

CRITIQUE OF VULNERABILITY DISCOURSE  
THROUGH AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH:  
A CASE OF SEASONAL MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN  
TURKEY

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## ABSTRACT

### CRITIQUE OF VULNERABILITY DISCOURSE THROUGH AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH: A CASE OF SEASONAL MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN TURKEY

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The purpose of this thesis is to explore, criticize and understand the development discourse and practices targeting vulnerable, disadvantaged, risk groups in development in the case of Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers (SMAW) in Turkey. The study is conducted in an alternative development approach from the lenses of development experts and analyses the development discourse and practices targeting SMAW in Turkey since 2000s. For this purpose, the study takes an alternative development theoretical standpoint enriched with post-development approach and operationalizes the research with Foucauldian concept of governmentality. The study argues that vulnerability discourse operates as a technique for regulating and controlling SMAW. And accordingly, it is argued in the thesis that there are two major patterns after 2000s which are the construction of knowledge about SMAW and the construction of power over SMAW. First; vulnerability discourse hides inequalities, homogenizes the target people and normalize the SMAW development issue that constructs monotype and ideological knowledge about SMAW. Second; power over SMAW is constructed based on the ideological knowledge which does not focus on root causes inequalities and it is facilitated by development institutions and development experts.

**Keywords:** Sociology of Development, Vulnerability, Governmentality, Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers

## ÖZ

### KIRILGANLIK SÖYLEMİNİN ALTERNATİF KALKINMA BAKIŞ AÇISIYLA ELEŞTİRİSİ: TÜRKİYE’DE GEZİCİ MEVSİMLİK TARIM İŞÇİLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez; kırılğan, dezavantajlı, riskli gruplara yönelik kalkınma söylem ve pratiklerini Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçileri (GMTİ) örneği üzerinden incelemeyi, eleştirmeyi ve anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma; 2000 yılından itibaren GMTİ’ye yönelik olan kalkınma söylem ve pratiklerini alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımıyla, kalkınma profesyonellerinin bakış açıları üzerinden incelemektedir. Çalışmada alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımı, post-kalkıncı yaklaşım ile zenginleştirilmiş ve Michel Foucault’nun yönetimsellik kavramı ile operasyonelleştirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda tez, kırılğanlık söyleminin GMTİ’nin yönetilmesi ve kontrol altında tutulması için bir araç olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Araştırmanın sonucu olarak 2000 sonrası GMTİ’ye yönelik bilginin inşası ve GMTİ’ye yönelik güç ilişkilerinin inşası olmak üzere iki örüntünün olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Birincisi, kırılğanlık söylemi eşitsizlikleri gizleyerek, hedef grubu homojen göstererek ve GMTİ’ye yönelik kalkınma konularını normalleştirerek; GMTİ’ye yönelik tek tip ve ideolojik bilgi inşa etmektedir. İkincisi, GMTİ’ye yönelik güç ilişkileri, GMTİ ile ilgili inşa edilmiş ideolojik bilgiler temel alınarak, eşitsizliklerin temeline inmeden, kalkınma kuruluşları ve uzmanları tarafından yürütülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kalkınma Sosyolojisi, Kırılğanlık, Yönetimsellik, Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçileri

*To my parents Bülây Elçi and Gürkan Elçi*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
ÖZ .....	v
DEDICATION .....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	viii
LIST OF TABLES .....	x
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>I. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>II. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Sociology of Development .....	11
2.1.1 Mainstream Development Theories.....	12
2.1.2 Alternative Theories .....	20
2.1.3 Post-development Approach.....	24
2.1.4 A Contribution to Alternative Development Theory: Governmentality .....	29
2.2 Vulnerability with an Alternative Development Approach.....	34
2.3 Conclusion .....	43
<b>III. RURAL TRANSFORMATION AND SEASONAL MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS (SMAW) IN TURKEY .....</b>	<b>44</b>
3.1 Rural Transformation in Turkey .....	45
3.2 History of State Discourse on the Agricultural Workers and SMAW ...	62
3.3 Characteristics of Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers in Turkey ..	69
3.4 Conclusion .....	74
<b>IV. METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>V. VULNERABILITY AND SMAW AS A VULNERABLE GROUP IN DEVELOPMENT .....</b>	<b>93</b>
5.1 Vulnerability Discourse in Turkey .....	93



5.2 SMAW as a Vulnerable Group in Development in Turkey .....	100
5.3 Conclusion .....	117
<b>VI. CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE ON SMAW IN DEVELOPMENT FROM AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH.....</b>	<b>119</b>
6.1 SMAW as a Historical Social Fact .....	120
6.1.1 SMAW as Unwanted Migrant People .....	121
6.1.2 Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Work as a Life Survival Strategy .....	
6.1.3 SMAW as the Subjects of Conflict Policies .....	128
6.2 SMAW as the Object of Development.....	131
6.3 Conclusion .....	136
<b>VII. CONSTRUCTION OF POWER OVER SMAW FROM AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH.....</b>	<b>139</b>
7.1 Division of Labor Among the Organizations .....	140
7.2 Roles of the Global Development Agenda/International Organizations/Neoliberal System .....	149
7.3 Roles of Budget Allocations in the Construction of Power .....	153
7.4 Roles of SMAW in Construction of Power .....	158
7.5 Roles of Development Experts in the Constructions .....	164
7.6 Conclusion .....	169
<b>VIII. CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>170</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>180</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
APPENDIX A: CURRICULUM VITAE .....	199
APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY .....	200
APPENDIX C: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU .....	219

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1:</b> The differences between mainstream development and alternative development. ....	22
<b>Table 2:</b> List of interview participants .....	83
<b>Table 3:</b> Mapping of SMAW programmes .....	154

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Transformation and social change in societies has been one of the important areas of research in sociology since its foundation. Changes in norms, values and social, economic and political structures have been explored by such classical social theorists as Marx, Durkheim and Weber. After World War II, changes in societies have been explored and addressed within the field of 'development'. The sociology of development explores the causes and the consequences of change in society. It examines patterns of inequalities among and in societies in its analysis of the practices and processes of change.

In sociology of development, theories can be classified into two major categories: *mainstream development theories* and *alternative theories* (Payne & Phillips, 2010). While mainstream theories focus on economic development and analyze the expected economic transition of countries from traditional/less developed to modern/developed, alternative theories analyze social, political and cultural change from an ideological perspective that is against social, economic and political imbalances (Friedman, 1992).

Alternative development theories challenge mainstream development theories in three main areas: the primary aim and goal of development, the subjects of development and tools for development (Gündüz Hosgor, 2011). While mainstream development focuses on economic development and growth, alternative development focuses on human development, gender equality, environment, and sustainability. In this respect there are several alternative development theories, including human development approaches, gender approaches, environmental approaches and post-development approaches. All contribute to the evolution of development thinking in different ways. Human development approaches focus on the basic needs and capabilities of people; gender approaches focus on gender and

gendered forms of inequality; environmental approaches focus on the sustainability of human development in the context of the degradation of the natural environment and the depletion of natural resources; post-development approaches position themselves not only in opposition to mainstream development but in direct opposition to development itself. Because of the post-development approach's focus on post-modern criticism of the discursive construction of development, it will greatly contribute to the alternative development approach adopted in this thesis (Payne & Phillips, 2010).

This thesis criticizes dominant development discourse and its consequences, by adopting an alternative development approach and has also a desire to make a contribution to the field of alternative development. Therefore, and in accordance with alternative development theory, analyses are conducted with a focus on equality/inequality among people and population groups. Considering the various alternative development approaches, it is important to mention that within this broad framework, a number of main themes can be identified as the pillars of alternative development. These pillars are identified according to the main arguments that alternative development theories share. In this regard, the construction of development knowledge and power relations and the role of development organizations, development experts and development subjects are the most important dynamics in alternative development. In line with this, the central questions of the thesis are: How is knowledge constructed in development? What are the implications of knowledge construction? How is power constructed and practiced through development? What are the roles of development organizations, development experts and development subjects in the construction of power and knowledge?

I have been active in different levels of development work as both a volunteer and a professional since 1996, and my development experiences have gone hand in hand with the evolution of development discourse in Turkey. My journey began and still continues as a dream for equality. This development journey has not only given me a number of experiences, but also has raised a number of questions warranting further exploration. In this regard, this thesis aims at addressing the concept of

vulnerability in development discourse<sup>1</sup> through an alternative development approach. Bauman (1998) indicates that social research is personal, and that social science research is the process of searching and assigning meanings to the researcher's own world.

Although the concept of vulnerability is not new, as the wide use of vulnerability discourse in social development and social policy began in the 1990s, there is as yet no consensus on the definition of vulnerability. This study adopts the definition of vulnerability offered by Blaikie et al. (1994) as “a combination of characteristics of a person or group, expressed in relation to hazard exposure which derives from the social and economic condition of the individual, family and community concerned” (p.61). Thus, the elements of vulnerability are regarded as the risks that an individual, household or population group is exposed to. In other words, risk generates a sense of vulnerability. This thesis accepts the conceptualization of vulnerability as social vulnerability, which refers to the social inequalities that describe the conditions and characteristics of a population group.

In an alternative development approach, the use of vulnerability discourse has significant political implications. This study accepts that risks, vulnerabilities and disadvantages are social constructs which are ideologically defined. The main argument of this thesis is that the use of vulnerability discourse in development is a technique<sup>2</sup> for the regulation and control of population groups. Furthermore, it is argued that vulnerability discourse normalizes the problem/issue, homogenizes the group, constructs the problem as a technical problem, requires external support of experts and legitimizes development interventions.

In this regard the central questions of the thesis can be advanced by considering vulnerability discourse. Which groups or people are called vulnerable groups? How is knowledge on a vulnerable group constructed in development? What are the

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<sup>1</sup> Vulnerability discourse manifests itself through discourses on vulnerable, disadvantaged, and at-risk groups in the development literature.

<sup>2</sup> Discourse not only influences ways of thinking and rationalities in development but also influences development practices. Development discourse on vulnerability is thus considered as a technique to regulate and control “vulnerable” groups.

implications of knowledge construction about a vulnerable group? How is power constructed and practiced over a vulnerable group through development? What are the roles of development organizations, development experts and development subjects in these constructions?

These questions must be addressed in the context of a particular case, and this study is conducted on an identified vulnerable/disadvantaged/risk group: Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers (SMAW) in Turkey<sup>3</sup>. Selecting the case of SMAW in Turkey is significant. Because in a historical context, seasonal migrant agricultural work has existed since Ottoman times as a form of employment. Since then, in Turkey, SMAW have been and remain visible in novels/films, in accident news and on the side of the road during travel in the countryside. Despite the fact that seasonal migrant agricultural work has been an economic and sociological historical work pattern in Turkey since the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Gündüz Hoşgör, 2013) and the fact that the issue has been addressed in the literature within the context of rural transformation, the recognition of SMAW as a target group in development works is quite recent. Therefore focusing on SMAW as a case would also help to understand the transformation of SMAW from an economic actor to become a development actor.

Literature on rural transformation presents various aspects of SMAW and their families. A review of the literature review indicates that there are many studies focusing on SMAW demographic characteristics, socio-cultural structures, work relations, family structures, power relations and living conditions (Gündüz Hoşgör, 2013, Özbekmezci, Ş. & Sahil, S., 2004, Lordoglu, K & Cinar, S., 2011, Benek, S. & Ökten, Ş., 2011, Geçgin, E. 2009, Karaman, K & Yılmaz, A. 2011, Görücü, İ. & Akbıyık, N., 2010, Küçükkırca, A., 2012). However it can be argued that especially in the 2000s SMAW became more visible, more resources were allocated to SMAW programs and more scientific studies were conducted on SMAW. It was in this decade, too, that vulnerability discourse joined the lexicon of development and SMAW started to be defined as a vulnerable/disadvantaged/risk group in Turkey. At the same time, it was also during this decade that neoliberal policies became

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<sup>3</sup> Seasonal Migrant Agricultural workers (SMAW) by definition are the people who seasonally move within a country for the purpose of agricultural employment. Foreign SMAW such as Syrians, Georgians and Iraqis and settled seasonal agricultural workers are outside the scope of this thesis.

widespread and the target of neoliberal policies moved to individuals and population groups. In the context of the main argument of the thesis, it can be argued that development policies and practices regulate and control SMAW through vulnerability discourse for the survival of the neoliberal system<sup>4</sup>. In this regard, this thesis aims to understand from an alternative development perspective how SMAW have been regulated and controlled by development since the 2000s as a defined vulnerable group in Turkey. Therefore the main research questions of the thesis are how is knowledge on SMAW constructed in development? What are the implications of knowledge construction about SMAW? How is power constructed and practiced over SMAW through development? What are the roles of development organizations, development experts and SMAW in this construction? To be able to explore the above mentioned research questions the study will analyze the development discourse and practices targeting SMAW as a vulnerable group in Turkey. In other words, the regulation of and control mechanism over SMAW are explored in an alternative development approach.

The vulnerability discourse that goes hand in hand with SMAW in development contexts leads me to Michel Foucault and his theory of power. Borrowing Foucauldian concepts, in the thesis I will attempt to explore SMAW development efforts, and hence try to contribute to alternative development theory. I argue that Michel Foucault and his theory of power are relevant and useful to this thesis for two reasons. First, Foucauldian theory of power makes this possible by revealing how discourse constructs knowledge and power relations about a population group. Hence in an alternative development analysis, it is essential to analyze the construction of knowledge and power relations about a population group. Second, for Foucault, the concept of vulnerability is constructed as a discourse to rule,

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<sup>4</sup> Senses (2004) argues that neoliberal system is presented as the requisite of development and aims to initiate a free market economy, free foreign trade and finance regime, privatization of public services and flexibility of labor market. Accordingly, it aims to strengthen the capital and weaken the labor force. For this purpose, the neoliberal system is built and managed by international organizations. In regards to development he argues that in the neoliberal system international organizations intervene in the favor of the developed countries rather than the favor of developing countries. He indicates that development is also used to depoliticize problems/issues, to break the link of the problem/issue with economy and power relations.

regulate and control a population group; governmentality in Foucauldian terms<sup>5</sup>. Hence, in the thesis, I argue that vulnerability discourse functions to legitimize and facilitate development actions targeting SMAW to regulate them. For this reason, in the thesis I operationalize an alternative development approach within the Foucauldian framework of governmentality. Therefore, both development discourse (political rationalities) and development practices (technologies of power) are explored to explain the regulation mechanism or governmentality of SMAW in development since the 2000s in Turkey.

The central role of development experts<sup>6</sup> in development discourse and practices led me to conduct the analysis from the development experts' perspective. In this study, development experts are conceptualized as the actors of the state, non-governmental organizations (NGO), universities and international organizations that are involved in development processes. Escobar (1989) argues that the knowledge of experts certifies the need for and the institutionalization of the services carried out by the state or other organizations. Therefore, methodologically speaking, I argue that conducting the analysis through the development experts' perspective allows me to give better insight about the governmentality of SMAW. In this regard, interviews with development experts from international organizations, national state organizations, regional state organizations, local state organizations, NGOs and universities were conducted in the course of the research. In order to complement the development experts' reviews, I first offer a desk review in which SMAW development program documents, academic research and policy papers since the 2000s are analyzed. To sum up, the study assesses how knowledge about SMAW and power over SMAW are constructed in an alternative development approach from the perspective of development experts, or in other words how SMAW have been governed by development since the 2000s in Turkey. This study explores how political actors transform economic actors.

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<sup>5</sup> Governmentality: Ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument (Foucault, 2007, p.108-109).

<sup>6</sup> Development experts are individuals "who do development". Development experts are no longer western experts but also local village leaders, activists and NGOs, as well as national and international volunteers, state officials and international consultants (Mc. Kinnon, 2007).



This thesis contains eight chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. Following the introduction, in chapter two the conceptual and theoretical framework of the thesis is explained. In this chapter, first the sociology of development and development theories are presented in order to introduce the pillars of the alternative development approach which underpins the thesis. Afterwards, vulnerability discourse in development is discussed. The alternative development approach argues that development theories create their own development discourse, new value-laden concepts and tools which are used worldwide. These are reflected in/as scientific statements, development aid, statistics, economic indicators, planning institutions and experts. In this regard chapter two argues that vulnerability discourse masks structural inequalities and legitimizes development interventions to regulate population groups and societies. This chapter also presents the need for borrowing Foucauldian concepts for the operationalization of the study.

The third chapter is about rural transformation and seasonal migrant agricultural workers in Turkey. First, rural transformation in Turkey is discussed from a development perspective with respect to the capitalization of agriculture, proletarianization of labor in agriculture and emergence of SMAW. This information presents the background context of SMAW. In the second part of this chapter, the history of state discourse on agricultural workers and SMAW is explored. Finally, in the third part of this chapter, the characteristics of SMAW in Turkey are discussed. This chapter argues that the capitalization of agriculture has had similar consequences in many parts of the world and that this has caused the emergence of SMAW. In line with the neoliberal policies that mark this capitalization process, the state abandons its regulatory role, which leaves peasants facing market forces that transform them into workers. On the other hand, the survival of these neoliberal policies requires both the existence and the regulation of SMAW. In short, under the influence of neoliberal policies a governmentality process is initiated with the inclusion of multiple actors and institutions.

The fourth chapter is on the methodology of the study. The dimensions of the research, case study approach and the techniques and processes used for data collection and analysis are presented.

The analysis chapters start with the fifth chapter, which is named ‘Vulnerability and SMAW as a vulnerable group in development in Turkey’. In the fifth chapter the findings of the desk review are presented, detailing the emergence of vulnerability discourse in Turkey and the identification of SMAW as a vulnerable group. This information establishes the context of discourse around SMAW as a vulnerable group in development in Turkey since the 2000s. It also provides the background of development discourse and practices, which will aid in understanding the interviews with development experts in later chapters.

The sixth chapter is on the ‘construction of knowledge on SMAW from an alternative development approach’ and it focuses on the discursive field of governmentality of SMAW. This chapter explores the answers to the following research questions; how is knowledge on SMAW constructed in development? What are the implications of knowledge construction about SAW? In this chapter the historical attributions and framings of development experts about SMAW are analyzed in an effort to understand the political rationalities for SMAW development discourse and practices. The sixth chapter argues that SMAW are constructed as a homogenized group with technical problems that require expert/external support. These constructions by development create “truths” about SMAW and legitimize the development policies and practices targeting SMAW based on these truths.

The seventh chapter is on the ‘construction of power over SMAW from an alternative development approach’ and focuses on the practice field of governmentality of SMAW. In this chapter, the roles of development organizations, international influences, budget allocations, development experts and SMAW are analyzed with respect to the construction of power over SMAW. This chapter argues that SMAW development practices are driven by international organizations through development discourse, development indicators and budget allocations. Moreover, this process is facilitated by development experts with the limited involvement of SMAW themselves. The mechanisms of power over SMAW can be described as an inclusive exclusionary process.

In the conclusion chapter, the research questions will be discussed and a brief summary of the research findings will be presented within the theoretical framework. In this regards construction of knowledge about SMAW and construction of power over SMAW by development discourse and practices are presented.

I want to conclude this introduction part with a metaphor for this study that greatly impressed me in regards to vulnerable populations. The story of development work targeting so-called vulnerable groups facing inequality is similar to the story of the establishment of hydroelectric power plants on the river in a village. After the establishment of hydroelectric power plants in the village, only 10% of the water was left free for the use of the villagers. This water was called ‘cansuyu’. It is known that this 10% would be enough neither for people’s use nor for the wellbeing of the environment and agriculture in that village, but still the plant was installed and the local people were convinced that they would have enough water with that 10%. In vulnerable population development works, the issue looks similar. The SMAW of today and the ‘irgat’ of the Ottoman and early republican period were always poor and informal. The inequalities they face have proved insoluble. Despite the fact that since the 2000s there have been several development practices targeting SMAW, I can argue that both the village’s 10% water-access and the development interventions targeting vulnerable groups are for the sake of the survival of the neoliberal system rather than that of the vulnerable groups themselves. In other words, the 10% of the river water that is left for keeping the river alive is actually left to keep the profit base of the plant. Therefore, vulnerable population development policies can be considered as strategies both for the sustainability of development economy and the control of the population groups. Can vulnerability discourse be considered as a constructed strategy of governmentality to sustain the neoliberal system? Let me deconstruct the current development discourse and practices targeting SMAW.

## CHAPTER II

### CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are several approaches for change in life. The sociology of development studies the processes and practices of social change and, in this regard, explores agencies, institutions, social mobilizations, culture and inequality.

In this chapter, the conceptual and theoretical framework of the thesis is presented in two main parts. The first part is on the theories of sociology of development, with a focus on both mainstream development theories<sup>7</sup> and the alternative theories<sup>8</sup> that challenge the former by prioritizing the analysis of social and cultural contexts, listening to civil society and grassroots voices, planning a bottom-up development and valuing diversity. The main pillars of the alternative theory are presented with significant inputs from the post-development approach and serve as the alternative development framework of this thesis. Additionally, this thesis proposes that Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality is an appropriate analytic tool to be used in an alternative development analysis. Because the governmentality is a system which brings the analysis of discourse and practices together, it enables a holistic approach to the analysis of development studies and is useful as a strategy to analyze the regulation and control of population groups. Therefore, in the first section of the conceptual and theoretical framework, the relevance of governmentality for an alternative development perspective is also discussed.

The second part of this chapter offers an alternative development analysis of vulnerability discourse in the field of sociology of development. The second part thus explores the emergence and the use of vulnerability in the development lexicon

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<sup>7</sup> The modernization approach, dependency approach and world-system approach (Payne & Phillips, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> The post-development approach, human development approach, gender approach and environment approach (Payne & Phillips, 2010).

from the perspective of an alternative development approach. This exploration offers a view of the influence of international organizations and development experts on the emergence and dissemination of vulnerability discourse.

This chapter proposes that in an alternative development approach carried out with a focus on governmentality; vulnerability is an ideological construct that masks structural inequalities while legitimizing development interventions that serve to regulate population groups, and thus that it actually preserves inequalities rather than alleviating them. As Foucault (2007) indicates, the concepts of risk and vulnerability are used for labeling social problems, describing standard states of mind, enabling new domains of social policy and defining policy objectives (Wilkinson, 2010). Hence, an alternative development approach enriched with Foucauldian concepts enables the understanding of the regulation of seasonal migrant agricultural workers (SMAW) through the construction of discourse and practices of development in Turkey. In this regard, this chapter argues that vulnerability discourse legitimizes and facilitates both the construction of knowledge on a population group and the construction of power over a population group to regulate and control it.

## **2.1 Sociology of Development**

Sociology of development explores the causes and the consequences of change in society. In many books, the development theory usually begins in 1945, in the post-World War II period. However, although terms of development and underdevelopment joined the lexicon of science by 1945, it should be noted that development had been a major issue since the 1600s. During the modern age of industrial capitalism, development can easily be recognized in classical theories of economic, political and social change. Adam Smith, Karl Marx and Max Weber and their followers should be included in the history of the development theory as they initiated discussions on patterns of change in the advent of capitalism in Europe (Payne & Phillips, 2010). Details of these theories of change or their practices on wealth, labor or poor are not described within scope of this study. Yet this information is crucial for this study because one of the main assumptions of the thesis is that the ideology of global political economy was and is operating through

the tools and discourses of development and change. In this respect, there are references to classical political economy and ideology throughout the thesis.

In the period after the Second World War called as Cold War, the term development joined the lexicon of the field. A major characteristic of this period was not to force the Third World countries openly on many issues. Instead, the Western countries used development and its tools to manage the Third World (So, 1990). Hence, these countries, by themselves, began to devise some development strategies in order to raise their status from developing to developed. Thus, it can be argued that the development system was operating through scientific statements, development aid, development institutions and experts to sustain the hegemonic relation between the West and the Third World.

There are two major categories of development theories. The first is the mainstream theories of development and the second is the alternative theories (Payne & Phillips, 2010). In this part, both theories are explored.

### **2.1.1 Mainstream Development Theories**

In this part, the mainstream development theories and discourses of the modernization theory, the dependency theory and the world systems theory are presented. The commonality of these three mainstream development theories is their focus on macro-economic development.

Willes (2005) argues that the post-second world war period was an opportunity for the Western nations to design the most appropriate international division of labor to avoid another economic crisis like in the 1930s. Here, the key actor of the international reconstruction was the United States of America (U.S.) (Willes, 2005). Accordingly, the modernization theory emerged in an environment after the Second World War where communist movements were spreading to establish an eastern bloc against western bloc and where the U.S. was becoming a global super power. In this respect, the main aim of the modernization theory was to prevent and protect the Third World from communism in order to sustain the advancement of capitalism. Accordingly, the word 'development' was inserted into the lexicon of legitimacy

with the expectation that the Third World countries would develop from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’ by following the evolutionary prescriptions, which the developed countries provided. In this process, the U.S. had the leading role of encouraging their social scientist to study the Third World countries and also encouraged national authorities to establish a capitalist economic system. So (1990) presents the various aspects of modernization theory; accordingly, modernization is imposed as the one and only way for development of the Third World countries that was experienced by developed countries before. And this modernization was supposed to be achieved only by advancing capitalist economy. Another significant characteristic of the modernization theory is the argument on the irreversible, linear and progressive way of development process (Hopper, 2012). Also, the modernization brings in the international aid as the policy response to development. These aids are transferred through one government to another through international agencies (Willes, 2005). Furthermore, the major characteristic of modernization approach is its top to bottom development understanding placing the development institutions and experts in the center of the process. The modernization theory has been criticized in many aspects. Based on the criticisms, the modernization theory renewed itself and the new modernization school reinstated the important roles of tradition and history. Accordingly, the interaction of the internal and external factors is considered in the development processes (So, 1990).

This thesis argues that the modernization theory is still very dominant in the global, national, regional and local levels, and therefore the thesis also criticizes the current discourses and practices of modernization theory. The main reason for refuting the modernization approach in this thesis is its dominant perspective from the lenses of the developed countries. Instead, this thesis is positioned in the perspective of target groups experiencing the consequences of such development, in other words those facing the inequalities. In addition, the modernization theory considers economy and growth in a linear transformation process, while this thesis highlights the social inequalities.

Although a wide range of alternative theories challenge the mainstream theories and mainly the modernization theory in the literature; it should be noted that the

dependency theory is the first approach to challenge the modernization approach and development. The dependency school was born in the 1960s in Latin America with a Neo-Marxian perspective as a reaction against the modernization school and failure of its development practices in the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). Dependency theorists pioneered by Andre Gunter Frank argue that underdevelopment is linked to development elsewhere in the world (Hopper, 2012).

In contrast to the modernization school, the dependency school provides an external explanation of Third World development. Additionally, there is a strong emphasis on the inequalities between countries and regions in the dependency school. The school represents the ideas of the Third World and raises its voice in the development discourse. Leading dependency school scholars, such as Andre Gunter Frank, Dos Santos, Samir Amin and Cardoso, argue that the path of the developed countries could not be followed by the developing countries, as they had colonized the Third World through development and as they do not share the same historical experiences. Thus, they propound the core-periphery paradigm where the Third World countries are positioned to become financially dependent on the developed countries. The dependency theorists argue that the underdevelopment is due to the operation of the capitalist system. In this respect, they argue that the economic development in the industrialized countries is achieved through the exploitation of non-industrialized countries (Willes, 2005). Contrary to the modernization school, the dependency school argues that the countries need to decrease the amount of foreign aid and foreign technology, and rely on their own resources. Although the classical dependency theory fails to explain some concrete cases, the new dependency school supplemented the theory, and focused on internal aspects of Third World countries and real cases rather than abstractions and external factors it also (So, 1990).

I think that the dependency theory is especially significant for its criticism against the modernization theory. To me, the dependency theory could not move from a structural macroeconomic focus, it could not able to escape from the dominance of center and passiveness of periphery. Furthermore, its criticism is focused on



dependency and yet cannot explain the issues about development. Still it brings a new way of thinking about development, which is also seen at the roots of many alternative theories. Especially, the inequality analysis of the dependency school is an important aspect, which is also integrated in the main pillars of alternative development framework of this thesis. Dependency school highlights that dependence creates and sustains a social structure in the periphery creating an exploitative relation between the poor and the rich ruling class. This increases inequality among population groups. The dependency theory argues especially that modernization restricts the access of peasants to land by transforming them into wage laborers and by throwing peasants out of agricultural production (Willis, 2005). This aspect of the dependency approach is discussed in the next chapter on the proletarianization of the landowners and farmers in Turkey. Therefore, the thesis puts dependency theory in a central position as it is the first theory challenging the development policies and as it brings a political economy perspective to the development issues.

The world systems theory is another mainstream development theory. It shares many characteristics of dependency school; in this approach, the national economic development is considered in a global context rather than concentrating on a single country (Willes, 2005). The world systems theory is also from neo-Marxist tradition and French Annales School led by Immanuel Wallerstein focusing on the historical and structural processes of countries. The dissolution of Soviet bloc, the rise of newly industrialized countries and the crisis in the U.S. led some scholars to develop this theory in the 1970s. These were the times when there was an urgent necessity for new explanations and a new approach to development in order understand these processes which neither modernization nor dependency approach were able to explain sufficiently. The world systems approach used many concepts of dependency approach such as the core-periphery paradigm and the unequal exchange. Moreover, the world systems approach also added the concept of semi-periphery to the core-periphery paradigm of the dependency approach to explain the transition from periphery to core. Furthermore, in contrast to modernization approach, the world systems approach argues that mobility is not just upward and irreversible, but may also be downward for some countries. In other words, the core

countries can move to periphery as much as the periphery can move to core. The world systems approach also introduced the tripod classification of historical systems as mini-systems, world-empires and world-economies (So, 1990). As a matter of the fact, it can be argued that the world system approach brings the nation state, the unit of the dependency approach, to a global scale. In this regard, the world systems approach, as well as the dependency school, is important for this thesis because only a world scale analysis would be appropriate to understand the macro level power relations and global division of labor, in a globalized world under the domination of neoliberal policies. The neoliberal division of labor globally and perpetually forms and operates the structures of domination. Actually, the economic dependency is formed through the global supply-chain mechanisms; financial dependency is formed through international financial institutions; and the cultural dependency is formed through consumption. Within this respect, it can be argued that while these dependencies are built and the development is promoted as the panacea for all inequality problems, the constructed development discourse provides significant support.

### **Mainstream Development Discourse**

Tehrani (1999) explains the relation between the world order and discourse as quoted:

(in) the last 500 years, the discourse of order has imposed its own order of discourse. It has divided the world between the traditional and the modern, categories roughly equivalent to the barbarian and civilized labels of the ancient world (p.30).

This thesis questions the influence of discourses in development as well as the practices in development. It also argues that the development theories operate and are influential in their own discourses.

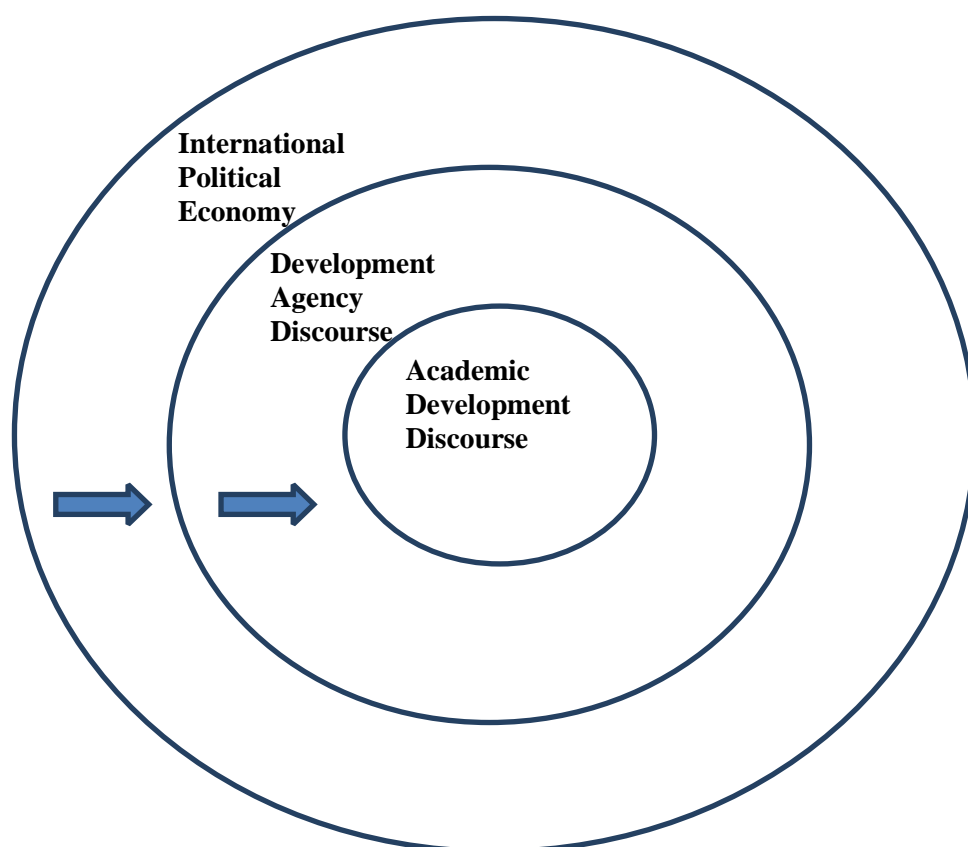
Boas and McNeill (2004) argue that “the discourse is a way of contextualizing better the interconnections between ideas, beliefs and action” (p.26). Therefore, in order to understand the mainstream development theory, ideology and actions; it is best to explore mainstream development discourse.

In analyzing the evolution of development discourse in post-war era, we can talk about two main phases taking into consideration the global political economy. In this regard, each theoretical discourse has its special arguments and assumptions to reflect the competing interests of the international community. Thus, each approach constructs its conceptual typologies (Tehrani, 1999). The first phase is state-mediated capitalism or Keynesianism since the 1970s where there were Fordist production in the west, the international dominance of U.S. and the emergence of the Third World. The second phase is the de-regulated capitalism or neo-liberalism which has emerged in the 1970s and still continues (Moore & Schmitz, 1995).

It is possible to say that the first phase started with the influence of modernization theory, the word development was all about growth and economics that the development apparatuses focused on industrialization and take-off. In this phase, the modernization theory had been the dominant development school for a long time with its discursive focus on economics with specific references to some major themes in duality such as order vs. security; freedom vs. development; equality vs. social justice; community vs. democracy; and culture vs. identity.

In analyzing the first phase, it is also necessary to focus on the actors in development discourse as they play a key role on the use and dissemination of discourse. For this reason, it can be stated that the modernization school also created its institutions to operate its development discourse. The academy and the post-war international institutions (international development agencies) are the main actors in the development that emerged through the modernization school. The relation between the international development agency discourse and the academic development discourse in the context of the international political economy is explored in Figure 1. Referring to the figure, Moore and Schmitz (1995) argue that the academic development discourse produces the meta-discourse of development and forms the practices of development agencies. As the modernization paradigm not only encouraged the academics to study on the Third World but also built the development institutions, it can be stated that the global capitalism operates through a constructed discourse, which is jointly produced by those institutions. Ideas and discourses of the international organizations have significant contributions from

academics or schools of thought. This process is facilitated by the development experts and through the close relationships between the international organizations and the academics on policy development and development tools. Furthermore, those strategies are shaped and implemented with the strong lobbies of developed countries (Boas & McNeill, 2004). Similarly, Pieterse (1996) argues that the alignment of official and unofficial discourses among countries is sustained through mega summits<sup>9</sup>.



**Figure 1.** The dynamics of development discourse, Margaret Anderson in Moore & Schmitz, 1995, p.12

In analyzing the evolution of development discourse in the first phase, it is also necessary to focus on the emergence of development concepts. With the modernization school, the concepts such as equity, democracy and sustainability proliferated in development studies; in other words, the modernization school

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<sup>9</sup> Mega summits are the international development conferences such as Millennium Summit held in New York in 2000, International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994, UN Conference on Sustainable Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (Pieterse, 1996).

constructed its own concepts. As everything is explained in relation with economy and economic growth in the modernization school, it can be interpreted that the term 'sustainability' is used as sustainable economic growth, the term 'democracy' is used as the representation of liberal institutions, and the term 'equity' is used as empowering people to take charge of their lives (Moore & Schmitz, 1995). Now it is possible to argue that these three words came to the scene with the emergence of development as shaped by the modernization school and transformed into other meanings through discursive practices over time. Structural adjustment programs are also programs constructed and introduced by the modernization school institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in order to regulate the Third World economy (Bello, 1994).

In analyzing the evolution of development discourse during the post-war era in two phases, the 1960s are defined as the transition period from phase I to phase II. It is stated that transition phase is initiated with the influence of the dependency school where the dependency school challenged the modernization school by criticizing its modernist development strategy and its international division of labor. Dependency school indicated the need to redefine development and proposed to shift the focus of the definition from industry, output, and productivity to improving the living standards for all people in the periphery (So, 1990). It also emphasized the external relations. Between the two phases, the transition is the period when the concerns about gender, basic needs, participation and environment are raised. It can be said that the critics on modernist discourse had triggered the emergence of the alternative discourse and theories. However, it is also argued that these efforts were not able to challenge the dominant modernization discourse very significantly (Moore & Schmitz, 1995). However, I argue that the dependency school influenced the modernist school to revise their development discourse, so that it constructed new concepts such as vulnerability, resilience, risk management etc. As mentioned above, the second phase in the evolution of development discourse is the period after the 1970s till now during which the neoliberal policies are diffused globally. This is also the period when the alternative development theory and discourse emerged. In the next section, the alternative theory and discourse are explored.

### **2.1.2 Alternative Theories**

With the influence of neoliberalism, the 1970s witnessed significant paradigm shifts both in Third World countries and Western countries. The shifts are both in the development discourse and in the development practices. The move towards neoliberal policies, which highlights the key role of free markets and decreasing role of state, introduced a new approach to development by IMF and World Bank; a market-led development discourse with new concepts has been introduced. In other words, the neoliberal policies have been initiated by the development discourse and the international development agencies. The main characteristics of these neoliberal policies were the structural adjustment programmes; however, in the absence of states' regulatory role, it is observed that these programs were making harm on people especially on poor people in Third World (George & Sabelli, 1994). The traditional development policies were growth oriented and macro scale economic policies. But the failure of development and its promises with visible inequalities, poverty, and environmental destruction and food crises pave a way for many intellectuals to put forward a challenge to development theory and initiated searches on alternative development. Additionally, the growing numbers of NGOs in many countries, the increasing concerns on environmental sustainability and the failures of international development institutions in participation and democratization moved formation of alternatives. Thinkers of various schools of thought like post-modernism, post-colonialism, social movements' theories, ecology and feminist theory such as Arturo Escobar, Amartya Sen, Esther Boserup, and Jane Parpart contributed the formation of an alternative development approach called the alternative theories (Payne & Phillips, 2010). As a matter of the fact, especially the post-development thinkers put forward alternatives to development, which are located in grassroots movements. For this very reason, it was high time for an alternative development theory, which is people-centered, designing development is as a bottom-up process and relying on the knowledge of the people and the local rather than expert knowledge. Pieterse (2001) argues that the alternative development is present under many disguises – appropriate development, participatory development, people-centered development, human-scale development, people's self-development, autonomous development, holistic

development; and that many elements relevant to alternative development are developed under numerous headings/keywords such as participation, participatory action research, grassroots movements, NGOs, empowerment, liberation theology, democratization, citizenship, human rights, development ethics, ecofeminism, diversity, critical pedagogy, etc., which hardly facilitate generating a coherent body of theory.

Within this respect, it is also important to mention that while criticisms of the mainstream development approach were going on, on the other hand the mainstream development thought and practices accepted that growth-oriented macroeconomic policies had negative consequences on different population groups. It can be argued that in parallel with emergence of alternative development thought and with the influence of critics of dependency school, the modernist development approach renewed its discourse along with the neoliberal policies targeting the individuals and population groups. The mainstream development approach becomes more human centered and participatory, while the NGOs and the civil society get more active in the second phase of the evolution of development discourse. In this perspective, the individuals are constructed as the vulnerable, disadvantaged or risk groups, and targeted for empowerment so that they can become responsible citizens who can take care of their own welfare instead of the state. Here, inequalities are recognized in terms of vulnerabilities, risks and disadvantages. Although there is a pleasing focus on inequalities, I would argue that it is misleading. Because rather than defining inequalities as the consequences of neoliberalism; they are presented as problems for the operation of neoliberalism. Thus, this new approach in development designs a mechanism that focuses on the development of the capacity of individuals and target groups in need by helpers - the development agents - with a discourse on vulnerability, disadvantages and risks. So that it overshadows the structural inequalities by a technical and apolitical language. Alternative development theory criticizes all of the issues mentioned above by pointing out the missing social and cultural dimension of development.

Alternative theories has been concerned with introducing alternative practices and redefining the goals of development. Due to the increase in the negative

consequences of neoliberal policies and the failure of mainstream development commitments, the Alternative Theories emerged to challenge the mainstream development theory by questioning the goals, agencies and tools of the mainstream development (Hoşgör, 2011). Friedman (1992) argues that mainstream development is the dialectical other of alternative development, and explains their relation as: “Actual development will always be the historical outcome of the ideological and political conflicts between them” (p.9).

Mahmud (1999) argues that alternative development requires a more substantive and non-linear understanding of human life and well-being-a bringing together of both material and non-material human needs. Considering the complexity of alternative development theory, the main pillars of alternative development are presented below to frame the theoretical base of the thesis. It can be argued that this particular formulation of alternative development is clearly dated and marked by the 1980s upsurge of green movements. It is a prelude to the post-development perspective that took shape in the 1990s.

**Table 1:** This table is prepared by merging the tables of on Corbeil (2010) and Pieterse (2001) about the differences between mainstream development and alternative development.

<b>Alternative Development</b>	<b>Mainstream Development</b>
Cultural, political and social development Social transformation Human development	Economic Progress Growth Accumulation
Community, people-oriented Reorganization of the state	Market-led Free hand of the market, no state interference
Inclusion and participation Collective community rights Solidarity within diversity	Exclusive Individual rights Homogeneity
Indigenous knowledge Bottom up	Science Top down
Human Development Index Partnerships	GDP Aid, assistance



Corbeil (2010) and Pieterse (2001) express the main differences between alternative development and mainstream development presented in Table 1. Accordingly, the first distinction is that the alternative development has a cultural, political and social development focus, while the mainstream development has an economic focus. In this regard, it can be stated that the alternative development focuses on human development and social transformation.

Secondly, the alternative development is people and community centered, while the mainstream development argues that there should not be state interference in development and it should be a market-led development. In contrast to the neoliberal preference for a minimal state, the alternative development points a greater state involvement in development processes. Thus, the alternative development argues that state should be reorganized to promote social justice agenda as well as tools to integrate the excluded populations into the political processes. Although the alternative development is often called as development by NGOs, it does not mean development only by NGOs, but it can be interpreted as the re-organization of state or the reorganization (alternative organization) of relation of NGOs to the state and the market (Corbeil, 2010).

Thirdly, the alternative development aims to be inclusive and to be able to respond the needs of the greatest number of people by providing opportunities to marginalized people, women, young people and local people to participate in community decisions. These arguments also support the achievement to ensure solidarity of society within diversity that the alternative development aims to gather people regardless of their age, race, gender and social statue. In other words, the alternative development accepts that society is heterogeneous and diverse whereas the mainstream development considers it homogeneous. This also means that the alternative development offers diverse development suggestions from the local and grassroots knowledge. Therefore, the alternative development focuses on collective community rights rather than the individual rights of the people.

Fourthly, the alternative development epistemologically uses local and indigenous knowledge from the people whereas the mainstream development uses science and

expert knowledge to produce the development knowledge, to plan, to legitimize and to implement development actions. Within this respect, the alternative development prioritizes grassroots organizations' and NGO's perspectives, that is to say, it follows a bottom up path. On the other hand, the mainstream development uses development experts in development, state institutions, universities and NGOs for development, so it follows a top down path. In other words, the mainstream development constructs knowledge and policies through development experts. In sum, human beings and civil society are central in alternative development approach that brings a bottom-up development approach. In other words, the alternative development is development from below and below refers both to community and to NGOs (Pieterse, 2010).

Fifth distinction is that the alternative development uses indexes where material and non-material human needs are measured, while the mainstream development measures growth and GDP. In this regards mainstream development uses foreign aid and assistance while alternative development builds partnerships for development (Pieterse, 2001).

To summarize, it is important to mention that key elements of alternative development refers to alternatives in three spheres, which are the agency, methods and objectives of development. Within this regard, the alternative development targets local development, through a bottom up approach with the participation of community and facilitated by NGOs and civil society (Pieterse, 1996).

After discussing the main arguments of the alternative development, the post-development, which gives significant inputs to the alternative development perspective is explored in the next section.

### **2.1.3 Post-development Approach**

Under the framework of alternative approaches, the post-development theory has a significant role for this thesis. Hence, some of the main arguments of the post-development theory discussed in this part strengthens the alternative development analysis of this study. On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that the post-

development had significant inputs from alternative development movement to form its approach. Post-development used the challenges to mainstream development started by the 1970s since it founds its theoretical approach.

Arturo Escobar, a proponent of post development theory, discusses the development processes through the case of Colombia, and he argues that there was nothing called poverty before outsiders came to Columbia (Willes, 2005). This reminds one of the central arguments of the thesis that the development is ideological and constructed.

Post-development theory has two important arguments to understand alternative development approach of this thesis study. The first one is the position of the post-development theory critics on the role of expert and knowledge in development. Post-development theory argues that development is a historically produced discourse to extend western control over the Third World. Thus, it is a 'Eurocentric Project' in connection to modernization to be implemented by the interests of its practitioner (Payne & Phillips, 2010). In this respect, Escobar (1992) argues that development is 'a mechanism for the production and management of the Third World' (p.413) and 'organizing the truth about the Third World' (p. 414). Tamas (2006) explains the extension of western hegemony on the Third World by experts in a three-step process:

First, the developed world is thought to accept an idealized vision of itself as the model to which the underdeveloped is to aspire. Second, development experts are understood to produce knowledge that describes the condition of the underdeveloped in a manner that both identifies gaps between their condition and the First World norm and presents that gap in a manner that is amenable to solution through the forms of intervention available to development. Finally, bringing together that norm and the prescriptive accounts of deviation from that norm confers on experts the right they require to initiate the development interventions whose effect is to extend western hegemony (p.32)

Hence the dominant discourse on development targets a desired state and through a process of change. This discourse brings the questions of who/what defines the

desired state, who/what decides on the status of desired state and who/what initiates the desired change. In this regard, post-development theory argues that implementation of development projects requires development institutions and development experts both in universities, national and international platforms. Escobar (1984) argues that development experts and development institutions are the instruments of domination of the West. This formation enables authoritarian and technocratic implications of development in the Third World (Ziai, 2007).

In this regard, Escobar argues that knowledge of experts certifies the needs and the institutionalization of the services by organizations or state. As quoted from Fraser in Escobar (1989): “Expert discourses play this mediating role by translating politicized needs argued by oppositional movements into potential objects of state administration” (p.11). However it operates more in the way that state uses expert knowledge to legitimize their actions by rendering political issues to the technical issues. Rendering to technical also constitutes the possible solutions inherently.

Shickluna also explains the relation between development discourse and development practice. She argues that discourse later constitutes official knowledge and subsequently is used in constructing and implementing policy, establishing programs and distributing funds. This knowledge is inserted in the project handbooks or training manuals of development agencies which guides the agency employee of the agency’s policy and provide step by step tools for its implementation. In other words this is argued as the maintenance of ruling relations through the practice of discourse (Shickluna, 2000).

Indeed, knowledge is the most essential element of development and also it can be stated that development is dependent on knowledge. Knowledge helps to know, to predict, to frame interventions and to justify development. Discourses are produced from knowledge and hence they are linked with the history and the interests of particular communities, western countries for domination. In development discourse power and knowledge is interchangeable as well as in Foucauldian use<sup>10</sup>. It is also

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<sup>10</sup> Michel Foucault argues that produced knowledge reinforces exercise of power. He studies the relation between power and knowledge without saying they are same (Foucault, 1977)

argued that whenever knowledge is invited to guide and justify development practice, the discursive patterns in development are increasing (Tamas, 2006). In this regard, knowledge is transformed into power as domination. The influence of knowledge on discourse and practices are also related with resources and development institutions. As quoted from a World Bank expert in Tamas (2006) “bureaucracies need truths in order to justify the movement of resources” that knowledge provides development with those truths (Tamas, 2006). Thus, knowledge is strategic for development assistance in the sense that the way knowledge is perceived becomes crucial. Here, it is important to mention the hierarchies in the existing knowledge order. The value and prestige of knowledge depend on the producer of knowledge. In this regard, the transnational division of labor in knowledge production is significant. Weiler (2004) explains this division of labor as quoted:

There are theoretical agendas, methodological standards where some societies and institutions play an important role in the system. These are located in privileged parts of the world. Other systems impose the use of orthodoxy knowledge such as World Bank negotiations on financial support, countries required to submit exact figures in exact calculations. It is described as the hegemony of knowledge norms. (p.4)

He explains how the knowledge economy is established and how other kinds of dependencies are created. It can be argued that the international support is one such dependency in which this type of support not only brings assistance, but also brings its own political agenda and manipulation spaces through institutions, private sector, universities etc.

The second important argument of the post-development for an alternative development critique is the role of development to regulate and to order the object of development. In this respect, it can be argued that the formative power of discourse has implications on the general view on the actors and their agency. Sande Lie (2008) explains the role of actor and agency as follows:

Actors are seen as mere representatives, bearers and reproducers of the development discourse, which is the post-development explanation to why so many development projects seem to fail, that is, actors’ agency is not only intentionally neglected by the development apparatus but also in effect inscribed into a particular world view and thus constructed by the discourse they are embedded in. As an inevitable result of this

rigid comprehension of discursive power, human agency is neglected as a factor that might deviate from the prevailing discursive order and in being instruments of the discourse individuals are dispatched from any kind of freedom. (p. 54)

Within this respect, development renders subjects into objects, and by neglecting their subject character, development rules and regulates the object. This not only homogenizes the subject but also keeps the subject passive.

It is also important to indicate that post-development thinking criticizes the professionalization and institutionalization of development. In the professionalization of development, the universities and international organizations play a significant role that development studies departments are established in western universities where local experts of Third World are trained. Post-development theory argues that in a global perspective the Third World is turned into the objects of expert knowledge and western science. To narrow the scale, it can be interpreted that at the national level some population groups namely vulnerable/disadvantaged/risk groups are turned into the objects of expert knowledge. This also turns the realities into normal cases and into categories as technical issues where it is also moved from political sphere to scientific, technical sphere. In the context of the institutionalization of development post-development scholars highlight that development discourse is constructed, modified, recorded and exercised by development experts through development institutions. In other words professionalism of development is institutionalized. Though this is by no means an exhaustive list, those institutions are WB, IMF or other international organizations, but also the national state planning agencies, statistical institutions and NGOs. In scope of the professionalization and institutionalization of development, local experts and state officials are trained with scientific norms in western institutions. This also presents the multi-partied and multi-centered aspect of development works (Mc. Kinnon, 2007).

To conclude this part it is important to highlight two arguments in particular with their important contributions to the alternative development theory. These are on the role of expert and knowledge in development and the regulation of development objects. Post-development approach argues that development discourse and practices

are ideological, and they are constructed through knowledge by development experts in various levels of institutional context. These development constructions are conducted through a top down approach where subject is neglected and transformed into an object to be regulated/controlled. The ultimate aim of this professionalized and institutionalized development sector is to sustain the operation of neoliberal system and neoliberal policies. Therefore development discourse and practices should be analyzed with alternative lenses for deeper understandings.

After shaping the alternative development framework of the thesis with the contributions of post development, it is necessary to explain the operationalization of alternative development to finalize the theoretical framework chapter. Within this respect, I use an alternative conception from outside of development theory; governmentality concept from Michel Foucault. His concept is borrowed as an analytical tool to operationalize the assessment of the development discourse and practices. In the next part, the reasons for borrowing a Foucauldian concept of governmentality in relation to an alternative development approach are presented. The use of governmentality in an alternative development analysis is the theoretical contribution of the thesis.

#### **2.1.4 A Contribution to Alternative Development Theory: Governmentality**

This thesis proposes that Foucauldian concept of governmentality is a useful tool for the operationalization of an alternative development analysis. Before explaining that first, it is very important to build the link between development theories and Michel Foucault in order to deconstruct the development discourse and practices. Theoretical foundations of post-development theory are taking development as a discourse for granted which is constructing a reality rather than reflecting a reality in Foucauldian perspective (Kippler, 2010). Thus, while post-development thinkers deconstruct development, they use Foucault's conceptions of discourse, power and knowledge. Escobar (1984) argues that Michel Foucault is relevant for development analysis as he discusses the formation of a field of intervention of power, the formation of a field of control of knowledge and the dispersion of local centers of power-knowledge. Therefore, Escobar uses Foucauldian concepts of discourse,

power and knowledge to analyze the progressive incorporation of problems, transformation of political to technical and the multiple sites of disciplinary power. Munck (1999) indicates that Escobar uses Foucauldian deconstruction of the development discourse or in other words Escobar applied the work of Foucault to the field of development. As quoted from Munck in Kippler (2010):

Foucault's analysis of power, knowledge and discourse in relation to development can show how western disciplinary and normalizing mechanisms have been extended to the Third World and how the production of discourses by Western countries about the Third World becomes a means of effecting domination over it. (p.205).

Within this respect, in this study first it is important to understand Michel Foucault's theory of power. In his theory of power, Foucault uses the two concepts together as 'power-knowledge' because power always creates new objects for producing knowledge and knowledge constitutes power relations. Foucault uses power and knowledge interchangeably and interdependently, and he argues that power cannot be exercised without knowledge and knowledge cannot be engendered without power.

Another important aspect of Foucault's power theory is the production of 'truth' by power. Foucault (1980) defines 'regime of truth' as "system of ordered procedures for production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements" (p.133). He also indicates that truth is a type of discourse, which is accepted by society and functions as true (Gordon, 1980). According to Foucault science is a 'regime of truth' to legitimize statements and it is produced through experts, scientists, institutions. Respectively, it can be argued that in development studies, truth is created through construction of universality and universal norms versus abnormalities such as underdeveloped, uncivilized, unpopulated, poor, unhealthy, backward, and ignorant. In this regard, realities of Third World are rendered to scientifically measurable representations of regime of truth rather than the political issues of inequality. Accordingly, country profiles are represented in statistics or data, which are called objective but through which the realities of people are reduced into statistical calculations. In Foucauldian perspective, development relies on production of knowledge and truth; thus, the science gives the overall picture of a country for development intervention and also presents the need for the development



intervention in parallel with the alternative development approach. In other words, it enables a legitimate ground for policy formation and policy implementation. Knowledge produced by scientific calculations not only objectifies the resources, and target groups, but also gives the development expert a privileged subject position in development (Escobar, 1995). Within this respect, the experts play a critical role on the governmentalization of society that is governed according to objective, neutral and efficient solutions by knowledgeable persons.

Following the Foucault's theory of power, his concepts of bio-power and biopolitics need to be discussed as well in relation to governmentality. Foucault defines governmentality as a methodology to unearth 'mode of subjectivities' that govern humans. The idea of governmentality puts the power beyond state and includes wide range of techniques from one's control of self to control of populations. Foucault argues that emergence of governmentality ensures the participation of biological existence of the population to the regularization. He indicates that when the population becomes the target of the state, the politics is transformed into biopolitics (Foucault, 1990). Foucault (1990) indicates that bio-power is a system that brings life into political calculations and knowledge-power relation to be able to manage individual and social behavior. When the bio-power builds the mechanisms of regulation, it is called biopolitics that problematize and constructs the concepts to manage. Biopolitics operate through military, education, hospitals and family in society (Ozden, 2010). Likewise, I can argue that biopolitics operate through development with its own development discourse such as vulnerability.

Parfit (2009) argues that for Foucault bio-power takes two forms; first one is focusing on disciplining individual bodies in order to render them docile and maximize their capacity and utility to sovereign power. Second form is focusing on the collective, seeking to organize the population as a whole with a view to its serving sovereign power with maximum efficiency. In this study, the conceptualization of bio-power will be the second form of bio-power due to the main focus on analyzing the policies targeting a population group not the individual. Parfit (2009) indicates that the development of the second aspect of bio-power involves "the emergence in the field of political practices and economic observation,

of the problems of birth rate, longevity, public health, housing, migration” (Foucault in Parfit 2009). In this regard, he argues that supervision of the population is realised through a series of interventions and regulations that is biopolitics of population. In this regards, any development intervention necessarily involves the administration and mobilization of the individuals for serving the sovereign power. In other words, development is a tool for biopolitics operating through various discourses. Gupta quoted in Ozden (2010) indicates that the ‘empowerment’, ‘democracy’, ‘civil society’ and ‘good governance’ discourses are reconfigured as apparatuses of neoliberalism to rule and to move people to govern themselves. Thus, they will be taking care of their own welfare and increase their capacities. In other words, it is a neo-liberal governmentality, which operates through national and international development discourse and its concepts (Ozden, 2010).

Following the above explanations on power/knowledge, and on bio-power and biopolitics, the concept of ‘governmentality’ should be discussed in order to advance the Foucauldian discussions in development. Foucault (2007) defines governmentality as:

Ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument. (p.108-109)

In line with Foucault, Rose (2006) defines governmentality as an apparatus of state:

Governmentality is an apparatus of the state, where the individual and the family were to be simultaneously assigned their social duties, accorded their rights; assured of their natural capacities, and educated in the fact that they need to be educated by experts in order to responsibly assume their freedom. (p.152)

Lemke argues that neoliberalism can be regarded as a transformation of politics restructuring the society. This is reflected as changes in the formal and informal techniques of state and as emergence of new actors in politics such as international actors and civil society actors (Lemke, 2010). Thus, Foucault argues that emergence of governmentality in modern societies occurred when populations become the object of state; this is related with the development of capitalism and new set of

concerns relating to populations as citizens and workers (Joseph, 2009). Fitzgerald (2010) argues that genealogy of modern state needs to be understood on the basis of the general tactics of governmentality. Here, the state's legitimacy is not achieved through territory alone; the human body is used as another site of control that is biopolitics. In this regard, Fitzgerald indicates that Foucault's theory of governmentality operates through knowledge about certain populations to make state secure and the population group productive. Furthermore Legg (2009) states that bio-political governmentality produces the knowledge and discourses that move individuals to govern themselves by internalizing the norms. This may be interpreted as a significant tool for social control.

At this point, it is important to mention that Foucault positions risk and vulnerability discourse at the center of governmentality. Thus, he argues that the risk discourse is a tool, as a technology -in Foucauldian terms- to dominate, discipline and control over individuals and population groups. In his governmentality approach and political analysis, Michael Foucault defines risk as a social construct, which is strategically defined and selected for treatment with the help of political, cultural, subjective and social categories (Misztal, 2011). Governmentality approach to risk argues that risk is an emerging concept from modernization and that vulnerability is a specific label, which legitimates the targeted actions towards a specific group (Wilkinson, 2010). In governmentality approach, risk is a technique to identify vulnerable people requiring surveillance and scrutiny, and furthermore a technique to build a legitimate base for adopted policies. A sense of vulnerability is formed by risk discourse. First certain behaviors are officially labeled as 'risk' and then efforts are made to conduct people towards a particular set of goals, because risk discourse features as a part of the state framework bringing a new form of subjectivity and redefining the moral outlooks (Wilkinson, 2010). Misztal states that Foucault's concern with governmentality is linked with the process of normalization and the institutionalization of disciplines and technologies for building the ground for norm-oriented, self-regulating subject. Thus, identifying some groups as risky or vulnerable or some social problems as risk, is a mechanism for regulation and control (Misztal, 2011). The act of labeling is followed by experts' monitoring of people's capacities for risk perception. The mechanism does not only regulates

people, it also teaches people how to regulate themselves (Rose, 1996). This presents the important role of development expert in governmentality. Foucault always highlights the interchangeable use of power and knowledge, power and truth, furthermore, he indicates that knowledge not only produced by scholarly study, but also produced and maintained through several institutions and practices in the interests of particular groups (Mills, 2003).

To conclude, it can be argued that Michel Foucault is relevant for this thesis. Indeed, under the operationalization of governmentality for analyzing the discourse and practices together would be very relevant. Therefore by using governmentality, this study enables to analyze both discourses and the mechanisms of institutions, procedures, calculations, and tactics constructed through development and vulnerability discourse. Thus, it is argued that disciplinary and normalizing processes on population groups of governmentality operate through global development discourse, specifically through the vulnerability discourse. Therefore, I argue that the use of vulnerability discourse is a technique regulating and controlling SMAW, and is a development tool for biopolitics in governmentality. In the next part, vulnerability discourse is explored.

## **2.2. Vulnerability with an Alternative Development Approach**

*‘All language in use is everywhere and always political and is the product of cultural models shared by people belonging to specific social or ethnic groups’*

*Gee, J.*

There is an increasing interest in social vulnerability in social sciences and development studies since the 1990s. Considering the western influence and power over developing countries through development discourse, I argue that many concepts need to be explored. My curiosity about the vulnerability concept led me to this study topic. I argue that vulnerability is a concept constructed by the modernist development discourse. In this part, vulnerability concept is explored in an alternative development perspective. It is crucial to explore the concept of vulnerability in development discourse, because such an analysis would also contribute to development scholars understanding of changing relationships between

society and market or between society and state. In this part, first the use of vulnerability in the literature is discussed afterwards the use of vulnerability in development is discussed.

### ***Vulnerability concept in the literature***

This section discusses the emergence of vulnerability discourse. Levine in Misztal (2011) states that Latin word for 'wound': *vulnus* is the root of term vulnerable. Dictionary definition is quoted from Misztal (2011):

Its dictionary definitions stress that vulnerability refers to human liability to being wounded, susceptibility to wounds or external injuries, or to being mistreated, exploits, taken advantage of. They also point to such characteristics of an individual as weakness, defenselessness, helplessness, exposure and liability. (p.1).

This definition highlights two important aspects. First, vulnerability is defined as it occurs through some external influence and causes either physical or emotional wounds. Second, it is defined as a characteristic of an individual. Even this definition presents the complexity of the concept.<sup>11</sup>

Starting from 19<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of vulnerability is used in many literatures<sup>12</sup> such as economics, environment, health and sociology. In response to these criticisms to development early 1990s development discourse, literature and practice moved its focus to socially vulnerable populations in development works. This can be regarded in line with increasing influence of neoliberalism in the world with its focus on the control of behaviors of individuals and population groups. Bankoff

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11 Since the 12th century, the notions of vulnerability and risk have been used as a principle of effective business management. The first use of risk was in maritime insurance where risk refers to acquisitive ventures that court misfortune or flirt with catastrophe. In this regard, I can say that people were able to understand and manage the hazards of contingency, providing a ground for rational planning. In other words, it was a tool in disaster management that the merchants were able to rely on planning for the future in reference to past events (Wilkinson, 2010). In addition to disaster management, since the 16th century many charitable organizations in Western Europe began to work on helping the most vulnerable populations named as disadvantaged groups such as abandoned children, widows and elderly (Misztal, 2011). This use is very much in line with use of vulnerability in development, which is explained in the next section.

<sup>12</sup>In economics literature, vulnerability is associated with poverty, livelihoods; in environment literature, it is associated with disasters and hazards and in health it is associated with illness, nutrition.

(2001) argues that vulnerability discourse had been formed by dominant western liberal consciousness. In this new discourse, vulnerability is defined by Blaikie quoted in Misztal (2011):

The combination of characteristics of a person or group, expressed in relation to hazard exposure which derives from the social and economic condition of the individual, family and community concerned. (p.17)

Chambers (2006) also defines vulnerability as:

Vulnerability means not lack or want, but defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress. (p.1).

His definition presents the two aspects of vulnerability: external and internal. While the external represents risks, shocks and stress to which an individual or household is subject; the internal side is defenselessness, lack of means to cope without damaging loss and limited abilities to response. In sociology, vulnerability is often discussed as social vulnerability. This thesis also considers vulnerability as such (Cutter et al., 2003).

It can be argued that vulnerability concept is in a widespread use both in developed and in the Third World countries. The theory of vulnerability is mostly studied by American and British sociologists. This can be regarded as that developed countries are constructing the concept and promote its use in all parts of the world. Furthermore, it is also important to indicate that vulnerability discourse are approached differently by American and British sociologists. American sociologists' interest is more on the vulnerability caused by exposure to disasters and terrorism. Some examples of the studies on vulnerability are 'The Next Catastrophe: Reducing our vulnerabilities to natural, industrial and Terrorist Disasters' (2011) by J. Perrow; 'Creating Fear: News and the construction of Crisis' (2002) and 'Terrorism and the politics of fear' (2006) by Altheide. Altheide (2006) argues that fear and feeling of vulnerability is used as a state tool of social control. Within the scope of politics of fear, the feelings of audience are intensified on 'powerlessness, lacking control, and dependence' so that they would be controlled. On the other hand, British sociologists' interest is more on the vulnerability caused by the exposure to

uncertainty, fragility and lack of agency. Some examples of the studies on vulnerability are 'Vulnerability and Human Rights' (2006) by Turner; 'Citizenship and vulnerability' (2006) by Beckett; 'Risk, vulnerability and everyday life' (2009) by Wilkinson; 'Therapy Culture: Cultivating vulnerability in an Uncertain Age' (2004) and 'Fear and Security: A vulnerability-led Policy Response' (2008) by Furedi.

I can argue that British sociology is more focused on vulnerable populations where it is operationalized in social inclusion or named as disadvantaged groups. It can be argued that in line with Escobar's critics, the western countries construct concepts through science to be used to regulate the Third World. Hence the theories developed and discussed by American and British sociologists are implemented in almost all Third World countries. Although British and American approaches are not same, it can be argued that the common theme in both approaches is the concept of risk<sup>13</sup>. Risk concept is positioned at the heart of vulnerability of discussions whether it is economic, social, environmental or security reasons. Considering use of vulnerability and risk to labeling population groups and social problems, It can be argued that these theories are imposing the ways to hide subjects and keeping them politically invisible with the lenses of alternative development. Although in social theory there are several approaches to risk such as those led by Ulrich Beck<sup>14</sup> Mary

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<sup>13</sup> Discussions on the meaning of risk began in 19th century with the 'uncertainty' debates. The debates on 'uncertainty' resulted in two steps about risk where elements of 'uncertainty' incorporated in measures risk calculation and furthermore uncertainties of risk calculation moved to be a matter for political debate. Consequently, knowledge of uncertainty could only be settled by an exercise of institutional power. Power is supposed to be exercised for the sake of building rational forms of society. Accordingly, as quoted from Wilkinson (2010):

"the framing of social problems as 'risks for society', the identification of particular groups and individuals as 'risks to society' and the labeling of segments of population as 'at risk' are held to signal the emergence of social institutions, legal frameworks and expertise designed to protect and promote the nation's health, wealth and social well being" (p.19).

<sup>14</sup> Beck (2009) claims that "risk and vulnerability are two sides of same coin" (p.178). Beck's risk society approach argues that process of modernization is not capable enough to solve the complexities and contingencies of social change. Due to this fact, the process of modernization had resulted in humanly constructed risks raising the vulnerability (Beck, 1992). In the risk society, the social and technological changes emerge specifically through the risks produced/constructed by modernity (Beck, 2006). On contrary to technical description of risk – calculation of probability – Beck focuses on the incalculable domains of threatening uncertainty. Within this respect, human vulnerability is a permanent position, which decreases or increases over time. This argument makes vulnerability a universal principle. Another principle suggested by Beck is that everyone is equally at risk, therefore the risk dissolves social class and individualizes the social actors. In this regard, he claims that risk consciousness is necessary to cope with uncertainties (Wilkinson, 2010). Another

Douglas<sup>15</sup> and so on; this thesis is employing the risk approach of Michel Foucault. In Foucauldian risk approach, Wilkinson (2010) argues that concept of risk is used for labeling social problems, describing common states of mind, delineating new domains of social policy and defining policy objectives. In this regard, the selected approach to risk or the selected discourse on risk refers to the ideological commitment in the search for knowledge of society. He also argues that selected risk discourse draws clear lines between intellectual interests and institutional concerns, which may be positioned in a linear dichotomy between 'realism' and 'social constructionism'. To conclude, this study interprets and criticizes the vulnerability and risk discourse with the contributions of a Foucauldian perspective in the framework of alternative development theory as it discussed in the previous part.

### **Vulnerability Discourse in Development**

*'Outsiders use to label others'*

*Frank Furedi*

In this part, vulnerability discourse in development is analyzed in a global perspective. In this regard, first the emergence of vulnerability discourse in development is discussed, and then the global development discourse on vulnerability is explored.

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important element of the risk society is the role of science in risk society. Science and scientific institutions are regarded as the principal institutions for identifying and analyzing risks. This presents the influence of scientific institutions on individuals. The 'risk society' theory as an academic discourse led by Ulrich Beck at the end of 1990s reveals itself later in the development discourse and practice. In 2000, the World Bank declared its new conceptual framework for social protection called "the Social Risk Management".

<sup>15</sup>Douglas claims that risk is a socially, culturally constructed phenomenon (Douglas, 1978). Cultural theory of risk argues that perceived risk is linked with cultural adherence and social learning. What is perceived as dangerous and how much risk is acceptable are defined as a function of one's cultural adherence and social learning. In this regard, depending on the groups that a person belongs to or socially participates in, a person will focus on different kinds of risks. In other words, the way of their life and the culture determine what they fear and perceive as risk. Also, worldviews and values of certain social or cultural contexts shape the individual's values, attitudes and worldviews. On this, Oltedal et al say "People choose what to fear and how much to fear" (Oltedal et al., 2004). Cultural theory of risk accepts the uniqueness of individual and focuses on how groups select and frame risks. Although Douglas developed typologies about risk perceptions and cultural dynamics, the dynamic nature of risk and vulnerability limited the contributions of cultural theory of risk to the risk discourse.



Considering our conceptualization of social vulnerability, the first use of vulnerability and vulnerable group discourse had been recognized in the report of Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment<sup>16</sup> publicized in 1989. And actually it was criticizing vulnerability. The term was used to describe the consequences of structural adjustment programs on women and other disadvantaged groups. Parpart argues that this publication is very important for two reasons. First, it presents that the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) may have negative consequences for the population that many development scholars were able to challenge the World Bank policies. Second, the use of the vulnerability discourse classifies the problem as a technical one that can only be solved by technical expertise; legitimizes the need for development aid; constructs a homogeneous and subordinate group of Third World women (Parpart, 1995). In this respect Parpart's arguments support the main arguments of the thesis. Indeed, the vulnerability discourse is ideological by definition.

Sobhan (2014) presents the sources of vulnerabilities as educational disparities, health disadvantages, inequitable ownership of productive assets, asymmetrical exposure to market forces and unjust governance. The Human Development Report on Globalization with Human Face (UNDP, 1999) argues that countries are linked to one another intrinsically bringing many opportunities as much as many risks, and states that "the national states cannot cope with these vulnerabilities and risks on their own - because their autonomy is weakening..." (p.30). It is meant to say that the international community would like to support the countries in their efforts to work with vulnerable populations and vulnerability, or in other words, the developing countries are not able to cope with this problem and require the support of 'developed' countries. I argue that this international discourse is an indication of

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<sup>16</sup> The Commonwealth is one of the world's oldest political associations of states. Its roots go back to the British Empire when some countries were ruled directly or indirectly by Britain. Some of these countries became self-governing while retaining Britain's monarch as Head of State. They formed the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth is often described as a 'family' of nations and peoples. This is most apparent in the network of more than 80 societies, institutions, associations, organisations and charities that work towards improving people's lives. It provides guidance on policy making, technical assistance and advisory services to Commonwealth member countries. It supports governments to help achieve sustainable, inclusive and equitable development. It promotes democracy, rule of law, human rights, good governance and social and economic development." ([www.thecommonwealth.org](http://www.thecommonwealth.org), date of access 17.02.2015)

how the global discourse on vulnerability prepares the base for policies targeting defined or selected vulnerable groups with the help of development experts.

Actually, the World Bank also had a major role in the use of the vulnerability concept in development. The World Bank argues that the protection of vulnerable groups during periods of macroeconomic contradiction is important for reducing poverty in the developing countries. The World Development Report 2000/1 (World Bank) is a good example of this understanding: “The policy response to vulnerability must be aimed at helping poor people manage risk better by reducing and mitigating risk and lessening the impact of shocks” (p.135). This quotation indicates that development works do not focus to abolish the root causes of vulnerability but aims to make vulnerable people stronger to cope with the risks.

In this regard, one of the major development practices in the establishment of this risk discourse is the World Bank’s approach to social protection called the ‘Social Risk Management’ (SRM) presented in 2000. In this new conceptual framework for social protection, the World Bank argues that all individuals, households and communities are vulnerable to multiple risks from different sources causing and deepening poverty. The World Bank presents different levels of actions in SRM. First is the prevention of the risk or mitigating the effects of risk before it occurs. Second is the coping strategies to be taken after the risk occurs. The Bank also suggests tools for the operationalization of SRM, which are measuring vulnerability, risk assessments and vulnerability assessments (World Bank, 2000). Neither in risk prevention and risk coping levels nor in measurements and assessments, the root causes of risks considered. Instead of structural changes/actions, the individuals/population groups are facilitated to govern themselves.

Social aspects of the concept of vulnerability and risk in development become more visible in the 1990s in various policy documents by the international organizations such as the World Bank, the United Nations and the European Commission and by national governments. In this literature, the vulnerability discourse can be traced in many terms such as risk groups, vulnerable groups and disadvantaged groups. Since then this discourse increased its significant role in development gradually so that for

example in 2014 both the World Development Report and the Human development Report the main themes are risks and vulnerability.

The World Development Report 2014 (World Bank) focuses on risk and vulnerabilities with the title 'Risk and Opportunity: Managing risk for development'. The report presents risks as opportunities and risk management as a powerful tool for development. Report focuses on the risks of economic crises and disasters on vulnerable groups and offers risk management that sustainable development programs can offer. In other words, the report suggests managing risks rather than eliminating them through the control and regulation of the behaviors of individuals and population groups.

The Human Development Report 2014 also focuses on risks and vulnerabilities as can be seen in its title 'Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience' (UNDP, 2014). Report defines vulnerability as:

... Exposure to risk and risk management, including insuring against shocks and diversifying assets and income. (p.1)

The Human Development Report also suggests managing vulnerabilities rather than eliminating them which requires building resilience over the individuals and population groups. In the reports there are also indications that Millennium Development Goals<sup>17</sup> or Sustainable Development Goals<sup>18</sup> would be impossible to achieve unless vulnerabilities and risks of these groups are confronted, with appropriate public, community and private interventions. In other words vulnerable population groups are presented as the barriers in front of development.

In the Human Development Report 2014 (UNDP), the life cycle vulnerability also receives particular attention. Accordingly, if the vulnerabilities are not targeted for

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<sup>17</sup> Millennium Development Goals: The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty rates to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org)) access date 17.02.2015

<sup>18</sup> Sustainable Development Goals: The Millennium Development Goals are expired by 2015 and replaced with sustainable development goals agreed by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org)) access date 17.02.2015

elimination or if such groups can not become resilient, coming generations of vulnerable groups will remain vulnerable. In the foreword of the report, it talks about “the structurally vulnerable groups of people who are more vulnerable than others by virtue of their history or of their unequal treatment by the rest of society” (UNDP, 2014). And in many cases discriminatory social norms and institutional shortcomings exacerbate this vulnerability, leaving certain groups without the household, community or state support that they need to boost their coping capacities. These groups and the institutions and norms that weaken their capabilities and restrict their choices are the main focus of this report. Both the World Development Report 2014 and the Human Development Report 2014 focus on strengthening vulnerable people rather than eliminating the root causes of vulnerability. Thus, the proposed solutions are not aimed at solving the real causes of inequalities, but about the strengthening the resilience of vulnerable groups of people. The discourse is mainly on reducing vulnerability or increasing resilience then eliminating inequalities. Furthermore the institutions and norms are highlighted as the dynamics of individual and population group capability rather than the structural issues.

Reviewing the above-mentioned uses of vulnerability, it can be interpreted that the risk is becoming a central concept in the control of society and it operates through vulnerability. However, as Furedi (2008) argues, the concept of vulnerability did not emerge from the experiences of communities. Instead it is a concept that is constructed by development experts, with their perceptions without any consultation with local experiences in order to regulate the lives of the communities. In other words, vulnerability is a concept that development experts adopt in their characterization of communities. Indeed, Heijmans (2001) notes that grassroots communities do not use concept of vulnerability and coincides it as a perception of experts with lack of local people’s view. Thus I can argue that use of vulnerability is problematic in various ways that it first normalizes the issue as people are open to risks and are not able to protect themselves. This not only constructs problems as technical problems than political ones, but also renders the interventions of externals/experts legitimate. These interventions devalue the local experience and make an external authority powerful. On the other hand, it also homogenizes the

group. To sum up; the vulnerability discourse can be considered as a tool of development for regulating the individuals and population groups in the neoliberal order.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have positioned myself in an alternative development stand and adopted the alternative development framework as the main pillar of this thesis. In this regard, I argue that mainstream development constructs discourses and practices in a way which homogenizes the target group, normalizes the issues they face, construct their problem as technical ones and legitimizes external intervention. Furthermore, the vulnerability discourse operates by rendering inequalities as technical problems, and legitimizes interventions of development experts. Hence, vulnerability discourse is a constructed mainstream development discourse which functions as a technique for regulating and controlling population groups. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the Foucauldian concept of governmentality is an analytic tool useful for assessing how vulnerability discourse constructs knowledge about and power over a population group in development.

To sum up, it can be argued that development is ideological and constructs its discourse to sustain power over the Third World and to sustain an idealized social structure within the framework of neoliberal policies. Considering that neoliberal policies aim to regulate individuals and population groups, it can be argued that the vulnerability discourse is constructed to regulate and manage individuals and population groups. Vulnerability discourse also moves population groups from the political sphere to the development sphere. In the next chapter, rural transformation and seasonal migrant agricultural workers in Turkey are analyzed.

## CHAPTER III

### RURAL TRANSFORMATION AND SEASONAL MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN TURKEY

*‘How long could I stay outside deserting home?’*

*Bhutu, Indian SMAW*

The background context and the emergence of seasonal migrant agricultural work<sup>19</sup> require a discussion of rural transformation in all parts of the world. In this regard, the issues of the capitalization and proletarianization of agriculture with their causes and consequences needs to be explored. In fact, the dissolution of agriculture, the replacement of unpaid family labor with migrant workers and the changing status of peasants to workers are important patterns to discuss. According to the nature of agriculture, labor mobility emerges in some seasons. Moreover, labor mobility brings unequal power relations within the labor market and among men, women and children as workers (Pelek, 2010). This transformation of power relations is also important to explore.

This chapter gives a brief exploration of some aspects of the rural transformation in Turkey in order to understand the background of seasonal migrant agricultural work and seasonal migrant agricultural workers (SMAW) in Turkey. As this study is

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<sup>19</sup>The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines labor migration as the “movement of persons from one state to another, or within their own country of residence, for the purpose of employment”. In addition to this aspect of the movement of persons for the purpose of agricultural employment, the added condition of conducting this migration in certain particular seasons due to the nature of agricultural work generates the definition of seasonal migrant agricultural work. Mainly due to labor shortages, seasonal migrant agricultural work has been widely used in many parts of the world for decades. In agricultural work, the first pattern was the movement of persons within their countries; however, in recent decades there has been an increasing trend towards transnational labor migration for agriculture from the global south to high income countries (Hennbry, L.J. & Preibisch, K., 2012). In addition to migration figures, the volume of transnational migration can also be observed by the increasing remittances sent by the migrants, the increasing number of temporary visa types in high-income countries and the emergence of seasonal migrant worker development/protection programs in many countries.(<https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>) access date 17.02.2015

focusing on development discourse and practices targeting SMAW in Turkey, it is important to assess rural transformation in parallel with the development discourse in the national context. For this purpose, in this chapter, first rural transformation in Turkey is presented within the development context of Turkey. In the second part, the history of state discourse on agricultural workers and SMAW are explored. Then the characteristics of SMAW in Turkey are discussed in the third part.

### **3.1 Rural Transformation in Turkey**

This part presents a descriptive overview of the rural transformation in Turkey. Within this respect main dynamics and structural changes are presented to understand the historical background of seasonal migrant agricultural work. Hence rural transformation is explored within the context of capitalization of agriculture. This part also gives a particular attention to the dominant development discourse in Turkey which accompanies/leads the rural transformation. Therefore, rural transformation in relation with dominant development discourse is explored according to the specific periods. These periods are defined according to the economic- political milestones in Turkey and in international economy politics.

In this regard, first it is good to look to the dynamics of capitalization of agriculture globally. In a global perspective, the proletarianization<sup>20</sup> of the peasants is one of the fundamental dynamic of capitalist development in agriculture. This process starts with the decreasing regulatory role of state in agriculture that small farmers could not cope with global market. Thus, they turn into landless capitalized workers, family farmers or capitalist peasant farmers as they need to work for their survival. I can argue that in the capitalist system; proleterianization is constructed as a necessary step for development. In regards to SMAW, Keyder (1989) argues that landlessness pattern results with the emergence of seasonal migrant labor that moves peasants to become SMAW.

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<sup>20</sup>Proleterianization is the set of processes which increases the number of people who lack control over the means of production, and who survive by selling their labour power(Tilly, 1979) p.1

Labor mobility is another important dynamic of the capitalization of agriculture. Proleterianization of peasants move peasants to migrate from rural to urban to participate in urban employment sectors which can be characterized as insecure jobs in the informal economy. However, due to the need of neoliberalism for labor mobility to implement its neoliberal policies, labor mobility has restrictions over the workers such as wage, working and living conditions.

Unequal power relations is another dynamic of the capitalization of agriculture. First inequality is seen within the labor relations. In seasonal migrant agricultural work, the actors are SMAW who can be one worker or a whole family, employer who can be a land owner, farmer or a company, a mediator who can either be a human resources agency, state or a kinship network. In Turkish case mediators are farm labor intermediaries who act on behalf of the employer, conducts and regulates the relation between employer and worker. For country and for each product, this structure may vary and also may be facilitated/supported by different institutions and groups. But although these factors vary, it can be argued that seasonal migrant agricultural work is a labor exploitation process within many respects, where SMAW do not have a position in bargaining for their working and living conditions. Additional to labor unequal power relations, ethnicity, literacy, language, gender and age also influence the unequal power relations (Pelek, 2010).

Next the rural transformation and capitalization of agriculture in Turkey are explored in specific periods. These periods are early republic period (1923-1929), statist-protectionist period (1930-1950), import substitution period (1950-1980), neoliberal period (1980 to present).

### **1923-1929 period:**

Upon the establishment of Turkish republic, the aim of the state was to become a self-sufficient country for economic independency thus it targeted the agricultural development as a priority (Erbay, 1967). On the other hand, it is important to mention that early republic is founded on the debts of Ottoman Empire with certain restrictions on foreign trade through treaty of Lausanne. The heritages from Ottoman



Empire were the unequal land distribution and already started capitalization of agriculture. Despite the post-war conditions; agriculture was the only accumulation area for the young republic. Furthermore, agricultural development was also in line with the assigned global role to Turkey. In the global division of labor, Turkey had been assigned to be the specialized country on the export of agricultural products and mining (Sonmez in Oral 2013).

Agriculture and development of villages had been one of the most important issues since the establishment of the Republic. Within this respect, in the Izmir Economy Congress, the requests and needs of peasants and farmers had been taken into account by the state to be reflected in the agriculture policies. The importance given to agriculture and small peasantry and its relation with industry were also visible in public development discourse in this period.

As quoted from Ataturk (Erbay, 1967) from his parliament speech in 1926:

By taking into consideration that our country is an agriculture country and has diffused in a wide landscape; it becomes evident that primary source of power and wealth of us is the land

And as quoted from Şükrü Kaya<sup>21</sup> in Kuruç (2011):

In our country if the cooking stove is not fired, the chimney of the factory would not work. (p.476)

Both quotations presents the importance given to the agriculture in the early republic period. Furthermore, the agriculture is also considered as an input for the industrialization. In this period, state also gave support to industrialization however due to the lack of protective precautions, there was no development in industry instead there was an important increase in export oriented agricultural production (Sonmez in Oral 2013). In this regard, it is more necessary to discuss the agricultural structure and transformation than industrialization in that period.

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<sup>21</sup> Şükrü Kaya: Minister of Interior between 1927-1938 [https://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/Global/ Government/pg\\_Cabinets.aspx](https://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/Global/ Government/pg_Cabinets.aspx) access date 26.11.2014

The early republic agricultural production was conducted in farmer owned lands through unpaid family workers. In scope of this various types of agricultural production, sharecropping<sup>22</sup> and tenancy<sup>23</sup> were also more visible than working in own land (Yıldırım, 2015). Therefore, early republic period economy is characterized with small agricultural production despite there was a decrease in agricultural production and a change in demographic structure due to wars (Esiyok, 2004). Pamuk & Toprak (1988) argues that in the early republic period 80% of the society were living in rural areas and there were 6 million people working in agriculture. Among these 6 million, the majority were small peasants and there were limited but increasing number of landless and poor peasants. As agriculture was the major sector for the country, state tried to regulate agricultural production and the production relations. Agriculture was also prioritized for the development of industry as well. Therefore, state initiated agriculture incentives where it acted as buyer of agricultural products (Tekeli & Ilkin, 1988) and also decreased taxes over agricultural products. In this regard, abolishment of ‘asar vergisi’ in 1925 is an important step to strength private sector and also encouraged them to increase their agricultural production (Pamuk, 1988). Additionally, in this period, state started land reform discussions to utilize labor force idle and to increase the production capacity of landless and poor. However, this land reform had been rejected by big land owner parliamentarians. Despite this rejection, discussions were continued in this period. Land reform had been acted in a limited way by 1945 (Sencer, 1971).

In this period commercialization of agriculture increased the number of big land owners whom required labor force for their lands. This labor force was fulfilled by the migration of landless or small land owners in the form of family in other words SMAW consist of small land owners and landless peasants in this period (Toprak, 1988). Among the 6 million small peasantry in the early republic period; Kuvılcımlı (1992) argues that there were 250.000 paid workers and Nalbantoglu (1948) argues that there were 600.000 paid workers in agriculture. They also argue that these people were not landless but owners of small lands with insufficient substitution;

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<sup>22</sup> Sharecropping is a mechanism where landowner gives the cultivation of his land to a tenant in exchange for a share of the crops of that land. Sharecropping types vary from region to region in Turkey (Kaleci, 2007)

<sup>23</sup> Tenancy is a mechanism where landowner rents his land in exchange for a payment (Kaleci, 2007)

therefore, they work temporarily in other lands that they can be defined as semi-proletariats. They started working in paid to collect their cash needs for taxes, for their animals and for winter subsistence. Paid work helped them to survive in rural because the size of their land was insufficient (Yıldırım, 2015).

To sum up, 1923-1929 period prioritizes the increase of agricultural production for the development of the country. And within this respect, this period presents the context of the emergence of SMAW due to the capitalization of agriculture. Tekeli and Ilkin (1988) argue that in the early years of the republic, the state enacted new agriculture policies like technological modernization, financial support to form a domestic market and support to marketing of the products. However these were not that sufficient when subsistence agriculture was not enough, small peasants and landless people moved to seasonal migrant agricultural work to survive in rural. Thus SMAW became visible in this period.

To conclude, this period is significant with the investments in agricultural production in Turkey. The consequences of these attempts and the investments in the industrialization of Turkey is explored in the next section.

### **1930-1950 period:**

Following the self-sufficiency targets of 1923-29 period in the agriculture, 1930-50 also targets self-sufficiency but specifically in the industry. In fact, this period is characterized with statist-protective industrialization. 1929 Great Depression and weak private sector capital accumulation in Turkey moved its priorities to industrialization in this period. In this regards there were two major policies are implemented. First is the protection precautions in foreign trade to be able to collect capital accumulation in the state and the second is the industrialization plan of the import substitute industrialization strategy. Within this regard, the first five-year industrialization plan had been prepared in 1933 (Sonmez in Oral 2013). Considering the weak capital accumulation of private sector; state positioned itself as the main actor in industrialization and started establishing factories to increase capital accumulation. Accordingly; Ottoman time factories continued to be operated,

new factories established and credits had been provided for private capital accumulation. Here state positioned itself not as a competitor but as complementary to private sector. In this period mechanization had increased with the support of Ziraat Bankası<sup>24</sup> which invested for making farmers to own their tractors. Not only use of tractors but also use of chemicals and fertilizers was also introduced to agriculture in Turkey in scope of the mechanization and innovation in agriculture (Avcioglu, 1971). Toprak (1988) argues that the number of tractors in 1924 increased from 500 to 1750 in 1948. Especially mechanization was faster in Aegean and Cukurova region as these regions conduct production for export and industry (Seker, 1986).

Respectively, five-year industrial plan had been implemented successfully that industrial investments increased and therefore both state and private sector accumulated capital. Although the second industrialization plan had been prepared to operate in 1940; World War II stopped the progress in the industrialization in Turkey. Therefore, the state resources focused on protection and sustainability then new investments (Sonmez in Oral, 2013). Statist-protective industrialization increased the share of industry in the economy since the 1940s where there were restrictions due to World War II. However, these restrictions also influenced both agricultural production and industrialization negatively (Esiyok, 2006).

In political discourse the debates on unequal land distribution continued in this period as well. Within this regard, the importance given to land reform was visible in Atatürk's speech and Halk Parti<sup>25</sup> program. As quoted from Atatürk in Kuruç (2011) from his parliament speech in 1936:

All Turkish farmers should own enough land for the subsistence of their families. The strength and the architecture of the country base on this. More importantly the subsistence land of farmer family should be indivisible in any case. The land size of

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<sup>24</sup> Ziraat Bankası: Ziraat bankası is the bank established in Ottoman Times (1863) to provide agricultural credits. In Turkish republic times it continued to support agricultural development and the farmers. For further details see <http://www.ziraatbank.com.tr/web/pdf/tr-ziraat.pdf> access date 17.02.2015

<sup>25</sup> Halk Parti: The oldest political party in Turkey. For further information see Uyar, H. (1998). *Tek Parti Dönemi ve Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Vol. 11). Boyut Kitaplar.

the big farmers and farm owners should be limited according to the demographic structure of the geographical area and the fertility of the land. (p.475)

Within this respect Halk Parti integrated land reform into its party program. In fact, Halk Parti states in 1935 party program that one of the aims of the party is to enable that every farmer owns a sufficient land (Tezel in Kayıkcı, 2005).

After serious discussions in the parliament, the land reform come into force by 1945. However, it was limited in practice that only public lands had been distributed. However, one of the most important result of this reform was the separation of big land owner parliamentarians from the Halk Parti and forming new political party named Demokrat Parti<sup>26</sup>. Furthermore, it can be indicated that both land reform and other rural development strategies had been abolished during the Demokrat Parti government (Kayıkcı, 2005).

To sum up, in the 1930-50 period, the protection of small peasantry was positioned as vital in national development policies and industrial development policies. Additionally, peasantry was supported very much in consideration that they had an important vote share in the country (Yildirim, 2015). However due to WWII and the possibility to enter into war resulted in withdrawal of the important part of agricultural workers from the field. This resulted with the labor shortage in the agriculture and the decrease of the agricultural production (Sonmez in Oral 2013).

To conclude, this period is significant with mechanization of agriculture and investments in industry in Turkey. The consequences of these attempts and transformation of Turkey to an open economy is explored in the next section.

### **1950-1980 period:**

Following the 1930-50 period where industrialization targets were limited with WW II; this period is characterized with the transition from statist-protective

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<sup>26</sup> Demokrat Parti: Established in 1946 and the first opposition political party in the Turkish Republic. For further information, see Kabasakal, M. (2013). *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*, Okan Üniversitesi Yayinevi. <http://earsiv.okan.edu.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/322/T%C3%BCrkiye%20de%20Siyasal%20Partiler.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> access date 30.06.2015

industrialization to open economy. Following the World War II, Turkey positioned itself in the capitalist block and very close to U.S. (Yildirim, 2015). Between 1950 and 1980, rural transformation occurred deeply with the incorporation of agricultural modernization and capitalist relations to the rural areas in Turkey. In the 1950-60s, consequences of agricultural mechanization has become visible. According to Makal (2011) in those years the number of agricultural labor was more than the landless families. So it can be argued that owning land was not enough for survival of the people in the rural parts of Turkey in those times as well as the previous periods. These changes were also the starting point for rural to urban migration where urban population increased (Cetinkaya, 2012). Here it is also important to highlight the gap between the wages in agriculture and industry to be able capture rural to urban migration better. Makal (2011) argues that manufacturers pay 50% more wages than wages in agriculture. So that this period not only present detachment from rural due to the mechanization but also present the transfer of agricultural labor to industry and service sectors in urban areas. Boratav (2003) argues that this period is a milestone that 16 years of (1930-1945) statist-protective policies had been abolished that import had been liberalized and increased, external deficits become chronic, foreign aid and foreign direct investments are requisite. Development wise this period can be interpreted as the period where Turkey starts being dependent in many respects. Briefly there are many important issues to be mentioned in this transition period. First is the political shift to multi-party system, second is the development paradigm shift to import-substitution development, third is the strategical shift to planned development and fourth is the emergence of the role of international institutions over national policies.

After the WWII, there was a new division of labor among the countries and in this regard Turkey had been assigned to be the food depo of the Europe and expected to develop its agriculture (Yildirim, 2015). Therefore after the war the financial contributions of Marshall plan<sup>27</sup> transformed Turkish agriculture with the advent of tractors. This resulted with decline in share-cropping and consolidation of the

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<sup>27</sup> The Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Program, ERP) was an American initiative to aid Western Europe, in which the United States gave \$13 billion (approximately \$130 billion in current dollar value as of August 2015) in economic support to help rebuild Western European economies after the end of World War II.

traditional peasantry (Keyder, 1989). It also had influences on the social structures and traditional relations that especially, small producers and landless villagers had been affected negatively from this process. Keyder (1989) argues that small land owners rented their land to middle-sized land owners and they offered their labor to middle and big sized land owners as well as the landless peasants. This labor supply was very necessary especially for labor-intensive crops in some seasons. This mechanism both kept small land owned agriculture structure and consolidated traditional peasantry. But on the other hand it proliferated the need for SMAW including all of their family members.

Despite the increase in industrial and agricultural growth in Turkish economy, Esiyok (2006) argues that these growths had not influenced the capital accumulation and foreign deficits therefore in 1954-61 IMF supported stabilization precautions which had been initiated in Turkey. The stabilization decisions implemented under the supervision of IMF brought the base of import-substitution development model of Turkey. Mainly this strategy was targeting domestic market and it was protective against foreign trade. Within this respect, reproduction is sustained through foreign debts from international organizations and finance markets (Sonmez in Oral 2013). According to these strategies, by 1961 Turkish industry moved to a great growth period with the import subsidized economy since the end of the 1970s, till the global economic crises (Esiyok, 2006).

In political discourse, I can argue that Demokrat Parti and Menderes governments considered rural development issues as technical issues. This was very much in line with the emerging mainstream development discourse in Turkey. In this regards, they always highlighted construction of electricity, roads, water and school infrastructures, pesticide support and agricultural machinery support about rural development. The issues of inequality such as labor rights and working conditions were invisible in this period.

In the post-war period with the emergence of development the lexicon Turkey also started preparation of development plans in the 1960s. The first development plan

was developed by State Planning organization for covering the period 1963-1967<sup>28</sup>. In the three development plans till the 1980s (63-67, 68-72, 74-78) there were common development areas identified about rural transformation. First common development area was land and agriculture reform which had not been able to enacted. The second area identified was the community development (Celik, 2015). Community development approach<sup>29</sup> is a development approach brought by United Nations in order to educate and associate small communities to participate to economic and social life (Kongar, 1971). However, Celik (2015) and Geray (1989) find community development approach insufficient because peasants were unable to participate to the development works due to unequal land distribution and unequal power relations. With the promotion of community development approach in national plans, it can be argued that the influence of international organizations in Turkey have been emerging in this period. Within this respect it can be argued that influence of international organizations are not limited with economic development but also with social development as well.

Third common rural development area in the first three five-year National Plans is the multi-dimensional rural area development<sup>30</sup>. This model was also considered as unsuccessful due to lack of financial and technical resources of local authorities. Additional to these models starting from the second five-year development plan; different political parties also developed similar rural development models named differently from the mentioned development plans, such as, central village, village city and agriculture cities. All of these models aim to mitigate the differences between urban and rural by provision of public services to the villages. However, Keles (2002) and Celik (2015) argue that none of them had been able to be implemented. To summarize, having explored the rural transformation and development discourse in this period, it can be argued that international organizations were influential and pushed Turkish state to prioritize rural

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<sup>28</sup> For further details see [www.kalkinma.gov.tr](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr)

<sup>29</sup> The United Nations defines *community development* broadly as "a process where community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems." [www.unterm.un.org](http://www.unterm.un.org) access date 17.02.2015

<sup>30</sup> Multi-dimensional rural area development is defined as developing rural areas which are capable of providing necessary public services for the area such as education, health, social services, production, marketing, soil productivity, cooperatives (Celik, 2015)



development both in economic and social context. However, it is important to indicate that so called social development had also been limited with health, education and shelter services which did not include labor rights and social security issues. Therefore, while economic transition occurred in the favor of the capital in that period, social transformation has not been achieved to support the small peasants and landless people in the rural parts of Turkey.

1950-80 period is very important for rural transformation in Turkey that the shift to multi-party system occurred and the economy was opened to the world<sup>31</sup> (Hosgor, 1999). In accordance with this analyses of rural transformation in this period, the landlessness and proleterianization in the rural areas have become more visible. The wide use of tractors resulted with the dissolution of labor practices such as share cropping and tenancy in agriculture. Betterment of roads and increase in the use of agricultural pesticides both increased the commodification of productive forces in agriculture and increased the number of peasants who have been producing for the market. Therefore, especially in Mediterranean and Aegean regions share-croppers and tenants joined to the waged laborers (Yildirim, 2015).

One of the most important dynamic in rural development in this period is the support of the purchases of state on agricultural products. It can be argued that this practice to support small peasants had started in 1930s and regardless of ideologies, all political parties had implemented this practice. Accordingly, small producers are protected from the risks of market economy which kept small peasant structure of Turkish agriculture till neoliberal policies initiated after 1980s.

Another important characteristic of this period was the rural to urban migration. Within the integration of Turkey to the global economy in rural areas there was a significant increase in waged labor and furthermore the population increase in rural areas has made rural people lack of subsistence from agriculture. These reasons forwarded many people to migrate from rural to urban for their survival (Yildirim, 2015).

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<sup>31</sup> With the incorporation of Truman doctrine, Marshall aids in Turkey and the memberships to European Council, IMF, and NATO.

To conclude, the 1950-80 period is significant with the rural to urban migration and emerging influence of international organizations in Turkish agriculture. The consequences of these attempts and the liberalization of Turkish agriculture are explored in the next section.

### **1980 to present:**

This period is characterized with the liberalization of the economy through export led policies. In other words, this period is the period of Turkey that integrated to the world economy with the support of international organizations. 24 January 1980 decisions started the liberalization of the economy in Turkey. Within this regards, international organizations stated that agricultural incentives are burden over the state budget, they decrease the productivity in agriculture and thus agriculture product prices are more than global prices (Yildirim, 2015). It can be argued that accordingly Turkey incorporated its economy to the global competition through its low wage policy with the assistance of the neoliberal policies of International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, World Bank and European Union. The main aims of these organizations were to open Turkey to the global market under the control of transnational agricultural companies and their partners. The credits of World Bank and IMF were restructuring economy and agriculture in Turkey. Within this respect import restrictions had been removed, public purchase had been limited, privatization had been initiated covering agriculture institutions (Yildirim, 2015).

This shift in policies also changed the intervening role of state. Accordingly, state moved its focus of taxes from the employers to the workers, applied easy terms for the employer taxes, and decreased public spending on social services such as education, health and shelter (Esiyok, 2006). Additionally, state no longer guaranteed prices and absorbed market risks that small producers feel insecure to a greater extend (Keyder & Yenal, 2011).

In this period the 1994, 2000, 2001 economic crises also moved the state to transform its support purchase mechanism of agricultural products. In the meantime, according to Turkey's Customs Union agreement with European Union (EU),

Turkey was expected to comply with EU agriculture policies and GATT Uruguay Meeting decisions. These decisions were on full liberalization of agricultural trade and abolishment of support purchases of the state. Within this respect, 1999 stabilization program was signed between IMF and Turkey and letter of intent was submitted to IMF which were including the abolishment of agricultural support mechanisms, transforming agricultural regulative organizations (Yıldırım, 2015). Furthermore, World Bank Agriculture Policies Reform Package had identified the state controlled economic enterprises (KIT) such as Tekel, Seker Fabrikalari, Fiskobirlik, and Caykur as dysfunctional. And accordingly KITS are privatized in scope of World Bank master plan for privatization through the privatization law no: 3291 in 1986<sup>32</sup>. Furthermore, in scope of this program that peasants and farmers were expected to give production decisions upon the market conditions, to contact with business people by themselves and search credits from commercial banks by themselves. Although this package first implemented direct cash support programme to support small peasants, it was stopped by 2007 that small peasants become open to threats and speculations of traders (Keyder, 2013). Within this new economic environment, Boratav (2013) argues that powerful tradesman, agriculture companies and commercial banks were the determinants of the free market. These determinants influenced the indicators in a disadvantaged position for small peasants and agricultural production. In a full liberal paradigm; starting with the 1980s Turkish economy become dependent on foreign capital movements and global finance markets (Esiyok, 2006).

Keyder and Yenal (2011) argues that especially in the regions closely integrated with global markets, there was a growing insecurity, uncertainty on the farmers about their production and their marketing. As state accepted the rules of neoliberalism, it was not able to protect peasants or small producers against the market. Because in neoliberal order; state and market has a gift relationship within the scope of producers and capitalist (Keyder & Yenal, 2013).

The neoliberal policies incorporated to Turkey by the 1980s resulted a big disengagement from rural that share of rural population was 56.2% in 1980 and

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<sup>32</sup> For further details, see the Privatization plan for agricultural KITs (Gunaydin, 2010) p.166

22.7% by 2012. The competition in the market and the exploitative chain of traders and mediators moved small peasants, livelihood agriculture producers disengaged from agriculture (Boratav, 2013). Neoliberal policies, dependent economic relationships, modernization and innovation in agriculture increased the inequalities in the rural areas. Despite the discrepancies vary from region to region and from product to product, it can be argued that the most important reason behind inequalities are the unequal land distribution (Aruoba, 1988). It can be argued that neoliberal policies resulted with the decrease in agricultural employment and with a crisis over small peasants. This also indicates that the demand for waged labor had been increased for the struggling small medium size agricultural producers. On the other hand, this competitive market conditions increased the need for cheap waged labor in agriculture. Erturk (1994) argues that rural families transformed into freely moving labor to adopt themselves to this transformation. In the 1990s workers from Southeastern Turkey compensated this labor gap.

In the process of the proletarianization of agriculture in Turkey, Southeastern Turkey has a special role. Since decades the unequal land distribution and dissolution of subsistence agriculture in Southeastern Turkey were moving peasants to join waged labor in specific periods of the year. This temporary employment supported them to stay and survive in rural parts of Southeastern Turkey. However in the 1990s with the increasing conflict between state and PKK<sup>33</sup>, state initiated a rapid evacuation of several villages in rural parts of Southeastern Turkey. Therefore, several people had to migrate as whole family, they've lost their lands and houses. Sönmez in Keyder & Yenal (2011) argues that former peasants who forced to be migrated rapidly become an urban underclass both in southeastern and western cities of the country. In other words, the post-1980 period is where the concept of urban poverty<sup>34</sup> emerged. Keyder and Yenal (2011) states that this forced migration<sup>35</sup> was

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<sup>33</sup> PKK: Kürdistan İşçi Partisi. For further information, see Aydın, S. & Taşkın, Y. (2014). *1960'dan günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, İletişim Yayınları, pp.393-399.

<sup>34</sup>For further information, see Wratten, E. (1995). Conceptualizing urban poverty. *Environment and urbanization*, 7(1), 11-38.

<sup>35</sup> Forced migration: In the 1990s when the conflict between the Turkish Armed Forces and the PKK reached its peak, a considerable part of the Kurdish population in Southeast Turkey was forced to move since their villages were evacuated by the security forces and village guards.

the final push towards the peasantianization of the rural population that market regulation started to dominate the whole rural population.

Through forced migration, peasants in Southeastern Turkey moved to urban areas, which could not provide any shelter, work, education opportunities or wealth as it was provided to migrants in the 1960s. Therefore, they are positioned at the bottom of the labor market and usually worked in temporary, informal works and become working poor<sup>36</sup>. Many families in Southeastern cities and Eastern cities started being SMAW constantly. Seasonal migrant agricultural work was a subsistence support for small peasants however with the forced migration it has become a constant type of work for the survival. The number of places to go for work became the determining factor of the wage they earn throughout the year (Yildirim, 2015).

In all development plans rural development had been existed as an important topic in this period as well. In development discourse, rural development becomes visible by the late 1970s with several rural development projects covering one or more cities. The significance of these rural projects was twofold. First, they all were supported by international finance institutions. Second, the similar of these projects had been implemented in various parts of the world. The aims of the rural development projects were to increase the productivity in agriculture, to increase the peasants' wealth, to develop infrastructure and to increase agricultural income. These projects are listed below: (Celik, 2015)

- Corum-Cankiri Rural Development Project (1976-1984)
- Erzurum Rural Development Project (1982-1984)
- Bingol-Mus Rural Development Project (1990-1999)
- Erzincan-Sivas Rural Development Project (2004-2010)
- Ordu-Giresun Rural Development Project (1998-2005)

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Dilek Kurban and Mesut Yegen, *Adaletin Kiyisinda, Zorunlu Goc Sonrasinda Devlet ve Kurtler/5233 Sayili Tazminat Yasasai'nin Bir Degerlendirmesi*-Van ornegi, Istanbul, Tesev Yayinlari, 2012

36 Working poor: Persons who are labor force participants but live in poor families (Klein & Rones, 1989), A profile of the working poor, Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 112, No. 10, p.1

Çelik (2015) argues that these Rural Development Projects were funded by WB and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) upon the priorities of those organizations. Additional to WB and IFAD funding following the participation of Turkey to EU Customs Union and having the status of candidacy for EU membership; Turkey programmed several reforms to comply with EU agriculture policies. Especially in the eighth five-year Development Plan, EU compliance of Turkey in agriculture had been mentioned. This compliance is regulated with EU programs called SPARD (Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development) and IPARD (Instrument for Pre-Accession on Rural Development) by line ministries such as Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Economy. Therefore, it can be argued that from 1980 to the present, the role of rural transformation in development is very visible and it is controlled/facilitated by international organizations. It can be argued that this is not only for the compliance to EU but also for the compliance with the neoliberal order.

Keyder and Yenal (2011) argue that Turkish agriculture has been experiencing a deepening commodification in this period. Within these regard, neoliberal policies erased all networks of production, information and marketing established and maintained by state support in the national/developmentalist post-war period. This is called a shift from political/state controlled to market controlled economy which brings new challenges to farmers. Therefore, farmers were required to cope with both their market positions and the changing institutional environment created by international governmental and non-governmental organizations. Neo-liberalization and deregulation put them into uncertain and insecure conditions of commodity production and trade (Keyder & Yenal, 2011).

To conclude this part, it can be argued that additional to mechanization, the agricultural capitalization also influenced the detachment of land owner and share cropper from the land. Furthermore, the focus on industrial agricultural products through enterprises and bigger lands moved small farmers lose their lands through selling or transferring. Thus a surplus labor had been formed by these landless, ex-share croppers and small farmers. Finally, forced migration forced many people to leave their land and home. These dynamics had given two options for those which

are rural to urban migration or working as a wage-laborer, as seasonal migrant agricultural worker. In the meantime, as the state did not play a regulatory role in this transition process, the process was brack-breaking for the labor force (Cinar & Lordoglu, 2011).

Agriculture and rural development were always in the development discourse and documents of politics in Turkey. However, it can be argued that while working conditions including wage and labor relations has been transformed for the advantage of the capital, wealth and rights of the rural people had not been transformed positively towards labor. Celik (2015) argues that the main dynamics causing ineffective development were top to bottom planning, lack of its linkages with macro politics, political selection of target geographies, lack of coordination among public institutions, lack of supportive laws and regulations, lack of focus on social aspects, lack of feasibility work, lack of evaluation, lack of association, lack of finance. Finally, it can be argued that since the early republic rural development policies had been increasingly identified with an economic focus and in a technical way rather than a labor and an inequality issue. Islamoglu et al. (2008) argues that especially after the 2000s state had lost its superior role in the regulation of agriculture where international organizations and multinational corporations started regulating. Therefore, SMAW had become important and visible actors in agricultural production with no state protection or control. In the beginning of rural transformation in Turkey, while seasonal migrant agricultural work was a substitution method for small peasants to survive in rural; after the 1990s it turned into a regular work for many people for survival. One way or the other it can be argued that seasonal migrant agricultural work has been a survival strategy for the poor.

Following the exploration on the rural transformation and development policies in Turkey; in the next part state discourse about SMAW in Turkey is explored.

### **3.2 History of State Discourse on the Agricultural Workers and SMAW**

*‘Temporary workers are people with families, responsibilities, dreams and networks’*

*Hennebry & Preibisch*

Following the explorations on rural transformation of Turkey, in this part the state discourse between 1920-2000 on agricultural workers and SMAW are explored. The exploration is classified in two periods which are called as unplanned (1920-1963) and planned period (1963-2000) where the five-year Development Plans are implemented. The contribution of the thesis is to analyze the SMAW development discourse and practices after the 2000s. Therefore the exploration in this chapter will be limited with the 2000s hence discourse after the 2000s will be analyzed in fifth chapter with the inclusion of the discourses of all relevant parties on SMAW issues.

In this part it can be argued that despite Turkey was an agrarian society, SMAW were social facts since ottoman times and also the rural transformation was one of the primary issue; agricultural workers and SMAW were not visible in state discourse and policies.

#### **Unplanned period (1920-1963)**

Seasonal migrant agricultural work has been existent since Ottoman times where workers from Egypt had been migrating for cotton harvesting. In the Turkish literature, especially on the novels of Orhan Kemal, SMAW are visible in stories and they are called ‘ırgats’. Actually still ‘ırgat’ and ‘amele’ is used for SMAW by employers and rural people with the tradition of the past despite SMAW is used in development. Özbek (2007) argues that being Irgat represents the economic, social, political disadvantaged status of SMAW such as poverty, insecurity, lack of access to fundamental citizenship rights and social discrimination.

Cotton harvesting is one of the most labor intensive agricultural work where seasonal migrant agricultural workers have been used since Ottoman times in Adana, Cukurova (Pamuk, 1987). Especially the SMAW for cotton harvesting were



migrants from Middle Anatolia and eastern cities (Yıldırım, 2015). Nalbantoglu (1948) argues that in the early republic period there were no regulations for the SMAW in Adana and working relations of SMAW were regulated by the Khedive of Egypt and Sudan, Ibrahim Pasa. Additionally a provincial committee was also regulating the working relations of SMAW in cotton harvesting<sup>37</sup>. Other than Adana, majority of agricultural production was conducted in farmer owned lands through unpaid family workers in the early republic times. Therefore, the discourse was more on the productivity to increase the agricultural production for capital accumulation rather than the workers. Within this regard, the early republic times were also the times which the capitalization of agriculture had been initiated therefore in scope of the agriculture policies state aimed to support the establishment of a domestic market for agricultural products. In the meantime, limited subsistence agriculture moved small peasants and landless people to seasonal migrant agricultural work to survive in rural. The discourse of SMAW in that period is quoted from Tokin (1990) in Yıldırım:

Agricultural worker is the poorest peasant in Turkey. They work in very low wages. They do not have money for railway or car transportation therefore they come in fact from far distances to coastal areas with their beds on their back. (p.136)

This quotation presents main dynamics of the SMAW discourse in that period which they are defined as poor, low waged and migrant. However, there is no indication to improve the status of SMAW in this period such as labor agriculture labor law etc. In this period SMAW are the actors of the informal labor.

In the unplanned period, state was planning to position small peasantry in a critical role in the new capital accumulation regime, therefore this period witnessed the discussions of a land reform for the establishment of the infrastructure of this regime. Despite Atatürk and the following governments kept the land reform on the parliament agenda, the big land owner parliamentarians always opposed at the land reform. Therefore, it's been acted in 1945 with limited implementation whereas only

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<sup>37</sup> Nalbantoglu (1948) also indicates the hard living and working conditions of SMAW in that period whereas he also proposes the solutions such as betterment of living and working conditions, eradication of the exploitation of farm labor intermediaries, social security registrations, training of SMAW.

public lands had been able to be distributed. The main reasons of the big landowners to object to the land reform are; first they already have limited workers in some periods so that they do not want to lose more workers from labor market. In other words, existing labor gap is presented as the first argument by the parliamentarians that they afforded a lot to exclude SMAW from the land reform. Second, they believe state cannot afford the use of new lands with the state support mechanisms (Yıldırım, 2015).

Following the early republic period till the 1950s SMAW continues to be invisible in the state discourse despite the industrialization and land reform discussions in agriculture were dominant. After the 1950s the proleterianization and landlessness become more visible especially with the open economy policies of Demokrat Parti. This period is also significant with the emergence of rural to urban migration which increased the demand for SMAW in some parts of the year. This demand had been recognized by the state as well. Within this regards Kocacik in Yıldırım (2015) argues that in 1973, Turkish employment agency published a study called ‘Seasonal collective labor employment guideline’ to facilitate SMAW employment. This document includes the number of SMAW, their areas of employment, origin of work and their home towns. It can be interpreted that state supported seasonal migrant agricultural work processes to sustain agricultural production.

### **Planned period (1963-2000)**

Planned period is very important with two aspects in regards to SMAW and state discourse. First, by the 1960s Turkey started experiencing the consequences of rural to urban migration which increased the demand to SMAW in rural. Second, by the 1990s Turkey initiated forced migration in Southeastern parts of Turkey which increased the number of landless people. For this very reason it is expected that SMAW would be more visible in state discourse in the planned period.

In regards to legislation, despite the indication of preparation of an Agriculture Labor law in various government programs, it can be argued that there was no specific law for agricultural workers and SMAW. They were considered under the

labor law no 4857 (over 50 agriculture workers) and code of obligations no: 6098 (less than 50 agriculture workers) as all other sectors. Nevertheless, in 1983 with the law no: 2925 (law on social security for agricultural workers) and law no: 2926 (law on social security for self-employed in agriculture) agricultural workers are also covered under law of social security institution for artisans, craftsmen and other independence workers. However, the implementation of the law on social security for agricultural work is based on the request and application of workers. This leaves the responsibility of employer to the worker and limits the monitoring role of state as well.

To be able to explore the state discourse on SMAW in the planned period, it is good to review the five-year Development Plans. The first five-year Development Plan (covers 1963-67) highlights the low income level of agricultural workers by indicating the discrepancies in the income distribution in Turkey. Additionally, plan indicates that agricultural workers are not included in the social security system. Accordingly plan foresees measures to protect the rights of agricultural workers however the concrete policy on this issue is only stated as “conducting a research to define the possibilities of involving farmers and agricultural workers” (p.112) ([www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx))

The foreword of the second five-year Development Plan (covers 1968-72) starts with expression of Suleyman Demirel<sup>38</sup> that according to him share of agricultural population should be decreased in order to increase the industrial growth. And he continues mentioning that there will be 1.5 million employment opportunities for non-agricultural sectors. The report argues that there is a surplus labor in some seasons of the year in the agriculture which can be interpreted as the consequence of rural to urban migration. Additionally, agriculture is presented as in need of mechanization, technology and innovation to increase in agricultural productions only those subject to export. Furthermore, second five-year Development Plan indicates that in scope of the rural transformation in Turkey, sharecroppers are transformed into –migrant- agricultural worker with the capitalization of agriculture.

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<sup>38</sup> Suleyman Demirel: 9th President of Turkey. For further information, see Aydın, S. & Taşkın, Y. (2014). *1960'dan günümüze Türkiye Tarihi*, İletişim Yayınları, pp.136-138.

On the other hand, this plan also argues that seasonal migration movements occur for the purpose of earning extra income for the family, hence they are employed in Aegean region and Cukurova (p.58). But despite the migration is optional or evolutionary, it can be argued that there is no law to regulate the working conditions or social security of the workers ([www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx)).

The third five-year Development Plan does not indicate anything specific on agricultural workers or SMAW. It only focuses on increase in export of agricultural products for investment and mechanization supports. In line with the second five-year Development Plan, third five-year Development Plan (covers 1973-77) also underlines the agricultural labor gap in some seasons which is compensated with SMAW. However, in the plan it is argued that SMAW create social problems. These social problems are not detailed in the third five-year Development Plan ([www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx)).

The fourth five-year Development Plan (covers 1979-83) indicates the policies to increase the export of agricultural products and the establishment of producer cooperatives. It also expresses the need of an agriculture labor law as it is mentioned in all previous five-year Development Plans. However, it also argues that agricultural product insurance needs to be enacted by law to protect the agricultural employers from the instabilities due to weather conditions. It can be interpreted that this discourse prioritizes the security of the products than the people. One other significant discourse on agricultural workers in the fourth five-year Development Plan is the linkage between the community security and the agricultural workers. Accordingly, it is argued that paid workers in agriculture and small agriculture producers will achieve to community security in a consolidation with cooperatives. The linkage between agricultural workers and community security is not expressed in detail however agricultural workers are the only group to be mentioned in regards to security in the plan. ([www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx)).

The fifth five-year Development Plan (covers 1985-89) re-states the importance of the inclusion of agricultural workers in social security system as well as the previous five-year Development Plans. According to the plan that special programs will be

initiated and financed to support the income of rural households in agriculture. In this regards it is argued that nonagricultural income will be provided to the rural areas ([www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx)). This can be interpreted that development programs such as social assistance programs aimed to be initiated for agricultural workers to improve their status. However, it would be more beneficial to support their capacity for better agricultural production that they will enable subsistence agriculture for their families' then charity. In other words instead of a structural development, an eclectic mechanism is aimed to be established which may also cause dependency in the society.

The sixth five-year Development Plan (1985-89) there is only one usual indication about the agricultural workers that they should be covered under the social security system. Other than that legislation, various supports to agricultural producers are discussed widely in the plan. ([www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx)).

The seventh five-year Development Plan (1996-2000) foresees a structural change in agricultural policies. Within this regard it is programmed that the law of Ministry of Agriculture would be revised and the Agriculture labor law would be enacted. ([www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx)). This structural changes can be interpreted as preparations for the integration of Turkey to the free market system in agriculture in accordance with neoliberal policies.

In this part state discourse in Turkey about the agricultural workers and SMAW are explored till the 2000s. It can be argued that the common discourse of state is the continuous indication of an inclusion of SMAW into the social security system. As it is presented above, considering the fact that SMAW has a long history in agriculture as well as in the state discourse; it can be argued that only in 1983 a regulation is enacted directly relevant to SMAW. However, this regulation is the one which withdraws the role of employer from the SMAW labor process. Especially the planned period can be characterized with the discourse of protection of employers and products.

On the other hand, it is also important to indicate another element in the state discourse which is security. Though it is not expressed so open it can be argued that agricultural workers and especially SMAW are considered as problems both for the country and the locality. There are indications about agricultural workers and social problems and SMAW and security problems that they may cause. Furthermore, despite state know that SMAW are poor and unidentified by laws, it sounds interesting to hear the solutions to the problems such as initiation of social projects.

To conclude it is important to highlight that SMAW discourse changes overtime in Turkey as presented above however these changes occur in the advantage of the capital. This is also same for some other countries such as in Canada<sup>39</sup> as well as Turkey. Within this regard it can be argued that state plays a mediator role to keep SMAW labor rights and human rights limited, controlled for the operation of market economy.

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<sup>39</sup> The annual labor demand of Canada is about 25,000 workers, and SMAW also has a long history in Canada as well as Turkey. Canada implements two policy tools to regulate labor migration to Canada, namely two temporary worker programs in this regard. First one is Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) implemented since 1966, the second one is Low Skill Pilot Project (LSPP) implemented since 2002. In principle twofold mechanism provides the Canadian employers and workers a flexibility. However, enacting LSPP by 2002 can be interpreted as a step back that it moves the state responsibilities to employer which creates risk for the workers who are the 'lower-skilled' in other words the ones in need of more support. The most important aspects of Canada SAWP is the low rates of non-return of workers and positioning program as a development cooperation with other countries (Preibisch, 2010). Preibisch states that although Canada would like to provide equal protection rights to migrants and domestic workers unfortunately due to lack of adequate monitoring mechanisms SMAWs are exploited. Within this respect it's suggested that the advocacy of sending countries for their citizens would be an important control over the systems. Castles in Preibisch (2011) argues that the main intention in Canadian temporary migrant worker programs is to import workers not people (p.432). As quoted from Preibisch:

'Temporary migrant worker programmes allowing the state to institute and legitimize different regimes of rights and benefits within the same national space' (p.432).

### 3.3 Characteristics of Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers in Turkey

*‘For many years we are seasonal agricultural workers as a family. My grandfather was doing this before my father was born’*

*23-year-old SMAW from Urfa*

Following the explorations about the emergence of seasonal migrant agricultural work in the context of the rural transformation in Turkey, in this part, the main characteristics of seasonal migrant agricultural workers (SMAW) are presented.

Suzek (2009) defines seasonal work as working in special periods of the year according to labor law. Turkish laws are very limited about SMAW and there is no specific law targeting SMAW thus they are not under the protection of a specific law. However, Labor law no 4857, Union law no 6356, social insurance and general health security law no 5510, Work health and security law no 6331 are regulating some issues about SMAW. Additionally, 2010/6 Prime Ministry regulations on farm labor intermediaries in agriculture and on improving work and social conditions of Seasonal Migrant agricultural workers are regulating seasonal migrant agricultural work in Turkey (Selek Oz & Bulut, 2013).

There are no official statistics about the number of SMAW as it is informal work but estimations about the number of people conducting seasonal migrant agricultural work in 2014 vary between 300.000 persons (estimation of Ministry of Work and Social Security) and 3.000.000 (estimation of Harran University). SMAW compensate the short labor and are used as cheap labor in many regions. The characteristics of this group can be summarized as: they do not own land, they are paid low, they leave their residential area with all their family to work, they return back after agriculture season, they do not have specific employer, they act collectively in the leadership of an farm labor intermediary (Gorucu & Akbiyik, 2010).

In Turkey SMAW labor intense agricultural products such as legumes, citrus fruits, hazelnut, greenhouse cultivation, apricot, cotton, cumin, vegetables and sugar beet (Kalkinma Atolyesi, 2013). SMAW usually travel together with their family and

work in various levels of agricultural production starting from land cultivation to harvesting. They move to work in one or sometimes more than once place/city during the agricultural season depending on weather conditions and labor demand (Ankara University, 2013). SMAW are mainly from the regions of Southeastern and Eastern Turkey and the major patterns of seasonal migration for agricultural work are as follows: to Adana-Çukurova for cotton works; to Southeastern Turkey for cotton; to Mediterranean regions for vegetable and fruit harvest; to various provinces of the Aegean region for olives, tobacco and grape culture; to Blacksea region for hazel nut harvest; and to Central Anatolia for chickpea, vegetables, cumin, etc. (Yurdakul, 1982, MIGA, 2012).

The above cited findings of the household survey conducted by Harran University (2011) among SMAW living in Sanliurfa and Adiyaman presents important characteristics of SMAW:

- SMAW spend 3 months in their original locations
- SMAW travel to a total of 48 cities to work in agriculture season
- 80% of SMAW travel with their larger families
- 20% of SMAW travel by truck
- 60% of SMAW live under the poverty line
- 54.9% of SMAW find employment through farm labor intermediaries (Yarıcı/Elçi/Dayı/Irgatbaşı) and 15.4% with kinship networks
- Only 33% of SMAW have access to clean water
- Among the children of SMAW the net schooling rate in primary education is 74% for girls and 78% for boys
- 75% of the women SMAW over 24 did not complete primary education.
- 70% of SMAW are not wearing any protective masks while using chemicals
- 50% of the marriages of SMAW are from the same family
- Half of the pregnant women deliver at home or at the field
- 51% of SMAW women had given birth before the age of 19
- 10% have no social security
- 38% receive social assistance from state



Due to the nature of the product and agreements with employers, the working conditions of SMAW vary. Sometimes they are paid according to the hours they work, sometimes they are paid based upon the area they process. Either the agreement is hour based or product based; it can be interpreted that the number of family members and working hours increase their earning for subsistence. This brings the issues of very long working hours and work of family members regardless of their age or health status. On the other hand, the structure of work relations is almost same where the main actors are employers and agriculture intermediaries. Usually worker and employer do not communicate at all and work relation operates through farm labor intermediaries. Workers are dependent to farm labor intermediaries due to several reasons which also brings a potential of exploitation. They are dependent on farm labor intermediaries to find work/workers to receive advance for their subsistence in winter and access to food, shelter and public services during the agricultural season. The farm labor intermediaries do also cut a share from the wages of SMAW (Cinar & Lordoglu, 2011). Hence addition to low wages and hardships of migration, farm labor intermediaries make the SMAWs life more difficult.

Starting from the 1980s there are several studies on the socio-economic structure of SMAW in Turkey. Here it is important to indicate that the majority of the researches initiated in health and education field and followed by economics and lately by sociologists. They have common findings on the working and living conditions of SMAW such as:

On *Shelter and Housing*; Ozbekmezci & Sahil (2004) and Benek& Okten (2011) in their studies in different fields indicate that SMAW are mostly staying in tents, without electricity-water-toilet and kitchen facilities. According to their research in Adana Ozbekmezci & Sahil (2004) present that 85% of SMAW have houses to stay in their hometowns however during the agricultural season 90% of the SMAW are staying in tents. Furthermore 62% use gas lamp during the agricultural season.

On *social exclusion*; Gecgin (2009) states that SMAW are socially excluded within three aspects. First, they are excluded by state because the state does not regulate

their work or living conditions, does not provide public services such as education and health. Second, they are excluded by employers that employers do not recognize them in the decisions about their wage and working conditions. Third, they are excluded by society that society does not and cannot communicate with them due to their ethnicity/language. The exclusion is felt 63,8 % among SMAW women and 48.7 % among SMAW men. The expressions for the reason of the exclusion are mostly claimed as ethnicity, language problem and the region they are from.

On *working conditions*; Cinar & Lordoglu (2011) and Gorucu & Akbiyik (2010) argue that SMAW work is without any formal agreement and social security, they also work for lower wages and wages are usually not paid on time. Gorucu & Akbiyik (2010) also highlight gap payments based on sex and age. According to their research in Malatya, Akbiyik (2010) states that 70% of SMAW in their research have an annual income below 500 TL<sup>40</sup>. In Ankara-Polatlı research Gecgin (2009) identifies that 75,7 % of SMAW indicate that they are not able to receive their wages on time, this is higher among women and 94,2. %. Additionally 61,4 % of them have green card<sup>41</sup> and others do not have any social security at all.

On *health*; first it is important to remember the negative influences of poor housing, long working hours on health conditions of SMAW. Simsek (2011) argues that most of the SMAW have problems to access health services mainly due to lack of money/security, lack of transportation, heavy workload. She indicates that the most common diseases are respiratory diseases, muscle diseases, neurological diseases reproductive health problems are indicated as one of the most important problems of SMAW women.

On *child labor*; 40% of child labor is in seasonal migrant agricultural work in Turkey (ILO). Child labor also brings the issue of education. On education Gündüz Hosgor (2013) argues that SMAW children migrate and work with their families.

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<sup>40</sup> Minimum wage in Turkey in 2010 is net 599 TL (Tax Circular 2009/155)

<sup>41</sup> Green Card System is the free health service provision for the poor and initiated in 1992. For further information see Aran M. & Hentschel J. (2012). *Protection in Good and Bad Times? The Turkish Green Card Health Program*  
<http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSCContentServer/WDSP/IB/2012/08/22/00015834920120822081258/Rendered/PDF/wps6178.pdf>

This brings use of child labor and lack of school attendance for SMAW children. Considering other facts of unhealthy housing conditions and social exclusion children are not able to receive their basic rights. Hosgor (2013) highlights that this is not only about exercising rights, it is also about the reproduction of poverty. Because SMAW children are not able to change their poor status as they are not able to develop their skills with education. This can be interpreted as established intergenerational inequality. This is also linked with child poverty.

On *transportation*; Gorucu & Akbiyik (2010) argue that in order to reduce the costs of transportation; employers and farm labor intermediaries force SMAW to travel together in improper vehicles with over capacity. Because, the most expensive cost in the process of migration is transportation and that high transportation costs are not covered by the employer. Considering that SMAW travels to various cities in various regions during one agricultural season, this cost can reach to a considerable amount for SMAW. Additionally, although there are existing ‘Highway Transportation law’ and ‘Regulation about the Control of farm labor intermediaries’ it is fact that every year there are several fatal traffic accidents<sup>42</sup> resulting in the deaths of SMAW.

To conclude, it can be argued that SMAW are facing various aspects of exploitation and discrimination. Studies targeting SMAW are mainly focusing on narrow thematic areas of their researchers and do not present the wider structural inequalities that are produced through labor and migration processes of seasonal migrant agricultural work. Rather they present these inequalities as fragmented technical problems in need of intervention and expertise. This limited perspective could be considered as supporting the sustainability and reproduction of labor exploitation and discrimination over SMAW.

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<sup>42</sup> On October 2014, near Isparta, SMAW had another accident with the loss of 18 lives. Thus the headlines were focusing on the number of loss and not seeing this accident as a work murder although that this is a part of a work process in agriculture. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Skorer-Tv/video-izle/Isparta-da-mevsimlik-iscileri-tasiyan-midibus-kaza-yapti--WXql5JaOl3g6.html>  
<http://onedio.com/haber/isparta-da-mevsimlik-iscileri-tasiyan-midibus-kaza-yapti-13-olu-393802>  
<http://www.imctv.com.tr/yalvacta-mevsimlik-isciler-oldu-kamu-davasi-bile-acilmadi/>

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter had discussed rural transformation and seasonal migrant agricultural workers in Turkey. Within the scope of this discussion, the influences of the capitalization of agriculture were been examined in different periods of Turkey. In the early periods of the republic, the targets and strategies were to form a self-sufficient country both in agriculture and industry. However, the transition of the Turkish economy to an open economy and the ensuing capitalization of agriculture resulted in the proletarianization of peasants and the emergence of SMAW. This not only kept SMAW and many population groups in poor living and working conditions but also increased the role of international organizations in rural transformation in Turkey.

This chapter also discussed state discourse on SMAW. Briefly, it can be argued that despite the fact that seasonal demands in agriculture require SMAW, the state do not consider SMAW as workers but instead considers them as social problems and security problems. They are not even defined and covered by laws specifically. Afterwards, in the exploration of the characteristics of SMAW, all researchers from different fields agree that SMAW are poor, deprived and excluded informal workers. But more important than that, it can be indicated that Turkish academia has paid little attention to this significant social fact and conducted increasing number of SMAW studies since the 2000s. Especially, it can be argued that research of sociologists has been limited and that they only started SMAW research following the similar moves in health and education literature.

Within the increasing influence of neoliberal policies globally, it is observed that the state is transferring its regulatory role to market forces. And market forces are operating to the advantage of capital and employer rather than SMAW in Turkey as well as the U.S., Canada and India. Therefore, although SMAW is a crucial requisite for agricultural production, they are not treated as equal with the residents of the locality or country where they work but instead are kept in low living and working

conditions, regulated and controlled. Here it is important to indicate that this is not only the case in Turkey but also some other SMAW receiving countries<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> Today especially Canada, United States, Australia, European Union countries such as Spain, Greece, France, Italy, Germany, Netherlands employ seasonal migrant agricultural workers from other countries. According to the MIGA (2012) figures in Canada there are 25000-30000, in USA 1.4 million, in Australia 2500 seasonal migrant agricultural workers from abroad mainly from developing countries. Model of Seasonal Migrant Agricultural work in Europe is differing from the model in USA, Canada and Australia. Labor shortage in Europe is mostly been secured from other European countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, so within Europe there are regular Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Work movements. Additionally, in 1993 Council of Ministers allowed the employment of non-EU foreign workers to close the EU labor gap. Following this several nation states prepared their law on foreign workers and some countries had bilateral development agreements on transnational labor migration in agriculture with different non-EU countries. For example, Spain has signed 9 agreements with Western and Northern Africa countries (Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, Cape Verde, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Niger and Senegal) which will provide immigrant population (Jose & Juan Antonio, 2012).

U.S., Canada and Australia are the states where there are comprehensive SMAW programs to facilitate and coordinate the temporary work/migration issues and to protect the SMAW. However, it can be argued that SMAW in many parts of the world have low wages, poor shelter conditions, low health and education status and also faces with social exclusion and discrimination (MIGA, 2012). Other than the previous models India have domestic SMAW like Turkey rather than transnational migrants exist in America and Europe. Deshingkar and Grimm in Rafique et al. (2006) states that tens of millions of poor people in India move from their residences to work. They indicate that as it is a voluntary and internal migration that there is little attention on this movement –just from international organizations- and almost no attention to the root causes of the migration such as poverty, inequality in their residences. As quoted from Rafique et al. (2006):

“The migration itself is a source of vulnerability because of a lack of effective regulation of employment conditions, because of having to set out without any guarantee of a job, and because of migrants’ lack of powerful allies, or indeed networks of any kind, in the temporary destination area” (p.5)

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODOLOGY

*‘How do you know what you know—that is epistemology’*

*Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör*

As mentioned previously, this study aims to understand the mechanisms by which Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers (SMAW) as a defined vulnerable group in development have since the 2000s been regulated through development practices and discourses. For this purpose, as a qualitative research method, a case study approach is conducted. Neumann (2005) argues that a case study approach enables researchers to gather large amount of information on one case and to study in depth on that case. In this regard, in-depth interviews were used as the primary tool for collecting data. Additionally, a desk review of project documents, articles, research reports, laws and regulations was conducted to be able to review the discourse about SMAW in development.

The purpose of this study is providing an interpretative explanation to understand the ways through which development discourse and practices regulate SMAW in Turkey. Thus, this research aims to explore development discourses, policies and practices targeting SMAW to describe processes, mechanisms, relationships, conceptualizations, knowledge production and power relations in SMAW development. It constitutes an initial research step that will serve to advance fundamental knowledge about SMAW development discourse and practices. Here, I argue that development discourse and practices have regulated and controlled SMAW since 2000, and aim to contribute an explanation of how SMAW discourse and practices operate. The significance of starting the analysis in the 2000s is twofold. First, despite the fact that SMAW have existed since Ottoman times, by the 2000s they became a target group in development. Second, the emergence of

vulnerability discourse in Turkey can be dated back to the 2000s. Hence, the use of concepts such as vulnerability/disadvantaged/at-risk and the identification of some groups as vulnerable groups such as SMAW, Roma, and LGBT started after 2000.

Finally, this study further accommodates a critical perspective due to its theoretical foundations for alternative theory. The main motivation behind this approach is revealing the underlying mechanisms of this social fact and supporting the deconstruction process. SMAW constitute one of the poorest, the most deprived and the most discriminated population group in Turkey. This study deconstructs SMAW development discourse and practices and wishes to move policy makers and development experts to adopt a new perspective in their discourse and practices towards SMAW.

### **Qualitative Research and Case Study Approach**

Interpretative social science aims to understand social action, which means to understand social reality, social actors and their relations. Qualitative research is one of the main methodologies of interpretative social sciences. Merriam (2013) states that in interpretative social sciences; the researcher is interested in how people interpret their experiences, how they shape their world and how they attribute meanings to their experiences. Thus, qualitative research aims to develop an understanding about how people attribute meaning to their lives, design the main pillars of meaning attribution process and how people interprets their experiences (p.14).

In qualitative research there are five main approaches: narrative approach, phenomenology approach, ethnographic approach, grounded theory approach and case study approach. This study is a case study “...where a researcher tries to collect detailed and in depth information about one real case from multiple sources; to be able to present the case situation or case themes” (Creswell 2013, p.97).

The main characteristics of case study approach are determination of the case and the aim of the research. First of all, the case and the limits – time and space- of the case to be studied needs to be defined in detail. This would enable the researcher to

efficiently collect necessary data. Next, the aim of the research might be an inherent case or instrumental. If it is an inherent case that the research would aim to understand a unique case. On the other hand, if it is an instrumental case, the research would aim to understand a problem, issue. Finally it is important to mention that case study approach provides deep and detailed information so that one data collection would not be sufficient in most cases. Then, additional techniques such as desk review, observations etc. are used in research. Main challenge in case study approach is with regard to limits of the case. The limits are required to be designed according to time, space, social actors, relations, social reality etc. (Creswell, 2013).

According to the definitions below, it is important to explain what exactly is aimed to be understood from SMAW development. This study focuses on exploring how discourse and practices targeting SMAW - as a constructed vulnerable/disadvantaged/risk group - operates to regulate SMAW in Turkey. Here it is very important to define limits of the case. In this regard laws, regulations, statements, policies, projects on SMAW since the 2000s are analyzed. The study will analyze this case from development actors' point of view which are located at state – national, regional, local levels - , and/or works at international organizations, NGOs and/or Universities. Thus interviews with development experts of those organizations are conducted to understand regulation mechanisms by analyzing their development and vulnerability paradigm, construction of knowledge and power relations targeting SMAW. Thus in the analysis further to development experts' views a desk review of relevant documents about SMAW is also conducted.

First data collection method used in this study is desk review. Desk review analysis is used to support the understanding of interviews in order to illustrate mechanisms of regulation in SMAW. Hence desk review provides input to understand construction of knowledge about SMAW and construction of power over SMAW. Desk review includes analysis of macro level national and international development strategies of Turkey, the review of law and policies, development materials and researches regarding SMAW since 2000. The profile of the analysis is as follows:



**The list of reviewed documents with regard to national/international development strategies are as follows:**

- Five-year Development Plans
- UN Development Assistance Frameworks with Turkey
- World Bank reports for Turkey
- EU enlargement reports for Turkey
- Strategic plans of Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Ministry of Health

**The list of reviewed documents with regard to legislation:**

**International law**

- ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labor
- ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work
- ILO Convention No. 184 on health and safety in agriculture

**National law**

- Regulation on improvement of seasonal migrant agricultural workers living and working conditions – 2010
- Regulation on farm labor intermediaries – 2010
- Regulation on the management on the consolidated camping areas – 2010
- Law no 6331 on Work health and safety - 2013
- Law no 4857 on Labor Law
- Regulation on implementation of mobile health services - 2015
- Regulation on Community Health Centers - 2015
- 2007-2015 BDP, HDP, CHP, AKP, MHP parliamentary questions
- 2014 parliamentary decision on the establishment of parliament SMAW research commission
- Parliamentary SMAW research commission report, 2015

- Education regulation about the children of SMAW – 2011

**The list of reviewed documents with regard to policy/strategy papers after the 2000s:**

- Action plan on the improvement of seasonal migrant agricultural workers living and working conditions - 2010 (Ministry of Labor)
- Action plan on the Empowerment of rural women (Ministry of Agriculture)
- GAP Action plan on Agricultural Health (Ministry of Development)
- Turkey's strategy and action plan for climate change (Ministry of Environment)
- United Nations Development Cooperation Strategy (2011-2015)
- FAO, ILO, UNDP, UNFPA Turkey strategies
- EU Turkey progress reports 2014,2013,2012
- Press releases of Eğitim-Sen, Eğitim-İş, Eğitim-Bir-Sen, Çiftçi-Sen, MİGA, METDER<sup>44</sup>
- Bernard Van Leer Foundation Strategy for Turkey, 2011
- Final declaration of the workshop on the fight against child labor exploitation
- Labor force structure on agricultural enterprises, TÜİK
- Summary of the seasonal migrant workers in Turkey MİGA 2012
- Open letter to public, MİGA 2012
- Working and Living conditions of SMAW women in Turkey İŞKUR ILO report

**The list of reviewed documents with regard to research after the 2000s:**

- Working and Living conditions of SMAW women in Turkey, TARIM-IS
- Research on identifying the needs of SMAW and their families, Harran University
- Being a child in seasonal agriculture, Ankara University
- Players of harvesting nuts, Development Workshop
- Seasonal mobile agricultural workers, Support to Life
- Being SMAW in Bursa, Bursa Chamber of Medical Doctors

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<sup>44</sup> These organizations are the worker unions and NGOs related to SMAW.

Interviewing as a data collection method is commonly used in qualitative social sciences. Hessler (1992) argues that interview method provides the researcher and the participant with direct contact and so, the researcher would have the capacity to explore the body language of the participant that goes beyond meanings of words in interviews. In this study semi structured and open-ended interviews were conducted. In the interview outline, there were eleven questions focusing on three main themes. The first theme is about the participants' ideas on development and development discourse, the second theme is about the participants' ideas on SMAW and the third theme is about participant's ideas on its organizations SMAW policies. Now first I will explain whom I've interviewed and then explained what I've asked.

### **Interviews–Sample Selection**

The first step of the sample selection is defining the organizations and participants' rank in a specific organization. Forty one organizations had been selected due to two significant factors. First they are organizations which have been conducting SMAW statement, policy, research or project since the 2000s. Second they are the organizations, who are responsible for undertaking some activities targeting SMAW according to regulation no 27531, dated 24 March 2010, named 'Improving the work and social life of seasonal migrant agricultural workers'. The study aims to include different actors working towards issues on seasonal migrant agricultural work. And, so SMAW representative organizations and unions, private sector representative organizations as NGOs, state organizations at national-regional-local levels, universities and international organizations are selected as participants. There were three levels on that organizational sampling due to complex structure in policy environment about SMAW discourse and practices. First layer is international organizations, second layer is national and regional organizations; third layer is the local organizations. Selected international organizations include all active organizations in SMAW development policies, such as United Nations agencies, EU delegation to Turkey, International NGOs. Selected National organizations constitute all relevant ministries, such as Ministry of Labor, Health, Agriculture, Education, universities and NGOs. These organizations are mainly located in Ankara. Local organizations from two cities were also interviewed to be able to

present local practices. For this purpose in scope of local organizations, provincial directorates of ministries, municipalities and local NGOS are interviewed in Urfa<sup>45</sup> and Ordu<sup>46</sup>. The main purpose to choose Urfa was due to its special position as the highest SMAW giver city. The main purpose to choose Ordu was due to its considerable success in SMAW development. It is important to highlight that there is no intention to compare SMAW development works in Ordu and Urfa in this study.

Following explanation of the organizations, target development experts in the organizations are selected. In this selection area; of theoretical expertise, sector of work, level at the organization, employment relation, institutional context, authority of experience, nature of experience are assessed and interviewees to be contacted as development experts were selected. These experts are professionals of state, NGOs, Universities, international organizations who are involved in development and implementation processes of SMAW development discourse and practices.

Forty-two interviews with experts from forty-one organizations were conducted over a six-month period. Forty-two participants were representatives of state organizations, international organizations, NGOs including private sector organizations, universities and unions. The representatives' rank in an organization is considered to be either expert or manager, who is involved in decision making processes about SMAW development discourse and practices. Regarding the main sample characteristics of interviewees; twelve out of forty two are women, forty one of forty two interviewees are university graduates, eight out of forty two have either personally experienced seasonal migrant agricultural work or they have one seasonal migrant agricultural worker in their family. List of development actors are listed below based on a chronology of interviews conducted.

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<sup>45</sup> Urfa: Urfa is a province of Turkey, located on the Southeastern Turkey.

<sup>46</sup> Ordu:Ordu is a province of Turkey, located on the Black Sea coast of Turkey.

**Table 2:** List of interview participants

<b>PARTICIPANT</b>	<b>ORGANIZATION</b>	<b>ORGANIZATION TYPE</b>	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>GENDER</b>
<b>1</b>	UNICEF	International	Social Policy Officer	FEMALE
<b>2</b>	Ministry of Development	State-National	Head of Department	MALE
<b>3</b>	Ministry of Development	State-National	Head of Department	MALE
<b>4</b>	EC Delegation to Turkey	International	Sector Manager	MALE
<b>5</b>	ILO	International	Program Manager	MALE
<b>6</b>	FAO	International	Assistant Representative	FEMALE
<b>7</b>	Development Workshop	NGO	General Manager	MALE
<b>8</b>	Bilgi University-Center for Migration	University	Director	FEMALE
<b>9</b>	Harran University- Research and application Center for Health and safety in agricultural work	University	Manager	FEMALE
<b>10</b>	MoD GAP Regional Development Administration	State-Regional	Deputy President	MALE
<b>11</b>	Governorate of Urfa	State-Local	Deputy Governor	FEMALE
<b>12</b>	Urfa Chamber of Agriculture	NGO (Private Sector)	President	MALE
<b>13</b>	METIDER	NGO	President	FEMALE
<b>14</b>	Urfa-Provincial Directorate of Labor and Social Security	State-Local	ISKUR Deputy Manager	MALE
<b>15</b>	Urfa Commodity Exchange	NGO (Private Sector)	Deputy Secretary General	MALE
<b>16</b>	METDER	NGO	President	MALE
<b>17</b>	Urfa- Provincial Directorate of Food, Agriculture and Livestock	State-Local	Deputy Manager	MALE
<b>18</b>	Urfa Metropolitan Municipality	State-Local	Head of Department	MALE
<b>19</b>	Urfa-Provincial Directorate of National Education	State-Local	Head of Department	MALE
<b>20</b>	Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock	State-National	Coordinator	MALE
<b>21</b>	Farmers Union	NGO (Union)	President	MALE

**Table 2:** (cont'd) List of interview participants

<b>PARTICIPANT</b>	<b>ORGANIZATION</b>	<b>ORGANIZATION TYPE</b>	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>GENDER</b>
22	Ministry of Family and Social Policies	State-National	Deputy General Manager	FEMALE
23	Frederich Ebert Foundation	NGO	Program Manager	MALE
24	Support to Life Association	NGO	Executive Director	FEMALE
25	Ministry of Labor and Social Security	State-National	Deputy General Manager	MALE
26	Ankara University-Faculty of Agriculture	University	Academician	MALE
27	Ordu-Provincial Directorate of Labor and Social Security	State-Local	ISKUR Manager	MALE
28	Governorate of Ordu	State-Local	Deputy Governor	MALE
29	Ordu-Egitim-İş	NGO (Union)	Board Member	MALE
30	Ordu- Provincial Directorate of Food, Agriculture and Livestock	State-Local	Deputy Manager	MALE
31	Ordu-Provincial Directorate of National Education	State-Local	Deputy Manager	MALE
32	Ordu-Provincial Directorate of Health (Public Health)	State-Local	Deputy Manager	MALE
33	Ordu Commodity Exchange	NGO (Private Sector)	President	MALE
34	Ordu Development Agency	State-Regional	Expert	MALE
35	Fındık Union	NGO (Union)	President	MALE
36	Ministry of Health	State-National	Deputy Undersecretary	MALE
37	Embassy of Kingdom of Netherlands	International	Program Officer	FEMALE
38	Bernard Van Leer Foundation	NGO	Representative	MALE
39	Urfa Development Agency	State-Regional	Expert	FEMALE
40	TARIM-İŞ	NGO (Union)	Expert	MALE
41	Ministry of National Education	State-National	Head of Department	FEMALE
42	Egitim-SEN	NGO (Union)	Secretary General	FEMALE

## **Interviews Process**

Interview appointments had been asked following the preparation of the list of actors in SMAW development work and preparation of the interview questions. In the meantime, one preliminary interview was conducted with a program manager, working in an international organization and according to this interview, questions were re-structured to involve more open ended questions. These questions would let participants to be more explanatory about the SMAW development discourse and practices.

Almost all interviews were conducted in the offices of participants in their organizations. Seventeen of the interviews were conducted in Ankara, two of the interviews conducted online and for the twenty-three interviews trips had been organized to Istanbul, Urfa and Ordu. These trips further acted as an opportunity for visiting farms and interacting with SMAW and farm labor intermediaries which contributed to understanding real-life conditions of SMAW. However, purposively this study does not involve any interview with SMAW. Analyzing the impact of SMAW development works on SMAW can be another research area for social sciences.

The interviews ranged from thirty minutes to an hour. Most of them were digitally recorded with the permission of the participant. However, some participants were hesitant about recording as they named the SMAW issues as ‘sensitive’ to talk about; thus note taking was the primary method for those interviews. It was also observed that in digitally recorded interviews, participants preferred to continue discussing SMAW issue off the record as well. This can be interpreted some participants have further comments on the issue but they do not prefer to be recorded.

## **Interview Questions**

1. Would you please tell me about yourself,  
Your ‘development’ background  
Your ‘development’ perspective?

The first question is for starting the conversation, getting to know the development expert and prepare a conversation base to discuss development and SMAW. Here, expert's definition of development is crucial. By asking this expert definition, it is expected from the participant to personally analyze development paradigm of his/her organization, which gives clues about the political rationalities and technologies of power in development.

2. Would you please tell me about the historical transformation of 'development' discourse in Turkey?

What are the old and new concepts in development?

Can you remember how and when they were disappeared and emerged?

What are changing groups of target populations? What are the characteristics of these groups? Why is there a focus on these groups?

The second question aims to analyze the discourses and the trends of development in Turkish history. Recent tendency of using vulnerability discourse is specifically examined. With these sub-questions, reasons for the emergence of development discourses and that of, vulnerable group discourse in addition to specific target groups in development are also examined from an alternative development approach.

3. Would you please tell me about the historical transformation of SMAW in Turkey? Why are there SMAW?
4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of being SMAW?

Question three and four examine construction of knowledge on SMAW. The way development expert defines the emergence and characteristics of SMAW present how knowledge is constructed and how it legitimizes development interventions of organizations with alternative development lenses. In other words, these questions seek to present organization's construction of the subjects of development.

5. When did your organization start working on SMAW? Why on xx<sup>47</sup>? What was the motivation behind it?

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<sup>47</sup> XX stands for the date of the organization to start on SMAW development



Question five examines the reasons why organizations conduct SMAW development policies and practices. Development policy and practices are designed around such motivations which are later on analyzed as political rationalities of governmentality in rest of the thesis. These factors are criticized by alternative development lenses. By answers to that question coupled with the inputs from previous question, the mental sphere of governmentality over SMAW is aimed to be understood.

6. Would you please tell your organization's work targeting SMAW? Why are you doing these activities? What else could be done on this issue?
7. What is your organizations role/duty about SMAW in the laws and regulations? Are you able to conduct your role smoothly? Do you face any challenges and constraints? What are they?
8. What are the documents, researches that you've published and/or prepared about SMAW?
9. How are 'development' policies targeting SMAW designed in your organization?  
     What is your role in this process?  
     What is the role of academics in policy design process?  
     What is the role of global development agenda in this process?
10. Who are involved in policy making and implementation processes? Are SMAW involved in such processes?

Questions six to ten examine development policies and practices targeting SMAW, in other words these questions explore technologies of power in governmentality. Presented policies and practices are criticized by alternative development approaches. By answers to these questions, practical sphere of governmentality over SMAW is aimed to be understood.

11. What are your suggestions for the future?

Question 11 examines potential criticisms and/or suggestions of the development experts about the development environment and/or SMAW discourse, policies and practices.

### **Limitations of the Research**

First limitation can be argued to be the indecision of all participants about use of information that were gathered during the interviews. All participants were hesitant

about the use of interview in press or in any public document. Some of the participants were also hesitant about the use of their names in the study. Although they had been assured about using nick-names and confidentiality in research, as they are in decision maker positions, participants talked very carefully during the interviews. The careful selection of words and sentences are observed in interviews. It can be argued that almost all development experts tried to discuss the issue from the vantage point of their organizations. This can be interpreted as something due to sensitivity of the issue with regard to informality of labor relations and that the issue has an ethnic aspect to it. Or it can be interpreted as a result of my professional identity additional to my academic identity. Only NGOs specifically Union development experts were quite open in their expressions.

Second limitation was that the interviews were conducted in the offices of participants during work hours. This created a time pressure especially for state experts in provincial directorates as they had both technical and administrative busy workloads in their offices.

Third limitation is with regard to lack of interest of some organizations to SMAW issue although they have responsibilities by law about SMAW and their problems. The organizations' lack of interest or participants' uninterested approach both de-links the issue from the organization and also moves the responsibility of the organization about SMAW. This can also be regarded as a finding about the experts.

The fourth limitation is due to diverse character of seasonal migrant agricultural work such as differences among regions, agricultural product, geography, weather, local people and authorities. This study would have just presented the ideas from Urfa and Ordu. Although this is a limitation to capture all practices, it also showed the importance of alternative development argument to involve local knowledge into the process. Due to this fact study largely benefited from local visits.

The fifth limitation can be expressed as lack of interview conducted with Gendarmerie Command. Despite Gendarmerie Command do not have a role on the decision making of SMAW development practices and policies; interview with

national and local level Gendarmerie Commandership would give important inputs to understand the political rationalities behind construction of the SMAW discourse of state. As Gendarmeire is the first state institution that SMAW contact when they migrate. Especially gendermerie would give input in security aspect of the issue.

The final limitation is about myself. I have been working as a United Nations staff since 2004 and I have also been involved in SMAW development works professionally. This creates a role of conflict in research. My aim in this thesis is understanding the regulation of SMAW through the eyes of development experts. But at the same time, I am the one of those development experts, who have got professionally involved in SMAW projects. As being a development expert, reviewing and criticizing this development process and mechanism may limit the objectivity of research. However, considering the fact that I selected SMAW as a research issue in my Ph.D. thesis as a result of my professional experiences, I aim to deconstruct SMAW development work even including the things that I have done so far.

### **Analysis:**

In this study, case study approach is conducted to generate a new proposition about the case. Thus, main aim of data analysis is discovering constructed discourses and practices in governmentality.

Before the analysis of governmentality first, analysis of desk review is presented in the fifth chapter. In this chapter, vulnerability discourse in Turkey and vulnerability discourse towards SMAW development works are discussed in an alternative development approach. Afterwards, governmentality is operationalized through development discourse and practices. Analyzing practices of governmentality would yield re-framing control and regulation of the state. Rose (2000) argues that there are intelligible shifts in ways of thinking about and seeking to ensure control. In this regard, new ways of ensuring control can broadly be classified into two as follows:

Those that seek to regulate conduct by enmeshing individuals within circuits of inclusion and those that seek to act upon pathologies through managing a different set of circuits, circuits of exclusion (Rose 2000, p.324).

In this respect, development and various inclusive or exclusive development instruments are used for governmentality of population groups. Regardless of the above mentioned classification of Rose (2000), development provides necessary knowledge for problematization, objectification, calculation and evaluation of human conduct. Expertise plays an important role to govern in ‘neutral’ ‘rational’ and ‘efficient’ solutions (Ozden, 2010). In scope of this thesis the focus is on the actions upon pathologies within the circuits of exclusion.

When using theoretical framework of Michel Foucault on governmentality, in his theoretical approach there are several areas to analyze which are: the problem (the issue) that have seemed appropriate to be governed, language used to describe the problem including concepts, explanations, arguments and theories, persons subject to the state, spaces of state, different actors involved and technologies of state (Rose, 2010). In this study, the analysis with regard to structure of governmentality will be twofold. First one will focus on the ontological aspect, which will explore the political rationality on the SMAW development policies. In this respect, mental sphere of SMAW development policies will be analyzed. Political rationality is defined as “a domain for the formulation and justification of idealized schemata for representing reality, analyzing it, rectifying it” (Rose & Miller, 1992). As such, concepts, specification of objects and borders, provision of arguments and justifications, ways of addressing the problem and offering solution about SMAW issues will be analyzed. The findings of the political rationality analysis are discussed in Chapter six, entitled “Construction of knowledge on SMAW from an alternative development approach”.

The second aspect of analysis will concentrate on epistemology, which examine technologies of power to govern the conduct of SMAW. In this respect, material sphere of SMAW development policies is going to be analyzed. Technologies of power are defined as “mechanisms, tactics, and techniques to rule according to the objectives of state” (Rose & Miller, 1992). In this regard procedures, institutions,

legal forms which are able to govern SMAW will be examined. Thus, technologies of power in this respect are discussed in Chapter seven, entitled “Construction of power over SMAW from an alternative development approach”.

Data will be analyzed in two categories according to alternative development theory and governmentality. Before the main categories; interview questions, numbered one and two are analyzed to understand development and vulnerability perspectives of development experts. This inquiry seeks to gather more information on the background of experts’ conceptualizations of ‘development’.

The first category is about analyzing the construction of knowledge about SMAW by development experts. Here interview questions, numbered three, four and five will be explored. These questions seek to understand construction of development knowledge about SMAW, conceptualizations and rationalities about SMAW. These are:

- Would you please tell me about the historical transformation of SMAW in Turkey?
- Why are there SMAW? What are the advantages and disadvantages of being SMAW?
- When did your organization start working on SMAW? Why did you focused on that area? What was the motivation behind?

The second category is about analyzing the construction of power over SMAW through the development practices and the power relations on SMAW development works. Here, interview questions six, seven, eight, nine and ten will be explored. These questions will examine roles and relations of all actors in SMAW development works. These are:

- Would you please tell your organization’s work targeting SMAW? Why are you doing these activities? What else could be done on this issue?
- What is your organizations role/duty about SMAW in the laws and regulations? Are you able to conduct your role smoothly? Do you face challenges and constraints? What are they?
- What are the documents, researches that you’ve published, prepared about SMAW?
- How are ‘development’ policies targeting SMAW are designed in your organization?

- What is your role in this process?
- What is the role of academics in this process?
- What is the role of global development agenda in this process?
- Who are involved in policy making and implementation processes? Are SMAW involved in processes?

To summarize, in order to explore and conceptualize governmentality within the context of SMAW, this study provides information on the construction of SMAW knowledge and power over SMAW by examining development expert discourses and development documents. As such, I seek to understand answers to the following research questions:

How is knowledge on SMAW constructed in development? What are the implications of knowledge construction about SMAW? How is power constructed and practiced over SMAW through development? What are the roles of development organizations, development experts and SMAW in these constructions?

## **CHAPTER V**

### **VULNERABILITY AND SMAW AS A VULNERABLE GROUP IN DEVELOPMENT**

Vulnerability discourse emerged in Turkey in the 2000s. Since the 2000s, several population groups, including SMAW, have been identified as vulnerable, disadvantaged or at-risk groups in national and international development documents targeting Turkey. This chapter presents the findings of a brief desk review on vulnerability and SMAW in development literature. This review will contribute to understanding the development discourse and practices targeting SMAW in a wider context and support a deeper understanding of the development expert interviews which are analyzed in chapters six and seven. The chapter will explore vulnerability discourse in development in Turkey, then use an alternative development approach to explore SMAW discourse and practices in development in Turkey since the 2000s. The aim of this chapter is to deconstruct vulnerability and SMAW discourse in Turkey.

#### **5.1 Vulnerability Discourse in Turkey**

Reflections of the global discourse on risk and vulnerability are visible in most countries, Turkey among them. In Turkey this discourse was first apparent in the seventh five-year Development Plan (1996-2000)<sup>48</sup>. This plan, which uses the concepts of risk groups, warrants special attention. The first use of these concepts are presented below as quoted from the seventh five-year Development Plan:

In scope of a wide social security understanding; state social assistance and services will be regulated and social assistance and services institution will be established to develop the services for elderly, people needs special attention and other risk groups. (p.115)

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<sup>48</sup> Development Plan: Since 1963 Governments of Turkey prepares 5 year Development Plans. For further in see <http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx>

Despite the fact that elderly and disabled people are clearly defined as at-risk groups in regards to public services, there is no clear indication of who else is included in the category of people needing special attention or at-risk groups in the seventh five-year Development Plan. The eight five-year Development Plan (2001-2005) also uses the concepts of risk groups and groups needing special attention. Following the approach of the seventh five-year Development Plan, the eight five-year Development Plan also defines being at-risk as lacking access to public services and includes children and the poor in addition to the elderly and disabled. Additionally, the eight five-year Development Plan defines unemployment as a criterion for being at-risk and identifies women and disabled and young people as at-risk groups. This can be interpreted as a result of the influence of neoliberal policies that require everyone to be productive so long as they do not pose a risk to the system.

Measures shall be taken to reduce unemployment, in particular that of the youth, women and disabled persons. Active and passive employment policies that will prevent redundancy of unqualified people working at a low wage level and that will develop their skills shall be implemented. (p.104)

In order to enhance social assistance and social services to be provided for children, elderly, disabled, those requiring special care, poor and other groups under risk, a new institutional structure shall be established. This new structure should be responsible of the arrangements, administration and coordination of all kinds of social services and assistance given by the public sector. (p.112)

The ninth five-year Development Plan (2007-2013) starts by highlighting the opportunities and risks of globalization and the need for Turkey's integration into the global system. In other words, following the constructed discourse of neoliberalism in the eighth five-year Development Plan and the ninth five-year Development Plan openly states the direction Turkey has adopted vis-à-vis globalization. Turkey states that risks can be addressed by following neoliberal policies, which requires special attention to some population groups.

It will be ensured that groups, particularly the handicapped, elderly, women, children and migrants, that are subject to poverty and social exclusion, will actively participate in economic, social and political life, and violence against and exploitation of such groups will be prevented. In this context, priority will be given to the access of disadvantaged groups to education, health, housing, social services and employment services. (p.123)



The plan identifies the unemployed, the disabled, women and young people as disadvantaged groups, groups subject to risk in regards to employment and enlarges the list of disadvantaged groups in regards to public services by adding women and migrants. It can be argued that the ninth five-year Development Plan expresses the need to deal with above-mentioned groups as they might be risks towards the operation of neoliberal policies of Turkey. Finally, the most recent Development Plan (2014-2018) also uses vulnerability discourse with the concepts of disadvantaged groups, vulnerable groups, and at-risk groups. However, in the tenth five-year Development Plan there is a discursive change. In previous five-year Development Plans, groups were mentioned according to the risk issue such as youth unemployment. But with the tenth five-year Development Plan, instead of focusing on young people, for example, as an at-risk group in their entirety, only some portion of young people is identified as at-risk or disadvantaged.

It will be provided that youth are more active in social life and decision making mechanisms; mobility programs will be diversified and scaled up so as to increase the participation of disadvantaged young people. (p.42)

It will be ensured that children access to education and health services in better quality through comprehensive models that support child wellbeing and welfare, their life skills will be improved, life quality of children especially for the ones under severe conditions and risk will be increased, and their integration to society will be enhanced. (p.42)

By ensuring easier access of the population segments that are under risk of poverty and social exclusion to the opportunities, enhancing their participation to economic and social life, increasing their quality of life and improving income distribution and alleviating poverty are the main objectives. (p.43)

According to the national plans, there seems to a consensus on the use of vulnerability discourse in Turkey. From the seventh five-year Development Plan onward groups such as vulnerable groups, at-risk groups, disadvantaged groups, and groups needing special attention were listed. Thus, I argue that a reflection of global discourse is clearly seen in the same period in the Development Plans of Turkey, in line with the emergence of vulnerability discourse at the end of the 1990s. However, I also argue that there is no consensus about the jargon to be officially selected. Identical and differing concepts are used together even within the same development

document. Considering that national five-year Development Plans are produced through the joint works of different Ministries, this seems understandable. On the other hand, it can be argued that in the national five-year Development Plans; women, children, youth and disabled are visible as target groups while education, social security and employment are visible as target sectors in scope of the vulnerability discourse.

According to the desk review, different ministries use vulnerability discourse in reference to disadvantaged groups and at-risk groups. A few examples will serve to clarify how different Ministries use different concepts of the vulnerability discourse.

In the Ministry of Health Strategic Plan for 2013-2017<sup>49</sup>, the Ministry of Health uses the concepts of vulnerable groups and disadvantaged groups. The Ministry defines vulnerable groups as “people who does not have the economic means to access healthcare services and therefore who has limited health insurance coverage” (p.25) and highlights that the importance of health services for vulnerable groups is positioned as apolicy priority (p.62). Regarding disadvantaged groups, although in the context of strengthening the health literacy the report stressed the need “to develop informational materials for patients with chronic diseases and disadvantaged groups” (p.75), there is no description of the disadvantaged groups. Although the report uses the concepts of vulnerable groups and disadvantaged groups, the risk discourse is very dominant in the report. Using risk discourse is very common in the health sector. The report always discusses risk factors within context of debates related to health, and defines babies, children, pregnant women, the elderly, the disabled and people with chronic disease as risk groups ([www.saglik.gov.tr](http://www.saglik.gov.tr)).

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<sup>49</sup> Ministry of Health Strategic Plan for 2013-2017 <http://sbu.saglik.gov.tr/Ekutuphane/kitaplar/stratejikplanturk.pdf>access date 17.02.2015

The Ministry of National Education<sup>50</sup> defines migrants, SMAW families, the Roma and criminals as disadvantaged people who are at-risk in terms of educational access (MEB, 2011).

According to the monitoring and evaluation studies regarding the access to education; migrants', SMAW' children, Roma children and children fall into dispute with laws are disadvantaged. (p.22)

Moreover, recently the Ministry announced that they will provide mobile schools for the children of SMAW<sup>51</sup>.

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies also uses the concept of disadvantaged groups to define women, children, veterans and the elderly. Each disadvantaged group is supported under its own general directorate within the Ministry, the name of which corresponds to the vulnerable group for which it is responsible. Additionally, the Ministry also has a disadvantaged people unit under the Department of Social Inclusion in the Ministry, which coordinates social inclusion efforts targeting vulnerable groups as indicated in article 38 of the Ministry law:

Developing programmes for the social inclusion and harmonization of disadvantaged social groups, conducting and coordinating activities with relevant state institutions in this regard. Ministry considers several disadvantaged groups and deal with all of them under different general directorates such as women, disabled, children, elderly and veterans.

Ministry of Labor and Social Security also have a department called vulnerable groups and they indicate child labor, women, and disadvantaged people in reference to labor. In National Employment Strategy (2012-2023) young people, women, unemployed and disabled are defined as disadvantaged groups that policies will be designed to increase the employment of defined vulnerable groups.

Vulnerable groups especially women, youth, long term unemployed and disabled have low labour force participation rates, work in unregistered and underpaying jobs

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<sup>50</sup> Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İlköğretim Genel Müdürlüğü, İlköğretime Erişim ve Devamda 10 Yıl Türkiye Deneyimi, <http://ysop.meb.gov.tr/dosyalar/erisim%20ve%20devam/erisimvedevamda10yil.pdf>access date 17.02.2015

<sup>51</sup><http://www.meb.gov.tr/mevsimlik-tarim-iscilerinin-cocuklarına-mobil-siniflar-acilacak/haber/10767/tr>access date 17.02.2015

called “indecent work” and face a higher risk of unemployment despite positive discrimination and no legal obstacles. This situation rising up in almost every country has been challenged by various policies. (p.33)

Aside from these Ministry documents, the United Nations and the World Bank have a number of development documents dealing with Turkey, all of which exhibit a high level of consistency in terms of the terminology they employ. Since 1996, development frameworks between the United Nations and the Turkish government have used the concept of vulnerable group in their cooperation strategies and country assessments<sup>52</sup>. All of these strategies have aimed primarily at achieving the development of vulnerable groups, with UN agencies committing to support the Turkish state in increasing the access of vulnerable groups to public information and services.

With the launch of World Bank’s ‘Social Risk Management’ (SRM) approach in 2000, in 2001 Turkey started implementing its Social Risk Mitigation project with World Bank loans. The main aim of the program was to mitigate the negative influences of the 2001 economic crisis for poor people and to increase their capacities to confront other risks in the future ([www.web.worldbank.org](http://www.web.worldbank.org)). This program can be interpreted both as the incorporation of poverty and poor people as vulnerable groups into the national agenda and also as a justification for the World Bank presence in Turkey. The World Bank defines the poorest 8% of the population in Turkey as the vulnerable group or project target group. Starting with this project, the World Bank has supported the production of knowledge about poverty and in doing so has framed poverty as a technical problem that needs to be solved through development interventions/projects. In this regard, as argued by Ozden (2010), it needs to be questioned whether risk for the World Bank is the same as the risk that

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<sup>52</sup> Common Country Assessment-Turkey [http://web.undp.org/evaluation/documents/adr/adr\\_reports/adr\\_turkey.pdf](http://web.undp.org/evaluation/documents/adr/adr_reports/adr_turkey.pdf)access date 17.02.2015

United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Turkey 2001-2005 (<http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Turkey/Turkey%20UNDAF%202001-2005.pdf>)access date 17.02.2015

United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Turkey 2006-2010 [http://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/Turkey\\_UNDAF.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/Turkey_UNDAF.pdf) access date 17.02.2015

United Nations Development Cooperation Strategy Turkey 2011-2015 (<http://www.un.org.tr/UNDACS.pdf>)access date 17.02.2015

people face or whether it is the risk that neoliberalism faces as the result of its ill treatment of the poor. I argue the latter.

Despite the fact that the amount of loans have decreased in recent years, the World Bank is still an important actor in Turkey that is especially influential in the labor and social sectors. The World Bank in Turkey uses the concept of vulnerable population groups and related discourse to indicate people who are of working age but not able to obtain gainful employment due to certain risk factors.

The European Commission is another important international organization in Turkey, the primary task of which is overseeing the country's accession process to EU membership. The EU uses the concept of disadvantaged groups within scope of human rights and social policy issues. EU progress reports on Turkey invariably devote space to the questions of peoples' ability to exercise their fundamental rights and their inclusion in social policies ([www.ab.gov.tr](http://www.ab.gov.tr)). Rural people, SMAW, the Romani and the Kurdish people are disadvantaged groups that have been mentioned in recent EU progress reports<sup>53</sup> on Turkey.

To conclude, vulnerability discourse became visible in Turkey in tandem with its emergence in global discourse by the end of 1990s. Reflections of the global vulnerability discourse in Turkey were first observed in reports concerning the country's cooperative efforts with international organizations, namely the World Bank, EU and UN. These were followed by the adoption of vulnerability discourse in Turkey's own Development Plans and in the national strategies of its ministries. Following the diffusion of this discourse on the five-year national Development Plans and strategies, vulnerability discourse today occupies a place in most development-related practices and policies in Turkey.

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<sup>53</sup> EU Turkey Progress Report 2014

[http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/ilerlemeRaporlariTR/2014\\_ilerleme\\_raporu\\_tr.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/ilerlemeRaporlariTR/2014_ilerleme_raporu_tr.pdf)

EU Turkey Progress Report 2013 [http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/2013\\_ilerleme\\_raporu\\_tr.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/2013_ilerleme_raporu_tr.pdf)

EU Turkey Progress Report 2012 [http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/2012\\_ilerleme\\_raporu\\_tr.pdf](http://www.abgs.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/AdaylikSureci/IlerlemeRaporlari/2012_ilerleme_raporu_tr.pdf) access date 17.02.2015

## **5.2 SMAW as a Vulnerable Group in Development in Turkey**

This part aims to analyze SMAW discourse in development in Turkey since the 2000s. The first section addresses how and on which platforms SMAW are constructed as a vulnerable group in development in Turkey. The second section is on the development practices targeting SMAW in Turkey. In other words, the first section concerns itself with understanding the political rationalities used to construct SMAW as a vulnerable group in order to better understand the regimes of governmentality of SMAW. Second, the tools, strategies and tactics used to regulate SMAW are explored. In this regard the laws, project documents and strategies of organizations are reviewed.

Escobar (1992) argues that discourse colonizes reality. In this respect, the reality of SMAW is one in which both their ability to sustain their livelihoods and their capacity to meet their basic needs are severely limited. SMAW is a labor issue, a labor process. This part argues that, in development SMAW are considered as a homogeneous group either in terms of their poor working and living conditions or in terms of their vulnerabilities, disadvantages and the risks they face as a result of those working and living conditions. Accordingly, these considerations lead several organizations in Turkey to construct SMAW in the country as a vulnerable and/or disadvantaged group and/or risk groups. According to the theoretical discussions in chapter two, naming SMAW a vulnerable group carries with it a number of consequences. It hides the inequality aspect of the issue in favor of a narrow technical thematic area. It removes political issues from the political sphere. It installs a top-down development perspective. Finally, it distances local voices from reality, which in turn makes SMAW easier to control and regulate.

### **SMAW Development Discourse**

It can be argued that after years with Irgat stories in novels, Irgats transformed into and became visible as SMAW by the 1990s in Turkey in the development lexicon. Deniz Duruiz in her master thesis (2011) argues that “seasonal migrant agricultural worker” is a technical term that is constructed through discourse. She supports her argument by noting that workers were not able to understand when she called them

seasonal migrant agricultural workers in her field study. Following on her argument, this thesis also treats SMAW as a technical term in development that is constructed to define workers who work in agriculture for some periods of the year. In line with an alternative development perspective, I further argue that workers are labeled, named and classified by experts as SMAW without their knowledge.

As indicated in chapter two, vulnerability occurs through various household characteristics. Accordingly, development discourse on SMAW and their families in Turkey defines them through five primary spheres of vulnerability: poverty, education, health, shelter and discrimination. Vulnerability to poverty describes a situation characterized by the presence of episodes of falling below the poverty threshold. In terms of education, vulnerability describes situations of not being able to access education. In terms of health, vulnerability indicates an inability to access health services and a susceptibility to illnesses. In terms of shelter, vulnerability refers to people's living standards and the material basis upon which to develop stable familial and social relationships (Ranci, 2010). Vulnerability to discrimination refers to the presence of discriminatory practices towards the group. There are also additional emphases on female and child SMAW specifically. Now the specific constructions of vulnerable SMAW in development are explored.

First, state discourse on SMAW is explored. In the exploration of state discourse on SMAW after the 2000s there are three important sources. The first one is the five-year Development Plans, the second is the report of the parliamentary commission established to identify the problems of SMAW and the solutions to those problems and the third is the Ministry documents/strategies.

The eighth five-year Development Plan (covers 2001-2005) indicates that projects will be developed for the unpaid family workers in agriculture. The ninth five-year Development Plan (covers 2007-2013) does not directly mention SMAW or agricultural workers, however it does indicate that poverty increased in rural areas during the 2002-2004 period in Turkey and that unpaid family workers were the poorest group in 2004. Additionally, the plan argues that when unpaid family workers, especially women, migrate to urban areas, they are exposed to the risks of

poverty and social exclusion (<http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx>).

The tenth five-year Development Plan (covers 2014-18) does not directly address agriculture workers or SMAW. The plan does, however, list increase in productivity and decrease in the agricultural production costs as important targets, and thus touches on relevant issues in an indirect way. Additionally, despite the fact that there is a program aimed at decreasing the informal economy, the target indicators do not cover the agriculture sector (<http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/KalkinmaPlanlari.aspx>). The tenth five-year Development Plan can be interpreted as presenting the political rationality behind state discourse on SMAW, and it can thus be argued that state would like to keep SMAW informal.

It is important to note that 22 official proposals were made to parliament from different political parties from 2012-2014 for the establishment of a research commission on the problems of SMAW in Turkey. Out of these 22 proposals one was from the AKP<sup>54</sup>, one was from the MHP<sup>55</sup>, seven were from the CHP<sup>56</sup> and 13 were from the BDP<sup>57</sup> and HDP<sup>58</sup>. This seems to indicate that SMAW problems are the concern of all parties in parliament (Turkish Grand National Assembly, 2015). However, a commission was only formed after a proposal was submitted by the government party, the AKP. Despite the government's seeming reluctance to address the problems of SMAW early on, the AKP became sensitive to the issue and moved to form a commission after the SMAW Isparta accident. In November 2014 a parliamentary research commission was established and tasked with researching SMAW problems and defining measures to address them. The minutes of the commission meetings and the report of the commission may also be helpful to understand the policies and practices targeting SMAW in Turkey, as they provide the most recent information about SMAW and SMAW policies in Turkey.

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<sup>54</sup> AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Justice and Development Party

<sup>55</sup> MHP: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, Nationalist Movement Party

<sup>56</sup> CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Republican People's Party

<sup>57</sup> BDP: Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi, Peace and Democracy Party

<sup>58</sup> HDP: Halkların Demokratik Partisi, Peoples' Democratic Party



Therefore, I would like to review the official proposals, the minutes of the meetings and the report of the commission.

First, the majority of the official proposals to parliamentary are on the general problems faced by SMAW and SMAW living and working conditions. Other issues raised include the education problems of the children of SMAW, the transportation problems of SMAW, the general problems of female SMAW, the health problems of SMAW, the child labor problem among SMAW, the shelter problems of SMAW and the social security problems of SMAW.

Second, according to the minutes of the commission meetings, which include the presentations of relevant institutions, it appears that all relevant ministries as well as some universities and unions were invited to the commission<sup>59</sup>. At the same time, it is observed that only one NGO and one international organization were invited to the commission. While the commission did not heed a request to invite other NGOs or international organizations, it preferred invite the university partners of relevant NGOs and international organizations. This led to some debate and questions about the nationalist stand of the commission among its members. The presentations show that all presenters were aware of the problems of SMAW relating to such issues as health, education, shelter, transportation and social security, but they presented the problems in a technical and eclectic way that failed to discuss the labor rights or human rights of SMAW. The suggestions of the presenters were also as eclectic as the formulation of the problem. The organizations only described the SMAW issue through their narrow areas of work without touching the grassroots of inequalities. This finding was also significant in the interviews, detailed in the following chapters, that development experts only prioritize or care about the SMAW problems if it is within scope of their mandates. Additionally, it is important to highlight that presenters did not mention the ethnic aspect of the SMAW issues. Though discrimination issues were mentioned occasionally, the causes of

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<sup>59</sup> According to the minutes, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Ministry of Health, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Science, Technology and Industry, Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Ministry of Transportation, State Institution of Statistics, Turkey Medical Association, Union of Turkish Agricultural Chambers, ILO, Harran University, Ankara University, the Tarım-IS union, Oz Orman-IS union, Genel-IS union and Development Workshop delivered presentations to the commission (Turkish Grand National Assembly, 2015).

discrimination were not indicated. This can be interpreted as a reflection of the nationalist selection of organizations that are invited to the commission. Finally, the organizations indicated that the lack of knowledge on the number of SMAW, the lack of an audit about SMAW and the lack of coordination on SMAW issues have made it difficult for the organizations to take concrete action regarding SMAW (Turkish Grand National Assembly, 2015).

Third, the commission report helps to understand the SMAW discourse of the state and development parties. According to the report, state institutions are not defined as dysfunctional on SMAW issues, but instead they are described as having limited awareness on the issues or as having limited experience with SMAW issues. The report does not mention the ethnic aspect of the SMAW issue, however it does include a section on SMAW social problems. In this section, discrimination is expressed as the consequences of SMAW living conditions and the lack of a law dealing with SMAW. The report clearly expresses the political rationality of the state on SMAW discourse, namely that agriculture—international competition—requires low labor costs. In other words, despite the state knows that SMAW are informal they still are not able to exercise their labor rights or human rights. The report argues that SMAW needs to be supported by development programs, hence structural changes to eliminate grassroots inequalities are not considered. The invisibility of the role of employer throughout the report is another sign of the political rationality of the state (Turkish Grand National Assembly, 2015).

Finally, some Ministry documents are explored to understand the SMAW discourse in development more. In the introduction of its strategy and action plan for developing the working and social lives of SMAW (2010), the Ministry of Labor and Social Security indicates that SMAW work under difficult conditions and on their own are not able to attain minimum standards in terms of working conditions, social conditions, education and organization. The strategy and action plan also suggests the necessity of multi-dimensional and multi-organizational (state organizations) efforts for the betterment of SMAW working and living conditions. Thus, in the strategy SMAW are presented as backward and incapable of improving their own working and living conditions. It also legitimizes and calls for the

intervention of many ministries. The 2010/6 Prime Ministry regulation on improving the work and social conditions of seasonal migrant agricultural workers and the Prime Ministry regulation on farm labor intermediaries in agriculture both directly aim at regulating seasonal migrant agricultural work in Turkey. The regulation on improving the work and social conditions of SMAW defines the areas of interventions within scope of the regulation as transportation, shelter, education, health, security, social relations and social security (CSGB, 2010). Although the law foresees a comprehensive approach to SMAW issues and defines areas of intervention comprehensively, the regulation seems to have been prepared for security reasons than the improvement of the status of SMAW. In other words, the regulations to improve the work and social conditions of SMAW were prepared out of state concern for security and solidarity but written in a politically correct way.

The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization's 'Turkey's National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan' (2011) defines SMAW as a vulnerable group. SMAW are regarded as vulnerable group due to their inability to adapt to climate change and due to their potential expose to health problems.

The Ministry of National Education's 'Strategic plan for 2015-2019' (2014) characterizes SMAW as a disadvantaged population group. According to the Strategic Plan, SMAW children are also listed as a disadvantaged group due to their limited access to education, since SMAW children migrate with their families and are thus unable to attend school for many months each year.

Moving on from this exploration of state discourse on SMAW, this chapter will now turn to the discourse of international organizations. The UN Development Cooperation Strategy (UNDCS) document covering 2011-2015 identifies three broad areas of cooperation which are endorsed by the government of Turkey: Democratic and Environmental Governance, Disparity Reduction, Social Inclusion and Basic Public Services and Poverty and Employment. In the strategy, SMAW is defined as a vulnerable group to be targeted under Result 4:

Increased provision of inclusive and responsive public as well as community-based services to strengthen equitable access to knowledge, information and quality basic services (education, health, nutrition, water and sanitation, and human safety).

In this regard SMAW are defined as a vulnerable group and five-year Development Plan interventions aim to increase the access of SMAW to public and community services.

Furthermore, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) consider SMAW as a vulnerable group according to their statements in their interviews. In their policies, the FAO treats SMAW as a vulnerable group due to their exposure to pesticides and other agrochemicals, which constitutes a major occupational risk that may result in poisoning, death and, in certain cases, work-related cancer and reproductive impairments. In this regard SMAW, are defined as a development target group and interventions aim to prevent SMAW from agricultural chemicals. The UNFPA defines female SMAW as a vulnerable group due to their risk of maternal mortality. UNICEF defines children of SMAW as a vulnerable group due to their risk of being used in child labor and their lack of access to education.

The EU Turkey Progress Report (2013), in the section on social inclusion in the EC, states that SMAW are one of the most vulnerable groups in Turkey and that the EU has concerns about the living and working conditions of SMAW in the country. After having outlined the definitions above, it needs to be indicated that only in EU documents is attention paid to the insecurity and poor working conditions of SMAW.

Universities are also an important site of SMAW discourse. Below, the discourse of Harran University, Ankara University and Bilgi University are considered.

Harran University research presents SMAW as one of the most vulnerable groups in Turkey. The research report of Şimşek (2011) indicates that SMAW women are anat-risk group due to their susceptibility to abortion, infant mortality, infertility and often traffic accidents, short life expectancy and limited access to health services. The report also provides a comparison between Turkey and other countries based on

several development indicators within the scope of the Millennium Development Goals on the matter of Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers, to the effect that SMAW indicators are five times worse than average in the country (Simsek, 2011). The report also states that research was conducted in order to understand the context of SMAW and their families to be able to develop a national model. It can therefore be argued that research is structured in such a way that its findings are expected to correspond to development interventions. In other words, development interventions are planned to be justified by the research findings.

In the research conducted by Ankara University, entitled ‘To be a child in seasonal migrant agriculture’, SMAW are considered as workers. This research indicates the lack of labor rights and human rights in seasonal agricultural work, with a focus on child health and education. Following the research, the university conducted thematic meetings with relevant stakeholders in the field to develop a plan for action (Ankara University, 2014). However, these thematic discussions were fragmented, conducted with a technical focus and ended with the proposals of the development of projects rather than structural change proposals. It is also important to indicate that this report does not indicate the ethnic and discriminatory aspects of the SMAW issue.

The Bilgi University Seasonal Migrant Work Network (MIGA) also considers the SMAW issue as a labor exploitation issue. MIGA produces different types of documents to call attention to this process, such as a situation analysis of seasonal agricultural work, a press release and an analysis of states’ SMAW programs (METIP). These document presents all working and living problems of SMAW. However, the significance of MIGA is due to their discourse on the role of employer in the process. MIGA argues that employers have a primary responsibility to register the SMAW they employ in the social security system.

Turning to the SMAW discourse of NGOs, three NGOs are particularly active. While there are many NGOs, and even SMAW NGOs exist, this analysis is limited to the publications of the NGOs. On the other hand the interviews have also been

conducted with SMAW NGOs whose arguments have been included in the analysis in the chapters six and seven.

Bernard Van Leer Foundation is a Dutch NGO and in its Turkey strategy summary (2011) of the Foundation defines SMAW as one of the most disadvantaged groups in Turkey by highlighting their unprotected status in labor laws and their low pay. In the strategy paper, SMAW are presented as laborers in the informal economy with low pay and a lack of social security. Considering the SMAW are traveling with their families, the Foundation targets the children of SMAW as target group for intervention. This is in line with their international mandate as well as with the five-year Development Plans of Turkey. Their area of intervention is explained as supporting children and families to protect them from the negative consequences of SMAW living and working conditions.

Development Workshop is a Turkish cooperative focuses on child labor and the production of nuts in its research. Their research on the players of nut production also indicates the general problems of the working and living conditions of SMAW. Furthermore, their report is significant in three respects. First, they indicate the ethnic and discriminatory dynamics of the issue. Second, they involve the employers in the process of development interventions. Third, they propose the establishment of a civil monitoring mechanism to monitor SMAW (Development Workshop, 2014). Another significant point in the discourse of Development Workshop is the way in which they offer differentiated analyses according to geography and product.

Support to Life is a Turkish NGO that has also conducted a study on children in seasonal agricultural work which addresses the problems of SMAW children and SMAW in general. Their report is significant as it includes several quotations which enable us to hear about the issue from SMAW themselves. Furthermore, the report highlights that the state is the only actor capable of solving SMAW problems and does not give any role to the employer regarding SMAW living and working conditions (Support to Life, 2014). This is argued as a limitation of the report and can be interpreted it is due to the donor of the research. Hence the donor of the research is a private sector company.

In the exploration of SMAW discourse, unions have a significant position. They not only consider SMAW issues as labor issues, but also highlight the inequalities that have emerged from the consequences of the neoliberal system. The work of several unions, including the Tarım-İs report (2003), Egitim-Sen press statements (published between 2007 and 2013) and Çiftçi-Sen press statements (published between 2010 and 2015), presents the exploitation in seasonal migrant agricultural work. They especially criticize the informal form of seasonal agricultural work, the exploitative character of farm labor intermediaries' system and poor living conditions. These documents not only pay attention to labor issues but also consider the different needs of different sections of the SMAW population. For example, they all pay special attention to women and children. They argue that SMAW women have a special role among SMAW due to the fact that they engage in both agricultural work and domestic work like cooking, washing, cleaning, caring for children and the elderly care and water delivery. This is conceptualized as double vulnerability in the development discourse. Some other scholars also support this argument of increasing level of vulnerability<sup>60</sup>. Furthermore, they indicate that children of SMAW are not able to attend school and are used as child labor. Actually, these criticisms from unions about SMAW are inline with the alternative development criticisms. However, it can be argued that unions are limited in their work targeting SMAW. Due to de-organized structure of SMAW, unions are not focusing on SMAW as much as other workers. They described in their interviews that despite they had efforded to organize SMAW, SMAW remain far from an organized structure.

This section has presented the construction of SMAW as a vulnerable/disadvantaged/at-risk groups in development discourse. To conclude, I can argue that SMAW are considered as vulnerable/disadvantaged/at-risk group by State, Ministries, Universities and many other national and international NGOs. However, although the labeling of SMAW with vulnerability discourse is common, it is observed that all organizations have different reasons for this labeling in line with their organizational mandates. This indicates the relativity of the concept of

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<sup>60</sup> Prof. Dr. Gulay Toksoz also indicated SMAW women as the most vulnerable group in Turkey in the Human Development Report 2014 launch conference (Ankara, 2014)

vulnerability, or from another perspective the multi-dimensionality of the vulnerability concept. But most importantly, this represents the link between the construction of vulnerability discourse and the use of vulnerability discourse. In an alternative development approach, vulnerability discourse is a discourse constructed to legitimize/justify development interventions towards particular population groups. Hence, this section has argued that SMAW discourse is constructed according to potential and limited development interventions of the organizations, because the SMAW discourse of development organizations had to be followed with development actions. Thus, it can be argued that organizations produce knowledge and use a discourse about it within the limits of their potential interventions. The following section presents the development practices in line with the constructed SMAW discourse explored above. In other words, it explores the impact of constructed SMAW discourse over development practices.

### **SMAW Development Practices**

As discussed in the previous section, many organizations, including state organizations, NGOs, international organizations and universities, define SMAW as a vulnerable and disadvantaged group in their documents due to various reasons. In this regard, I would like to reiterate my previous argument that this vulnerability construction is not only carried out to express the situation but also to legitimize development interventions. In this section, the development practices targeting SMAW are mapped, and in doing so policy documents, types of assistance to SMAW, types of implemented activities and practices are explored. In other words, technologies of power are analyzed to understand how SMAW discourse operates. There are various types of development work targeting SMAW. In order to be able to analyze these, different kinds of development work are grouped according to the types of assistance they offer. As this section presents a desk review, the decision-making processes and the results of the SMAW development practices under discussion do not fall within its scope.

Escobar (1995) argues that over the course of the institutionalization of development, western countries established the standards of development and



underdevelopment through development organizations such as IMF, WB, UN, national planning agencies, NGOs and local development agencies. Kippler (2010) indicates that these organizations together organize the production of knowledge and deploy forms of power in the process of professionalization of development. In this new power relations system, these organizations work through development experts who decide what to change and how. In the following pages, the division of labor in SMAW development is analyzed through a desk review from an alternative development perspective. In other words, the technologies of power in the governmentality of SMAW or biopolitics over SMAW are explored.

### ***Biopolitics through building shelters, schools and health units***

The Seasonal Migrant Workers Program (METİP)<sup>61</sup> is a national program to improve the work and social status of SMAW in Turkey that was first implemented in 2010. The project was funded through an allocation of 100,000,000 TL from the national state budget as part the Action Plan for SMAW prepared by the Ministry of Labor. The project aimed to address all SMAW problems, in line with Prime Ministry regulations, but mainly focused on the infrastructure problems faced by SMAW. Building shelters, schools and health units were the activities implemented by METİP to improve the living conditions of SMAW. These infrastructures were implemented by local governments through funding from the general budget allocated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security (Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2012)

In an alternative development approach; considering the structural inequalities that SMAW face, building shelters, schools and health units reflects technical development interventions rather than an intervention in grassroots problems. Furthermore, building shelters, schools and health units also serves to address security concerns, and result in a situation wherein SMAW are kept in state-selected, controlled areas which are also far from the other residents of those areas.

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<sup>61</sup> For further information see [www.metip.gov.tr](http://www.metip.gov.tr) access date 30.06.2014

### ***Biopolitics through establishing networks of people***

There are three platforms established relating to SMAW that include experts in development of SMAW. The first is the National SMAW Monitoring Board, established by the Ministry of Labor to discuss and plan SMAW development. The board consists of all relevant ministries as members<sup>62</sup>. This board foresees the establishment of city and district-level SMAW monitoring units under the leadership of governors to coordinate SMAW issues as well. The second board is the Bilgi University Seasonal Migrant Work Network<sup>63</sup>. The network consists almost entirely of academics and NGOs who work on SMAW issues. The third is the Support to Life Association's Platform on Child Labor on Seasonal Agricultural Work. The platform consists of NGOs, state parties, the private sector and academics working to address child labor in seasonal agricultural work.

The platforms led by Bilgi University and the Support to Life Association aim to create awareness about the SMAW issue and to create multi-sector platforms to discuss the issue. The National SMAW Monitoring Board of the Ministry of Labor, in contrast, does not include universities, NGOs or international organizations, and aims to coordinate state development interventions targeting SMAW. Hence, while government monitoring boards aim to plan and implement SMAW development projects, other platforms only aim to draw the attention of the state to the SMAW issue. These platforms also serve as knowledge-production and decision-making platforms on SMAW development. However, in an alternative development approach all present the expert-based, top-down approach in SMAW development in Turkey, because SMAW themselves are not involved in these platforms.

Senses (2004) also argues that in the neoliberal system, state moves its responsibility to independent boards. Established SMAW networks can also be considered as mechanisms of transferring state responsibility over SMAW.

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<sup>62</sup> For further information see [www.metip.gov.tr](http://www.metip.gov.tr) Access date 30.06.2014

<sup>63</sup> For further information see [www.goc.bilgi.edu.tr](http://www.goc.bilgi.edu.tr) Access date 30.06.2014

### ***Biopolitics through empowerment programmes***

Empowerment programs for SMAW are conducted by several organizations. The empowerment program implemented by Harran University<sup>64</sup> in cooperation with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) mainly targets women. The program includes a health empowerment program for SMAW in 30 cities. Through the empowerment of SMAW and relevant parties, UNFPA aims to develop a model for mobile people to access to public services, especially to health services.

Additionally, the Support to Life Association, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and Development Workshop conduct empowerment programs targeting SMAW children and farmers in the Black Sea region. Children programs aim at the personal development of children and support for formal education. Farmer programs aim to educate and empower farmers about child labor laws. The Bernard Van Leer Foundation conducts empowerment programs targeting SMAW women on early childhood in Urfa. The Ministry of Agriculture conducts empowerment training for rural women including SMAW women.

SMAW empowerment programs in various cities aim to increase the access of SMAW to knowledge and public services. However, without a structural change and political will, it can be argued that these programs may only create responsible citizens. Moreover, in line with a Foucauldian critiques, SMAW empowerment programs actually teach SMAW to behave in the rational way that the neoliberal system requires.

### ***Biopolitics through capacity-building trainings and workshops for national and local organizations***

UNFPA conducts capacity-building trainings for governors, district governors and health managers. Additionally, it carries out empowerment programs for farm labor intermediaries, health personnel, imams and local journalists. There are also undergraduate and graduate training programs for health personnel on SMAW.

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<sup>64</sup> For further information see [www.mevsimliktarimiscileri.com](http://www.mevsimliktarimiscileri.com) Access date 04.08.2015

These capacity-building training and workshops aim to increase the awareness of managers to implement the Prime Ministry regulation on SMAW.

ILO also conducts capacity-building training for Ministry of Labor staff on the fight against child labor in agriculture. Capacity-building activities aim at increasing organizational ownership and sustainability vis-à-vis SMAW issues. However, it is important to mention that the capacity-building training sessions of the organizations are limited by the mandates of the organizations, which only serve to limit the SMAW development perspective of the organizations.

### ***Biopolitics through employment programs***

The Urfa governorate conducts an employment program targeting SMAW in Urfa. The program aims to employ SMAW in the industrial sector in Urfa in order to stop migration from Urfa to other cities. In this regard, the employment program aims to transform SMAW into industrial workers. In the context of the employment program, it can be argued that the state considers agriculture as an informal area of work, whereas it treats industry as a formal area of work within the social security framework. Therefore, the state would like to move SMAW into industry in order to provide them with better living and working conditions. Instead in an alternative development perspective, it would be better for the state to regulate agricultural work and provide the necessary labor rights to SMAW. This could both make SMAW secure and also keep them doing the work that they already know.

### ***Biopolitics through establishing local monitoring units***

Local governorates and district governorates are required to establish local SMAW monitoring boards in line with the 2010 Prime Ministry regulation to monitor and intervene in issues relating to SMAW. These SMAW monitoring boards are required to plan and implement development interventions targeting SMAW within the presidency of governors and district governors. Due to a lack of rules and regulations concerning the operations of these boards, in some cities and districts the boards meet regularly but in others they do not. The operations of these boards are largely left to discretion of the local authority or governorate.

UNICEF supports the works of child labor monitoring units in cities. In coordination with SMAW monitoring boards, child labor monitoring units are working in Turkish Employment Agency (ISKUR) local offices in three cities. However, the presence of two similar boards may cause the misuse of resources, especially human resources, in localities. In an alternative development approach, these monitoring units are regarded as surveillance authorities for SMAW and child labor then units taking necessary measures for the problems of SMAW.

### ***Biopolitics through the provision of mobile public services***

One of the important issues in SMAW development is the provision of public services for SMAW. Local governments of SMAW-receiver cities are required to provide mobile health and education services to SMAW, both of which are important intervention areas in SMAW development as defined by regulations. However, although mobile health service provision is quite common, mobile education service provision is non-existent. Out of all of the cities in the Ankara-Polatli district, only a very few offer mobile education units during the official school year. In this regard, the provision of basic services to SMAW is irregular and limited to the initiative of local authorities. This volunteerism brings an air of charitable cause to what should be treated as fundamental citizenship rights.

To sum up, there are several development interventions targeting SMAW, including laws and regulations, empowerment programs, capacity building programs and the establishment of boards, networks and units. However, these interventions are limited by a number of factors. It can be argued that they are carried out for the purposes of surveillance, security, control or charity, and they are restricted to only a few locations. SMAW development practices do not address the root causes of the inequalities that SMAW face. It is important to highlight that the first unaddressed inequality area in SMAW development practices is the exploitation of labor for the purposes of profit. SMAW lie outside the scope of the social security system. The second area is security. Many people in Turkey move and migrate freely, as is their right as citizens, however the free movement of SMAW are subjected to security measures and restrictions. There are comprehensive security controls target SMAW,

especially in the Black Sea region<sup>65</sup>. This can be regarded as discrimination against SMAW whom the majority are Kurds. Actually security controls provide significant amount of information about the number of SMAW entering the cities or living in camps. However, SMAW are not registered in the social security system. This needs to be questioned, and the reasons for it should be addressed in future studies. Despite the fact that social security registration is included in the METIP strategy and the fact that the Ministry of Labor is very active in SMAW development work, social security for SMAW is not mentioned or discussed in the development practices that have been implemented. SMAW problems are always presented as eclectic social problems constructed in a technical way.

The third area is the provision of basic services to citizens of a country as charity. SMAW have the same citizenship rights as all Turkish citizens, but in their case these services are provided as acts of charity or as development activities.

Finally, I would like to summarize the policy recommendations of development organizations for improving the working and living conditions of SMAW. Although this thesis does not aim to assess whether the problems and their proposed solutions match, it is important to mention the policy recommendations of development organizations that already implement some development policies and practices. These recommendations can be classified into three categories in accordance with their shared aspects:

- 1- Recommendations encouraging the implementation of existing international and national legislative frameworks. (The European Social Charter for fair working regarding pay and working hours, the ILO Code of Practice on safety and health in agriculture, the Prime Ministry regulation on the improvement of work and life conditions of SMAW, the Prime Ministry regulation on farm labor intermediaries, Convention on the rights of the Child)

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<sup>65</sup><http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/108811-mevsimlik-kurt-iscilere-ordu-valisi-nden-vize-yok>  
<http://www.adilmedya.com/mevsimlik-iscilere-ohal-uygulamasi/>

- 2- Recommendations to the state to recognize and regulate the working and living conditions of SMAW as any other citizen and worker in the country, and to provide all necessary services considering their mobile status.
- 3- Recommendations to SMAW to exercise their right by forming associations which can enable their voice heard.

The above listed recommendations are idealized development schemes that do not achieve specific development interventions targeting SMAW. In an alternative development approach, expressing idealized development schemes and implementing other actions can be argued as a mechanism to sustain the development economy and to sustain the surveillance of SMAW for security reasons.

It can be argued that Turkey does not have a national SMAW programme addressing the improvement of the working and living condition of SMAW. However, Martin (2006) argues that although several countries have designed SMAW programs in order to close the labor gap in the agricultural sector and to reduce illegal migration, there is no ideal program or country in this regard that can serve as a particularly successful example. The most common positive feature of such programs is the obligation for employers to offer approved housing for migrant workers. On the other hand, the most common negative features are indicated as welcoming workers without their families, requesting a return guarantee, restrictions on labor mobility, limitations on the rights of workers, lower wages than domestic counterparts and the diffusion of discriminatory stereotypes about SMAW.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This chapter has analyzed vulnerability discourse in development and development discourse about SMAW. The first finding of this chapter is that vulnerability discourse is widely used in development in Turkey. The discourse is reflected in the use of the concept of vulnerable, disadvantaged and at-risk groups, where it refers to the social inequalities that describe the conditions and characteristics of a population group. Vulnerability discourse is diffused both in Turkey's international and

national development strategies. A second finding is that SMAW are presented by many organizations as a socially vulnerable, disadvantaged and at-risk group in development in Turkey. Accordingly, the main causes of the use of vulnerability discourse is presented as lack of safe transportation services, social security, education services and health services, and the existence of discriminative practices, poor living conditions and mobility and the child labor aspects of seasonal migrant agricultural work. In other words, SMAW are a vulnerable group in Turkey constructed on the basis of technical problems rather than inequalities. Finally, regarding SMAW development practices, it can be argued that they are like the ‘cansuyu’ in a hydroelectric power plant. I have argued that these development practices are constructed in accordance with the construction of SMAW within the limited mandates of development organizations. Therefore, they neither envision structural changes nor implement actions targeting the root causes of inequalities.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE ON SMAW IN DEVELOPMENT FROM AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

*‘In this country unfortunately people are brought to the agenda in two ways. If they are very rich or if they die a lot’*

*Bülent Gülçubuk*

The emergence of development transforms subjects of life into the objects of intervention. These objects are constructed through knowledge in Foucauldian terms by regimes of truth (Naz, 2006). The previous chapter explored the construction of knowledge and practices on SMAW by a desk review. Now this chapter aims to examine the construction of knowledge on SMAW by development experts. In this regard, development experts’ representations, framings, conceptualizations and rationalities about SMAW are explored.

An analysis of the construction of SMAW knowledge is crucial because it not only influences the development practices targeting SMAW but also helps to understand the rationalities over SMAW development practices. In other words, the construction of knowledge has significant political causes and consequences. The institutionalization of development is built through the construction of knowledge with the involvement of multiple organizations. Therefore, this construction is key for understanding the power relations in the governmentality of SMAW, which is explained in the next chapter.

This chapter argues that SMAW knowledge is constructed either as a historical social fact or directly as an object of development by development experts. In both constructions, development experts aim to transform the subject of SMAW into a development object within the limits by the mandates of development organizations. In other words, the potential and limited development interventions of the

organizations construct knowledge about SMAW. This chapter argues that SMAW are constructed as a homogenized group consisting of backward people who have many technical problems and require external support.

## **6.1 SMAW as a Historical Social Fact**

In the social sciences, constructions are used to define concepts and representations on how individuals, groups, and societies organize, perceive, and communicate about reality. Constructions are important because alternative development theory argues that development produces its own form of discourse to construct the objects for development. Accordingly, this construction gives legitimacy to political actions and development practices which are actually controlling and regulating the object. Alternative development theory argues that representations are manipulated by development discourse for a political aim.

As discussed in chapter three, the study accepts that seasonal migrant agricultural work is a historical social fact and a form of structural employment exploitation which emerged during the process of capitalization of agriculture through the proletarianization of peasants. I also argue that development experts construct SMAW as a social fact as well. This section explores, from an alternative development perspective, how development experts construct knowledge about SMAW as a historical social fact. The major patterns of this historical fact, the shared characteristics of SMAW and the attribution of symbols and images to the characteristics of SMAW are analyzed. In this regard, development experts highlight three major patterns for constructing SMAW as a historical social fact:

- SMAW as unwanted migrant people
- SMAW as the subjects of a life survival strategy
- SMAW as the subjects of conflict politics

Before discussing each topic, it is very important to reiterate that SMAW is a complex pattern that covers all three aspects; however, it is important to focus on the orientations of the development experts in order to be able to assess SMAW development discourse and practices. The reason for this is that they are very

influential in policy and program design, as these are the legitimacy grounds for them. The following chapter is built on the findings of this chapter and will show the inter-linkages between constructed development discourse and practices. Moreover, it needs to be highlighted that almost each development expert states all of the above-mentioned aspects in their attributions regarding SMAW with a different order of explanation. This means that some experts start expressing their ideas on SMAW with ethnicity, some started the story with poverty and landlessness, while some start with SMAW as a development object with low ranking indicators. However, this section argues that SMAW issues are constructed as a local problem and a family pattern, which prevents national and structural inequalities from being addressed as part of the issue, even though it emerged with the far from local phenomenon of the capitalization of agriculture.

### **6.1.1 SMAW as Unwanted Migrant People**

#### ***Are they threat for the community?***

The first construction of SMAW is in line with a general and global negative perception of migration, migrants and other unknown people, or in other words unwanted people. P8-UNI defines this as a negative migrant perception with reference to many meetings. She states that in many policy meetings migration is indicated as an issue to be banned and considered as a security problem. This calls to mind the arguments of Furedi (2008) in his article named ‘Fear and Security: A Vulnerability-Led Policy Response’. In his article he argues that people are managed through the sense of fear which is constructed with the concept of vulnerability. P8-UNI explains that migration is a social pattern that should not be considered as a security problem. She also highlights that this discourse is increasingly sharpening in Turkish society, where public officials also contribute to the development of the idea that migrants are dirty, dangerous, burglars etc.

In many narratives, SMAW in Turkey are also characterized by negative representations, where the focus is more related to prejudices against them as being migrants than to be agricultural workers. One of the first representations of SMAW is defined as ‘Irgat’. ‘Irgat’ is kind of an agricultural slavery prevalent in Ottoman

and Turkey history. This definition is recognized in novels of those times and is still used very often in agriculture. Especially employers or farm labor intermediaries frequently use the concept of 'Irgat'. In interviews, experts of private sector NGOs also used the concept of 'Irgat'<sup>66</sup> to define SMAW.

SMAW are also represented as unwanted people and people that should be temporary. Here, the most significant aspect of SMAW construction is the fear of local people and/or local state actors concerning the effect of the long-term stay of SMAW in their environment. Narrative of an international organization expert not only indicates the unwantedness of SMAW but also explains the rationality behind the limited services provided to SMAW from a deputy governor's words.

Adana vali yardımcısı dedi ki niye elektrik, su vermiyorsunuz diye sorduğumuzda bir de bunlara elektrik, su vereceğiz, ondan sonra hiç gitmeyecekler Adana'dan dedi. Yani bir de böyle de bir şey var yani. Hani mevsimlik tarım işçiliğini bu ülke destekliyor. Yani mevsimlik olsun diyor. Gelip de buraya yerleşmesin diyor. Gitsin başımdan diyor. Gelsin, biberimi toplansın, ondan sonra cehennem olsun gitsin diye bakıyor zaten hani. P1-INT

When I've asked to the deputy governor of Adana "Why don't you provide electricity and water to the. He told that if we provide them electricity and water, they will never leave Adana. So here is the issue; this country supports seasonal migrant agricultural work. In other words, state would like to keep this seasonal. They do not want them to be permanent residents. They prefer them to leave. They wish they should come, crop the peppers and then leave to hell. P1-INT

The arguments of alternative development literature highlight that development should bring the solidarity within diversity, which implies that inclusion and participation must be sustained among members of the society. However, in the construction of SMAW as unwanted migrant people it can be argued that positioning SMAW as threats for the community rationalizes discriminative discourses and practices towards them. Additionally, SMAW here are also constructed as tools for agriculture rather than people who are necessary due to temporary labor shortages.

In line with the narrative above, from alternative development perspective, it can be criticized that basic citizenship rights are considered as gifts, as if the state has the

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<sup>66</sup> Irgatlık "denotes deep poverty, disadvantaged position, low quality of life and working conditions, lack of safety, deprivation of basic services, social exclusion and inability to enjoy many rights that citizens are entitled to" (Özbek, 2007: 50)

right to choose whom to give them to or withhold them from. Actually, this can also be interpreted as the inhuman perspective of the neoliberal state over workers. Therefore, an alternative development perspective requires the reorganization of the state so that it is based on collective community rights rather than individual rights.

The narratives of universities and local state experts also express the concern of residents about SMAW. It is expressed that SMAW are unwanted people and should be kept away from the residents of the areas through which they migrate to work.

Bu insanlar hani kendileri çalışmıyorlar insan getiriyorlar çalıştırıyorlar ama o insanları da sevmiyorlar benimsemiyorlar etraflarında da. Yani o insanlar kendi kasabalarına girsin istemiyorlar, şehrin dışında kalsınlar, çadırlarda madırlarda barınsınlar, şehrin içine girmesinler. P8-UNI

Those people do not work themselves and they hire people. However, they do not love or embrace those people. They do not want them to enter their villages, they want them to stay outside of town and stay in tents, and they should not enter to the town. P8-UNI

Mera alanına böyle efendim çadırların kurulmasını falan halk istemiyordu halk bu kişileri kabul etmedi. P11-LOC

Society did not want tents in pasture areas, society did not accept them. P11-LOC

To sum up this section, despite the perennial need for SMAW in agricultural production, SMAW are constructed as unwanted migrant people and threats to the community. Within this construction, public and political acts of discrimination are legitimized towards SMAW in the name of spatial organization or security. Therefore, often security controls are conducted and shelters are built in selected areas as it is expressed in chapter five.

### **6.1.2 Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Work as a Life Survival Strategy**

#### **Are they survivors?**

The second construction of SMAW by development experts is as a life survival strategy, informal employment of poor, landless and uneducated people. Their strategy for survival is expressed as migrating to work as cheap labor. In the analysis of the life survival strategy, experts highlighted different aspects of this strategy.

These are about the profile of SMAW, the profile of the employer, the profile of agricultural policies and the global agricultural policies. Actually here it is very important to differentiate the aspects according to the layer of organizations. In an alternative development perspective, I can argue that constructing Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Work as a life survival strategy shifts the focus from rural transformation and the root causes of the inequalities SMAW face to technical issues. It can be argued that almost all organizations start their framings with the current situation as they are poor and landless, there is a labor shortage or there is global competition. It is argued that this construction transforms SMAW from subjects to the objects of development.

In the assessment of the construction according to the layers of the development organizations, it can be argued that development experts in the state and international organizations use a distancing discourse regarding SMAW. They do not focus on structural problems or power relations forced them, but rather on them being SMAW as a rational action to survive.

Yani hiçbir rasyonel insan ki insanlar iyi kötü hepsi rasyonel, daha kaliteli bir hayat modundan daha kalitesiz bir hayat moduna geçmez. Demek ki orada hayatı çok kalitesiz. Veya orada çok akut bir işsizlik ve yoksulluk sorunu var. Dolayısıyla hani rasyonel olarak uluslararası alanda olduğu gibi işçi, bu iş bulacağı alanlar arasında hareket ediyor. P3-NAT

None of the rational people—more or less all people are rational— would move to worsen their life quality. This means that their life quality is poor or there is a chronic unemployment and poverty problem at their hometown. Therefore, rationally they move in between the areas that they might find better condition as it is same in the international level P3-NAT

As discussed in the chapter two, knowledge construction is about producing the truth. In the discourse of national state experts; the rural transformation in Turkey and the capitalization of agriculture demand SMAW and their critical role in agriculture are hidden and just the survival strategy aspect is present. Poor working and living conditions are legitimized to compensate the survival problems of SMAW. In an alternative development perspective, I can argue that a structural issue about SMAW is presented as rational behavior.

Local state development experts emphasize the local aspects of the SMAW issue mainly from the employers' perspective, which considers SMAW as objects rather than subjects in agriculture. They legitimize cheap and informal employment as a result of increasing agricultural costs and rural to urban migration.

Adam artık toplamaktansa daha ucuz fiyata hani çin malı gibi düşünün daha ucuzu varken niye almayım ben yevmiyem 60 lira ama dışardan bunu 20 liraya 30 liraya toplayan bi insan varken ben bu eziyeti niye çekiyim. P30-LOC

He thinks I should better hire someone to harvest then doing it by myself. It is like using cheap Chinese products, my daily wage is 60 but there are people who can do this work for 20-30 lira, why should I suffer from pain. P30-LOC

The alternative development perspective criticizes the role of the state in the neoliberal order, indicating that it regulates peoples' lives for the advantage of the market, or in other words in order to support employers. As P30-LOC states above, state experts support employers for the overall economic development of the country. However, constructing the issue as a local commercial problem is far from presenting the realities of the SMAW issues, and result in local and temporary interventions rather than structural changes. In an alternative development approach, the reorganization of the state needs to be sustained so as to effect a people-oriented development.

Mostly NGO and university development experts emphasize seasonal migrant work as a survival strategy and they also highlight the significant link between this life survival strategy and agricultural transformation in Turkey, as quoted from P43-NGO. In line with the critiques from an alternative development perspective, they highlight the unequal land distribution and rapid mechanization in agriculture that creates a reserve army of agricultural employment which initiates proletarianization in agriculture. Especially unions express the inequalities significantly.

Mevsimlik tarım işçiliği meselesinin özü birilerinin adil olmaması, toprakların bölüşümünün adil olmaması, birilerinin çok toprağı var birilerinin az ya da hiç. Mevsimlik tarım işçiliği topraksız, geliri olmayanların başvurdukları yöntem, aile boyu yapılan bir iş. P43-NGO

The core of seasonal migrant work issue is about injustice. The distribution of lands is not fair, some has bigger lands, some has less, and some has none. Seasonal

agricultural work is the labor of landless and incomeless people; this is a family labor.  
P43-NGO

In the references to agriculture policies, NGOs also criticize the relation between Turkey's agricultural policies and the global agricultural economy as quoted from P7-NGO. Accordingly, NGO development experts argue that the fulfillment of SMAW labor rights would have negative consequences on the global competitiveness of Turkey and also increase the import prices of European countries. This gives clues about the political rationality behind the construction of seasonal migrant agricultural work as a life survival strategy. It also gives clues about involvement of especially European states and private sector companies in SMAW development work. Indeed, the global competitiveness of Turkey is built on the low labor costs which have a negative effect on SMAW work and life conditions. This can be interpreted as the division of labor in neoliberal order, which prioritizes profit rather than labor rights. However, an alternative development perspective prioritizes citizen rights, including labor rights.

Bir parça arka planı okumaya çalışıyorum Türkiye deki tarımın küçük işletme yapısı – karlılığı- yada verimliliği bu insanların hakları ekseninde çalışmalarının hakları , kazanmaları şeklinde çalışırlarsa gıda fiyatları inanılmaz yükselir – yani 30 liraya fındık şey yapıyosun normalde asgari ücret versen 50 – 55 tl. ye geliyor bu insanların günlük yevmiyesi . Bu zaten işçilik ve özellikle bu tür ürünler de önemli girdilerden bir tanesi . Yani %50 - % 70 işçi ücretinin artması durumundada bu ürüne %30 - % 40 yansır . Bu ne demektir 6 liralık fındığın 7-8 liraya alınması demektir. 7- 8 liraya aldımı avrupada çikolataya kadar zincirleme yansıyacak demektir.P7-NGO

I try to read the background context; the petty commodity structure, profitability or productivity of the Turkish agriculture. If these people work in the scope of human rights and labor rights, the food prices would enormously increase. In other words, harvesting nuts is daily 30 liras, if minimum wage is paid to workers, daily wage turns into 50-55 liras. Because labor costs are the most important inputs of those type of products. In other words, 50-70% increase in labor costs would increase at least 30-40% of the product prices. This means that 6 TL/KG of nuts would be sold to 7-8 TL/KG. And this 7-8 TL/KG nuts price would influence the chocolate prices in Europe sequentially. P7-NGO

The final aspect of the construction of SMAW as the subjects of life survival strategies is significant for an alternative development perspective. This is the cycle of being SMAW from generation to generation. I argue that the most impressive statements of development experts about SMAW as a life survival strategy is on the vicious cycle of poverty from generation to generation, because it not only



constructs the current SMAW but also influence the construction of past and future generations of SMAW. Not only NGOs but also state experts are also aware of this vicious cycle.

Bu calisma biçimi biraz aile ile birlikte yapılan bir çalışma biçimi. Aile olarak insanlar bir yerden bir yere göçüyorlar. .... Ve bu yoksulluğun bir nesle sonraki nesle aktarılmasının sebebini belli ediyor. Bir kısır döngü oluşuyor. P2-NAT

This labor type is a family business. People migrate from one place to the other with their families... This manifests the cause of the transfer of poverty from generation to generation. This generates a vicious cycle. P2-NAT

Dolayısıyla da o gruplar içinde kısır bir döngü yaratıyor, bu tarım işçiliğinde en önemli dezavantajı oluşturuyor. Sahada görüştüklerimizin birçoğunun dedesi de mevsimlik tarım işçisi idi- torunu da mevsimlik tarım işçisi dolayısıyla bu kırılmaz bir yoksulluk döngüsü yaratıyor . P39-NGO

Hence this creates a vicious cycle for this group and generates the most important disadvantage for agricultural labour. In our field interviews the grandparents of the most of the interviewees were seasonal agriculture workers and their grandchildren will be the same, hence this creates a solid poverty cycle. P39-NGO

Mevsimlik tarım işçiliği yoksulluğun kısır döngüsünün en çok yaşandığı meslek / grup. Ne okuyo, ne farklı işte çalışıyo, sınıf atlama şansı yok, kuşaktan kuşağa yoksulluk. P40-REG

SMAW are the group whose fate is sealed in a vicious cycle of poverty the most. They neither educate, nor work in a different fields, they do not have a chance of class mobility, and this is poverty from generation to generation. P40-REG

One of the main characteristics of SMAW are migrating and working together as a large family. This deprives SMAW of many services, especially in the case of education and SMAW children and youth. Thus, as indicated in the narratives of P2-NAT, P39-NGO and P40-REG, the same SMAW working and living conditions prevail over many generations. This is called ‘life cycle vulnerability’ by the World Human Report (2015). Almost all organizations emphasize the life cycle vulnerability aspect of the issue. In an alternative development perspective, the transformation of poverty or informal work limits human mobility, which can also be argued as the unsuccessful practices of SMAW development. Actually, the life cycle vulnerability aspect of SMAW supports the alternative development argument that SMAW development work is constructed around technical issues rather than structural changes in such a way that the vulnerability cycle continues.

To sum up, this section has argued that development experts construct SMAW as people who rationally prefer to be SMAW. In other words, they argue that SMAW is a local agricultural family pattern and a rational survival strategy. Hence, from an alternative approach, they also homogenize SMAW and normalize the issue within the rural context. This construction enables the shift of SMAW issues from the political sphere to a technical sphere.

### **6.1.3 SMAW as the Subjects of Conflict Policies**

#### ***Are they terrorists?***

The third construction of SMAW as a historical fact is SMAW as the subjects of conflict policies. According to statistics, the majority of SMAW are Kurdish, though there are also other ethnic groups such as Arabs and Romans. However, this ethnicity aspect is quite invisible among the narratives of experts. SMAW are usually expressed as the people from Eastern and Southeastern Turkey rather than as Kurds or Arabs. In other words, SMAW are not constructed with their ethnic aspect. This discourse prevents the issue from being positioned as a part of the conflict issue in the country. However, in the parliament, calls for research on the part of the BDP and HDP highlight the ethnic aspect of the issue. They argue that one of the reasons that the SMAW problem has not been solved is due to the ethnicity of SMAW.

It can be argued that the construction of SMAW as the subjects of conflict policies is very significant; although it is sometimes hidden in between sentences or in the selection of words, it would be appropriate to mention this construction. In other words, during the interviews the SMAW issue is also constructed as an ethnic issue which is kept between the lines. I can state that especially state and international organizations are hesitant about vocalizing this reality of the ethnic aspect of the SMAW. To hide this, national and international organizations use either regional identification or language identification regarding SMAW. Furthermore, I can state that despite the fact that the ethnic attribution of SMAW is quite clear, only NGOs express this ethnic aspect, and even then only in limited or indirect statements. In the narratives of development experts, SMAW are constructed as the subject of conflict policies. These both explain the roots of SMAW landlessness and poverty in relation

to the Southeastern Turkey and also construct SMAW on the basis of their ethnicity. Furthermore, SMAW constructed as Kurds are sometimes described as terrorists, sometimes as people with a backward culture and sometimes as dirty and dangerous. Considering alternative development critiques, it can be said that race, gender and ethnicity are used to legitimize discrimination to control population groups in development. Additionally, it can be argued that ethnic construction helps to hide the inequalities of the SMAW. It can be argued that only NGO and university development experts openly mention the ethnic aspect of SMAW.

Siz Kürtünüz, teröristsiniz, hırsızlık var sizde diye dışlamalar var sosyal anlamda.  
P13-NGO

There are social exclusions as indicating that they are Kurds, terrorists, burglars. P13-NGO

Furthermore, NGOs emphasize that conflict policies in Turkey and the forced migration of Kurdish people from the Southeastern part of Turkey in the 1990s resulted in their transformation into landless, poor SMAW. As quoted from P7-NGO, there is a clear linkage between poverty and being SMAW. This ethnic construction is still based on poverty and P7-NGO especially indicates that most poor people of all ethnicities join the informal seasonal agricultural work.

Bitkisel üretim sürecine de baksan bir kez bir insan evini barkını sürekli yaşadığı bir yeri bırakıp başka bir yerde çalışıyo ise bir kez yoksullarında yoksulu demektir..... Bi kez en yoksullar en eğitimsizler topraksızlar ve bir başkanının arazinde çalışarak hayatını geçindirmek zorunda kalan bir kesim bu. Bunun etnik- dini - bilmem bir sürü şeyi var ama esas olan yoksulluk .Yani yoksulluk onları bu sürece sürüklüyor. Türkiye'deki şeyine bakınca esasında bu süreçte ağırlıklı olarak doğu ve güneydoğudan .Bunun arka planı var. Yani esas kürt bir etnisite var ama yani örneğin 1992 de köy boşaltmaları olmasa idi bu paten değişecekti.Kürt olmayacaktı ağırlıklı olarak. Ya Roman olacaktı ya Gürcüler olacaktı- yada başka bir şey olacaktı- ya da toplumun en yoksulu kimse..... her etnisitenin en yoksulu bu sürece katılıyor. Araplarda, Kürtlerde, Suriyelilerde, Türklerde,Romanlarda , Gürcülerde fark etmiyor bu. P7-NGO

In scope of the plant production; if a person leaves his/her house and works in another place he/she should be the poorest of the poor. First of all this groups is the poorest, the least educated and landless, they have to survive by working in another persons land. There are ethnic, religious and other factors but the base is about poverty. In other words, poverty moves them to this process. In Turkey, they are mostly from eastern and southeastern regions. This has a background. There is a Kurd ethnicity in this issue and if the 1992 forced migration would not have happened the pattern would be different. The majority would not be Kurds, it would be Roman or Georgian

or some other, and it would be other poorest of the society.... The poorest of all ethnicity joins this process. It is same for Arabs, Kurds, Syrians, Turks, Romans and Georgians. P7-NGO

In an alternative development perspective, regardless of ethnic differences, diversity would be an important mechanism. But in SMAW construction, ethnicity is used as a negative representation which hides the existing inequalities in Southeastern Turkey.

Here it is important to highlight that ethnicity both creates tension in the areas where SMAW work and causes discriminatory practices towards SMAW on the part of public officials and society. However, discriminatory practices are not mentioned in the narratives of state development experts but do exist in international organization, NGO and university experts' narratives. They emphasize that SMAW are not only discriminated against due to their ethnicity but also with the other negative perceptions of their ethnicity such as terror and crime.

Furthermore, NGOs and international organization experts argue that the state limits SMAW policies due to their ethnic identity. Furthermore, they argue that SMAW regulations are constructed for security and control purposes. As noted above, for the sake of Turkey's competitiveness there is a consensus on sustaining SMAW as an informal employment. But on the other hand, experts argue that the state aims to sustain seasonal migrant agricultural work to keep Kurds from becoming terrorists as quoted from P1-INT.

Özel sektörden biri. Zaten devlet bunu destekliyor. Bölge boşalsın ve teröre katılmasın bu aileler diye dedi. Yani şimdi böyle bir gizli gündemden bahsediyorsak yani oyun otobüsü mü yaparsın, yok okulu başka yerde kaydını yaparsın, onlara tuvalet mi inşa edersin? Ne edersen et, yani bu zaten bu sorun teşvik ediliyor demek oluyor yani. P1-INT

A person from private sector told me that The State supports this to keep the region empty and to keep families away from joining terrorism. So if there is such a hidden agenda; whether game busses are organized or the place of school registrations are transferred or toilets are built or something else, this still means that this issue is supported by state. P1-INT

According to P1-INT, SMAW are allowed to work but at the same time there is an attempt to control them through SMAW development projects. To summarize,

SMAW are constructed as subjects of ethnic conflict policies, as Kurds/terrorists, but this construction is kept hidden by development experts.

## **6.2 SMAW as the Object of Development**

In the interviews held with development experts from various levels of different organizations, the most common pattern of construction of SMAW discourse was as an object of development and a vulnerable population group in Turkey. It is observed that although the construction and attributions start with the historical roots of SMAW, the explanations turn into technical explanations which require development practices. In this section I argue that vulnerable SMAW discourse moves the issues from the political sphere and ignores the inequalities SMAW face. Hence, the subject aspect of SMAW becomes hidden and transforms into an object to be legitimately regulated by development experts.

In this section, the construction of SMAW as a development object is explored, as are the main characteristics and problems of SMAW as an object of development. First, SMAW are regarded as a homogeneous group of people despite the diversity of the group. In other words, although there is some special interest in SMAW women and children, most of the development policies and interventions target the general population of SMAW regardless of the special interests of the children, elderly, disabled, men, women or young people among SMAW. Second, SMAW are framed as disadvantaged, vulnerable and at-risk, or as people in the worst ranking or at the bottom in many development areas. Development experts argue that SMAW are the most disadvantaged, most vulnerable, most at-risk, most ignored and most vulnerable group in many respects, including health, education and labor relations. The third vulnerability aspect of SMAW as a development object is very much linked with the mandates of the organizations. It can be argued that each expert highlights the vulnerability of SMAW in relation with the mandates of his or her organization.

Most significantly, there is a general consensus among all development experts to identify SMAW as the most vulnerable/disadvantaged/at-risk group in Turkey.

Mevsimlik tarım işçileri, bizim gördüğümüz kadarıyla Türkiye'deki en dezavantajlı, en sıkıntılı, daha ücretsiz olan sağlık ve eğitim hizmetlerine dahi erişemeyen bir kesim. P3-NAT

As far as we observe seasonal agricultural workers are the most disadvantaged, and the most troubled group in Turkey that they even are not able to access to free health and education services. P3-NAT

TR'deki en dezavantajlı grup mevsimlik tarım işçileri. P40-REG

SMAW are the most disadvantaged group in Turkey. P40-REG

Yani buna göre gelirdeki en alttakiler, sosyal yaşamdaki en alttakiler, istihdamdaki en alttakiler, doğal bir sonuç olarak sağlıkta da piramidin en altında, en alttakiler, tamamen en alttakiler yani bir tırnak içerisinde öyle diyebilirim. P0-INT

Accordingly they are at the bottom of the society in regards to income, social life, employment. As a matter of course they are in the bottom of the pyramid in health. I can say that they are completely at the bottom. P0-INT

Afterwards, when development experts discuss the reasons for identifying SMAW as being as vulnerable/disadvantaged/at-risk, development experts in international and state organizations construct SMAW based on development indicators and statistics. Especially state experts always emphasize the importance of SMAW for the sustainability of agricultural economy in Turkey. On the other hand, NGO and university development experts emphasize the structural problems and approach the issue from the perspective of labor rights. But the most significant issue is that almost all participants listed the characteristics/vulnerabilities of SMAW technically, in line with the literature. SMAW vulnerability discourse is used to frame the inequalities in a technical way and moves the issue away from the political sphere. Here, it is observed that NGOs and universities mostly focus on the SMAW labor process, social security and registration, while international organizations and national organizations mostly focus on SMAW living conditions and their access to public services.

Especially the narratives of state experts present how SMAW are technically vulnerable and personally backward. Public service provision for SMAW is presented as almost impossible and SMAW are presented as incapable and different.

These discriminatory arguments serve to legitimize SMAW development interventions and control over SMAW.

En dezavantajlı kesimlerden birisi neden? Bir, Türkiye’de biz pek çok kamu hizmetini adrese dayalı nüfus kayıt sistemi üzerinden veriyoruz. Bu insanlar kayıtlı oldukları yerlerde hizmet alamıyorlar. İki, hizmet alamamanın ve kaliteli yaşamamanın en büyük sebebi yoksulluk. Bu insanların ortalama, kısa süre itibarıyla zaten kayıtlı çalışma oranı çok yüksek ama kısa süreli çalıştığınız ve bahçeden bahçeye çalıştığınız zaman tabi ki sigortanız olması imkansız. Türkiye’deki en büyük kırılma faktörlerinden bir tanesi bu. Gelir ve sosyal güvenliğin olmamasını yan yana koyduk, geldik üçüncü meseleye. Sürekli mobil olmaktan dolayı, gittiğiniz yerdeki sistemi bilememek, oraya kayıtlı olamamak, o bölgedeki hastanenin, okulun yerini bile bilememekten kaynaklanan şey şu, ücretsiz olsa dahi kamu hizmetinden faydalanamıyorsunuz. .... gittikleri yerlerde ekonomik, sosyal güvenlik, nüfus kayıt sisteminden uzak olmak ve benzerlerinin yanında gittikleri yerlerde etnik olarak mukim nüfustan farklı oldukları için etnik olarak da orayla kolay entegre olmaları mümkün değil. P3-NAT

They are one of the most disadvantaged groups. Why? First, we provide public services according to the address-based population registration system in Turkey. They are not able to receive services where they are registered. Secondly; the major cause of the lack of access to services and the poor quality of life is poverty. It is impossible to have social security when you work short term from one farm to another. This is one of the most important vulnerability factor. We put aside the lack of income and lack of social security, third is about continuous mobility. Due to mobility they do not know the system where they are migrated. They are not registered there, so they do not know the place of the school, hospital hence they are not able to access free public services. Therefore, their distance from economic and social security system, population registration system and their ethnic difference makes their integration more difficult. P3-NAT

From an alternative development perspective, here the target groups are victimized and the state hands over its role to individuals in accordance with neoliberal policies. Actually while P3-NAT explains that SMAW are not able to access services, the narrative also presents the state’s lack of ability to serve mobile groups. But state expert manifests that SMAW are not able to access. Here, I argue that if there is no universal service provision for all citizens, in this case SMAW, then they cannot be blamed for not having access to these services. Additionally, in his construction P3-NAT highlights the lack of social security. However, he also continues on to express the impossibility of having a social security system for SMAW. It can be argued that state presents cause of inequality as a consequence.

From an alternative development perspective, it can be argued that experts present SMAW problems in a technical and scientific way. This is defined as a tool to

depoliticize the issue in post-development (Escobar, 1995). In their explanations, development experts not only construct SMAW as vulnerable, disadvantaged and at-risk in social development but also they define expected change. In other words, they also construct the rationale for their interventions. This presents the influential role of development experts over knowledge production and development practices. An appropriate alternative development critique would be on the influential role of development experts in policy making. Within this respect, experts facilitate the construction of development objects in line with expected/limited development interventions. In other words, the construction of objects is conducted in order to create a rationale for limited policy interventions. Therefore, an analysis of the causes of SMAW vulnerability from the perspectives of experts of different levels of organizations will be explored in the following paragraphs.

State development experts usually construct the vulnerability of SMAW on the basis of transportation, education and health problems. They state that SMAW experience routine travel due to the mobile nature of their work which causes road accidents. They also indicate that being SMAW negatively influences the education and health of them and their children, because they emphasize that SMAW do not have access to public services. International organization development experts usually emphasize the education, health and shelter issues in constructing SMAW vulnerability discourse. For them, structural changes and vulnerable group policies are necessary for the provision of public services for temporary and deprived groups. International organizations also indicate the role of employment systems in SMAW vulnerability. They bring the actors of the employer and farm labor intermediaries into the picture. Especially, they emphasize that the farm intermediary mechanism needs to be eliminated and the roles and responsibilities of employer need to be settled. They suggest this in order to abolish the exploitation of SMAW and regulate the employment process.

Bir tek işverenle çalışmamak belki başka bir dezavantaj olarak değerlendirilebilir. Kendi iş ilişkisi kuramamak bir aracıya bağlı olarak çalışma zorunda kalıyor olması bir diğer dezavantaj olarak değerlendirilebilir. P5-INT

Working with multiple employers can be considered as another disadvantage. Other disadvantage can be considered as the lack of direct work relation with the employer and the obligatory mechanism of working through a farm intermediary. P5-INT



From an alternative development perspective, the employer and representatives of the employer must be involved to the development processes of SMAW where they are invisible.

University development experts highlight SMAW living conditions in their discourse regarding SMAW vulnerability. Problems relating to the physical safety of the shelters and their electricity, water and sanitation services are emphasized as the problems of SMAW which causes serious hygiene and health problems.

In the construction of knowledge about SMAW, NGOs also emphasize social development issues, but with more of a focus on the humanistic aspects and with highlights on the heterogeneity of the group. In contrast with the dominant homogenization perspective towards SMAW in development, NGOs defines children and women among SMAW as separate. They indicate women and children face a double vulnerability.

Kadın emeğinin sömürülmesi ve çocuk emeğinin sömürülmesi vardır. Kadın emeğinin sömürülmesi sadece Doğu ve Güneydoğudan gelen kadınlarının emeğinin sömürülmesi değil, örneğin 15 kişilik bir aile geliyor, bu ailede anne var. Bu anne aynı zamanda yemek yapar, aynı zamanda çocuklarına bakar yani çalışma saatleri dışında da iş yapar. Nasıl ki ev kadın sürekli çalışır ise kampta tüm ailenin yemesi, içmesi, çamaşırı ve bakımı ile ilgili anne sorumludur. Annenin üzerinde zaten o yük vardır. İşin stresinden dolayı erkeğin de kadına hükmetmesi vardır Burada ücretler de ele geçerken, bizde ücret direk erkeklere verilir, bir de dayı başı ücretlerin yüzde onunu alır. Dolayısı ile kadın emeğinin de katmer katmer sömürülmesi söz konusudur. Çocuk emeğine gelince de, çocukları biz ikiye ayırdık. Bir kampta kalan çocuklar ve kamp dışında kalan çocuklar. Kampta kalan çocuklar, daha çok 11 yaş ve altıdır. Fiziki özürsüzlüğe göre değişse de 11 ile 17 yaş arasında çocuklar da çalışmaya gider. Bu kampta kalan çocuklarda da 8 ila 12 yaş arası kız çocukları çocuk anne fonksiyonundadır. Yani orada mutlaka küçük bir bebek vardır ve kız çocukları o bebelere çocuk annelik yapmaktadır çünkü anneleri çalışmaya gitmektedir. P35-NGO

Here there is the exploitation of women's labor and children's labor. Exploitation of women's labor is not just about the labor exploitation of women from the East and the Southeast. For example, when a family of 15 people come to be a SMAW, in this family there is a mother who works and cooks and takes care of children in her after hours. She is responsible of food, cleaning and care of all the family in the camp whereas a housewife works all day. Additional to this burden on the mother, men dominate women due to their work stress. During the distribution of wages; wages are not delivered to men where 10% are cut by farm labor intermediaries too. For this very reason women's labor is exploited many times more. In regards to child labor, we divide them into two; children stay inside and outside the camp. Children who stay in the camp are below the age of 11. According to physical abilities, children

from 11 to 17 go to work. 8 to 12 aged girls function as mothers in camp areas. In most camps there are babies and girls take care of babies as their mothers go to work. P35-NGO

Almost all organizations emphasize the education problem of SMAW children, namely that they are not able to go to school during the agricultural season. State experts always argue that they prioritize this issue and that they both implement precautions for the continuity of education and for combating child labor. But they also indicate that both families and employers need the work of children. Employers need small hands in the harvesting of some agricultural products and crowded families need the wages of their children for their subsistence.

To sum up, it can be argued that SMAW are constructed as an object of development almost entirely through social aspects. And they are positioned as the most vulnerable group in Turkey.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed how knowledge on SMAW is constructed and the implications of this knowledge construction. According to the findings of this chapter, the social fact of SMAW is constructed as unwanted migrant people, as a life survival strategy, as the subjects of conflict politics and as the objects of development. Experts argue in their interviews that their knowledge about SMAW is based on their own perception and interpretation of existing studies, development indicators and their personal experiences relating to SMAW. Considering that these studies and indicators have political aims, the construction of SMAW by development experts can also be considered as ideological from the very beginning. In fact, almost all participants state that SMAW face structural problems that have all the dimension of new poverty such as economic poverty, deprivation of services and social exclusion. However, despite this awareness, except NGOS all constructions about SMAW consider them as objects rather than as subjects of development. In other words, the construction of major actors move the issue from the political sphere and hide the fact of labor exploitation. Constructing SMAW problems as social development problems can also be considered to result in the

perpetuation of neoliberal agriculture policies. This also legitimizes employers and farm labor intermediaries in continuing their exploitation through the use of the same constructions.

Additionally, this chapter has argued that the construction of SMAW identifies SMAW as a homogenized vulnerable group who are backward, incapable and who require the help of development experts. Furthermore, it legitimizes a top-down approach to development where expert facilitation is required. Moreover, experts also argue that all types of constructions represent SMAW as a threat to and risk for society. From an alternative development approach, this construction both legitimizes security-led controls over SMAW and discriminatory practices towards SMAW.

To conclude, as discussed before, the construction of knowledge is a part of constructing the truth which greatly influences and has important consequences on power over SMAW. In the next chapter, the mechanism of power over SMAW, in other words technologies of power in governmentality, are analyzed. Before moving to the next chapter, it is important to indicate some findings about the development experts which are relevant to their knowledge construction.

First, it is important to indicate that in the narratives there is no consensus on the definition of development and participants generally emphasize two diverging development approaches. The first is that of the majority who are closer to modernist development, and the other is that of those who have hesitations, questions and criticisms about the concept of modernist development.

The second finding can be expressed as the relation between the mandates of the organizations and the faculties of universities and the way development experts understand and define development. For example, in interviews with experts at a health organization, they defined and centered development as health development, while an agriculture professional in a university defined and centered development as rural development.

The third finding is on experts' analysis of development discourse in Turkey. Although there is a divergence about the definition of development among experts, there is a consensus among to the effect that international organizations influence and construct development discourse and practices in Turkey. They argue that new concepts and trends are transferred through international organizations to national, regional and local organizations. Development experts at national state organizations indicate that Turkey adopts concepts from international organizations in its national policies.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONSTRUCTION OF POWER OVER SMAW FROM AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

*‘The issue became important when producer saw the consumers possibility of non-consumption, and solution starts’*

*Ayşegül Özbek*

Baird (2010) uses the Schneiders’ framework for the social construction of a target populations<sup>67</sup>, which argues that policymakers construct a population group that a proposed policy will affect. Thus, the construction of a population group has political consequences. Remembering the arguments in the previous chapter about how the construction of SMAW transforms SMAW problems from structural into technical problems, this chapter argues that development policies and practices targeting SMAW are also constructed to conduct power over SMAW. In other words, the SMAW are both constructed by knowledge and controlled and regulated accordingly through constructed and technical development policies and practices. This power mechanism over SMAW is called governmentality. This chapter explores how SMAW are governed through development policies and practices.

Hence this chapter analyze the division of labor among different organizations, the influence of the global development agenda and the roles of international organizations, neoliberal policies and SMAW in policy constructions, as well as the roles of the construction of budget allocations and development experts. The concept of governmentality is very important because within the governmentality framework, there is a multi-centered power-relation mechanism in which different groups, institutions and people have different roles for the operation of governmentality. The most significant arguments of this chapter from alternative

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<sup>67</sup> For further information, see Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy. *American political science review*, 87(02), 334-347.

development perspective are the invisibility of SMAW and the influential role of development experts in the processes of SMAW policies. In other words, SMAW are invisible subjects whereas development experts dominate and facilitate their development.

### **7.1 Division of Labor Among the Organizations**

Governmentality is a complex international and national delivery system. The actors in it, as well as their roles and relations, thus exemplify complexity and cohesion around a targeted goal. Joseph (2009) defines governmentality as:

Having the health, wealth and well-being of populations as its target and governance from a distance through the 'conduct of conduct' as its means of operating. (p.413)

In this section, the construction of the roles and the capacities of the organizations are discussed to be able to understand the processes through which SMAW policies and practices are designed. In this regard, the main groups of partners in SMAW development are explored. It can be argued that the targets of the organizations and the division of labor among them is not only transforming structural problems from the political sphere to the technical sphere but also limiting their activities to local, small and reachable technical interventions and solutions. These two arguments give clues about how the construction of knowledge about SMAW influences development practices.

To be able to understand how this mechanism works, it is necessary to analyze the roles of each level of organization from the perspectives of development experts, international organizations, regional organizations, national organizations, NGOs and universities.

First it can be argued that, international organizations construct their roles on SMAW based on the national statistics and SMAW's low status among the national statistics. They argue that the disparity in national statistics in terms of men/women, rural/urban or east/west brings their attention to and initiates areas of intervention. Additionally, deviances from average indicators also draw the attention of

international organizations for their interventions. The low status of SMAW in development indicators and national statistics can be argued as the main legitimizing factor for the intervention of international organizations. In Foucauldian terms, SMAW are aimed to be transformed into normal with the support of international organizations and development experts. Here, normal is regarded as the average in national statistics. This argument is significant for an alternative development analysis, because alternative development argues that development indicators are constructed to sustain modernist development and sustain the continuity of the development economy and neoliberal policies.

Second, international organization development experts mostly define their roles about bringing the problems of SMAW into the development agenda and national agenda. Additionally, they define themselves as the providers of technical assistance and enablers of multi-party platforms for development discussions. This construction limits the roles of international organizations in regards to development practices.

Görevimiz konuyu gündeme getirmek, gündemde tutmak, deneyimlerimizi paylaşmak....Zaten Uluslararası kuruluşların rolü bu, tarafsız bir platform oluşturup, tarafları biraraya getirip, doğru konuların tartışılmasını, verilerle desteklenmesini sağlamak. P6-INT

Our goal is to raise the issue into the agenda, to keep the issue in the agenda and to share our experiences...Actually the role of the international organization is to establish an objective platforms, to gather all parties, to ensure discussions and on the right issues supported by data. P6-INT

Additionally, in the narrative of P6-INT the emphasis on right issues to discuss and objective platforms are problematic in an alternative approach. Hence it reaffirms the normative role of international organizations.

Development experts at international organizations highlight their roles by underlining their difference from other organizations, mainly NGOs. They argue that state partnership is a must for an international organization to work in a country. This can be interpreted as international organizations constructing their development agenda within national institutions.

Finally, international organization development experts argue that limited budgets and the division of the labor among international organizations also limit the work of the organizations about SMAW. This limitation is justified with the mandates and roles of organizations. Narratives of international organization development experts hide their important role as funders in various programs. This is also assessed in the next sections of the chapter.

To summarize, it can be argued that despite their expertise, funds and relevant mandates, international organizations are not willing to take any direct responsibility on the SMAW development issue and construct their roles as facilitators.

After the review of the roles of the international organizations, it can be argued that national and regional state organizations mainly position their roles as providers of comments/reports on the SMAW issue. So, like international organizations, national organizations also do not take the main responsibility about SMAW development:

Konuyla ilgili bütün toplantılara katılıyoruz. P20-NAT

We attend to all relevant meetings on the issue. P20-NAT

Konuyla ilgili görüş veriyoruz. P22-NAT

We express our opinions on the issue. P22-NAT

Yani ilgili kurumlara yönelik mutlaka görüşlerimizi, bunların iyileştirilmesi, raporlarımız, görüş verme anlamında katkılarımız oluyor ....uygulayıcı kuruluş değiliz. P10-REG

We contribute by expressing our opinions on the issue and by reports.... we are not an implementing agency. P10-REG

The quotations of national and regional organizations support alternative development criticisms of the role of state in development. According to the narratives it can be argued that state organizations do not want to take responsibility on the poorest, informal workers of the country. Among the national state organizations, only the Ministry of Labor and Social Security express that they do have an active role in improving the work and living conditions of SMAW. However, they also indicate that their work, such as the Prime Ministry regulation



and SMAW program, only targets improving the living conditions of SMAW. They emphasize that local state organizations are assigned to implement their role in the framework of this project. On the other hand, it can be argued that local state organizations position themselves as implementers of SMAW development projects. These local organizations are governorates, municipalities and the provincial directorates of relevant ministries such as health, national education, agriculture and so forth. Accordingly, governorates and district governorates establish monitoring units. These are local, de-centralized development interventions for SMAW development.

İzleme kurulu çok düzenli toplanıyor kararlar alıyor diyemem ama en azından herkes görevini ve sorumluluğunu biliyor. Vali yardımcısı olarak bana bu konuda birlikte çalıştığımız tüm Valiler tam yetki ve tam destek verdiler. Diğer kamu kurum ve kuruluşları da bizim talimatlarımıza harfiyen uyuyor her dönem genel anlamda tüm görevli Kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarını, sivil toplama örgütlerini bir araya topluyoruz. P28-LOC

Although I cannot say that the monitoring board is gathering regularly and making decisions regularly we can still assume that everyone knows their problems and their duties. I've got the support of all my governors as a deputy governor in the past. All other public institutions also follow governorates instructions. Each season we gather all public institutions and NGOs. P28-LOC

According to the quotation from P28-LOC, it can be argued that SMAW development work conducted through local governments are examples of a top-down development approach. Furthermore, many development experts argue that local monitoring units are not efficient, as they are not evaluated and monitored by laws and regulations. Thus, they argue that the successful implementation of SMAW development practices depends on the interest of local authorities and local managers.

Mevsimlik tarım işçilerine gezici sağlık hizmetleri gönderdiğimiz oldu, etkinlik ve başarı bölgedekilerin istek ve yetkinliklerine bağlı....bunları rutinleştirip götürmek lazım.....insanlar geçici hissettiği için taleplerini güçlü iletemiyorlar. P37-NAT

We've sent mobile health services to seasonal migrant workers the success and efficiency depends to the willingness and competencies of the people in the region. These services required to be routine but people are not always able to express their request because they feel themselves temporary. P37-NAT

Considering that SMAW development projects have a top-down approach, as P37-

NAT states, the success of SMAW development policies depends on the will of the top management. Management also defines the scope of work on SMAW development. Furthermore, although local development organizations conduct SMAW development work, they argue that they also monitor SMAW by preparing the lists of people who enter and leave cities. In an alternative development perspective this practice is accepted as the control purpose of development over SMAW. In other words, the security purpose is a hidden purpose in local development work. This argument becomes visible when state development experts indicate that SMAW development policies contribute to the peace process in their interviews.

It can again be indicated that neither international organizations nor state organizations consider themselves as the main development organization responsible for SMAW. Due to this fact, NGO work has become more visible in recent years. In regards to the NGOs, it can be argued that they usually construct their roles as researchers and implementers of development policies and practices. In other words, they produce the knowledge about SMAW and they implement the SMAW development policies and practices on behalf of state or international organizations. However, they indicate that they have significant limitations on their funding. Thus, donors shape the scope of their research or areas of intervention, and they work accordingly. This can be interpreted as a knowledge economy in development studies. In other words, NGOs work on SMAW issues in accordance and within the scope of donor limitations. In an alternative development perspective, the ideological perspective of international organizations controls the development work targeting SMAW. This argument also supports the limited roles of the state in SMAW development works, or in other words the transfer of state responsibilities to NGOs in a neoliberal order. Although the state hands its role over to NGOs, this does not allow local or grassroots issues to become involved in development but rather allows for the control of donors of international organizations or private sector companies.

As discussed in chapter five, NGOs conduct empowerment programmes, capacity building programmes as well as as researches. They also argue that one of their

primary role is advocating for the rights of SMAW through various platforms. Accordingly, NGO development experts emphasize their roles as creating awareness regarding SMAW development issues in collaboration with universities. Hence, NGOs and universities initiate the establishment of networks of people who are in SMAW development work to increase public awareness about SMAW.

Gezici tarımda çocuk işçiliği yuvarlak masa toplantıları, Devlet geliyor. Çalışma bakanlığından temsilciler oluyor her toplantıda. Özel sektör orda, işte sendikalar orda, stklar orda, çocuklarla ilgili çalışan hak temelli kuruluşlar orda. BM orda. Dolayısıyla böyle şey herkesi konuştuğu, herkesle iyiyiz. Biz önce bir farkındalık yaratalım dedik. Çünkü aslında Türkiye de bilinmiyor bu iş. .... Dolayısıyla daha çok insan bilirse, onunla ilgili konuşursa bir şeylerin yapılma ihtimali daha çok olur diye yuvarlak masa şeylerine başladık, toplantılarına başladık. P24-NGO

Representatives from the State, Ministry of Labour, private sector, unions, NGOs, Rights Based Children Organizations, and United Nations attend to round table meetings on 'child labour in agriculture'. We are fine with all. First we would like to raise awareness because this issue is not known in Turkey...Therefore we believe if more people knows and discusses the issue, there would be possibility to do something. So we started conducting round table meetings. P24-NGO

Şimdi bir kere bu olguyu artık devletin de bir ciddi olarak kabul etmesi lazım. Yani bilmesi, görünür hale getirmek lazım bu olayı politik olarak. ....En iyisi dedik bunu bir network oluşturalım. Network de herkes kendi kendine bir yerlerde çalışma yapıyorsa, hiç olmazsa bundan haberimiz olsun.Belki de network olarak bir proje geliştirebiliriz hep beraber, ya da birbirimizi destekleyebiliriz network deki toplantılarla, bilgi iletişim ağıyla. Ve bu MİGA oluştu işte bu MİGA'nın yılda bir kere daha var işte 3 kereydi şimdi 2 oldu felan şimdi yılda belki 1 kere ama hiç olmazsa toplanarak Kim nerede ne yapıyor. Çünkü yapabileceğimiz şeyler şuydu işte Türkiye raporunu çıkardık.Ondan sonra genel bir rapor çıkardık.Sonra mektuplar yazdık.Politika önerilerimiz yaptık.METİP değerlendirmesi yaptık. P8-UNI

First of all state should seriously accept this pattern. In other words state needs to learn therefore we need to make the issue politically visible ...We told that the best way is to establish a network. Because people make different studies by themselves in different places and with a network we can know about this works, we can develop projects or we can support each other with network meetings and communication channels. That's what MIGA is about. There are 2 meetings in the year which was three before. At least we learn who is doing what by meeting during the year. That was all we can do. We published Turkey report. We've wrote letters. We've recommended policies. We've evaluated METIP. P8-UNI

The narratives of P24-NGO and P8-UNI present how advocacy work is conducted through discussion platforms led by NGOs. From an alternative development approach, it can be argued that these platforms support the ongoing top-down approach in SMAW development work. Hence policies, strategies and practices

targeting SMAW are discussed in these platforms by NGOs, the state, international organizations and university development experts. Actually, the uninvolvedness of SMAW in these platforms supports this argument.

University development experts emphasize their role as producing knowledge about SMAW and state that they are conducting research to get to know SMAW. However, they also indicate that funding restrictions create limitations in the research or in the thematic areas of the research. The role of financial resources in limitations on the construction of the development knowledge is discussed in the next sections. Additionally, universities indicate their role on SMAW development as implementing empowerment programs for SMAW. P9-UNI explains that their organization is conducting SMAW empowerment programs in various cities in order to increase the access of SMAW to knowledge and public services. Here, it is important to indicate that the empowerment tool of SMAW development intervention is designed according to SMAW research, which again is conducted by the universities. Thus, empowerment programmes are constructed based on scientific knowledge which legitimizes development intervention. This argument is important in an alternative development perspective because this presents the dependency of research and development interventions on ideological donor preferences. Thus, it can be interpreted that donors, in other words international organizations and private sector companies, also define the areas in which SMAW should be empowered.

Although there are several empowerment programs targeting SMAW, it is also important to question whether they are planned or revised according to SMAW needs. In an alternative development approach, training needs and training curriculums are required to be prepared with the participation of SMAW themselves. However, in this regard, the dominant top-down development approach is observed in the narrative of experts, ie. P30-LOC. He states that they conduct training sessions on pesticides and productivity for SMAW. However, he indicates that, considering the excessive work hours of SMAW, the training is not very efficient.

Vücutlarıyla çalışıyorlar. bunlarda normal saatlerde çalışıyor burdaki zaten saatler çok anormal saatler değil, yani yedi buçuk sekizde gidiyorlar akşam beş yada altı

civarında geliyor burda fındık işçiliği öyle şey değil yani 12 saat 13 saat 14 saat çalışılmıyor. Ama sonuçta vücutlarıyla yaptıkları bi iş olduğu için siz bunu planlasanız da çok yani verimli olmuyor onu demek istiyorum. P30-LOC

They work with their bodies. They work during regular hours – actually they do not work in an extra ordinary schedule, they go to work by 7:30 and come back by 5, 6. In nuts people do not work 12,13,14 hours but despite you plan, I mean it is not efficient as they work with their bodies all day long. P30-LOC

Here, it is important to mention the critique of P23-NGO about the empowerment programs in SMAW development. In some SMAW programs, SMAW are involved as the staff of the project, sometimes voluntarily and sometimes with a financial contribution. There is one important argument from an NGO participant to the effect that SMAW projects empower SMAW but also alienates them from being SMAW and moves them to do some other business than seasonal agricultural work. He argues that these empowerment programs are used by SMAW as a kind of avenue for class mobility.

METİDER üzerindeki çalışmaları gördüm onun örgütlenmeye başladıktan itibaren ve örgütsel kapasite artırıcı çalışmalara girdikten sonra bile kendilerini bir tür hani artık küçükte olsa bir tür sınıf atlamanın eşiğinde hissetmeye başlıyorlar ve gayet haklı olarak kesinlikle yargılamıyorum. Ama yani hani bu örgütlenme çalışmasının içinde o insanların işçiliğe devam edeyim diye dönme istekleri tabii ki olmaz olmayacaktır. Hani buradan edindiğim sosyal sermaye ile acaba başka nerelere geçebilirim diye. Çünkü gerçekten en kötü çalışma şartlarında çalışan insanın en küçük fırsatı değerlendirmesi gayet anlaşılır bir şey. Yani dolayısıyla biraz daha böyle derli toplu bir örgütlenme içerisinde olabilecek sosyal kapasiteye sahip mevsimlik tarım işçisinin mevsimlik tarım işçiliği artık yapmaktan vazgeçmesi acaba bunlara olan yani onlarla örgütlenmeyi zorlaştırabilir mi diye düşünüyorum. P23-NGO

I have seen the works of METİDER. I do understand and do not judge but when they are organized or involved in capacity building works, they start feeling a move up their social class. These people are not and would not willing to continue being workers. They calculate where they can move with gained social capital. Because as they work in the worst working conditions, they would like to use even tiny opportunities. So I question whether a seasonal agricultural worker having social capacity to be in an organization form would leave seasonal agricultural work and would harden the organization of the group. P23-NGO

Quotation from P23-NGO can be interpreted as the transformation of empowerment programs into salvation programs for SMAW. But instead this represents one of the roles that SMAW conduct in governmentality. As argued in the theoretical chapter, governmentality includes multiple ways and power centers and all actors involved, especially the subject itself, have a role in the operation of governmentality.

In addition to empowerment programs, experts highlight the involvement of other actors in SMAW development. Therefore, they argue that they implement capacity building programs. Accordingly, they argue that in this process there are several actors to be empowered for the operation of the system, such as health personnel, imams, local authorities, local media and SMAW themselves. This is called capacity-building development work conducted through training and workshops. From an alternative development approach, it can be argued that capacity-building training acts as teaching the roles of organizations in governmentality. In other words, this can be interpreted as imposing a division of labor in SMAW development work. It can also be interpreted as a tool to sustain of the current top-down development approach.

Başka bir boyutu yöneticiler yani çünkü sonuçta hizmet tamam hekim eğit yani hemşireyi de eğit ama o bir kamu düzeni içinde olan bir iş çünkü kamu hizmetlerine erişim çok önemli onun için de kaymakam ve valilere model bir eğitim. P9-UNI

Another dimension is about the administrators. Because service provision is fine with doctor and nurse trainings. However access to public services is crucial that there is a model training or governors and district governors. P9-UNI

In this section, the construction of the roles of organizations in SMAW development is discussed. As argued earlier, there is a transfer of roles by international organizations to the state and by the state to NGOs and universities. But in this respect, none of the development experts construct their role as aiming at structural change in SMAW working and living conditions. Instead, they position themselves as researchers to findout the SMAW profile, to advocate for the rights of SMAW and to participate in multi-institutional SMAW platforms. None of the organizations take this responsibility in the division of labor in SMAW development work, despite its inclusion in METIP strategy. For example, although the Ministry of Labor and Social Security is leading the state's SMAW development work and the ILO is conducting SMAW programs, the social security protection of SMAW is not mentioned, discussed or implemented in SMAW development programs. Remembering the development experts' construction of SMAW in the previous chapter, one of the most significant characteristics was informal work. It needs further exploration to understand the lack of social security registration and development efforts in this area.

To conclude this section, it can be argued that every development expert passes the responsibility on to another organization or just accept a very limited responsibility in SMAW development. But in practice, many development organizations actively work in collaboration on this issue. For example all international organizations work in collaboration with a state partner and that all NGOs work in collaboration with either an international or national partner. Despite this fact, it can be argued that these collaborations do not contain a comprehensive approach to SMAW inequalities but rather limit the activities. In an alternative development perspective, especially the transferred role of the state encourages control over SMAW rather than fulfilling the life and work conditions of SMAW. This sustains the neoliberal agriculture policies and the development economy while it keeps SMAW under control.

## **7.2 Roles of the Global Development Agenda/International Organizations/Neoliberal System**

In this section, the influence of the global development agenda, the agenda of international organizations and neoliberal trade policies are discussed in the construction of power over SMAW.

All development experts accept that there are significant international influences on SMAW development work. In this part, I argue that a neoliberal economic structure is implemented by the global development agenda and international organizations. Accordingly, state organizations, NGOs and universities implement SMAW development projects in line with neoliberal economy policies facilitated by international organizations.

In examining the international influences on SMAW development works, it is very important to keep the global division of labor in foreign trade in mind. Turkey has a competitive advantage in exporting agricultural products due to its low production costs through informal employment. Thus, SMAW in Turkey are considered crucial both for domestic and international production as cheap labor.

First, the international influence can be argued as the introduction of vulnerability discourse in development. Development experts highlight the international push to focus on vulnerability and vulnerable groups in development. P29-NGO and P7-NGO argue that the EU has an especially important role in this process.

AB uyum süreci bu konulara eğilimiyi sağladı. P29-NGO

The process of harmonization to EU moved us to focus on these issues. P29-NGO

Bir taraftan uluslararası kuruluşların finanse ettiği bir taraftan AB nin özkaynakları ile yapıldığı böyle bir kalkınma anlayışı devreye girdi ve burda bir parça biraz önce söylediğim gibi bu paradigmlar uluslararası finansla sağlanan çalışmalarda sosyal boyut ve çevresel boyut ön plana çıkmaya başladı. P7-NGO

A development understanding had emerged with the fundings from international organizations and EU core resources. So as I said before social and environmental dimensions came into forefront by the help of international funded programmes. P7-NGO

The narrative of P7-NGO indicates that international organizations have not only incorporated new issues into the national development context of Turkey but have also financially supported the new development issues.

Second, international influence can be explained as the context of the introduction of development issues. Some NGOs indeed state that SMAW issues were not visible for them until some international groups showed up and introduced the issue. As indicated before, all NGOs involved in SMAW development work in partnership with international organizations. In other words, international organizations introduce some development issues to NGOs and then work in collaboration with them. Because they do not want to take responsibility, they work with NGOs. It is significant that one group of NGOs, namely unions, stated that they were not aware of the SMAW children problem, the issue of child labor in agriculture, until international representatives of one employer union came to Turkey about this.

Biz de bu konunun çok farkında değildik. Kadın emeğinin sömürsünün farkındaydık ama çocukların değildik. Bu ne zaman oldu, 2010 yılında Almanya ve Hollanda'dan işveren temsilciler geldi. Belçika'dan gelen kadın bir iş temsilcisi bizi çok sıkıştırdı..... 2010 yılında çocuk işçiliğinin farkına vardık. Bu da Almanya ve Hollanda'dan gelen heyetlerin uyarısı ile farkına vardık. P35-NGO



We were not aware of this issue as well. We were aware of exploitation of women's labour but we were not aware of children's. It happened in 2010 when German and Dutch employer representatives visited us. A women representative from Belgium oppressed us a lot...we recognized child labour issue in 2010 with the warnings of missions from the Netherlands and the Germany. P35-NGO

Third, international influence can be explained as the introduction of technical assistance tools to national development work. In this regard, development experts emphasize the importance of signing international conventions and the reflection of international conventions in the development work in Turkey. For example, Turkey's signing of the ILO Convention 138 and 182 in 2001 brought about certain commitments and interventions in the country about the issue. In this regard, upon the signature of international conventions, the state is required to plan how to implement the necessary interventions in line with the conventions. It is emphasized that international organizations play an important role in this process by providing technical assistance to the state. In other words, international organizations and experts guide states about the implementation of necessary development interventions.

Fourth, international influence can be argued as the link between global trade and development. Development experts, especially NGO and university development experts, emphasize that the attention to an agricultural product depends on whether it is subject to international trade or not. For example, the international and national attention to nuts and especially the SMAW involved in nut production can be interpreted as a result of their value for export. Development experts remind that Turkey is the leader of nut exports globally and argue that in order to manipulate nuts prices, several actors are involved and manipulate SMAW discourse and practices in Turkey. Therefore, it can be interpreted that international attention and power is operating over all production levels of agricultural products valued as exports. International influence is visible in the attention to SMAW issues. P33-NGO claims that SMAW in Turkey are constructed as an international development issue to create international pressure to manipulate the prices of agricultural products.

Dünyanın %80 Türk fıındığını yiyerek aslında bir şekilde pasta da – ikolata da o damak tadını alıyor.... bizim bu üretimdeki bu üstünlüğümüzü - fiyat üstünlüğümüze çevirmenin avantajlarını bize yaşatmak istemiyorlar . Önümüze engel koyuyorlar işte... geçen sene bu aylar İspanya Tarım İşileri Kooperatifi Türk fıındığının alfatoksini var diye bir kampanya yürüttü, Hatta İspanyanın tam özür değıl ama aslında burada bir yanlış anlaşılma ve yanlış algı olduğunu kendileri teyid ettiler. Yine bu konudan ıkamayınca dediler tamam Alfatoksin konusunu hallettiyseniz bide sizinle bu fıındığın hasat dönemi var ki burada özellikle ILO ocuk işiliğı konusunu biraz gündeme getirerek yine fıındığın bana göre bunun tamamı üretim ve pazarlamadaki üstünlüğümüzü yok etmek noktasında bir hamle idi bu. P33-NGO

80% of the world consumes Turkish nuts in cakes and chocolates. However, they do not let us o turn our production advantage into a price advantage. They always set barriers in front of us. This times of last year, Spain agricultural workers' cooperative had a campaign with an argument that there is alphatoxine in Turkish nuts. However afterwards they admit that there was a wrong perception. And following this they told that if you've solved the issue of alphatoxine now you should deal with the issue of child labor. And they put use of child labor in harvesting nuts into the agenda through ILO. This was another action to eliminate our advantage on production and prices P33-NGO

In regards to the link between global trade and development, P26-UNI also criticizes the international attention which also creates an area of employment and trade on its own. Especially, he notes the increasing business volume of international product certification companies in many areas of Turkey. He highlights that construction of international organizations creates the commercialization of development and development as an area of employment and that this relation needs to be sustained for this benefit:

Bir bakıyorsunuz işte dünyadan bir sürü, isim vermeyeyim, ülkeler, kuruluşlar, fıındıkıların orda geziyor, pamukıların orda geziyor, şu bu. Bu sorun bizim sorunuz.Tabi dünyada da benzer sorunlar yaşıyor. Burdaki deneyimleri olur onların ama, biz önce kendi içimizdeki sorunlara eğer biz sahip ıkarsak. Bir de şunu diyorum, niye yurt dışına? Biraz da kaynak sorunu yani işte.Kaynak bulamadığı zaman ne yapıyor? Bir bu. İkincisi bazı insanlara buradan istihdam sağlıyor, bundan geçim sağlıyor. P26-UNI

I do not want to give the names of the countries or the organizations but there are several of them visiting nuts employers, cotton employers. This is our problem. Sure similar problems are visible in the world. They may have experience in these issues however we should better own our problems. When I asked why do we need international support? First it is all about the resources and second, people get employed and earn living out of this issue P26-UNI

The narrative of P26-UNI presents a critique of international influence over SMAW development work in line with an alternative development critic. Furthermore, he

also argues that international organizations lack national and local knowledge about SMAW. In other words, he is criticizing the top-down approach in development. This argument is also visible in the expressions of state and university development experts.

Uluslararası kuruluşlar ülkenin gerçeklerini bilemezler ki bana onlar destek versinler. Yani onların şartları ayırdır. Bir Almanyadaki tarım işçisinin ayırdır, İspanyadaki ayırdır, İtalyadaki ayırdır, Amerikadaki ayırdır, Türkiye'deki ayırdır. Benim ülkem gerçeklerini ben bilirim. Yabancı kuruluşlar bilmez. Bende onların durumlarını ayrıntısı ile bilemem. Ama benim STK larım, meslek örgütlerim, akademisyenlerim sahadalar, onlara danışırım, onlarla oturur konuşurum, istişare ederim, toplantılarıma çağırırım, onların düzenledikleri toplantılara giderim, birçoğuna da gitmişimdir. Onlarla bilgilerimi paylaşıyorum. Biz kendi içimizde bu sorunu çözecek güçteyiz böyle bir irademiz de var devlet olarak- hükümet olarak – bakanlık olarak. P25-NAT

International organizations cannot help since they could not know the realities of the country. The conditions vary. For example, agricultural workers in Germany, Italy, Spain, or in Turkey are all different from each other. I know the realities of my country. The International Organizations can not. I cannot know their conditions in detail too. However, my NGOs, my occupational organizations, my academicians are in the field. I consult them, I discuss with them, I invite them to my meetings and I attend to their meetings. I share my knowledge with them. We have the power to solve this issue internally that our government, state and Ministry have this will. P25-NAT

Accordingly, P25-NAT argues that international organizations have a homogeneous approach towards development problems. Despite the fact that he argues that local details are very crucial, he also claims that the voices of SMAW themselves were not involved in the policy-development processes.

To conclude this section, it can be argued that the neoliberal system operates over SMAW through the global development agenda and international organizations for the advent of the capital. In this respect, international organizations facilitate this process by a top-down approach by regulating development discourse, by constructing the development context and target groups, and by managing the division of labor.

### **7.3 Roles of Budget Allocations in the Construction of Power**

Many national and local state development experts argue that none of the development activities could be realized without funding. This underlines the

importance of the resources allocated to SMAW development work. In this section, the influence of resources in constructing the power over SMAW is discussed. This discussion is crucial to be able to present the impact of the macro-level at the micro level though funding, aid and assistance. First, it is important to map which organizations are funding which organizations. Table 3 presents the SMAW development projects/programs implemented since the 2000s and shows who owns the program, who the partners of the program are and who the donor of the program is.

**Table 3:** Mapping of SMAW programmes

<b>PROJECT NAME</b>	<b>IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION</b>	<b>PARTNERS</b>	<b>DONOR</b>
METIP	Ministry of Labor	Line ministries	National Budget
Child Labor Programme	ILO	Ministry of Labor	US Gov.
SMAW Children Programme	Development Workshop	Local state organizations	Netherlands Gov. Private Sector (Chocolate)
Improving health status of SMAW	Harran University	Ministry of Health	UNFPA Netherlands Gov. Private Sector (Fertilizer)
SMAW Children Programme	Ankara University	Local state organizations	Bernard Van Leer Foundation
SMAW Children Programme	Support to Life Association	Local state organizations	Private Sector (Chocolate)
Peer Education Programme	METIDER	Harran University	Friederich Ebert Foundation
Network of Seasonal Migrant Worker	Bilgi University	Universities, NGOs,	Friederich Ebert Foundation

As presented in the table above, most of the funding for SMAW development is from international organizations, international NGOs and private sector companies. In other words, development is dependent on core neoliberal institutions. It is observed that in SMAW development, only the METIP program was funded from the national budget of Turkey. It can also be argued that private sector companies have become more and more active in funding SMAW programs in recent years as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs. However, I argue that

companies are not only supporting SMAW projects due to their CSR strategies, but also use this programmes as a source of promotion of their products for increasing their sales. In other words, it can be argued that by supporting the improvement of the working and living conditions of SMAW, companies try to obtain a comparative advantage in the global market.

In an alternative development critique, development operates through aid and assistance and is conducted through partnerships. Furthermore, funding relations bring limitations to development work and create a hierarchy between the implementer and the funder. It can be interpreted that the neoliberal division of labor reflects itself through the global division of funds. In other words, global development discourse transforms into development practice through sponsorships, aids and assistance within the limits and the ideologies of the donors.

Regardless of the source of funding, it is important to mention that almost all development experts argue that funding is the most important element for development. This also presents that limitation in development starts with the first element. State organizations emphasize the importance of resource allocation as the catalyst for action. The start of METİP and the provision of resources from the national budget are presented as the start of concrete state interventions. All development experts at state organizations argue that resource allocation is the main factor in state investment in an issue:

Şimdi mevsimlik tarım işçiliği var olduğu sürece biz de bunlarla ilgili gerekli tedbirleri almak zorundayız. Ama işin gerçeği şu. Geçmişte alınan tedbirlerle bugünkü alınan tedbirler arasında çok çok fark var. Ben en azından onu söyleyebilirim. Geçmişte sadece düşünce aşamasında kalan çok şey oluyordu. İşte maddi sorunlardan ötürü. Çoğu şey düşünce aşamasında kalıyordu. Şunu yapsak, bunu yapsak diyorduk ama bunun bir çoğunu yapamıyorduk. Bununla birlikte işte sadece kişilerle aileleriyle görüşülüp tavsiyelerde bulunuyordu. Ama şimdi daha reel tedbirler alabiliyoruz. P31-LOC

As soon as seasonal agriculture workers exist; we have to take the necessary measures. But here is the fact that measures of past and present are very different from each other. I can say that in the past we were just wishing to do something, but we were not able to take any action due to financial problems. We were just sharing our recommendations to the people and their families. But now we can take real measures. P31-LOC

NGOs and universities are expected to present the real life conditions of SMAW by listening/transmitting their voices. However, the resource allocation issue is also very critical for NGOs and universities, because unlike state and international organizations, NGOs and universities argue that their work depends on external funding. Thus, especially many NGOs emphasize that their SMAW development work started with a donor request. The long narrative of P24-NGO not only explains how donors approach NGOs and shape their activities, but also presents a private sector donor's rationale for supporting SMAW development in Turkey

Entresan bir şekilde bizim partnerlerden bir tanesi bizim ilgilendiğimizi bilen bizimle bağlantı kurdu. Dedi ki özellikle fındıkta tarım işçiliğiyle ilgili bir şey yapmak isteyen şey var. Bir özel sektör kuruluşu var. Dolayısıyla sizin de ilgilendiğinizi biliyorum belki onların üzerinden bir şey yapılabilir diye. Yani bizim girişimimiz böyle oldu. Çocuk işçiliğine..... Caritas çalıştığımız bir kuruluştur. Caritas Almanya. Caritas Almanya'nın direktörü Rowe deninen bir Almanya'nın en büyük süpermarketi zincirlerinden bir tanesinin sustainability komitesinin üyesi. Dolayısıyla bu sustainability meselesi şöyle, Rowe içerisinde bir sertifikasyon projesi. Proplanet label dedikleri sattıkları her ürünle ilgili bir supply-chain tedarik zinciri analizi yapıp, belli bir standartı tutturunca hani iyi çevre ve sosyal standartları tutturdıkları bir şey sertifika şeyleri sistemleri geliştirmişler kendi içlerinde. Yalnız çikolata ürünlerine bakınca bayağı kırmızı alarm vermiş. Ondan sonra fındıktan dolayı oda. Fındıkta çocuk işçi olmasından dolayı. Onlar da şaşırılmışlar hiç bilmedikleri bir şey değildi. Olmadığı için. Ondan sonra fındıkla ilgili ne yapalım ki Türkiye de bir şey yapmak gerekir. Fındığı Türkiye den alıyoruz.... Neyse onlar işte geldiler anlattılar durumu. Ama dediler ki hani genelde şartların kötü olduğunu biliyoruz. Ama acaba hani özellikle çocuk işçileriyle ilgili bir şey olabilir mi. Dolayısıyla biz o sayede, biz dedik ki genel anlamıyla biliyoruz ama hani çok da derinlemesine girip şey de, yapmadık durumu bilmiyoruz. Dolayısıyla çocuk işçiliği mevzusunu bizim biraz öğrenip bakmamız lazım diye. P24-NGO

It is interesting but one of our partner who knew that we were interested on this issue contacted us. They told that there is a private sector company willing to do something on agricultural labour in nuts. He also mentioned that as we are interested in the issue, there could be an opportunity through them. That's how we started focusing on child labour... Caritas was our partner and the director of the Caritas Germany was the sustainability committee member of the Germany's biggest supermarket chain-Röwe. Sustainability issue is an internal certification project called pro-planet in Röwe. They conduct a supply chain analysis for all their products, if the analysis confirms the compliance with a standard, social and environmental standard, they certify. However, when they analyse chocolates, they've noticed that the products were alarming due to the use of child labour in nuts. They did not know about this and they were surprized. As a result, they decided to work on this issue in Turkey since they buy nuts from Turkey. They came to and told about the issue. They've indicated that they know the general conditions are bad but asked to do something on child labour. We told that we knew about the general situation but we do not have any experience about the child labour problem since we did not work in this field before. We told them that we'll learn more about the issue. P24-NGO

In fundraising, almost all organizations emphasize that international organizations are usually seen as the main source of funding. However, international organization development experts indicate that international organizations are also sometimes dependent on donor funding.

Bütün bu projelerde de programlarda olduğu üzere belli bir kaynak yaratma çerçevesi üzerinden ilerlemek gerekiyor ve birazda onu kaynak bulabildiğin ölçüde Cenevre'ye anlattığın durum üzerinden de yani o belki biraz daha informal bir bilgi ama sonuçta biz çocuk işçiliği çalışmak için Cenevre'den ILO'nun kendi kaynağından bir şey almaktan ziyade. Burada ILO genel merkezine kaynak aktaracak bir deneyim çerçevesini oturtmuş durumdayız yani Türkiye özeline. Afrika için ILO genel bütçesinden bir çalışma planı bütçesi çıkıyorsa, Türkiye için bu çıkmıyorsa o zaman Türkiye'deki uzmanlar benim gibi kendi uzmanlıkları çerçevesinde fon sağlayıcı kuruluşlarla bireysel geliştiriyor biraz karışık bir şey. P5-INT

All these projects and programmes operate according to the resource mobilization and according to the way you express the situation to Geneva. May be this is an informal info but as Turkey we are transferring resources to ILO HQ then receiving resources from them. If there is no budget for Turkey but for Africa in ILO, local experts in Turkey develop relations with funding organizations in scope of their expertise like me. P5-INT

Sosyal politikalara kırsal politikaların oluşturulması projemiz var ama kaynak yetersizliği nedeniyle uygulanamıyor. P6-INT

We have the project on designing the rural policies to the ministry of Family and social policies but it had not been implemented due to lack of resources. P6-INT

To conclude, it can be argued that alternative development criticizes development as it is managed through aid and assistance program from a top-down approach. In other words, aid and assistance manage and design the areas of development intervention, the scope of development intervention and the actors of development intervention. Donors build hegemony over the funded organizations to make them to do whatever they target or aim to construct. Considering the international influence in budget allocations referred to in Table 3, it can be argued that the top-down development approach is operating through international organizations, donor governments and multinational private sector companies. With respect to the neoliberal order, the responsibility of the state for SMAW development shifts to NGOs and universities through the allocation of funds. In other words, state is not conducting a mediation role and leaves NGOs and universities along with the neoliberal institutions. Therefore, it can be argued that budget allocations are important tools for the governmentality of SMAW.

#### **7.4 Roles of SMAW in Construction of Power**

In the previous sections, the construction of power over SMAW was analyzed from the perspective of the roles of organizations, international systems and budget allocations. Accordingly, it can be argued that regardless of the organizational type, all organizations conduct their activities in interaction with other development actors in SMAW development work. However, in many interviews, the absence of subject SMAW was significant. Thus, in this section the involvement of SMAW themselves in SMAW development and the construction of power over SMAW are discussed.

Escobar (1995) argues that the failure of many development policies is due to an externally imposed knowledge system that has summarily ignored the legitimacy of local and grassroots knowledge. Through the lens of alternative development, development experts should be able to listen, to observe and to apply indigenous knowledge systems when possible, while attempting to avoid essentialism. In this regard, this section argues that the role of SMAW in SMAW development work is problematic. Furthermore, this section argues that SMAW are not involved in the process of SMAW development policy and practices, and are instead positioned as passive, backward and homogeneous objects of governmentality whom requires expert support. Additionally, SMAW are involved in development policy and practices within the limits of governmentality.

##### **SMAW do not participate**

Experts at national state organizations, regional state organizations and international organizations clearly emphasize that SMAW are not directly involved in the policy and practice design processes. In other words, the knowledge for SMAW development policies is not coming directly from SMAW themselves. International organizations especially highlight that SMAW development work is an area in which development experts construct knowledge, policy and practices, and where SMAW are hardly ever heard from. The account of P6-INT presents SMAW as not involved in the SMAW development processes, which supports the top-down approach of SMAW development criticized above.



Mevsimlik tarım işçilerinin yapılanlardan haberi yoktur, onlar adına kırsal kalkınma örgütleri yeni yeni çalışmalar yapmaya başladı, daha çok akademisyenler ve kalkınma uzmanları bunun farkında ve gündeme getirmeye gayret ediyorlar. P6-INT

The seasonal agricultural workers were not aware of the activities. On behalf of them the rural development organizations started working on those issues. Academics and development experts are aware of this issue and try to bring this into the agenda. P6-INT

### **SMAW are backward, incapable**

There is a common rationale among development experts for the lack of SMAW involvement to legitimize the top-down development approach, in which SMAW are called backward and incapable. Some development experts state that the lack of SMAW involvement is due to their inability to express themselves. In this rationalization, SMAW are not involved because they are identified as backward. This argument is in line with the alternative development critique of vulnerability, in which people are not able to do something about their vulnerability because development experts know better and act on their behalf. Thus, in this case SMAW are not able to do something for themselves but development experts may act on their behalf. This is a top-down approach to development is a significant critique of alternative development thinkers, who value indigenous knowledge.

Bir kez bir dahil olmayanları söyleyeyim de oradan başlayayım. Bu hedef gruplar yanından geçmiyor. Çünkü bunlar bırakın derdini meramını anlatamıyor nerde kaldı ki politikaya input vermek olsun. P0-INT

First I can start by saying who are not involved. Target groups are far from involvement. They cannot provide input to the policies because they cannot even express themselves and their problems. P0-INT

National state development experts indeed justify the exclusion of SMAW from decision-making processes by reference to SMAW's backwardness.

Neler yapılması gerektiğini gidip siz o bölgedeki insanlara sorarak da yapamazsınız. Bunun muhakkak artı bir katkısı vardır. Fakat muhakkak şeyi çözmez. Neden? O insanların sorunlarını dinlemek önemlidir fakat yeterli değildir. Çünkü o insanlar bazı kamu hizmetlerinden hiçbir zaman faydalanmadıkları için neyi talep edeceklerini dahi bilemiyor düzeyde olabilirler. P3-NAT

You cannot figure out necessary actions by asking to the people in that region. It will definitely contribute positively but it can not solve the issue. They should definitely

be listened but it is not enough. Since those people had never benefited from public services before, they may not even know what to demand. P3-NAT

### **SMAW are passive**

It can be argued that only universities, NGOs and local state organizations have direct contact with SMAW and learn about their needs. They emphasize that they visit SMAW at their tents and ask about their needs. However, the backwardness of SMAW is also reflected in their narratives again as a limitation. Following the criticisms outlined above, they also argue that SMAW are not capable of dreaming or demanding public services due to their low level of education, and thus that they need development experts. In this respect, SMAW can be described as passive actors, incapable of defining, expressing or acting to address their own problems.

Yani bizim aramızda konuşulmayan hiçbir mevzu kalmamıştır herşeyi konuşmuşuzdur ha biraz şudur yani çok büyük hizmetlerde hayal etmiyorlar biraz sizin önden gitmeniz gerekir yani işte ona çadırı olsun işte suyu olsun elektriği olsun yakacak odunu olsun işte ekmek pişirmek için başka birşeye gerek yok ama bazı şeyleri siz ya bu eksiktir şunuda yaparsak iyi olur demek durumundasınız dediğim gibi yani gelen ailelerin eğitim ve kültür seviyesi son derece düşük. P28-LOC

Actually there is no issue discussed left between us. We had discussed everything. The fact is they do not dream big services. We have to go forward and recommend things which would be good for them. Because they only want a tent, water, electricity and an oven to cook bread. They do not require anything else. As I've told earlier the education and culture level of those families are very low. P28-LOC

### **SMAW need development experts**

The quotations presented above support the criticisms offered by alternative development that development experts are not willing to listen to SMAW to learn alternative and local knowledge about SMAW. Instead, the state uses development experts' 'scientific' and 'objective' knowledge to regulate SMAW development policies and practices to construct power over SMAW.

In this regard, NGOs and universities argue that SMAW can be empowered and then fight for their own rights better than development experts are able to. To this end, P9-UNI indicates that SMAW's involvement is significant. Accordingly, she argues that only SMAW themselves can express their problems and find the proper

solutions to them. For this reason, she emphasizes the involvement of SMAW in all stages of development.

Zor, niye çünkü bir insanın o sürece dahil olabilmesi için yaşadığının bir sorun olduğunu görmesi gerekiyor yani sorun mu, yani ben mesela ben kirli su içiyorum benim içtiğim su kirli mi di mi, ya da ben temiz su içmeli miyim öyle bir ikilem, onun için eğitimle aslında sağlık araçları bu akranlar şunu fark ediyorlar bir süre sonra ben onları artık nasıl derletmeyi öğretmeye, öğretiyorsunuz yani bak bu bir iş senin hakların bunlar ve sen bu haklarını her ortamda savunacaksın.....sorunu yaşayan insanlar sorunlarını anlatıyor, oradaki doğrular olması gerekenler açıklanıp grup çalışmaları yapılıyor, onlar katılıyor, amaç neydi sürece dahil olmayı öğrensinler, diğerleri de onları tanısınlar hani başka eğitim girdileri var dolayısıyla da hani sorunu yaşayanlar tarım iş araçları eğitimden sonra mesela onlar da vali ziyarete başladılar, kaymakama gitmeye başladılar ama hepsi mi hayır, eğitebildiğimiz yapabiliyor o zaman hani sürece dahil olabilmek ciddi eğitimle ve öğretmeyle ilgili bir şey onun için de hani hemen olması mümkün değil. P9-UNI

It is hard for them to involve in the processes because people should recognize that what they experience is a problem. For example, they should be aware of they are drinking dirty water. It's a dilemma. They should question "do I drink dirty water?" Should I drink clean water? This can be achieved by trainings. We teach them their problems and their rights to advocate...people who face problems express their problems, the truths and necessary actions are presented to them in group works. The goal was to involve them in the processes. For example, the farm labor intermediaries visited governor and district governor after their trainings. May be not all of them had visited but it is all about education and learning, it takes time. P9-UNI

According to the narrative of P9-UNI, SMAW would be able to actively participate in development after an empowerment program. However, it can be argued that empowerment programs may also limit the actions of SMAW as empowerment programs are planned without the participation of SMAW. In other words, empowerment programs teach SMAW in a way designed by experts, thus training and empowering SMAW in the areas that an expert decides. Afterwards, SMAW are expected to seek rational behavior as imposed by the development expert.

### **SMAW are un-organized**

Development experts express another justification for the uninvolvement of SMAW, which is the lack of SMAW associations. Hence they state that there are no concrete processes aimed at involving SMAW in the development process. As quoted from P2-NAT and P5-INT, SMAW are not organized or associated. Accordingly, many development experts argue that it is not possible to involve SMAW in development

planning. They also argue that even if they wanted to invite SMAW to development meetings, there is no SMAW representation to invite. In this regard, some NGOs criticize themselves because they have been unsuccessful in involving SMAW in the development process even though they have desired to do so. Especially international organizations claim that they really would like to learn from SMAW hence they would like to develop some tools for the involvement of SMAW.

Yani bu anlamda mevsimlik tarım işçilerinin belki örgütlenmesi de önemli bir şey olabilir. Onlar pazarlık gücünü arttıracak bir unsur olabilir... Yani mevsimlik tarım işçiliğinin soyle bir dezavantajı olduğu soylenebilir. Çalışma bakanlığı ve bizim muhatab olduğumuz genelde iş dünyasında örgütlenmiş kesimler ve sendikalar var ağırlıklı olarak. Mevsimlik tarım işçileri ile alakalı o işçileri temsil eden bir takım örgütlerin ortaya çıkması lazım. P2-NAT

The unionization of the seasonal agricultural workers may be an important thing. This can increase their negotiating power. It can be stated that seasonal agricultural workers have a disadvantage that both we and Ministry of Labour address to organized groups and unions at the labour market. There should be unions and organizations representing seasonal agricultural workers. P2-NAT

Örgütlü olmayan hiçbir çalışmanın da sesini beklendiği ve gerektiği şekilde duyurması mümkün olmadığı da açık. P5-INT

It is quite clear that none of a de-organized groups may proclaim their voice in a proper and required way. P5-INT

To sum up, the uninvolvement of SMAW is also justified on the basis of the lack of SMAW associations, such that SMAW cannot be active in the construction of power over SMAW.

### **Development experts organize SMAW**

Here it is also important to mention that although there are some SMAW NGOs, it is observed that they are not established by SMAW themselves. Instead, these three organization are led by development experts, although SMAW are also members and on the executive boards. P9-UNI and P13-NGO explains the process of establishing SMAW NGOs as follows:

Onun için de güzel olan şu anda dernekler kuruluyor, mevsimlik tarım işçileri derneği, hiç yoktu, 2007'de yine BM ile kurduk öyle de kaldı. Kimseyi ben üye

edemedim, öğrencilerimi zorunlu üye ettim yani onlar da korkuyla hani ya kalırsak falan. P9-UNI

The good thing is now associations are about to be established, seasonal agricultural worker associations. In the past here was none. In 2007 we've established one with the support of the United Nations but it stayed as it is. I could not convince the workers to be members. I could only force my students to become members who has concerns about their grades in my classes P9-UNI

Biz o suyu damlattık derneği kurarak, dernek adına başlattık. Hatta dernek kuracak kişilerin, akademisyenler ve gönüllüler vardı, onlardan sonra eğitimler sonucunda iste mevsimlik işçiler de dernekle birlikte neler yapacaklarını şey yaptılar.... Derneğin üyeleri arasında ilk kurulduğunda eğittiğimiz kişiler vardı yani bu işin farkında olan kişiler vardı, daha sonra hani bizden sonra ki halkalar devam etmeye başladı. Çok azdı sayıları, ilk başta yani derneğin yönetiminde 1 ya da 2 kişi diyebilirim ama daha sonra diğerleri..... Eğittiğimiz kişilerden şöyle söyleyeyim bir gençler vardı bir de kadın eğittiğimiz insan vardı yani yetiskin eğitimi de yaptık çünkü eğitimlerimizi sadece genç eğitimi değildi. Anneleri, araçları, elçileri de eğittik, onlardan da vardı hala da onlar derneğin içerisinde görev alıyolar ve hala çalışıyorlar. P13-NGO

We've put the first drop by establishing the association. On the start-up phase of the association there were academics & volunteers but afterwards, with the help of some trainings, seasonal agricultural workers also recognized what they can do through an association. When the association was established, there were only trained seasonal agricultural workers who are already aware of this issue. Then the circle is widened. First there were 1 or 2 workers in the management board of the association, later others had joined...I can mention who we trained; young people, women, mothers, we even trained farm labor intermediaries. They are still working in the association. P13-NGO

Considering the narrative above, even an association of SMAW which is a grassroots movement is a development intervention conducted by development experts. Thus it is not a surprise that SMAW NGOs of health experts work on health issues and SMAW NGOs of education experts work on education issues rather than any labor inequalities.

### **Others represent SMAW**

In a few of the narratives there are indications of the involvement of SMAW in the policy making processes. However, when it is assessed in detail it can be understood that the SMAW who are mentioned are actually the farm labor intermediaries. Thus, it can be argued that farm labor intermediaries are representing SMAW in many platforms. But considering the labor exploitation that labor intermediaries are engaged in, they are not able to adequately represent SMAW in the platforms. Thus,

SMAW are not able to be represented in the right way and farm labor intermediaries serve as kind of a barrier to their involvement. In this respect as SMAW NGOs are led by certain experts rather than SMAW themselves, and in a similar way farm labor intermediaries represent SMAW in many SMAW development platforms. From an alternative development perspective, people other than SMAW themselves may not be able to make vocalize SMAW concerns accurately.

In this section, the narratives presented can be regarded as indications of the lack of involvement of SMAW in decisions made by development organizations regarding SMAW discourse and practices. Instead they are involved to development practices as advocates or trainers. In other words, power over SMAW is constructed with the limited involvement of SMAW. Dependency school and alternative development school scholars argue that the involvement of beneficiaries and paying attention to their knowledge is necessary and crucial. This thesis fully accepts this argument and indicates that a development approach without the involvement of SMAW will inevitably be limited in its capacity to understand and to contribute to the required change.

### **7.5 Roles of Development Experts in Constructions**

In this section, first the role of development experts in SMAW development work is discussed. Then, the professional confessions of development experts on their SMAW development work are analyzed. This section argues that development experts produce knowledge and design and implement practices towards SMAW.

All development experts emphasize that in almost all organizations development experts are designing the policies and practices. Hence, they indicate that development experts write the strategies, design programs/plans and set the agenda for the management. Thus, it can be interpreted that one of the most important aspects of experts is constructing policies and practices in a technical way. This technicality not only moves the issue outside of the political sphere but also gives an eclectic position to the SMAW development practices. This is because in their construction they focus on their organizations' thematic area of interest. Additionally, development experts of both international organizations and state

organizations emphasize the strong collaboration between the development experts of international development organizations and state organizations. Thus, it can be considered that while they argue that they try to integrate local or international perspectives, actually they integrate only limited/ideological development perspectives of expert. In an alternative development perspective it can be argued that the global aims and global development discourse operate through national and local development experts.

Hibe programımızın temel çerçevesini yerel uzmanların tanımladığı yerel ihtiyaçlar belirledi..... Yerel uzman dedigimiz şimdi il çevre müdürlüğü, il sağlık müdürlüğü, iste çukurova universitesindeki ilgili bolumler tropikal hastaliklar merkezi, DSİ oradaki bolge mudurlukleri vs gibi gruplar. Yani bizim hani kalkinma yaklasimimizla da bağlantı olsun diye söyluyorum. Hani bir takım seyleri biz uzaydan gelmis insanlar olarak sizin ihtiyaciniz sudur, su konularda bize proje sunun demek yerine biz orada bir takım çalıştaylar tartisma toplantıları birebir görüşmelerle yereldeki ihtiyac analizini çıkarttik aslında. P4-INT

The framework of our grant programme had been identified by the needs defined by local experts...local experts are from provincial environment directorate, provincial health directorate, relevant departments of Cukurova university – centre for tropical diseases, regional administration of water and sanitation organization. I explain this in order to express our development approach. We are like people from space so we did not say things such as these are your eeds or propose such prohects. Instead we've conducted workshops and one to one interviews to identify the local needs. P4-INT

International organization development experts emphasize that national and local state experts are critical in their policy design. They express their dependency on working with local and national organizations in development planning. However, this also creates dependency in international organization work such that they are not able to decide on any policy against the will of the state. In this regard, it can be claimed that development experts construct policies from the perspective and within the intervention limits of the state. This brings the ideological perspective of the state into the development work of international organizations. Their own assessment or intervention model would not be sufficient. Vice versa, national organizations also argue that they prepare their strategies in consultation with international organizations and with the guidance of international development literature.

Burada uzmanlık belirleyici.Uzmanda ne belirleyici? Bizim pozisyonumuz itibariyle biz uluslararası kuruluşlarla da yakın çalışıyoruz.Ve burada insanların hepsinin bir

yurt dışı eğitimi var. Devlet sponsorluğunda. Bunun da etkisi var. Bunun etkisi olmasa bile genel anlamda literatürü yakından takip ediyorsunuz. Genel itibarıyla, sosyal politika literatürünün ne yöne gittiği, bunun içerisindeki en dezavantajlı kesime yönelimi, onun içerisinde ülkelerin kendilerine göre en dezavantajlı kesimi tanımlama biçimleri size bir şey veriyor. Yani bu konuda düşünmenize sebep olacak ilk şeyi veriyor, "drive"ı veriyor. Onun üzerine siz biraz daha bunlara eğiliyorsunuz. P3-NAT

The determining factor here is the expertise. What is the determining factor of the expert? According to our position we work with International Organizations in a close collaboration and here everybody had been educated abroad with the sponsorship of the state. These have influence, moreover we follow the literature closely. In general; the trends of social policy literature, the tendencies towards disadvantaged groups in this literature, the country specific types of describing in this tendency; gives you the tip, the initial idea, the drive. So you focus on those issues. P3-NAT

The narrative of P3-NAT represents the alternative critiques. Accordingly, he indicates the international influence in development is conducted through institutions such as universities and international organizations. He argues that the main drive behind their work is international organizations' influence. In other words, international discourse constructs the work of state development actors. In accordance with this, the state works to achieve global development indicators. It can be argued that this mutual consultation/influence limits both state and international organizations. In terms of the SMAW issue, the unwillingness of the government to solve SMAW problems through structural changes also influences the works of international organizations, which instead opt for eclectic development interventions. Considering that universities and NGOs usually work with international organizations in development works, they emphasize that international organization development experts have influence and limit their work through limitations on funding, areas of focus and the scientific methodology to be followed in research.

Furthermore, the key player in development policy and practice construction is the development experts. And regardless of organization type, most development experts argue that they know about the facts and conditions of SMAW. It can be argued that the sources of knowledge of development experts vary but are also constructed. They indicate that they mostly build their knowledge through the research that they have funded or conducted. As quoted from P24-NGO:



Araştırmadan bayağı şey öğrendik, çalıştığımız bir akademisyen var, politikaları dernek ekibi ve bir akademisyen yapıyo, yuvarlak masa katılımcılarının katkısı oluyo. P24-NGO

We learned a lot from the research. We have an academician that we work together. Policies are designed by the staff of the association and the academician with the inputs of the roundtable meeting participants. P24-NGO

They also argue that they build their arguments through their local field visits or sometimes on the roundtable discussions or workshops they attend. It is observed that universities and NGOs conduct local studies to construct knowledge but international organizations and state organizations use development experts, discussion platforms or reports. Of all of these sources, field visits are emphasized as the most important knowledge construction tool by all organizations. Despite the meaning of field visit differentiates among organizations that it can be either visiting SMAW or visiting local authorities.

METİP için uzmanlarla 4 ay bu strateji belgesi üzerinde çalıştık. Ve eylem planlarını hazırladık. Aynı zamanda birde 2010/6 sayılı Başbakanlık genelgesini yazdık.... bütün tarafların akademisyenler dahil buna, kamu kurum ve kuruluşları dahil, STK lar dahil, sendikalar dahil, meslek örgütleri dahil bütün kesimin bu konudaki fikir ve düşünceleri alındı. Onları bir strateji belgesini yazarken hepsini zaman içerisinde bakanlığımıza davet ettik. Bu konudaki düşüncelerini sorduk, onlarla istişare ettik. Mesela akademisyenlerimizi davet ettik. Onların basılı makale ve kitaplarını değerlendirdik. P25-NAT

For METIP programme we had worked four months on the strategy document with the experts and we prepared an action plan. We also had written Prime Ministry regulation 2010/6. All parties had been consulted in this process including state institutions, NGOs, unions, occupational organizations. During the preparations of the strategy document we invited all to the Ministry. We asked their opinions on this issue and consulted on that. For example, we had invited academicians, we had considered their published books and articles. P25-NAT

2011’de çeşitli paydaşlarla yürütülen toplantılar, görüşmeler ve dış strateji toplantılarının sonunda ortaya çıkmış bir stratejiydi- bunun üzerine biz geçen sene Mayıs ayının sonunda Türkiyede bugüne kadar bu alanda çalıştığımız tüm partnerleri veya çalışmayı düşündüğümüz partnerleri bir araya getiren bir atölye düzenledik..... Araştırmaya önem veren bütçesinin önemli bir kısmını araştırmaya yatıran bir vakıfız – dolayısıyla akademisyenlerle çalışma bizim işimizin önemli bir parçası. P39-NGO

This strategy was designed in 2011 with stakeholder meetings, interviews and external strategy meetings. In addition to that last year in May we’ve organized a workshop and gathered our current and potential partners...this foundation gives high importance to research and allocate an important share of its budget to research. For this reason working with academicians is an important part of our work. P39-NGO

According to these accounts it can be interpreted that development experts believe that they have the authority and legitimacy to intervene into the personal lives of SMAW through development policies and practices. Furthermore, it can be argued that development experts find top-down development approaches relevant and reliable in development. They have the power to intervene because of their knowledge, their constructed knowledge. On the basis of this logic, the professional knows best. They define the need, the grounds of legitimate discussion and the issues or areas to be addressed, even if the beneficiaries do not want or need them. This presents the interchangeable use of power and knowledge in Foucault's theory of power and also the lack of local voices, as an alternative post-development approach argues. Development experts construct knowledge and power continuously.

Here it is important to indicate that there is a common consensus among development experts that although there is some progress, the problems of SMAW remain pressing. In this regard, it can be argued that there is a common SMAW development story called 'failure'. My personal SMAW interviews reaffirms that SMAW are far from exercising their fundamental citizenship and labor rights. In other words, the development policies and practices targeting SMAW that have been constructed and implemented have not been successful. All development experts support this argument and criticize SMAW development work, SMAW development policy and the practices of their own organizations. Especially professional confessions about development projects that have been implemented are striking in their presentation of the different aspects of SMAW development work. In this chapter, when linking the vulnerability concept and SMAW development works, it has been argued that SMAW development discourse and practices operate through the vulnerability concept which hide inequalities and implemented limited interventions. Foucault (1990) argues that governmentality operates through the living and not the dead, and thus I argue that the sustainability of governmentality of SMAW and justifications for further SMAW development policies are due to the limited achievements promoted by development experts. However, the confessions and critiques of development experts also bring hope for an alternative development. This is because in a way this can be interpreted as indicating that development

experts know that SMAW development work is constructed. Therefore, there can be space for an alternative development for SMAW.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the construction of power over SMAW has been discussed. In this regard, the roles of different organizations, the influence of the global development agenda, international organizations and neoliberal policies, the roles of budget allocation, SMAW and development experts in power over SMAW have been analyzed. In the governmentality of SMAW, SMAW themselves are not involved, considered, recognized, identified, or analyzed as subjects. Instead they are objects of development who are passive, unorganized and dependent on development experts where development experts facilitate development practices targeting SMAW themselves. It can be argued that SMAW regulation and control mechanism operates with the influences of international organizations through discourses and funding. SMAW governmentality operates in its development economy with limited interventions for the sake of sustaining the neoliberal system.

## **CHAPTER VIII**

### **CONCLUSION**

Development is ideological. The sociology of development explores the causes and the consequences of change in society within the framework of theories. These theories are categorized around two major development approaches: mainstream development approaches and alternative approaches. Mainstream development approaches analyze the transition of countries from traditional to modern. And the dominant theory in mainstream development approaches is modernization theory. The dominance of modernization theory is twofold. First, almost all other development theories are built upon or in opposition to modernization theory. Second, modernization theory is still very dominant, with its discourse and development tools used by development organizations globally, nationally and locally in many parts of the world. Modernization theory functions as the facilitator of the neoliberal order, producing and reproducing discourses, value-laden concepts and tools which are reflected in/as science, aid, indicators, statistics, organizations and experts. This thesis criticizes a modernist discourse in development in particular: vulnerability.

This study has adopted an alternative development perspective that benefits from inputs from post-development approaches in order to criticize various aspects of mainstream development theories. The main reason for embracing an alternative development approach is due to its emphasis on equality as a fundamental analytic category. Furthermore, alternative development aims to effect egalitarian transformations in the neoliberal order, focusing on cultural, political, social and economic transformations and prioritizing the voices of local people and grassroots movements. In contrast, mainstream development is profit-centered and aims to build profit-maximizing transformations in the neoliberal system of the market, state and civil society, focusing on the regulation of individuals and population groups. In other words, alternative development focuses on social, cultural, political aspects of

development, and uses a bottom-up approach involving the participation of all parties and prioritizing human needs. It criticizes mainstream development for homogenizing the target group, normalizing the problem/issue, rendering political issues as technical issues and presenting the group as backward and in need of expert support.

In employing alternative development theory, this study has utilized the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. The use of governmentality for an alternative development analysis may be considered as the main theoretical contribution of this thesis. Hence this thesis not only brings the Foucauldian concept of governmentality to the development literature but also discusses governmentality in the Turkish context. While alternative development argues that development is also a mechanism that serves to rule and regulate population groups through certain discourse and practices, alternative development with a focus on governmentality also uses knowledge as the most essential dynamic of development. In alternative development critiques, the actor and problem are constructed technically, normalized and regulated by the facilitation of development institutions and development experts. Alternative development argues that this process depoliticizes the issue and usually fails to address grassroots inequalities.

Michel Foucault argues that with neoliberalism, biopolitics emerged as humans became the object of politics. Therefore, through biopolitics, individuals and population groups are regulated by a mechanism called governmentality in 'modern' countries in the West. Governmentality is an important concept because it helps us to understand how political agents transform economic agents' activities and behavior. Moreover, governmentality is a mechanism that includes a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, a variety of techniques and many forms of knowledge. Knowledge is the most essential part of governmentality, which starts with the construction of a regime of truth in accordance with market relations. This is the mental sphere of governmentality and includes political rationalities about a population group. This regime of truth is constructed through discourses and forms the truth/norms of a population group. Following this norm and truth construction, institutional mechanisms implement, control and audit the implementation of norms.

This is the practical sphere of governmentality and includes technologies of power over a population group. The governmentality mechanism is a kind of an inclusive-exclusionary process to regulate population groups.

From the standpoint of an enriched alternative development perspective, this study has aimed to trace the construction of the development discourse on vulnerability that has been dominant since the 1990s. Vulnerability is a social construction and it describes the characteristics of a person or groups exposed to risks. The main argument of this study has been that vulnerability discourse is used as a technique for controlling and regulating population groups. It depicts inequalities as technical problems, legitimizes the interventions of development experts and homogenizes diverse groups. In other words, these constructions move the issue or group from a political sphere to a development sphere in order to be able to regulate, manage and control the group as development objects. This study has argued that vulnerability discourse in development is a constructed discourse of the governmentality of population groups in a neoliberal system.

Within this framework, this study has deconstructed development discourse and practices targeting an identified vulnerable group in Turkey: seasonal migrant agricultural workers (SMAW). Despite the fact that ‘ırgat’ has been a historical pattern since Ottoman times, by the 2000s, with the increasing influence of neoliberal policies and with the wide use of vulnerability discourse—they were defined as SMAW and become an important target group for development interventions. It can be argued that since 2000s SMAW transformed into a management issue which is covered by state policies and development practices. Hence there had been an increasing interest to rule and regulate SMAW due to their economic potential in Turkey’s economy. Therefore, this thesis has focused on SMAW discourse and practices since the 2000s.

This study has analyzed development discourse and practices mainly using development expert interviews and through a desk review. Hence development experts play a critical role in development. Escobar (1995) argues that one of the most important parts of development discourse is the construction of the Third

World as a field that requires the expertise of the development industry (development experts, universities, development organizations and development agencies). This development industry of expertise gains its legitimacy from the sciences, progress and human rights. This not only cuts many issues off from the political sphere, but also allows social life to be perceived as a technical problem which needs to be and can be best solved by development experts. In specialized issues agency officials, experts and scientific researchers play an important role in the construction of problems, including their definitions, framing, image and causal stories. This is not only fundamental for the agenda-setting process, but also fundamental for ways in which solutions are defined, designed and implemented. The focus in this process is usually on constructing the problem in a way that can be fixed (Baird, 2010). In other words, the questions of who gets what, when and how are all answered by development experts. Therefore the SMAW discourse and practices are explored through the lenses of development experts in this study.

Accordingly, this thesis has aimed to understand how SMAW have been regulated by development discourse and practices since the 2000s in Turkey. Hence the study argues that knowledge about SMAW and power over SMAW are constructed through a discourse of vulnerability carried out by development experts.

In order to deconstruct SMAW development discourse and practices with an eye towards better understanding the regulatory and control mechanisms of SMAW, this thesis has posed a number of questions. How is knowledge on SMAW constructed in development? What are the implications of knowledge construction about SMAW? How is power constructed and practiced over SMAW through development? What are the roles of development organizations, development experts and SMAW in this construction?

Before sharing the findings of the study, first the political rationale behind the focus on SMAW in development can be discussed. In emphasizing the ideological nature of development, it is important to indicate the importance of SMAW in Turkey for global and Turkish market relations. In the global division of labor, Turkey is a subcontractor country that produces/manufactures/exports agricultural and industrial

products/inputs for the industries of other countries. Turkey is an important actor in global agricultural production. For its competitive advantage in the global division of labor in exporting agricultural products, Turkey implements a strategy to sustain low production costs through informal employment. Thus, SMAW are requisite for the survival of agricultural production and for the survival of Turkey's global competitive advantage in agricultural export. In other words, within the neoliberal context SMAW are requisite for sustaining the neoliberal production relations. It can be argued that SMAW are required and to be regulated. In other words, keeping SMAW informal but productive under state control has been the main focus of the state since the 2000s. This political rationale operates through a number of institutions, discourses and strategies which are collectively referred to as governmentality. In addition to the economic rationality behind SMAW development issues, it can be argued that biopolitics are also conducted for security purposes or due to the ethnic aspect of the issue. They are implemented in order to distance SMAW, to teach assigned rational behavior to SMAW and all other relevant parties and for surveillance and control of SMAW. Indeed, all are far from structural changes for equality. Foucault argues that in order to sustain the existence of competition based free market economy; access to labor is free but political organization of workers are banned by several tools to prevent the damage to the system. Therefore, governmentality operates over SMAW in Turkey.

The questions of how is knowledge on SMAW constructed in development? And the implications of this knowledge construction are discussed in chapter five and six. Rose and Miller (1992) argue that when a population group becomes the object of policies, first it needs to be morally colored, grounded upon knowledge and it needs to be made thinkable through language. Then, the construction of knowledge about the group and power over the group is operationalized. The moral coloring of SMAW is constructed through the news about road accidents. Public morality is first constructed as 'SMAW should not die in road accidents'. Next, a political rationality is built upon this moral coloring as 'we must improve the living conditions of SMAW'. This is constructed upon knowledge in the media to the effect that SMAW are living in poor conditions. In the meantime, the language is renewed and 'irgat' name transformed into SMAW which sounds 'objective'. Therefore, neither the



ethnic aspect nor the poverty or labor aspect of SMAW are mentioned. These three steps serve to construct the basis upon which SMAW are included into the development area.

Following on this, it is important to indicate the initial discourse about SMAW in development. SMAW are constructed within the context of vulnerability discourse, and are therefore identified as a vulnerable, disadvantaged and at-risk group. This marks the beginning of the process of knowledge production about SMAW, which ultimately serves to legitimize later development intervention. Accordingly, SMAW are constructed as unwanted migrant people, subjects of survival strategy, subjects of conflict policies and especially as the vulnerable object of development. All of these constructions are cast as historical fact. From an alternative development perspective, SMAW have been constructed in this way in accordance with the issues expected to be regulated. SMAW are homogenized and their vulnerabilities are identified as relating to poverty, education, health, shelter and discrimination. Instead, the focus should be on the inequalities that SMAW face. This knowledge process constructed seasonal migrant agricultural work as a local issue, a family mode of production, a rational movement, and an ethnicity problem. And constructed SMAW as backward, passive and incapable people who requires expert support. These constructions form the regime of truth about SMAW and prepare the ground both for development practices and for the power relations that surround them.

The significant impact of constructed knowledge on SMAW can be argued as the implementation of top to down development practices expressed in chapter five such as building shelters, schools and health units, establishing SMAW networks, conducting empowerment programs, conducting capacity building activities, conducting employment programs, establishing monitoring units and providing mobile public services. In regards to construction of knowledge about SMAW, it is indicated that SMAW are transformed into objects of development and constructed in accordance with ideological purposes. In other words, it can be argued that governing organizations construct limited and monotype knowledge about SMAW. This brings the question of subject into the discussion. In line with governmentality

approach it can be argued that subjectification only occurs within the process of objectification. Hence SMAW are considered as subjects as soon as they stay within the limits of governmental reason.

The questions of how power over SMAW is constructed and practiced and the roles of development organizations, development experts and SMAW are explored in the seventh chapter. It can be argued that power over SMAW is built mainly by development organizations and development experts. This power forms a chain, linking international organizations and donors, state organizations, universities and NGOs, all of whom form separate links in the administration of the power regime over SMAW. The significance of the division of labor in the SMAW governmentality mechanism is the dominant role of experts and the absence of SMAW themselves in development processes. The construction of power over SMAW is a top-to-bottom approach facilitated by development experts and which legitimizes its development interventions with scientific information and the limited participation of SMAW themselves. However, in principle none of the stakeholders are excluded in the development interventions because governmentality requires the involvement of all parties, especially SMAW themselves, in order to fulfill the constructed/assigned roles.

To sum up, one of the important consequences of the capitalization of agriculture in Turkey has been the proletarianization of peasants and the emergence of SMAW. In the transformation of peasants, the state withdraws from its regulatory role and places peasants in direct relations with capital, thus resulting in capitalist production relations. This process is ongoing, as SMAW issues are not directly regulated by the state and SMAW are thus left to be regulated by market forces. This has resulted in a state of affairs where, since the 2000s, SMAW have been constructed, deconstructed and regulated by vulnerability discourse and practices as an object of development.

Accordingly, SMAW are regulated through vulnerability discourse by development experts and development institutions. Instead of active subjects, they are treated as a homogenized group of people who are economically and politically excluded. In

other words, it can be argued that the subjects of agricultural production are transformed into the objects of development due to the neoliberal policies. SMAW has an unorganized status and does not include any grassroots movements. Therefore, SMAW are perceived as being unable to carry out a collective action as a class against development interventions. Actually it can be argued that they are kept as a community then a class. The current governmentality of SMAW thus does not allow them to form a class and initiate a class struggle. The main barriers against the formation of a class by SMAW are the role of the farm labor intermediaries for the sake of their income, that of the state for the sake of global competition and also SMAW's ethnic identity. These dynamics also frame the limits of SMAW as a subject. In other words, governmentality tailors a life for all regardless of their diverging needs.

The process by which SMAW and the power over them are constructed and reconstructed has been going on for years. This process of construction has become especially visible with the emergence of vulnerability discourse. These constructions not only influence SMAW, but also influence the pattern of seasonal migrant agricultural work in Turkey. Yet they have made no significant positive contribution to the way SMAW's labor is used nor to the inequalities that SMAW face. Instead, SMAW problems are transformed into technical and fragmented problems that require solution through the intervention of development, development organizations and development experts. This alternative development critique is far removed from the current SMAW development discourse and practices which aim to regulate and control SMAW as an object, or in other words the governmentality of SMAW through a top-down development approach. These approaches are constructed with the conceptualization of vulnerability discourse which labels social problems, defines political objects, describes common states of mind and enables new domains for social policy. Therefore, SMAW are researched, classified and reported by many organizations, and their social dynamics, values and meanings are identified. Following this construction, the issue of responsibility is brought to bear upon SMAW dynamics by development through empowerment and capacity-building practices. These, while they do improve SMAW conditions to some extent, serve to exclude them and force them to act 'rationally' from the perspective of development

agencies. The ideological purpose of development in neoliberal policies is also operative in SMAW development discourse and practices in Turkey.

To conclude, the development paradigm of the development expert is significant. It is not, however, a given, but rather constructed by that expert or organization. Hence, development and development discourses are created and implemented through international organizations. This has enabled wide use of development and vulnerability discourse inspite of little consensus on central concepts. As this study has argued, however, development and vulnerability are incompatible concepts. Where vulnerability exists, development cannot, and vice versa. In this regard the participants of NGOs and international organizations significantly highlight that although a great deal of attention is paid to vulnerable groups in development in Turkey, no significant change to and improvement in their status has been achieved.

A final word on the vicious cycle that exists in the pattern of seasonal migrant agricultural work in Turkey is in order. During the process of preparing this thesis the pattern of SMAW underwent certain changes. The Syria Conflict<sup>68</sup> that began in 2011 triggered an influx of Syrians into Turkey, and there are today almost three million in the country<sup>69</sup>. They compromise the poorest people in Turkey and survive with the support of the state and NGOs and reliance on their family-kin social networks. According to a recent study of Development Workshop (2015) 50% of SMAW were Syrians in Turkey in 2015, and they work for lower wages than Turkish, Kurdish or other Arab SMAW. Although the state enacted a labor law for Syrians, limiting their employment in certain sectors, it did not limit the employment of Syrians in agriculture. This can be interpreted as an indication that the state would like to move Syrians to become informal SMAW. With the contribution of the analysis in this study, it can be argued that being a SMAW is a destination for the poor. I do not doubt that despite labor profile and the work patterns change; inequalities in the system would governed through development discourse and practices. In the current context, being a SMAW is a competition among the poorest

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<sup>68</sup> For further information see *The Syria Conflict and the Geopolitics of the Region* [http://www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxiu-adjunts/anuari/anuari-2014/Kinninmont\\_Syria\\_Conflict\\_geopolitics\\_region\\_IEMed\\_yearbook\\_2014\\_EN.pdf](http://www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxiu-adjunts/anuari/anuari-2014/Kinninmont_Syria_Conflict_geopolitics_region_IEMed_yearbook_2014_EN.pdf)

<sup>69</sup> See [www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org) for further information

of the poor for survival. It is hoped that this study may play some role in increasing awareness of an alternative approach to achieve equality.

However, in attempts to achieve an alternative development perspective in regards to SMAW; it should be kept in mind that governmentality does not just exist for a population group but do operate on various levels that an alternative development may also be a tool for governmentality in another level. Hence changes in SMAW discourse or focus on diverse SMAW needs may still be limited. Therefore, dialectical relation among various levels of governmentality should be considered and structural changes in the patterns of capitalist mode of production should be targeted.

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[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report_en.pdf)



## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A: CURRICULUM VITAE**

#### **PERSONAL INFORMATION**

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#### **EDUCATION**

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MS	Gazi University, Business Administration	2004
BS	Ankara University, Labor Economics and Industrial Relations	2001
High School	Yükseliş Collage	1995

## APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY

### KIRILGANLIK SÖYLEMİNİN ALTERNATİF KALKINMA BAKIŞ AÇISIYLA ELEŞTİRİSİ: TÜRKİYE’DE GEZİCİ MVSİMLİK TARIM İŞÇİLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

#### BAŞLANGIÇ

Toplumdaki dönüşüm ve sosyal değişim, kurulduğundan beri sosyolojinin en önemli araştırma alanlarından biri olmuştur. Normlardaki, değerlerdeki, ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel yapılardaki değişimler; Marx, Weber ve Durkheim gibi pek çok klasik teorisyen tarafından araştırılmıştır. II. Dünya savaşıdan sonra ise toplumsal değişimler kalkınma alanı tarafından incelenmiştir. Kalkınma sosyolojisi alanı ise, toplumsal dönüşümleri, sebep ve sonuçlarını inceler. Kalkınma sosyolojisi toplumdaki dönüşüm pratiklerini ve süreçlerini incelerken, aynı zamanda da toplumlar içindeki ve toplumlar arasındaki eşitsizlik örüntülerini inceler.

Kalkınma sosyolojisinde teoriler iki ana kategoride sınıflandırılabilir: Anaakım kalkınma teorileri ve alternatif teoriler (Payne & Phillips, 2010). Anaakım kalkınma teorileri ekonomik kalkınmaya, ülkelerin geleneksellik/az gelişmişlikten modernliğe/gelişmişliğe ekonomik geçişine odaklanırken; alternatif teoriler, ideolojik bir hedef doğrultusundaki . sosyal, ekonomik ve politik eşitliklere yönelik dönüşümlere odaklanır (Friedman, 1992).

Alternatif kalkınma teorileri, anaakım kalkınma teorilerini üç ana alanda eleştirmektedir: kalkınmanın amacı, kalkınmanın nesneleri ve kalkınma araçları (Gündüz Hoşgör, 2011). Anaakım kalkınma teorileri ekonomik kalkınma ve büyüme üzerine odaklanırken, alternatif kalkınma insani kalkınma, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği, çevre ve sürdürülebilirlik konularına odaklanır. Bu doğrultuda insani kalkınma yaklaşımı, toplumsal cinsiyet yaklaşımı, çevre yaklaşımı ve post-kalkıncı yaklaşım olmak üzere pek çok alternatif kalkınma teorisi bulunmakta ve bu teorilerin her biri kalkınma düşüncesinin evrimine farklı şekillerde katkıda

bulunmaktadır. İnsani kalkınma yaklaşımları insanların temel ihtiyaçları ve yetkinliklerine, toplumsal cinsiyet yaklaşımı, toplumsal cinsiyet ve eşitsizliklerin toplumsal cinsiyet formları üzerine, çevre yaklaşımları, doğanın korunması ve doğal kaynakların tükenmesi çerçevesinde insani kalkınmanın sürdürülebilirliği üzerine, post-kalkımcı yaklaşımlar da kalkınmanın reddedilmesi üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Post-kalkımcı yaklaşımın kalkınmanın söylemsel inşasını eleştirmesi, onun bu çalışmadaki alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımına önemli katkıları olacağına işaret etmektedir (Payne & Phillips, 2010).

Bu çalışma alternatif kalkınma alanında katkıda bulunmak amacıyla; baskın kalkınma söylemini ve onun sonuçlarını, alternatif kalkınma bakış açısıyla eleştirmektedir. Bundan dolayı analizler; alternatif kalkınma teorisi doğrultusunda, kişiler ve nüfus grupları arasındaki eşitliklere/eşitsizliklere odaklanmaktadır. Pekçok alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımı olduğunu düşünürsek, bu geniş çerçeve içindeki ana alternatif kalkınma çerçevemizi belirtmek önemlidir. Bu çerçeveyi, alternatif kalkınma teorilerinin paylaştığı ortak argümanlar oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, kalkınma bilgisinin ve kalkınmadaki iktidar ilişkilerinin inşası ile bu inşalarda kalkınma kuruluşlarının, kalkınma uzmanlarının ve kalkınmanın öznelerinin rolü, alternatif kalkınmanın en önemli dinamiklerini oluşturmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda çalışmanın merkezinde şu sorular yer almaktadır: Kalkınmada bilgi nasıl inşa edilmektedir? Bilgi inşasının etkileri nelerdir? İktidar ilişkileri kalkınma ile nasıl inşa edilir ve uygulanır? Bilgi ve iktidar ilişkilerinin inşasında kalkınma kuruluşlarının, kalkınma uzmanlarının ve kalkınmanın öznelerinin rolü nedir?

Bu çalışma, kalkınma söylemindeki kırılganlık kavramının alternatif kalkınma bakış açısından incelenmesi üzerinedir. Bu söylem kalkınma literatüründe kendini kırılganlığın yanısıra dezavantajlı olma, riski olma kavramları ile de göstermektedir. Kırılganlık kavramı yeni olmamasına ve 1990 ların sonundan itibaren sosyal kalkınma ve sosyal politika alanında yaygın kullanılmasına rağmen, kavramın tanımı üzerine bir uzlaşma bulunmamaktadır. Bu çalışma Blaike ve arkadaşları (1994) tarafından ortaya konan tanımı benimsemektedir: “kırılganlık; bir kişi veya grubun, birey, aile veya toplum olarak sosyal ve ekonomik şartlarından dolayı felaketlere maruz kalabileceği karakteristiklerin kombinasyonudur” (s.61). Bu tanıma göre

kırılganlığın unsurları birey, hane veya nüfus grubunun maruz kaldığı riskler olarak anlaşılır. Diğer bir deyişle risk, kırılganlık durumunu oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışma kırılganlık kavramını nüfus grubunun şartları ve karakteristiklerini tanımlayan sosyal eşitsizliklere referansla, sosyal kırılganlık olarak almaktadır.

Alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımında, kırılganlık söyleminin kullanımının önemli politik sonuçları bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma; kırılganlık, dezavantaj ve risk kavramlarının ideolojik olarak tanımlanmış sosyal inşalar olduğunu kabul etmektedir. Çalışmanın temel argümanı, kalkınmada kullanılan kırılganlık söyleminin, nüfus gruplarının yönetilmesi ve kontrolü için kullanılan bir teknik olduğudur. Buna ek olarak kırılganlık söyleminin sorunları normalleştirdiği, hedef grubu homojen olarak ele aldığı, problemleri teknik sorun gibi inşa ettiği, uzman desteğini zorunlu kıldığı ve kalkınma müdahalelerini meşru kıldığı öne sürülmektedir.

Bu bağlamda çalışmanın temel sorularını şu şekilde geliştirebiliriz: Kalkınmada hangi gruplar veya insanlar kırılgan grup olarak adlandırılmaktadır? Kalkınmada kırılgan gruplara dair bilgi nasıl inşa edilmektedir? Kalkınmada kırılgan gruplara yönelik bilgi inşasının sonuçları nelerdir? Kalkınmada kırılgan gruplara yönelik iktidar ilişkileri nasıl inşa edilmekte ve uygulanmaktadır? Bu inşa süreçlerinde kalkınma kuruluşlarının, kalkınma uzmanlarının ve kalkınmanın öznesinin rolleri nelerdir? Çalışma kapsamında bu soruların cevapları belli bir örnek vaka üzerinden araştırılmalıdır bu nedenle çalışma kırılgan/dezavantajlı/riskli olarak tanımlanmış bir grup üzerinden, Türkiye'deki Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçileri (GMTİ) üzerinden yapılmıştır.

Örnek olarak GMTİ'nin seçilmesi çok önemlidir çünkü tarihsel bağlamda GMTİ Osmanlı zamanlarından beri süregelen bir istihdam biçimidir. O dönemlerden beri Türkiye'de GMTİ romanlarda, trafik kazalarında veya seyahat ederken yol kenarlarında görülmektedir. GMTİ 18. Yüzyıldan beri var olan bir ekonomik ve sosyal bir çalışma olgusu olmasına rağmen, GMTİ'nin kalkınmanın bir hedef kitlesi olarak ele alınması oldukça yenidir, 2000 yılı sonrası olduğu ifade edilebilir. Çalışmanın GMTİ örneğine odaklanması aynı zamanda GMTİ'nin bir ekonomik

aktörden nasıl, bir kalkınma aktörüne dönüştüğünün anlaşılması yönünden de önemlidir.

Kırsal dönüşüm literatürü, GMTİ ve ailelerine dair pekçok konuyu sunmaktadır. Bu literatür incelendiğinde GMTİ'nin demografik karakteristiklerine, sosyo-kültürel yapılarına, çalışma ilişkilerine, aile yapılarına, iktidar ilişkilerine ve yaşam koşullarına odaklanan pekçok çalışma olduğu görülmektedir (Gündüz Hoşgör, 2013, Özbekmezci, Ş. & Sahil, S., 2004, Lordoglu, K & Cinar, S., 2011, Benek, S. & Ökten, Ş., 2011, Geçgin, E. 2009, Karaman, K & Yılmaz, A. 2011, Görücü, İ. & Akbıyık, N., 2010, Küçükkırca, A., 2012). Ancak özellikle 2000 sonrası GMTİ'nin daha görünür olduğu, GMTİ programlarına çok fazla kaynak ayrıldığı ve bu konuda daha fazla bilimsel çalışma yapıldığı öne görülmektedir. Bu dönem aynı zamanda kırılganlık söyleminin kalkınma literatürüne girdiği ve GMTİ'nin kırılgan/devantajlı/riskli grup olarak tanımlandığı döneme denk gelmektedir. Bu bağlamda GMTİ'nin neoliberal düzenin devamlılığı için kırılganlık söylemi aracılığıyla kalkınma politika ve pratikleri tarafından yönetildiği ve kontrol edildiği çalışmanın ana argümanını oluşturmaktadır. Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, 2000 sonrası kırılgan grup olarak tanımlanan GMTİ'nin kalkınma aracılığıyla nasıl yönetildiğini ve kontrol edildiğini, alternatif kalkınma bakış açısıyla anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu nedenle çalışmanın araştırma soruları şu şekildedir: Kalkınmada GMTİ'ye dair bilgi nasıl inşa edilmektedir? Kalkınmada GMTİ'ye yönelik bilgi inşasının sonuçları nelerdir? Kalkınmada GMTİ'ye yönelik iktidar ilişkileri nasıl inşa edilmekte ve uygulanmaktadır? Bu inşa süreçlerinde kalkınma kuruluşlarının, kalkınma uzmanlarının ve GMTİ'nin rolleri nelerdir? Tüm bu soruların cevaplarını aramak için kırılgan grup GMTİ'ye yönelik kalkınma söylemleri ve pratikleri analiz edilmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle SMAW'in yönetim ve kontrol mekanizması, alternatif kalkınma bakış açısıyla araştırılmaktadır.

GMTİ'nin kalkınma bağlamı ile eş zamanlı giden kırılganlık söylemi, Michel Foucault ve onun iktidar teorisini düşündürmektedir. Çalışma Foucault'nun kavramlarını ödünç alarak hem GMTİ'ye yönelik kalkınma çabalarını araştırma ve aynı zamanda da alternatif kalkınma teorisine katkıda bulunmayı istemektedir. Michel Foucault ve onun iktidar teorisi iki yönden bu çalışma için faydalı olduğu

öne sürülebilir. Birincisi Foucault'nun iktidar teorisi, bir nüfus grubuna ilişkin bilgi ve onlara yönelik iktidar ilişkilerinin nasıl inşa edildiğinin anlaşılmasını mümkün kılar. Alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımının benimsendiği bir çalışmada da asıl önemli olan bir nüfus grubuna ilişkin bilgi ve onlara yönelik iktidar ilişkilerinin nasıl inşa edildiğinin analiz edilmesidir. İkinci olarak Foucault'a göre kırılabilirlik söylemi, bir nüfus grubunu yönetmek ve kontrol etmek için inşa edilmiştir, Foucault'nun ifadesi ile yönetimsellik için inşa edilmiştir. Nitekim, bu çalışmada kırılabilirlik söyleminin fonksiyonunun, GMTİ'leri yönetmek için yürütülen kalkınma çalışmalarını meşrulaştırmak olduğunu öne sürülmektedir. Bu nedenle çalışmada alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımı, Foucault'nun yönetimsellik kavramı ile operasyonelleştirmektedir. Bu operasyonelleştirmeye göre GMTİ'nin yönetim mekanizması veya diğer bir deyişle GMTİ'ye yönelik yönetimsellik, 2000 sonrası GMTİ'ye yönelik kalkınma söylemi (politik rasyonaliteler) ve kalkınma pratikleri (iktidar teknolojileri) incelenerek anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Kalkınma uzmanının, kalkınma söylem ve pratiklerindeki merkezi rolü, çalışmanın kalkınma uzmanlarının perspektifinden gerçekleştirilmesini sağlamıştır. Mc. Kinnon (2007) kalkınma uzmanının tanımı, batılı uzman değil, kalkınmayı yapan kişiler olarak ele almaktadır. Dolayısı ile kalkınma uzmanının tanımı yerli ve yabancı gönüllüler, devlet yetkilileri ve uluslararası danışmanların yanısıra yerel liderleri, aktivistleri ve Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarını (STK) da kapsamaktadır. Bu çalışma kalkınma uzmanını, kalkınma süreçlerine dahil olan devlet yetkilileri, STK, üniversiteler ve uluslararası kuruluşlar olarak tanımlamaktadır. Arturo Escobar (1989), kalkınma uzmanının sahip olduğu bilgilerin, devlet veya diğer kuruluşlar tarafından sunulan hizmetlere yönelik ihtiyaçları onayladığını ve kurumsallaştırdığını öne sürmektedir. Bundan dolayı metodolojik olarak çalışmayı kalkınma uzmanı bakış açısından yapmanın, GMTİ'ye yönelik yönetimselliğin daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlayacaktır. Bu doğrultuda çalışma kapsamında uluslararası kuruluşlardan, merkezi-bölgesel-yerel devlet kurumlarından, STK'lardan ve üniversitelerden kalkınma uzmanları ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Ayrıca kalkınma uzmanlarının görüşlerine ek olarak 2000 sonrası GMTİ'ye yönelik kalkınma program dökümanları, politika dökümanları ve akademik çalışmalar incelenmiştir. Özetle çalışma GMTİ'ye yönelik bilginin nasıl inşa edildiğini ve GMTİ'nin

üzerindeki iktidar ilişkilerinin nasıl inşa edildiğini alternatif kalkınma bakış açısı ile incelemektedir, diğer bir deyişle 2000 sornası Türkiye’de GMTİ’nin nasıl yönetildiğini incelemektedir. Çalışma aynı zamanda politik aktörlerin ekonomik aktörlere nasıl dönüştüğünü incelemektedir.

Çalışma giriş ve sonuç dahil olmak üzere sekiz bölümden oluşmaktadır. Girişi takip eden ikinci bölüm kavramsal ve teorik çerçeve üzerinedir. Bu bölümde çalışmanın alternatif kalkınma çerçevesini çizebilmek için ilk olarak kalkınma sosyolojisi ve ardından da kalkınma teorileri aktarılmaktadır. Daha sonra da kalkınmadaki kırılmalı söylemi tartışılmaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm Türkiye’deki kırsal dönüşüm ve gezici mevsimlik tarım üzerinedir. Bu bölümde önce kırsal dönüşüm tarımın kapitalistleşmesi üzerinden aktarılmakta, ardından GMTİ’ye yönelik 2000 öncesi devlet söylemi incelenmekte ve son olarak da GMTİ’nin karakteristikleri aktarılmaktadır. Dördüncü bölüm çalışmanın metodolojisini diğer bir deyişle çalışmanın boyutları, sınırlılıkları, örnekleme, veri toplama ve veri analizi yöntemlerini aktarmaktadır. Analiz bölümleri ‘Kırılmalı ve Türkiye’de kalkınmada kırılmalı bir nüfus grubu olarak GMTİ’ isimli beşinci bölümle başlamaktadır. Altıncı bölüm GMTİ ile ilgili bilginin inşası üzerinedir. Bu bölümde GMTİ ne yönelik inşa edilen kalkınma söylemi, alternatif kalkınma perspektifinden analiz edilmektedir. Yedinci bölüm GMTİ’ye yönelik iktidar ilişkilerinin inşası üzerinedir. Bu bölümde GMTİ’ye yönelik kalkınma pratikleri alternatif kalkınma bakış açısıyla analiz edilmektedir. Sekizinci bölüm olan sonuç bölümünde de çalışmanın bulguları tartışılmaktadır.

## 2. TEORİK ÇERÇEVE

Kalkınma sosyolojisi, sosyal değişimlerin süreçlerini ve pratiklerini incelemektedir ve bu doğrultuda aktörleri, kurumları, sosyal hareketlilikleri, kültürü ve eşitsizlikleri inceler. Kalkınma teorileri en temel haliyle; ekonomik dönüşümlere odaklanan anaakım kalkınma teorileri ve sosyal dönüşümlere odaklanan alternatif teorilerden oluşmaktadır diyebiliriz. Alternatif kalkınma bakış açısı ile, anaakım kalkınma teorilerinin söylemler inşa ederek hedef grubu homojenleştirdiği, sorunlarını teknik hale getirdiği, hedef grubu normalleştirdiği ve dış müdahaleleri meşrulaştırdığı öne

sürülmektedir. Bundan yola çıkarak kırılancılık söyleminin, nüfus gruplarını yönetmek ve kontrol etmek için inşa edilmiş bir kavram, bir söylem olduđu iddia edilebilir. Diğeri taraftan alternatif teorilerin özellikle sivil toplumun ve tabanın sesine kulak veren, aşağıdan yukarı bir kalkınma planlayan ve çeşitliliğe değeri veren bir yaklaşım olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

Alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımını zenginleştirmek için, iki post-kalkınmacı eleştiri kullanılmaktadır bu çalışmada. Bunlardan biri kalkınmada bilgi ve uzmana verilen rol, diğeri de kalkınmanın hedef grubuna yöneliktir. Bu doğrultuda kalkınmanın bilgiye bağımlı olduđu ve bilgi ile herşeyin öğrenildiği, öngörüldüğü, şekillendirildiği ve meşrulaştırıldığı öne sürülmektedir. Ki bu bilgi de bir taraftan kalkınmadaki söylemleri oluştururken aynı zamanda diğeri taraftan da belli grupların ideolojik amaçlarına hizmet etmektedir. Bu noktada, konu kalkınmanın hedef özneleri olduğunda aslında bu öznelerin de bilgi ve söylem aracılığıyla nesneye dönüştürüldüğünden bahsedilebilir. Ayrıca kalkınma uzmanının rolüne bakıldığında öncelikle kalkınmanın profesyonelleşmesinden ve kalkınmanın kurumsallaşmasından bahsetmek gerekir. Post-kalkınmacı yaklaşım; kalkınmanın üniversiteler ve uluslararası kuruluşlar ile gelişmekte olan ülkelerin yerel uzmanlarının yetiştirilerek kalkınma uzmanları haline getirildiğini ve bu uzmanların yine bu kurumlar aracılığı ile kalkınma söylemlerini inşa ettiğini, yönlendirdiğini, uyguladığını öne sürmektedir.

Teorik anlamda alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımını zenginleştirmek için diğeri bir öneri, bir alternatif kalkınma çalışmasının operasyonelleştirmesinin Michel Foucault'nun yönetimsellik kavramı ile yapılabilmesine yöneliktir. Bu çalışma Michel Foucault'nun yönetimsellik kavramının, alternatif kalkınma analizi için uygun bir analitik araç olduğunu öne sürer. Yönetimselliğin bir sistem olarak hem kalkınma söylemi hem de kalkınma pratiklerinin incelenmesine olanak sağlaması, alternatif kalkınma analizinin bütünsel yapılmasına olanak sağlaması; nüfus gruplarının yönetim ve kontrolünün anlaşılması noktasındaki gerekliliğini ortaya koyar.

Kırılancılık söyleminin alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımıyla analizi, teorik çerçevenin tamamlanması için büyük önem taşımaktadır. Kırılancılık kavramının ilk olarak 12.



yüzyılda denizcilik sigortacılığı alanında, deniz taşımacılığındaki riskleri yönetmek için kullanılan bir kavram olarak ortaya çıktığı daha sonra da özellikle doğal felaketler alanında yine riskleri yönetmek için kullanılan bir kavram olduğu görülmektedir. Ancak bu çalışmanın ele aldığı sosyal kırılganlık söyleminin 1990 lardan itibaren sosyal bilimler, sosyal politika ve kalkınma çalışmalarında yaygın kullanılan, itibaren kullanılan bir kavram/söylem olduğu öne sürülebilir. Bu kapsamdaki kırılganlık söylemi sadece kırılganlık değil, dezavantajlı veya riskli olarak da kendisini gösterir. Bu çalışmada alternatif bir kalkınma analizi yapıldığında kırılganlık söyleminin modernist, ideolojik ve inşa edilmiş bir söylem olduğu öne sürülmektedir. Bu doğrultuda kırılganlık söyleminin kalkınmadaki eşitsizliklerin gölgelenmesi, sorunların teknik hale getirilmesi, kalkınma müdahalelerinin meşrulaştırılması ve nüfus gruplarının hem homojenleştirilmesi hem de nesneleştirilerek yönetilmesi ve kontrol edilmesi için inşa edilmiş bir söylem olduğu öne sürülebilir.

Sonuç olarak kırılganlık söyleminin kalkınmanın, nüfus gruplarını yönetmek ve kontrol etmek için kurguladığı bir araç olduğu ifade edilebilir. Dolayısı ile Michel Foucault'nun yönetimsellik kavramı çerçevesinde; kırılganlık söylemi ile nüfus gruplarına dair bilginin ve iktidar ilişkilerinin nasıl inşa edildiği ortaya konmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bu itibarla Türkiye'de 2000 yılı sonrası kırılgan/dezavantajlı/riskli grup diye tanımlanan Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerine yönelik kalkınma söylem ve politikaları, alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımı ile incelenmiştir.

### 3. KIRSAL KALKINMA VE TÜRKİYE'DE GEZİCİ MEVSİMLİK TARIM İŞÇİLERİ

Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerine (GMTİ) yönelik bir çalışmada konunun bağlamını ve GMTİ'nin ortaya çıkışını anlamak için Türkiye'deki kırsal kalkınma süreci ile ilgili bir tartışma yürütmek yerinde olacaktır. Bu çalışmada, kırsal kalkınma konusunu çok geniş olduğu için konu, özellikle tarımda kapitalistleşme çerçevesinde ve bunun neden ve sonuçları doğrultusunda incelenecektir. Bu itibarla, tarımda kapitalistleşme; köylünün işçileşmesi, işgücünün hareketliliği, ve iktidar ilişkileri bağlamında beş dönemde ele alınabilir. Bu dönemler 1923-1929'u

kapsayan erken cumhuriyet dönemi, 1930-1950'yi kapsayan devletçi-korumacı dönem, 1950-1980'i kapsayan ithal ikameci dönem ve 1980 sonrasında kapsayan neoliberal dönem olarak literatürde sınıflandırılmıştır. Çalışmada bu dönemler kapsamında kırsal kalkınma süreçleri GMTİ ile ilişkilendirilerek incelenmiştir. Burada önemli olan GMTİ bağlamında sadece kırsal kalkınma süreçlerinin değil aynı zamanda da devletin bu konudaki söyleminin de incelenmesidir.

Erken cumhuriyet döneminin kendi kendine yeten bir ülke olma amacıyla Türkiye'nin tarımı öncelendiği, geçimlik toprak sahipliğini ve çiftçiliği önemseydiğini ve desteklediğini öne sürebiliriz. Bu doğrultuda somut adım olarak hem aşar vergisinin kaldırılması hem de toprak reformu tartışmaları görülmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu dönemin tarımın sanayiye bir girdi olarak konumlandırılmaya başladığı da belirtilebilir.

1930-1950 dönemine gelindiğinde, tarımda kapitalistleşmenin başladığı ve küçük üreticilerin mevcut topraklarıyla geçinmekte zorlandığı söylenebilir. Bundan dolayı küçük toprak sahiplerinin yılın belli dönemlerinde geçici işçi olarak başkalarının tarlalarında çalıştığı, diğer bir deyişle yarı-işçileştiği söylenebilir. Bu dönem GMTİ'nin görünür olmaya başladığı ilk dönemdir.

1950 sonrası dönemde ikinci dünya savaşı sonrası dinamiklerin etkisi Türkiye'de de yansımalarını bulmaktadır. Savaş dönemi Türkiye'deki 1950 öncesi devletçi-korumacı sanayileşme hamlesini yavaşlatmış aynı zamanda da tarımsal ve sınai üretimi olumsuz etkilemiştir. Diğer taraftan, uluslararası iş bölümünde Türkiye'ye tanınan rol ve Marshall yardımlarıyla tarımda ciddi bir mekanizasyon başlamıştır. Bunun sonucu olarak küçük çiftçilerin bir kısmının başkalarının tarlalarında çalışmaya devam ettiği ancak önemli bir kısmının da kırdan kente göç ettiği görülmektedir. Kırdan kente göç kentlerde ciddi bir büyüme sağlarken, tarımdaki iş gücü açığını da arttırmıştır. Yine bu dönemde kırsal kalkınmada uluslararası kuruluşların görülmeye başlandığı öne sürülebilir. Bu itibarla, Uluslararası Para Fonu, ve Dünya Bankası'nın tarımda kapitalist ilişkilerin yaygınlaşması konusunda ve kırsalda sosyal kalkınma alanında çalışmalar yapmaya başladığı görülmektedir.

1980 sonrası döneme baktığımızda, GMTİ ve kırsal kalkınma bağlamında çok önemli iki konu belirtilmelidir. Birincisi, Türkiye'nin serbest piyasa ekonomisi modeline geçişi ve neo-liberal politikaların yaygınlaşması; ikincisi de, ülkenin güneydoğusunda kürt nüfusa yönelik yapılan köy boşaltmalarıdır. Yaygınlaşan neo-liberal politikaların devletin rolünü gittikçe küçülttüğü ve başta küçük köylüler olmak üzere tüm aktörleri piyasa ilişkilerinin akışına bıraktığı görülmektedir. Bu itibarla, küçük köylülüğün işçileştiği, çiftliklerin ve meraların birer işletme haline dönüştüğü, kırdan kente göçün arttığı söylenebilir. Ki bu da yılın belli dönemlerinde daha fazla miktarda iş gücüne ihtiyaç duyan tarımsal üretimde ciddi iş gücü açıklarına sebep olmuştur. Bu açık özellikle 1990'lardan sonra topraklarından edilen güneydoğu bölgesindeki Kürtler tarafından kapanmaktadır. Çünkü 1960 sonrası kırdan gelen göçü içine alabilen kentler, 1990 sonrası aynı kabulü gerçekleştirememiş, Kürtleri kayıt-dışı ekonomide ve oldukça kötü şartlarda barınabilecek şekilde karşılamıştır. Bu da ciddi bir Kürt nüfusun GMTİ olmasını ve yılın farklı dönemlerinde Türkiye'nin farklı yerlerinde aile olarak yaşaması ve çalışması olgusunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Araştırmalar, tam sayı bilinmemekle birlikte, bir milyon ila üç milyon arasında GMTİ ve ailesinin tarımsal üretimde yer aldığını ve bu nüfusun büyük çoğunluğunun da Kürtlerden oluştuğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Cumhuriyetin ilanından itibaren devletin GMTİ konusunda söylemi incelendiğinde, gerek planlı gerekse de plansız dönemde GMTİ'ye yönelik kanun ve düzenleme olmadığı, tarımda büyük oranda kayıt dışı çalışmanın yürütüldüğü ifade edilebilir. 2000 öncesi GMTİ'ye yönelik devlet eliyle oluşturulmuş tek çalışmanın İş-Kur tarafından 1973 yılında yayımlanan 'Mevsimlik Toplu İş Gücü İstihdamı Rehberi' çalışması olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Bunun dışında üçüncü ve dördüncü beş yıllık kalkınma planlarında GMTİ'nin sosyal sorun ve güvenlik sorunu olarak ifade edildiği görülmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, Türkiye'nin kırsal kalkınma tarihinde GMTİ'nin tarımın önemli bir aktörü olmasına rağmen, resmi söylem ve uygulamalarda yer bulamadığı ve GMTİ'nin yaşam ve çalışma koşullarının devletin her vatandaşına sunduğu hizmetlerin ve hakların dışında bırakıldığı ifade edilebilir. Bunun da Türkiye'nin

neo-liberal düzendeki rekabette ayakta kalma stratejisi kapsamında, tarımsal maliyetlerin düşük tutulması için yapıldığı öne sürülebilir.

#### 4. METODOLOJİ

Daha öncede ifade edildiği gibi bu çalışma, Türkiye’de 2000 yılı sonrası kırılğan/dezavantajlı/riskli grup olarak tanımlanan Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerine (GMTİ) yönelik kalkınma söylem ve pratiklerini incelemektedir. Bu kapsamda, GMTİ’ye yönelik bilginin nasıl inşa edildiği ve yine GMTİ’ye yönelik iktidar ilişkilerinin nasıl inşa edildiği anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Böylece çalışmanın temel argümanına uygun olarak kırılğanlık söylemi ile GMTİ’nin asıl yönetildiği ve kontrol edildiği anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Çalışmada örnek olay yaklaşımıyla kalitatif araştırma yöntemi uygulamaktadır. Kalitatif araştırma yöntemi kapsamında kalkınma uzmanlarıyla derinlemesine görüşme tekniği kullanılarak veri toplanmış ve analiz edilmiştir. Bu analizi desteklemek için ayrıca literatür taraması yapılmıştır. Bu kapsamda, GMTİ’ye yönelik 2000 yılı sonrası Türkiye’deki tüm kanun, yönetmelik, politika ve kalkınma dokümanı, araştıma ve basın açıklamaları incelenmiştir. Ayrıca GMTİ alanında çalışan veya kuruluşu gereği çalışma sorumluluğu olan 41 kurumdan 42 kalkınma uzmanı ile derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşme yapılan uzmanlar kamu kurumları, sivil toplum kuruluşları, üniversiteler ve uluslararası kuruluşlarda çalışmakta olup, bu kalkınma uzmanlarının hepsi karar verme süreçlerine dahil olan yönetici veya uygulayıcılardır. Kurumların merkezi örgütlenmelerinin yanı sıra varsa yerel ve bölgesel örgütlenmeleri ile de görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu kapsamda görüşmeler Ankara, İstanbul, Şanlıurfa ve Ordu’da gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmalar GMTİ’nin Türkiye’nin 50 civarı şehrine gidip çalıştığını/yaşadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışmaları inceleyerek Türkiye’de en çok GMTİ gönderen il olan Şanlıurfa ve yine en çok GMTİ alan illerden biri olan Ordu da görüşmeler için özellikle seçilmiştir.

Mülakat soruları çalışmanın teorik çerçevesine uygun olarak Michel Foucault’nun yönetimsellik kavramı ile operasyonelleştirilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda kalkınma

uzmanlarına görüşmelerde toplam onbir adet soru yöneltilerek onların kalkınma, GMTİ ve GMTİ'ye yönelik politika ve pratikler alanındaki görüşleri açık uçlu sorularla öğrenilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda ilk olarak; kalkınma kavramından ne anladıkları, kalkınmada kullanılan kavramları nasıl gördükleri, tanımladıkları, Türkiye'deki kalkınma süreçlerine bakış açıları, kalkınmanın hedef gruplarındaki değişimler sorulmuştur. Daha sonra; GMTİ'nin ortaya çıkışı, dönüşümü, GMTİ olmanın avantaj ve dezavantajları sorulmuştur. Son olarak da; uzmanın kuruluşunun GMTİ konusunda yaptığı çalışmalar, gerekçeleri ve süreçleri tartışılmıştır. Tüm bu sorular sonucunda operasyonelleştirmeye uygun olarak; GMTİ'ye yönelik bilginin nasıl inşa edildiği, GMTİ'ye yönelik iktidar ilişkilerinin nasıl inşa edildiği, bu inşa süreçlerinde kalkınma kuruluşlarının, kalkınma uzmanlarının ve GMTİ'nin rolünün ne olduğu analiz edilmiştir.

##### 5. KIRILGANLIK VE KALKINMADA BİR KIRILGAN NÜFUS GRUBU OLARAK TÜRKİYE'DE GEZİCİ MEVSİMLİK TARIM İŞÇİLERİ

Kırılگانlık söylemi Türkiye'deki kalkınma literatüründe 1990'ların sonunda ortaya görölmeye başlanmış ve özellikle 2000'lerden itibaren yaygın olarak kullanılarak Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçileri (GMTİ) gibi pek çok nüfus grubunu kırılған, dezavantajlı, riskli olarak tanımlamıştır. Konuya GMTİ özelinde baktığımızda, GMTİ'nin kalkınma dökümanlarında kamu kurumları, üniversiteler, sivil toplum kuruluşları ve uluslararası kuruluşlar tarafından kırılған, dezavantajlı, riskli grup olarak tanımlandığı görölmektedir. Yine bu kurumlar GMTİ'nin kırılғанlık söylemini GMTİ'nin güvensiz ulaşım koşulları, sosyal güvenlik dışında olmaları, eğitim ve sağlık hizmetlerine erişememeleri, kötü yaşam ve çalışma koşulları, ve maruz kaldıkları ayrımcı uygulamalarından dolayı olduklarını ifade etmektedirler. Bu kuruluşların GMTİ'nin sorunlarını eşitsizlikler temelinde değil, teknik problemler gibi inşa ettiği ve o doğrultuda da yapısal dönüşümler değil, eklektik çözümler uyguladıkları öne sürülebilir. Çünkü çalışma hakları ve insan hakları konuları yerine kalkınma müdahalelerinin ağırlıklı olarak inşaat yapma, eğitim verme ve tartışma platformları kurma üzerine olduğu görölmektedir.

Çalışmada GMTİ'ye yönelik tüm kalkınma müdahaleleri diğer bir deyişle biyo-politikalar incelenmiştir. Bunları ev, okul ve sağlık birimi inşası, GMTİ uzman platformları oluşturulması, GMTİ güçlendirme/egitim programları, GMTİ ile ilgili çalışan kurumların kapasitelerinin güçlendirilmesi çalışmaları, GMTİ istihdam programları, GMTİ izlem birimlerinin kurulması, mobil kamu hizmetlerinin sağlanması olarak sınıflandırmak mümkündür. Alternatif kalkınma bakış açısıyla bu çalışmalar değerlendirildiğinde, GMTİ'ye yönelik güvenlik kaygısının ve onların kayıt dışı ekonomide kalması gerektiği politik rasyonalitenin yansımalarının görüldüğünü söyleyebiliriz. Çünkü bahsedilen kalkınma çalışmalarının GMTİ'yi yerel halktan uzak tutan, karar verme süreçlerine dahil etmeyen, ve lütuf olarak sunulan hizmetlere işaret ettiği ifade edilebilir.

Tüm bunlara ek olarak kalkınma kuruluşları söz konusu faaliyetleri gerçekleştirirken, diğer taraftan da üç temel kategoride toplanabilecek politika önerilerini, çeşitli platformlarda ve kendi dokümanlarında dile getirmektedirler. Bunlarda birincisi, uluslararası ve ulusal kanuni düzenlemelerin uygulanması ve denetimidir. Bu öneri Avrupa Sosyal Şartı'nın ve Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü'nün tarımda çalışmaya ilişkin ilgili madde ve sözleşmelerinin; ve aynı zamanda GMTİ'ye yönelik Başbakanlık Genelgesinin uygulanmasına yöneliktir. İkinci öneri, GMTİ'ye yönelik çalışma ve yaşam koşullarının diğer tüm vatandaş ve işçilere olduğu gibi devlet tarafından, onları şartları düşünülerek düzenlenmesidir. Üçüncü ve son öneri ise, GMTİ'nin haklarını elde etmeleri ve kullanabilmeleri için örgütlenmeleri yönündedir.

Sonuç olarak, literatür taraması kalkınma kuruluşlarının önerileri ile pratikleri arasında dikkat çekici bir uçurum olduğu dikkat çekmektedir. Bu uçurumu sağlayan süreçlerin nasıl kurgulandığı ve inşa edildiği kalkınma uzmanları ile yapılan mülakatların analizi ile ortaya konulmuştur.

## 6. GEZİCİ MEVSİMLİK TARIM İŞÇİLERİNE YÖNELİK BİLGİ İNŞASININ ALTERNATİF KALKINMA ANALİZİ

Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerine (GMTİ) yönelik bilginin kalkınma uzmanları tarafından nasıl inşa edildiği ve bu inşanın sonuçlarının anlaşılması oldukça önemlidir. Çünkü daha önce de belirtildiği gibi kalkınma çalışmaları en baştan itibaren belirli ideolojiler doğrultusunda kurgulanır. 2000 sonrası faaliyetleri alternatif kalkınma bakış açısıyla değerlendirecek olursak, yapılan görüşmeler sonucu GMTİ'nin kalkınmanın bir öznesi değil de nesnesi olarak tanımlandığı öne sürülebilir. Bu doğrultuda Osmanlı'dan beri bir sosyal gerçeklik, bir istihdam biçimi olan GMTİ kalkınma çalışmalarını meşrulaştırmak üzere bir kalkınma nesnesine dönüştürüldüğü ifade edilebilir. Ayrıca kalkınma uzmanlarının, çalıştıkları kurumun çalışma alanı ve kaynakları doğrultusunda GMTİ'yi tanımladıkları ve yine bu tanımlamalar ile kendi kurumlarının çalışmalarını meşrulaştırdıkları iddia edilebilir. Diğer taraftan, nesneleştirme sürecinde GMTİ'ye yönelik üç grupta kategorileştirilebilecek tanımlamaların görüldüğü ifade edilmelidir. Bunlardan ilki, 'istenmeyen göçmen insanlar' olma halidir. Bu tanımlamada GMTİ geçici olması istenen, korkulan yabancı kişiler olarak ifade edilmektedir. Bu tanımlamanın özellikle neo-liberal düzenin kullandığı güvenlik söylemi ve ona dayanarak yapılan müdahaleleri akla getirdiği ifade edilebilir. Kalkınma uzmanları hem yerel halkın hem de kalkınma kuruluşlarının GMTİ'nin geçici olması ve geldikleri bölgeye yerleşmemeleri için çabaladıkları ve GMTİ'ye yönelik söylem ve pratiklerini bu doğrultuda oluşturdukları söylenebilir. Diğer bir kategori, 'hayatta kalma stratejisinin özneleri' olma halidir. Bu kapsamda GMTİ'lerin eğitimsiz, topraksız ve yoksul oldukları, tüm bunlardan dolayı da GMTİ olarak çalışmanın onlar için rasyonel bir hareket olduğu yönündedir. Bu tanımlama GMTİ'nin bahsedilen geri kalmışlıklarından dolayı mevcut çalışma ve yaşam şartlarına razı olmaları gerektiğini öne sürülmektedir. Aynı zamanda neo-liberal düzenin kırsal kalkınmada yarattığı kapitalist ilişkilerin olumsuz etkisine hiç değinilmediği de dikkat çekicidir. Üçüncü kategori 'çatışma politikalarının özneleri' olma halidir. Tüm araştırmaların ortaya koyduğu gibi GMTİ'nin çoğunluğunu Kürtler oluşturmaktadır. 1990'lı yıllarda gerçekleşen köy boşaltmaları olmasa idi GMTİ daha farklı bir etnisite formasyonunda olabilecekti. Kalkınma uzmanları görüşmelerinde GMTİ'nin etnik

boyutuna değinmekten çekinmişler ve bu konuyu daha çok farklı dil referansı veya coğrafi bölge referansı ile ifade etmişlerdir. Ancak bazı mülakatlarda GMTİ'nin olumsuz karakteristikler taşıyan Kürt nüfusu kapsadığına yönelik ifadeler de kullanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak tüm uzmanların GMTİ'ye yönelik kurgularını üç kategoride ifade edilen özneleştirilmelerle başlatıp sonra onları kalkınmanın birer nesnesi haline getirip tamamladığı öne sürülebilir. Bu noktadan sonra kırılgan/dezavantajlı/riskli bir grup olan GMTİ'nin kalkınmanın bir nesnesi olarak ele alındığı ve GMTİ'ye yönelik, tanımlanan alanlar çerçevesinde kalkınma politika ve pratiklerinin tartışıldığı ifade edilebilir. Alternatif kalkınma bakış açısından ise bu noktada arka planda GMTİ'nin tarımsal üretim için gerekli olan; yönetilmesi ve kontrol edilmesi gereken bir grup olarak ortaya konduğu belirtilebilir. Bundan yola çıkarak da GMTİ'nin sorunları teknik olarak yoksulluk, sağlık, eğitim, barınma, ayrımcılık ve çocuk işçilik olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Kalkınma uzmanlarının bu sorun alanlarını kişisel deneyimlerine, saha ziyaretlerine ve yapılan araştırmalara dayandırdıkları görülmektedir. Ancak alternatif kalkınma bakış açısıyla ifade edilmelidir ki GMTİ ile ilgili inşa edilen bilgi; kalkınma kuruluşlarının çalışma alanları, bütçeleri, katılımcılık süreçlerinin dizaynı ile limitlidir ve dolayısıyla da ideolojiktir. Sonuç olarak, kalkınma uzmanları aracılığı ile inşa edilen bilgi GMTİ'ye yönelik kalkınma pratiklerini ve yönetimselliği meşrulaştıracak zemini oluşturmaktadır. Yönetimsellik açısından değerlendirecek olursak yukarıda ifade edilen politik rasyonalitelerle, GMTİ'nin yönetim ve kontrolüne yönelik söylemler ve pratikler oluşturulmaktadır.

## 7. GEZİCİ MEVSİMLİK TARIM İŞÇİLERİNE YÖNELİK İKTİDAR İLİŞKİLERİ İNŞASININ ALTERNATİF KALKINMA ANALİZİ

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi nüfus gruplarına yönelik bilginin nasıl inşa edildiği onlara yönelik politikaların ve iktidar ilişkilerinin kurgulanmasında büyük öneme sahiptir. Kalkınma uzmanlarının görüşmeleri analiz edildiğinde Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerinin (GMTİ) geri kalmış, homojen ve teknik problemleri olan bir grup olarak tanımlandığı görülmüştür. Bu gruba yönelik iktidar ilişkilerinin kalkınma politikaları ve pratikleri tarafından nasıl yönetilip kontrol edildiğinin anlaşılması için; kurumlar arası görev dağılımı, kurumların, uzmanların ve GMTİ'nin kendisinin



rolleri incelenmiştir. Diğer bir deyişle GMTİ'ye yönelik yönetimsellik çerçevesinin iktidar teknolojileri ortaya konmuştur. Burada hatırlatmak gerekir ki yönetimsellik, çok merkezli ve farklı düzeylerde birbiriyle ilişkilenen iktidar odaklarının oluşturduğu bir mekanizmadır. Bu doğrultuda tüm kişi ve kuruluşların yönetimselliğin işleyişi için farklı rolleri bulunmaktadır. Ve aynı zamanda da yönetimsellik sadece bir nüfus grubunu yönetmeyi değil grubun da kendisini yönetmesini sağlayan bir mekanizmadır.

GMTİ'nin yönetim ve kontrolünde uluslararası kuruluşların, üniversitelerin, devletin, STK'ların çeşitli görevleri bulunmaktadır. Bu kuruluşlar arasındaki görev dağılımına baktığımızda uluslararası kuruluşların konuyu gündemde tutmak ve konuyla ilgili kaynak sağlamak rolü olduğu; STK ve Üniversitelerin de fon sağlayıcı kuruluşların alt yüklenicisi gibi bu kuruluşların belirlediği çerçevede araştırma ve uygulama çalışmaları yaptığı öne sürülebilir. Bu mekanizma içinde devletin eksikliği göze çarpan önemli bir noktadır. Neo-liberal düzenin işleyişinde rolü küçülen devletin bu çalışmalarda da oldukça az rol aldığı ifade edilebilir.

Yine bu yönetimsellik içinde kalkınma uzmanlarının rollerine baktığımızda uzmanların; konuyu gündeme getirme, konuyla ilgili bilgi üretme, uygulamaların hayata geçirilmesi ve tüm bunların koordinasyonunu yürüttükleri görülmektedir. Ayrıca yine kalkınma uzmanlarının GMTİ'ye yönelik çalışılacak tematik alanları, tahsis edilecek bütçeleri ve faaliyet çeşitlerinin de belirleyicisi oldukları söylenebilir.

GMTİ'ye yönelik tüm bu kalkınma çalışmalarında hem söylem hem de pratikler anlamında uluslararası kuruluşların etkinliği yüksek düzeydedir. Kırılmalı söyleminin hem küresel hem de Türkiye'deki kalkınma literatürüne sokulması gibi, GMTİ'ye yönelik çalışılacak alanların belirlenmesinde de uluslararası kuruluşların etkinliğinden söz edilebilir.

Son olarak, bu çalışmaların öznesi olan GMTİ'nin süreçlerdeki rolüne bakmak yerinde olacaktır. GMTİ'nin kalkınma pratiklerinde aktivitelerin bir parçası olarak süreçlerde yer aldıkları ancak kalkınma süreçlerinin dizaynında veya GMTİ'ye yönelik bilgi inşası sürecinde pek yer almadıkları öne sürülebilir. Ekonomik olarak

tarımsal üretimde önemli bir yere sahip olan GMTİ'nin kalkınma söylemi ve pratikleriyle bir kalkınma nesnesine dönüştüğü ve hiç süreçlerde görünür olmadığı ifade edilebilir. Alternatif kalkınma bakış açısından değerlendirildiğinde GMTİ'nin öznelliğini koruyamaması, sesini duyuramaması ve kendilerine yönelik karar süreçlerinde yer alamaması eleştirilmektedir. Diğer taraftan kalkınma uzmanlarının GMTİ'yi süreçlere dahil olamayacak düşük kapasiteli, pasif, örgütlenememiş bir grup olarak tanımlaması onların aslında süreçlerde isteseler de yer alamayacaklarına bir işaret olarak ifade edilebilir. Bu da aslında kalkınma uzmanının ve kalkınma kuruluşlarının bu alanda çalışmalarının meşruiyet zeminini oluşturmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, yönetimsellik mekanizması inşa ettiği güç ilişkileri ile GMTİ'nin kalkınma anlamında destek almadan bir yol alamayacağını göstermeye çalışmaktadır.

## 8. DEĞERLENDİRME

Bu çalışma kalkınmanın ideolojik hedefler için gerçekleştirilen sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel dönüşümler olduğunu kabul etmektedir. 1950'lerden itibaren kapitalizmin yayılımı ve devamlılığı için önemli bir araç olarak kurgulanan kalkınmanın; özellikle neoliberal politikaların yaygınlaşması ile hedeflerini insanlara ve nüfus gruplarına yönlendirdiği daha önce de belirtilmiştir. Bu itibarla çalışma, kırılancılık söyleminin neoliberal düzenin devamlılığı için nüfus gruplarının yönetim ve kontrolüne yönelik inşa edilmiş bir söylem olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Bu argümandan yola çıkarak, Türkiye'de 2000 sonrası Gezici Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerine (GMTİ) yönelik kalkınma politika ve pratiklerinin de kırılancılık söylemi üstünden yürütüldüğü öne sürülebilir. Bu söylemin etkilerinin, diğer bir deyişle nasıl işlediğinin anlaşılması çalışmanın akademik merak konusuydu ve bu amaçla Türkiye'deki kalkınma çalışmalarında 2000 sonrası GMTİ'ye yönelik bilgi nasıl inşa edilmiştir? Bilgi inşasının etkileri nelerdir? Kalkınma çalışmalarında 2000 sonrası GMTİ'ye yönelik iktidar ilişkileri nasıl inşa edilir ve uygulanır? Bilgi ve iktidar ilişkilerinin inşasında kalkınma kuruluşlarının, kalkınma uzmanlarının ve kalkınmanın öznelinin rolü nedir? cevap aranmış sorulardır.

Analizler ortaya koymaktadır ki GMTİ'ne yönelik kalkınma söylem ve pratiklerini anlamak için konunun ideolojik rasyonalitesini anlamak ön koşuldur. Bu itibarla Türkiye'de GMTİ'nin, global piyasa ilişkileri ile konumu değerlendirilmelidir. Global görev dağılımında Türkiye'nin konumunun tarımsal ve sınai üretim ile yurtdışındaki gıda ve sanayi sektörlerine girdi sağlamak olduğu görülmektedir. Yine Türkiye'nin küresel rekabette bu rolünü kayetmemek için üretim maliyetlerini düşük tutarak ayakta kalmaya çalıştığı ve bunu da informal/ düşük istihdam maliyetleri ile korumaya çalıştığı görülmektedir. Bu noktada GMTİ'nin tarımsal üretim için çok gerekli olduğu ancak üretimin aksamaması ve neoliberal düzenin işleyişinin sektreye uğramaması için de GMTİ'nin yönetilmesinin, kontrolünün de gerekli olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Alternatif kalkınma sosyal, kültürel ve politik gelişmeleri belli bir ideoloji doğrultusunda dönüşümünü incelerken, tüm ilgili tarafların katılımını ve insani ihtiyaçları önceler. Bu bakış açısıyla anaakım kalkınmanın, hedef grupları homojenleştiren ve nesnelleştiren, onların sorunlarını normalleştiren ve politik meseleleri teknik düzeye indirgeyen yaklaşımını eleştirir. Ayrıca bu yaklaşımı hedef kitleyi geri, pasif ve kalkınma uzmanının desteğine zorunlu halde ihtiyaç duyan bir halde olmasını da eleştirir. Alternatif kalkınmanın Michel Foucault'nun yönetimsellik kavramı ile operasyonelleştirilmesi bu çalışmanın temel teorik katkılarından biridir. Ayrıca yönetimsellik kavramının Foucault'nun önceki çalışmalarında olduğu gibi batı bağlamında değil Türkiye bağlamında tartışılması da bahsedilebilecek diğer bir teorik katkıdır. Yönetimsellikte bilgi kalkınmanın en önemli dinamiğidir. Dolayısıyla tüm kalkınma söylem ve pratikleri bu bilgiye bağımlıdır. Yine alternatif kalkınma bakış açısından yönetimsellik süreci konuyu depolitize etmekte ve eşitsizliklerin kökenine inmesine engel olmaktadır.

Yönetimselliğin işlemesi için ve bir konunun iktidarın kontrol ve yönetim süreçlerine girmesi için 'hakikat rejimi' nin uygulanması gerekir. Bu doğrultuda, 2000 sonrası GMTİ ile ilgili hakikat daha önce belirtilen politik rasyonaliteye uygun olarak, onların kırılğan/dezavantajlı/riskli grup olarak tanımlandığı ve yaşam koşullarının iyileştirilmesi hedefinin koyulduğu bir şekilde kurgulanmıştır. Bu hakikat rejimi doğrultusunda kalkınma uzmanları eliyle devletin, uluslararası

kuruluşların, STK'ların, üniversitelerin, GMTİ'nin kendisinin yer aldığı bir mekanizma işletilmeye başlanmıştır. Bu mekanizma GMTİ'ye yönelik hem bilgi inşasını hem de güç ilişkilerini kurgulamıştır. Tarihsel olarak adaletsiz toprak dağılımı, çalışma hakları, etnisite üzerinden bir sosyal gerçeklik, eşitsizlik öyküsü olarak tanımlanabilecek olan GMTİ bu yönetimsellik mekanizması ile yerel bir sorun, bir aile hali, bir rasyonel davranış olarak inşa edildiği görülmektedir. Yine bu inşa doğrultusunda kapitalist düzenin getirdiği eşitsiz yapının sorunlu olduğunun ifade edilmesi yerine grubun sorunluymuş gibi bir inşasının söz konusu olduğu söylenebilir. Bu inşa sürecinde en etkin rolü uluslararası kuruluşların ve onlarla işbirliği içerisinde çalışan STK ve üniversitelerin yürüttüğü ifade edilmelidir. Yine burada devletin ve GMTİ'nin kendisinin görünmezliği dikkate sunulmaya çalışılan önemli bir noktadır.

Güç ilişkilerinin nasıl kurgulandığı değerlendirildiğinde temel hak ve özgürlüklere yönelik bir çaba yerine GMTİ'nin gözetim ve kontrolüne yönelik bir mekanizma kurgulandığı öne sürülebilir. Bu kurgu uluslararası kuruluşlar ve devletin çizdiği sınırlar çerçevesinde, STK ve üniversitelerin yürüttüğü kalkınma aktivitelerinin sonucu olarak yürütülmektedir.

Sonuç olarak 1990'ların sonunda kalkınma literatürüne girmiş olan kırılganlık söyleminin neo liberal düzenin işlemesi için kurgulanmış bir araç olduğunu ifade edebiliriz. Bu aracın 2000'li yıllardan itibaren Türkiye'de kalkınma çalışmalarına yön verdiği, GMTİ gibi pek çok nüfus grubunu kırılgan/dezavantajlı/riskli tanımlamalarıyla yönettiği ve kontrol ettiği öne sürülebilir. Bu tanımlamanın da diğer nüfus gruplarından da olabileceği gibi GMTİ'ye yönelik eşitsizlikleri gölgelediği ve kalkınma çalışmalarının kapitalist çıkarlar doğrultusunda yürütülmesini sağladığı ortaya konmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada GMTİ'ye yönelik kalkınma söylem ve pratikleri, kalkınma kuruluşları ve kalkınma uzmanları bakış açısından alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımıyla incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın GMTİ'ye yönelik çalışma planlayan ve uygulayan kişi ve kuruluşlara eleştirel bir bakış açısı kazandırması arzu edilmektedir.

## APPENDIX C: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü

☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Elçi Çarıkçı

Adı : Elif

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Critique of Vulnerability Discourse Through an Alternative Development Approach: A Case of Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers in Turkey

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

☐

Doktora

☒

Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☐

Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☐

Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: