Members should consider benchmarks in relation to comparable countries, regions and sectors when making decisions about investment in education and training’ (II.7)
Regulation	Detailed recommendations concerning the objectives and the content of training programs (IV.A.16) Recommendation concerning the status of workers while being trained (IV.A.23)	Creation of National Qualification Framework is recommended, including recognition of education in informal settings or in other countries (IV) Diversity of training providers should be promoted and quality standards should be developed for all training providers, including the private training market (VII)
Equality Issues	Several recommendations concerning Programs for particular areas, branches or groups (VI-VIII)	Special support of women, socially disadvantaged etc. shortly mentioned (II.5. g, h)

Source: Jakobi (2007, p. 107)

At its inception, UNICEF also had no mandate for education. Even after it was confirmed as a permanent agency, UNICEF's relation to education was through schools which were used as sites for the delivery of UNICEF services, especially on children's health. It was in 1959 that UNICEF began to be involved in educational activities which expanded from 1961 on (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

UNICEF's initial work in education needs to be assessed in the context of the day. In order to position itself in the development-oriented UN system, UNICEF also appealed to broad economic and social development concepts such as human capital, modernization, and planning for the justification of its activities. Accordingly, UNICEF specified national development as the main rationale behind its education programs, which led to a rapid increase in the variety and breadth of these programs. The education commitments, totaling \$3.4 million in the early 1960s, rose to \$8.9 million by the end of the decade. This meant a growth from 10 per cent to 23 per cent of the overall budget, which was, in turn, accompanied by a considerable reduction in nutrition and health programs (from 22 to 11 per cent and from 59 to 54 per cent respectively) (UNICEF 1968a: addendum 1, as cited in Jones & Coleman, 2005, p.148). More striking than this rapid growth was the increase in the variety of education activities. It was obvious that UNICEF education mainly focused on the provision of supplies and equipment in order to get children into school in line with educational expansion policies of the 1950s and 1960s as well as with its original objective of providing "supplies, material, services and technical assistance". Apart from this, though, UNICEF specified a wide range of concerns for its education programs such as teacher education, curriculum reform, rural education, gender equity, pre-school education, health and nutrition education, school-based feeding programs just to count a few among others (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

In the late 1960s, nevertheless, UNICEF began to question its work in education which was too broad and was thus exhausting a large proportion of the funds at the expense of health and nutrition. Moreover, international community had begun to show interest in basic and non-formal education. They had begun to recognize that the benefits of the education-economic growth approach and of

corresponding educational expansion had not extended downwards to reduce mass poverty still leaving poor children on the margins of the system. As a result, in the early 1970s, UNICEF started to concentrate its efforts on primary education and non-formal basic education. In doing so, it would complement the work of UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP for rapid socio-economic development and, to this end, its main target group would be ‘educationally deprived children’:

UNICEF’s intervention in the field of education, in conjunction with UNESCO and other concerned agencies, will concentrate upon assistance in the attainment of minimum standards for educationally deprived children.

More specifically, UNICEF’s assistance for education will in the future focus more upon the deprived children in rural areas and urban slums and shanty-towns, with highest priority for this target population in the latest developed countries. The age group most concerned is that of primary school level or below. However, assistance will be given to projects for adolescents if they are limited to aspects relating to health, nutrition, welfare or practical or pre-vocational training (UNICEF 1972, part II:2, as cited in Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 152)

Thus, UNICEF education became more focused with a strong practical orientation abandoning the previous holistic educational programming. The emphasis was on a strong practical nature of education to prepare children so that they could contribute to their societies rather than an exclusive focus on academic achievement. This initiative drew UNICEF attention also to the education of girls and women. On the one hand, getting education could improve their role as mothers and hence children’s well-being. On the other hand, it could facilitate their participation in occupational activities as a contribution to national development (UNICEF 1972, part II: 1, as cited in Jones & Coleman, 2005).

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 summarize the details of UNICEF commitment to educational development in the decades after the Second World War. While Table 2.3 shows the initial UNICEF activity in education from the 1960s on, Table 2.4 clearly illustrates the policy shifts in this activity, in other words, the decline in UNICEF assistance to secondary schooling in the 1970s accompanied by a dramatic increase in activities for primary schooling and non-formal education.

Table 2.3 UNICEF assistance (expenditures) by main sectors, 1947–79 selected periods (in millions of US dollars, with period percentages in parentheses, rounded)

	1947–50	1951–9	1960–9	1970–9
<i>Long-range aid</i>				
Health (including mass disease control and water and sanitation)	20.3 (18)	82.7 (51)	179.9 (50)	462.1 (40)
Child nutrition and social welfare services	5.4 (4)	19.1 (12)	56.4 (16)	136.3 (12)
Formal education	–	–	30.3 (9)	170.9 (15)
Non-formal education	–	–	2.4 (1)	27.7 (2)
General project support	–	–	6.3 (2)	62.3 (5)
TOTAL LONG-RANGE AID	<u>25.7</u>	<u>101.8</u>	<u>275.3</u>	<u>867.3</u>
<i>Emergency relief</i>	82.3 (72)	34.8 (22)	11.1 (3)	42.7 (4)
TOTAL PROGRAMS	<u>108.0</u>	<u>136.6</u>	<u>286.4</u>	<u>910.0</u>
<i>Administration and program support</i>	6.9 (6)	24.7 (15)	67.9 (19)	256.0 (22)
GRAND TOTAL	<u>114.9 (100)</u>	<u>161.3 (100)</u>	<u>354.3 (100)</u>	<u>1,166.0 (100)</u>

Source: Phillips (1987, p. 72), in Jones and Coleman (2005, p. 157)

Table 2.4 Sub-sectoral distribution of UNICEF education commitments, 1975–9 (in thousands of US dollars)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
<i>Formal primary education</i>					
Teacher training and curriculum development					
supplies and equipment	4,085	3,263	3,770	6,526	6,489
non-supply assistance	2,560	3,102	3,286	3,224	4,190
Textbooks and teaching aids					
supplies and equipment	2,824	2,143	3,107	6,889	5,405
non-supply assistance	315	248	178	300	315
Other					
supplies and equipment	9,481	3,865	8,294	6,488	5,874
non-supply assistance	1,907	998	694	1,045	4,315
PRIMARY TOTAL	<u>21,172</u>	<u>13,619</u>	<u>19,329</u>	<u>24,472</u>	<u>26,588</u>
<i>Formal secondary education</i>	<u>1,110</u>	<u>499</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>212</u>	<u>241</u>
<i>Non-formal education</i>					
Women's education and training					
supplies and equipment	614	1,313	1,423	1,697	2,469
non-supply assistance	242	526	981	1,235	1,491
Pre-vocational training					
supplies and equipment	376	790	879	1,186	2,783
non-supply assistance	1,039	102	113	436	11
Youth leaders training, etc.					
supplies and equipment	534	276	204	218	221
non-supply assistance	258	151	76	82	47
Literacy					
supplies and equipment	11	49	10	100	259
non-supply assistance	1	15	6	46	96
NON-FORMAL TOTAL	<u>3,075</u>	<u>3,222</u>	<u>3,692</u>	<u>5,000</u>	<u>7,377</u>
GRAND TOTAL	<u>25,357</u>	<u>17,340</u>	<u>23,259</u>	<u>29,684</u>	<u>34,206</u>
of which					
supplies and equipment	19,664	12,170	17,876	23,258	23,704
non-supply assistance	5,693	5,170	5,383	6,426	10,502

Source: Phillips (1987, p. 55), in Jones and Coleman (2005, p. 157)

Table 2.4 also illustrates UNICEF commitment to its original objective of providing “supplies, material, services and technical assistance” which is particularly pronounced in UNICEF assistance to non-formal education.

This UNICEF assistance to basic education and non-formal education as an integral part of educational development continued for the next two decades (Jones & Coleman, 2005) and even thereafter has remained as a pivotal policy area for its activities (Pigozzi, 1999).

2.2.3. 1990s and into the 21st century: Education to reduce poverty and to promote sustainable development

As discussed above, by the 1970s international organizations had begun to be aware of the weaknesses of an exclusively economic growth approach, which led to shifts in their educational policies. Despite the new orientations in the perceptions, the priority still laid with the objective of economic growth during this phase and people were still seen as the ‘means’ towards this objective. As a result, while there has been a huge level of overall growth since World War II, it has not been effective in reducing poverty. The progress has increased the inequality between the richest and poorest countries of the world aggravating standards of living for the impoverished in many countries (Jones & Coleman, 2005; Nicholls, 1999; Tarabini, 2010). Especially, the 1980s witnessed a severe deterioration of the economic situation in many of the developing countries as a result of deepening debt and recession (Jones & Coleman, 2005). In the 1990s, therefore, international community refocused on the inefficiency of economic growth in achieving development, particularly in reducing poverty and inequality. In their search for new strategies and new policies in the fight against poverty, international organizations have reformulated their approach to educational development and adopted two main educational agendas.

The first one is a global education agenda at the intersection of finance-driven reforms, competitiveness-driven reforms, and equity-driven reforms, the main actor of which is the World Bank. Although this agenda still reflects the neoliberal principles, it seeks to address the problems of the capitalist system by

guaranteeing the compatibility of economic growth and poverty reduction. In order to prevent the adverse effects of economic growth on society, the agenda still aims “growth, productivity and competitiveness but in a way that reduces poverty and guarantees social stability” (Tarabini, 2010, p. 206).

The other one is an education agenda which emerged as a crucial dimension of the process of *sustainable development*. The concept of sustainable development entered international development discourse in the late 1980s with the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, which referred to a development strategy that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (1987, p. 43). Although widely accepted by the international community, this definition is highly ambiguous giving rise to different interpretations by diverse interest groups in society (Fien & Tilbury, 2002; Little & Green, 2009). It is possible to categorize these interpretations in two groups: those that favor “sustainable economic growth” and those that prioritize “sustainable human development”. While the former is reformist placing emphasis on technological and economic tools in shifting activities of current social and economic system towards a more sustainable process of economic development, the latter seeks radical departures from the current system challenging development models of restless economic growth with its primary focus on issues of social equity and ecological limits (Fien & Tilbury, 2002). Overall, therefore, sustainable development lie at the intersection of three areas: environment (e.g. water and waste), society (e.g. employment, human rights, gender equity, peace and human security), and economy (e.g. poverty reduction, corporate responsibility and accountability) (Little & Green, 2009).

Although the Brundtland Report introduced sustainable development to international community, the consolidation of the idea began with the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (also known as Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro. Recognizing that the solution for global problems such as poverty, war, and the growing gap between industrialized and developing countries is related to environmental concerns, the Summit started a

process of international cooperation on development and environment issues with its call for “a global partnership for sustainable development” (Agenda 21, Preamble, 1992).

Of significance to educational development policy was the Agenda 21 of the Earth Summit since it was crucial in the emergence of an education agenda for sustainable development. Although the role of education for sustainable living was recognized since the 1970s (Fien & Tilbury, 2002), the initial step for the concept of *Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)* was Chapter 36 on “Promoting Education, Public Awareness and Training” of the Agenda 21 (Hopkins & McKeown, 2002). Recognizing education as an integral part of sustainable development, the Agenda states:

..... Education is critical for promoting sustainable development and improving the capacity of the people to address environment and development issues. While basic education provides the underpinning for any environmental and development education, the latter needs to be incorporated as an essential part of learning. Both formal and non-formal education are indispensable to changing people's attitudes so that they have the capacity to assess and address their sustainable development concerns. It is also critical for achieving environmental and ethical awareness, values and attitudes, skills and behaviour consistent with sustainable development and for effective public participation in decision-making.... (Chapter 36)

Although there was a slow progress with respect to the implementation of the Rio objectives, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg in 2002, reaffirmed sustainable development as a central issue of international community calling for the full implementation of Agenda 21 (Nath, 2005). In the aftermath of the Summit, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 57/254 which declared the period 2005-2014 as the Decade for Education for Sustainable Development to be led by UNESCO.

ESD is a holistic approach to education with a concern for the sustainability of environment, society, and economies. It is exercised through formal, non-formal (out-of-school), and informal (e.g. television, newspaper, radio) forms of education at all levels. It is a dimension of lifelong learning relevant to local circumstances (Little & Green, 2009). It aims to

help people to develop the attitudes, skills and knowledge to make informed decisions for the benefit of themselves and others, now and in the future, and to act upon these decisions. (www.unesco.org/en/esd)

From the foregoing, therefore, it may be inferred that the idea of educational development since the early 1990s has been mainly shaped, like throughout the previous decades, in tune with the development strategies of the day. Those strategies, that is a reformed neoliberal agenda and sustainable development designs, remain to be central elements on the international agenda in the first decade of the 21st century so as to mitigate the threats of globalization and relentless pursuit of economic growth such as environmental degradation, resource depletion, and social inequities. In order to understand the dynamics of these new strategies and corresponding education policies, the works of the World Bank and UNDP in educational development will be examined below with particular attention to a time line beginning with the 1990s and extending to our day.

The World Bank³ – The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, known as the ‘World Bank’ together with IDA) was founded in July 1944 as part of the Bretton Woods system along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). While the IMF would provide a government with temporary relief for its balance of payments, the Bank would engage in lending to governments for reconstruction and longer-term development as a complementary action to private foreign capital investment. Already in a kind of relationship with the UN, the Bank, alongside the IMF, officially became a specialized agency within the UN system although it would function as an independent organization (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

³ Since its establishment as part of the Bretton Woods system, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has been joined by four other institutions: the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation, (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). Together these five institutions are known as the ‘World Bank Group’. This thesis, however, only focuses on the work of IBRD and IDA (together known as ‘the World Bank’) as the two development institutions of the Group.

The Bank's initial stance towards economic recovery and growth also shaped its relationship with education until the 1960s. Its work was exclusively technical with a focus on a nation's basic economic infrastructure to encourage private investment. It did not have a clearly stated position on economic and social development. Rather, it would help a country develop its economic potential with 'sound' policies and 'appropriate' public infrastructure, which, in turn, would lead to societal and individual development. The Bank's initial concern for education and training, therefore, rested with building up human technical capacity, the rationale being economic efficiency rather than the benefits it would bring to the individual. Notwithstanding this association between education and technical capacity, the Bank did not engage in lending to education projects, whatsoever until the 1960s (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

Subject to demands by the other UN agencies, donors, and developing countries to expand the scope of its development assistance, the Bank had to include concessional (soft) lending in its agenda for such sectors as health, nutrition, population, and, of course, education. As a result, in September 1960 the International Development Association (IDA) was established within the Bank so as to provide interest-free credits to the poorest countries. Drawing attention to the importance of social infrastructure within the Bank in contrast to heavy emphasis of the prior decade on physical infrastructure, the establishment of the IDA was a catalyst in the approval of the first education project in 1962 (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

Throughout the 1960s, the Bank saw education programs only as an integral part of its investments in physical infrastructure. There was a heavy emphasis on physical construction along with the provision of equipment and furniture in most of the projects. Moreover, the focus in those projects was entirely on vocational content which addressed workforce requirements to increase productivity towards economic growth. To this end, primary schooling, general (academic) university education, non-formal or adult education had no place on the Bank's educational agenda. Instead, it supported a rapid expansion of secondary schooling which had a diversified curriculum combining work-oriented

technical and vocational content with academic knowledge. With the beginning of the 1970s, the Bank's rhetoric for lending to education projects had shifted from a mere economic growth approach towards poverty alleviation and basic human needs, hence incorporating primary education and non-formal education in lending scope. In spite of this shift in rhetoric, the Bank's commitment to education continued to promote worker productivity for economic growth. It was in the 1980s that the World Bank introduced its highly controversial structural adjustment programs as a respond to increasing debt crisis and deepening global recession, thereby acquiring an increasingly interventionist identity. Being an integral part of the ideological framework of the 'Washington Consensus' on economic and social policy which promoted stabilization, liberalization and privatization, structural adjustment programs were also begun to be applied in education sector to promote the privatization of education, the expansion of user charges, and the decentralization of decision-making. In this period, the World Bank emerged as the largest funder of education, on the one hand, and as the most viable coordinator of global initiatives in the field of educational development, on the other. The 1980s also saw a major shift in the Bank thinking on particular sub-sectors of education since it began to emphasize primary education, rather than vocational education or non-formal education, claiming that basic education (with a primary schooling focus) was promising the best economic and social returns. This line of thinking would be the dominant idea of educational development in the Bank from the 1990s into the 21st century (Jones & Coleman, 2005) as manifested in the model of "Education for All"⁴ (EFA) which is still in progress. Although the model was devised by a number of international organizations at the

⁴ The Education for All movement was initiated at the World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien, Thailand) in 1990 when representatives from 155 countries and 150 organizations promised to provide education for all by the year 2000 whereby children, the youth and adults would "benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" (World Declaration on Education for All, 1999). When the Education for All decade came to a conclusion falling short of meeting the ultimate objectives, a new document was adopted at the World Education Forum (26-28 April 2000, Dakar, Senegal): the Dakar Framework for Action *Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments*. With special emphasis on girls' schooling and a determination from donor countries and institutions that "no country seriously committed to basic education will be thwarted in the achievement of this goal by lack of resources," the document commits governments to achieving quality basic education for all by 2015 (Dakar Framework for Action, 2000).

Jomtien Conference in Thailand, the World Bank was the central architect linking education for all to economic efficiency in tune with its ideology (Torres, 2009).

The logic of the Washington Consensus continued to dominate the Bank until the mid-1990s, the most obvious influence of which on education was seen in the 1995 education policy paper. *Priorities and Strategies for Education* (World Bank, 1995) was pivotal in that it explicitly reflected pro-globalization and neoliberal basis of the Bank's commitment to education as a sector subject to privatization and decentralization.

This paper attracted strong criticism both within and out of the Bank accompanying the skepticism directed in general to the strictness and inflexibility of structural adjustment strategies and their effects on the poorest of the developing world. The criticisms were evolving around the picture of rapid economic growth not experienced equally throughout the world, thereby increasing the gap between the richest and the poorest countries (Nicholls, 1999; Tarabini, 2010). Especially, the blame of the deepening debt and economic recession in many of the developing countries in the 1980s were being put upon the principles of the Washington Consensus. Throughout the 1990s, therefore, this uneasiness gave way to a significant decrease in the Bank lending while at the same time shaking its credibility as a dominant player in the field of educational development. As a result, the Bank began to question its conventional policies. In order to extend its understanding of development beyond aggregate economic growth, the Bank has adopted a 'new agenda'⁵, known as Post-Washington Consensus, since the late 1990s with a focus on poverty alleviation and equity in cooperation with local governments and civil society. To this end, it has placed special emphasis on education, hence taking the lead in setting a new global agenda for education in the fight against poverty (Jones & Coleman, 2005; Mundy, 1998; Tarabini, 2010).

Although there are new dimensions to the Bank thinking with respect to development goals, the rationale behind why and how education should be a mechanism in achieving these goals are not new, whatsoever. In line with the

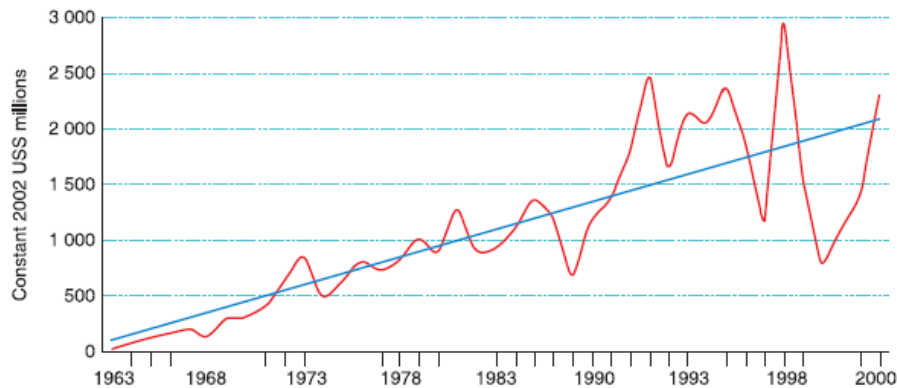
⁵ The World Bank tried to draw attention to poverty reduction firstly in the 1970s, but to no avail.

fundamental Bank perspective since the early 1980s and human capital theory, basic education is seen as a crucial element in empowering poor people so that they can increase their capacity to generate income and to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. This process will, in the end, lead to worker productivity and socio-economic development (Tarabini, 2010). To this end, the Bank still champions primary education with a focus on schooling.

Following the lead of the World Bank, other international organizations and national governments have also recognized the poverty-education relationship as a new development agenda for poverty reduction. Crucial to the dissemination and consolidation of this idea were the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) developed by the Bank, the EFA conferences, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

Requiring mention at this point is that this ‘new’ agenda, though paying much more importance to social issues, actually is not a significant departure from the fundamental principles of the World Bank. Still based on a neoliberal perception of poverty as a failure by individuals to adapt to market demands, it seeks to provide ‘right’ education to equip the poor with the necessary capacities to participate in the labor market (Jones & Coleman, 2005; Mundy, 1998; Tarabini, 2010).

In spite of all the criticisms directed to goals and ways of its work in education, the World Bank has continued to increase its funding, though with some variations (Figure 2.3), and thereby has shaped the role of education in development. Not only as the biggest loan provider for educational development programmes but also as the promoter of its own views of education policy content, the World Bank today remains as one of the most prominent actors in multilateral education.



Source: UNESCO (2005), in Rutkowski (2007, p. 236)

Figure 2.3 World Bank education lending per year 1963–2003

UNDP - The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was established in November 1965 as a result of the merging of two existing UN bodies; the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA) founded in 1949 and the UN Special Fund dating from 1958. After the merge, UNDP retained the characteristics and operations of the two programmes. That is, on the one hand, it continued the technical assistance projects of EPTA by providing skilled and experienced people for the demonstration and teaching of relevant skills and equipment as well as providing the equipment itself. On the other hand, it carried on with the pre-investment projects of the Special Fund through building national capacities as a preparation for the extensive construction projects of economic and social infrastructure mainly by the World Bank. Like UNICEF, UNDP is one of the central funds and programs, hence deeply embroiled in the UN system.

Although UNDP has long recognized the role of education in development, it is difficult to claim that it has ever been a prominent player in educational development formally abandoning education as a sectoral commitment at the end of the century. In spite of its minor role when compared to other organizations discussed so far, UNDP has also been an important actor in educational development both as a funder of specialized agencies prior to the

1990s and through its involvement in sustainable human development programmes from then on (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

Until the 1990s, UNDP's main contribution to educational development was thus to provide grant funding through specialized agencies with a mandate for education, particularly UNESCO. The commitment of those projects was training and technical assistance in line with UNDP's general stance towards development assistance. In this period, UNDP mainly focused on teacher education to serve the needs of secondary and technical education with a scientific and vocational orientation. As a pre-investment activity to build up technical and personnel capacities for national education systems, teacher education priority of the UNDP meshed perfectly with the objectives of the day which rapidly expanded the education systems across the world (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

In the late 1980s, UNDP began to question its identity as the funder of specialized agencies having only a limited number of projects implemented at country level by its own initiative. It sought a reversal of its standing with respect to development assistance and its relationship with specialized agencies. Throughout the 1990s, therefore, it went through fundamental shifts in order to redefine its identity and to increase its relevance within the UN system. An important dimension of this process with consequences on education was a shift in UNDP focus from sectoral descriptions of its budget allocations towards thematic classifications, such as poverty alleviation and good governance, which highlight UNDP's own character and priorities. Thus, UNDP became increasingly reluctant to report its work in terms of conventional sectors, e.g. health, agriculture, transport, thereby slowly eliminating education as a formal concern in spite of an increase in resources allocated to basic education thanks to the on-going EFA. UNDP formally reported in June 2000 that education would be one of the sectors to be abandoned by the program (Jones & Coleman, 2005). Of considerable significance to this thesis, however, UNDP should not be mistaken as totally absent from educational development activities which continue, although in a subtle way, through its sustainable human development programs as exemplified by ÇATOMs in Turkey.

As a result of a concern to transform its mandate, UNDP embraced a poverty-oriented approach for ‘human development’ in the early 1990s. Moreover, in an attempt to merge its poverty alleviation objective with that of sustainable development, in 1993 UNDP developed the concept of *Sustainable Human Development (SHD)* although the idea was already evolving around its annual Human Development Reports since 1990 (Bhatta, 2001).

It is important to refer to Amartya Sen’s *Capability Approach* at this point since Sen was a consultant to the UN in creating the Human Development Index⁶ which was greatly influenced by his thinking (Saito, 2003). Sen formulated the capability approach to human *well-being* in the late 1980s as a “concentration on freedom to achieve in general and the capabilities to function in particular” whereby “A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve (as cited in Saito, 2003, p. 18). ‘Capabilities’ and ‘functionings’ are, therefore, the key concepts in the capability approach which places the main emphasis on freedom to choose one kind of life over another. Regarding the role of education in this respect, Sen (1999) states

...the ability to exercise freedom may, to a considerable extent, be directly dependent on the education we have received, and thus the development of the educational sector may have a foundational connection with the capability-based approach (p.55)

Naturally, there are similarities between SHD and capability approach to development. What differentiate them from the mainstream development approaches is their claim to put people at the centre of development so that they are not only ‘means’ but also ‘ends’ of the process. The focus is on people’s *well-being* rather than their productivity, income or consumption which have long dominated the development discourse. Moreover, SHD is a framework for “carrying out comprehensive policy and institutional reforms and building a newly invigorated system of international development cooperation based on the

⁶ Human Development Index is a summary of human development around the world based on adult literacy and school enrollment, life expectancy at birth, and gross domestic product per capita (GDP/N), the results of which are published in the Human Development Report.

ideals of improved coordination, a candid policy dialogue on ‘sound governance’, equity, genuine North-South partnerships, and the active participation and empowerment of the poorest” (Nicholls, 1999, p. 397).

UNDP defines SHD as “meeting today’s needs without compromising the lives of future generation” (UNDP, 1994). Put another way, SHD aims to enhance people’s capabilities to satisfy their own needs while at the same time respecting the global problems such as global warming, land degradation, and water pollution. Gus Speth, UNDP administrator (1993-1999) during the emergence of the concept, gives the definition as follows:

Sustainable Human Development is a new development paradigm which not only generates economic growth, but distributes it equitably; that regenerates the environment rather than destroying it; and that gives priority to empowering people rather than marginalising them. It gives priority to the poor ... and provides for their participation in those decisions affecting them. (Speth 1994:5, as cited in Nicholls, 1999, p. 397)

SHD is based on four elements: empowerment, environment, equity, and employment. The role of education in SHD should be considered at the intersection of those elements because they include a focus on basic human development priorities such as education, health and nutrition, and thus depend on education in the way towards sustainable human development.

It is important to note at this point that UNDP does not state an overt commitment to education for its sustainable human development programs. Education is just an integral part of the overall process in the service of the aforementioned elements. The focus is on basic education, both formal and non-formal, especially targeting women and children. In this process, UNDP cooperates with other international organizations, such as UNICEF and ILO, to utilize their expertise in specific projects. The example of this thesis, ÇATOMs, is a project based on sustainable human development approach, and hence education is a central dimension for the success of the process.

Summary

The discussion in this section illustrates how the policies of educational development have evolved since World War II and what role international organizations have played in the process. What is emphasized throughout the section is that the shifting ideas as regards the role of education in development reflect the corresponding shifts in development discourse. International organizations, which are key players in the construction and dissemination of these shifts as discussed in the previous section, also modify the educational priorities in association with the new discourse. Table 2.5 is a summary of what has been discussed in this section showing the transformations from the 1950s to the mid-1990s.

Table 2.5 Themes in national development and educational development discourse, 1950-1995

Decade	Development discourse	Educational development discourse	Educational priorities
1950s	Community development Technology transfer	Fundamental education (1949–1955) Functional education	Rural extension training Adult literacy for health & agriculture
	Comprehensive national planning Industrialization	Manpower planning	Universal primary education
1960s	Modernization	Human capital theory	Formal secondary and higher schooling
	Economic growth Dependency	Manpower planning Functional education	Technical and vocational training Vocationally oriented literacy
1970s	Basic human needs Growth with equity	Basic education Equalizing educational opportunity	Formal primary schools Nonformal education for youth and adults
	Integrated rural development New International Economic Order	Teaching “neglected groups” Pedagogy of the oppressed	Literacy education Adult/lifelong learning
1980s	Poverty reduction	Human resources development	Formal primary and secondary schools
	Structural adjustment	Educational efficiency and effectiveness Quality learning	Education administration and finance
1990s	Sustainable human development	Meeting basic learning needs	Universal formal primary and secondary schools
	Poverty alleviation	Quality learning	Quality of classroom teaching and curriculum
	Social dimensions of adjustment	Girls’ education	

Source: Chabbott and Ramirez (2000, p. 178)

The overlapping quality of the ideas in each decade, which is illustrated by the dashed lines, needs particular attention in the table. Although the newer approaches became more prominent over the decades, they did not completely replace the older ones. Nonetheless, there has been a general shift in the ideas from an exclusively instrumental view of education as a means to national economic growth towards more normative, integrated arguments to incorporate measures of individual welfare and environment. As an outcome, the shift has drawn more attention to poverty alleviation and equity in the discourse as well as to the marginalized groups as the beneficiaries.

2.3. Critical Perspectives

The involvement of international organizations in the realm of education using the rhetoric of development and empowerment has been a focus of discussion in terms of rationales, goals and outcomes. Not only this involvement but also the nature of the collaboration between international organizations and national governments has attracted much attention. The process is observed by some, namely neo-institutionalists, as a way of merging necessary means and tools which facilitate cooperation between states to construct and promote world-level ideals, principles and practices through homogenous national educational policies. That is, international organizations are seen as an “institutionalizing force” for world-level educational convergence (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000; McNeely & Cha, 1987, 1994; McNeely, 1995). On the other hand, this involvement is treated by others as an arrangement serving the interests of particular groups rather than bringing a positive transformation to the life of disadvantaged populations. This section of the thesis will elaborate on this latter argument.

The arguments against the active role of international organizations in education will be examined mainly in three groups. The first argument states that policy differences not only within a single organization over time but also among different international organizations perpetuate and even produce fragmentation in national education systems while also wasting resources in the process. The

second one argues that educational policies promoted by international organizations are based on the norms and ideas of the developed countries and thus promote cultural imperialism and neocolonialism. And the last argument, also an integral part of the previous one, claims the work of international organizations in educational development do maintain the status quo, that is established value-patterns of current neoliberal order, and therefore perpetuate advantage of the rich over the poor populations. The common ground of these three arguments, which are discussed consecutively below, is that multilateral commitment to educational development which aims a positive transformation in economic, social and political terms in fact serves the interests of the rich in general and the developed countries in particular. In effect, living standards for the poor further deteriorate and inequalities deepen in a context in which already established social and economic structures are preserved within and between countries.

2.3.1. Policy differences to produce fragmentation in national education systems

The discussion hitherto makes it clear that a completely unified position for the goals and ways of utilizing education as a means to development has never been possible on multilateral agenda. Consequently, there have always been policy conflicts and discontinuities over the projects and programs of international agencies to have consequences for national education systems which are already too vulnerable in the poor countries. Some, therefore, argue that international organizations engage in a series of educational activities in a country based on a particular policy, yet changes in policy over time result in the promotion of a totally different set of activities. Such inconsistency either leaves the previous work unfinished or undermines it, thereby perpetuating, and even producing, fragmentation in national education systems as well as wasting the resources spared for a particular project. In Liberia, for instance, the shift in the World Bank educational policy from vocational/technical education to primary schooling

ceased the funding to the projects for the former leaving vocational/technical schools without adequate equipment and staff (Nagel & Snyder, 1989).

The policy diversity among different agencies is a similar factor in the discrepancy and discontinuity in educational activities. Since they embark on projects and programs in tune with their ideology, different agencies active in a particular country can engage in conflicting activities. In addition, competition for control of the education sector and project funds not only between the organizations but also among various stakeholders can further contribute to these conflicts. The overall outcome, in the end, is deterioration of the education problems in a country rather than a positive transformation in the way of development (Nagel & Snyder, 1989).

2.3.2. Neo-Marxist arguments against multilateral role in education for neocolonialism

Neo-Marxist accounts view multilateral work in educational development mainly as an instrument of Western neocolonialism and cultural imperialism. The present endeavors of educational multilateralism are claimed to build upon the heritage of the colonial penetration into the education systems of the former colonies. Since the former colonies strive to “come to grips with this colonial heritage: they struggle to find education systems which will enhance national self-identity and cultural autonomy, while contributing to sustained economic growth” (Arnove, 1980, p. 48). To this end, Third World countries have expanded their education systems on a large-scale with the help of external technical assistance (e.g. equipment, personnel, and money) through both international organizations and bilateral agreements. Furthermore, they have sent an increasing number of students and faculty abroad for advanced studies. These policies, however, are considered to have perpetuated cultural and economic dependency of the poor countries on the rich ones in the form of neocolonialism (Altbach & Kelly, 1978, as cited in Arnove, 1980).

Torres (2009) contributes to this discussion of whether international organizations play a neocolonial role by questioning the acceptable theories of educational planning – for instance, Human Capital Theory – advocated by them.

Speculating on David Plank's observations that the principles of the World Bank, such as investment in primary education, administrative decentralization, and investment in general education rather than in vocational education, reflect the theoretical and operational preferences of the organization rather than the results of empirical evidence, Torres suggests that

...the instrumental reasoning of the World Bank, and of most, if not all, international financial organizations, would be playing a neocolonial role. This is especially true when educational policies are directed not so much toward improving the use value of the work force as they are toward improving the exchange value. Stabilization policies, fiscal conditions, and the economic drive toward export-oriented policies appear as policy preferences that are relatively homogeneously applied worldwide without virtually any concern for context-bound conditions. (p. 35)

One of those principles which is most celebrated currently by international organizations, the extension and expansion of formal schooling, especially attracts criticism by neo-Marxists (Carnoy, 1982). Based on their argument that schooling serve to "colonize" children's mind so that they can contribute to capitalist accumulation (Carnoy, 1974), neo-Marxist accounts claim that international organizations contribute to the expansion of world capitalist system through exporting Western schooling, and by which Western ideals, to underdeveloped countries.

2.3.3. Neoliberal agenda in education

As an integral part of neo-Marxist arguments, some strongly argue that the educational policies promoted by international organizations do maintain the status quo, that is, established value-patterns of current neoliberal political, economic and social order which is a construction of the capitalist institutionalized countries of the West. Rather than giving rise to a positive transformation in underdeveloped countries, international educational cooperation is claimed to be perpetuating advantage of the rich over the poor within and between countries. *Neoliberalism* replaced in the mid-1970s the post-WWII world order in which a liberal commitment to the expansion of the world market was

combined with the elements of the Keynesian welfare state which was to guarantee high-wage full employment and social security through consumption and production (Mundy, 1998). Neoliberalism advocates a more limited role for the state in the market, yet, at the same time, it desires a strong state which will protect and perpetuate the interests of neoliberal Capital (Hill, 2003). Neoliberalism promotes individual entrepreneurial liberties and skills as well as free markets and free trade. Deregulation, privatization, decentralization, competition, opening national markets to international trade are all encouraged by neoliberal economic agenda. Nevertheless, neoliberalism is not just a set of economic policies as obvious from the marketization of social systems such as health and education along with economic activities, having consequences for the social aspects of life. Based on an analysis of attitudes to society, the individual and employment which are seen through market metaphors by neoliberalism, below is a definition of neoliberalism as a philosophy rather than a simply economic structure:

Neoliberalism is a philosophy in which the existence and operation of a market are valued in themselves, separately from any previous relationship with the production of goods and services, and without any attempt to justify them in terms of their effect on the production of goods and services; and where the operation of a market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, *capable of acting as a guide for all human action*, and substituting for all previously existing ethical beliefs. (emphasis added)
(<http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/neoliberalism.htm>)

Neoliberal agenda in education, therefore, reflects the mainstream policies as discussed above through marketization of education. Advocating a very limited state intervention, neoliberal policies in education include a drive toward privatization, decentralization of decision making, a movement toward educational standards, and a strong emphasis on testing and accountability. Education is viewed as a tool for “*social production of labor-power*, equipping students with skills, competences, abilities, knowledge and the attitudes and personal qualities that *can be expressed and expended in the capitalist labor process*” (Hill, 2003, p. 4) and contribute to the competitiveness. Education, in

this regard, is strongly associated with ‘rates of return’ as a means to human capital production in order to increase productivity and strengthen labor force towards economic growth.

Martin Carnoy (as cited in Torres, 2009) has classified the recent reforms in education in three types initiated by a neoliberal inspiration in education. The first type, *competition-based reforms*, responds to the demand for better-qualified labor in the national and international labor market through strategies such as decentralization of educational governance and administration of schools, new educational norms and standards to be measured through extensive testing, introduction of new teaching and learning methods, and improvements in the selection and training of teachers. The second type, *based on financial imperatives*, responds to the restriction of budgets in the private and public sectors, the most common strategy for which is the transference of budgets from higher education to lower levels of education. It is believed that investment in lower levels of education (primary and secondary education) will result in higher rates of return than investment in higher education. Education for All is an ambitious outcome of this type of reform. The last type, *equity-based reforms*, attempts to improve the political role of education as a source of mobility and social equality particularly through providing educational opportunities for the disadvantaged groups such as women, girls, indigenous people, and rural populations.

Like neoliberalism in general, neoliberal involvement in education has been a target of severe criticism since the 1970s. The policies discussed above, particularly marketization of education, are claimed to be increasing inequalities globally and nationally through increasing school choice of parents and their children, hence exacerbating school hierarchies and pushing the poor out of the system (Hill, 2003). There is also the issue of democratic accountability because, in cases of corruption and abuse, it is a problem where and how the guilty ones would be held to account (Wilson, 2002 as cited in Hill, 2003). Moreover, it is stressed that neoliberal policies for education serve ideological and economic requirements of Capital, “to make sure schools produce compliant, ideologically

indoctrinated, pro-capitalist, effective workers”, thereby eliminating critical thinking from education, and hence the possibility of resistance to current neoliberal order (Hill, 2003, p. 9). Offering a critique of the current situation in education in which liberalism has been replaced by neoliberalism, Michael Apple states that

...liberalism itself is under concerted attack from the right, from the coalition of neo-conservatives, “economic modernizers,” and new right groups who have sought to build a new consensus around their own principles. Following a strategy best called “authoritarian populism,” this coalition has combined a “free market ethic” with a populist politics. The results have been a partial dismantling of social democratic policies that largely benefited working people, people of color, and women (these groups are obviously not mutually exclusive), the building of a closer relationship between government and the capitalist economy, and attempts to curtail liberties that had been gained in the past. (Apple, 2004, p.xxiv, as cited in Torres, 2009, p. 43)

Skeptics of international educational cooperation, particularly of those with instrumental agenda such as World Bank, IMF and OECD, argue against this neoliberal agenda in education they see as the basic rationale behind the projects and programs. They claim that neoliberal agenda of privatization, decentralization and deregulation along with its homogeneous rules are promoted by international organizations in the discourse, policies and practices of educational institutions. Constructing an education sector for the pursuits of global economy, the motivation is to produce labor force for the market economy with a heavy emphasis on human capital production. This emphasis aims to produce human resources as a ‘means’ to upgrade developing economies while at the same time serving interests of the rich through ensuring the growth of the advanced economies (Moutsios, 2009; Torres, 2009).

As for the new education agenda based on the recent shift from the Washington consensus to the post-Washington consensus as a means to poverty alleviation, critics highlight that the new consensus does not represent a radical departure from the neoliberal orthodoxy. The new policies aim to complement the previous model not to substantially change it. Therefore, the new education agenda, though with a poverty focus, is still under the auspices of a neoliberal

world order (Tarabini, 2010). Sustainable development, on the other hand, attracts criticism as “one of the most insidious and manipulable ideas to appear in decades” which is open to divergent interpretations by different interest groups (Willers, 1994, p. 1148). Supporters of sustainable development continue to promote growth and the overconsumptive lifestyle of industrialized world, and thereby accelerate the deterioration of the environment in stark contrast to their rhetoric. Above all, post-development analyses claim that these new development paradigms are co-opted and appropriated to fit into the mainstream development approaches which aim to Westernize developing countries through imposing ‘universal values’ and ideologies that are associated with international capitalism. This, in turn, creates conformism and perpetuates the current problems (Frediani, 2010).

Asking the question “How are international organizations involved in the utilization of education for development and empowerment?”, this chapter aimed to understand the nature of multilateral involvement in education with a range from their emergence as significant actors in the field to criticisms directed to their policies and projects. The next chapter, on the other hand, attempts to see how this involvement is reflected in a national example, namely ÇATOMs, and how are the target populations effected during the process. To this end, the chapter will present a general overview of the GAP in general and ÇATOMs in particular with specific attention to the goals, rationales, and outcomes of the latter.

CHAPTER 3

ÇATOMs: THE SOCIAL COMPONENT OF THE GAP

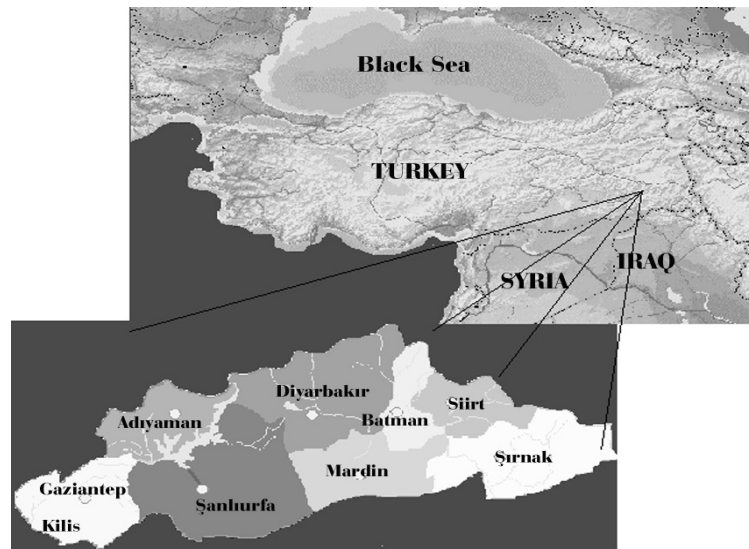
Looking back on the role of international organizations at the intersection of education, development and empowerment in the aftermath of World War II, it has been discussed that they have been key players in the institutionalization of the idea of educational development on the one hand, and in the standardization and dissemination of the rationales and ways of the process, on the other. It has been further discussed how these rationales and ways have shifted from an exclusively instrumental view of education as a means to national economic growth towards more human-centered and sustainable views of educational development, thereby drawing attention to marginalized groups such as women, children and the youth. While the discussion hitherto was thus on the international level with a theoretical point of view, the focus of attention for the rest of the thesis will be on the national and local levels to see the process and consequences of international cooperation in educational development through an example, namely ÇATOMs in Turkey.

In this regard, this chapter gives a general overview of GAP, which is followed by the exploration of ÇATOMs with particular attention to the goals and outcomes. Before the overview of GAP and ÇATOMs, however, it is significant to understand the context of the projects, that is, characteristics of the Southeastern Anatolia Region, where the projects are still in progress.

3.1. Southeastern Anatolia Region: A Socio-Economic Overview

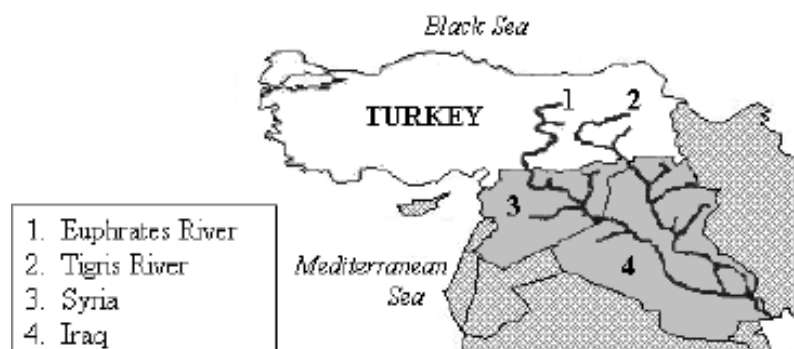
One of the seven regions of Turkey which are defined geographically while also taking into account political, economic and social aspects, Southeastern Anatolia extends over an area of 75,358 km² which corresponds to 9.7 % of the total surface area of Turkey. The region is a part of Upper Mesopotamia sharing

borders with Syria and Iraq on the south. It covers nine provinces (Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak) which are located on the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).



Source: Unver and Gupta (2003, p. 233)

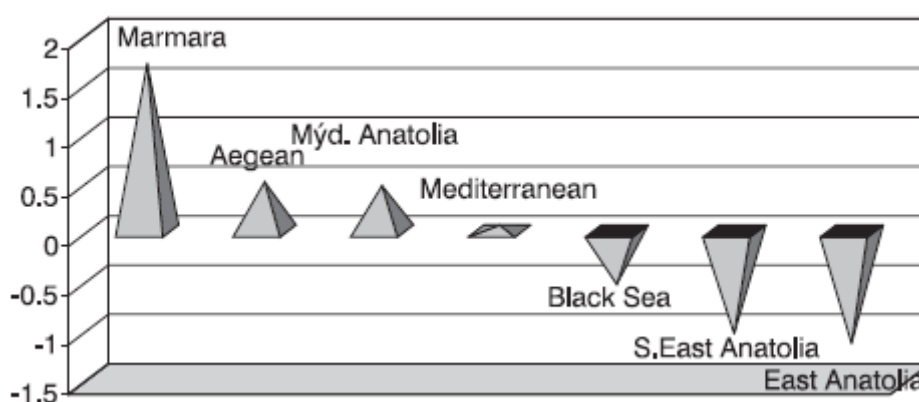
Figure 3.1 Map of the GAP region in Turkey



Source: Unver and Hemingway (2001)

Figure 3.2 The Euphrates and Tigris Rivers

Southeastern Anatolia is a region which is rich in history and cultural heritage in part due to the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, which have hosted countless people on their banks as a base for growth of trade and civilization (Unver & Hemingway, 2001). Its beauty and rich resources notwithstanding, the region has been one of the most underdeveloped areas on the Turkish land (Figure 3.3) encompassing a variety of socio-economic and political problems.



Source: SPO (State Planning Organization), Socio-Economic Development Index Research, (2003, p.75), in Elmas (2004, p. 6)

Figure 3.3 Socio-Economic development index for geographic regions of Turkey

Population – As of 2007, Southeastern Anatolia has a population of 7.2 million which corresponds to 10.2 % of the total population of Turkey (Southeastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration [GAP RDA], 2008). The population in the region is mainly composed of Turks, Arabs, and Kurds who are the largest ethnic minority in Turkey. Although the smallest in terms of surface area when compared with other regions, Southeastern Anatolia has had higher population growth than the national average. The annual rate of population growth in the region, in the period 1990 – 2000, was 2.5 % while it was 1.8 % for the country (GAP RDA, 2008). What worsen the picture even more are the higher

fertility and infant mortality rates, and lower life expectancy at birth than the other regions of Turkey (Hacettepe University, Institute of Population Studies, 2008).

Migration and Urbanization – Migration is a peculiar characteristic of the region experienced in two ways: seasonal agricultural migration and permanent rural-to-urban migration. While the former is mainly a response to high unemployment in the region, Kalaycioglu and Elmas identify three reasons for the latter which leads to rapid urbanization. Firstly, the population movement has occurred from the rural areas of the region towards more developed parts of Turkey on the grounds of socio-economic conditions. Secondly, GAP, which is a project primarily based on the construction of dams and hydroelectric power plants, has resulted in many villages being flooded. As a result, local populations have evacuated their villages to settle in cities. Lastly, based on military and security reasons (operations against the PKK⁷), the government has forced many villagers to abandon their homes where they have been under “high levels of uncertainty, risk and tension” since the 1980s as a result of the political atmosphere in the region (Elmas, 2004, pp. 8-9).

As an outcome of this massive migration from rural to urban areas, urbanization rates have grown rapidly in the Southeastern Anatolia since the early 1980s. To illustrate, the share of the urban population in the total population of the region was 50 % in 1990 which rose to 63 % in 2000. On the other hand, the share of the rural population in the region fell from 44 % to 37 % in the same interval (GAP official site). This mobility, in turn, gave rise to many problems in terms of housing, infrastructure, employment and social services, hence further aggravating the problems of unemployment, poverty and low standards of life (Elmas, 2004; Unver & Gupta, 2003).

⁷ PKK stands for Kurdistan Workers’ Party that is designated a terrorist group by a range of countries and international/regional organizations including Turkey, the United States, the United Nations, the European Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The PKK is based in Turkey, but it has also had a long-standing presence in Kurdish-majority northern Iraq. The ultimate goal of the PKK is to create an independent country of Kurdistan out of northern Iraq, parts of southern Turkey, and segments of Syria and Iran.

Economy – The economy of the region is mainly based on agriculture, yet productivity historically has been unsatisfactory because of low precipitation rates. Until the expansion of agricultural production in the context of GAP irrigation plans, the region mainly depended on the basic foodstuffs of wheat, meat and milk for its self-sufficiency. When the irrigation prospects increased, cotton has become a major target of production also increasing the regional activity in industry as a source of income.

This increase in production and sources of income, however, is not matched with a similar raise in per capita income levels. Southeastern Anatolia Region experienced the second highest growth rate of GDP in the last two decades of the 20th century (SPO, 2000) in which GAP was an important factor (Kalaycioglu & Elmas). Nevertheless, as of 2007, the regional average household income (3 591 TRY) still remains far below the national averages (8 050 TRY) occupying the bottom of the list when compared to the other regions (Turkish Statistical Institute [TurkStat], 2009). These statistics support the observations that the growth in the aftermath of GAP has not been experienced equally in the region widening the gap between the land owners in the irrigated areas and the landless laborers who have moved to cities in order to find work (Kalaycioglu & Elmas).

As an integral part of this picture, un(der)employment is also a major problem of the region. The rate of unemployment is still very high, which is a serious problem especially in the urban areas where the availability of some employment opportunities in small trade and manufacturing workshops is not sufficient to reduce unemployment (Kalaycioglu & Elmas). The main source of employment remains to be agriculture and cotton production, which reinforces the underemployment of the labor force. This, in turn, primarily affects one of the most disadvantaged groups in the region, that is, women who are the main participants in agriculture (Unver & Gupta, 2003).

Social Structure and Gender Inequalities – Having its roots in nomadic life of people, tribal structure has been the main type of organization in the region for

centuries. Although a type of social structure, tribal organizations have also been influential on the formation of the institutions and state apparatus which have been consistent with the tribal characteristics of the people in the region. As a consequence of the settled life and urbanization, there has been a transition from simplicity to complexity and from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Nevertheless, tribal organizations are still significant actors in the region with influence on “some villages and farmer associations, land ownership, tenure relationships and some state initiated projects” (Unver & Gupta, 2003, p. 234).

In such a context, traditions, customs and culture are still important determinants of social and economic activities. Families are usually large with high number of children which exceeds that of other regions (the average number of children is 5.1). Early marriages further contribute to this picture which mostly occur between the kin (endogamous marriages) upon the decision of elders in order to prevent division of the family land and avoid high bride’s wealth on the one hand (Kalaycioglu & Elmas), and not to lose social and political solidarity because of member loss through marriage, on the other (Fazlioglu, 1997). Furthermore, arranged marriages and polygamous practices are among the characteristics of the region together with honor killings of women (TKV, 1994). The situation is naturally most detrimental to the standard of life and social status of the women in the region.

Traditional, social and structural factors have been effective also in women’s employment in Southeastern Anatolia. The women of the region, especially in rural areas, have traditionally contributed to work at almost all levels, but particularly to that of household with a range from childcare to animal rearing which are conceived as their ‘duty’ (Erhan, 1998). Employment participation of women is much lower than men in the region, yet their participation increases in rural areas as unpaid labor force on land, which mirrors the general tendencies in Turkey (Elmas, 2004). This increase, nevertheless, is not matched with increased participation of women in decision making processes at the community level (Unver & Gupta, 2003).

Women remain, therefore, to be one of the most disadvantaged groups in the region for reasons with a range from early marriage upon others' decisions and many children to unpaid heavy workload. Of special significance to the status of the women as well as that of the all population is another characteristic of the region which also lays the ground for aforementioned conditions: lack of education.

Education – Well below country averages, illiteracy and low rates of school enrollment constitute a serious problem in Southeastern Anatolia especially in terms of gender differences. Although both male and female population have lower literacy and school enrollment rates than the national average according to the 2000 census, statistics reflect that women are strikingly far behind the men in the region (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Literacy rate and enrollment ratio (2000)

	Percentage of population who are literate (%)		Primary and Secondary School (%)		High School and Vocational High School (%)	University (%)
	Women	Men	Women	Men		
Turkey	78.7	92.4	92.3	98.4	59.4	27.8
SEAP Region	55.6	81.8	75.2	96.9	25.2	4.3

Source: B. Tunçsiper, 'GAP ve Sanayileşme' *III. GAP ve Sanayileşme Kongresi: Bildiriler Kitabı*, TMMOB, MMO, No.338 (2003, p.27), in Elmas (2004, p. 9).

Consistent with the foregoing, latest statistics further show that enrollment rates particularly drop beyond primary education and in rural areas of the region creating the main education gap between women and men (Table 3.2). This gender difference in education is an outcome of the inequality in access to education at all levels. Gender biased approaches and feudal remnants in the traditional and social structure of the society are among the fundamental reasons behind why girls cannot enjoy equal educational opportunities (Harris & Atalan, 2002; Unver & Gupta, 2003).

Table 3.2 Number of new entrants in the provinces of Southeastern Anatolia by level of education (Beginning of the educational year 2008-2009)

		A. Total			D. City			E. Village		
		İlköğretim Primary education			Ortaöğretim - Secondary education					
					Genel General			Mesleki ve teknik Vocational and technical		
İBBS - 3. Düzey SRE - Level 3		Toplam Total	Erkek Males	Kadın Females	Toplam Total	Erkek Males	Kadın Females	Toplam Total	Erkek Males	Kadın Females
TRC11 Gaziantep	A	37 856	19 608	18 248	15 629	9 490	6 139	6 484	3 429	3 055
	D	33 437	17 266	16 171	15 331	9 281	6 050	6 458	3 413	3 045
	E	4 419	2 342	2 077	298	209	89	26	16	10
TRC12 Adıyaman	A	11 793	6 091	5 702	7 024	4 084	2 940	3 171	1 782	1 389
	D	6 973	3 568	3 405	6 642	3 866	2 776	2 874	1 620	1 254
	E	4 820	2 523	2 297	382	218	164	297	162	135
TRC13 Kilis	A	2 357	1 159	1 198	684	315	369	1 316	789	527
	D	1 701	849	852	684	315	369	1 316	789	527
	E	656	310	346	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRC21 Şanlıurfa	A	44 791	23 437	21 354	10 612	7 587	3 025	5 447	3 017	2 430
	D	24 566	12 776	11 790	9 800	7 057	2 743	5 447	3 017	2 430
	E	20 225	10 661	9 564	812	530	282	-	-	-
TRC22 Diyarbakır	A	41 038	20 754	20 284	18 427	11 871	6 556	4 641	2 701	1 940
	D	27 610	14 231	13 379	18 295	11 785	6 510	4 303	2 472	1 831
	E	13 428	6 523	6 905	132	86	46	338	229	109
TRC31 Mardin	A	17 986	9 391	8 595	7 267	4 868	2 399	2 609	1 558	1 051
	D	10 291	5 314	4 977	7 097	4 741	2 356	2 053	1 178	875
	E	7 695	4 077	3 618	170	127	43	556	380	176
TRC32 Batman	A	13 389	6 781	6 608	6 488	4 072	2 416	1 597	882	715
	D	9 369	4 747	4 622	6 445	4 039	2 406	1 597	882	715
	E	4 020	2 034	1 986	43	33	10	-	-	-
TRC33 Şırnak	A	12 880	6 345	6 535	3 666	2 544	1 122	1 613	890	723
	D	7 676	3 762	3 914	3 400	2 388	1 012	1 613	890	723
	E	5 204	2 583	2 621	266	156	110	-	-	-
TRC34 Siirt	A	8 513	4 475	4 038	2 511	1 748	763	1 475	935	540
	D	4 825	2 546	2 279	2 511	1 748	763	1 263	780	483
	E	3 688	1 929	1 759	-	-	-	212	155	57

Source: Ministry of National Education (MoNE, 2008-2009, p. 29)

There are also other structural and institutional factors, though, detrimental to education not only of the women but of the entire population in Southeastern Anatolia. The region, for instance, is also below the country averages in respect to the number of schools and of student/teacher and student/classroom ratios (one teacher for 23 students in Turkey vs. one teacher for 30 students in the region; one classroom for 32 students in Turkey vs. one classroom for 44 students in the region⁸ – MoNE, 2008-2009, p. 14).

As illustrated above, Southeastern Anatolia constitutes part of an area in Turkey which is the least developed in terms of socio-economic conditions. It is

⁸ The statistics are for primary education since the highest number of enrollments occurs at this level.

in this context of the region that GAP emerged in the late 1970s as a water resources and infrastructure development planning, yet, later on, evolved into a multi-sectoral integrated regional project in order to eliminate the aforementioned problems and achieve socio-economic development.

3.2. A Multi-Sectoral Integrated Regional Development Plan for Southeastern Turkey: GAP

The Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP in its Turkish acronym) is an ongoing development planning which has been under implementation since the 1960s. Turkey's efforts to utilize her water resources actually date back to the 1930s; however, the history of GAP is usually evaluated from the 1960s when Turkey entered "the planned development era" and began to address its regional policy institutionally. The government started making 5-year development plans, which gave priority to "lesser-developed regions", and introduced incentives to accelerate economic growth in these areas. Relatedly, therefore, a development planning was initiated based on the potential of the natural resources of Southeastern Anatolia. Although covering a small surface area, Southeastern Anatolia had about 20 % of Turkey's 8.5 million hectares of irrigable land but received less precipitation than other geographical regions. The lack of rainfall was an important factor in historically low agricultural production in Southeastern Anatolia, yet, to its advantage, the region had the two major rivers of Turkey flowing through its land mass. Conceived as a significant initiative not only for the region but for the whole country, therefore, a series of studies and plans were started by the government in the 1960s in order to produce electrical energy and irrigation networks utilizing the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. To this end, 13 individual project packages were designed based on the construction of 22 dams and 19 hydropower plants which would harness the hitherto wasted waters of the two rivers for irrigation and hydraulic energy generation (Erhan, 1998; GAP official website; Unver, 2007). Requiring special emphasis at this point is that the project of the 1960s was exclusively a government initiative which has

later on become much more involved with private sector and international community upon the adoption of *sustainability*.

Until the late 1970s, the development efforts in the region took place through the individual projects which were put together in 1977 as a single integrated project under the title of the *Southeastern Anatolia Project*. Originally conceived as a water resources and infrastructure development project, GAP was then transformed into an economic development project in the late 1980s upon the recognition of the development needs of the region. It was in 1989 that a new era started in the history of GAP with the inauguration of the GAP Master Plan which facilitated a new approach to development under the umbrella of GAP: integrated socio-economic development of the region. Still particularly focused on a schedule for the development of water and land resources, the Master Plan

gives a general picture of developments in economic and social sectors induced by this development including employment, population increase and spatial distribution of population; determines at macro level education and health services and needs for housing and urban infrastructure and gives financing needs by years. As a guide facilitating the integration and coordination of development efforts made by various governmental agencies, the GAP Master Plan supports the implementation of the GAP and gives an overall but clear idea on the course of development for the region and also on plans, programs and projects to be designed at smaller scales. (<http://www.gap.gov.tr/English/Ggbilgi/gmaster.html>)

Another important outcome of the Master Plan was the creation of GAP Regional Development Administration (GAP RDA), which has been responsible for the socio-economic dimension of GAP since it was founded the same year as a new entity attached to the prime minister's office. According to Law Decree no. 388 (1989, Article 1), GAP RDA would “provide or cause to be provided such services as planning, infrastructural services, services related with licenses, housing, industry, mining, energy and transport, to ensure a rapid development of the regions under the Southeastern Anatolia Project, *take actions or have the same taken to improve the educational level of the local population*, and to ensure coordination among the relevant agencies and organizations” (emphasis added).

Not long after the inauguration of the Master Plan, another new phase started for the development of the region with the studies conducted by the initiative of GAP RDA between 1992 and 1994. The overall objective of the studies was to “develop a better understanding of the socio-economic and cultural make up of the region; identify the needs, expectations, attitudes and tendencies of the society in general and specific social groups; and identify the special target groups (especially those in disadvantaged position) in development” such as “women, children, adolescents, children working in streets, the urban poor, landless peasants and small farmers, nomadic communities, people affected by dam constructions, etc.” (GAP official website). These studies are:

- Research on the Trends of Social Change in the GAP Region
- Research on Population Movements in the GAP Region
- Research on the Status of Women in the GAP Region and Their Integration to the Process of Development
- Research on the Problems of Resettlement and Employment in Areas to be Inundated by Dams in the GAP Region
- Socio-Economic Studies on the Management, Operation and Maintenance of GAP Irrigation Systems
- Şanlıurfa-Harran Plains on-Farm and Village Development Project A Social Evaluation

Findings of the studies were discussed at a seminar sponsored by GAP RDA and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and, subsequently, the GAP Social Action Plan was prepared late in 1994 by a group of experts and professionals from academia, civil society, and the public sector. The Plan assessed the contemporary situation in terms of social and cultural structures, family structure, demography, infrastructure services, settlement patterns, human-land interaction, employment-income distribution, health, and education. It then identified targets, strategies, and action plans for seven major areas and issues of social and human development related initiatives in the framework of GAP:

governance and participation, population movements and settlement, education, health, agricultural extension and capacity building, employment and income, and land tenure and land use (Unver, 2007). In the course of the process, GAP created an extensive network with local, regional, and national stakeholders, decision makers, and opinion influencers. The network also included the United Nations organizations and international agencies, yet particularly the UNDP. As an outcome of those partnerships and in line with the spirit of the day, GAP was transformed in 1995 from an integrated socio-economic investment program by the government to a water-based sustainable development project (Unver, 2007). Since the adoption of sustainable development, the following sustainability goals have been specified for the development process of GAP:

- Increasing investments to the optimal level which would accelerate the economic conditions.
- Enhancing health care and education services so that they reach national levels.
- Creating new employment opportunities.
- Improving the quality of life of the cities and improving urban and social infrastructure so as to create healthier urban environments.
- Completing the rural infrastructure for optimal irrigation development.
- Increasing inter- and intra-regional accessibility.
- Meeting the infrastructural needs of existing and new industry.
- Protecting water, soil and air and the associated ecosystems as a priority consideration.
- Enhancing community participation in decision-making and project implementation.

(Unver & Gupta, 2003)

Encompassing these goals, the main components of sustainability for GAP are: social sustainability, physical and spatial sustainability, environmental sustainability, economic and agricultural sustainability (Unver & Gupta, 2003).

Critical to the purposes of this thesis is the importance attached to human dimension of development in accordance with the sustainable development approach of GAP. Special programs and projects have been initiated with special emphasis on human capital through projects concerned with basic social services (education, health, housing), gender equity, urban management, irrigation facilities, agricultural and environmental sustainability, institutional and community capacity-building, and public participation. In the course of the process, *Sustainable Human Development* approach with its focus on human, poverty, and social equity has become the ultimate goal for GAP.

In the context of GAP sustainable human development approach, development and growth are defined in terms of such indicators as “average life expectancy, infant mortality rate, literacy rate, duration in participation to education, accessibility of health services, closing region and gender-based welfare gaps, quality of life and sustainability” (GAP official website). The approach includes such goals among others as reaching the poorest, gender equity, capacity building for local institutions, and environmental protection. It promotes a participatory approach in the development process with the involvement of the entire society of public and private institutions along with individual people: “government officials, technicians, businessmen, farmers and community leaders, as well as traditionally marginalized groups such as women, children and the poor” (Unver & Hemingway, 2001).

Upon the adoption of the GAP Social Action Plan and in tune with sustainable human development, a series of social projects were initiated, some of which are still ongoing as of 2010. Placing special emphasis on the human dimension of development, these projects are:

- Multi-Purpose Community Centers (ÇATOMs)
 - Community Based Maternal and Child Health Project
 - Activities for Training ÇATOM Participants as “Health Volunteers”
- Project for the Rehabilitation of Children Working in Streets
- Social Progress for Youth

- Children Reading Rooms
- Back to Village and Central Village Rural Development Project
- Project on Planning and Implementation for the Resettlement, Employment and Socio-Economic Investments of People Affected by Birecik Dam
- Project for the Promotion of Employment and Business Potential in the Urban Informal Sector

After the adoption of a human-centered and sustainable dimension, GAP has placed more importance on social dimension as discussed above. Nonetheless, it is critical to point out that GAP is still fundamentally a water resources and infrastructure development plan with an economic prospect. In addition to its social aspects, GAP's other core components are land and water resources development, agriculture, industry, and infrastructure. Encompassing all those components, the basic objectives of GAP are:

Ensuring economic growth so as to raise the level of income in the GAP region and thus narrow development disparities existing between this region and other regions in the country; Enhancing productivity and employment opportunities in rural areas; Improving the population absorption capacity of large cities in the region and contributing to national development targets including economic growth, social stability and increased volume of exports by efficient utilization of resources in the region. (GAP official website)

Among the core components of GAP, it is the social dimension which is of significance to this thesis that concentrates on ÇATOMs, the product of the transformations in the GAP as detailed above.

3.3. ÇATOMs as the Social Component of the GAP

Women have traditionally been excluded from development process although they bear equal or more burden and responsibility in all spheres of family and community life. Although their visibility in development plans may change in line with the cultural structures and levels of development in different countries, women cannot benefit from development as much as men do, hence

forming the majority in the poorest segment of the world (Fazlioglu, 2002). As discussed in the previous chapter, the effectiveness of traditional development strategies began to be challenged in the 1970s and, from then on, a more human-centered approach to development has gained more prominence in the international development discourse. Especially, the emergence of sustainable human development approach in the 1990s has increasingly drawn attention to marginalized groups in the development process. It is in this context of world changes that the role and function of women in development have been redefined to involve them in the development process both as active participants and ultimate beneficiaries.

As already discussed, the women of the Southeastern Anatolia are among the most disadvantaged groups in the region based on a series of socio-economic factors. Reflecting the spirit of the day, however, they also began to attract more attention in the context of GAP with the initiative of the Master Plan. This new emphasis on the role of women in development began to be much more focused in 1995 with the establishment of the first ÇATOMs with their emphasis on the empowerment of women through education and training as a means to sustainable human development.

Multi-Purpose Community Centers (ÇATOMs in its Turkish acronym) are, therefore, not an isolated project on its own right, but one initiated after the 1995 Social Action Plan as an integral part of a set of projects which constitute the social phase of GAP so as to complement the core dimensions (infrastructure and water resources development). Upon the initiative of GAP RDA, a council of academicians and bureaucrats worked on the organization and establishment of the first ÇATOMs based on the findings of the research “Status of Women in the GAP Region and Their Integration to the Process of Development”, among others, conducted between 1992-1994. In line with the findings which identified a need for integrated and participatory alternatives for social change with a gender-balanced approach, ÇATOMs were first conceived as a project for the education and empowerment of women and young girls targeting the most disadvantaged section of the female population in the poor neighborhoods or squatter areas of

the urban centers which take massive migration and/or rural settlements (Erhan, 1998; Unver & Gupta). To this end, the first ÇATOM was founded in a squatter area of Şanlıurfa, the Yakubiye neighborhood, in late 1995 which was shortly followed by a second one in the same province. At present, there are 35 ÇATOMs active in 9 provinces of the GAP Region:

- **Adıyaman** (1) : Fatih neighborhood
- **Batman** (3) : Petrolkent, Yavuzselim, and Yeşiltepe neighborhoods
- **Diyarbakır** (4): Kayabağlar-Huzurevleri, 5 Nisan and Fatihpaşa neighborhoods, and Silvan and Çermik districts.
- **Gaziantep** (1) : Oğuzeli district, Yeşildere township
- **Kilis** (2) : İslambey and Ekrem Çetin neighborhoods
- **Mardin** (9) : Meydanbaşı, Evren and Latifiye neighborhoods, Dargeçit, Kızıltepe, Midyat, Nusaybin and Ömerli districts and Dargeçit-Kılavuz township
- **Siirt** (4) : Şeyh Şerafettin Caddesi, Kurtalan and Sirvan districts, Kurtalan-Kayabağlar township
- **Şanlıurfa** (5) : Bağlarbaşı neighborhood, Parmaksızlar Konutu, Bozova, Siverek and Viranşehir districts
- **Şırnak** (5) : Central (old adult education centre), Cizre, Beytüşşebap, İdil and Uludere districts

Although they were founded exclusively for female population (from ages 14 to 50) in the beginning and still focus mainly on this segment of society, ÇATOMs have later on expanded the target population to include men and children. As of September 2008, ÇATOMs services have reached around 130,000 persons in total. Each year, while around 10,000 persons directly participate in ÇATOMs programs, most of whom are women and young girls, 50,000-60,000 persons also benefit from the activities and services carried out by the Centers (GAP RDA, 2008).

In its reach to the poorest section of society, the ultimate goal of ÇATOMs is to raise the status of women, to start a gender-balanced development process

and to contribute to sustainable human development in the region. They aim to ensure that women become aware of their problems along with those of their communities and actively participate in the elimination of them. In the way of this ultimate goal, the short and medium-term objectives are:

- To raise the literacy rate
- To promote awareness and provide basic information and skills related to health and balanced nutrition
- To train women in childcare
- To improve women's income generating skills
- To show the ways and methods of home economics
- To help participants become more aware of their own problems and those of their communities and to create opportunities for them to launch initiatives for their solution.
- To enable women to better express themselves and engage in cooperative work.
- To enhance self-confidence and to ensure that women take active part in public sphere and benefit from available services.
- To develop replicable models relevant to local circumstances and to promote participatory community development.

(Fazlioglu, 2002; GAP official website; Unver & Gupta)

In doing so, the basic principle of ÇATOMs is to show participants what can be done under certain conditions so that they can choose among different alternatives or create new ones. Rather than dictating what should be done, ÇATOMs facilitate active participation at all levels of programs and services which can be grouped under eight main headings:

- 1. Training Programs:** Programs in literacy training, civil code and legal rights, home economics, nutrition, maternal training, computer skills, student support, etc.

2. **Health Programs:** Training programs in hygiene, environmental cleanliness, maternal and child health and public health; partial polyclinic and mobile health services; health work in neighborhoods and rural settlements; health screening, immunization campaigns, etc.
3. **Programs for Income Generation and Promoting Female Employment / Entrepreneurship:** i) Training programs for building occupational and income generating skills (handicrafts, machine knitting, cutting-sewing, furniture, felt processing, stone works, silversmith works, textiles, toys, souvenirs, soap making, cloth dyeing, hair dressing, cooking, etc.); ii) training activities and other services to encourage entrepreneurship including micro-financing and business counseling; iii) marketing support (exhibitions and fairs). A product catalogue was developed for on-line promotion and marketing of ÇATOM products.
4. **Pre-school Training Programs:** Courses covering children in the age group 4-6.
5. **Children's Reading Rooms:** Group, pre-school and "open door" programs targeting children in age groups 4-6 and 7-14.
6. **Social Support Programs:** Provision of support in such issues as birth registration, civil marriage, green card, etc; referring girls in particular to YIBOs (regional primary boarding schools) and open education; mediating for granting scholarships to children from poor families including girls in the first place; cash and in-kind assistance to needy households; provision of wheelchair to disabled persons, etc.
7. **Programs for Social Responsibility:** Campaigns for supporting school enrollment; village or neighborhood-based activities, environmental protection and reforestation, health screening, immunization campaigns, volunteer support to social work, etc.
8. **Cultural and Social Activities:** Seminars, exhibition, interactive meetings, visiting theatres and movie houses, celebration of special days, drama, excursions and picnics.

(<http://www.gap.gov.tr/English/Sosprj/catom.html>)

One of the most important characteristics of ÇATOM which distinguishes it from most other projects is the participatory and integrated approach adopted during the implementation of the above programs. Local requests and community participation, for instance, are of paramount importance to the establishment and management of the Centers. Founded based on grassroots initiatives and local support, each ÇATOM shows variety in line with the local circumstances and needs. Each ÇATOM is also managed by ÇATOM Committees of 5 to 7 members elected from among ÇATOM participants. Inclusion of participants in management aims to build management capacity in local women. Local circumstances and needs as well as local participation are also taken as a basis in the selection of specific ÇATOM programs in which the courses can also be taught by ÇATOMs graduates (GAP official website). In short, local women lay at the heart of ÇATOMs' work. They are not only beneficiaries of the activities, but indeed take part in each phase of experiences from the establishment and management of the Centers to the selection, organization, and teaching of the programs and courses. The economic and social programs are implemented in an integrated manner; therefore, if women are participating in economic programs, they are encouraged to take part also in social programs or vice versa.

In the course of these experiences, ÇATOMs do not act alone at all, but operate in full cooperation with a wide range of actors at international, national, and local level. Although the nature of this cooperation is explored in the next chapter, some of the contributors to the ÇATOM experience can be grouped as follows:

International – United Nations Development Program (UNDP), International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), foreign countries and universities.

National – Ministry of National Education, Development Foundation of Turkey (TKV), Anatolian Artisans Foundation, Procter & Gamble, Elit Skin Care Training-Education Company, Anakültür Association, Türkiye Eğitim Vakfı, TUVANA Okumaya İstekli Çocuklar Vakfı (TOÇEV), Anne-Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı

(AÇEV), İzmir Türk Kadınlar Konseyi, Türkiye Aile Sağlığı ve Planlaması Vakfı (TAP) and universities.

Local – Local governors and provincial directorates, local administrations, NGOs, private companies.

Among the actors presented above, it is the first group which is of significance to the objectives of this thesis. The thesis mainly aims to understand the approach of international organizations in relation to education, development and empowerment and seeks answers to the questions of “How are international organizations involved in the utilization of education for development and empowerment?” and “What are the effects of this involvement on the target populations of their projects/programs?” Since, in doing so, the thesis focuses on the national context through the example of ÇATOMs, the rest of this chapter attempts to give a detailed assessment of ÇATOMs and their impact not only on participants but also on the population of Southeastern Anatolia in general. Upon understanding achievements and weaknesses of ÇATOMs, the next chapter then explores predominantly the role of international organizations, but also that of national and local actors in the picture presented below.

3.4. Assessment of ÇATOMs

ÇATOMs currently have a good reputation in both national and international circles. Launched as a modest government initiative to complement the main components of GAP, ÇATOMs have expanded not only the range of participants and programs but also of the cooperators. Acknowledging ÇATOMs’ relevance and effectiveness, international, national, and local organizations as well as foreign countries and universities have contributed to the work of the Centers since their inception. At present, ÇATOMs have gone far beyond the original objectives. Taken as a success story, ÇATOMs are steadily increasing in number and are even being planned to be implemented in neighboring countries. More importantly, they started to be institutionalized in 2005 when women began to establish their civil society organizations based on the local capacity built in the GAP region mainly through ÇATOM activities (GAP official website). As of

2008, the establishment of *ÇATOM Associations* is completed in the provinces of Batman, Mardin, Adıyaman, Şanlıurfa, and Kilis (GAP RDA, 2008). This general perception of success notwithstanding, ÇATOMs are not without criticisms directed mainly to programs and activities which aim the economic empowerment of participants.

Economic Empowerment – ÇATOM is an educational development project incorporated into a larger project with an economic dimension (GAP). ÇATOM was intended from the very beginning as a project to educate and train marginalized groups for their social and *economic* empowerment to contribute to overall development of the region. As an outcome, ÇATOMs have always had an economic dimension which reflects the spirit of the day, that is, neoliberal economic policies. Programs for income generation and for promoting female employment/entrepreneurship have always been one of the most fundamental components of ÇATOMs to encourage women to participate both in the market and in the labor force.

ÇATOMs give some sense of being economically productive to the participants. They equip the trainees with certain skills to use for self-subsistence by producing either at ÇATOMs or their homes, or find jobs in various places including boarding schools, textile workshops, hair dressers, department stores, childcare services, etc. In addition to productivity and employment, ÇATOMs even encourage participants to start their own businesses through training and micro financing facilities (Erhan, 1998; GAP official website). In 2002, for instance:

1,450 participants benefited from income generation programs and 920 persons among them were able to make 115.4 billion TL of income out of these activities. 182 women taking part in ÇATOM programs (15 of them were covered by the SSK insurance scheme) found various jobs including cleaning, textiles, childcare, secretarial works, hair dressing, salesperson, master trainer etc. There were five new businesses started by ÇATOM participants. These include 3 garment workshops started by 2-3 partners in Batman and one Café in Mardin. These new business runners were given training and micro-credit support.
(<http://www.gap.gov.tr/English/catom-urun/catomhk.html>)

Likewise, in 2005, over 3,000 females participated in income generation programs and their products enabled 817 ÇATOM participants to earn a total amount of 122,730.58 YTL. While 144 ÇATOM participants found jobs (salesperson, pharmacists, polyclinics, regional boarding schools, hairdressers, textile workshops, restaurants, hotels, childcare etc.), 24 beneficiaries from ÇATOMs started 13 new businesses (hair dressing, trousseau shops, knitting workshops, etc.). An example of micro credit schemes was also launched by the Şanlıurfa Municipality for the women working at home. The municipality provides 1,000 YTL as loan for home-production of such consumption goods as pickles, tomato paste, pastries, lacework, cutting-sewing and knitting products, etc.) to be paid by the beneficiaries in weekly installments. 10 women from Yakubiye ÇATOM benefited from this scheme in 2005 (GAP official website).

Overall, each year more than 3,000 females on average participate in the income generating activities of the Centers and their products are sold either upon request or at exhibitions, fairs, kermes, etc. For the last five years, each year about 150-200 women and young girls on average have found jobs and around 10 females have started their own businesses (GAP RDA, 2008).

In contrast to foregoing details, some arguments question the programs for income generation and for promoting female employment/entrepreneurship based on a couple of reasons. First of all, the programs are criticized for specifying overly optimistic goals with respect to ‘income-generating opportunities’ which can be provided for participants especially given the heavy course concentration on crafts. The outcomes are claimed to fall short of meeting the expectations created throughout the courses in regard to what economic gains are actually realizable upon the completion of the courses (Harris & Atalan, 2002). Harris and Atalan, based on their observations, claim that very few are actually able to earn money. Although some women could earn enough to buy their own sewing machine, the majority of them were able to earn enough money only to buy replacement supplies for their products. Although very few participants earn any significant income from their crafts, Harris and Atalan emphasize the evidence

that women are proud of their work and achievements through the programs of the centers.

Another line of arguments criticize those programs for serving the current neoliberal economic order. As discussed in the previous chapter, neoliberalism promotes individual entrepreneurial liberties and skills, and sees education as a means to create human capital in order to increase productivity and strengthen labor force in the way of economic growth. Work-oriented technical and vocational content of education is advocated to equip individuals with the necessary capacities so that they can participate in the labor market. Associated with those objectives and principles, therefore, programs and activities of the Centers attract criticism for making women's cheap labor available for exploitation by the current neoliberal economic order, that is capitalism. For instance, although ÇATOMs' participants are enthusiastic about the establishment of centers where they can use the newly acquired skills (e.g. sewing centers) as a source of income, these centers attract skepticism for providing job opportunities through short-term contracts (e.g. to sew government uniforms) by which women engage in "flexible labor that foils to meet state mandated minimum pay requirements and benefits that would be required of another employer" (Harris & Atalan, 2002, Section III. para.9). Harris and Atalan support these arguments with the results of their research, and question "the desirability of establishing work opportunities whereby women are not guaranteed wages, there is no reliable contract, and where they are paid below the standard minimum payments of \$156/month (or 250,000,000TL and \$ 1 =1,600,000TL)" (Section III. para.9). According to the radical feminist journal Pazartesi, particularly the literacy programs and the provision of a school diploma by ÇATOMs prepare women to meet the basic criteria so that they can be employed in factories as the cheap labor force. In other words, equipped to be exploited by capitalism, women get the chance of a "transition from being unpaid slaves in the home to paid slaves" in the labor market (as cited in Harris & Atalan, 2002, Section III., para.9).

For others, on the other hand, the programs for the economic empowerment of women are among the most important achievements of

ÇATOMs (Erhan, 1998; Kalaycioglu & Elmas; Unver & Gupta) as providing income resources for women who can, in turn, improve the living conditions of themselves, their families and their communities. Although the income level and employment opportunities are limited, they offer a break for the women of the region who would otherwise have no other income resource. Recognizing the merits of both lines of arguments for and against the economic dimension, this thesis particularly aims to highlight the significance of ÇATOMs in the social empowerment of participants, and hence, possibly in the long term, in the social transformation of the region.

Social Empowerment – While the programs discussed above aim to build productive skills and necessary means for income generation, social programs by ÇATOMs seek to create changes in behavior and attitude of the participants. Considering the social structure in the region and its impact on the marginalized groups of the population, it becomes more important to understand these qualitative changes initiated by the Centers rather than the number of participants in the programs or how much income they receive. It is especially in this regard that ÇATOMs are taken as a success story based on even the slightest change they bring to the life of individuals who are long trapped in narrow networks of their immediate environment.

The most visible achievement of ÇATOMs in social terms is thus to encourage women to go beyond their own circles for the first time. The findings of the research “Status of Women in the GAP Region and Their Integration to the Process of Development” (TKV, 1994) showed that many women in the GAP Region do not know the closest town in the rural areas. Many urban dwellers, on the other hand, do not have any acquaintances other than their familial peers, closest relatives, and next-door neighbors. In this sense, ÇATOMs provide women with an opportunity to meet other women with similar backgrounds, problems and concerns (Erhan, 1998). Besides, the environment of interaction and communication along with the social activities organized by the Centers help participants discover what is happening in the outside world. Some participants,

for instance, can go to exhibitions and activities organized in other cities such as Ankara and Istanbul while ÇATOMs are also visited by the outside world such as local and national media, governmental organizations, civil society organizations, and international agencies. As an extension, female participants also face less social pressure now to leave their homes to do various things such as shopping for clothing and school materials or visiting their friends (Fazlioglu, 2002; Harris & Atalan, 2002). One participant of Seyitler ÇATOM in Batman highlights the situation as follows:

“We used to know household chores only. Now we can talk to out trainers. We learned here how to cook better. I cooked a vegetable dish and my father liked it very much. Here we get to know some other people as well. If we cannot catch up with world events, our trainers tell us. What we learn here we convey to out fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters at home ...” (interview cited in Fazlioglu, 2002)

ÇATOMs’ members also organize field trips whereby they are engaged in home visits and consulting services so as to provide information, mainly in health and gender issues. In addition, these field trips help ÇATOM members build strong neighborhood relations and better understand the priorities, interests, and needs of households which they can use to develop further projects (Unver & Gupta). A participant from Mardin Ömerli ÇATOM who also volunteers for one of these trips expresses her experiences as follows:

“As members of ÇATOM field volunteers, our work enabled us to know our working area better. We learned many things including how families struggled hard for subsistence, disadvantaged groups, problems faced by young girls and many other things that I hesitate to mention. I came to realize how distant I had been from the realities of my own environments...” (<http://www.gap.gov.tr/English/Sosprj/catom.html>)

With the objective of reaching the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in the region, ÇATOMs contribute to social justice as facilitators and intermediaries so as to direct the poor to available social services. They equip participants with the necessary means of communication and information, which they generally lack, to meet their needs such as health checks and shopping.

Especially literacy training, along with learning to speak Turkish better, helps participants identify their problems and express themselves more clearly in the way of solutions. They can go to hospitals by themselves, benefit from the communication tools such as television and telephone, and endeavor for their children and siblings' (particularly girls) education (Yeşiltepe ÇATOM official website). A participant of Seyitler ÇATOM in Batman states that

“After the death of my first husband, I went out one day to buy some animal food but I lost my way. It took me too long to find my way back home. I was too afraid that I wouldn't be able to find it ... It was me who had to run the house. I was very anxious to go out for not being literate. I could not read the names of streets and panels in bus stops. When my children started school, I envied them and even put on their school collars. I took literacy training in ÇATOM. For not learning enough I started again. Now I can go out of home more easily.” (interview cited in Fazlioglu, 2002)

Another participant from Cizre-Şırnak ÇATOM who is now a trainer in literacy courses also highlights the importance of the change in her life that she owes to the Cizre ÇATOM:

“I am 57 years-old house-wife with 7 children. I heard about ÇATOM in our neighborhood. I heard that they had literacy course here and the teacher was a woman. I was very sad that I could never learn to read and write until then. When I was thinking “How will I go after 7 children?”, I got support from my daughters and enrolled in the course. When I talked about this with my husband, he teased me and tried to convince me to give up by saying "How will you learn after this age?" ÇATOM was providing all the materials such as notebooks, pencils, and erasers, so I decided to attend the course without telling my husband. Only after I got my literacy certificate, I decided to tell my husband. When my husband left the house to go to work, I would go to my class at ÇATOM, and when he went out to the teahouse with his friends, I did my homework. After I completed 1st and 2nd levels of the literacy course, I showed my certificate to my husband. My husband was extremely happy and bought me a gift. I am no longer blind, because I can read. I even check out story books from ÇATOM's library. Because of my efforts, I was selected as the Mother of Year by the Governor. I owe a lot to ÇATOM. Thank you so much Cizre ÇATOM.”
(<http://www.gap.gov.tr/English/catom-urun/cboyku.html>)

Requiring mention at this point are the criticisms by Kurdish feminists directed to the literacy programs they view as assimilationist and culturalist. Acik (2002) and Roza (1998, 1999), for instance, express their concerns that literacy programs that promote Turkish over native Arabic or Kurdish spoken by many participants are problematic (as cited in Harris & Atalan, 2002). Some, on the other hand, acknowledge the change, though limited, in the life of participants whilst supporting those arguments against ÇATOMs' work as assimilationist (Kocali, 2003). In contrast to those criticisms, Harris and Atalan (2002) observed in their research that Turkish literacy is not required of participants nor languages spoken are enforced by center staff. They state further that "there is not pressure to enroll in literacy courses from outset, and relatedly, that promotion of Turkish is not a singular or overarching goal of ÇATOMs" (Section III., para.7). It is important to note, however, that means of instruction at ÇATOMs is solely in Turkish so some level of fluency is still necessary.

Apart from literacy programs, ÇATOMs have other education activities including courses in drawing, English, legal rights, personal development, health and nutrition. Especially the courses in health and nutrition not only contribute to personal well-being but also improve the standard of life for all members of the family. The prevalence of health problems, insufficiency of health services, and lack of access to some services remain to be important problems in the region. These problems, along with the fact that people do not use or benefit from many available services, initiated a search for alternative service models. It is in this context that participants of ÇATOMs have taken part in public health intervention since 2000 as *ÇATOM Health Volunteers*. As an integral part of the social projects of GAP now (a project named "Activities for Training ÇATOM Participants as Health Volunteers"), the GAP Administration trains ÇATOMs' women as health volunteers in the delivery of health services placing emphasis on the control of adverse health implications of the changes taking place as a result of GAP. Some activities and practices of "health volunteers" include the following:

- ÇATOM participants in Batman, Siirt, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak took part in “National Immunization Days” to support health personnel in reaching target groups.
- For the first time in 2001, ÇATOM participants in Yakubiye (Şanlıurfa) took part in routine visits to houses to update “Household Health Registrations”.
- The Family/Reproductive Health Project implemented jointly by the Ministry of Health and Family Health and Family Planning Foundation of Turkey covered ÇATOMs in Adıyaman, Batman, Siirt and Şırnak and it was decided to further include ÇATOMs in Gaziantep, Mardin and Şanlıurfa.
- With the support of the Child Health Institute of Istanbul University and under the coordination of the Ministry of Health, the “Healthy Start” project was launched in ÇATOMs in Batman, Mardin, Siirt, Şırnak and Cizre to inform couples expecting child.
- The project “Roll Back Malaria” implemented under the coordination of the Ministry of Health and supported by the WHO covered active ÇATOMs in Batman, Mardin, Dargeçit, Siirt, Kurtalan, Şırnak, Cizre and Yakubiye and also in Viranşehir where a ÇATOM was about to be launched.

(<http://www.gap.gov.tr/English/Sosprj/saglikg.html>)

Upon the success of the malaria control activities, the World Health Organization (WHO) asked GAP RDA to share its experiences with other countries in a meeting to be held in Tbilisi. Impressed by the performance of ÇATOMs in the process of malaria control activities, the Georgian Ministry of Health asked for the assistance of the GAP-RDA as a consultant to a similar project to be initiated in that country (GAP official website). The critical point is that all ÇATOM participants can work as health volunteers and take part in the activities above to develop awareness of health, sanitation, and environmental

protection issues in line with ÇATOMs' general stance toward participatory approach.

Inclusion of children in the target population in recent years has led ÇATOMs deeper into the realm of education than hitherto. Pre-school education programs have been launched and children's reading rooms have been opened as a contribution to education of the disadvantaged children in the region. Children are encouraged to enroll to schools through extension courses (açık öğretim) and the initiative of 'Haydi Kızlar Okula'⁹. Moreover, ÇATOMs either directly provide young girls of the poor families with educational scholarship or help them get it from outside sources. In this regard, ÇATOM Scholarship Project has been implemented by GAP RDA since 2002 in order to support successful girls so that they can continue their schooling despite social and economic obstacles. In 2006-2007 academic years, 763 students in primary (592) and secondary schools (126) as well as universities (49) were receiving this scholarship through 29 ÇATOMs in 9 provinces of Southeastern Anatolia. NGOs, private companies, and individuals provide the scholarships for students and transfer the amount to the *account opened in the name of their mothers*. (GAP official website; GAP RDA, 2008; Yeşiltepe ÇATOM official website). Tables 3.3 and 3.4 illustrate the number of students receiving the scholarship and the corresponding amounts between 2001-2007.

Table 3.3 Number of students receiving ÇATOM scholarship per academic year between 2001-2007

Years	Number of Students			
	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
2001 - 2002	133	17	-----	150
2002 - 2003	207	48	15	270
2003 - 2004	443	82	27	560
2004 - 2005	533	100	27	681
2005 - 2006	543	135	38	736
2006 - 2007	592	126	49	763

Source: <http://www.Yesiltepecatom.org/haber/5-catom-catom-burs-projesi.html>

⁹ This is a campaign promoted by the Ministry of National Education and UNICEF in order to support girls' attendance to primary school, and thereby close the gender gap in primary school enrollment.

Table 3.4 Amount of scholarship received by each student per academic year between 2001-2007

Years	Amounts (YTL)			
	Primary	Secondary	University	Total (YTL)
2001 - 2002	15.00	25.00	40.00	24.200
2002 - 2003	25.00	40.00	60.00	79.950
2003 - 2004	32.50	52.00	78.00	211.675
2004 - 2005	40.00	60.00	90.00	297.500
2005 - 2006	50.00	70.00	100.00	414.000
2006 - 2007	55.00	75.00	110.00	481.500
Total	1.025.975	315.090	146.260	1.508.821

Source: <http://www.Yeşiltepecatom.org/haber/5-catom-catom-burs-projesi.html>

As discussed above, ÇATOMs seem to be especially successful in encouraging social interaction and in building skills and self-confidence among women and young girls in an atmosphere that is supportive and non-threatening. To put all the statistics or outcomes aside, these centers are particularly meaningful for the ones who benefit from the process as clear from the comments made by the participants (Fazlıoğlu, 2002; Harris & Atalan, 2002; “Unheard Voice”, 2002) and from the success stories reported in GAP documents. ÇATOMs’ women have an exceptionally positive perception of the Centers to which they feel a sense of belonging and attachment.

“In the past, we were as third class people. But right now, I don't feel like that. We feel the joy of knowing something, doing something ... I could not go to school. I could not get a diploma. I thought life was over for me. But right now, I'll get a diploma ... I'll continue until I have all the opportunities” (interview cited in Harris & Atalan, 2002)

“I am a young girl who lives in Şanlıurfa. I am the fourth one of the 9 children in a family which has eleven members.... I could not go to school after primary level. The reasons for that are both financial difficulties for my family and the viewpoint that it is disgraceful for girls to study. The fact that there is not a secondary school in our neighborhood is another reason. If I did have a chance to study, I would like to be an artist. The reason why I want to be an artist is that I love painting. However, I could fulfill my wish thanks to the ÇATOM. ÇATOM is really multi-purpose. It meets all needs of us, girls. For instance, as I said I like painting, I could fulfill this wish through cloth dyeing and embroidery. ÇATOM makes you

someone with a distinctive personality. The girls who come to the ÇATOM are introvert and do not like talking. The girls' behavior and attitude change at the ÇATOM. Friendships get deeper while mutual aid, solidarity, and love are learnt after coming to the ÇATOM. The trainers at the ÇATOM are amazing; they are unbelievably tolerant towards girls. They teach the right, the good, and the beautiful to the girls. I render my THANKS to the institutions which founded the ÇATOM here"¹⁰ ("Unheard Voice", 2002).

Review of the literature of one and a half decade presents evidence that ÇATOMs have been important in altering the situation and life experiences of some participants, especially women and young girls. The programs and activities have helped facilitate self-confidence and self-subsistence among participants increasing the visibility of gender problems and women in the region. ÇATOMs and their activities in the final end have the potential of contributing to understanding and awareness that women's inclusion in development process is a necessary factor in the way of social and economic development. In this outcome, ÇATOMs are not the only players, though, because they have cooperated with a wide range of actors in the process ever since the foundation of the first ÇATOM. It is the nature of this cooperation which will be examined in the next chapter.

¹⁰ Translation belongs to the author of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4

UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR ÇATOMs

The assessment of ÇATOMs has illustrated that the project reflects some of the criticisms directed to multilateral projects and programs especially in terms of the existence of a neoliberal agenda in educational activities and training programs. It maintains/serves the value-patterns of the current neoliberal order both in political and socio-economic terms through ideological and economic reproduction. Celebrating individual entrepreneurial liberties and skills, the courses and programs aim to equip participants with necessary capacities so that they can be a part of the market and labor force. Although there is a heavy emphasis on income and production at the Centers as well as ambitious goals with respect to economic outcomes, the achievements are rather limited and also confined to the participants rather than having an effect on the regional and local level. On the other hand, it is important to point out that the ÇATOM project is much more meaningful in terms of the change it brings to the daily life of the local women who are otherwise trapped in the narrow network of their immediate environment. This change is most visible in attitudes and behaviors of the women who gain self-confidence at the Centers and begin to be aware of their problems.

It is particularly these social effects on the life of individuals that label ÇATOMs as one of the most important accomplishments of GAP in both national and international community. Based on such a positive perception of ÇATOMs, a wide-range of actors has contributed to this process ever since the establishment of the first ÇATOMs. At the international level, international organizations such as UNDP and ILO, NGOs, foreign countries, and overseas universities have contributed to the project by providing financial and technical assistance. At the national level, some ministries as well as NGOs and private companies take part

in the process. Finally, at the local level, local governors and provincial directorates, local administrations, NGOs, and private companies are important contributors. The main objective of this chapter is to examine the role of all those actors in the ÇATOM experience placing special emphasis on international organizations (UNDP and ILO).

4.1. International Actors¹¹

GAP started exclusively as a government initiative and remained so until the adoption of ‘sustainability’ in the early 1990s when international community began to be increasingly involved in the process. Contrary to GAP experience and a product of its transformation, ÇATOMs were built upon a cooperation between the government and international organizations from the very beginning as UNICEF took part in the establishment of the first ÇATOMs and offered further assistance through provision of equipment and establishment of ateliers. The following year, however, in 1996, UNICEF gave up its support and the most prominent international organizations to take part in ÇATOM project have become ILO and, particularly, UNDP.

4.1.1. UNDP

United Nations Development Programme has been active in the ÇATOM experience from the emergence of the idea to the present situation. As discussed in the previous chapter, a series of studies were conducted by the initiative of GAP RDA between 1992-1994, and findings of the studies were discussed at a seminar which changed the course of GAP development plan. It was after this seminar that sustainable human development approach was adopted, and, accordingly, the GAP Social Action Plan was prepared. The inventor and supporter of sustainable human development approach, UNDP sponsored the seminar in cooperation with GAP RDA and played a critical role in the transformation of GAP and thus in the emergence of ÇATOMs.

¹¹ Along with primary and secondary sources, this section also depends on the interviews with Aygül Fazlıoğlu, in charge of the social projects in the framework of GAP; Gönül Sulargil, in charge of the UNDP work in the social projects of GAP; Adalet Budak, a beneficiary of ÇATOMs who works in the GAP Administration.

Sustainable Development Umbrella Program – Phase I

Sustainable development and reduction of poverty are the major goals of the cooperation between UNDP and GAP RDA which has continued since 1995. In the very beginning, therefore, they identified fundamental criteria for sustainable human development in Southeastern Anatolia and developed a program named “Strengthening Regional Development and Reduction of Socio-Economic Disparities” – better known as “Sustainable Development Umbrella Program”. The program was composed of 29 subprojects targeting sustainable development goals identified through the studies and seminars which culminated in the GAP Social Action Plan. These were a variety of research and pilot projects targeting women, displaced persons, income generation, environmental issues, cultural heritage and entrepreneurship development, and ÇATOMs were one example of these. UNDP cooperation with the GAP RDA under the Umbrella Program was to “support this Administration’s capacity to integrate and apply sustainable human development principles in its programs and projects at both downstream and upstream levels” (UNDP – GAP RDA, 2007, p. 2). The original contract between the UNDP and GAP RDA was signed in 1996, and activities began in August 1997 with a budget of approximately 4 million USD. In this phase, concluded in 2004, there was not a concrete contribution to ÇATOMs by UNDP. However, a new attention to women in the framework of Phase 1 established a background for the second phase which particularly focused on women as the target group and worked in partnership with ÇATOMs throughout the project.

Sustainable Development Umbrella Program – Phase II

The second phase, which was started in 2004 and concluded in November 2007, placed much more importance on ÇATOMs than the first one because of the program components aiming the social development and employment of disadvantaged groups, that is, women, the youth, and children working in streets. Applied in all 9 provinces, the subprojects were

1. Socio-economic empowerment of women
2. Rehabilitation of children working in streets
3. Socio-economic development of youth

The second phase aimed to consolidate the experiences under the first phase. In this regard, while the Phase 2 accommodated the activities initiated under Phase 1 which are still incomplete (e.g. ÇATOMs), it also designed new activities to address the development of the most vulnerable groups. Each of the projects above was implemented in three consecutive periods; however, since ÇATOMs are the focus of the present thesis, only the activities for “socio-economic empowerment of women” will be examined in this section.

In line with the objective of socio-economic empowerment of women in the GAP region, the project aimed to “conduct vocational training to improve women’s skills such as sales, fashion design and marketing techniques; set up marketing infrastructure to market women products; and establish market links for women products that have significant marketing potential” (GAP RDA, 2007, p. 3). Beneficiaries/target groups of the project were mainly ÇATOMs but also included some local NGOs such as Diyarbakır Kibele Women Cooperative, Diyarbakır and Mardin Women Centers, Mardin Women Labor Valuation Foundation, Diyarbakır New Life Workshop, Gaziantep branch of Turkish Women University Affiliates' Society, Şırnak Sirgev, and Siirt Public Education Center. Before the implementation of the project, though, UNDP cooperated with GAP RDA for some needs assessment activities such as

- ÇATOMs of the selected provinces are evaluated on the basis of capacity, and potential social and economic added value is determined
- A marketing analysis carried out to define a number of products with market potential to be produced by the women in ÇATOMs
- Relevant arrangements made for the production of the selected products by the women community

- A team is built to build marketing networks for the products of the women community in the region
- Women and their families are provided with trainings on gender sensitivity (Training of men on gender sensitivity)
- Qualitative and quantitative research carried out with a view to assess the social/economic status of women in the region (ex. Honor killings, access to social services, participation to the society, etc.) consolidating the research already made and site analyses (UNDP – GAP RDA, 2007, p.9)

A total budget of 1,357,650 USD was identified for Phase 2. Of the total amount, 105,000 USD was provided by the Government, 153,000 USD by UNDP, and 1,100,000 USD by the Swiss Government (UNDP – GAP RDA, 2007). Of the total budget, the amount provided for Women’s Socio-economic Empowerment project was 251,000 USD.

Apart from the needs assessment process and funding of the project, UNDP supported GAP RDA in key areas of execution such as contracting project personnel and procurement of services for realization of the objectives. Since the primary aim was the economic empowerment of women, establishment of workshops and provision of vocational training were among main components of the project. Accordingly, in the course of the project, the following outcomes were realized.

Product Development – Design Workshop: Workshops that produce high value added quality products with exclusively local characteristics were established such as felt design workshop, souvenir workshop, home textile workshop, and silver/filigree workshop. Since these products mainly target bazaars and fairs, some other workshops were also established to create income opportunities for women in alternative areas. Some examples of these workshops are machine knitting workshop, sewing-embroidery workshop, and fashion workshop.

Building Infrastructure: There were some efforts for cooperativization to create and maintain marketing infrastructure and corporate sustainability of ÇATOMs and other NGOs. To this end, the following were implemented:

- Mardin Women Limited Responsibility Multi-purpose Operations Cooperative was established in 2006.
- Adıyaman/Besni Filo Dough and Pastry Production Cooperative was established in 2006.
- Suvarlı Women Limited Responsibility Multi-purpose Operations Cooperative was established in August 2006.
- Gaziantep University Associates Women Society became a cooperative in July 2006.

Creation of Employment – Restaurants: In order to create income generation opportunities other than crafts, some workshops for food processing were established:

- Kisnis Home Cooking Kitchen in Mardin Central ÇATOM in 2006
- Hanımeli Restaurant for Nusaybin ÇATOM participants
- Gözde Pastry Production Company in Batman ÇATOM in 2006
- Filo Dough and Pastry Production Company in Adıyaman/Besni in 2007
- Siirt Catering Company in 2007
- “Cafe Airport” in Batman Airport in August 2007 with the support of Batman Governorate.

Trainings: Between January-June 2006, trainings on design, sales and marketing were conducted every month for two women at once and a total number of 25 women from ÇATOMs and NGOs benefited from these trainings. In the same period, furthermore, 138 village-heads, 106 imams, 4 health personnel and 1 lawyer -totally 249 people from 9 provinces- were trained on gender issues so as to raise awareness.

Publicity Promotion and Communication: A bimonthly magazine, MOZAIK, was published through the cooperation of the women organizations, universities and bars. The magazine included news about handicraft, health, etc. as well as information about women rights and success stories about production process. It was distributed freely to public institutions, NGOs or individuals as 1200 samples. In addition to the magazine, a website, www.gapkadinurunu.org, was created to advertise the products by women in the region, to give information about the region, and to tell samples of success stories.

Sales and Marketing: The activities for the sales and marketing of the products included direct marketing, participation in national fairs and regional markets, advertising and marketing via www.gapkadinurunu.org, and exportation through fair trade¹². For the last one, for example, French market was chosen in the context of the project and first fair trade deal with France (French Alter-Eco company) was implemented on December 11, 2006 for raisin produced by the women cooperative set up in Suvarlı town of Adiyaman. 3.975 kg. of raisins were exported to France for 23,870 YTL. For their besni raisins export to France under fair trade, Suvarlı Women's Multi-Purpose Business Cooperative was awarded with the exportation special award at the 10th Foreign Trade Week organized by the Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade on 31 October 2007 in Ankara (New Horizons, 2007b).

9 Designers for 9 Cities Project: In the context of the project, 9 leading fashion designers of Turkey (Arzu Kaprol, Hatice Gökçe, Alex Akimoğlu, Özlem Süer, Ceren Erten, İdil Tarzı, Hakan Yıldırım, Ümit Ünal and Bahar Korcan) have visited the 9 provinces – each designer was responsible for one city – to guide the local women to create marketable products with motifs and textures unique to their provinces. The goal of the project is to create new income sources for

¹² Fair trade is conducted between small-scale producers who do not have access to large markets and consumers that want to contribute to the development of these producers. In fair trade, structural inequalities of free trade can be prevented and the products of local producers can be sold to larger markets without the involvement of any other agents.

women and to protect cultural heritage in Southeastern Anatolia. After the visits and trainings, first samples were created in November 2007 (GAP RDA, 2007; New Horizons, 2007a).

In the previous chapter, a couple of problems were discussed in terms of income and employment opportunities created through ÇATOMs. In order to overcome these problems and create competitive enterprises, this project was initiated by UNDP and GAP RDA to take further steps such as institutional capacity building, improving product quality and introducing product diversity, and trainings in marketing and cooperative management. Although there were also efforts for the improvement in the social status of women through trainings in gender equality covering both males and females, it can be inferred from the foregoing that this project was primarily geared to economic empowerment of women. The most visible outcome was thus the contribution to income generating activities launched by ÇATOMs and other civil society organizations particularly through trainings that increased product diversity and marketability. GAP RDA did not assess this outcome in measurable monetary terms, however, stating “the specific added value of this project component consists of institutional capacity building initiatives such as cooperatives and kitchens and skills that participants gain” (GAP RDA, 2007, p. 8).

Upon the conclusion of the project in November 2007, UNDP and GAP RDA initiated a new project based on the experiences and outcomes of the “Sustainable Development Umbrella Program” which would mirror the goals of ten-year long partnership between UNDP and GAP RDA.

Innovations for Women’s Empowerment: A workable model for women in Turkey’s Southeast Anatolia Region

Effective upon signing by GAP RDA, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UNDP on 25 March 2008, the Project “Innovations for Women’s Empowerment: A workable model for women in Turkey’s Southeast Anatolia Region” is still in progress with the budget (907.360 USD) provided by Swedish

International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and intended to be concluded in March 2011. The aim of the project is

...women's empowerment in Southeast Anatolia in social and economic life through innovative production-marketing related strategies. Through the Project, it is intended to support women's labor market participation, branding of the Southeast Anatolia and developing new sales and marketing opportunities. (GAP RDA – UNDP, 2009, p. 5)

To this end, the following concrete outputs with measurable indicators are expected to be realized at the end of the project:

1. Local authorities and commercial actors will have enhanced capacity and knowledge to design local employment programs that favor women's participation in the labor force
 - Adoption of provincial plan for incentives for women's participation in the labor force
2. Increased productive capacities for women through increased market links through activities such as:
 - Expected sales volume increases (annual sales targets provided below)
3. The targeted beneficiary women will have strengthened capacity to enter labor markets and the social lives of their communities
 - *4500 women will have benefited from diverse training programs ranging from human rights of women to management*
4. The region's commercial image will be improved in a distinctly women's productivity oriented manner through the "Nine Designers for Nine Cities" innovation
 - Media coverage and positive association of women's products

In the course of the current activities to realize these outcomes, ÇATOMs and ÇATOMs' women are again the main target group acting as both beneficiaries and contributors for the project. Along with ÇATOMs, some other civil society organizations active in women's issues also participate in the process

such as MOKID, Batman Association for the Social Development of Women, Mardin Women's Multi-Purpose Enterprise Cooperative, Besni Active Women's Mutual Assistance, Solidarity and Enterprise Cooperative, and Gaziantep Woman University Graduates Cooperative.

UNDP's contribution to the activities with these participants is mainly through financial and technical assistance support to production workshops and ateliers managed by women and for women. For financial support, UNDP particularly supplies small machinery and material for workshops managed by women to produce goods for national and local markets. For technical assistance, on the other hand, it focuses on design elements that add to the marketability of the goods and provides market connections for sale of the products. Besides, UNDP gives assistance to strengthen institutional structures and to develop institutional capacities in the region.

As of the end of 2009, the steps taken during the project for the economic empowerment of women are a continuation of the outcomes realized under Sustainable Development Umbrella Program in that professional production facilities have been established especially through strengthening the existing ateliers and opening new ones. These production facilities are being strengthened with technical equipment, raw material, and design support so that professional products can be manufactured to be put on the markets through strong marketing and sale networks.¹³

Apart from the economic activities, social dimension and related trainings/educational activities are particularly pronounced in this project. UNDP states that

With this project, UNDP aims to bring an integrated approach to women's empowerment in both social and economic life. The project will increase women's participation in social life, improve their capacity to exercise their rights, connect women to the outside world and improve their business skills. (UNDP project document, p.6)

¹³ See "GAP RDA – UNDP (2009). Innovations for women's empowerment in the GAP Region project - Activity Report (January-December, 2009)" for a detailed discussion of the work in ateliers/workshops and other economic activities as well as how ÇATOMs' women benefit from them.

Recognizing the priorities of the poorest segments of society who usually consider their poverty should receive immediate attention and are thus less interested in human's or women's rights training, UNDP and GAP RDA aim that the project will reach a target group not usually reached by "linking human rights, labor rights and women's rights awareness to the training and skills education related to their income generation activity" (UNDP project document, p.8). To this end, training and education activities form a significant part of the project and its goals and are provided on many areas including range from institutionalization and management, through product design, sales and marketing to literacy, communication, gender equality, reproductive health, and human and woman's rights. The table below shows the training and education activities to be extended to target population:

Table 4.1 Women to benefit from training and education activities in the context of the Project "Innovations for Women's Empowerment: A workable model for women in Turkey's Southeast Anatolia Region".

Women to benefit from training	
Sales and Marketing	500
Communication	500
Gender Training	1,000
Design Training	1,000
Human and Women Rights Training	1,000
Cooperative and Management Training	500
Total	4,500

Source: UNDP project document (p.8-9)

As of the end of 2009, a few of those activities have been implemented as follows:

Communication and Efficiency Training: On October 18-22, 2008, the communication and efficiency training program took place in Batman, Siirt, and Şırnak/Cizre with the attendance of 87 women in total including ÇATOMs

participants. Content of a typical communication training includes techniques of successful speech, preparation of press bulletins and similar subjects. This training, on the other hand, focused on the provision of information relevant to the women's integration into the community taking into account their low level of education and their needs. The aim was thus to provide participants with practical knowledge on how to direct their lives and adapt to changes around them using a good communication ability. Some of the issues discussed were fear and insecurity, accusation and victim psychology, desperation, lack of life balance, conflict and differences. Participants expressed opinions on their own conditions, their families and the places where they live and discussed alternative views and proposals on how to achieve a new level of thinking. Participants were further directed to think about their daily habits and were shown how to use proactive models and good communication skills to change them. Dependence, independence and solidarity/mutual commitment were also among the issues discussed during the trainings.

Training of Trainers (Ready-to-wear): Training of trainers activities were conducted in Şanlıurfa and Mardin in February-March 2009 in order to improve the teaching capacity of sewing trainers and hence increase the quality in textile sector. Training activities included basic subjects such as design, cutting techniques, basic working methods in sewing techniques, and transformation of individual development to group work as well as technical subjects like effective training in ready-to-wear sector, machinery and spare parts, and fabrics and fabric groups. A total number of 24 women participated in the trainings, at least 18 of which were from ÇATOMs in Şanlıurfa and Mardin. Besides, 2 women trainers from Kızıltepe and Ömerli ÇATOMs were supported to go to Istanbul for a 10-day design training in a designer's atelier.

Gender and Reproductive Health Trainings: In November – December 2009, one-day seminars were organized in 8 GAP provinces (Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Kilis, Siirt, Şanlıurfa, Şırnak). The aims of the seminars were to increase awareness on social issues which are of significance to women's

participation in social life, to provide access to resources/services and improve use of them by women, and to ensure women's participation in decision-making process in family and community. To this end, the issues discussed were gender, rights (women's rights, reproductive rights, patient rights) and reproductive health. A total of 249 participants who were authorities, trainers and participants of ÇATOMs, and representatives of local governments and NGOs attended the seminars. 188 (75.5%) of the total number were ÇATOMs personnel and the others were also from amongst trainers working closely with ÇATOMs and the closest Health Center personnel.

Like the "Sustainable Development Umbrella Program", the Project "Innovations for Women's Empowerment: A workable model for women in Turkey's Southeast Anatolia Region" is a cooperation between UNDP and GAP RDA fundamentally to create income and employment opportunities for participants, most of whom are again ÇATOMs' women. What is important to note about this project, nevertheless, is the attention given to trainings and educational activities in order to improve the social status of women which is considered as an integral part of economic empowerment. As of the end of 2009, there are tangible results¹⁴ not only in the way of those trainings and educational activities but in all four objectives specified for the project. It is not possible to assess whether UNDP and GAP RDA will achieve all these objectives before the conclusion of the project, yet UNDP continues to contribute to the process through financial and technical support.

The UNDP work in the ÇATOM experience illustrates that UNDP has contributed to the process through a range of activities such as needs assessment, financial and technical assistance, contracting project personnel and procurement of services for realization of the objectives. There has been an obvious emphasis on vocational and technical content in its educational activities and training programs to facilitate self-subsistence of participants through preparing them for the market and labor force, yet these activities have at the same time been

¹⁴ See "GAP RDA – UNDP (2009). Innovations for women's empowerment in the GAP Region project - Activity Report (January-December, 2009)" for a detailed discussion of the outcomes as of the end of 2009.

supported by social dimensions to create change in their behavior and attitudes. In the course of these activities, there has been a constant cooperation between UNDP and the GAP Administration. The critical point is that while this cooperation is aimed to contribute to the ÇATOM experience, it also serves the interests of the UNDP because the establishment of ÇATOMs in 1995 corresponds to the emergence of sustainable human development approach in the early 1990s under the auspices of this agency. The ÇATOM project, through adopting sustainable human development approach, has thus been an important opportunity for the UNDP to standardize and disseminate its ideas for this development paradigm (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of how international organizations standardize and disseminate their approach).

4.1.2. ILO

The International Labor Organization takes part in the activities of the Centers mainly through income generation programs. In order to encourage women to organize their work together and create alternative income sources, GAP RDA has cooperated with ILO in a couple of projects. Those projects placed a heavy emphasis on training activities particularly to develop management skills in women. To this end, one of the projects was “Improvement of Income Generating Activities and Management Capabilities for Women in Southeastern Anatolia” which was implemented in the provinces of Adiyaman and Kilis.

Similarly, another project, “Start Your Own Business”, was initiated in 1999 in order to instill in women the idea of starting their own business and to develop their management skills, which would, in turn, create employment opportunities and increase income levels. “Start Your Own Business” is actually a large-scale program for which ILO engage in training activities in different countries as an integral part of other projects as exemplified in the ÇATOM project. In the course of this project, ILO has been very active in the ÇATOM experience in the last decade. In the first, 31 women participated in the project attending courses in entrepreneurship, business plans, marketing, legal procedures and insurance, enterprise visits, cost accounting, and the use of resource persons

and capitals funds. In conclusion of the project, 24 of 31 women decided to start their own businesses in fields such as sewing, embroidery, sheep lots, daycare centers, and snack bars. After developing their business plans, some of these women completed the process successfully when two women in Adiyaman started their “SYB Dowry” enterprise, and another two of them in Kilis started an embroidery and textile workshop on credit (Unver & Gupta). Following this example, the SYB Project has been replicated at other ÇATOMs later on so that the number of women who are able to start their own business has shown an increasing tendency. For the last five years before 2008, for instance, around 10 females each year have started their own businesses (GAP RDA, 2008; See Chapter 3 for details).

Unlike UNDP, which, along with a heavy emphasis on economic dimension, has also focused on the social aspects in tune with sustainable human development approach, ILO activity in the ÇATOM project shows that the organization has essentially aimed to develop entrepreneurial skills in women and encouraged them to create alternative income sources. This policy difference illustrates how each organization contributes to the process in line with its own ideology as discussed in the second chapter. While contributing to ÇATOMs, like UNDP, ILO has also benefited from the process because it has had the opportunity to consolidate and disseminate the principles promoted by “Start Your Own Business”, e.g. entrepreneurship, which is actually a program of ILO implemented through training activities in different countries.

4.2. National Actors¹⁵

International actors, particularly international organizations, have clearly played a significant role in the ÇATOM experience in many ways with a range from offering training and educational activities to providing financial and technical assistance. In spite of international involvement, it is important to note

¹⁵ The information in this section gathered through the questionnaires completed by the people in charge of Mardin Ömerli ÇATOM, Mardin Meydanbaşı ÇATOM, Kilis Ekrem Çetin ÇATOM, and Şanlıurfa Bozova ÇATOM as well as through the interviews with Aygül Fazlıoğlu and Adalet Budak.

that the ÇATOM project started mainly as a government initiative and has fundamentally remained so under the auspices of GAP Regional Development Administration (GAP RDA), which has been responsible for the socio-economic dimension of GAP since it was founded in 1989 as a new entity attached to the prime minister's office. Responsible for the implementation and sustainability of the project, GAP RDA has always been the main actor in the fundamentals of ÇATOMs. In doing so, however, it has cooperated with a wide range of other national actors as well as the international actors presented above. Below are given some examples of those national actors which stand out in the ÇATOM project.

*Development Foundation of Turkey*¹⁶ – After the foundation of the first ÇATOMs in late 1995 through the cooperation of GAP RDA, Şanlıurfa Governor and UNICEF, management of ÇATOMs were transferred in 1996 to a joint mechanism to be run by GAP RDA and Development Foundation of Turkey (TKV). From then on, TKV has provided administrative and technical support to GAP Administration in the implementation of the ÇATOM project and has remained one of the most important partners of GAP RDA. One of the issue areas in which TKV plays a prominent role is the selection of people to be employed in charge of ÇATOMs and of trainers for the courses. It also takes part in some training and educational activities, one of which was the entrepreneurship trainings as carried out in Mardin-Meydanbaşı ÇATOM. Moreover, TKV supports GAP Administration in monitoring the local ÇATOMs and in the preparation of project activity reports.

Ministry of National Education – Since the initiation of the project, Ministry of National Education (MoNE) works in cooperation with ÇATOMs. The basic role of MoNE for ÇATOMs is the selection and provision of trainers for the courses

¹⁶ Development Foundation of Turkey was founded in 1969 as a private and non-profit national development organization for the public interest. Its objective is to guide poor households in villages in the way of rural and agricultural development through constructing development models which are in line with the realities of the country.
(<http://www.tkv-dft.org.tr/kimlik/kimlikmain.htm>)

and activities. After identifying the number of students and classrooms for specific courses and activities, ÇATOMs notify MoNE for the provision of trainers. In the process, MoNE cooperates with local actors such as other community centers, local governors and administrations as well as GAP RDA. MoNE also provides certificate to participants at the end of literacy, computer, and income generating courses.

Ministry of Health – Like MoNE, the main contribution of The Ministry of Health to ÇATOMs is in educational activities. It provides the personnel (doctor, nurse, sanitary servant) for training activities and seminars in subject areas which include public health, maternal and child health, hygiene, birth control, and first aid. In addition, it provides a range of health services to ÇATOMs participants such as health screening of ÇATOMs’ women and children.

Non-governmental organizations – A large number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have contributed to ÇATOMs’ programs in line with their interest areas. Some examples of the contributions by a few of those NGOs are as follows: Anatolian Artisans Foundation¹⁷ (AnARt) carried out entrepreneurship trainings for Kilis Ekrem Çetin ÇATOM and gave orders for products to be produced in Mardin Meydanbaşı ÇATOM; Association for the Development of Early Childhood Education in Turkey provided equipment for pre-school training programs in Kilis Ekrem Çetin ÇATOM; The Mother Child Education Foundation¹⁸ (AÇEV) carried out literacy courses as well as “training of trainers” activities in Mardin Ömerli ÇATOM and Mardin Meydanbaşı ÇATOM; and

¹⁷ Anatolian Artisans (AnARt) is a non-profit organization that aims to provide economic benefits to low-income artisans through product development, marketing and training whilst raising awareness about arts and culture of Turkey by organizing exhibitions, festivals, fairs, conferences and seminars (Anatolian Artisans official website)

¹⁸ The Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) engage in a series of activities such as research, program development, program implementation and advocacy in early childhood and adult education (The Mother Child Education Foundation official website)

Anakültür Association¹⁹ provided educational scholarship for young girls in Mardin Ömerli and Meydanbaşı ÇATOMs while also donating relevant equipment to a number of ÇATOMs such as 10 sewing machines to Şanlıurfa ÇATOM.

Private companies – The involvement of private companies in the ÇATOM project includes a range from orders for products in ateliers and sale of them to provision of food and clothing allowance to ÇATOMs participants. A few examples: DHL Forwarding Company, Karadeniz Holding, Akua DEM LTD ŞTİ provide young girls with education scholarship in cooperation with Mardin Ömerli ÇATOM; AHSA Construction Company provided allowance in areas such as food and clothing to participants in Kilis Ekrem Çetin ÇATOM; some products produced in the atelier of Mardin Ömerli ÇATOM were sold in MUDO stores in the framework of the Project “Innovations for Women’s Empowerment: A workable model for women in Turkey’s Southeast Anatolia Region” implemented by UNDP and GAP RDA.

4.3. Local Actors²⁰

If ÇATOM is to be acknowledged as a grassroots project for the empowerment of local women as well as other participants, it is impossible to disregard the role of local actors in this outcome. Assisting GAP RDA according to the needs of particular ÇATOMs, local actors have played a substantial role in the spread of ÇATOMs to a wide population.

¹⁹ Anakültür Association, not active anymore, was a non-profit organization to raise gender consciousness through culture and art and to facilitate the implementation of gender-sensitive policies in the course of socio-cultural development. To this end, it organized conferences, educational and training programs, cultural activities, and works in advocacy and lobbying. While it was active, Anakültür Association concentrated its activities in Southeastern Region of Turkey working in close cooperation with ÇATOMs (Unheard Voice, 2002).

²⁰ The information in this section gathered through the questionnaires completed by the people in charge of Mardin Ömerli ÇATOM, Mardin Meydanbaşı ÇATOM, Kilis Ekrem Çetin ÇATOM, and Şanlıurfa Bozova ÇATOM as well as through the interviews with Aygül Fazlıoğlu and Adalet Budak.

Local governors and administrations – One of the most visible roles of local governors and administrations in the ÇATOM experience is to meet the logistic needs of the Centers. First of all, they provide the buildings for ÇATOMs and help with some of the equipment. For example, Mardin Ömerli ÇATOM is currently active in a building which was formerly a high school. Apart from the main building, they also find location and equipment for social activities, meet expenses for those activities, provide vehicle for transportation, and assist ÇATOMs' personnel in formal procedure of the activities. Moreover, ÇATOMs are supported by local governors and administrations so that they can reach a wider population in order to increase participation in seminars, panels, exhibitions, and fairs.

Provincial Directorates – Provincial directorates assume the role of a bridge between ÇATOMs and local population. They are of special assistance to ÇATOMs in identifying the individuals who can or need to benefit from ÇATOMs courses/activities, in ensuring the attendance of those individuals, and in providing information on participants when required. While ÇATOMs personnel are visiting homes during field trips, they provide their assistance and support. If ÇATOMs cannot contact some families during the home visits, provincial directorates help them outreach the families later on. Provincial directorates also support ÇATOMs in the announcement of the activities which are of interest to a large segment of population.

Non-governmental Organizations – In addition to the partnership with NGOs which are active on national level, ÇATOMs also cooperates with local civil society organizations both in developing the projects and in ensuring attendance to trainings, seminars, and other activities. For instance, Kilis Ekrem Çetin ÇATOM works in partnership with Kilis Özürlüler Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği, Türk Kadınlar Konseyi Derneği, Gönüllü Anneler Derneği²¹. Mardin

²¹ Kilis Özürlüler Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği is an association for handicapped people; Türk Kadınlar Konseyi Derneği is an association for women; Gönüllü Anneler Derneği is an association of women who volunteers in activities for children without family.

Ömerli ÇATOM, on the other hand, cooperates with GAP Kadın ve Çocuk Derneği, Mardin Kadın İstihdamını ve Eğitimini Destekleme Derneği,²² and Mardin Multi-Purpose Operations Cooperative to develop and implement projects in the framework of European Union and Sosyal Destek Programı²³ (SODES). These partnerships further contribute to the improvement of the ÇATOMs' activities.

The review above about the role of national and local level actors in the ÇATOM experience illustrates that they contribute to the process in a range of ways from the implementation of educational activities and donation of equipment to the provision of scholarships. Although they are continuously in cooperation with the GAP Administration in their activities, it is also possible to see these actors, particularly local NGOs, in the activities carried out by the international organizations (See the section on UNDP in this chapter).

²² GAP Kadın ve Çocuk Derneği is an association for the issues on women and children; Mardin Kadın İstihdamını ve Eğitimini Destekleme Derneği is an association for the empowerment and education of women.

²³ Sosyal Destek Programı (SODES) is a program in the framework of the GAP Action Plan to support the social projects for the empowerment of the disadvantaged groups in the region.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Understanding the “approach of international organizations in relation to education, development and empowerment” and their role at the intersection of these three concepts has been the main objective throughout the current thesis. Placing special emphasis on rationales, goals and outcomes, the thesis attempts to investigate the involvement of international organizations in the realm of education with a development discourse and examines the effects of this involvement on the target populations. In doing so, it examines Multi-Purpose Community Centers (ÇATOMs) in Turkey as an example whilst seeking answers to the questions “How are international organizations involved in the utilization of education for development and empowerment?” and “What are the effects of this involvement on the target populations of their projects/programs?”

In the way of answering the questions above, particularly the first one, the thesis firstly explored the emergence and consolidation of ‘education’ in development paradigms of international community in the aftermath of World War II. Chapter 2 showed that with the end of the War, a universal aspiration of forward movement with a quest for economic, social and political progress gained prominence, thereby leading to the emergence of *development* and *empowerment* as critical concepts on both national and international agendas. Meanwhile, taken as a valuable source of individual development, education has increasingly been linked to those concepts as human being began to be placed at the center of progress. This faith in education as an investment in human capital both as an actor and as a beneficiary of change and progress thus led to the advent of “educational development ideology”.

In a parallel way, the same period also witnessed the advent of foreign aid and development assistance for a wide-range of development activities along with

an increase in the number of independent ‘developing’ countries, which, in turn, paved the way for a rapid proliferation of organizations engaged in development. Reflecting the spirit of the day, those organizations adopted ‘education for development’ as a rational discourse and international organizations began to be increasingly involved in the utilization of education for development and empowerment. This involvement has been mainly in the institutionalization of educational development ideology and in the standardization and dissemination of their approach and policies to this idea. In doing so, international organizations have engaged in some coordinating activities, such as international conferences, that produce declarations, conventions, and frameworks for action to be transformed into national action plans which are implemented with the financial and technical assistance by international organizations through activities that include projects and programs.

As for their policies and corresponding discourse to be promoted through projects and programs, different positions have always been the case both among the organizations and within a single agency across the time. On the one hand, different international organizations have assumed varying positions about the goals and ways of utilizing education as a means to development, which created interagency policy differences and led to the development of instrumental versus normative arguments. On the other hand, there have also been policy shifts within the agencies themselves across decades in line with the changes both in world politics and in national perceptions of development. The shift has been from an exclusively instrumental view of education as a means to national economic growth towards more normative, integrated arguments to incorporate measures of individual welfare and environment. In the process, poverty reduction, equity, sustainability, and participatory approach have all become important dimensions of development, thereby drawing more attention to the marginalized groups such as women, children and the youth.

International organizations have always attracted criticism in the course of this involvement in education as a means to ‘development’ which is already a controversial concept in itself. Although showing variety in details, these

criticisms are directed in general to the unchanging approach of international organizations, that is economic growth, in relation to education, development and empowerment reflected through changing discourses. This approach and related policies reflected in projects and programs are claimed to be exacerbating fragmentation in national education systems, wasting resources, serving neocolonialism, or maintaining the value-patterns of the current neoliberal political and socio-economic order. This, in turn, perpetuates the existing problems rather than bring a positive transformation especially through deepening the inequalities within and between countries.

Therefore, in order to analyze these criticisms through an example in a national context, to understand the current paradigms of educational development ideology and how they are promoted by international organizations, and to see socio-economic outcomes for the target populations, this thesis focused on ÇATOMs in Turkey's southeast. In this regard, Chapter 3 firstly discussed the socio-economic characteristics of Southeastern Anatolia Region of Turkey where the ÇATOM project is still in progress and then gave a general overview of GAP as the broader framework of which ÇATOMs are an integral part. Thereafter, the chapter focused exclusively on ÇATOMs seeking answers to the following questions among others: *What are the objectives of ÇATOMs? To what extent have they achieved these objectives in overall analyses and to what extent have they achieved them according to participants? Can ÇATOMs cultivate positive change in social values, attitudes and skills of participants to achieve permanent change? What are the concrete consequences for the economy at the individual, local and regional level?*

Upon the assessment of ÇATOMs in the third chapter taking into account those questions, the following chapter examined the role of international, national and local actors in the process using 'levels of analysis' as the method of discussion. The focus was predominantly on international organizations (UNDP and ILO), however, asking questions such as *What are the contributions of international organizations to the project in terms of needs assessment, personnel, and resources?* and *What kind of cooperation exists between international*

organizations and the national bodies? This focus on international level was to describe and analyze the relationship between international organizations and ÇATOMs so as to find meaningful answers to the main questions of the thesis.

The analysis of ÇATOMs in relation to the main questions has, on the one hand, illustrated that the work of UNDP and ILO in the ÇATOM experience supports the discussion in the second chapter in that each organization contributes to the process in line with their own ideology, thereby strengthening their position and discourse in the international community. In this regard, while providing financial and technical assistance to ÇATOMs, both UNDP and ILO have focused on the economic empowerment of the women facilitating the creation of alternative sources of income for them. UNDP, however, has also stressed the importance of social courses/programs through its educational activities in tune with the principles of *Sustainable Human Development* approach that was created by the UNDP in the early 1990s and has thereafter been supported by the same organization. Since the establishment of ÇATOMs corresponds to the emergence of this alternative development paradigm, the project has been an important opportunity for the UNDP to standardize and disseminate its ideas in relation to this approach. Likewise, ÇATOMs have also contributed to the consolidation of ideas promoted through “Start Your Own Business” which is a large-scale program for which ILO engage in training activities in different countries as an integral part of other projects as exemplified in the ÇATOM project.

The examination of the ÇATOM project, on the other hand, also provides a meaningful perspective to the criticisms directed in general to multilateral involvement in educational development through the assessment of its socio-economic outcomes. Regarding the question of whether this involvement perpetuates or creates fragmentation in national education systems and causes the waste of resource, it does not seem that the principles advocated by ÇATOMs or the activities in the Centers deviate from national educational policies. Neither the content of the courses, e.g. literacy courses, nor the actual practice of income generating activities contradicts with national policies. This parallelism attracts criticism to ÇATOMs for particular points as discussed in Chapter 3; however,

after all, the GAP Administration which led to the establishment of ÇATOMs and has always been in charge of the details of the project is a body attached to the Prime Ministry. Nevertheless, what is interesting about this issue and also an important irony in the process is that although 8-year long primary schooling is compulsory in Turkey both for girls and boys, the main target group of ÇATOMs is young girls who have not been to school at all or had to give up their education at a certain point.

As for ideas, attitudes, and behaviors facilitated through the Centers, they reflect the value-patterns of the institutionalized and “modern” countries of the West as stressed by the arguments which criticize multilateral agencies for serving the utilization of education in the way of Western neocolonialism and cultural imperialism. The courses aim to create changes in the perceptions and ideas of the participants as well as in their living standards, and, in doing so, they put emphasis on *western understanding* of human rights, women’s rights, civil code, legal rights, income, productivity, etc. Even the celebration of special days in the Centers needs attention in this sense because they are mostly the construction of the Western world. It is important to note at this point, however, ÇATOMs pay attention to local requirements for the content of the courses because it is already difficult to achieve the attendance of local women to the Centers due to the characteristics of the region.

Based on the review of the UNDP and ILO work in ÇATOMs as well as the assessment of economic and social outcomes in the project, it is also possible to claim that ÇATOMs maintain/serve the interests of the current neoliberal order both in political and socio-economic terms through ideological and economic reproduction. First of all, not only the involvement of international organizations but also the large number of other actors shows the ‘decentralized’ nature of the project. Through the rhetoric of participatory approach in the framework of sustainable human development, local people are encouraged to participate both in decision-making process and in the implementation phase of the project. Moreover, the content of the educational activities and training programs, particularly of the income-generating activities, confirms that one important

dimension of ÇATOMs is to produce human capital who can be a part of market economy and labor force. Celebrating individual entrepreneurial liberties and skills, those programs put a heavy emphasis on income and production. Ambitious goals are specified with respect to economic outcomes in terms of production, income, employment, starting business, etc, but the outcomes are rather limited and confined to the participants rather than having an important effect at the regional or national level. However, these outcomes seem to be meaningful for the beneficiaries of the Centers as far as the interviews presented in the literature imply. Actually the comments of the beneficiaries of ÇATOMs illustrate that the fundamental policies of neoliberalism, e.g. market, productivity, income, entrepreneurship etc., are presented as a standard structure leading to ideological reproduction. Private companies are also continuously encouraged to contribute to this process by providing financial and technical support as well as scholarships for the education of young girls at the Centers. As for the question of whether ÇATOMs can reach all segments of local populations or whether they deepen the current inequalities, an important criticism directed to neoliberal policies, there is not a clear answer in the literature. Moreover, since the author did not carry out a field study in Southeastern Anatolia, the thesis also cannot propose a meaningful answer. However, review of the outcomes of the project illustrates that the number of women who can get into jobs or start their own business is really low.

Having recognized some critical points above, the thesis also aims to highlight the outcomes of the ÇATOM project on daily life of its beneficiaries for their social empowerment. Considering the social structure in the region and its impact on the marginalized groups of the population, it is crucial to understand the qualitative changes initiated by ÇATOMs rather than just the number of participants who acquire a job or how much income they receive. Even the slightest change they bring to the life of individuals becomes meaningful in this regard. Review of the literature of one and a half decade presents evidence that ÇATOMs have been important in altering the situation and life experiences of *some* participants, especially women and young girls. The programs and activities have helped facilitate self-confidence and self-subsistence among participants

increasing the visibility of gender problems and women in the region. There is rather meaningful change to support them in their daily activities, e.g. health, shopping, communication, etc., which may have more valuable consequences for the region in the long term. Above all, the Centers seem to be particularly meaningful for the ones who benefit from the process as clear from the comments made by the participants and from the success stories reported in GAP documents. That is, ÇATOMs' women have an exceptionally positive perception of the centers to which they feel a sense of belonging and attachment. It is especially this social empowerment factor in the ÇATOM project that marks the Centers as one of the most important accomplishments of GAP in both national and international community. At this point, however, it should be noted that this last analysis of the thesis is based exclusively on secondary sources and on GAP documents. This is an important limitation and it is possible that face-to-face interviews with the beneficiaries can provide evidence to the contrary.

An important aspect of this project which differentiates it from other projects is the incorporation of the 'sustainable human development' and the consequent 'education for sustainable development' approaches into the project. A participatory approach has been applied in line with the objectives of sustainable human development to integrate local people in all levels of the project, hence ensuring their support to ÇATOMs which have increased continuously in number in the 9 provinces of Southeastern Anatolia over one and a half decade. Since the failure to involve local populations actively in the process not taking local needs and conditions into consideration is usually reported as reasons for the poor outcomes of the projects (Nagel and Snyder, 1989; Banya, 1988; Cox, 1968), the current situation of ÇATOMs seems to be lying behind the cooperation with local populations. It is also important mention, however, that the ÇATOM project departs from the logic of sustainable human development approach in a critical dimension. As highlighted in Chapter 2, what differentiates SHD from the mainstream development approaches is its claim to put people at the centre of development so that they are not only 'means' but also 'ends' of the process. Its focus is on people's well-being rather than their productivity, income

or consumption which have long dominated the development discourse. It is true that people's well-being is mentioned in all ÇATOM programs and activities as the 'final end'; nevertheless, it is obvious that, in the way of this objective, there is a way too heavy emphasis on participants' productivity and income to be realized through ÇATOMs which is increasingly attracting more attention.

Both the involvement of international organizations in education with a development discourse and the ÇATOM project as an example to this process, are subject areas which are in need of further research. Although this thesis is not based on a field study and thus has important shortcomings, it attempts to provide a meaningful perspective to the general picture and also an important source for other studies.

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Anatolian Artisans (AnARt), <http://www.anatolianartisans.org/index.html>

Development Foundation of Turkey (TKV), <http://www.tkv-dft.org.tr>

GAP Regional Development Administration (GAP RDA), <http://www.gap.gov.tr/>
(in process of updating – all the information for the thesis retrieved from
<http://arsiv.gap.gov.tr/>)

International Labour Organization (ILO),
<http://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm>

Ministry of National Education, <http://www.meb.gov.tr/>

The Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV),
<http://www.acev.org/index.php?lang=en>

The World Bank, <http://www.worldbank.org/>

The World Bank Group, <http://www.worldbankgroup.org/>

United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), <http://www.unicef.org/>

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), <http://www.undp.org/>

APPENDIX: OUESTIONNAIRE

1. Hangi ilde ve hangi ÇATOM'da görev yapmaktasınız?
2. Görev aldığınız ÇATOM'a ulusal düzeyde hangi kurumlar nasıl katkı yaptı ve yapıyor (maddi, teknik, eğitim, burs, vs.)?

Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı:

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı:

Sağlık Bakanlığı:

Diğer:

3. Görev aldığınız ÇATOM'a ulusal düzeyde hangi sivil toplum örgütleri, özel şirketler, üniversiteler nasıl katkı yaptı ve yapıyor (maddi, teknik, eğitim, burs, vs.)?

Anakültür:

Türkiye Eğitim Vakfı:

Ana-Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı (AÇEV):

Özel Şirketler:

Üniversiteler:

Diğer:

4. Görev aldığınız ÇATOM'a hangi yerel aktörler nasıl katkı yaptı ve yapıyor (maddi, teknik, eğitim, burs, iletişim, vs.)?

Yerel yönetimler ve belediyeler:

Muhtarlıklar:

Sivil Toplum Örgütleri:

Özel Şirketler:

Üniversiteler:

QUESTIONNAIRE (Translation)

1. In which province and ÇATOM do you work?
2. At national level, which institutions in what ways have contributed to the ÇATOM where you work (financial, technical, education, scholarship, etc.)?

Development Foundation of Turkey:

Ministry of National Education:

Ministry of Health:

Other(s):

3. At national level, which NGOs, private companies, and universities in what ways have contributed to the ÇATOM where you work (financial, technical, education, scholarship, etc.)?

Anakültür Association:

Education Foundation of Turkey:

The Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV):

Private Companies:

Universities:

Other(s):

4. Which local bodies in what ways have contributed to the ÇATOM where you work (financial, technical, education, scholarship, communication, etc.)?

Local governors and Administrations:

Provincial Directorates:

NGOs:

Private Companies:

Universities:

Other(s):