

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT:  
THE CASE OF RURAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN TURKEY

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT: THE CASE OF RURAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN TURKEY**

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This Dissertation analyzes the conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment through a sample of rural women's organizations (two women's cooperative, seven rural development cooperative and one village women association) with interpreting DAWN initiative and GAD approach with a socialist feminist perspective. In this study, it is stated that the agricultural sector policies and rural development policy were constructed in relation with the conditions of underdevelopment and thus, in relation with the agreements with IMF, WTO and IPARD Programme of EU which enforced the decreasing of agricultural sector subsidies. It is notable that these policies are formulated with an aim of increasing the influence and significance of capitalist relations in agricultural sector and rural areas without taking precautions for the survival of small sized farming households in rural areas. Despite these general influences of underdevelopment to Turkish Agricultural Sector and patriarchal gender assumptions, these women's organizations could be successful to some extent empowering their members with the recognized dimensions of empowerment such as; psychological, economical, social, organizational and political. All these dimensions are interrelated with each other. In this study, it was observed that while economic empowerment and psychological empowerment is the base of all other dimensions of empowerment, social empowerment and organizational empowerment are the most dynamic processes of

empowerment and political empowerment is hardest dimension or outcome to achieve.

Keywords: GAD Approach, DAWN initiative, Rural Development, Empowerment, Rural Women's Organizations.

## ÖZ

### KIRSAL KALKINMA VE KADINLARIN GÜÇLENMESİ: TÜRKİYE’DE KIRSAL KADIN ÖRGÜTLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma, GAD Yaklaşımı ve DAWN inisiyatifi sosyalist feminist bir perspektifle yorumlayarak, kırsal kadınların güçlenmesindeki koşullar, problemler ve potansiyelleri kırsal kadınlar örgütlerine dair bir örnekleme (iki kadın kooperatifi, yedi kırsal kalkınma kooperatifi, ve bir köy kadın derneği) analiz etmektedir. Bu çalışmada, tarım sektörü politikalarının ve kırsal kalkınma politikasının, tarım sektöründe devlet desteklerinin azaltılmasını dayatan az gelişmişliğin koşulları ve dolayısıyla IMF, DTÖ ve AB IPARD programıyla ilişkili olarak oluşturulduğu belirtilmiştir. Bu politikaların kırsal alanda küçük ölçekli tarımsal işletmelerin varlığını devam ettirmesi için önlem alınmadan; tarım sektöründe sermaye ilişkilerinin etkisini ve önemi artırma amacı taşıdığı gözlenmiştir. Az gelişmişliğin Türkiye tarım sektörüne bu genel etkilerine ve ataerkil toplumsal cinsiyet kabullerine rağmen, bu kırsal kadın örgütleri belli bir ölçüde üyelerini psikolojik, ekonomik, sosyal, örgütsel ve politik olarak tanımlanan boyutlarda güçlendirmekte başarılı olabilmişlerdir. Bu boyutların tümü birbirleriyle ilişkilidir. Bu çalışmada, ekonomik güçlenme ve psikolojik güçlenme diğer bütün güçlenme boyutlarının temelini teşkil

ederken, sosyal ve örgütsel güçlenmenin en deęişken süreçler oldukları ve politik güçlenmenin ulaşılması en zor boyut veya sonuç olduğu gözlenmiştir.

Keywords: GAD Yaklaşımı, DAWN Girişimi, Kırsal Kalkınma, Güçlenme, Kırsal Kadın Örgütleri

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ACCs:	Agricultural Credit Cooperatives (Tarım Kredi Kooperatifleri/ TKK)
ASCUs:	Agricultural Sales Co-operatives Unions (Tarım Satış Kooperatif ve Birlikleri/ TSKB)
ARDSI:	Agriculture and Rural Development Support Institution (TKDK)
DAWN:	Development Alternatives for a New Era
EBK:	State Economic Enterprise for Meat and Fish processing (Et ve Balık Kurumu)
EU:	European Union
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organization of United Nations
GAD:	Gender and Development
GATT:	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
GDSW:	General Directorate of Women's Status (Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü/ KSGM)
IFAD:	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO:	International Labor Organization
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IPARD:	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Rural Development
KOSGEP	Presidency of Development and Support of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Administration (Küçük ve Orta Ölçekli İşletmeleri Geliştirme ve Destekleme İdaresi Başkanlığı )
SURKAL	(Sürdürülebilir Kentsel ve Kırsal Kalkınma Derneği)

MARA	Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Affairs (Tarım ve Köyişleri Bakanlığı / before June 2011)
MFAH	Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Husbandry (Tarım, Gıda ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığı/ after June 2011)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
ORÜS	Forest Products Industry Enterprise (Orman Ürünleri Sanayi A.Ş.)
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SEK	Milk Industry Institution (Süt Endüstrisi Kurumu)
TEKEL	Directorate- General of State Enterprises of processing Tobacco, Tobacco products, Salt and Alcohol (Tütün, Tütün Mamulleri, Tuz ve Alkol İşletmeleri Genel Müdürlüğü)
TŞFAŞ	State Enterprise of Sugar Fabrics (Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş)
TMO	Soil Products Office
TIGEM	General Directorate of Agricultural Enterprises (Tarım İşletmeleri Genel Müdürlüğü)
TKV	Development Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı)
TZDK	Turkish Agricultural Equipment Enterprise (Türkiye Zirai Donatım A.Ş.)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WAD	Women and Development
WCD	Women, Culture and Development
WID	Women in Development
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization
YEMSAN	Feed Industry Corporation

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. The subject of the study**

In this study, the aim is to analyze the rural development policies and projects in Turkey and the rural women's organizations in relation to rural women's empowerment with a socialist feminist approach. The conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment through rural women's organization will be analyzed. Firstly, it is expected to reveal the main viewpoints about the rural development policies and projects in Turkey and how these policies and projects are constructed in relation to the general conditions of underdevelopment of Turkey and patriarchal gender relations. Secondly, and more significantly, the study expects to explore on the rural women's empowerment through the women's organizations in rural areas in relation with the national rural development policy. This inquiry for analyzing rural women's empowerment through rural women's organizations is aiming to reveal the conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment. However, this study argues that absolute empowerment of rural women in Turkey in relation with the rural development policies and projects is not possible without transforming patriarchal gender relations and conditions of underdevelopment in Turkey at the most general level. Even it is so, the rural development policies and projects having rural women related activities and more significantly rural women's own organizations can alter rural women's socio-economic position and and status in their family and in their community in relation with their empowerment.

To comprehend how rural women are affected from rural development policies and projects in terms of changes in their socio-economic position and status and potential

for empowerment; firstly, how the rural development policies and rural women related projects are planned and implemented and then if there is an aim of empowering rural women and challenging the conditions of rural women's socio-economic status in their family, community and in society is analyzed in this study. Even if these aims are mentioned in the general goals of the policies and projects their internationalization and/ or the interpretation of them by the experts of the projects and government officials are important in understanding the actual process of rural development processes and its effects for rural women. Secondly, the aim is to explore on rural women's aims in founding rural women's organizations and its relation with the rural women's empowerment. Since empowerment is a concept which underlines the process rather than an end or goal, the rural women's organizations' aims, problems and potential power to promote social change within their environment for themselves will be analyzed. A socialist feminist interpretation of Gender and Development approach will be used with an adaptation of the models of Friedmann (1992), Lennie (2002), Allahdadi (2011) to make this analysis. This adopted model includes psychological, economic, social, organizational and political dimensions of empowerment.

In order to analyze the empowerment of rural women through rural women's organizations in the general context of Turkish rural development agenda as an underdeveloped country; the restructuring of agricultural sector and rural development policies would be considered in relationship with the conditions of underdevelopment. Thus, firstly, the position of rural women in relation to development paradigms and more specifically to the rural development policies and projects will be considered. The feminist theoretical approaches that explain the rural women and their relation to rural development are the feminist interpretations of general development theories with modernist or poststructuralist understanding. Second theoretically significant area is the problem of underdevelopment affecting the restructuring of the agricultural sector. The changes in the agricultural sector at the world level and the related problems of rural women in relation with the conditions of underdevelopment and implementation of neo-liberal policies in countries like Turkey will be discussed in the theoretical section of underdevelopment. The third area is the rural development. Rural development

theory is affected by the restructuring of agricultural sector, its integration to food industry, “new” trends of pluriactivity and economic farming in agricultural production, etc... These changes in the meaning and implementation rural development would also affect rural women’s role, socio-economic position and status in family and in society. Current Turkish rural development paradigm is also shaped in relation to the general conditions of underdevelopment and thus in a neo-liberal understanding about rural development policies and agricultural sector.

Most recent modernist approaches to development regard rural development with a reformative approach and mainly argue for increasing the efficiency of agricultural production, increasing income-generating activities in rural areas to prevent agricultural poverty and increasing the network and capabilities for marketing agricultural products. In contrast, Marxist approaches to development analyse rural development in relation with the problems of underdevelopment, the class and labor relations in agricultural production. More recently, since 1980s, and the liberalization and deregulation of agricultural sectors of underdeveloped countries like Turkey, extension of capital to agricultural production globally, the possible transition of agricultural classes and the environmental issues regarding agricultural production became problematic issues of research in both liberal and Marxist approaches. The extension of capital to agricultural production could be possible through innovations in bio-technologies in the agricultural production and the integration of agriculture and food sectors. Thus, with these changes in agricultural production, the national rural development projects were started to be reformulated in underdeveloped and developed countries since 1980s. Similarly, rural development policy in Turkey experiencing a transitional period in accordance with the general neo-liberal policies imposed by international organizations such as IMF and World Bank and specific rural development policies of EU. The EU’s effect on rural development policies in Turkey is through the integration process to EU.

It is also important to mention that the rural development policies, programs and projects in Turkey are formulated within the network of public institutions, non-governmental organizations and international organizations and funds. This network is organized and acting through country specific socio-economic and cultural

conditions in Turkey. In related with this, this study aims to understand the relations of the public institutions/organizations with non-governmental organizations and their differences of planning and implementing rural development projects and the reasons for these differences. Another related issue is the relations with the target groups of rural development projects who are agents in the development process who respond to the rural development projects. The relations of the rural development experts to the local people are also important in the process of projects and their affect women's social and economic conditions. In this regard, the experts' experiences with the local people will be analyzed.

There are two related aspects of the rural development plans and projects in relation with to rural women's empowerment. First one is usage of the concept of empowerment which is discussed in both theoretical discussions about the possibility of women's development and in agendas of mainstream international organizations such as, United Nations. The concept was first used as a critical concept arguing against liberal feminist development plans and projects which worsen the conditions of women targeted in the programs. However, recently, the mainstream organizations of World Bank, United Nations and European Union development instruments have started to identify empowerment as a desired outcome of development policies and projects and accordingly implemented policies to 'empower' women or support programs and projects with a claim to empower women. Secondly, most rural development approaches consider participatory approach to development which acknowledges local people's involvement in the process of development that is necessary for the success of the development policies and projects. This understanding of rural development is also mentioned in the EU's paradigm of development together with extending pluriactivity of farming households, part-time farming and sustainable development. Accordingly, the rural development programs and projects which include rural women related activities, have started to mention the aim of empowerment of women and use participatory approach in their programs and projects in Turkey.

## **1.2. Conceptualizing Underdevelopment, Rural Development and Empowerment of Rural Women**

To comprehend the aims of the study and to analyze the rural development policies, the relations among underdevelopment, rural development, and gender are discussed as the theoretical orientation of the study. This study makes use of the Socialist Feminist understanding of the Gender and Development Approach and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) Approach. DAWN approach analyses the relation between development and gender in relation to the problem of empowerment of women.

DAWN approach is frequently considered as the legitimate representative of the interests of poor Third World women in relation with gender and development. Well-known DAWN authors (such as; Sen and Grown) are also depicted as the authors of Gender and Development approach (GAD). The latter approach emerged in mid-1980s at the end of the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985). DAWN can probably be considered as the initiator of Gender and Development approach giving more emphasis to the Third World Women's unequal and subordinated position in development politics, policies and projects. As Sharma summarized (2008:5) Sen and Grown's classical work (1985) examined the effects of a WID (liberal feminist approach to development) programming on women's position and status in global south. Their argument was that development is defined in terms of capitalist modernization and increases inequalities between nations and between genders, classes and races. They offered a development vision which is feminist and focusing on marginalized groups and societies. In their view, development is connected to the questions of peace and equality, and argued for a society, free of all systems of intra- and international domination. They also criticized WID scholars for both not challenging mainstream definitions of development and focusing exclusively on women's productive capacities. Moreover, the liberal feminist approach to development was criticized for not taking into account the undesired effects of implemented development programs and projects with welfarist notions about gender identities and roles or about gendered work spheres which bring about higher valuation of productive work. They also prefer 'gender' as a social relation of

inequality that includes multiple identities and issues of women and redefine the development concept.

Similar to the theoreticians of DAWN, gender will be an important concept in explaining the effects of patriarchy on social relations and culture however it is not conceptualized with a fixed meaning over time and places but as a changing term through cultures and time. This requires a specific understanding about gender and society as Acker (2004) clarified. Acker (2004:20) in her analysis of the relations between gender, capital and globalization; defined gender as ‘inequalities, divisions, and differences socially constructed around assumed distinctions made between female and male’. In this regard, gender becomes an issue that affects the organization of social life for individuals, families and societies. In such an understanding, gender is composed of material and symbolic aspects of existence, constantly produced and reproduced in the social activities and practices. Thus, even there are many versions of gender in different times and places, as gender being socially produced and highly variable still it is a predominant form of subordination of women within gender relations.

DAWN thinkers also make use empowerment as an important concept and formulate an alternative concept of ‘empowerment’. They mostly use the concept of ‘empowerment’ as a strategy for challenging hierarchies and instituting broad based social change. Empowerment, in this sense, required critically analysing multiple oppressions, raising consciousness, building solidarity from ground up and organizing challenges to entrenched systems and modes of power. In this understanding, empowerment is not a predetermined, economically defined end point, but as a politically charged process of awareness raising and struggle to transform the power relations. It is thought to be context-specific and open-ended.

In this study, the rural development process in Turkey would be analysed with the claims of DAWN approach and its main arguments about the empowerment of women. The theoretical structure of this study is based on relations between concepts of feminism, underdevelopment, rural development, and rural women. The approaches theorizing the relationship between development, rural women and the

global capitalist system focus on the relation between rural development and rural women in relation with the global capitalist system and general development approaches and policies.

### **1.3. The Objectives and Significance of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to contribute to the knowledge about the processes of policy making in rural development programs and projects in Turkey in relation to the question of rural women's empowerment with a socialist feminist theoretical orientation that is based on both analysing the conditions of underdevelopment and patriarchal relations in Turkey and analysing the rural women's organizations position in the national rural development policy in relation with their potential to empower rural women. Rural development policies, programs and projects together with the agricultural policies are in a transition process in Turkey with the influence of the integration to European Union policies and the contemporary extension of capitalism to rural areas. The significance of this study is to reveal both the process and problematics of this transition together with the effects of this transition to rural women's socio-economic situation and the possibilities of change in their situation.

To analyse the changes of Turkish rural development and agricultural policy will contribute to an understanding of the underdevelopment in Turkey in its specific conditions. Rural areas and agricultural sectors are globally becoming more important areas of analyzing the extension of capitalist relations since the capitalist economic relations have only recently interested in rural areas and agricultural sectors integrating policies related to agricultural and food sectors. The national rural development policies of underdeveloped countries like Turkey have been formulated and implemented by governments under the influence of international organizations of UN, World Bank and International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. This study thus aims to increase the understanding of the country specific conditions and parameters of the changes in capitalism and underdevelopment in Turkey. As a second important aspect of this study, it aims to add to the understanding of the problem of empowerment of rural women both in relation to the conditions of

underdevelopment and in relation to the general problems of patriarchal relations in women's lives and in the implementation process of rural development policies and projects.

#### **1.4. The Research Questions and the Methodology**

The research problem of this study is to understand the empowerment of rural women in relation to general political orientations and processes of rural development programs, policies and projects in Turkey and in relation to the rural women's organizations. The conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment through rural women's organizations in Turkey is the research question of this study. As it is expressed before, even an ultimate empowerment of rural women is not possible in the conditions of underdevelopment and patriarchy, it is claimed that rural women's organizations as grassroots organizations would alter their conditions of living and socio-economic position and status in their families and in their community which in turn would alter their empowerment potential.

The conditions of the processes of rural development policy and projects formulating in both governmental institutions/ organizations and their relations among themselves and with the international organizations of UN, WB and EU; the characteristics of the rural development policies related with rural women and the interaction between policy implementing bodies and rural women's organizations, the rural women's organizations position in the national rural development policy, the rural women's organizations potential for empowerment of rural women are the topics of this study.

An adopted model of empowerment from models of Friedmann (1992), Lennie (2002) and Allahdadi (2011) and analytical tools of Gender and Development approach and in analysing the effects of development projects will be used in the process of in-depth interviews and in analysing the interviews. Gender and Development Approach (GAD) uses analytical tools to differentiate the socio-economic and political situation of women. These analytical tools give emphasis to analysing the changes in women's socio-economic position in relation to the

development policies and projects. Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau (2000:140-144) summarised these concepts as: 'gender division of labor, types of work, access to and control over resources and benefits, influencing factors, condition and position, practical and strategic interests, levels of participation, and potential for transformation.'

The research field was designed as two areas. First one is indepth semi-structured interviews with the experts of rural development who are employed in significant institutions and organizations in Turkey. It is expected that these interviews reveal about the goals, and strategies of rural development program and projects in Turkey in relation with the positions of these institutions / organizations in the national rural development policy of Turkey that would affect the transition of rural women and rural society in Turkey.

Second research area consists of the indepth semi structured interviews with the active members of the rural women's organizations. These rural women's organizations in Turkey include village women associations, women headed rural development cooperatives and women's cooperatives. A sample of these organizations was selected from this population acknowledging regional/ local differences between these cooperatives, the number of cooperatives in each region and the number of each type of rural women's organization. Thus, a rural women's organization from every nine regions of Turkey is included in the sample but more women's organizations were selected in the regions which have originally more rural women's organization. A village women association, seven women headed rural development cooperative and two women's cooperative was selected as the sample. In the analysis of these cooperatives; the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the regions' and localites' of the organizations, common and different characteristics of the members of the cooperatives and group identity will be analyzed in relation with the psychological, organizational, economic, social and political empowerment of rural women in these organizations.

In order to understand the relation between development and rural women as theoretical concepts, firstly, the relations of feminism, empowerment, and

development will be discussed. Secondly, the feminist approaches and their views about development and rural women will be explored in the second section of the theoretical structure. In this section, the views of feminist development approaches in relation to rural women will be discussed in an historical context. The theoretical discussions and approaches about development and women are influenced by general development theory and discourse in the historical development of the theories themselves. In the section of 'Feminism and Development', the main arguments of feminism about development will be explored especially giving emphasis to the problem of rural women's empowerment. Discussions about the possibility of rural women's empowerment with the existing development approaches and practices are based on analysing rural women's socio-economic position in society, her role in production and reproduction, the effects of changing conditions of capitalism on rural families and rural women, her ability to be an active agent in the household, and her potential to transform existing patriarchal relations she lives. Different feminist approaches about development have different views about the causes and solutions about the empowerment of rural women. In the second section of the theoretical structure the effects of underdevelopment on agricultural development and the lives of rural women are discussed after a brief discussion of development approaches. It is assumed that global capitalism has affected the restructuring of rural development policies and thus also rural Turkey and rural women. In the third section of theoretical structure, the contemporary rural development ideals, policies and projects will be analysed in relation to the restructuring of rural society, the changes in agriculture and rural women.

After theoretically discussing the relation of rural development and women taking into consideration first the feminist approaches on development, and secondly the effects of underdevelopment on agriculture and rural women, the methodological orientation of the study will be explained in the third chapter.

The current situation of Turkey in relation with agricultural sector, the contemporary rural development policy and its implications and the situation of rural women in Turkey will be discussed in the fourth chapter. In this chapter, the aim is to understand conditions of underdevelopment in agriculture, general rural development

policy in Turkey and their relation with rural women. In the fifth chapter, rural development, empowerment of rural women in Turkey and rural women's organizations will be analyzed. And, finally a conclusion will be made in the sixth chapter.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL STRUCTURE**

#### **2.1. Introduction to Second Chapter**

The theoretical structure of this study is based on understanding the rural development and women with a socialist feminist perspective that interprets DAWN (Development Alternatives for a New Area) and GAD approaches. To achieve this aim requires theoretically analyzing the relations between the concepts of Underdevelopment, Rural Development and Rural Women in relation with the problematic areas of female agency, development, and empowerment.

Firstly, the important concepts of empowerment and female agency as problematic issues of feminist theory in general will be discussed in relation with the development. The first discussion point is about the significance of female agency in development. The current feminist development theory and thought considers sustaining female agency in the development policy, programs and projects significant to enable women's development and empowerment through these policy, program and/or projects. Female agency is thought to be related with women's identities which place them in a subject position which could be strategic or oppositional. This identity is conceptualized as a starting point for conscientization of women which could enable them to act against their exploitation, domination and subordination through accessing intangible resources of analytical skills, social networks, organizational strength, solidarity and sense of being together. Empowerment is seemed to be the process by which this strategic identity and female agency could emerge and act on it. Empowerment is both conceptualized as transitory term and an outcome that symbolizes women's conscientization and becoming more significant, effective and powerful in the development process, in their family, community and in society in general. Perhaps the most significant

element of empowerment is that it both considers the subjective and psychological elements related with self-worth, self-definition, self-determination and self-actualization and also collective power of women acting together. This could be possible because of the conceptualization of the term as including the meanings of power over, power within and power with others and power to. This kind of conceptualization of empowerment allows for recognizing the psychological, social, economical, organizational, political dimensions of empowerment which would be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Second important discussion point about is the way the development policy, programs and projects are designed and implemented. Many authors declared that these policies reflect the interests of developed nations and dominant classes and its priorities are based on the hegemonic knowledge that these dominant classes have accumulated. Thus, revealing the hierarchy of knowledge in the development process and the knowledge of the local, poor and third world women is necessary to know about the “the real order of the things” and to achieve development or a kind of equity.

Third discussion point about this section is feminist author’s claim to differentiate the interests of women in development policy, programs and projects as practical and strategic. Strategic interests are harder to achieve since it works for creating alternative set of social relations in which women are in equal position with men. Practical interests, on the other hand are concentrated on making women’s lives more easier with solving their daily problems. The importance of this division is that it aims to create new forms of “collective awareness” and “association” with which women could reflect on their own problems and create their own strategies.

Secondly, the relationship between Feminism and Development will be analyzed in order to see the historical development of the feminist development theory. Feminist Development approaches of Women in Development, Women and Development, Gender and Development, Women, Culture and Development will be discussed in relation with each other and with the historical context and development theory in

general. Moreover, in this section, the socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women will be discussed in relation with the feminist development theory.

Thirdly, the conditions and problems of underdevelopment in countries like Turkey will be analyzed in relation with agriculture and rural women. In this section, firstly the general development theories will be explained. Secondly, the general conditions of underdevelopment affecting the agricultural sectors of underdeveloped countries, the general agricultural sector policies will be described and discussed. Thirdly, the conditions of underdevelopment affecting the rural women will be described and discussed.

Fourthly, rural development will also be analyzed in relation with agriculture and rural women. In this section, firstly, rural development's general context and rural development approaches and central themes in an historical continuum will be analyzed. Secondly, how rural development policies affect agricultural sector will be analyzed in relation with the current rural development paradigm and policies, sustainable development, EU rural development paradigm and community development through agricultural development cooperatives. Afterwards, the role, position and status of rural women in rural development policies will be discussed. The most significant point is about how rural women's labor is organized in rural development policy and projects. Moreover, in this sub-section, conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment through the rural women's organizations, mainly through rural women's cooperatives will be discussed. To achieve this, a model for analyzing rural women's empowerment is suggested by integrating the models of Friedmann (1992), Lennie (2002) and Allahdadi (2011) including the dimensions of empowerment as; psychological, social, economical, organizational and political.

## **2.2. Feminism, Empowerment, Female Agency and Development**

### **2.2.1. Introduction to Feminism, Empowerment Female Agency and Development**

In this section of this study, the relationships among feminism, empowerment, female agency and development will be analyzed in order to reveal the conditions and problems of rural women's empowerment in a theoretical sense. In this section, firstly the problem of female agency will be analyzed theoretically in relation with the problem of women's empowerment. Secondly, the problem of women's empowerment will be discussed in relation with the development. Thirdly, power and knowledge in the development process will be analyzed in relation with the problem of women's empowerment. Fourthly, empowerment of women will be discussed in relation with the strategic and practical needs of women in the process of development.

In the sub-section of "female agency and empowerment", the conditions, problems and potential of women's empowerment will be discussed in relation with the problem of women's identity and female agency. In this part, new conceptualizations of power in relation with the problem of empowerment will be discussed. The main dilemma of these conceptualizations of power in terms of empowerment is that it necessitates the understanding of power fluid, relational and existing in the relationships of people and also has a normative character which calls for revealing the domination, exploitation and otherness of marginalized groups.

In the sub-section of "empowerment and development", the significance of power relations in determining general development policies and specific gender related policies and projects will be analyzed. In the sub-section of power and knowledge in the development process; what kind of knowledge has been taken into account by development agencies at national and international level is discussed. In the sub-section of "Empowerment and Strategic and Practical Interests", the need and method of dividing women's interests into practical and strategic interests in gender related development programs and projects to enable to enlarge transformative

potential with women's empowerment will be elucidated. Even if these interests are overlapping in real life, the need to separate them is a strategy for policy makers who are aiming to increase women's empowerment potential and transformative power.

### **2.2.2. Female Agency and Empowerment**

The first important point to discuss the relationships among empowerment, female agency and development is the position of subject in society with considering the socio-cultural different identities and its role in maintaining agency. In relation with the relation of female agency and feminist political activity, Charles (1996) argued that for women to be active female subjects in feminist political activity, a non fragmented identity is needed. Thus, feminist activity engages in creating new identities for women, identities which are active instead of passive and that acknowledge the role that is played by women in effecting their own life. But the problem is between the acknowledgement of identity as a foundation for feminist practice and women have different identities. The solution is to unite different women groups in specific situations and around specific issues. The idea of forming alliances permitting difference and fragmentation and unity at the same time is a suggestion of standpoint. As Charles argued (1996) In order to define "practicising feminism" as a transformative politics, it is essential to identify what is to be transformed.

As a similar argument, Hartsock (1998:79) also mentioned the importance of the strategic identities of women in constituting oppositional consciousness using Sandoval's (1991) analysis of the strategic identity of women of colour in forming an oppositional consciousness. Sandoval (1991:4) argued that individuals and groups who are aiming to transform oppressive powers to construct themselves as "resistant and oppositional subjects" by suggesting an analogy of the world as a "topography" which determinates the "points around" which political struggles can be formulated. For her, if the dominated groups "self-consciously" acknowledge their "subject positions", these points can be "transformed into more effective sites of resistance". Moreover, she (1991: 14) argued to have a "differential consciousness" to be able to participate in political activity.

Moreover, as Charles (1996:17) quotes from Greenwood (1996), Greenwood argues that conceptualizing of self is principally opposed to postmodernism and construct a response to the experience of fragmentation characterizing 'the postmodern condition'. Greenwood studying witchcraft practice, observed that witchcraft led women to notice their true selves and to recover the unity between humankind and nature that patriarchy and patriarchal structures have destroyed. The idea of a whole, unitary self is at odds with postmodern deconstructions of the subject but is shown by Greenwood to be of central importance to the politics of feminist witchcraft.

As an example of the problematization of identity and agency Charles (1996:18) declared that Kitzinger and Wilkinson discussed the issue of the invisibility of the identity of dominant groups to themselves. The authors claimed that the advantages of women gained by adopting and not questioning the dominant sexual order are required to be revealed. Perhaps because of the awareness of these advantages feminists hesitate to identify themselves as heterosexual. This hesitation of the authors together with their emphasis to reject heterosexuality as a main political identity can refer to the significance of unified subject/identity in political activism. The unified subjectivity could be damaged if the different identities of women is identified as contradictory and can lead to the destruction of political agency. Furthermore, their argument is to show the primary significance of identity to the politics of resistance with their centralization of the social constitution of sexual identities; a position shared by Roseneil (1996) in her discussion of 'oppositional identities'. Roseneil's argument is a critic of the postmodern deconstruction of the subject. For her, deconstructing the subject and claiming that identities are essentially fragmented sustains and continues the disadvantaged situation of the people whose identities/ sexual behavior are marginalized and defined as 'deviant'. Similar with Roseneil (1996), Davies (1996) argued that (Charles, 1996:21) the opposition between different identities can be resolved in practice even if the identities seem to be theoretically irreconcilable. In discussing different studies mentioned above Charles (1996) argued that although identities are significant in feminist politics, they can be transformed through practicing feminism and that this is often one of its outcomes.

Another important point to discuss about the relationships among, empowerment, and development is the possibility of empowerment through an alternative conceptualization of power. Power is an important concept in analyzing society and political arena and social movements. In order to analyze on empowerment, the concept of power is to be analyzed. As an important thinker, Lukes (1974:2-3) has criticized the classical analysis of power by mentioning three dimensions of power mentioning the three dimensions of it. His theory argues that power is exercised through the process of decision-making power, non decision-making power and ideological power. The decision-making power is the visible process in which different actors express their opinions. The non decision-making power is the organization of debatable and un-debatable issues by ensuring that certain issues are not open for discussion and setting and controlling the agenda. The ideological power is power to influence people's thoughts and wishes.

Foucault (1977, 1980) also argued that power is not something held by individuals or groups and it is fluid, relational and only exists in everyday relationships of people as individuals and through institutions. In this conceptualization of power, it can result in repressive practices reflected in disciplined bodies, actions and thoughts/discourses. He emphasized the disempowering character of modern power, but he acknowledges that relationship with power can give rise to resistance. But this resistance is not explained as a "in a disembodied duel with power" (Hartsock, 1997:19) but as a complex interaction. Thus, people can be empowered and changed by resisting disciplinary power relations but agency may also enhance their integration into the status quo.

Moreover, Charles (1996:22) explained that power is a central focus of feminists who claimed that gender relations are based on asymmetrical power relations. Power is also linked to access to resources, specifically productive resources as the enforcement of the will of one person or a group of people over another group of people. Moreover, power is conceptualized as constructive of social relations and closely connected with every aspect of social life.

Hartsock (1998:219-220) also criticizes Foucault (1980), by claiming feminists cannot find adequate normative grounding in Foucault's work and his theory undermines attempts to social change because his conception of power obscures the systematic nature of gender oppression. She states that in Foucauldian analysis "power is everywhere and ultimately and nowhere" and that "domination, viewed from above, is more likely to appear as equality." As a reaction to this distortion, she (1998:222) offered that feminists need to develop an explanation of the world which considers marginalized people's perspectives not as dominated or disruptive knowledges but as potentially constructive of an another world. She aimed to search for an approach which would not embrace the "transcendental and disembodied voice of reason" in enlightenment thought but aim to formulate a systematic and precise voice of world. Thus, the conceptualization of power in this understanding would be based on the belief that systematic knowledge about our world and about ourselves is possible. Moreover, Hartsock (1998) also mentioned other important characteristics of the conceptualization of power. The first important point is the importance of our daily experiences in including an understanding of the world. Second one is the similarities and differences between different marginalized groups and the aim to reach "self-defined specificity" from the understanding of our otherness experiences. Third one is the necessity of every marginalized group to announce their understanding about the existing power structure and relations and their political vision in order to reach an alternative understandings about power. Fourth one is the necessity to participate in political struggle to change existing power relations.

As another feminist author, Deveaux (1994:244) claims that a feminist analysis of power would prevent the shortcomings and troubles of Foucault's power analysis in four points. Firstly, she suggested to theorize the relationship between women and their bodies as a "reflection of social construction" and of their own interpretations of "the cultural ideals of femininity", in order to prevent to analyze subjectivity as a fixed entity as in the "docile paradigms". As a second suggestion, she argued to disclaim the characteristics of Foucault's "agonistic model of power" and to focus to the unaccountable sources of "disempowerment and oppression" experienced by women. As a third point, for her, it is necessary to consider the problem of women's empowerment, the potentiality for women to achieve self-determination and

freedom and the ways to achieve them. As a final point, feminist analysis of power would accept the fact that sexual identities would be the basis of political struggles of lesbians and gays and women is still an important category to be conceptualized in feminist politics.

Parpart, Rai and Staudt (2002:5-8) summarized three conceptualizations of power related with the analysis of empowerment; these are power over, power within and power to. In the first analysis, empowerment means power over, which is described as the ability to make things happen. In this sense, empowerment means an ability to change the world, to overcome opposition. Power over, with a liberal world view, is interpreted as the potential for rational discussion, evolutionary change and the ability of the marginalized people to convince powerful institutions and people to make change. This liberal view has mostly used in the mainstream gender approach of development institutions. The meaning of empowerment is accepted as power within is related with the individual conscientization enabling people to enlarge their subjective opinions of themselves regarding self-worth and capability. Power-within is mainly composing consciousness that arise out of individual problems that are shared with others in the marginalized group which has also been explored in standpoint feminist theory.

Another a related issue is the relationship between consciousness and standpoint that would emerge from the most marginalized, oppressed and dominated groups of women. Kabeer (1994:245-246) clarifies this position with explaining the relation between current conditions of women's lives and how they interpret their lives with different consciousness. This new consciousness would enable women to access intangible resources of analytical skills, social networks, organizational strength, solidarity and sense of being not alone. Thus, strategies of "empowerment from within" offer women different viewpoints which involve "reflection, analysis and assessment" of what is accepted as unchangeable or non-discussable which would enable them to see the social reasons of individual problems.

Collins (1991:111) also has made a similar analysis and conceptualizes power with the humanist vision of self-actualization, self-definition and self-determination.

Hooks (1990:145) also mentioned that the possibilities for political transformation which arise from our daily lives. She used the concept “politics of location” as a revisioning exercise to counter the effects of hegemonic practices, as well as her concept of the dual nature of marginality-as a sited of deprivation- and a space of resistance-are useful analytical tools to examine women’s specific empowerment. The feminist writings of empowerment offered the need to place the subject’s interpretation and mediation of her experiences at the center of our inquiries in to the how and why of power.

Empowerment which is interpreted as “power to” is mainly the ability to change society and the system which is based on the collective power of marginalized people. This view can also be seen in Hartsock’s (1998) views about the marginal groups’ standpoint in collective actions. Kabeer (1994) also mentioned this kind of empowerment especially in relation with gender and development as mobilization strategies by women around self-defined concerns and priorities of women groups.

Parpart, Rai and Staudt (2002:1-2) suggest a different approach to empowerment with focusing on four areas. Firstly, they claim that empowerment must be analyzed in relation with global, national and local conditions since even marginalized communities are affected by global and national actors. Global and national forces affect the power relations of communities in relation with gender issue with a multi-level and interrelated character. Secondly, they argue that the different understandings of power; power over, power within (individual conscientization), power with others (ability to work collectively with others and be politicized with them) and power to (to bring about change) should be included in the analysis of empowerment. Thirdly, empowerment is conceptualized as a process, by which men and women experience, challenge and subverts power relationships in institutional, material and discursive contexts. Fourthly, empowerment is described as both a process and an outcome.

Moreover, to analyze empowerment in relation with development, the relationship of different identities to the concept of empowerment will be discussed. As an important discussion point, Adams (Charles, 1996) questioned the relation between empowerment and identity and argued that fragmented identities disempower

women. However, she also claimed that fragmented identities are the “norm” for women in modern society. For her, in agreement with the arguments above, women have to struggle for a unitary sense of self in order to become effective social actors.

Regarding this issue, Charles argued (1996:20) that women have conflicting identities when they are involved in different political practices. Especially, in the case of nationalist ideologies, women are seemed to be bearers of the nation rather than being the definer of the nation. Thus, they can politically participate as a member of an oppressed national group and as a feminist only with contradictory identities. This experience based on the existence of contradictory identities which disempower women and make them put their feminist demands in to second place, unless women put their identity of being women/feminists first and primary, as active female subjects working for their non-masculinist characterization of the nation to be accepted.

In formulating a room for conceptualizing a relationship between female subject and agency and empowerment, feminist authors critically review Foucault (1977). As one of them, Deveaux (1994:224) argues that Foucauldian analysis has two problems; first is the tendency of Foucauldian conceptualization of the subject to ignore the women’s specific experiences with power and the inability of the agonistic model of power to account for processes of empowerment. The author struggles for mediatory approach in analyzing Foucault which claims that Foucault enables to disengage from simplistic, dualistic accounts of power but fails to provide a sustainable notion of agency. Also quoting from McNay (1991:125) she explained the view that Foucault’s lack of emphasis on the issue of subjectivity or agency contradicts with the main aim of a feminist theory and praxis to find and reinterpret the experiences of women.

Devaux (1994) also argued that Foucault’s account of the subject’s capacity to resist power is not simply untrue. So, she suggested investigating how women experience freedom and barriers to freedom such as the “internal impediments to women’s freedom or empowerment. Quoting from Held, Deveaux (1994:243) made emphasis on the internal impediments to women’s empowerment and make an example of the

disempowerment effect of the feeling 'shame'. Held (1989:8) concentrating on the work of Bartky (1990:97) on shame and argued that self-assessment of women of themselves with a high degree of self-consciousness can be self destructive for oppressed women feeling shame.

Bartky (1990:111) also discusses that the sources of women's disempowerment such as; "unreciprocated emotional labor, nurturing and care-giving" are not acknowledged in the discussions of power and powerlessness. For the author, women's disempowerment remains unanalyzed by Foucault's analysis agonistic model of power because disempowerment of women is based on subjective and highly interiorized effects of emotional care and other sources of disempowerment. Adopting disempowerment as subjective, it is also argued that women's assessing of her freedom is related with her subjective interpretation of her empowerment rather than assessing the objective conditions of her alternative actions in specific situations in relation to existing dynamic power relations. As McNay (1991:134) argued, in contrast to this view, Foucault gave more emphasis to the conditions power relations are installed in institutions rather than the views of the dominated or disempowered groups.

As Charles (1996:22) argued in her article "From identity to agency", some feminists conceptualize gender as a part of social structure, as analogous but not reducible to class divisions. In this understanding, gender divisions of labor are explained in relation to the structured inequalities between women and men in terms of access to resources which would also lead to differences in power. Another way to analyze the gender is with focusing on the constitution of gender identity and gendered subjectivities, which relates women's assent to gender relations in which men are dominant to the emotional and psychic structure of subordinate subjectivities. In contemporary studies, the ways in which gender relations and gender identities are actively constituted in particular social and historical circumstances were analyzed. In these studies, feminists have questioned the relation between gender and power rather than a priori presuming all gender relations systematically disempower women, and more have examined the way in which women, as active agents are engaged in sustaining and continuing social relations which possibly disempower

them. These studies show an alteration of the point of view that sees women as victims to a point of view evaluate women as active agents who decide on 'oppression' in preference to 'liberation' because of the advantages they get continuing their existing position.

In agreement with Charles (1996), Cockburn (1983) described in her study of the printing industry, men or women as agencies can choose either resist or conform to the existing power relations in relation with the social relations within specific socio-historical circumstances. Patriarchy also is dependent on the continued existence of particular social relations and effected by the interaction between gendered social actors for its continuation and for its transformation.

### **2.2.3. Empowerment and Development**

Considering the implications of different understandings of power and empowerment in the conceptualization of development, its process and possible outcomes is mostly related with analyzing the institutional agenda in development and its implications for gender and class relations. As Kabeer (1994:70) argued there are certain considerations viewing the relationship between development and power. Related with the arguments about power above, power could include negative and positive meanings in the process of development. Since, as she (1994:69) mentioned, "Development then becomes a broader process of social transformation, unleashed by the attempts of diverse development agencies at local, national and international levels, both within the official domain and outside of it, to achieve various, and often conflicting goals." Power, in the field of development mainly is about controlling the ideas, thus control over resources is the tool by which those having power decide on the limits of possible discussion points and important problems (and their potential solutions) of the specific development policy, project or program. As it can easily be seen, the power in development includes all three dimensions Lukes (1974) described as, decision- making power, non decision-making power and ideological power.

Moreover, as Kabeer (1994:70) pointed out, the international financial institutions such as; World Bank, IMF, have the main power to control over resources where voting is weighted by contributions rather than on the basis of equal membership. In both IMF and WB the industrialized countries have the share of more than half of the weighted decision- making power and US only have the share of almost one fifth. Thus, the development policy preferences of national and international agencies are based on the donors' preferences. As she claimed donor countries aid hardly is given to the poorest countries or to those most able to spend it more equitably. Rather, it is given to countries which are most probably to follow donor countries' interests.

Another related point about the development agendas is their focus on development as a measurable growth in the income level with considering the distribution of this acquired income as secondary once the development is achieved. As Kabeer argued (1994:75), in practice, the redistributive policies would not be really applied at national or international level which are necessary to real ends of development which are "human well being and expansion of choice". The omitting of distributional issues on political and economic grounds is strongly related to conceptualization of the possible desired outcomes of development which have implications for gender equity.

#### **2.2.4. Power and Knowledge in the Development Process**

The previously mentioned arguments of Hartsock in claiming the partial nature of hegemonic forms of knowledge because of its nature of reflecting the interests of dominant classes, mainly high class male group, is discussed in relation with development policies in especially DAWN approach. Sen and Grown (1985:13) argued that feminism can not be monolithic in deciding on the issues, goals and strategies of feminism since it includes political viewpoints and interests of women coming from different regions, classes, nationalities and ethnic backgrounds. Thus, according to them, the development theories and practice should start from the vantage point of the poor of the third world women to assist to form development paradigm which acknowledges "the real order of things". Moreover, the DAWN approach argues that without a structural transformation of the lives of the poorest

and most oppressed sections of all societies, there can be neither development nor equity. As Kabeer states (1994:81), since revealing the hierarchy of knowledge in development paradigms is in the interests of all oppressed groups, feminists researchers, advocates and practitioners are likely making alliances with members of other oppressed groups. Even if the various grassroots movements, environmental lobbies and social action groups always do not have feminist priorities, they have common points in their critiques of the official development practices in terms of environment, indigenous forms of knowledge evaluation techniques and perceptions and priorities of poor. As Kabeer (1994:72) argued, the seemingly neutral and detached observer, knower position of scientific knowledge based on positivism is not really objective but has an intense relationship with the dominant ideology and dominant groups in society.

The claim regarding the characteristic of scientific knowledge having a biased nature is based on acknowledging that science is socially constructed. Thus, as Kabeer argues (1994:82) the critiques of official development agenda and policies are also united in the idea that development could only be analyzed and pursued in terms of local claims of knowledge. In this understanding, locally achieved knowledge is based on experience rather than theory and deduced from direct experience of labor process which is formed by the distinguishing characteristics of a particular space having unique social and physical characteristics. The author also discussed the divergences of critiques regarding official development paradigms. These divergences mainly focus on the nature of alternative paradigms based on the differences of viewpoints regarding the possibility of objectivity. While some of the views regard objectivity impossible to achieve and only plurality of views could be acknowledged others argued that objectivity could be ensured through recognizing the position of oppressed and dominated groups.

Kabeer (1994:72) also argued that there exists a close relationship between world-view of powerful development agencies and the kinds of knowledge that are likely to advance, finance and choose to act on. Moreover, the world view of these organizations is based on the hierarchy which privileges scientific and positivistic knowledge over local or experimental knowledge and neutral or detached knower

over committed or involved knowers. This understanding is based on the liberal epistemological tradition in which reality is thought as essentially atomistic, typified in the Cartesian formulation of scientific method. Kabeer (1994) also claims that this positivistic view about society does not consider the relations between units, and between the units and the whole, more that a phenomenon can be a unit and a part of a larger whole at the same time which causes a methodological reductionism and piecemeal and detached analysis of problems and solutions, causing the confusion of evident with fundamental reality and indications with reasons. Moreover, she also points to the reality that methodological reductionism has enforced the dominant interests by the repression of the interaction between units and a unit and the whole has enabled to hide the scope of supervisors' control of the material resources and their capability to direct the lives of others and the ideas of their time. According to the author (1994:74) this also enables to see why gender was not analyzed as a category of analysis in development for a long time. As Elson (1995a:9) also argues the abstraction and gender neutral concepts in development policy, such as, economy, gross national product, the market, the formal sector...., are in fact represent a world view with a male bias which hides and legitimates gender-inequalities.

For Kabeer (1994:83) other than production of knowledge for development, the ends and means of development agendas are areas of political struggle for feminists working in development. Development could be "reversed" beginning with changing the priorities of development to increase human well being and improving the poor places of human life and continue with evaluating the means of development process with their contribution to this goal. This approach which considers the well being of human need rather than market rationality as the criterion of production, a much extended perspective becomes necessary. When fulfillment of human need is the primary criterion, development can no longer be measured by the volume of market goods and services alone, but activities to ensure the health and well being of people would be recognized as productive regardless of the supplying mechanism. The well being could be ensured within personalized family production in the form of unpaid labor, in the bureaucratized relations of state production or in commercialized relations of market production. In this understanding, markets would only be one of

the institutional mechanisms to ensure human needs fulfillment. This approach which would not consider monetary values important in ensuring human needs fulfillment also would promote class and gender equity through giving especially poor women and other care givers as the key actors in development process. The growth dominated development strategies tendency to disempower lower class people and women would be prevented with this approach of development.

Kabeer (1994:84-85) stating the previous arguments of giving emphasis to human well being instead of growth would necessitate giving importance of state allocation of services together with markets and thus new opportunities would emerge for feminist reformulation of the development agenda. But the problem is to achieve a policy change which would shift the focus of development strategy from a growth based statistical approach to an approach focusing on human well being and human needs. Although the author observed such changes in development agenda of UNDP in terms of merging labor-intensive growth strategies with public provision of key welfare resources and suggested to argue for policies formulated to increase access to market opportunities and welfare provision for all people, it is not easy for advocates of human rights or feminist movement of underdeveloped countries to have access to policy making centers of UN or others or even to national policy centers and argue against growth oriented development strategies.

Kabeer (1994:85) also stated that the problem of liberal feminist WID advocacy was that it did not acknowledged the women's greater involvement in familial and domestic work and responsibilities even if WID extended women's involvement to public life and production claiming women should have economic agency equal to men from the policies that places women to reproduction. The care of human life and well being were not given importance in development policies regarding their being less efficient in promoting growth. However, a development perspective seeking gender equity would require that providing welfare services is seen as complementary to achieve efficiency in production and would recognize differences in the needs of men and women. Moreover, as the author (1994:86) argues access to employment for women have to be discussed with the issues limiting women's involvement in public life and in employment such as; sexual harassment, the need

for separate toilets or breast-feeding facilities, provision of paid leave to have children, absenteeism due to illness in the family. Thus, considering the conditions of employment for women would reveal that training women in marketable skills and abilities would not automatically ensure agency as men in the public domain if public institutions do not provide the different bodies, needs and values for the work environment and thus bring out transformation of the basic rules, hierarchies and practices of public institutions.

The problem of sustaining gender equality in terms of transforming work conditions could be achieved through development policies that would be implemented by state institutions, organizations and civil non-governmental institutions. But the problem is how to decide on the development policies that would be implemented nation wide. Although the official agencies of development at national and at international level have declared the aim to improve gender equity, there is the difficulty of ensuring institutions, specifically state related policy making bodies to implement policies to establish gender equity since these institutions would be expected to represent prejudiced and stereotyped views about women that are shared by society in general. The bureaucratic rules and practices are also actively reconstituting gender hierarchy through the hierarchical positions of women and men in institutions as agents of policy administration and women's position as objects of policy implementation. As a result, despite the fact that the goal of sustaining gender equity is adopted in institutions, the institutions could not have implemented them. As Goetz (1992) stated that even the governments established national machineries of women's affairs and bilateral and multilateral aid agencies and organizations established WID units, these units has never been engaged in rule making, budgeting and personnel policy processes.

In a similar way Staudt (1985:6) in her study of WID office in USAID, argued that the interpersonal relations in the organization are forming a difficulty for advocates for gender equity within bureaucratic institutions since the office employees and works system resist policies for transformation of gender relations. The reason for this was explained in five points such as;

- women employees of the organization are not in decision making or policy formulating status but in clerical positions,
- a limited budget,
- ideological resistance from male colleagues in terms of verbal harassment in the form of personalized critiques and jokes about ‘developing a woman’ or ‘what about men in development’ and accusations of destroying the family union
- male employees tendency to discuss women’s income earning or agricultural activities with reference to their own wives
- lack of veto power or formal authority in the decision making taking pressure to evaluate policies and projects in terms of economics and efficiency

Moreover, Staudt (1985:7) stated that policy makers (of which most of them is men) have close relations with the target group and the relations between policy makers and target group obstructs policy making and implementing process. In a more generalized view, which Rogers (1980) clarified, it could be said that principal male policy makers and implementers have an interest in continuing cultural ideas, norms and practices which are based on accepting gender inequality rather than arguing and working against these since these ideas, norms and practices formed their own gender identities. The policies of gender equality have a little chance for transformation due to the personalized protection of status quo by agency personnel. Thus, the resistance of the official agencies of development to policy changes could only be explained by seeing them as protection of class and gender interests.

This situation also indicates a dilemma for third world feminists working at grassroots level in non-governmental organizations and work face to face with these male dominated, frequently donor-supported development efforts. These feminists are also questioning the necessity of working with these organizations however most of the grassroots feminists have to work with them due to lack of resources of their own. In evaluating the necessity of the official agencies of development, Kardam (1989:150) claims for an analysis which would acknowledge the structural constraints of these development agencies in policy making and the opportunities they present to empower women. Even if the vision of official development agencies

differs from the vision of feminist grassroots activists, they could share a concern for meeting women's basic needs which could enable a creative basis for coalitions, networks and alliances. In this scheme, activists have a critical role for sustaining women's basic needs with an emphasis for transforming the conditions of women's lives and forming an interrelation between ends and means of development. Following this argument, Beneria and Sen (1982:173) claimed that activists must argue for policies such as systems of water provision, electrification, sanitation, medical care and etc. but with giving strong importance on how such policies are executed and to whom they give advantages. So, in this regard, searching for alliances within official agencies can enable affecting the "hows" and "whoms" of "basic needs provision".

#### **2.2.5. Empowerment and Strategic and Practical Interests**

Another important concept discussing the relationships of empowerment, development and gender is the construction of means and ends of policy analysis, or the tools and goals of policy analysis. Kabeer argued (1994:73-74) the fragmented world view of society is leading to the separation of means and ends which is used to hide the exploitative character of the social system. Feminist analysis of development and gender mainly considers the differences between men and women also as categorically. The issue of identifying women's interest and needs became very important in analyzing the problems of women in relation with gender and development.

As also indicated by Kabeer (1994:89-91) women's interests are discussed in Gender and development theory as in two forms as; practical and strategic. Practical interests are mainly in the character of being related with day-to day problems and concrete conditions of existence of women originating from women's positioning within the gender division of labor. Strategic interests on the other hand, are aiming to transform women's socio-economic and cultural position in a structurally unequal social system. They are mainly centered on creating an alternative set of social relations in which women are in equal position with men. Thus, the distinction with practical and strategic interests in development policies is a way for analyzing the

problem of women's empowerment and its possible solutions. While most development organizations and policies address the practical problems without acknowledging the structurally unequal relations of gender, conserve and strengthen the inequalities of gender because of the lack acknowledging the distinction in the interest types and acting within the current division of resources and responsibilities. An alternative vision of gender and development is to use women's practical needs as beginning point and not an end in itself.

As Kabeer argued (1994:92), the reason for official policy makers to address women's problems in terms of practical gender issues is that the practical gender issues function for the policy makers own "predefined agendas" which are easier and "safer" to execute and have an "instrumental value". In order for enforcing policies which are politically controversial addressing women's strategic interests is based on women's political and active involvement for demanding and thus promoting change. However, it is discussed that differences between women in addition to recognizing differences between men and women becomes a problematic issue in deciding on which women's interests to pursue. The problem is to activate a women's movement to enforce strategic gender interests on policies since sustaining solidarity among women to achieve strategic interests does not occur without effort. For Kabeer (1994) the lack of this strategic alliance between women is based factors such as; women's lack of access to main sources of power, privilege and prestige within their societies, the ideological and cultural beliefs and norms positing women away from the sources of power, privilege and prestige on the basis of being women and difference of viewpoints among women about the content of these strategic interests. The beliefs and norms, which limits women's access to power, privilege and prestige, are resistant to transformation because they are strongly related with the sense of selfhood and identity. As the author argued the solidarity among women to achieve certain interests could only effective if it is organized in a bottom up way as a reaction to locally identified needs and priorities.

Even if solidarity among women to achieve certain goals remains difficult, women's cooperative strength and creativity is still the main possibility to achieve transformative politics throughout the world. It can be observed that historically

women's formal and informal lobbies, organizations and movements have become the most important force to oppose the harshness of a top-down development process. Kabeer (1994:92) argued that the key success of the Women's Decade could be its ability to form a significant political platform for increasing both informal grassroots associations and nationwide movements which aim to improve women's living conditions and position in society. As Moser notes (1993), even if these organizations seem to be weak, underfinanced and disparate individually, together they characterize a varied and intense movement for transforming women's lives extending the visions of the official agencies of development. DAWN group (Sen and Grown, 1985:15) also discuss women's organizations in terms of its success to acknowledge the historical significance of women's subordination and to sustain world-wide networks and movements to break down women's subordination together with other subordinations of class, race and colour and to mobilize women to obtain skills, self-confidence and capacity to organize for change.

Kabeer (1994:232-233) suggests that concept of gender interests be reserved for those that "women may develop by virtue of their social positioning thorough gender attributes". Regarding the main questions of this study study, the question of how to achieve empowerment for women through defining of strategic needs in development policies and projects remains significant. As Kabeer states (1994:261), the poverty allevation programs including schemes for income, employment and credit have differing definitions and processes for fulfilling the needs of women. As the author identified the mentioned strategic and practical needs are not dichotomous categories but related in the general aim of reaching empowerment. The possibility of creating a transformatory potential for women is related with the ability of these programs and projects to increase the opportunities and possibilities for women in their local environment. Kabeer (1994:261) identified three factors to increase the potential for transformation of women's social position through empowerment programs. First one is the level of participatory mechanisms for targeted women in the identification and prioritization of needs for themselves. Second one is the ability of NGOs to present new resource mechanisms for women which could enable them to access new potentials and possibilities. Third one is the way women are defined

within NGO strategies; either as needy clients or socially restricted but capable actors.

Kabeer (1994:262) also identified another aspect of transformatory potential as the ability of these programs to create new forms of “collective awareness and association”. Empowerment, in this sense, requires to break the silences of women enforced by society which is called “conscientization”. For this to happen, women have to confront the belief systems and norms legitimizing their subordination and reflect on their own situation and problems and create their own strategies which could enable them to reach a collective self-confidence with a feeling of “we can”.

As Kabeer (1994:262) indicated, the barrier of reaching this level of empowerment is the lack of organizational power in women related development NGOs. The NGOs have to use government funds or other donors for projects which would be supervised by these donors. For the author, “longer-term sustainability of empowerment strategies will be determined by the ability of these strategies to empower women to confront and reverse the policy priorities through interfering in the general policy making agenda thus their strategic interests would have continuing effect on the process of development.

#### **2.2.6. Conclusion to Feminism, Empowerment and Female Agency and Development**

The section of “Feminism, Empowerment, Female Agency and Development” includes the sub-sections of “Female Agency and Empowerment”, “Empowerment and Development”, “Power and Knowledge in the Development Process” and “Empowerment and Practical and Strategic Interests”.

As it was mentioned in the introduction of this study; empowerment of rural women through rural women’s organizations is analyzed in relation with psychological, organizational, social, economical and political dimensions of empowerment. Psychological empowerment seemed to be an important element of women’s empowerment in relation with their subject position and identities of women. The

part of the section regarding “female agency and empowerment” mainly argues that the subject position of women is generally fragmented because of their different roles and identities in life. Psychological empowerment means the process by which women gain a more positive view about their self-worth, capabilities and develop a sense of being not alone and feel of belonging to a group of women. If women engage in creating strategic identities for themselves with self-definition, self-actualization and self determination, women could interpret their life conditions with different understandings of self-worth, and then could decide on what to change in their lives with a new consciousness. The aim of constituting female agency both necessitates a strategic identity and/or a united individual and group identity of women and their active involvement in deciding on what to change in their lives and then changing their life conditions as female agents. This process of having a strategic and/or united identity is in the process of empowerment of rural women which would also include different power definitions such as; power over, power within, power with others, power to, empowerment from within. All these different power definitions also include the meaning of psychological, social, organizational, political and economic dimensions of empowerment. While the “power over” means the ability to make things happen; it could include organizational, social, economic and political dimensions, power within means individual conscientization more related with psychological empowerment. “Power with others” means ability to work collectively with others and be politicized with them; it includes social, organizational and political dimensions. “Power to” means the power to change which could include all dimensions of empowerment that was mentioned. Empowerment from within was defined by Kabeer as a process which would involve “reflection, analysis and assessment” of what is accepted as unchangeable or non-discussable in women’s lives and to see the social reasons of individual problems.

As the second dimension of empowerment; social empowerment is the women’s enlargement of women’s capabilities in terms of reaching intangible resources of analytical skills, social networks. Organizational empowerment is the process in which women create the organizational structures to reach their self-defined aims in changing their lives. Organizational empowerment both includes learning skills to manage organizations and also manage them with participatory, democratic and fair

mechanisms. Political empowerment is more about the increasing collective work of different women groups with different identities with formulating ways to reach similar goals at local, national and global level. Thus, empowerment of women with constituting a female agency to make change includes both dimensions of empowerment mostly occurring in overlapping ways.

In the sub-section of empowerment and development; it is explained that development process includes both negative and positive meanings of power in the sense that diverse development agencies at local, national and international level work for differing and often conflicting goals. It is important to note that power relations within these agencies and among these agencies are about the control over resources and control over deciding the possible development policies and programs. Empowerment of women with previously mentioned dimensions, by definition, is about women's becoming an agency arguing for their development policies, programs and projects for themselves. However, it could be seen that this is nearly impossible mission in the sense that women, specifically lower class and rural women at world mostly do not have means to reach these agencies; especially powerful global development agencies. But the empowerment of women with mentioned dimensions can help them to have access to reach some local, national and even international development agencies at least in some issues or problems. This argument is also related with the next sub-section of "Power and Knowledge in the Development Process" in the sense that powerful development agencies based their policies to scientific, positivist knowledge of which subject position is neutral or detached. As feminist authors argued; this detached, subject position which gives importance to general concepts of development such as; gross national product, national growth, budget deficit; do not consider the real priority of human well being and human life and needs as important. Empowerment of women and other undadvantaged social groups could enable these groups to work for changing priorities of development policies, programs and projects. However, it is important to note that just increasing the capabilities of women (or other undadvantaged groups) in terms of economic means would not automatically ensure their being agency in development policies, programs and projects. To reach this aim, the transformation of the basic rules, hierarchies and practices of public institutions is necessary. In this

sub-section, also the interpersonal relations of the employees of development agencies working in gender related departments were discussed. It is argued that these institutions resist policies for transformation of gender relations. More importantly, the social, organizational and political dimensions of empowerment became very important in increasing the women grassroots organizations active involvement in development policies, agendas, programs and projects of development agencies at local, national and international level. As Kardam (1989) argued the coalitions, networks and alliances between grassroots women organizations and development agencies could be reached on the basis of meeting women's basic needs. It is argued in this sub-section that idealistically, the development policies and programs which are claimed to be based on scientific and rational knowledge have to be based on the realities of the poorest and vulnerable populations at world and take into account the local claims of knowledge of these populations. In the sub-section of "Empowerment and Strategic and Practical Interests", it is argued that the division of strategic and practical interests serve analyzing the potential of women's empowerment and women's problems and needs within development policies, programs and projects. While the practical interests serve for solving women's daily problems originated from gender division of labor and unequal gender relations. Strategic interests are mainly considered to be transformative tools for women's socio-economic and political position in their family, in their community and in society. These interests are aimed to be reached to create alternative social relations in which women are equal with men. As many authors argued; the practical interests are more pronounced in development policies, programs and projects because they are easy to achieve, have an instrumental value, its possible outcomes are more easily seen and mostly do not face the objection of the development agency or targeted community or other organizations. Contrastingly, strategic interests are harder to access since it necessitates women's political and active involvement in demanding and promoting change and women groups' solidarity and alliance with each other. Empowerment of women in previously mentioned dimensions of psychological, economical, social, organizational, political, would enable women to reach strategical interest of transforming women's socio-economic and political position and status in their family, community and in society in general.

In the next section of “Feminism and Development”, the discussions of this section will be integrated to the feminist development approaches that have discussed the relationship among empowerment, development and women. Feminist development approaches, specifically DAWN and GAD criticized the mainstream development policy and its implementations in a way which could enable a socialist feminist approach.

## **2.3. Feminism and Development**

### **2.3.1. Introduction to Feminism and Development**

The general aim of this section is to make review of feminist and development approaches and exploring on rural women’s condition, position and status with a socialist feminist understanding. In this section of “Feminism and Development”, the aim is to clarify firstly feminist development approaches in the sub-section “Development and Rural Women” and then clarifying the socio-economic and political conditions, position and status of rural women with a socialist feminist perspective in the sub-section of “Feminism and Rural Women”.

It is important to note that the attempts to integrate women’s issues within the development theory as theoretical approaches has started with the understanding that the existing development analyses and policies did not explain women’s problems and worsened their socio-economic conditions. There are modernist and postmodernist approaches of women and development. These approaches are namely; Women in Development Approach (a liberal feminist approach influenced by liberalism and modernism), Women and Development approach (a Marxist feminist approach influenced by Marxism and dependency theory), Gender and Development approach (Radical and Socialist Feminist approach) and Women, Culture and Development approach (a postmodern feminist approach influenced by Postmodern feminism, Culture studies and Third World Studies). There are also postcolonial feminist approach and ecofeminism which could be analyzed in the grouping of Women, Culture and Development approach. These approaches have emerged in relation with other political thoughts, theoretical approaches and political

movements historically. In this study, a socialist feminist perspective is going to be appropriated so the analysis will be more likely based on gender and development approach. But still it is necessary to clarify other approaches on gender and development in an historical and contextual continuum. Firstly, the four different development approaches can be briefly summarized as in the table 1.

**Table 1: Feminist Development Approaches**

<b>Women in Development Approach</b>	
<b>Historical time period</b>	Emerged in 1960s and early 1970s
<b>Historical context</b>	This approach emerged in response to welfarism. End of first development phase coincided with the rise of the western feminist movement in the late 1960s.
<b>Influential feminisms and related theories</b>	Its political and theoretical roots are in western liberal feminism and neo-classical economy.
<b>Attitude toward development</b>	This approach believes that more efficiency and elimination of poverty is needed for development.
<b>Approach to development and women</b>	This approach argues for the integration of development and women's problematic issues.
<b>Development and the traditional/indigenous culture</b>	This approach regards local, traditional culture a barrier to growth and development
<b>Patriarchy</b>	This approach criticizes patriarchy and denounces it for creating dependence. And also sees economic role for women as a solution to the patriarchy in society
<b>Symbolizes women</b>	This approach symbolizes women with their potential to be economically productive units.
<b>Women and Development Approach</b>	
<b>Historical time period</b>	From mid 1970s to mid 1980s
<b>Historical context</b>	This approach arise as a part of the adverse reaction to capitalism influenced by Marxist NGOs working with women
<b>Influential feminisms and related theories</b>	It was influenced from Marxist Feminism and Marxist dependency theory.
<b>Attitude toward development</b>	This approach believed that self-sufficiency and self-organization are the tools to get away from underdevelopment which is understood as dependency
<b>Approach to development and women</b>	This approach rejects both development and gender specific agenda. It tries to incorporate women and development in to the goal for new economic structure.
<b>Women and Development Approach</b>	
<b>Development and the traditional/indigenous culture</b>	This approach sees the culture as a unifying, homogenous element which enhances economic equality.
<b>Patriarchy</b>	This approach neglects the importance given to patriarchy and instead gives more importance to class based discrimination to understand development and gender.
<b>Symbolizes women</b>	This approach sees the women as the members of have-not group of unindustrialized nations. Moreover, it views conditions and status of women as the result of macro-level inequalities such as class.

Source: Singh S (2007:102-103)

**Table 1 (continued)**

<b>Gender and Development Approach</b>	
<b>Historical time period</b>	From mid 1980s to present.
<b>Historical context</b>	This approach arise from Western academics' criticisms of World Bank and International monetary Fund policies for structural change in third world economies. Moreover, it is influenced by the growing realization of ineffectiveness of such programs and the crash of South-East Asian economies.
<b>Influential feminisms and related theories</b>	This approached is influenced by the third world feminists and social activists' reactions to concurrent development agenda. Its theoretical base is related with radical feminism and social feminism. It sees patriarchy and gender stratification as an important source of inequality.
<b>Attitude toward development</b>	It gives importance to the symbolic of power inequality in social relations between men and women.
<b>Approach to development and women</b>	This approach believed in promoting the incorporation of social construction of gender into development.
<b>Development and the traditional/indigenous culture</b>	This approach sees the culture as oppressive and maintained through patriarchy.
<b>Patriarchy</b>	This approach considers it as the most important construct which provides the overarching assumption of most traditional societies.
<b>Symbolizes women</b>	This approach sees gender as a social construction across all societies. It symbolizes third world women as a monolithic unity.
<b>Women, Culture and Development Approach</b>	
<b>Historical time period</b>	Late 1990s and 2000
<b>Historical context</b>	This approach emerged from Third world feminists' response to grand theories. It is founded as a reaction to perceived Western Cultural hegemony and appeared with a growing influence of Third World academics.
<b>Influential feminisms and related theories</b>	It is mainly influenced by Postmodern feminism, Culture studies and Third World Studies.
<b>Attitude toward development</b>	It emphasized a balance between global and local environment and science and technology with giving importance to values of identity, institutions and production.
<b>Approach to development and women</b>	It emphasized an inclusive (women and development and culture) approach.
<b>Development and the traditional/indigenous culture</b>	This approach view culture as redeeming, complicated, contextual, and crucial to maintain local system of values, beliefs and actions and moreover inevitable part of any development policy to be meaningful and successful.
<b>Patriarchy</b>	This approach considers patriarchy as one of the realities and oppressive and dominating elements of women's lives.
<b>Symbolizes women</b>	It argues for seeing women as a wholesome entity and tires to integrate the three earlier phases of gender and development.

Source: Singh S (2007:102-103)

In order to conceptually analyze the relations between feminism, development and rural women, firstly the relationship between development and rural women and secondly, the relationship between feminism and rural women will be analyzed. Then a conclusion of the section of "Feminism and Development" will be made.

In the sub-section of "Development and Rural Women", feminist development approaches will be explained in relation with their historical position and general

development thought. In the sub-section of “Feminism and Development”, the socio-economic and political conditions, position and status of rural women were analyzed with socialist feminist understanding.

### **2.3.2. Development and Rural Women**

In this study, first element of analyzing the relations between feminism, development and rural women is analyzing the relationship between the development and rural women. It is important to conceptually differentiate the views of different gender development perspectives on rural women. The gender development approaches mainly based their assumptions on their specific conceptualizations of development. While WID based their assumptions on the modernization theory and their beliefs on the linear development, WAD based their assumptions on mainly dependency theory which problematized development with underdevelopment and dependency. GAD analysis is also based on Marxist understanding of development with more focus on patriarchal relations.

As Marchand and Parpart claims (1995:11) the development approaches either based on liberal or Marxist perspectives has been largely rooted in enlightenment theory. The liberal development theory emerged in the postwar period of 1940s when economists and policy makers were arguing for the development ideals which could be achieved by simple adaptation of western political and economic systems. Moreover, the Marxists were criticizing liberal development theory based on the critique of international capitalism and class system; they did not question the linear way of thinking about development. The liberal development model saw development as a linear process which includes transformation from traditional institutions and values to modern, industrialized, rational societies based on the western/European/ Northern model. This understanding was based on the colonial discourses which differentiate “backward, primitive” Third World societies from “progressive” North.

The WID approach is mainly based on liberal feminist theoretical understanding and its major goal is to integrate women into development through increasing their

economic role in society. The oldest women related development approach is the Women in Development (WID). As Visvanathan (1997:17) stated, it is a liberal feminist approach based on the assumptions of modernist theory of 1950s and 1970s that see the people as the elements of change and development. Most of the modernist views see the traditional societies as authoritarian and male-dominated and modern ones as democratic and egalitarian. Their views were based on the aim of transforming the traditional society to modern one. Thus, its main aim is to transform the society through reform in the local, cultural, traditional values which they see as the source of patriarchal domination and oppression over women. It does consider the differences between different women. Furthermore, its basic assumption on rural women is that they themselves and their countries will be developed if they are given equal opportunities as men and be active in income generating activities with the elimination of cultural values that hinder the participation of women in economy and productive activities.

As Visvanathan stated (1997:17), WID approach which was based on the modernist assumptions of development is constituted when it was taken notice that the modernization processes and development policies had not benefited women and even worsened their economic conditions in 1970s. Moreover, according Tinker (1997:37) WID's original major aim is to facilitate economic development with improving women's conditions. Origin of this approach is based on the efforts of liberal feminists to influence and work within the development community at both national and international levels. Visvanathan (1997:20), quoting from Anderson (1993) and Jahan (1995) claimed that an important WID policy contribution is to integrate the gender issues in the general policy issues in development agencies and ensure the visibility of women with constructing development data by gender.

As Visvanathan (1997:19) clarified four main features of WID. These are:

1. WID assumed that women were not integrated to the processes of development.
2. WID is a non-confrontational approach. So, it did not question the reasons of women's subordination and oppression and why women had not made use of the benefits of development.

3. WID accepted women as an undifferentiated category with not considering the effects of class, race and culture.
4. WID considered exclusively the productive aspects of women's work, ignoring or minimizing the reproductive side of women's lives.

According to Tinker (1997:34-35) in the early 1970s the general assembly of UN has started to support and perpetuate the programs and projects that aim to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries which would improve women's status together with assisting the development effort. Boserup's book named as "Women's role in Economic Development" was used as a tool to legitimize the efforts of WID group (in UN) to imply policies that foster justice and efficiency. According to Visvanathan (1997:17-20), Boserup's presentation of the affects of the development policies on women's lives and livelihoods has led liberal feminists to argue for the integration of women into development as workers and producers. This approach mainly included changes in the modernization theory and 'developmentalism' which does not include the structural changes in the system.

As Visvanathan (1997:20) quoted from Moser (1993), WID approach has changed through five phases. Moser interprets these five phases according to their ability to meet mandatory needs such as; employment, health services, and water supply and women's more strategic needs to be met in order to alter their subordinate status in society such as; legal rights, gender-based division of labor and domestic violence. These five phases are; welfare approach, equity approach, anti- poverty approach, efficiency approach and empowerment approach. Welfare approach is mainly interested in women's reproductive roles and includes programs to control population growth and aims to meet the mandatory needs of women. Equity approach's chief emphasis is on enlarging women's civil and political rights. Anti-poverty approach gives more importance to meet the basic needs of women and increasing women's productive role with enlarging their opportunities to achieve waged work and income- generation activities. Efficiency approach is related with the IMF structural adjustment programs of the 1980s and stresses the women's involvement in the restructured economies in relation with the debt problems of the national economies. Empowerment approach focuses on the women's ultimate need

to transform laws and structures that oppress them. This approach is mainly constituted by Third World feminist writing. All these approaches were implemented in the development programs of third world. The rural women were also involved in these programs as individuals which are given more legal and civil rights enabling them to participate in economic relations as productive labor.

The previously mentioned approaches of welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment were implemented in development policies directed at rural women with the hand international institutions such as; United Nations and World Bank. The programs aimed at controlling the population growth; enlarging the civil and political rights of women; enabling women's participation in income generating facilities with the assistance of vocational training; enabling women's involving in restructured economies; transforming laws and structures oppressing women.

According Tinker (1997:36-37) the main aim of integrating women in to development approach in WID is to ensure women a share in the economic development through the liberal policies of legal equality, education, employment, and empowerment. To apply the principle of equality the General Assembly adopted the convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women in 1979. Education was seen as the prerequisite for improvement in women's status by the UN Women's commission and governments were recommended to increase the access of girls and women to formal education. Employment of women in equal terms with men was also advocated by the UN's policies. The empowerment of women is all the attempts to increase women's leadership roles in the society by revealing the cultural structures and stereotypes hampering women's status in society. But this approach was strongly criticized by the women of developing countries. Because in this approach, the western culture was enforced as the ideal one to the other cultures with the claim that western modern culture is superior to the others.

Ester Boserup's (1970) study on women's role in economic development, she argued against the patterns of modernization as development. Her argument was based on integrating the "equality" problem with efficiency. Her main claim was that the

women's status differs in correlation with the nature of productive activity and women's involvement in it. Women became marginalized in the economy because they gain less than men in their roles as wage workers, farmers and traders. She claimed that mechanization of agriculture which is claimed to be equated with economic development detached women's labor from agricultural labor which in turn decreased women's status in rural areas. Her proposal was to formulate agricultural production regimes with women's involvement in production process which would increase women's social status.

Tinker (1997) also supported Boserup by claiming that western aid agencies enforce gender stereotypes imposing gender division of labor which increased the gap between men and women in economic and social terms. Thus, the central point to increase women's status is seemed to be their participation in agricultural production. Moreover, authors like (Rogers 1980) emphasized that development projects would benefit from women's participation in rural production as the women also becoming to benefit from participating in rural production. The WID approach mainly made a clear connection between work and status of women centered on the issues of access and equal opportunities.

The WID approach emphasized the need of women to be involved productive work especially on productive work which generates income. Visvanathan (1997:18) summarized the focus of WID approach with three elements. Firstly, the need to integrate women in economic systems through adopting legal and administrative changes was emphasized. Secondly, women's productive role was given importance. Thirdly, the need to develop strategies in order to lessen the disadvantages of women in the productive sector was enforced. Thus, the unity of reproductive and productive work in rural areas is not problematized and the reproductive work loads of women have to be involved with in rural areas.

This approach unfortunately was not addressing changing the general capitalist relations and patriarchal relations or the integration of these two fundamental reasons of rural women's oppression since they did not consider the situation of agricultural sector of underdeveloped nations in the global capitalism and the rural women's

position in subsistence production in rural areas. Moreover, this approach did not problematize women's lack of landownership and ownership of other economic resources and the centrality of household in determining the patriarchal power relations. Thus, this approach did not focus on the structural problems of underdevelopment and the role and position of women in sustaining rural subsistence activities.

As Rai (2002) states, the WID focus to access and equal opportunities for women and men, give rise to the critiques of not including social and political structures disabling women's development. As Beneria and Sen (1981:25) have argued, Boserup did not consider the process of capital accumulation made available in colonial period and did not question if modernization is both beneficial and inevitable in the specific forms that it has emerged in most of the third world countries. Boserup was also criticized by not taking into account the negative effects of capital accumulation regimes on women and men and class and race differences between women. As Rai (2002) states, The WID approach was criticized by emphasizing the measures to increase women's skills and education to competition with men in labor market rather than preparing more intense solutions to women's problems.

As being the one of primary initiator of WID approach, Boserup (1970) attributed women's marginality to cultural factors. In her view the change from female to male farming systems and the displacement of women from agriculture resulted from demographic and technological factors. Moreover, she claimed that (1970:54), women's subsequent marginalization during and after the colonial period reflected Western ideologies about proper feminine roles, which in some contexts were reinforced by traditional patriarchal values. Implicit in the work of Boserup is the notion that capitalist development is inevitable and basically beneficial, but that the culturally based prejudices of both Western and Third World peoples distort the process to women's disadvantage. According to Beneria and Sen (1981:279-281), Boserup's critics have applauded her path-breaking work for documenting Third World women's productive contributions, for emphasizing the importance of gender

in the division of labor and the allocation of resources, and for revealing development's negative impact on women.

The WID approach, which was a liberal feminist development approach emerging in 1960s, is closely related with the aim of integrating women to the development agendas of post-colonial national states. However, it is important to note that as Rai (2002:55) claims the post-colonial nation states were not really influential in shaping the liberal post-war period with Bretton-Woods system and with the new policy making and aid regimes implied by World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Together with the marginality and unaffectedness of third world nation states in the international capitalist system, discourse of modernity strongly affected the way development policies were implied in these countries. Third world countries were now in the aim of joining the community of nation states as equal members as they become "developed".

As Kabeer mentioned (1994:1-2) since the start of sixties, UN has announced each official "decade of development" with a declaration including the lessons learned and the coming ten years priorities. The first development decade (1961-1970) did not include any particular emphasis on women. But in the second decade, UN declaration mentioned the importance of "the full integration of women in the total development effort". UN's third and fourth development decade declarations increased their emphasis in women's issues. In the third decade it is declared that women as agents and beneficiaries in all sectors and at all levels of the development. In the fourth decade (1990-2000), UN (1989: 41) declared that "In the 1990s the task is to translate greater understanding of the problems of women into altered priorities. Empowering women for development should have high returns in terms of output, greater equity and social progress". The fifth decade (2000-2010) is announced as the "Culture of peace and non violence for the children of the world. The Sixth and latest decade (2010-2020) (UN, 2010) announced millennium development goals as; eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equity and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, develop a global partnership for development. As Kabeer summarized (1994:2) the

emergence of women's issue in UN's development agenda has also found its reflection in UN's organizational structure. By the end of the eighties, there were several organizations within the UN structure which are responsible for women's integration into development efforts such as; Division for women in the UN Development Programme, UN Development fund for Women, the legal Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, Women in Development units in different bodies of UN.

The development discourse and programs emerged in relation with historical and economic conditions of the time. As Kabeer summarized (1994:2) the political arena was full of protests in sixties and seventies. While South countries were protesting the injustices of international economic order, the northern countries were protesting class and race discrimination in working life and in universities. Moreover, there were certain contradictions between developed northern countries and underdeveloped southern countries. Civil-rights and black-power movements integrated with Third World liberation struggles increased the opposition to neocolonialism. Furthermore, women's movement also gain strength from this political environment. As Rai (2002:56) mentioned Said (1978) defined the way first world view third world states as "orientalism". Many feminist authors (Mohanty, 1991; Spivak 1988; and others) also clarified that women occupied an important place as victims of gender segregation, denial of education, under pressure to produce children. Women were objects that needed help, not subjects who could be active participants in the development process. (Chowdry, 1995). As Rai claimed this situation presented difficult choices for women; they neither want to be part of the racist and orientalist discourses nor give up pressing their claims upon the national states. The national elites were presenting women as the representatives of the authenticity of their cultures to sustain the status quo and resist the pressures of UN and International Conventions such as the Convention for the elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW; first signed in 1979). The liberal feminist approach to development which is influenced by classical economics and modernization theory mainly accepted the Women in Development approach based on sustaining the equal rights for women. By the mid-1960s some economists started

to notice that development was not easily achieved as it was assumed. In 1970s Ester Boserup made a study “Woman’s role in Economic Development” which presented that most development projects worsened third world women’s economic status and conditions. The WID approach was mainly inspired from her work. This approach called for equity between men and women but the gender stereotypes of western world were not challenged. Thus, women’s development was rather a technical and logistical problem rather than a fact which needs fundamental review of gender relations and ideology. As Kabeer identified (1994:3) the main areas which gave importance to women’s involvement in development were food (Food and Agriculture Organization’s employees were mainly women because of women’s contributions at different stages of food chain with their role in family food provision and nutrition) and population (high rates of population growth were seen as a barrier to development). The WID approach in the international arena brought new ideas to influence prevailing development policy.

The modernist development theory based on liberal economic theory and orientalist discourse was started to be criticized in 1960s by the structuralist dependency school. In 1963 Raul Prebisch first started to write on dependency theory. A. G. Frank extended his analysis and declared that liberal development model was the “the development of underdevelopment”. Frank (1978) argued that colonial countries were undeveloped before western capitalist penetration and international capitalist system was serving to extend the underdevelopment of the third world by exploiting them. Frank and other dependency theory authors proposed the separation of underdeveloped countries (periphery) from the centers of developed south (core/ metropole) and self-reliant development planning rather than integration to the international capitalism. The dependency school also criticized the linear, inevitable characterization of metropole/ periphery relations and the omitting the concept of class and its relations in the development analysis. Already existed critique of development theory and patriarchy lead some development practitioners to be more concerned with women’s issues. The Marxist feminist approach, influenced by Marxist dependency theory arguing for the self-reliant development planning (Amin: 1974, 1977) and by radical feminists arguing for development of women outside of the patriarchal system accepted Women and Development approach. This approach

emphasized women-only projects and women's culture and warned against the cooperation with male-dominated institutions. These views were particularly influential in women NGOs projects.

WAD approach is based on the dependency theory and the critique of previous liberal feminist development approach and studies. According to Visvanathan (1997: 18) origin of Women and Development approach is based on the critique of modernization theory and WID approach in the late 1970s. According to the Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau (2000:60) WAD approach was constructed during 1970s in order to formulate an approach which would analyze women's position in development separated from men with the influence of radical and Marxist feminist approaches. Theorists and activists working in this paradigm argued for the separate women focused policies and programs. Because they believe that mainstream agencies and their programs have the risk of domination of patriarchal interests. Much of the theorizing of people working within the WAD approach is not documented because they often suffer from marginalization and inadequate funding imposed by small scale of women only projects and initiatives.

Visvanathan (1997:22), quoting from Kabeer (1994) explains that the feminist approaches effected from Marxist theory on development can be summarized in three groups. First is the dependency feminism group, second one is the global capitalist patriarchy and third one is the capital accumulation and the social relations of gender group. The WAD approach is mainly identified as the dependency feminism group and global capitalist patriarchy group. The major contributions of WAD approach can be summarized in three elements. Firstly, this approach acknowledges that women are important economic actors in society. Secondly, the approach claims that the work of women in public and private domain is central to the preservation of the social structures. Thirdly, the approach analyzes the integration of women in development which enables the maintenance of international structures of inequality. The question of integrating women to development process or not has become an important issue. According to Tiano (1987), three theses (integration thesis, marginalization thesis and exploitation thesis) in regard to women's position in society became important. In summary, integration thesis argues that women who

traditionally have been victims of repressive patriarchal structures become autonomous contributors to society and its development. This thesis is the argument of Women in Development approach. The marginalization thesis holds that capitalist development isolates women from production and political control. Thus despite the ideology of egalitarianism, development has generally increased women's economic and social marginality. The exploitation thesis assumes that development often makes women cheap and easily expandable labor to industrial production because of the discriminatory hiring practices, sex-segregated labor markets and inadequate preparation that weakens their position within the labor market. For this reason their involvement is seen as more harmful than beneficial.

According to Visvanathan (1997:18), focus of WID approach is the relation of women with the development processes. WAD approach claims that women have always been part of the development processes and thus, WID's aim to integrate women in to development is a myth. Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau (2000:60) expressed that the WAD approach emphasizes the discrepancy of the women's knowledge, women's work, women's goals and responsibilities. Moreover, WAD approach argues for appreciation of these discrepancies and for the recognition of the special roles that women have always played in development processes.

According to Visvanathan (1997:18-19), features of this approach can be summarized as;

1. WAD approach does not analyze the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression.
2. WAD approach discourages a analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men since both sexes are seem to be disadvantaged under global capitalism.
3. WAD approach did not consider adequately the reproductive side of women's work because of focusing on the productive role.
4. WAD approach assumes that if international structures become more equitable, women's position in society will improve.
5. WAD approach is not interested with the relations between gender roles.

As it can be seen from the previous discussions, the WAD approach analyzes the rural women in relation with the problems of underdevelopment and international capitalist relations. Thus, this approach claims that rural women's emancipation and development can be achieved through elimination of underdevelopment and global capitalist relations. Moreover, the rural household is considered the level of analysis, and the women's oppression inside the household through lack of landownership and other economic resources, lack of participation in the decision making process, and sexual division of labor is not considered. The reproductive facilities women engaged were only seen as the activities by which subsistence of the rural household is maintained. The rural women were seen as the members of the rural household, the inequalities between the position of men and women will be believed to be eliminated with women's participation in the productive work and especially in income generating activities and abolition of the global economic inequalities and capitalist relations.

According to Scott (1996:125-127) main contribution of dependency theory is to analyze the international context of development and the role of power and domination in perpetuating underdevelopment. According to dependency theory, the global extension of capitalism has affected the processes of capital accumulation, class structures and alliances, and ideology. With this theoretical approach, the position of rural women was analyzed through viewing them as the members of have-not group of unindustrialized nations. And the empowerment and development of rural women were based on the implementation of policies aiming the self-sufficiency and self-organization of the nation through strict planning and implying social policies to the laboring class and to the poor. This also means supporting agricultural production in order to be self-sufficient in agricultural production in order to avoid dependency to other nations and capitalist economy.

Another important contribution to the debates on development is the Basic Needs approach (Rai, 2002:62-67). This approach questioned the affects of growth and efficiency on development because of the unsuccessful development efforts to reduce poverty and unemployment. In 1969, the International Labor Organization started a World Employment program to create more and better jobs. But at the World

Employment Conference of 1976 (ILO, 1977:31), ILO has declared that “development planning should include, as an explicit goal, the satisfaction of basic needs”. BN approach diverted the focus of development agencies to all members of a society rather than to the actual or potential wage earners. The basic needs composed of two subareas. Firstly, certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption such as; adequate food, shelter and clothing with certain household equipment and furniture is included. Secondly, essential services for a community at large such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, health and educational facilities were included. (ILO, 1977:32). This approach did not question the gender ideology and women were mostly seen as individuals receiving these services. Moreover, the BN approach gave importance to consideration people’s participation in development and their need to participate in making decisions affecting their lives. The Basic Needs Approach was extended with many scholars studies (Anand and Sen 1996; Nussbaum 1999 and Kabeer 1999) and UN Human Development Index of UNDP argued for Basic Needs Approach with an emphasis on extending human capabilities to reach development. Nussbaum claimed that there is an important link between development, human rights, and capabilities. Furthermore, Sen (1981) also declared that development is meant to enlarge human achievements and capabilities. In this argument, poverty is defined with lack of ‘capability deprivation’. In this regard enhancing human capabilities and the extent of freedom people have in looking for opportunities to be in valuable activities or to have functionings. Women in this respect are one of the marginalized groups to have particular disadvantages in achieving these functionings. Thus, Sen (1981) declared that planners and state institutions should consider which policies enable enhancing human capabilities. Economic policies and other non-economic factors are seen as determining factors in human functional capabilities essential for human existence.

In the 1980s, due to rising concerns about the growing poverty of women (and men) in the South and global patriarchy, a socialist feminist critique of development became visible. The series of international conferences celebrating the UN Decade for women (1976-85) encouraged the third world feminist scholars to make studies. The scholarship sustained the feminist theorizing of the Southern realities of women with taking into account the class, race and gender inequality in a global context.

These studies and projects are known as the GAD approach which is mainly interested in social construction of gender roles and relations. Their central point is to emphasize that gender roles are constructed to maintain the gendered division of labor and neither static nor natural. The GAD approach is not directly challenging the goal of modernization / westernization, but it provides analytical and discursive tools to criticize the western development ideal. Although this approach has influence on development discourse, the mainstream donor agencies mostly do not propose transformation of status quo in gender relations.

GAD perspective is a socialist feminist perspective which tries to integrate the criticism of development approaches based on the neo-liberal policies of IMF and World Bank and challenge to the patriarchal values and culture in society. According to the Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau (2000:62), GAD perspective is constructed as a synthesis of the concerns of materialist political economy and radical- feminist concerns of patriarchy and patriarchal ideology. GAD approach claims that women's status in society is intensely influenced by the material conditions of life and by their situation in national, regional and global economies. Moreover, GAD approach acknowledges that women are also influenced by the patriarchal power relations in their societies at national, community and household levels. These two different aspects of women's subordination namely; material conditions and patriarchal authority are structured and perpetuated by the existing norms and values that shape the women's and men's roles and duties in a particular society.

Common features of this approach can be summarized as;

1. GAD approach argued against the dichotomy of private and public. Moreover, emphasized the oppression of women in family with focusing on 'private sphere'.
2. GAD approach strongly stresses the state's duty to present social services to promote women's emancipation.
3. GAD approach women were characterized as agents of change rather than the victims or passive recipients of development policies.
4. GAD approach gives importance the women's necessary activity of organizing themselves as more effective political actors in order to harm existing power relations in society between men and women.

5. GAD approach considers that patriarchal relations perform within and across class relations.
6. GAD approach also emphasizes the importance of increasing the women's legal powers and sustaining legal rights especially on inheritance and land laws.

Emerging as a reaction to neo-liberal economic policies enforced to underdeveloped countries, it shares the WAD's criticism of development policies but criticize also the women's employment in less secure and less paid jobs. Its primary focus is studying the structure (social systems) in studying society. It is more focused on policy change. It encourages Socialist welfare state that emphasizes the state subsidy of education and health. Moreover, this approach theoretically analyzes the problems rising from the rural development policies implemented in relation with changing technology and production process. It is important to analyze the differences in the economic and social conditions and position of rural women with implying technological developments in agricultural production process. Furthermore, it analyzes the effects of new technologies in the organization of labor in the production process. According to Duvvury (1989), with the impact of new technology in agriculture, there is a decline in the days of employment and the work burden in the women's tasks increases. Moreover, she claims that the modernization of agriculture had negative effect on economic position of women in landless and small peasant households. This approach also analyzes the involvement of rural women in the decision making process with analyzing their involvement as participants, beneficiaries and agents in the rural development. This approach mainly searches for development policies which can bring more opportunity to women to be participants, beneficiaries and agents of development.

As also previously mentioned Tiano (1987) clarified the approaches examining the integration of women to the global economy in three groups, namely; integration thesis, marginalization thesis and the exploitation thesis. The integration thesis, which is accepted by WID approach, assumes that development makes women less peripheral by drawing them out of the subsistence sector. The marginalization thesis emphasizes women's productive contributions to household and community regardless of mode of production. From this vantage point, development frequently

marginalizes women relative to their previously essential roles in subsistence production. This debate focus on whether women displaced from subsistence production are being drawn into formal employment. The evidences suggest contrary to the integration thesis, that capitalist development is not absorbing most Third World women into the formal sector.

The gender and development approach argues that transformation of the political, economic and social conditions of women requires challenging both the patriarchy and capitalism. In order to understand the political, economic and social conditions of women, Gender and Development approach use some analytical tools. These tools were identified by Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau (2000:140-144) as; gender division of labor, types of work, access to and control over resources and benefits, influencing factors, condition and position, practical and strategic interests, levels of participation, and potential for transformation. These analytical tools can be used also in analyzing the problematic areas of rural women. The general economic system affecting the rural households of underdeveloped countries can be analyzed in the title of influencing factors. Since in the title “influencing factors”, the effects of economic factors, religion, cultural differences and political factors to the development of women are analyzed.

The sexual division of labor can be analyzed in title of gender division of labor. The gender division of labor can be investigated in order to analyze the differences in the nature of work and in the way it is valued which is considered as a fundamental characteristic of gender relations. The title types of work include the women’s labor activity in both reproductive and productive types of work. The types of work are classified in to three major areas such as; productive, reproductive and community work. In the GAD analysis, who does- which type of work is examined and analyzed by the scholars. Women’s lack of landownership can be analyzed in title of access to and control over resources. The role of women in sustaining subsistence in rural households can be analyzed in the title of conditions and positions of women. While condition of women included the needs and conditions of living, their position is their standing in society in relation to men. Finally, the centrality of household in understanding the gender relations in rural areas are to be examined in the levels of

participation, and conditions and position of women titles. The levels of participation as an analytical tool includes analyzing the women's decision making capacity and their involvement as participants, beneficiaries and agents. The last analytical tool is analyzing the potential for transformation of the relations of women. The transformatory processes in GAD analysis include addressing inequalities and challenging subordinate position of women. In relation with the potential of transformation in women's development, the goals of GAD analysis and its solutions can be identified.

Moreover, its goal and solution to the women's problems were identified by Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau (2000:141) quoting from Moffat et al (1991) as;

Goal: It gives importance to equitable development with both women and men as full participants in decision making.

Solution: Its solution is empowering the disadvantaged and women and transforming the unequal relations.

Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau (2000:141) also identified the strategies of Gender and Development approach quoting from Moffat et al (1991) as;

- reconceptualize the development process, taking gender and global inequalities into account.
- identify and address practical needs as determined by women and men, to improve their conditions; at the same time, address women's strategic interests.
- address strategic interests of the poor through people-centered development.

According to the Visvanathan (1997:18), the unique contribution of this approach is its analysis of the women's economic and social activities of women inside and outside the household including non-commodity production. According to the Visvanathan (1997:18), its main focus is analyzing the development issue with a holistic perspective that includes all aspects of women's lives. It analyzes the basic reasons to create specific gender roles to different sexes. It studies women's context as a systems of gender stratification. This approach integrated women's existence within the household with the labor market.

As Chow and Lyter (2002:39) summarized, representing the convergence of various feminist views, the GAD perspective emerged in the 1980s to challenge the inadequate explanations of women's subordination in WID's liberal feminism and WAD's exclusive focus on class analysis to account for women's oppression. GAD offers a holistic approach. It does not focus just on women, but on gender as a set of social relations between men and women in both the production of the labor market and reproduction of the household. It recognizes women's contribution inside and outside of household, including both the formal and informal sectors. In other words, GAD deconstructs public/private dichotomy, uncovering women's oppression in the family. Special attention is given by socialist feminists, a major force in GAD, to both the importance of patriarchy operating within across classes to oppress women and the role of the state provide social programs promoting women's emancipation. Seeing women as agents of social change rather than as recipients of development programs, GAD advocates acknowledge women's concern with economic independence, stress political activism, and strategize agendas for community organizing, coalition building, and collective action for empowerment and effective social change.

In general, GAD provides a rich context in which to understand women's issues in the context of gender relations and to view men as potential supporters of women. Moreover, as Chow and Lyter argued (2002:40) GAD as well as WID and WAD perspectives are prompted mostly by researchers and practitioners from the Global North working along with some groups and individuals from the Third World.

The global South Perspectives were emerged in the mid and late 1980s and early 1990s as an alternate vision and model of development to offer indigenous voices from the global south. One of them is a research network called DAWN (development alternatives with Women for a New Era) which was formed in 1984. In their influential network Gita Sen and Caren Grown (1985) point out that the socioeconomic status of the great majority of Third World women had worsened during the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985) and the benefits of development have not trickled down to poor people, especially women. According to DAWN, development should start with the perspective of poor women as the most vulnerable

group living in the margin where alternative visions are generated. Their viewpoints support the belief that development practices have not adequately addressed this group's needs and interests are thus blind spots in development analyses, policies, programs that needed to be reoriented, Self-definition is therefore a key ingredient to the alternative development theories and political action.

DAWN's vision is grounded in diverse feminisms and is responsive to the varied needs and issues of women, as defined by women from different societies, times and cultures. It challenges the monolithic notion of woman and sees gender relations that are compounded by race, class, ethnicity and nation as being intricately linked to the specific oppression of women. Mohanty et al. (1991) criticized Western feminist discourse that constructs "Third World Women" as singular, monolithic subjects with a shared oppression and interest and as powerless victims of economic development. They prefer the term Third World to Global South. They also claim that Western and White liberal feminist scholars often describe Third World Women in conjunction with backwardness, undevelopment, oppressive traditions, high illiteracy, rural and urban poverty, religious fanaticism and over population.

Mohanty et al. (1991) offer radical critiques that offer insight on how masculine, reracialized, class based on western oriented cultures and structures determine the subjugated position of Third World Women, silence their voices, and blur their standpoints in development studies. As Sen and Grown analyzed, the struggle of women from the Global South should be understood within the socio-historical context of each country's experience under political, economic, social and cultural domination by imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, against "a background of national struggles aimed at achieving political independence, asserting a national identity, and modernizing society.

The Global South feminist perspectives also stress the importance of both practical and strategic gender needs and interests, phrases coined by Molyneux (1985) to differentiate immediate needs for daily provisions from the long-term needs women as a social group to tackle the structural roots of unequal access to resources and control. Addressing strategic gender interests requires analysis focused on the

origins, structures, and processes of women's subordination and inequality and how the processes of changes have affected women's consciousness, bringing about their own changes in development.

One of the important goals of Global South perspective is the structural transformation of oppressive society by eliminating gender subordination and all forms of oppression, improving living standards, establishing socially responsible management of resource allocation and usage, and organization for better change. Sen and Grown, (1985:82-86) based their argument the existence of short term and long term strategies to empower women. Short term strategies are to enhance women's opportunities and participating by increasing their share in resources, land employment and income relative to men. These should be accompanied by "long-term systematic strategies aimed at challenging prevailing structures and building accountability of governments to people of their decisions", an increase in women's control over economic decisions, a guarantee that women's voices are entered into the definition of development and the making of policy choices, a cut in military expenditures, demilitarization, control over TNCs, and land reform in rural areas.

Gender interests and perspectives should be recognized as central and integral human conditions of sustainable development. Development must be participatory on an equal, reciprocal, and just basis, with the overriding goal being to improve human well-being and to enable people to achieve potential. Development should also be gender-sensitive and human centered so that it empowers people, forms on women's rights and realities, eliminates poverty, secures sustainable livelihoods, forms stable and healthy communities, and promotes peace on a long term basis. The local is embedded in a web of global links. The underdeveloped women are inevitably shaped by forces of globalization in terms of industrialization, economic restructuring, and migrations.

As Kabeer (1994) explains that defining an epistemological vantage point for oppressed is not implying that excluded, disadvantaged groups are more knowledgeable than others, but rather that they offer a viewpoint from below. It is a "viewpoint that can help to realign development paradigms more closely to the real

order of things without the transformation of the lives of the poorest and most oppressed of all societies, there can neither be development nor equity”. Indigenous knowledge is also comprehensive and transformative because it thinks of all women as gendered, sexual, racial, class, national and cultural subjects situated structurally in different locations in society. The women’s positions strongly relate their personal identities, differences and subjectivities with a range of social institutions and levels of structural hierarchies. These relations are usually seen in the areas such as; women’s subordination and domesticity, class exploitation, racial/ ethnic discrimination, colonial/ postcolonial domination, structural inequality and cultural stereotypes. Thus, the politics of personal identity is continuously combined with the structural transformation of society since the positions of women are not mutually exclusive but sometimes dialectical. According to the Kaaber (1994), indigenous gender knowledge is derivative of relational, comparative, and historical analyses and it highlights the macro-micro relations that associate the historical past to the present, the personal problems of women and men to public policy issues, the practical daily interests of gender to strategic ones, the dimensions of gender to other social hierarchies of inequality, and the independence and development of nations to a discourse on postcolonialism. So, as a conclusion, this comprehensive analysis will include an extensive range of issues, recommendations, options, and strategies to influence the whole organization of development policies and practices.

Chow and Lyter (2002:46) have identified three major themes which can be posited as theoretical propositions influenced from DAWN. First is that development is a gendered process. Gender roles, expectations, and images all impact the way development occurs, what opportunities become available, and what new obstacles are. Moreover, the experience of women, like men, have as restructuring and development occurs is mitigated by other sources of social stratification such as class, ethnicity, nationality, age, and marital status. These stratifying dimensions intersect and reconfigure forms of social processes, gender relationships, and inequalities.

This approach conceptualize gender as Chow and Lyter (2002:43) declared quoting from Scott (1988:42); “Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based

on perceived differences between the sexes and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.” Gender is described as relational and social. Gender is a concept including supposed gender differences, which often indicates an unequal and hierarchical power relationship between women and men. Relational analysis is used to question the dominant category of masculinity that is based on subordinating women as the others in order to maintain the present gender system and male status quo and tries to comprehend how power relations lead to the unequal access, control and dissemination of values, resources and justice.

Furthermore, gender can be conceptualized as both process and a structure. On the one hand, gender is a dynamic process, which Zimmerman has defined as “process of genderization which means that perceived preferences between men and women are socially constructed through human interaction in everyday life.” If the process of development is gendered, than an active process of genderization is continuing, constituting changable gender characteristics as opposed to fixed ones and resulting in differential outcomes for women and men. Thus, with this perspective gender is not seen as everlasting consequence of early socialization but as a life-long process in which people construct, deconstruct and then reconstruct the meaning, discourse and accomplishment of gendering. The process of engendering, degendering and regendering are continuously developing in everyday practices and interactions. On the other hand, gender becomes a structure when a variety of gender relationships are institutionalized in the social system, thus forming the basis for gender hierarchy, inequality and order in society. As Chow and Lyter (2002:43) argue that gender is embedded in social structures and shapes social processes and is in turn, influenced by them, with a consequence that have implications for women, men and gender relations. Gender inequality has its basis in materials and ideological realities that underlie many institutional mechanisms, labor regimes, industrial organizations, households and migration dynamics.

As Chow and Lyter (2002) argued gender can not be fully comprehended without considering the relations of class, race/ethnicity and nationality, however the reality that these relations are always gendered should be acknowledged. So, gender relations interconnect continuously with these other social relations of class, race/

ethnicity and nationality which constitute a “matrix” of domination and subordination helping to constitute a societal foundation for stratifying people, establishing social locations of members, determining their identities, behaviors, and subjectivities. In this way, gender inequality is mixed and integrated by other hierarchies based on other forms of inequalities in different historical and socioeconomic contexts and under various political economies. Considering the complexity of the concept of gender because of its relation with other inequalities, gender analysis at a global context can not be understood from a specific country’s situation. Thus, in order to investigate the problem of development on a global scale, the development is conceptualized as a multifaceted and interlinked process based on the dynamic interaction between macrostructure forces and micro level interactions that shapes inequality, gender relations and individual experiences.

Secondly, gender is embedded in macrostructures and micro-interactions that influence the ways in which women and men participate in and experience development. The interplay of capitalism and patriarchy mediated by state, legal and religious institutions structures the dynamic of work and family life and the dialectic of production and social reproduction. Consequently, the gender regime is continuously molded and inequality between women and men is perpetuated.

Moreover, the interaction of patriarchy and capitalist system and state’s role in setting policies and national agendas influence the impact and experience of gender is problematized. As a macrostructure system that secures male privilege, patriarchy embeds itself in multiple institutions, like families and corporations. Termed “corporate patriarchy”, the male body, or more specifically a hegemonic form of masculinity, pervades TNCs. privileged male characteristics are normalized and institutionalized in the organizations culture, practice, process and design.

Gender images, symbols, and ideology are potent means of shaping political economic restructuring, institutional arrangements, personal identity, and activism. The symbolic meaning of women as keepers of culture and heroines of the nation invokes tension and even contradiction among the actual roles of women play as wives, mothers and factory workers.

Thirdly, as economic development changes gender relations, women and men may adapt to or even resist these changes, and their behavior, in turn, influences the direction, policies and practices of development. Socio-economic development does not necessarily instill positive changes in social relations and the gender hierarchy. Instead, as macrostructures of patriarchy, capitalist relations and state policies become altered, new contradictions and forms of oppression are generated. Thus, in development programs, women are seen as active agents of change, seeking to empower themselves and improve their lives, their actions capitalized on changes in state policies, economic conditions, and gender roles and, in the process, triggered new responses and new challenges.

Another important concept of DAWN other than gender is empowerment together with the previously mentioned understanding of power relations. As Chow and Lyter (2002) explained, Sen and Grown have popularized the term “empowerment” to underline the human agency of women as social actors to alter unequal gender power relations through individual and collective challenges to patriarchal rules and resistance to oppressive circumstances. Empowerment is related with a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach, giving emphasis to self-reliance and internal strength to transform structures and to work for better change. DAWN acknowledges the necessity to legislative changes together with the self-empowerment work of grassroots women’s organizations. These organizations can be platforms to increase consciousness, to give popular education, to express the problems and voices of different people especially poor women, to affect the masses politically and to have influence in policy and legal change, coming from personal to structural transformation through collective action. DAWN also works with international movements of women and the oppressed people. In addition to previous explanations about DAWN, for them, autonomy, self-determination and empowerment are at the center of an original analysis and feminist praxis. So, reducing gender differences and an emphasis to increase women’s access to resources are not sufficient to change women’s positions. In order to achieve a significant transformation, power structure that silences women’s voices and prevents them to fully participate in the development process must be eliminated. Thus the main aim of DAWN is not to reach gender equality in materialist and legal terms but to formulate an indigenous

knowledge to reach a feminist epistemology of agency and empowerment of women which would show how women as active agents, and as collective actors of social movements can work for reform, opposition, resistance and radical change which would democratizes and transforms societies.

In explaining the concept of empowerment, it is usually associated with sharing power with, giving it to, or distributing it among people. It is based on analyzing the concept of power as “circulating, exercised, and existing in action has raised questions about the possibilities of empowerment”, describing empowerment not only as something given but also as something that enables to use power. Thus, empowerment is described as not a tool or end result, but as an active process. It has three different elements (Rowlands, 1997) personal, collective and relational. Empowerment is composed of a self-critical process, which includes the meanings of capacity, internal strength, and potential to take action and to transform power as it is implicated in specific areas. Collective empowerment is the groups’ empowerment within itself and with others. It is explained with the groups’ way of organization, the content of the groups’ activities, and the relationships that exist within the group and between groups and their relations with formal institutions and the wider community. As the third element of empowerment, relational empowerment is interested with the capacity to bargain, communicate, defend, and support close relationships with others while preserving one’s own sense of self and self-respect. These elements of power integrate to generate four types of power: “power over” other persons or groups, “power from within” to construct strength and respect, “power with” others to improve social capacity and “power to” achieve to a full variety of human abilities and to possible collective action. (Townsend et al.1999). It is important to realize these power relations are also viewed among women of diverse backgrounds based on race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, age/generation, nationality and even disability. Global South feminist perspectives claim that gender interests and subjectivities should be acknowledged as paramount and integral human condition of sustainable development. This perspective highlight the potentiality and actuality of women’s agency, examine means of constituting practical and strategic interests and consciousness, investigating ways of empowering self and others, and problematize about how these would affect social processes of change. This understanding permits

women to acknowledge their resistance at both symbolic and practical levels, create their oppositional culture, and finally activate collective action to fight back together against colonial or neocolonial domination, patriarchal control, capitalist exploitation, state maltreatment and structural inequality.

Moreover, after 1990s, scholars have argued against the essence of mainstream and radical development discourse based on postmodernist perspectives. They question the universal claims of modernity and Eurocentric assumptions of liberal and Marxist development studies. The problem was based on the discourse of development based on knowledge claims which silenced knowledge from south and increased dependence on Northern “expertise”. While some scholars argue for a post-Marxist and postmodernist approaches, all focused on the openness and plurality of postmodernism rather than predetermination and essentialism. The feminists who are arguing for a postmodernist, post-Marxist and postcolonial development approach can be classified as Women, Culture and Development approach. Furthermore, most theorized link between postmodern feminism, gender and development seems to be colonial and neo-colonial discourse. The hierarchical, dualistic nature of Western thought and its tendency to signify and enforce the North/ South divide was exposed through the critique of colonial /neo-colonial discourse. Women, Culture and Development approach criticized a holistic understanding of development and thus generalization of all third world women in one title. It focuses on both agency and structure incorporating women and their social systems. They consider the category ‘women in third world more flexible and highlighted variations in local contexts of women. They focused on local and cultural understanding of development with emphasis on the women’s role in shaping the development planning and development processes as the beneficiaries and participants of development.

Another postmodern critique to the modernist development approaches is the Ecofeminism. This approach questioned the path of modern science and technology by exposing the relationship between patriarchy and science’s use of knowledge. They also proposed sustainable development as a strategy to sustain Earth for the next generations. In their theoretical analysis science is against nature. Their

alternative development (Braidotti et al.1994) is anti-patriarchal, decentralized, interdependent and sustainable.

As Rai (2002:68) comments, BN, human capability and eco-feminist theories all have interest in sustainable development. The term started to be an element of alternative development discourse with the publication of the 1987 World Commission on Economic Development (WCED), *Our Common Future*. It is characterized with two main concepts; needs and limits of growth (for sustaining the environment's ability to meet future needs). As Rai declares (2002:69) these approaches (BN, human capability and sustainable development) are radical in their concerns but means they offer for development are similar to previous liberal approaches. The sustainable development approach has been linked to capitalist development model because it question the form capitalism takes rather than transforming capitalism.

Another important discussion point is about the latest millennium development goals which include the gender inequality and empowerment as the third development goal of UN (UN, 2010:20-25). As Parpart, Rai and Staudt (2002:11) claimed when the top-down approach of mainstream development agencies were not successful in eliminating poverty in 1990s, the discourse of development in mainstream women/gender issues has changed with making emphasis to empowerment. The report of UN (2010) declared the target is to eliminate gender inequalities in all levels of education within a given period of time (latest 2015) in order to reach gender equality and empowerment for women. As Kabeer (2005:13) argued this target is too narrow to achieve such an intrinsic goal. The UN report also states other indicators of women's socio-economic and political position in society and argued that increasing women's share of wage employment in non-agricultural sector, increasing their participation in national parliaments and eliminating the gender differences in education at all levels are required to achieve women's empowerment and gender equality.

### 2.3.3. Feminism and Rural Women

The theoretical discussions about the socio-economic status of rural women especially in underdeveloped countries like Turkey related by the more general discussions about the capitalist economic system, the general economic conditions of survival in rural areas and the patriarchal gender relations in rural areas.

The different gender development approaches has analyzed these issues in general according to their perspectives. Moreover, the rural women's socio-economic conditions and position in the rural society and the potential of transforming these conditions and positions of women is discussed by different feminist view points, thus by gender and development approaches. However, these approaches differ in the issues which they consider as the source of women's unequal position and oppression and thus differ in their solutions. To understand the rural women's socio-economic status and gender relations in rural environment, dynamic global capitalist system and its transformation affecting rural societies need to be examined. It is assumed that the women's socio-economic status and gender relations in rural areas are linked to the changes in the global capitalism.

Sen (1980:40) defined three main questions regarding the rural women's socio-economic position:

1. What is the relation between the accumulation of capital and subsistence production activities in the rural area.
2. Given these relation, how do we understand the specific position of rural women? In what ways can we distinguish it from the position of rural men? What are the similarities?
3. What conflicts are involved in the position of the rural women? What forms of action and programmes can alter her oppression?

The scholars of feminist development approaches discussed following issues regarding the socio-economic status of rural women:

1. The general global capitalism affecting the rural households of underdeveloped countries
2. The role of women in sustaining subsistence in rural areas,

3. The sexual division of labor,
4. The women's labor activity in both reproductive and productive types of work,
5. Women's lack of landownership and other material resources and the centrality of household in understanding the gender relations in rural areas.

Related with the first area, feminist discussions about the relation between global capitalism and rural women, is based on the discussions about the effects of neo-liberal policies that abandon the subsidies for rural areas and social welfare programs, the feminization of poverty and the devaluation of women's labor in multinational capitalist market. Feminist authors mainly considered that the devaluation of women's labor power is a strategy of the global capitalist economy. Moreover, with the increasing pressure to use technological developments in the inputs of agricultural products, the costs of agricultural production increase and women's labor is exploited more with the intensification of labor and extension of labor time. First problem will be discussed in the section underdevelopment and women in more detail.

The second problem is about the role of women in the survival of the rural households. The theoretical analysis to understand rural women's position in the capitalist economic relations needs to consider the role women in the survival of the rural household. As Boserup documented (1970), although women have been involved in agriculture in most non-Western societies, their participation has varied among different types of farming systems. In much of Africa and some parts of South East Asia and Central America, the relative abundance of land permitted a slash-and-burn technique in which men cleared the land and women did most of the cultivation. In these "female farming systems" custom ensured women secure access to communally held land. In other parts of Asia and much of South America, by contrast, men worked the land with ploughs hauled by draft animals. Furthermore, as Boserup (1970:15-36), explained women's agricultural contribution in these "male farming systems" was limited to collecting feed for and tending the animals or, among the poorer classes, to laboring on land owned by other households. The male-centered plough-based system was the predominant form in European societies, contributing to the Western notion that farming is men's work. Making a liberal

feminist analysis, Boserup argued that women's integral role in subsistence production afforded them stable resource access and at least some decision-making influence in the household and the community.

Moreover, she also declared that (1970) in subsistence societies, women traditionally supplemented their agricultural production with spinning, weaving, basket and pottery making, and other types of manufacturing. Proceeds from the sale of these items were generally at women's disposal. As the integration of their societies into the global economy pitted traditional crafts against cheaply made, mass-produced commodities, women's income from these industries diminished. These changes adversely affected women, their families, and their societies. Women could only obtain cash necessary for essential commodities indirectly through male's wage or income. Furthermore, legal barriers to female land ownership gave men official title to land worked by their female partners. Women's resulting dependence on men limited their autonomy and material security. Many women became de facto household heads as their men migrated to wage-paying jobs on plantations, in mines or in urban centers. Constant farming of privately owned plots quickly reduced soils requiring the long uncultivated periods of the slash-and-burn system, yet fertilizers were generally unavailable to female subsistence farmers. Consequently, women labored on increasingly marginal soils, without male assistance, using primitive technologies. The resulting decline in food production led to inadequate caloric consumption.

Gardiner (2000:81-83) also argued low wages for labor can be sustained through the exploitation of women's labor by men. The income of the worker family is sustained according to a certain level of consumption which only could sustain the survival of the family with women's unpaid domestic labor. Thus, the labor time of women spend in domestic labor is inversely related to the wage of men. In this regard, in the times of economic crises, women are enforced to use their labor more intensely in order to sustain this certain level of consumption. In this way, even domestic labor could not produce value; it enables the production of surplus value by reducing the income level necessary for subsistence. Moreover, it is through the women's non paid domestic labor, the reproduction of the human labor can be realized.

As Sen argues (1980:41) subsistence production is not characterized by the nature of the work involved but by the individual's relationship to the means of subsistence. Even women and men engage in subsistence activity in this social sense together, the sexual division of labor burdens the women with more labor.

The third related discussion area about rural women is the sexual division of labor in rural areas. The sexual division of labor in the rural areas is strongly related with the general sexual division of labor in society. Making a socialist-feminist analysis, Hartman (1976:167) claimed that the status of women in the labor market and current arrangement of sex-segregated jobs is the result of long process of interaction between capitalism and patriarchy. Moreover, she (1976:137) also argued that the reason behind women's unequal social status is the sex-ordered division of labor. For her, the division of labor and the between sexes have to be eliminated in order to achieve a just society in which women have equal social status with men and both women and men have the chance of fully developing their potential. Moreover, Hartman (1976:138) claimed that before capitalism, patriarchal system, in which men organize and direct the labor of women and children in the family, has thought men to learn techniques of hierarchical organizations and control. After the division between public and private has been established with the emergence of state apparatus and an economic systems based on wider exchange and larger production units, men has started to look for ways to maintain their control over labor power of women. In this way, the direct personal control over women change in to impersonal system of control mediated by society-wide institutions. The mechanism to achieve this impersonal of control is with two ways; the traditional division of labor between sexes and techniques of hierarchical and control. These mechanisms were especially thought to be effective in the period of the emergence of capitalism in Western Europe and United States.

Furthermore, it is job segregation by which men sustain their superiority over women. By only giving women low level wages and low-status occupations to women, the capitalist society maintains the dependency of women and thus their obligation to marry in order to survive. Men, in this system both gain from higher wages and domestic labor of women. This domestic labor also deteriorates the

situation of women in the labor market and the hierarchical domestic division of labor is reinforced by the market. Hartman defined (1976:139) this process as the result of the ongoing relations of two interlocking systems, capitalism and patriarchy. In this relation, while patriarchy shapes the form modern capitalism takes, the development of capitalism has transformed the patriarchal institutions. (Hartman, 1976:139)

According to ILO's statement (1980:45) even the women are mainly responsible for domestic work almost every where; there are differences in the sexual division of non-domestic activities. It becomes important if the differences in the sexual divisions of labor in non-domestic activities have any meaningful patterns. It is argued that there is a positive correlation between women's participation and in non-domestic production and their role in decision making. Moreover, it is argued that the dynamics of change often creates a division of labor which mostly brings women new forms of subordination. Thus, in many cases more wage labor for women did not necessarily liberate women. Even it brings a source of financial independence, it can exploit women more by create wage based or other discriminations.

The fourth related discussion area about rural women is the discussions about the rural women's labor activity in both reproductive and productive types of work. Beneria (1980:11) argued that the central point of women's activities is given by their special role in the reproduction of labor force. Women's reproductive functions are conditioned by the nature of productive process and by the requirements of a give pattern of growth and accumulation.

Having a Marxist feminist standpoint Beneria (1980:11) also claimed that reproduction is important because it enables the transmission of control of resources to the next generation. In this sense, the control over women's reproductive activities becomes the core of male domination. The control over reproduction is described at two levels; firstly, the private level which is based on family and the customs, traditions and other expressions of civil society. Secondly, the public level which is based on t he state institutions' activities to sustain order and political power.

Moreover, Beneria (1980) also argued that because of the inter-relationship between reproductive and productive activities at the domestic level at the rural subsistence economies, to make a clear distinction between the two activities is difficult. The domestic work contains a high degree of production which is consumed in the family which indicates that domestic activities have two functions; first one is the physical reproduction of the labor force and second one is the production of use values in the subsistence economy.

Beneria (1980:13) also differentiated five characteristics for the non-domestic activities of women in rural society. Firstly, their non-domestic activities which are compatible with women's reproductive activities which are with low degree of physical mobility considering the necessary to look after children. Secondly, the rural women's activities differ according to the rural class hierarchies, important differences exist between the work performed by women according to the their household's access to productive resources. Thirdly, activities subordinated to men's work are also subject to age-related division of labor. Fourthly, women's productive activities are often extension of their household work such as; hand weaving and handicrafts. Fifthly, when women work as wage earners, they are concentrated in the least permanent and least paid activities. Women's involvement in the area of production is viewed as secondary to their pre-productive activities- hence the basis for their marginality and secondary role in production.

Beneria also claimed that (1980:13-14) women's role in rural production and sexual division of labor can be analyzed more meaningfully in the general context of dynamic capitalist relations. These dynamics were described in four levels:

1. Agrarian structures and modes of production,
2. Availability of labor resources for the development of labor markets,
3. The process of economic growth and accumulation.
4. Linkages between the local economy and national and international markets.

Another related element of rural women's status in agricultural production is the invisibility of women's labor. As Karkiner (2006:6) stated, with the changes in labor of rural women and market relations, it is possible to mention the invisibility of

women's labor in agricultural production which is under the control of patriarchy. This situation appears as trivializing women's labor in household and in land and thus increases the domination of patriarchy and deepens the unequal position of women's labor in the sexual division of labor. Kandiyoti (1985:7) quoting from Meillaoux, pointed out that women are categorized as procreative and reproductive, they can not achieve the status of producer even if they are responsible for some productive work such as; animal husbandry, carrying water and gathering of woods. According to this analysis, to sustain control over the physical reproduction of human, women are oppressed and dominated which reinforces women's secondary position and determines the organization of social reproduction and enables the survival of petty commodity production.

The fifth related discussion area about rural women is women's lack of land ownership and the centrality of household in understanding gender relations in rural areas. Another condition that deepens the unequal position of women is giving up landownership. As ILO (1980) describes the basic question is whether the women have the same rights to own land as men do and if they have the rights whether they are able to use these rights. The right to use the ownership of land can be prevented by the concerns of patrilineal inheritance systems. Women's lack of landownership increases both the exploitation of women's labor and prevents women's participation in decision making mechanisms. In this system, patriarchy prevents women's purchase of land even if she has the monetary funds to buy land, which negatively affects both the ownership of other commodities in the household and the control of her own labor by her. According to Karkiner (2006:7), with giving up her rights over the land, women lost her power to resist patriarchy and her bargaining power before marriage is decreased which means that she accepts the invisibility of her own labor.

According to the feminist analysis, the household can be seen as the basis of sexual division of labor and reproduction and thus, it is organizing and decision making center of rural production process and patriarchal structure. Sen (1980:40) argued that understanding the position of rural women in social organization of production requires understanding the centrality of rural households. The mechanisms of survival and subsistence are organized in the household which include the sexual and

age based division of labor, forms of production activity, the decisions affecting of biological reproduction. She also described the household as a dynamic entity which changes while adopting to changing social conditions of survival brought by social differentiation. The role of women in making decisions about the previously mentioned issues of the control over the labor process, forms of production activity and control over the output of the production determines the position of women in household.

As ILO declares (1980:44), men often have greater access to labor inputs than women and greater control over the production process. It is important to differentiate women's access to family resources and the changes they live through with the effects of changes in agrarian structures. Thus, much more in-depth studies with the specificity of regions and local communities are needed to explore on the women's position in the household in the dynamic capitalist relations.

#### **2.3.4. Conclusion to “Feminism and Development”**

In this section of Feminism and Development; there are two sub-sections; first one is the Development and Rural Women, second one is the Feminism and Rural women. In the sub-section of “Development and Rural Women”, firstly feminist development approaches were clarified in a historical continuum in relation with the general development thought and its related arguments. Secondly, the specific characteristics of GAD (Gender and Development) Approach and DAWN (Development alternatives for a new era) approach were discussed in relation with the problem of empowerment of rural women since this study aims to interpret these approaches with a socialist feminist perspective. It can be argued that GAD and/or Development Alternatives for a New Era (DAWN) approach can explain the collective subjective positions of women together with criticizing capitalism and patriarchy. These approaches in a continuum allows for criticizing capitalist relations and current mainstream development policy and clarifying on women's organization's collective subject positions in specific historical and socio-economic situations. While GAD approach used analytical tools to explore on rural women's socio-economic conditions, position and status; DAWN approach emerged from the movement and

alliance of third world women in women congress called for a more complicated understanding of gender and empowerment. It could be said the concept of empowerment emerged from the criticism of third world women of the development policies, programs and projects. Their critics were mostly based on the problems in the previous section about the way development policies, programs and projects were prepared and implemented. DAWN approach accepted Gender as a relational and social concept which is dynamic and could have different content in different contexts. More importantly because it is dynamic, it is a process and a structure. DAWN approach also see as empowerment as a concept which calls for seeing women as social agents who could work together collectively to challenge and change patriarchal rules and oppressive and exploitative structures of patriarchy and capitalism. This approach gives importance to grassroots organizations of women working collectively and increasing consciousness of women, to give popular education, to give voice to different people and could have influence in national and even international policies and legalities. DAWN approach have popularized the concept of empowerment in a way which could include all previously mentioned dimensions of empowerment (psychological, organizational, social, economic and political); including personal, collective and relational elements.

In completing the relationship among development, rural women and empowerment, the sub-section of “Feminism and Rural Women” explores on specific economic, social and political conditions of rural women which would affect the conditions of their empowerment and the way they have been subject to development policies, programs and projects. So, some important issues that could affect the socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women were mentioned as; the general capitalism affecting rural households of the underdeveloped countries, role of women in sustaining subsistence in rural areas, the sexual division of labor, women’s labor activity in both reproductive and productive types work, women’s lack of landownership and other material resources and centrality of household.

In the next section of “Underdevelopment, Agriculture and Rural Women”, the conditions of underdevelopment, that affect the international and national development policies, agricultural sectors and rural households of underdeveloped

countries, socio-economic and political conditions and position and status of rural women will be analyzed.

## **2.4. Underdevelopment, Agriculture and Rural Women**

### **2.4.1. Introduction to Underdevelopment**

It is accepted in this study that conditions of underdevelopment are affecting the national development policy, conditions of living in rural areas, the current conditions and problems of agricultural sector in underdeveloped countries and socio-economic and political conditions and position and status of rural women. In this section, the aim is to clarify on how all these effects happen together.

In the first sub-section of “Development theories in General”, three main development theories namely; Modernization theory, dependency theory and world system theory and their main arguments will be discussed. Second sub-section of “Underdevelopment and Agriculture”, the conditions of underdevelopment in countries like Turkey are discussed in relation with the general transformation of agriculture-food sector in the world system. The Agricultural policies of underdeveloped countries are explained in relation with the general agricultural sector policies at world level. The most significant national development policy of underdeveloped nations that affect agricultural sector is the Structural Adjustment Programs which are mainly imposed by international agency of International Monetary Fund (IMF). The power relations between IMF and the underdeveloped nation states are significant in the preparation and implementation of these policies. The effects of SAPs will be discussed in this sub-section of this study.

In the sub-section of “Underdevelopment and Rural Women”, the study tries to explore on how underdevelopment affect rural women’s socio-economic position and conditions in a general way. Many authors argue that in the conditions of global capitalism, systematic patriarchal conditions and tendencies affect women’s lives. Women’s labor in the least paid and least secure kind of occupations, increasing

employment of women in informal sector, increasing unemployment of women, increasing income gap between women and men, housewifization of women through work legislation and marriage relations, women's labor in caring and subsistence activities are some evident tendencies in women's employment.

#### **2.4.2. Development Theories in General**

As previously mentioned, every development theory formulate their own explanations and discourses about how development occurs in societies in relation with their point of view and ideological background since the development concept includes policy making structure and procedures and have a political and normative character. The definition of development is strongly related with its theoretical framework. There are three main development theories as; modernization theory, dependency theory and world system theory.

Modernization Theory is the first theory of development which denotes that the development can be achieved through implementing the steps and procedures of development that were implemented by the already developed countries. Scholars such as Walt Rostow (1978) and A.F.K. Organski (1968) declared stages of development through which every country develops. Modernization Theory viewed the state as a primary agent in modernizing "backward" or "underdeveloped" societies. Talcott Parsons (1966)' functional sociology described the characteristics that differentiated "modern" and "traditional" societies. Education and technology were considered as keys to development. It was claimed that technology would spur growth. One key element of Modernization Theory is the argument that in order to achieve development, developing countries need the assistance of developed countries. In addition, it was claimed that the developing countries would develop and grow faster than developed countries. So, modernization theory is based on the claim that it is probable for equal development can be attained by developing countries. Modernization theory is concentrated on explaining social change through describing the transformations in relation with their reasons. At certain periods of time, this theory describes social variables which were seen as the reasons of the

social progress and development of certain societies and thus social evolution. The theory of development was founded in relation with the assumption of modernization theory which claims that the less developed countries will be developed through modernizing their culture, industrialization and integration to capitalist markets and relations. Their assumptions and claims were contrasted by the experience of developing countries implying the development policies established in accordance with the modernist development approach. Moreover, modernization theory's assumptions are subject to critics of the communist and capitalist parties, world systems theorists, and globalization theory and Dependency theory.

The dependency theory which was founded in 1960s made the first critiques of modernist theory. While Modernization Theory understood development and underdevelopment as a consequence of internal conditions of different economies, dependency theory views development and underdevelopment as relational. Contrasting modernist liberal development approach, with emphasizing the failure of these development policies of less developed countries, Marxist dependency school claimed that the less developed countries will become more and more dependent to these developed countries and capitalist world economy through development policies and integration to capitalist markets and relations and the development is impossible through the liberal development policies. Thus, their important disagreement point is whether the development is possible through the development policies.

As previously mentioned in the section of feminism and development, Frank (1969) argued that what development project has achieved is the dependent development within the metropolitan countries which is based on outflow of surplus from underdeveloped countries. According to the dependency school, the developed countries can have may be multifaceted pressure on underdeveloped countries in the areas of economics, media control, politics, banking and finance, education, culture, sport, and all aspects of human resource development (including recruitment and training of workers). Wealthy nations dynamically act against the efforts of dependent nations to resist their pressures by means of economic sanctions and/or the use of military force. In accordance with these views, many dependency theorists are

proponents of social revolution as an effective way to the diminution of economic disparities in the world system. Influenced by Marxist views, they claimed that for underdeveloped nations to develop, they must break their dependency to developed nations and search for internal growth. This theory argues for socio-economic policies which were designed to develop from inside such as; Import substitution industrialization.

As Rai argues (2002:78) the dependency theorists question the relationship they question the relationship between development and capitalism at the global level and formulate a major dispute against the Bretton Woods system. As Bayart argued (1993:27) the the unequal entry into international systems have the reality of third world for a long time without any real alternative. The dependency school diverted theoretical focus to the world capitalist system rather than local struggles of third world countries. The dependency school was criticized by not allowing an analysis of post-colonial states and their specific characteristics affecting their position within the international capitalist system.

Raúl Prebisch was one of the first theorists whose research with the Economic Commission on Latin America (ECLA) claimed that decreases in the wealth of poor nations corresponded with increases in the wealth of rich nations. Besides him, Paul A. Baran, Andre Gunder Frank, Theotonio dos Santos, Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Pablo Gonzales Casanova, Keith Griffin, Kunibert Raffer, Paul Israel Singer, Osvalde Sunkel, Samir Amin are some known dependency school scholars.

Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Faletto E. (1979) summarized the quantifiable essence of dependency theories as follows:

1. There is a financial and technological penetration by the developed capitalist centers of the countries of the periphery and semi-periphery;
2. This produces an unbalanced economic structure both within the peripheral societies and between them and the centers;
3. This leads to limitations on self-sustained growth in the periphery;
4. This favors the appearance of specific patterns of class relations;

5. These require modifications in the role of the state to guarantee both the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.

Amin (1976) declared periphery capitalism is characterized by the following main tendencies:

1. Regression in both agriculture and small scale industry characterizes the period after the attack of foreign domination and colonialism.
2. Unequal international specialization of the periphery leads to the concentration of activities in export oriented agriculture and or mining. Some industrialization of the periphery is possible under the condition of low wages, which, together with rising productivity.
3. These structures determine in the long run a rapidly growing tertiary sector with hidden unemployment and the rising importance of rent in the overall social and economic system.
4. The development blocks of peripheral capitalism (chronic current account balance deficits, re-exported profits of foreign investments, deficient business cycles of the periphery that provide important markets for the centers during world economic upswings)
5. Structural imbalances in the political and social relationships, inter alia a strong 'compradore' element and the rising importance of state capitalism and an indebted state class.

Osvaldo Sunkel (1972:18-42), a representative of dependency theory, once stated:

“The interpretation so far advanced suggests that the international capitalist system contains an internationalized nucleus of activities, regions and social groups of varying degrees of importance in each country. (...) Modernization implies the gradual replacement of the traditional productive structure by another of much higher capital intensiveness (...) On the one hand, the process of modernization incorporates into the new structures the individuals and groups that are apt to fit into the kind of rationality that prevails there; on the other hand, it expels the individuals and groups that have no place in the new productive structure or who lack the capacity to become adapted to it. It is important to emphasize that this process does not only prevent or limit the formation of a national entrepreneurial class, as indicated by Furtado, but also of a national middle class (...) and even a national working class. The advancement of modernization introduces, so to speak, a wedge along the area dividing the integrated from the segregated segments (...) In this process, some national entrepreneurs are incorporated as executives into the new enterprises or those absorbed by the TRANCO (i.e. transnational corporations), and others are marginalized; some professionals, forming part of the technical staff and the segment of employees are incorporated, and the rest are marginalized; part of the qualified labor supply and those that are considered fit to be upgraded are incorporated, while the remainder are

marginalized. Finally, it is very probable that an international mobility will correspond to the internal mobility, particularly between the internationalized sectors (...) The process of social disintegration which has been outlined here probably also affects the social institutions which provide the bases of the different social groups and through which they express themselves. Similar tendencies to the ones described for the global society are, therefore, probably also to be found within the state, church, armed forces, political parties with a relatively wide popular base, the universities etc.

Dependency and world system theory hold, that poverty and backwardness in poor countries are caused by the peripheral position that these nations have in the international division of labor. Ever since the capitalist world system evolved, there is a stark distinction between the nations of the center and the nations of the periphery.

As Ria clarifies (2002:78-80), in 1970s Immanuel Wallerstein developed the the 'world system theory' which identified three-tier system including core, periphery and semi-periphery based on the reformulation of dependency theory. World system theory is based in part on the works of Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein with major contributions by Volker Bornschier, Peter Turchin, Andrey Korotayev, Janet Abu Lughod, Tom Hall, Kunibert Raffer, David Wilkinson, and others. The core and periphery categories are referring to the World economic hierarchy defined in dependency school; the semi- periphery category is a go between underdeveloped and developed positions. Wallerstein claimed that states have relative autonomy which could enable them to bargain the conditions of international trade arrangements. This theory has also been associated with Galtung's Structural Theory of Imperialism. One of the basics of the approach is its view of imperialism, which for many Marxists during the 20th century represented "the highest stage of capitalism", a term coined by Vladimir Lenin, who also used the terms periphery and core as a means to analyze world politics and economy.

Giovanni Arrighi proposed in his analysis of the 'Long 20th Century' (1995) the thought that the logic of accumulation on a world-scale is governed by the ups and downs in the succession of regulation and de-regulation, starting from the Venetian (regulatory) and Genoese (deregulated) era of capitalism, followed by the Dutch

(regulatory) and British (deregulated) era, and the US hegemony, which - after 1945 - was a regulatory model. From the late 1970s, however, as Arrighi's argues, the renewed rise of a deregulated model of world capitalism. The often complained end of the Keynesian era has its real basis, in the shifting accumulation pattern of world capitalism. Arrighi (1995) argues that the rise of financial capitalism and the decline of productive capitalism are always connected to major shifts in the location of the centers of world capitalism, first from Venice to Genoa, followed by the shift from Genoa to Amsterdam, from Amsterdam to London, from London to New York, and from there on to the capitalist archipelago of East Asia of yesterday, perhaps to be followed by South Asia today. He also introduced the important notion, that there is a certain coexistence in the time-perspective between the 'different logics', so that elements of the diminishing and elements of the emerging order might coincide for years. Arrighi's chronological model of world capitalism is also a historic interpretation of the old Marxist notion of financial expansion - > material expansion- >financial expansion (MCM'), and as such radically challenges the notion of 'unchanging' general laws of rise and decline. Following Arrighi, it is hypothesized that regulatory strategies might have been well compatible with growth under the rise of the Venetian, Dutch, and American era, while at the time of the rise of 'deregulation', such deregulatory strategies and not 'big government' will be contributing to economic growth.

As Ria explains (2002:79), despite World system theory, some neo-Marxist theorists writing in the 1970s and early 1980s, theorized about more the role of national state elites in development (Amin 1976; Alavi et al., 1982). According to these scholars, the specific historical conjecture of third world states led specific relationships between economic elites and the state. With the weakness of capitalist classes in investing large infrastructural projects the state could exercise political power based on having the right to use violence and coercion and also be an important economic actor. In this situation, the state occupies the roles of being agenda-setter, mediator and arbiter of class relations in post-colonial societies. The main argument of this approach is that the international capitalism dependent upon the exploitation of cheap resources of the Third World through the opening up of the post-colonial states to international trade and commerce. In this understanding, the post-colonial dependent

elites are actors with considerable agency as they sustain their own survival and dominant classes with the implementation of policies aiming integration to international capitalism.

In this study, the concept of development will be analyzed in relation with the concept of underdevelopment. Moreover, it is assumed that development is not possible especially through the development policies arguing for more integration to capitalist world economy. Underdeveloped countries like Turkey have been through economic, political and social changes especially in relation with the changes in the world capitalist system. In explaining these changes, it is assumed that capitalist imperialism is still a significant concept to analyze transformations of capitalist relations after the 1970s as Būke (2008:6) argued in his thesis study. Moreover, it is also assumed that the changes in the agriculture-food sector at global wide would be analyzed in relation with the concept “neoliberal food regime” which was also used by Özuğurlu (2005) and Būke (2008:7). This concept and changes in the agriculture-food sector at global wide will be discussed in detail in the next section of “Underdevelopment and Agriculture”.

### **2.4.3. Underdevelopment and Agriculture**

The conditions of underdevelopment in Turkish agriculture can only be understood considering the changes in agriculture-food sector historically which are imposed by the institutions/ organizations of the world capitalist system. Only by understanding the international capitalist organization of the agricultural production and the food production, the macro-economic conditions of Turkey and agricultural policy changes of Turkey can be better described.

The literature (Friedmann and McMichael 1989, McMichael 1991, Llambi 1993, Moreira 1994, Araghi 2004, McMichael 2009) discussing the transformation of agriculture-food sector in relation with the world capitalist system, the concept of food regime was analyzed to explain this transformation. According to McMichael (1991:74), the concept of food regime is a relational concept to analyze the relation between food production and consumption to dominant historical forms of capital

accumulation. In Friedmann and McMichael's analysis (1989) two food regimes were described historically. First one is for the years between 1870 and 1914. Second food regime period is from 1945 to 1973. However, McMichael (2009) has reformulated the periods of food regime as first food regime (1870-1930s), second food regime (1950s to 1970s) and third food regime from 1980s to current date. The first food regime is explained by two features; first one is the ending of colonialism and second related feature is the establishment of nation-state system in world economy in political and economic terms. In this period, the national agricultural sectors were established especially in USA, Canada and Australia together with a significant and dynamic relation with industrial sectors and U.S. became the model of national economic organization. In the second regime period industrialization of agriculture was intensified and new durable foods were produced. The second food regime is characterized by two contradictory factors (McMichael, 1991:75) First is the expansion of state system of former colonies, which bring out the declining markets for tropical exports, the formation of US food aid system to decrease the agricultural food production which supplied food for lately emerging Third world working class. Secondly, the agricultural sectors were restructured transnationally by agro-food capitals. As McMichael (2009:4) clarified development project of modernization was universalized with a 'national' model of economic development in which Third World industrialization was subsidized by US in terms of ensuring their loyalty against communism. Third World countries adopted Green Revolution technologies in agriculture, internalized the US model of national agro-industrialization, implemented land reforms for peasants and expanded market relations to the country side. Third regime described by McMichael (2009:5) includes integration of new regions into animal protein chains, strengthening varied supply chains for privileged consumers of fresh fruits and vegetables and fish and increasing populations of migrants which were small farmers in the past.

Moreira (1994:93-94) and Bonanno and et. al. (1994:17-20) claimed that the current stage of globalization of agricultural related activities bring out some specific characteristics such as;

- Convergence of agriculture and industry with the expansion of food industry with transnational and multinational corporations.
- A new international division of labor regarding agriculture and food within the world capitalist system. Production is decentralized in various locations but research capacity is still concentrated in countries of the first world. Nature and quality of work is transformed through the expansion of flexible, part-time, temporary workers.
- Increasing level of interference of international agencies (mainly IMF and WB) in forms of loans, grants, technical assistance, and enforcing models of development based on structural adjustment programs.
- The increasing dependency of the family farm on industrial inputs and capitalist forms of marketing and distribution of its products.
- Increasing use of industrial inputs in food named as appropriationism with the changes in biotechnology.
- Increasing tendency in food processing to find substitutes for agricultural products which is called substitutionism and increase the global sourcing in food processing.
- Extension of capital in culture and reproduction sphere with increasing commodification of food
- New problems and social movements regarding environment

This most contemporary period (McMichael, 2009:7-8) also means the standardized processed foods and increasing costs for high quality food, together with social awareness in the issues of “Food Sovereignty, Slow Food, Community Supported Agriculture” which are based on reconnecting the health issues with food and ecological concerns. In relation with these, small-scale organic producers extended their social support with an emphasis on the issues of democracy, ecology and quality. These social visions of ecological or political origin worked against the WTO style of agricultural liberalization in current threats of energy, food and climate crises.

Moreira (1994:84) identified the transnational finance capital which is the combined name of transnational corporations and transnational banks as the main the driving force of globalization. The transnational Banks were identified mainly as; the international Banks of World Bank (WB), World Trade Organization (WTO) and

International Monetary Fund (IMF). These Banks (Moreira, 1994:93) interfere with the development policies and agricultural policies of nation-states through trade agreements on tariffs, loans and grants, technical assistance, and imposing development emphasizing export production of agricultural commodities as also Bergeron (1992) mentioned. Overall, these banks with their financial resources and capabilities set the rules of the world capitalism and specifically the restructuring of the agricultural sector at world level mostly by increasing the power and flexibility of capital at world level. According to Günaydın (2002), restricted policies of money and finance negatively affect the development rate of underdeveloped countries. Liberating prices, exchange rates and interest rates blow up the inflation ratios. Policies of free trade harm local industry and increase unemployment and contextual imprecision. International institutions such as World Bank, IMF and WTO aim to integrate countries into world trade in order to increase global economic growth. While, the aim of IMF is to assist the countries that are experiencing problems in their balance of payments, World Bank aims to facilitate investments of capital directed to production.

According to Günaydın (2002:7), “structural adjustment” programs appear in the political agenda; this means underdeveloped countries cannot continue with import substitution policies because developed countries want to guarantee the repayment of credit debts of underdeveloped countries. As Afshar & Barrientos (1998:3) stated, with reinforcing free trade and free markets, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) have increased the pace of global integration. Nation-states have implemented the SAPs with the conditional agreements of IMF and World Bank. As Bergeron claimed (2001:987), ‘funds for social services are cut and economies have been directed to export production’ and the abandonment of state-led national development policies and the adoption of a neo-liberal, export-oriented approach often marks the decline of national sovereignty’. Moreover, the author stated that as a result of neo-liberal policies, ‘national governments have abandoned their commitments to their poor and vulnerable people in order to maintain their national economic stability and in their actions they mostly placed the needs of transnational capital above all others’.

Moreover, as Günaydın (2002:7) explained, World Bank invites the debtor countries “to become small”, “to decentralize” and to give an account in front of the public. Moreover the author (2002:7-8) identified the three groups of structural adjustment policies of World Bank. First group aims to reduce expenditures, inflation and current excess of expense over income by cutting internal demand of country. The stabilization means are used to decrease the loan capacity of home country. Second group aims to lessen expenditures. The chief aim is to lead the productive resources to sectors that are subject to trade. These policies are supported by measures like liberating trade and prices, lessening flexibility of labor, abolition of subsidies directed to social welfare state. Third group of policies aim to restructure the public sector by cutting public expenses, reduction of public services and privatization resulting with World Bank’s rate of control in home country and challenges the internal organizational functioning and structuring of governments. Lastly, countries that have received loans are depended to and utilized the programs and projects of the World Bank.

As Günaydın stated (2002:8), experiencing these developments, World Bank turned to “poverty sensitive growth strategies” in 1985. Announced formally in 1985, this strategy has two stages: First stage of this growth strategy is about using poor labor force productively. It is assumed to increase income generating possibilities of poor people. Second stage aims to increase the current income level of poor people by providing social welfare services. Moreover, the author expressed that (2002:8), in the 1989 report of the World Bank, aiming to arrange the interaction between the state and the economy uses the concept of “good governance”. In this way, markets will depend on external economies, costs of operations will be decreased and “market friendly state” will provide opportunities for the development of civil society.

As the World Bank (2011) declares the new rural development principles are mentioned as;

1. Focus on poor people – poverty is a predominantly, though not exclusively, a rural phenomenon.

2. Address the entire rural area – promoting broad-based rural growth involving both farm and non-farm activities.
3. Build alliances with all stakeholders – by working in partnership with the rural poor, governments, civil society, the business community, and international organizations.
4. Address the impact of global developments in poor countries, such as trade policy, subsidies, and climate change.

In addition to previously mentioned principles, the new rural development strategy (WB, 2011) emphasizes the requirements of agricultural trade liberalization, decreases in trade-distorting agricultural subsidies; make scientific progress in agriculture especially in developing countries, and re-focusing of assistance to rural development. This strategy suggests ending open and hidden taxation of agriculture, enlarging budget allocations to rural areas, maintaining decentralized rural services and assisting rural organizations, proceeding land reform. It recognizes that agriculture is the main source of overall economic growth and poverty reduction in many poor countries and strongly advises the non-farm rural economy especially in the case of scarcity of arable land. The infrastructural, financial and social services (health, education, sanitation, and water supply) were also mentioned for support of rural poor. The management of natural resources is presented as a prerequisite for the sustainability of any rural development and poverty reduction attempt.

The structural adjustment policies in agriculture include policies such as; limiting the role of state in agricultural production by reducing the state planning and subsidies, creating new standards according to the efficiency and quality of agricultural products and making trade agreements according to these standards (through GATT agreements arranged by World Trade Organization), lessening the tariffs in agricultural products, permitting technological developments changing the agricultural production process through changes in agricultural inputs. In the process of implementation of structural adjustment policies the power relations between developed nations and underdeveloped nations and transnational institutions (WB, IMF, WTO; transnational corporations) are effective. While developed countries states continue to subsidize agricultural production through sustaining low-cost agricultural inputs, facilitating research and development facilities, enabling logistic

support, the underdeveloped countries were forced to reduce or even eliminate state subsidization policies in agriculture.

According to Özkaya (2006:37), the state subsidies in agriculture include purchasing of agricultural products by state, supplying credits with low interest rate, facilitating the research and development facilities in agricultural inputs, enabling information dissemination about agricultural production, and sustaining agricultural inputs such as; seeds, insecticides, fertilizers, implementing high tariffs for the agricultural products of other countries. Moreover, some studies (Moriera 1994 and 2002, Bonano A. Friedland W. H. and et all. 1994, Sorj and Wilkinson 1994, Craviotti 2002) show the oligopoly of transnational corporations in the sector of agricultural inputs. These transnational corporations produce and sell these agriculture inputs in one packet; seeds, fertilizers and insecticides are together in this packet since these seeds are mainly genetically modified seeds requiring its specific type of fertilizers and insecticides which are inseparable from the seed. The purchase of these inputs means much greater costs for the farmers of the underdeveloped countries. Technological developments are related with the available capital investments. The efficiency of agricultural products can be increased through the capital and technology intensive production and big landownership in developed countries. These enable sustaining low costs in agricultural production which means lower prices in the agricultural products of developed countries and trade advantages for them.

#### **2.4.4. Underdevelopment and Rural Women**

Many Marxist and socialist feminist studies explore the relation between underdevelopment and women. These studies, which belong to Women and Development approach and Gender and Development approach, question the effects of development policies and underdevelopment upon the women's socio-economic status and gender relation. Moreover, they interrogate if and how the transformation of gender relations and socio-economic status of women can be possible. In study, it is argued that the possibility of transforming the socio-economic status of rural

women in Turkey can only be analyzed with an understanding of capitalism, the conditions of underdevelopment of Turkey and patriarchal gender relations.

Socialist and Marxist feminist analysis of the relation between underdevelopment, capitalism and gender mainly focused on how gender is related to the structuring and continuing practices of capitalism. Influenced by dependency school, Marxist and socialist feminists studied on the relation of underdevelopment and gender. Mies, Bennholdt-Thomsen and Von Werlholz (1988) argued that primitive accumulation is still important for capitalist expansion and the international and national capital and the state system exploit the third world women. They describe the process as the colonization of the 'last colony' (women); women are exploited through patriarchal dominance which exercises male monopoly of violence at home and in the public space. This dominance was claimed to be implemented through 'housewifization' of women's labor through work legislation and marriage relations. They argued that the division between commodity production and reproduction of human being in capitalist economy is the main factor shaping the women's subordination in capitalist economy. Mies and her colleagues (1988) argued for a society in which women have autonomy in their lives and both men and women participate in take caring and subsistence activities. They formulated a "feminist conception of labor" and rejected constituting any relationship with the state institution. Afshar & Barrientos claimed (1998:3) that although varying effects experienced among different countries, the predominant pattern has been to place labor (men) in wage employment in the productive sectors and women still worked as unpaid family laborer in the reproductive tasks/sector.

Moghadam (2000:134-145) analyzes the changes in the relations of gender in the changes of global economy and identified some tendencies related with women's labor and gender ideology as; feminization of labor, proletarianism, professionalization, increasing employment in informal sector, increasing unemployment of women and increasing income gap between man and women.

As a more contemporary study, Acker (2004:23) argued that the separation of capitalist production and human reproduction is related to the increasing non-responsibility of corporate companies in sustaining reproduction. In order to expose

the relation between global capitalism and gender, she also argued that masculinity has played an important role in globalizing capital and gender is a resource for globalizing capital. As Acker argued the division of production from the reproduction is element of Euro-American capitalism and has enabled to a “particular/structural form of masculine dominance”. This masculinity has been the organizing principle of capitalist institutions of armies, states, bureaucracies, corporations, capital markets, labor markets, schools, law courts, transport systems. For the author (2004:24), as one of the cultural/structural forms that is embedded in the dominance of global capitalism, masculine has been identified with production in the money economy while women have been identified with reproduction and domestic work. Even this ideological framing is not valid since women are mostly “producers” and “reproducers” at the same time, the gender-coded division between production and reproduction became and fundamental standard affecting the organization of physical work and the relationships of space and time between unpaid domestic and paid work. The author also argued that this gendered organization of social life has led to the reproduction of images and ideologies enabling difference and inequality.

Acker (2004:25) utilized Elson’s (1994:40) description of the division between production and reproduction as the division between monetary productive economy and non-monetary reproductive economy. According to Elson, the monetary and non-monetary economies are interdependent in the sense that monetary economy needs a set of operations done in non-monetary social relations to organize labor power in reproductive work and non- monetary social relations can not maintain itself without a contribution of money. But macro-economic policies only take into account the monetary economy ignoring the non-monetary economy which is mostly the women’s area. The macro economic policies which are formulated according to the interests and perspectives of production, regard women’s unpaid labor as an indefinite labor force that would continue to sustain basic needs of their families and communities in times of difficult macro economic conditions (Elson 1994:42).

As Rai states (2002:81), other feminist studies following a Marxist critique of development (such as Elson 1995 and Waring 1988) claimed that different positions

of women in development processes are interrelated to the transitions of modern capitalist economies and technologies. Two areas of research is mostly investigated; firstly, the women's work and secondly, the gendered nature of structural adjustment policies of 1980s and 1990s. These studies aim to explore how structural adjustment programs affect on women's political, economic and social conditions and status in underdeveloped countries and revealed that these programs worsened the economic, political and social conditions and status of women. These studies show that with reductions in the social policies and subsidies of state in relation with structural adjustment programs, the lack of social security measurements and low wages to jobs done by women, women became one of the social groups which have the hardest living conditions. This situation is also related with the increasing power and penetration of transnational capital and its employing women as the cheapest labor. Women have been employed in lowest paid, the least secure and most flexible jobs by mostly transnational companies in underdeveloped countries. They have mostly developed their analysis on the critique of Sen to the altruistic family ideals. According to them the privatization of social welfare through SAPs have increased women's economic burden more relative to the men. These critiques have also gave risen to the development groups such as; DAWN which has proposed a strategic involvement of women's and other marginalized groups involvement in policy communities, state, international economic institutions to influence the development policies.

Bergeron claimed that (2001:1983), the globalization of production and consumption by transnational corporations (with the assistance of intergovernmental organizations such as the World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO) is characterized as a force that shapes and transforms all of the economic, political and cultural forms it encounters. Acker stated (2004:33) that multinational corporations find it profitable to be involved in production activities where labor laws and unions are weak and women workers are still attached to peasant families. For Afshar and Barrientos (1998: 4-5), abolishment of state regulations and changing production practices by large companies and transnational corporations facilitated important changes in the gender division of labor. Moreover, they (1998: 4-5) argued that deregulation of labor markets, fragmentation of production processes, de-industrialization and new

areas of export specialization has all generated an increased demand for low-paid, 'flexible' female labor.

Acker (2004:33) explains, as an important source of globalizing firms that seek out new sources of low-wage, women and children have been drawn into production for the world market and into wage labor in transnational organizations. Through outsourcing and subcontracting women of all ages are often employed in small firms, workshops or at home producing for transnational companies. Female labor is thus increasingly integrated into global production, but in a fragmented form with contradictory consequences. It is the reality that capital prefers cheap and efficient labor of women although it is gender-blind.

Socialist feminists advance an alternative explanation of Third World women's marginalization and exploitation. Their analysis focuses on the way capitalism employs preexisting patriarchal relations (systems of male domination) to accelerate capital accumulation. According to this perspective, women's oppression originates in the household, the primary locus of patriarchal relations that assign women largely to reproductive roles. Moreover women's reproductive roles condition the terms of their participation in paid production. As a result, they are relegated to insecure, poorly paid positions seen as extensions of their reproductive roles.

Marxist feminist studies in the early 1980s about rural women and development mainly examine the relation between rural women and underdevelopment. They view rural women's position in the complex relations of integration of rural areas to capitalist economic relations. They mainly discuss the inter-relationships between international, national, regional and local processes of change effected by the development of world capitalist system. They argue that the incorporation of underdeveloped regions of the world capitalism has strongly affected the sexual division of labor in underdeveloped rural regions of the world.

As an example, Bukh (1980:18-20) made a study of the women in subsistence production in Ghana. As she argued the colonization changed the social organization and relations of production through the more extensive privatization of land,

increased importance of cash income and wage labor. In the time of research, in relation to land; women have only secondary rights and only through males, combined with a tendency to conserve land resources because of an evident decline in soil fertility in the area. Women try to choose the least clearing needed land since time is women's scarcest resource together with labor. Moreover, economic activities women are engaged in are determined by the amount of cash they can invest with. Women have few opportunities to acquire capital in large amounts limiting their opportunities to make profits. Thus, they engage in farming, petty trading, processing agricultural crops, etc in a small scale within a frame of informal relations in order to carry on their role as providers of subsistence. Their limitations in gaining access to strategic resources also make them work in small amounts suffering from low productivity and low nutritional value with very restrained organized opportunities to opposition to subordination.

As a similar study, Leon and Deere (1980:21-25) explore the effects of the development of capitalism in Columbian agriculture to the rural women. Their main aim is to analyze the changes in the sexual division of labor in four rural areas of Columbia which are characterized by some form of integration of national economy to the world capitalist system either by being commercial agricultural producer or by being source of migrant labor for other areas.

Moreover, the capitalization of agriculture affected the traditional structures of lineage solidarity and the sexual division of labor. Women took more responsibilities for food crop production and gain much more central position in the survival of rural families. The division of labor by sex within household has also been distorted by introduction of cash earnings, as access to cash income became more unevenly distributed by women and men. Moreover, while men often use their cash to buy goods for themselves, the women's little money is usually used to cover household expenses. Accepting a socialist feminist approach, Beneria and Sen (1981:291) criticized Boserup for neglecting women's reproductive roles and their subordination within the household, and challenge (1981:282) the neo-classical economic underpinnings of her analysis. They argued (1981:286) that colonialism and capitalism have worked to the destruction of Third World nations. They (1981:290)

further claimed that the technological changes, population growth, and labor market discrimination, to which Boserup attributes women's marginalization, are themselves manifestations of capitalist development. In their view, the problem is not, as Boserup implies, that women are not sufficiently involved in an essentially beneficial modernization process. Instead modernization under capitalism has itself deepened women's oppression.

As Moser stated (1993), strategies for enhancing Third World women's situations reflect these theoretical assumptions about the nature of women's oppression and its links to capitalist modernization. Although different approaches for enhancing women's status hold some ideas in common, these shared understandings tend to be translated differently into practice. In order to show these differences Gallin, Aronoff, and Ferguson (1989) grouped different perspectives in two approaches: reformist and redistributive. According to their overview, advocates of reformist perspective affirms that established institutions, although currently not working in the best interests of women can be modified to do so. When they are modified, they will function to the advantage of their beneficiaries. The advocates of redistributive perspective on the other hand believe that women are disadvantaged not by "malfunctions" in the system, but by the structural features of the global economic order. The requirement for a change is broad systemic transformation in relation among nations, classes, and genders. For socialist feminists a necessary condition for the change in women's subordinate position is a socialist revolution that eliminates capitalism and removes the nation from its dependent position in the world capitalist system. A sufficient condition is the destruction of patriarchy by eliminating the gender-based division of labor in the household, at the work place, and in the political arena, and by socializing reproductive tasks so men and society generally will assume their share of this responsibility.

Enlarging her argument Acker also mentioned that "Development" in Third world countries disturbs the reproduction of daily life through the non-monetary economy as the peasant agriculture continues to be displaced by "corporate farming, cheap agricultural imports or deforestation". As Marchand and Runyan (2000) also mentioned the demands of structural adjustment programs by the International

Monetary Fund (IMF) enforce the huge decline of welfare state from social security measurements regarding reproduction and thus enlarge poverty and inequality. Thus, female unpaid labor has continued to sustain reproduction under these conditions. With these structural adjustment programs, the transnational organization of production is based on ceasing the responsibility of sustaining the reproduction of labor force in capitalist accumulation processes.

Moreover, to understand the conditions of rural women in contract farming, Applebaum and Gereffi's analysis on sub-contracting can be useful. They (1994:44) claimed: "Contracting means that the so-called manufacturer need not employ any production workers, run the risk of unionization or wages pressures or be concerned with layoffs resulting from the changes in production demands."

#### **2.4.5. Conclusion to "Underdevelopment, Agriculture and Rural Women"**

In this section of underdevelopment, this study tries to explore firstly the general discussions of development theory, secondly how underdevelopment affect the agriculture and food sector of underdeveloped countries and thirdly how it affect the conditions and socio-economic position and status of women. In the sub-section of "Development Theories in General", the main arguments of modernization theory, dependency theory and world system theory were explained.

In the sub-section of "Underdevelopment and Agriculture", firstly the historical transformation of agriculture and food sector was discussed through using the relational concept of "Food Regime". "Food Regime" is analytically used by scholars such as; McMichael and Friedman to explain historical forms of capital accumulation in relation with food production and consumption. It is argued in this study that agricultural sector and industry has converged because of several factors. These factors could be mentioned as; the increasing dependency of family farms on industrial inputs and capitalist forms of marketing and distribution of its products, increasing usage of industrial inputs in food products (appropriationism), increasing tendency in food processing to find substitutes for agricultural products, increasing level of interference of international Agencies such as IMF and WB to agricultural

sectors of underdeveloped countries through loans, grants, technical assistance and structural adjustment programs.

In this sub-section, secondly, the conditions of agricultural sector in underdeveloped nations were discussed. Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) has enforced underdeveloped countries to give up import substitution development policies and develop free trade and free markets, reduce public expenditures for social services, poor people and rural households. Together with SAPs, policies have in agriculture such as; limiting the role of state in agricultural production by reducing state planning and subsidies, creating new standards to increase the efficiency in agricultural products, making trade agreements according to these standards (determined by GATT agreements prepared by World Trade Organization), lessening the tariffs in agricultural products, permitting technological developments through new agricultural inputs were implemented. It is important to note that these policies for underdeveloped countries increased the gap between underdeveloped countries and developed countries since the developed states continue to subsidize agricultural production, facilitating research and development facilities, enabling logistic support, etc...

As the last sub-section, “Underdevelopment and Rural Women”, the general way how underdevelopment affect rural women’s socio-economic conditions, position and status was discussed. It was mainly argued women are negatively affected by the conditions of underdevelopment and global capitalism since they have been employed in the least paid and least secure kind of occupations, are the first to be fired in times of crises, less paid than the men with same occupation status, are mostly the members of family doing the caring and reproductive work without any payment.

Moreover, it is significant that women’s reproductive and non-monetary labor is necessary for sustaining the lives of their families and the capitalist system but viewed as secondary because of its non-monetary character. This argument is mostly important in this study in the sense that rural women are mostly non-paid family labor in agricultural sector in Turkey. It is discussed in the previous sub-section that

the conditions of women in agricultural subsistence production in Ghana and Columbia or other agricultural communities were worsened with the more intense integration of capitalist food production and technological developments in agricultural production. While the rural women's work load have increased with the additional income gathering activities which became necessary for the survival of the family household, their monetary gain or share in the resources of the family have not been increased. Thus, women's unpaid labor and poorly paid labor in insecure occupations have continued to sustain reproduction under worsened economic conditions. It is important to view the effects of these conditions of underdevelopment in Turkish rural women which will be tried to be analyzed in the fourth and fifth chapters.

## **2.5. Rural Development, Agriculture and Rural Women**

### **2.5.1. Introduction to Rural Development, Agriculture and Rural Women**

In this section, the aim is to explore on the concept of "rural development", in relation with its historical transformation, agricultural sector and the socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women within the rural development in a way which will clarify the background global context of rural development and agricultural policies and the rural women's position in these policies. To reach this aim, firstly the general context and historical transformation of rural development policies will be described in the next sub-section. Secondly, in the sub-section "Rural development and Agriculture", the most recent rural development paradigm and its characteristics, sustainable development, rural development paradigm of EU, community development in relation with agricultural cooperatives will be discussed. The important characteristics of the current paradigm such as; farming economically and pluriactivity will be discussed under the title of "New Rural Development Paradigm".

Thirdly, in the sub-section "Rural Development and Rural Women", the role and position of rural women in rural development policies will be problematized. The main issue is about the rural women's labor and its exploitation in new and intense

ways in rural development policy, program and projects as family labor that works to ensure to sustain the livelihood of family members. These policy, programs and projects mostly assign women additional work load in the form of income generating pluriactivity farming. The kind and type of this additional work load could change from locality to locality and sometimes could be industrial informal labor. Mostly these additional income generating activities are poorly paid and not secure. As a sub-section of this sub-section; rural women's cooperatives role and position in rural development and its affects on conditions of rural women's empowerment will be discussed. A model for analyzing the conditions and potential of rural women's empowerment will be suggested. In this model, social, political, psychological, organizational and economic dimensions of rural women's empowerment will be suggested as analytical concepts to explore on the conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment. This model was adopted from the models of Friedman (1992), Lennie (2002) and Allahdadi (2011).

### **2.5.2. Rural Development and Its General Context**

In this study, the concept of rural development is not only a theoretical concept but also it is a concept implying political execution and policy content. Because the intention of achieving rural development is normatively justified by ideological statements which could be based on the ideologies such as; progressivism, modernism, westernism, nationalism, leftism, Marxism, etc... These ideologies have been historically interrelated with the ideology of development and with the theories of development. While the ideology of development was founded by the modernization theory and in relation with the ideologies of progressivism, modernism, westernism, nationalism, it was criticized by dependency school and world system theory and become an interesting and controversial subject for Marxism and leftism. Thus, it can be stated that the theoretical standpoints regarding development are historically founded in relation with the political ideologies; each political ideology has its specific discourse about development and formulate its own development ideology.

As Martinussen (1998), Sen (1988), Hobbs (1980) mentioned, “rural development” is not a value-free, objective/ scientific concept in the sense that its aims, strategies, success criteria and indications are subject to change to various factors such as; the characteristics of the targeted group, political preferences of the policy makers, time and space. Hobbs used the concept “frame of reference” to identify the ideological construction of developmentalism and claims that the “frame of reference for rural development” (1980:13) should be firstly identified as policy oriented whether or not it is intended; secondly should be related with a larger frame of reference of development and a world system; thirdly should acknowledge the prevailing inconsistencies and conflicts; fourthly, should give importance to the examination of the social, economic and political outcomes of economic change and fifthly should give importance to the methods and procedures by which development goals are chosen and attained.

As it was stated in the previous chapter, from Second World War (1945) to the end of 1960s, the modernization theory and its economic assumptions were mainstream ideology of the development thought. In 1970s, Marxist dependency school and World System theory has criticized modernist development theory strongly. After 1980s, postmodern theoretical assumptions in development theory became also influential. Afterwards, more local and time and space specific understanding of rural development has started to be suggested together with the emphasis on participatory approaches in rural development policies and programs.

Moreover, another significant task regarding the new rural development paradigm is clarifying the differences between underdeveloped and developed nations in formulating and implementing new development paradigm. The new development paradigm, and thus contemporary discourse and ideology for rural and agricultural development are shaped under the influence of global institutions such as World Bank, United Nations, IMF, European Union, World Trade Organization (WTO), multinational firms and nation-states. As mentioned in the previous section of the chapter the new rural development paradigm presents different paths to the developed nations and to the underdeveloped nations.

In relation with these general theoretical and political influences in development thought, rural development approaches, policies and programs at the international and national level has been transformed from 1960s to 2000s. ODI (2002) summarized the historical changes from 1960 to 1990 in rural development approaches and policies in relation with state and market and in relation with productive and social sectors. While in 1960s, rural development was associated with Green revolution, large scale investment in infrastructure, research and new technologies, in 1970s, social investments to integrated rural development programs increased. In controversy, in 1980s, the structural adjustment programs of IMF have started and public sector institutions were privatized and public budgets for social programs were decreased. In the 1990s, there is increasing interest in rural poverty emphasizing sustaining rural livelihoods with a more balanced viewpoint. These changes were also characterized by Giray, Akin, Gün (2004:1) as; modernization in 1960s, state interventions in 1970s, market liberalization in 1980s and participation and empowerment in 1990s. Ellis and Biggs' (2001) article has presented the major changes in rural development thinking within a timeline from 1950s to 2000s. They emphasized the co-existence of different rural development approaches in a specific time period and presented dominant and subsidiary themes in specific time periods of ten years. They also argued that rural development ideas that have first emerged in one decade achieve more strength in the following decade affecting rural development practice at the extended plane in ten or fifteen years afterwards their first appearance (Ellis and Biggs, 2001:2).

They (Ellis and Biggs, 2001:3) recognized the time periods of 1950 to 1970, 1960 to 1980, 1970 to 1990, 1980 to 2000, 1990 to 2010 and from 2000 to future to describe changes in of rural development policies. These periods could be listed as follows:

1950 to 1970: modernization, dual economy model, backward agriculture, community development and lazy peasants

1960 to 1980: with transformation approach, technology transfer, mechanization, agricultural extension, growth role of agriculture, start of green revolution, rational peasants

1970 to 1990: redistribution with growth, basic needs, integrated rural development, state agricultural policies, state-led credit, urban bias, induced innovation, green revolution (continued), rural growth linkages

1980 to 2000: structural adjustment, free markets, 'getting prices right', retreat of the state, rise of NGOs, rapid rural appraisal (RRA), farming systems research (FSR), food security and famine analysis, rural development as process not product, women in development (WID), poverty alleviation  
1990 to 2010: micro credit, participatory rural appraisal (PRA), actor-oriented rural development, stakeholder analysis, gender and development (GAD), environment and sustainability, poverty reduction  
2000 to future: sustainable livelihoods, good governance, decentralization, critique of participation, sector wide approaches, social protection and poverty eradication

The relation between the development theories and their respective views about rural development can be inferred from their proposed solutions and economic models for development in rural areas. The modern rural development paradigm which was most effective in especially postwar period (1945-1980) claimed that nation states should modernize and develop their rural areas through technological improvements (increased mechanization, and increased use of purchased biochemical inputs) and with a trend toward large scale specialized agricultural production. The aim of the rural development is to produce the maximum amount of agricultural production with the maximum efficiency which requires the highest technological advances together with large landownership which would in the end transform the small scale, not fully commoditized farms to industrial farms and the farmers to either industrial farmers or workers. This model also presupposed that underdeveloped countries develop themselves by increasing their agricultural production, and thus exporting agricultural products to the outside world. Thus, rural development was more characterized by agricultural development, efficient agricultural production till 1980s. However, this model could not create the expected consequences since the nation states' of developed countries has started to face balance of payments problems and budget deficits and dependency to multinational capital and decreases in the sustainability of rural production together with environmental problems by 1980s.

This modern rural development model was also applied in industrialized and/ or developed countries. Buttel (1980:45) explains that U.S. agriculture and its food system exhibited five principal structural changes during recent decades. 1- a trend toward large scale, specialized farm production units 2- increased mechanization 3-

increased use of purchased biochemical inputs 4- a trend toward regional specialization of production 5- an increased level of food processing and interregional marketing. Moreover, as the author claimed these trends seem to be interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

As a critique of modernist rural development approach, Hobbs contended that the concept of efficiency (1980:15) has been accepted unarguably as the foundation of development policy and implementation. More importantly, the efficiency of agriculture has been the primary aim of agriculture policies which were designed to achieve rural development. In order to achieve greater efficiency, technological and economic changes were have been encouraged which bring a dramatic restructuring of rural communities and institutions together with agriculture. Regarding to the rural development policies, another important concept is the interdependency. As the author argues while the development process is promised to increase the interdependency of the rural areas and agricultural structure to the outside world, the process has increased the dependency of agricultural structure and rural institutions to the global economic structure. Thus, as an important result of the technological and economic changes in the agriculture, the rural areas become more externally depended and dominated. The author also expressed that the concepts of growth and education has been important in the discourse of development.

Hobbs (1980) analyzed the concepts of inequality, efficiency, dependency, growth and knowledge in the context of development ideology and policies. He argued that (1980:13) the “ideology and implementation of development has been reliably and dependably productive of, and/or preservative of, inequality both domestically and internationally.” He also claims that this inequality is structurally produced and persistent in a process by which the gains of economic development is captured within the prevailing socioeconomic system by the possessors of wealth and power rather than causing in a more equalitarian redistribution of wealth and power together with the reorganization of the socioeconomic structure.

Since the ideological and normative character of the concept of rural development was recognized by the scholars and underdeveloped countries, a redefinition and re-

conceptualization of the rural development was emphasized by development thinkers. The issues of inequality, poverty and unemployment became important in relation with the rural development policies and programs. Thus, rural development policies were requested to include policies that will include rural populations' access to health, education, infrastructure, security services, and employment opportunities and an adequate income for basic needs. More importantly, these new definitions of rural development calls for a participatory, gender balanced and accountable rural development policies, programs and projects.

The redefinition of the concept of rural development (Saltık and Açıklın, 2008: 151) also have included more localized, time and space specific understanding of development based on the principals of participation, locality, cultural pluralism, ecological sustainability, rational usage of natural resources, human development, organization, participatory observation and evaluation, capacity building, social capital, governance, NGOs, community organization, social responsibility projects of private companies.

Contemporary critics of modernist approach emphasized the importance of participatory approaches and claim that rural development should be considered as a strategy and a process which is managed by the actors of rural development in a dynamic relation which was also conceptualized as governance. Saltık and Açıklın (2008:151) defined governance as “participatory and transparent governance”, which was defined as a process sustaining constructive interaction among state, private companies and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). The participatory approach in development firstly, includes the participation of NGOs or voluntary organizations to the development process and their active involvement and participation in the policy making process at local, national and even international level. This involvement means struggles and bargaining over rural development policies and priorities and partnerships with local administrations, central government institutions, international donor institutions, organizations and private companies. In order to fully comprehend the rural development issue, it is important to note that rural development has been subject to power struggles at the level of implementation in local rural projects. Several actors; such as local experts, related

non-governmental organizations, local business environment, state, the funding institutions and peasants and other benefitting groups named as stakeholders have their own political, social and economic priorities and agendas. Thus, the process of implying rural development projects includes conflict and power and class relations.

Governance was seen as tool for both struggling poverty and sustainability of development which is based on the actions of these three mentioned actors of state, private sector and NGOs. In this understanding, while the state is responsible for preparing the appropriate legal and administrative environment for national development, private sector is producing goods and services, creating employment opportunities and developing entrepreneurship and individual capacity building. However, with the influence of neo-liberal economic policies after 1980s, the government and state organizations are mostly working for sustaining the appropriate environment for multinational capital rather than for national development agenda. In this classification, the NGOs, are democratic civil organizations working for social and community interests. Some of their functions could be recognized as; increasing awareness to social issues, protecting natural environment, improving the socio-economic position and status of disadvantaged groups (such as, women and children), contributing to the improvement of the environment of national development policy. However, their success in these goals are effected by several conditions such as; the socio-cultural, macro economic, and political context in which they work in, their organization structure, ideologies and resources, the structure and design of their programs/projects and the characteristics of the targeted local area and local groups (Saltık, Açıklın, 2008:152).

The contemporary critics of modernist approach have also mentioned participation in terms of sustaining the active agency of the targeted, disadvantaged groups at specific localities in development programs and projects (Dağ, 2007; Gülçubuk, 2006; Saltık and Açıklın, 2008). Chambers (1983) problematized the dynamic relationship of the actors of development in relation with the programs against rural poverty. He identified the cultures of two outsider groups viewing and preparing these programs/projects and the culture of rural people. He mentioned (1983: 30- 35) that rural poverty is tried to be handled by two groups of outsiders namely, the

negative academics who try to analyze it and positive practitioners who act on it. “Negative Academics” were described as the pessimistic investigators of the rural development programs who recognize the deficiencies of these programs. The positive practitioners, on the other hand, are government officers in headquarters and the field, technical researchers, the staff of voluntary agencies, and personnel of donor organizations who apply the programs and projects who are responsible for allocation of resources and choosing the type of action in the field. There are certain problems regarding their positive attitude mentioned by the author such as; the exaggeration of the targeted aims by the participants, their being subject to evaluation of sponsors and thus not being open to criticism, their objectives are often narrow and their estimates could be over optimistic. For him (1983:46), “The third culture, of the rural people of a particular place, is true center of attention and of learning.” Thus, the best strategy to better comprehend rural poverty and to decide on what to do, outsiders (the previously mentioned groups of negative academics and positive practitioners) have to see things from the point of view of the rural people.

This understanding of taking the rural poor at the center of rural development programs has gained support from academics and practitioners in a time of neo-liberal policies reducing the state budgets for social programs and disadvantaged groups and communities in 1980s. The participatory approaches calling for centering the targeted groups point of view, have presented an alternative development understanding to the modernist, top-down, technology focused approach. However, in 1990s, the participatory approaches were in danger of being integrated in to the mainstream neo-liberal policies with participation being reduced to a tool of development (Cooke and Kothari 2001). As a critique of participatory approaches, Spittler (1984) argued that rural development projects are having administrative framework in which the political conflicts regarding the policy measures are evident. The interaction between the peasants and the administrative parties are based on power relations and thus the interests of all the parties should be analyzed to understand the process of implying development projects. The author also mentioned that there is no big difference with new development projects which were claimed to be structured from below and the projects strictly planned from administrative centers since both of them were based on the thoughts and ideals of the development

planners. Thus, other questions related with how participatory approach has been constructed in specific programs/projects became important in analyzing the quality and characteristics of participation in a specific project (Saltık and Açıklım, 2008:153-157).

As more recent comment McAreavey (2006), gives importance to the unknown and understated processes of rural development projects which include trust, power, and perceptions and motivations. The author argued that power strategies are exercised within the framework of norms of decision making and agenda setting. Thus, the process of decision making and agenda setting include the power relations. The author differentiates between positive and negative policy environment which will either enable achieving rural development goals progressively or fail to achieve development goals. The author also claimed that “from a policy point of view micro-politics is often an unintended consequence- it is not something that policy makers and funders can readily measure”.

In relation with the previously mentioned historical change in the arguments and central themes of rural development, from 1990s onwards, the mainstream rural development paradigm has changed. As some of the thinkers who analyze this change, Van Der Ploeg and Renting (2000:530), claimed that the “new” rural development paradigm has shifted dramatically away from the modern paradigm (established schemes, patterns and relations between the years 1960 and 1990) which required highly specialized agricultural labor process. According to the authors, the old system farm was not including non-agricultural activities and more and more amount of agricultural tasks were supplied from outside agencies such as; agro-industries and other specialized agencies which make the farmer reasonably “isolated person”. In this “new” rural development paradigm, the transformation and restructuring of agriculture is to be maintained through the decreasing importance of agriculture as an income generating activity in the rural area and become one of the economic activities conducted in the rural households. Moreover, agricultural production, in itself became more multi-task activity.

In accordance with this understanding, the rural development policies and programs and projects were started to be localized in specific rural regions/areas which are characterized by their area specific agricultural and non-agricultural products, potentials for rural tourism and other income gathering activities and some kind of market value. These policies will be identified in the Turkey case in the fourth chapter of this study. Turkey has made use of OECD (2010: 1-3) regional typology of rural areas based on population intensity. The areas whose population density is below 150 inhabitants per square kilometer are rural areas. Another parameter is the percentage of population living in rural local units. If the percentage of population living in rural local units is below 15%, it is predominantly urban area. If it is between 15% and 50%, it is intermediate. If it is more than 50%, then it is predominantly rural area. Moreover, at a third level the existence of an urban center in the area, can change its classification. According to OECD (2010:3)

A region classified as predominantly rural by steps 1 and 2 becomes intermediate if it contains an urban centre of more than 200 000 inhabitants representing at least 25% of the regional population. A region classified as intermediate by steps 1 and 2 becomes predominantly urban if it contains an urban centre of more than 500 000 inhabitants representing at least 25% of the regional population.

The “new” development paradigm which has been clarified in the rural development literature is consistent with the EU’s rural and agricultural development program named as Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) which was reformed in 1999 and in 2003. It can be said that global economic restructuring and the extension of multinational capital to agriculture; the pressures to orient agricultural production according to consumer demands influenced both the developed nations and underdeveloped nations. However, while EU implement the new development paradigm in a way supporting small land owners with pluriactivity, intensification of agricultural production with region-specific, high quality products, agri-tourism, organic farming etc..., the underdeveloped countries could not support their farmers in again using these policies because of their characteristics in relation with being an underdeveloped country. The policy changes that Turkey has been going through rural development policy in coordination with EU rural development policy will be analyzed in detail in the fourth chapter. In the next section, rural development will be

analyzed in relation with agriculture firstly and then it will be analyzed in relation with the socio-economic position and problems of rural women.

### **2.5.3. Rural Development and Agriculture**

In this section, the characteristics of the dominant rural development paradigm which has been formulated in accordance to the general neo-liberal policies at the world level will be discussed. The characteristics of the rural development paradigm and its policy implications are described in the literature in its ideal form to be implemented mainly in the European countries. It is questionable whether these policies could be applied to underdeveloped countries like Turkey as described in the literature. “New Rural Development Paradigm” is a major shift from modern rural development paradigm in the sense that it includes more intense extension of multinational capital to the rural areas with new standards in agricultural products enforcing the neo-liberal economic policies to the underdeveloped world. In this section of rural development and agriculture, firstly, the new rural development paradigm, secondly sustainable development, thirdly rural development paradigm of EU and fourthly rural development and agricultural development cooperatives will be discussed.

#### **2.5.3.1 “New Rural Development Paradigm”**

The new rural development paradigm could be clarified as the dominant rural development paradigm after 1980s which is in accordance with the neo-liberal economic policies and transformation of the general modernist development paradigm with the influence of postmodern development theory. The authors (Van Der Ploeg, Renting, Brunori, et al 2000) who analyse the changes in the dominant rural development paradigm, mainly analyse this paradigm in relation with its idealized characteristics.

Van Der Ploeg, Renting, Brunori, et al (2000) claim that there is a new rural development paradigm which is a “multi-level, multi-actor and multi-faceted process”. Their main claim is that new rural development paradigm emerged because the (2000:395) “modernization paradigm has reached its intellectual and practical

limits". In exploring this view they identified seven main levels of the paradigm. First is that there is global interrelations between agriculture and society. This implies both the changes in the needs and expectations (such as; rural tourism, organic agriculture production, natural values etc...) of society regarding agricultural productions and rural areas, and tendency of agricultural sector to be restructured according to those needs and expectations. Also, it means the global rural development policies were influenced by general economic trends such as; flexibility, specialization and giving up economies of scale and vertical integration. This characteristic is about the extension of capitalism and capitalist relations to rural areas and agriculture through both increasing commercialization of agricultural products and unique cultural and environmental characteristics of rural areas different from the urban environment.

As a second level, the Van Der Ploeg, Renting, Brunori, et al (2000:396) claimed that rural development paradigm constitute a new development model for agricultural sector. They also state that until the early 1990s, the development in agriculture was accepted mostly as "scale-enlargement, intensification, specialization and a strong trend towards industrialization" while the new development paradigm was more focused on the concept of "synergy" which is defined as an essential, strategic factor generating cohesion between activities, not only at farm level but also between different farms or farms and other rural activities". Thirdly, the authors (2000:396) claimed that rural development appears as "a redefinition of identities, strategies, practices, interrelations and networks and can be "operationalized at the level of individual farm". Fourthly, the rural development should be redefined at the level of countryside in relation with its economic activities because of the declining importance of agricultural activities and increasing concentration of non-agricultural economic activities such as; rural tourism, nature and landscape conservation. They also claimed that this would require new forms and means for "co-ordination and conflict management" since new forms of farm-based rural development activities combine and different actors struggle for access to opportunities and resources. Fifthly, they described (2000:396) the policy making process as a multi-actor process in which different institutions which has different policies, programs, regulations, etc... Thus, to understand the different policies and programs, it becomes necessary

to acknowledge “the correspondence between different policies and programs, the synergy between them, and specific regional constellations, and finally the effects of particular institutional settings on the process involved in rural development”. As the last level, they identified the new rural development paradigm as being multi-faceted which includes a wide range of different and sometimes interconnected practices such as; “landscape management, the conservation of new nature values, agri-tourism, organic farming, and the production of high quality and region specific products.”

Their study has achieved describing the new rural development paradigm in an abstract level. Their analysis and description of the new development paradigm can be criticized with their lack of considering the differences in the implementation and process of the rural development policies, and programs between developed nations and underdeveloped nations. This can be seen especially in their discussion about the centrality of agriculture in rural development, they claim that in the new paradigm it is necessary to redefine the role of the farmer. In the new paradigm, farmers are less dependent on the markets for external input by giving importance to internal resource flows and by trying to reduce costs through limiting the purchase of external-inputs. Moreover, they try to improve new productive activities using their own (revalued) resources and formulate new types of farmers’ co-operation or pluriactivity on the bases of new, non-commodity circuits. In this way, the farmers protect themselves against the demands of globalizing agricultural market. Interestingly, the farmer who tries to lessen his/her expenditures in inputs through home made resources and uncommoditized family labor is typically the petty commodity producer of the underdeveloped countries like Turkey. It is problematic in the sense that the petty commodity producers of the underdeveloped countries like Turkey face the reduction in the agricultural sector subsidies of the nation states together with the extension of multinational capital in the form of agricultural inputs supplier or the boss of contract farming. The authors (2000:398) described the conditions of the farmer in the modern paradigm. This farmer is supposed to specialize in some products, enhance the scale of his production and merge this with intensified production and adjust the farm to integrate to the market through using inputs. In practice, all this process would enlarge the degree of commoditization in underdeveloped countries such as

Turkey and thus, outputs would become more and more dependent on specific input markets. For this kind of farming to emerge in underdeveloped countries such as Turkey; continuous and actively involved state subsidies and technical and agricultural trainings for farmers is needed.

Van Der Ploeg and Renting (2000:530) claim that there is a new rural development paradigm which characterizes a major breakthrough in the patterns of modern development paradigm. The new model shows a re-integration of tasks and activities that were externalized in the past, and the creation of multi-product farms in cases where farms had become oriented towards the production of just one commodity. According to these authors rural development also incorporates changing roles and patterns within the farm.

Moreover, Van Der Ploeg and Renting (2000:530) mentioned the lessening of the boundaries between different sectors of economy within European society. The service sectors have been growing rapidly and, as agriculture and industry reduce in size. Moreover, through rural development, the agricultural sector is passing those narrow, often self-imposed boundaries constructed during the modernization period. However, they claimed that new development paradigm does not only imply that rural development is only about inserting new activities, tasks and identities to established situations. The 'addition' of a new activity, whether it is farm butchery, agri-tourist accommodation, or an off-farm job means a reorganization of pre-existing social relations. So, rural development means a radical extensive and multi-level transformation in these processes that were realized during the modernization period. All this discussion is parallel with the merging of agriculture and food sector at global level which was discussed in the previous sub-section of underdevelopment and agriculture. It seems that rural development approaches were reformed in accordance with/ adopted to the general merging of agriculture and food sector and changes in global agriculture and food markets. Moreover, in this paradigm, rural development is about creating new networks, new dialogues and sometimes new institutional arrangements. As it will be viewed in the sub-section of fourth chapter regarding Turkish rural development policy, new actors for rural development and agricultural production in the form of private companies, NGOs and public

organizations are to be founded and regulated with the restructuring of rural development and agricultural policies of underdeveloped countries such as Turkey. The changes in the social division of labor around and within agriculture is, only one of the dimensions which present the different characteristics of rural development. Other dimensions which need to be expressed involve the change from economics of scale towards economics of scope and the expansion of reactions to the cost-price squeeze, the rediscovery and reintegration of agro-ecological principles in the core farming and the relocalization of production-consumption patterns.

Van Der Ploeg and Renting (2000:531) also claimed that farmers have primary role in the development of paradigm. The identified three factors why farmers have a central role in the new rural development paradigm are:

1. They argued that since the farmers have the ownership of land, space, craftsmanship, buildings, animals, products, and they have the capacity to recombine and reconfigure the resources at their disposal.
2. They stated that increasing number of farm families is recognizing the practical inconvenience of the modernization paradigm for the specific conditions of their farms. In this argument, rural women especially became important in the development of this “consciousness”.
3. They claimed that being involved in the constitution of rural development project increases work satisfaction for many farmers. Breaking out of established patterns of labor division, escaping the isolation that ‘modernized’ farm work includes, and using skills and craftsmanship in new ways that are positively valued provide considerable satisfaction. In addition, some research findings show pride, pleasure and satisfaction are the most important elements perpetuating rural development initiatives especially for women.

Van Der Ploeg and Renting (2000:538) claim that great number of the farms are virtually embedded in and reproduced in the process of rural development projects. It is this embeddedness that enables the opportunities of employment and income generation. The same embeddedness makes clear that there is no clear separation between agriculture on the one hand and rural development on the other. The two are interrelated. Rural development activities and networks, relations, and practices the farmers are involved in construct the (new) social relations of production that form the production process on the farm. At the time being, the value produced is re-disseminated. They claim that conventional markets, market agencies at least

partially are reinforced to abandon their significance as social relations of production. And thus, the newly evolving rural enterprises are more and more protected against squeezes of the markets for classical commodities. The author also declares that agri-tourism, organic farming, nature conservation schemes and care farms are new development practices in the new paradigm. Their claims about increasing the rural people's satisfaction in rural work together with decreasing significance of marketing agencies of the agricultural production and lessening of the squeeze of the markets in the "new development" paradigm is not valid for the underdeveloped countries like Turkey since farmers of these countries have not the means to commercialize their small sized agricultural household production with adding new products or marketing unique characteristics of their rural environment. In this new paradigm, mainly the farming economically and pluriactivity are stated mainly as the new development strategies. These strategies have been started to be implemented in Turkish rural development policies with the projects within the process of integration to EU which will be described in detail in the fourth chapter.

#### **2.5.3.1.1 "Farming Economically" in New Rural Development Paradigm**

Van Der Ploeg (2000:499) defined farming economically as a strategy to contain monetary costs as far as investments and loans and expenditure on external inputs are concerned. Farming economically is then seen as 'low-external-input-agriculture' together with the mobilization, use and development and reproduction of internal resources. According to the Van Der Ploeg, it provides farming styles with a way of countering the increasingly threatening situation of limited quotas, decreasing prices, the high cost of land and quota, and the obligation to farm in a more environmentally sound way. Thus, it is a significant alternative to accelerated increase in scale. He mentioned three characteristics of economic farming; first is that the overall degree of commoditization is low, second is that the technical efficiency is high due to the centrality of both the quantity and quality of labor. Third is that the socio-technical networks through which resources are mobilized contrast with markets as they are primarily based on non-commoditized relations. The author (2000:501) compared farming economically with modernized farming with thirteen items in a table.

**Table 2: Comparing Farming Economically and Modernized Farming**

<b>Farming Economically</b>	<b>Modernized Farming</b>
sustain and/ or improve income levels by developing and recombining self controlled resources	economically sustain and/ or improve income levels new resources and are mobilized through markets
flexible and multiple use of resources	Resource use and allocation is highly rigid
have step by step development of proportional nature built on internal resources	modern farming have continuous scale increase of disproportional nature dependent upon external resources
high level of surplus per unit of end-product	low level of surplus per unit end-product
tendency towards multi-purpose enterprise	high level of specialization.
local innovativeness	dependent on availability of new technologies
step-by step changes, learning by doing	pattern of 'turn-key' projects
centrality of labor and networks	dominant technological trajectory and institutions
off-farm prices may be object to change, active construction of markets	off farm prices and markets are 'fixed' and to be passively followed
low level of external inputs, low financial costs	labor is replaced by inputs and new technologies
sustainability (to be) grounded on local innovativeness, centrality of labor and networks and low level of external inputs	sustainability (to be) grounded on pattern of 'turn-key' projects and dominant technological trajectory and institutions.
farming is reconnected to local ecosystem	farming is disconnected from local ecosystem
relatively small resource basis needed to generated acceptable income level.	relatively large resource basis needed to generate acceptable income.

Source : Van D. Van der Ploeg (2000:501)

The discussions about farming economically does not consider the problems of the small commodity producers of the non-developed nations in the sense that these farmers are forced to compete with the farmers of the developed nations at the world level with standards particularly decided by GATT agreement on agricultural products, decreased subsidies for agricultural products from state sources and with price squeezes of markets when using agricultural inputs and marketing their agricultural products in cheap prices to compete at international level.

#### **2.5.3.1.2. "Pluriactivity" in New Rural Development Paradigm**

The pluriactivity had been seen as transitory phenomenon in European agriculture until to the early 1970s, but then their proportion in total agricultural production has not been decreased but increased till to the 2000s. Due to this fact and due to the global economic restructuring effecting agricultural and rural production schemes, it has been started to be viewed as a development strategy and a part of new development paradigm. The authors who are opponent of a new development paradigm have viewed pluriactivity a strategy which will increase the efficiency of part-time farmers and enlarge the conditions for rural development. For some other

authors, pluriactivity has been as an economic survival strategy for farmers in Europe which can be described as combining farming with other income generating activities.

In 1980s, part time farming had been discussed in relation with the development goals of the time. Cawley (1983) discussed the arguments about the part time farming in relation with the development goals of the modern rural development paradigm with presenting the findings of a case study of part time farming in Western Ireland. The author concluded that part time farming is both a resource and a problem in rural development since it increases the living standards of the farmers but decrease the level of efficiency. As the author argued the income from the off-farm activities provide the possibility to continue living in the countryside, it creates low levels of land use intensity and low level of mechanization.

Similarly, Karasovec (1983) discussed part-time farming in relation with the development goals. Karasovic (1983:15) mentioned the advantages of part-time farming as follows:

1. Higher productivity per hectare and better land use; no idle land.
2. More efficient use of family labor and of under employed and surplus labor, including elderly people and female members of the family.
3. More employment in the region with less capital invested, thanks to relatively cheap housing and home produced food.
4. A general increase in buying power, despite lower wages, due to higher employment
5. Better participation of part time farmers and their families in social, cultural and political activities as a result of increased leisure.

The mentioned disadvantage is that less land is available for enlarging the holdings of full time farmers. The Karasovec claimed (1983:16) that for the successful reorganization of part time farming certain conditions are needed: Firstly an appropriate education and extension services, secondly a suitable marketing organization and thirdly development of small equipment suitable for part time farms, and fourthly, credit for organization is needed. More importantly, the author argued that it is important to differentiate the applications of part time farming in underdeveloped economies and developed economies. In the first case, the level of income in agriculture and in industry is low and part time farmers suffer from

excessively long hours of work time and maintain old-peasant style mixed farming systems. However, in the second case, the infrastructure is developed and part time farmers are modernized, have reasonable working hours. The author also (1983:16) mentioned that in the part time farming system, “an appropriate education and extension of services, a suitable marketing organization, development of small equipment suitable for part time farms and credit for reorganization” is needed.

Another author Persson (1983) questions the position of part time farming in Sweden; asks if it is a corner stone for development or an obstacle for it. The author stated that part time farming increased the available income generating opportunities, integrated the links between rural and urban areas with improving marginal rural resources. However, the author also claimed that it can be an obstacle to the growth of full time farms in some agricultural districts which would lessen the level of efficiency compared to industrial farming with big land ownership with mechanization.

As Kinsella, Wilson, de Jong and Renting explained (2000:481), pluriactivity has appeared in the research agenda of Europe in the late 1970s and has been viewed as a structural phenomenon of late industrial society. Moreover, there is continuous debate questioning whether they can be stated as a rural development strategy. The authors mentioned there are certain criteria to analyze their place in rural development. First is related with the efficiency problem; it is controversial whether the agricultural production is more efficient with the less use of technical inputs and thus low- level of investments, second criteria is whether the rural areas would develop with health and education and social facilities due to the non-agricultural income generating activities in the farms, third criteria is the problem of employment and income; it is controversial whether the pluriactivity in farming can bring more employment opportunities to rural areas. And fourth criteria is whether pluriactivity can be stated as an attempt of farm households to secure and revalorize their resources and continue farming with more social and economic security.

Kinselle and et all (2000:483) defined pluriactivity with its relevance to rural livelihood framework. For them not only the interplay between human, physical

natural and social rural resources but also the wider economic, political and technological climate in which they are placed is important. The role of government, private and community bodies within this framework is seen as either supporting or preventing the process of transforming “livelihood assets” into livelihood strategies. The livelihood assets are defined as; physical infrastructure, financial resources, human capabilities, social networks and natural and political capital. These assets are supposed to be transformed into strategies and outcomes through the support and influence of formal public, private and community institutions and less formal social networks in the process of development. Strategies and outcomes include full-time conventional farming, diversifying the farm enterprise, moving out of farming and taking up employment in another sector or combining farm and off-farm employment. The results of this process are reflected in the standard of living and quality of life of individual farm households. The amount of household assets that can be converted into desired outcomes will determine whether or not people choose to live from countryside. Policy measures that have an impact on agriculture as well as infrastructure and services strongly affect the way these assets are transformed.

Kinsella and et al.. (2000) also mentioned that the relation of pluriactivity and rural development is a controversial issue which forms a part of the question of new model for rural development. For some authors, pluriactivity indicates a movement away from farming and is an obstacle to the creation of feasible farm structures. From another perspective, pluriactivity emerges as a factor that keeps people on the land, helps put a brake on the decline in the farm numbers and at the same time, strengthens the basis for social services. Within this view, pluriactivity, is seen as a source of creative innovations that increase the strength and supports the diversification of rural economies. Kinsella and et al (2000) also strongly claim that pluriactivity is playing a role in enabling farm households to continue farming and living in rural areas with the help of off-farm employment and income. Thus, it has become an attempt to build up their livelihood by securing and revalorizing their assets. As Marsden (1990) notes “pluriactivity is one of the answers of households to the tightening web of exchange relations they are caught in, attempting to regain their control over skills, labor, land and other resources.” by making the best of both worlds farm households minimize their dependence on external factors and take care

that ‘not all their eggs are in the same basket’. A key feature of contemporary livelihood strategies based on pluriactivity is that they respond to a multiplicity of markets and policies.

According to the authors (Kinsella and et al:2000) pluriactivity takes many different forms depending on the rural area and the weak points of it and thus its development strategies are equally diverse and location specific. Increasing local employment and developing infrastructure could make it easier to increase the level of alternative employment or increased labor efficiency in agriculture can enable to improve the coherence between on-farm and off-farm facilities and ‘farm partnership’ could also increase labor availability. For them, rural development is firstly about the constitution of links between different economic sectors, secondly about increasing the households control over their farm resources, and thirdly about increasing the number of people actively choosing to constitute their livelihood in the countryside. Thus, practices of rural development can only be successful if they can ‘build bridges’ between different activities and can mutual reinforce each other.

For the authors, it is likely that, in the future, increasing number of farming households will choose to combine off-farm and on-farm income generating activities in order to maximize their total income and construct a suitable equilibrium between the amount of labor needed for farming activities and the labor required for non-farming activities. As a strategy for rural development both for developed and underdeveloped countries, pluriactivity in the form of combining agricultural production with non-agricultural economic activities is increasing with the influence of neo-liberal economic policies at the nation level and also the desire of rural development policy making authorities at national and international level to prevent migration from rural areas to urban areas. The petty commodity producers in Turkey has somehow adopted this model by employment of male members of the household in other jobs than agriculture mainly in urban centers while female members of the household together with the children are still engaged in agricultural production for subsistence production and continue to live in agriculture. Moreover, Turkish rural development policy has been reformulated to include projects that support income generating activities in farming households in the form of small and medium sized

enterprise projects which are formulated with the integration process to EU and hoped to limit migration to urban areas and rural poverty.

### **2.5.3.2. Sustainable Development**

Besides the new development paradigm focused on the multi-functionality in rural development, rural sustainable development paradigm has also been founded since 1980s based on the critics of modern development paradigm and ecological problems in rural areas. The critical importance of sustainable development in the rural development paradigm is its critical capacity for analyzing rural development in terms of ecological problems, the ideological characteristics of the rural development paradigm in terms of ignoring the structural differences between underdeveloped and developed countries and transforming agricultural production to more nature conserving style. Sinha (2000) discussed the sustainable development in relation with the problem of rural development. The author mentioned sustainable development gain importance because of the failure of previous rural development schemes which bring environmental degradation together with increasing levels of poverty and food insecurity. The author argued for a sustainable rural development agenda which takes into account the historical, socio-cultural and political dimensions of sustainable rural development and specifies the role of the state in sustainable rural development. The author (2000:177) also clarified some reasons behind the degradation of natural environment such as; “asymmetrical relations between developed nations and underdeveloped nations and incentives and constraints this opens for developing country policy-makers and farmers; the intended and unintended consequences of past state-led policies of accelerated economic growth; factors such as population growth and density in interaction with local topography and eco-systemic specificities and wider political economic forces; agency of states and social classes in creating and maintaining the articulations that produce environmental degradation.” The author defined the rural sustainable development with “quality of growth, implying ecologically sound, economically viable, socially just, humane and adaptable agricultural systems based on low-external inputs, indigenous knowledge and management, and using resource conserving and enhancing technologies.”

Sustainable rural development in this definition necessitates establishing a balance between the goal of increasing “productive and regenerative capacity of resources”, and the equity-oriented goals such as food security and lessening poverty; and using participatory institutional arrangements and proper technological innovations. The author also argued that there is no “natural affinity” between these goals and to achieve these goals is rather problematic. The author also discusses the relation between international policy environment and sustainable rural development. In this discussion SAPs (structural adjustment programs) which are basic elements of the restructuring of agricultural sectors of underdeveloped countries were analyzed in relation with their role and influence in sustainable rural development. Sinha (2000) also argued that these programs not enables but hardens the implementation of sustainable rural development. Moreover, he questions the role of state in reaching the goals of rural sustainable development and concludes that state which has been an agent of environmental degradation so far in underdeveloped countries can only become a useful element of sustainable rural development through a fundamental change in the nature of state interference in the use of resources. The author also claimed that Sustainable Rural Development theoretical frameworks and political projects must take into account the ways in which mass politics changes the relations between state, social groups, and institutions.

#### **2.5.3.3. Rural Development Paradigm of EU**

The rural development paradigm of EU has reviewed and reformulated its development agenda according to the globalization trends in agriculture and new development discourse oriented to supply the needs of general consumers of agricultural products especially in relation with the standardization of agricultural products in coordination with health and environmental issues. Agenda 2000 has introduced a new rural development regulation (EC regulation 1257/99). This regulation, referred to as the second mainstay of the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) (MAFF 1999) clearly emphasizes the intention to enlarge policy from a narrow focus on agriculture to the promoting and supporting of “viable” rural economies. The reorientation of discourses within key EU documentation throughout the 1980s and 1990s, EU policy declarations identify a new relationship between

agriculture and rural space, and a new position for agriculture as a part of a multi-dimensional and rural development strategy.

Kinsella, Wilson, De Jong and Renting (2000:484) depict the 1999 CAP reform with its distinctive characteristics as a new European agriculture model. The authors claim that this model takes into account the multifunctional character of rural areas and is more responsive to the general societal concern for sustainability. The two mainstays of CAP are creating “competitive, sustainable, quality oriented agriculture meeting the environmental requirements and the elaboration of a new framework for rural development”. Three principles were set in this reform: “firstly no agriculture and no farmers without other activities, secondly no other activities without the development of villages and thirdly no other activities without the development of villages and small or medium-sized towns.” According to the authors, the main aim of the CAP is to form a supportive environment that will make possible the development of a variation of rural economy based on the limited resources available in specific rural areas. This aim requires constructing strong rural service and industry sector which allows for the sustainability of farming. Thus, the multi-sectoral approach is constructed to enable living in countryside. The CAP reform is targeting to constitute a balance between farm based and off-farm activities in rural areas in order to make “viable” rural communities. As the authors (2000:484) described CAP reform is based on maintaining “viable rural communities” through “renewal and development of core farm business; development of other farm based activities; and development of off-farm business and services in rural villages and towns”. So, this reform also necessitates dynamic construction of the links between different facilities in different economic sectors.

The rural development regulation (RDR) in its core has three basic approaches:

1. Multifunctionality: multi-sectoral approach aiming to develop the rural economy by establishing new sources of income and employment,
2. Developing rural services and conserving the countryside and rural heritage;

3. Improved efficiency through the practice of strategic, integrated programs, simplification and flexibility based on a 'menu' of measures to be exercised according to the needs of member states.

Key aims of the Agenda 2000 CAP reform (Kinsella, Wilson, De Jong and Renting 2000:485):

1. To construct a competitive agriculture sector that is capable of making use of the opportunities available on world markets without the extreme subsidy, while at the same time securing a fair standard of living for agricultural community
2. To use production methods which are safe, capable of supplying quality products that meet consumer demand
3. To establish diversity in agricultural products reflecting the rich tradition of European food production.
4. To maintain vibrant rural communities which can generate employment opportunities for rural population.
5. To establish an agricultural sector that is sustainable in environmental terms, enabling the conservation of natural resources and the natural heritage and sustaining the visual pleasantness of countryside.
6. To construct a simpler and more inclusive rural policy with forms clear separating lines between the decisions that have to be taken together at the Community level and those that should be taken by member states
7. To construct an agricultural policy that forms a clear linkage between public support and the range of services which society as a whole gains from the farming community.

According to the European Commission (EC) regulation 1698/2005, issued in 2005, support for rural development is given to reach four aims defined as (EC, 2005:9):

1. improving the competitiveness of agriculture and forestry by supporting restructuring, development and innovation
2. improving the environment and the countryside by supporting land management;
3. improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging diversification of economic activity.

In this regulation rural development support is promised to given through 4 axis which are based on the accumulation of measures to reach previously mentioned three aims is previously mentioned three aims. The fourth axis is the Leader program which is the main rural development program to reach these aims.

EC (2005:25) defined the characteristics of leader program as follows:

1. area-based local development strategies intended for well-identified sub regional rural territories;
2. local public-private partnerships (here in after local action groups);
3. bottom-up approach with a decision-making power for local action groups concerning the elaboration and
4. implementation of local development strategies;
5. multi-sectoral design and implementation of the strategy based on the interaction between actors and projects of different sectors of the local economy;
6. implementation of innovative approaches;
7. implementation of cooperation projects;
8. networking of local partnerships.

Banks and Marsden (2000) clarified the new rural development paradigm was structured in an environment which give priority to health and environmental issues and consumer needs. According to the authors, the rural areas are now responsible from the provision of food, environmental management and quality food production. In this system, farmers have to review the best way to generate value from farming activities and choose to produce the higher value added outputs together with the diversification of income generating activities in the farms which will decrease their dependency to the commodity markets. The authors defined the new paradigm as “multifunctional paradigm” which is based on producing differentiated, high quality, consumption oriented products with multiple use of resources instead of mass production oriented commodity production (productivist paradigm). The authors claimed that the new paradigm is constituted in the time of new market expectations. The authors identify three key demands in this new market environment. First is the demand for the high quality and specialty foods including regionally embedded foods, organic foods, natural foods and food produced with artisan production techniques. This request is based on the consumers desire to know how and under what conditions food is produced, and form a closer connection with food. Secondly, consumers are more concerned with the health problems of intensive agricultural production such as; pesticide contagion or transference of diseases. Thirdly, the position and role of agriculture in relation to rural areas is being redetermined. The quest of leisure time and the need for housing have introduced new pressures on rural

space. The rural spaces have started to be seen as places for recreation, reunion with natural environments.

As Banks and Marsden (2000:470) argued in relation with the new rural development paradigm, the core policies of rural development were based on promoting flexibility, encouraging high quality production and management but also integration of farm business in to greater economy. Moreover, it includes environmental management together with the support for “farm viability and efficiency” in food production. These rural development policy changes is related with the changes in the capitalism at the world level in relation with the integration of agricultural sector to food industry and the change in the food regime which was analyzed in the section of underdevelopment and agriculture. In this new food regime agricultural production has started to be more organized towards supplying the inputs of food industry and more and more transnational companies has started to organize production from agricultural production to the end product of processed food of supermarkets.

Marsden, Banks and Bristow (2000) discussed the role and position of food supply chains in the new rural development trends. These food supply chains were seen as the characteristics of new food commodity market. The food supply chains were also seen as enabling the construction of new associational networks based on new quality definitions associated with locality/ region or specialty and nature. Moreover, these supply chains form different relationships with consumer based on different views about the quality of food. The authors define the concept of Short Food Supply Chain (SFC) whose main characteristic is re-socializing and re-spatializing food enabling the consumers to form value- judgments about the prestige of foods based on their own knowledge, familiarity or perceived image of the product. With SFC consumers make a connection to the food product through its place/ space of production which enable them to guess the values of people involved and the production methods used; and convinced about its quality, speciality or scarcity. The authors identified three Short Food Supply Chain; first is “face to face” purchasing the food product from the producer, second is the “spatial proximity” in which products are produced and retailed in a locally specified region and consumers

acknowledge the local nature of the product, third is the “spatially extended” food supply chain in which the information about value and meaning of the product and the place of production is disseminated to the consumers who are outside of the region themselves.

#### **2.5.3.4. Rural Development, Community Development and Agricultural Development Cooperatives**

Agricultural cooperatives have been identified with community development with implying that it will unite rural people as a grassroots organization to work together voluntarily to pool scarce resources of the community through a democratic collaboration mechanism (Dağ 2007, Nnadi et al, 2011). Moreover, As Korten (1980:480) declared cooperatives were seen as mechanisms for organization of community “to give meaningful expression to their views, mobilize their own resources in self-help action, and enforce their demands on the broader national political and economic systems”.

As Ortman and King (2007:41) declares International Cooperative Alliance (ICA, 2005) defines cooperatives as:

An autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise.

Moreover, seven internationally recognized cooperative principles were also identified as:

Voluntary and open membership; democratic member control; member economic participation; autonomy and independence; provision of education, training and information; cooperation among cooperatives; and concern for the community.

Cooperatives were also seen as part of the rural development policy as instruments for community development and social change. As Nnadi et al (2011:1) mentioned

cooperatives were seen as instruments to perpetuate social participation, self help, education and ownership. Ortmann and King (2007:43) classified agricultural cooperatives into three categories; marketing cooperatives, farm supply cooperatives and service cooperatives.

As Gertler (2001) argued that cooperatives could be effective in creating economic development because of their being community-based, participatory, democratic and flexible. Gibson (2005) also argued that foundation of a cooperative would include enhancing community spirit, identity and social organization which let them to be significant in poverty reduction, job creation, economic growth and social development. Somavia (2002) also mentioned that cooperatives are mediums to enhance employment opportunities, and livelihood quality with their democratic characters with which they give voice to disadvantaged groups such as indigenous people, refugees, migrants, women and unemployed and elderly in pursuing their economic interests and secure social protection. Some authors (Henehan, 1997; Somavia 2002, Dogarawa, 2005) also gave importance to the cooperatives role in a historical context as national governments all over the world limit their public expenditures and budgets after 1980s. Cooperatives then can be significant tools to reduce the economic risks of its members and be mechanisms for social inclusion when its members lack any other kind of support from state or other funding institutions.

As Nnadi et al (2011:1) argued, for long-term sustainability of the cooperative, it is imperative that cooperative leadership have to accommodate themselves in terms of market conditions, enlarge their technical and managerial capabilities and handle the needs of its members. However, as the authors (Hoyt, 1989; Korten, 1980) argued the efforts to organize farmers in the form of cooperatives have been unsuccessful even if the cooperatives could be successful supplying both farm inputs and farm products for the market.

As Nnadi et al (2011:7) declared, Birchall (2003) summarized the external and internal constraints for the success of the cooperatives such as;

lack of autonomy due to government interference, inadequate access to markets, men typically hold membership and decision making positions though women did most of the farming, and mismanagement.

As a significant element of the cooperatives, they were also seen as mechanism in reducing poverty. However, as Korten (1980), Simmons and Birchall (2008) they could seldom be successful in reducing poverty or improving the livelihood of the disadvantaged groups. As Korten (1980:481) argued the main reason for it is that the cooperative services and facilities are mostly utilized by the better-off rural inhabitants. Cooperative services in the form of production loan and marketing services usually can not be used by the subsistence farmers or landless laborers. In this system, the poorer members of the community very rarely have a control in the management of the cooperative and usually are unable to reach credits or technical assistance. Furthermore, frequently the cooperative leadership abuses their power. In addition if they organize their own cooperatives and confront established community interests they mostly become subject to legal and administrative problems. Women are also excluded from the active membership and leadership of the cooperatives. They only can become an active member if they are widowed rather than voluntary creations of individuals to increase their collective market power. All these are bound to the fact that government policies main aim in assisting cooperatives is to increase government control over markets rather than to increase collective bargaining power of the community with their own voluntary actions.

Simmons and Birchall (2008) analyzed the role of cooperatives in poverty reduction especially in relation with their networks. They (2008:17-18) argued that cooperatives face new challenges because of the increasing globalization of economy, the rapid innovations in information technology and the differing of national and international balance of powers. They are enforced to network beyond local level if they are to sustain and prosper themselves. Thus, their role in poverty reduction is seem to be at a number of levels from local to global; they are required to network at elites at local level, sustain links with the state and may be assisted by

relationships with global organizations and processes. They have to maintain their autonomy and form networks at local, national and global level at the same time.

Simmons and Birchall (2008) argued (2008:9) that even if the values and principles of cooperatives sustain an advantage in efforts to reduce poverty, it does not assure it, since the cooperatives have to work for realizing their values and principles in their daily routine and they should have active poor members. While the cooperatives in developed countries mostly were successful, the cooperatives in underdeveloped countries could not be successful (Simmons and Birchall 2008:11). The authors (2008:11) have presented some possible reasons for it:

1. The 'top-down' nature of the development meant that co-operatives were never really autonomous associations, owned and controlled by their members, and so were not co-operatives but state enterprises by another name.
2. The large scale of co-operative promotion led to vested interests being created; as Laidlaw said in the 1970s, they had three masters: the government, the civil service and political parties (Laidlaw, 1978).
3. The resources that were put into co-operative development were often appropriated at the local level by existing elites, so that they benefited the middle income people rather than the poor
4. There have been notable success stories: for example dairy cooperatives in India and Bangladesh, coffee co-operatives in Kenya, and credit co-operatives almost everywhere have a good record in reducing poverty. This is partly because they have been 'real' co-operatives, practicing the co-operative principles. However, more needs to be done to identify and learn from these success stories.

As Nnadi et al (2011:7) identified problems of cooperative society in their research in Ahiazu Mbaise Area of Imo State, Nigeria as;

lack of credit facilities, lack of technical support, poor management of resources, government negligence, inconsistent cooperative policy, illiteracy, finance, fear of failure, lack of proper awareness.

Korten (1980:481) also presented four successful cooperatives and their main common characteristics as;

- (1) They were located in communities with relatively unstratified and cohesive social structures;

- (2) Their internal structures allowed members to hold leaders accountable and enforced member discipline;
- (3) A relatively homogeneous membership of small and medium land-holders saw the co-op as an instrument for capital formation and the introduction of technical innovations rather than simply a means for obtaining government facilities;
- (4) They had strong external linkages with relatively effective government agencies which not only regulated their functioning but also provided training, services, facilities, and assistance in resolving conflicts between members. Such preconditions are of course demanding and not always replicable.

#### **2.5.4. Rural Development and Rural Women**

In analyzing the relationship between rural development and rural women, it is necessary to consider the conditions of underdevelopment, the changing policies towards rural development and the problems specific to rural women. While examining the relationship between rural development and rural women, it is needed to study the mechanisms by which the process of development affects on women. The women's issues became a part of the development agenda in 1975, which was previously mentioned in the previous chapter, with the starting of women's decade of UN and symbolized with the Women in Development (WID) approach.

Early critics about the affects of development policies on women were mainly centered on the criticizing idea of integrating women in the development process as WID approach suggested. The main critical point was about how the women are integrated into the development process and how the many forms of patriarchal subordination and oppression is effected by this integration. In the arguments against the WID approach, it is claimed that the integration of women to the development process denotes only the participation of women in a process which generates new forms of subordinations for them. It is also mentioned that development projects implemented by women in development approach considers the family household as a static unit without considering individual differences (especially of women and men) and without considering the outside factors chancing the household's situation within rural economy (the access to resources, fertility rates, amount of household production, etc...) and without considering the different household types such as; polygamous, extended family, female headed household.

In a similar way, the “new rural development paradigm which focuses on the rural areas’ development and bringing out solutions with taking the regional and local areas as the main unit of analysis of rural development, tries to apply its already defined principles to rural women. In the studies of new development paradigm it is claimed that the gender relations has been subject to change since family has reappeared as an important limiting and enabling factor in rural development. The new development paradigm which emphasized the importance of multi-tasking, pluriactivity and economic farming, is based on the unmentioned increase in the work load of farm women. Many feminist development studies analyzed the conditions and effects of these gender integrated rural development policies and projects with a feminist perspective. An important branch of critical approaches about these development policies the feminist approaches of ecological feminism and feminist political ecology. Shiva (1989:2) argued against the westernized development ideal which is based on “exploitation or exclusion of women, on the exploitation and degradation of nature and on the exploitation and erosion of other cultures.” Momsen (2000) examines the possible differences of men and women in environmental concern and perception with field data from North America and Global South with a feminist political ecology perspective. Agarwal (1992), Thomas-Thomas-Slayter (1992) Sultana (2006), Fleischli (2006), Speranza (2006), studied the ecological problems of the regions (India, Bangladesh, South India, Kenya) in relation with women’s status and living conditions with a feminist perspective. These studies were mainly based on analyzing the ecological problems of an underdeveloped region of Africa or India in the context of a rural region.

In addition, another critical approach is socialist and Marxist feminist approaches. Some of socialist feminist development studies are centered on analyzing micro-finance programs of international organizations, national bodies or NGOs in relation with the changes they create in the lives of underdeveloped, mainly poor women. Mayoux (2001) studied the general views and paradigms of women targeted micro-finance programs in relation with women’s empowerment and the expected changes in women’s lives. Kabeer (2005) also analyzed the effects of the micro-finance programs but in specifically in South Asia.

Another critical research area is the industrial work in the rural areas. This important rural development tendency is based on farm women's employment in their homes in rural areas as a part of the development of pluriactive farms. Gringeri (1993) analyzed the industrial homework in two midwestern communities in US as a rural development project. This project was based on employment of rural women as industrial homeworkers to the The Middle Company (TMC) from their homes. According to the Gringeri (1993), the context and nature of industrial homeworking have certain characteristics. Firstly, the industrial homeworking is supporting the creation and mobility of deskilled, non-unionized, jobs largely realized by women. Thus, this economic development model became the way in which existing inequalities of gender and class were sustained. The gendered characteristics of industrial homeworking strengthen the sexual division of labor and the related inequalities. Secondly, since the industrial homeworking integrate the women in the development process as "secondary workers which legitimizes the low pay, job insecurity, lack of insurance benefits which are the characteristics of informal work". Thirdly, since these workers are "independent contractors" who have weekly unstable contracts and do not have usual social insurances and the usual benefits, wages and stability the TMC offer to its employees.

Moreover, the author (1993) mentioned that the rural areas (Prairie Hills and Riverton) which development projects were held were suffering from economic decline in the traditional sectors of agriculture and manufacturing. The author (1993) mentioned also that the conditions of economic decline together with the existing norms and values about what women's versus men's work enable the implementation of development project. The author quoting from Deere and Leon (1987) claimed this rural development project was based on the general development policies which see women with their reproductive work in the private sphere. Moreover, the development policies in general strengthen the projects that were based on socially-constructed gender based division of labor. Moreover, the managers of industrial firms choose these rural areas because of their low-cost, non-unionized labor and the existence of traditional family and gender roles, and local financials subsidies for employing people. The rural women who were seeking to earn income in these projects also accepted it as an opportunity to work at home since this kind of job

makes it easier to work in the farm, to care their children without lower expenses for transportation or work clothing. Moreover, the author also mentioned that the state is not a neutral arbiter between capital interests and workers interest in this situation since state channeled men into new jobs and channeled women into informal-sector work.

As the Gringeri (1993) argued, this uneven development framework shows, the market economy is accepted as the public sphere, and home is accepted as the private sphere and the production for the market is only possible in the public sphere. The public and private spheres were seen as “dichotomous” concepts rather than continuum. In this sense, productive and reproductive labor of women became invisible and outside of the realm of public structures. In this project, the local authorities also are part of the process of employment, funding and development of these jobs as secondary employment to women.

The Gringeri (1993) also mentioned that these rural development projects, the process were more oriented to the interests of the TMC with the assistance of the local authorities who accepted the terms and conditions of women’s employment as “independent contractors”. This project is important since it represents the development projects which reinforce the sexual division of labor and women’s secondary position in the labor market and increase their work load by adding the income generating activities to the work of load of rural women. As this project exhibits, the state and its officials see women as the employee of secondary, informal and jobs whose primary job is in home.

There are also other views regarding the relations of rural women with pluriactivity. Rupena-Osolnik (1983) discussed the role played by Yugoslavian rural women in rural pluriactivity and argued that pluriactivity of rural farms present women with an opportunity to earn personal additional income through rural tourism, merchandizing handicraft and other off-farm activities. These off-farm activities are seen as the opportunity to earn extra income to increase the standard of the living of the family, to increase and intensify the relations between rural women, to increase national income and employment opportunities. Moreover, the author emphasized the fact

that the women work both in agriculture and outside it. The author depicts different kind of pluriactive farming such; rural tourism, handicraft merchandize or the cases in which husband works as a wage laborer and woman by her own self maintains the farming activities and faces the difficulties as she came up against on her own. The author argued that women can overcome these difficulties and promote the situation of herself and other members of her family. But the author did not theoretically analyze the structural reasons behind the women's hard work and the difficulties she faced during the process of her working in home and outside.

#### **2.5.4.1. Rural Development and Rural Women's Organizations and Empowerment of Rural Women**

Organizing rural women in the form of self-help groups or cooperatives became a strategy to reduce poverty and empower rural women of international development organizations (UN, WB, etc...), national development institutions and Non-Governmental Organizations all over the world mostly in underdeveloped countries (eg. India, China, Pakistan, Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria Armenia, Greece, Japan, Turkey, etc...). Self-help groups or cooperatives were seen both as entrepreneurial attempts and efforts of rural women to reduce poverty and prevent migration from the villages and rural areas especially in underdeveloped countries like Turkey. Cooperatives managed by women in rural areas, were recognized as bottom-up strategies for rural women's empowerment. After fourth World Conference on Women organized by UN in Beijing in 1995, the nation state's all over the world have accepted the principles of establishing gender equality, enabling women's participation in economic, social and political life as a requirement for women's employment. As Lind (2012:1) argued, since Beijing conference on women in 1995, the international development regime claims gender equality is becoming a more important determinant for socioeconomic development. However, this regime is criticized firstly it hides unequal power relationships between women and men behind the political correctness of gender and secondly, it imposes western ideals about development to the underdeveloped countries. There are several projects regarding women's cooperatives in Africa, mainly as mechanisms to reduce poverty and malnutrition (Maretzki 2007, Ladipo, 1981)

The women's cooperatives were seen as entrepreneurial attempts and efforts of rural women groups. As empowering women through developing entrepreneurship becomes important in rural development, authors such as Spring (2002) analyzed the women's entrepreneurship in different regions in relation with women's living conditions, status and empowerment. She (2002) analyzed the differences between typical and new women entrepreneurs in Africa. There are growing emphasis of the mainstream development agenda of increasing women's entrepreneurship and self-employment especially in underdeveloped countries with micro credit opportunities or through women cooperatives. However, it is also claimed that these attempts for women's entrepreneurship through micro credits or other mechanism are in fact mechanisms for devalorization of women's labor and controlling poverty through women's labor (Ecevit Y 2007, Mies 2001; Mayoux 2001).

As women's cooperatives were encouraged in the different regions of the world as a strategy to reduce poverty and empower women, its specific conditions could change in different regions of the world. As a European Union member country, women's cooperatives in Greece were supported by the government and EU rural development policy, also with an aim of supporting agro-tourism and pluriactivity in rural areas. As Iakovidou (2002:16) claimed, the EU rural development policy was implemented in Greece with an aim of achieving gender equality and creating small enterprises for women. The author also argued that encouraging women's cooperatives as an entrepreneurship was chosen as a policy option since firstly, women have difficulties in joining mixed cooperatives and secondly, women could earn their money without the interference of men in women's cooperatives. Thirdly, women's cooperatives were mainly based on agro tourism. It is also interesting that although there are relatively few agricultural cooperatives which are managed both by mixed sexes in underdeveloped countries like Turkey; there is little effort to ensure policies to eliminate the marginal existence of women in these cooperatives in these countries but establishing alternative women's cooperatives. These men managing agricultural cooperatives were defined as only agricultural cooperatives however, in actual life; they operate as men's cooperatives.

In the EU rural development policy, the women's cooperatives were recognized also as entrepreneurship activities of rural women which are not strictly based on agricultural production but also include, agritourism, handicrafts, souvenir, home made textile. These women's cooperatives were mainly encouraged and supervised by state agencies in underdeveloped countries like Turkey and therefore, mostly have problems regarding establishing women's agency as bottom-up strategies and as autonomous voluntary institutions or enterprises. EU rural development policy environment also enforces the candidate countries like Turkey, to imply policies to encourage rural women to establish cooperatives or entrepreneurs as additional activities distinct from regular agricultural production.

As an another example of government supporting scheme for self-help groups of rural women, this time in India, Lahiri-Dutt and Samanta (2006:285-295) criticized the government supporting scheme "Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA)" since they argued the program does not consider caste, class, ethnic and religious hierarchies in rural local areas. They argued that the program assumed group formation, participation of rural women in cooperation, networking with others and micro finance among women is essentially good tools for community development and rural women's development and empowerment. However, this program which was applied all over the country failed in some regions, due to differences between women in their groups, the inability of the program to support women's individual personal development in entrepreneurship skills and the lack of focus on individual woman's needs and problems in the process. Other authors (Mayoux, 1995, Torri and Martinez, 2012, Datta, 2003) analyzed other programs/projects in India for rural women's cooperatives which aimed to empower women and at the same time reduce poverty. Torri and Martinez (2012) also claimed that the programs success is in its ability to give voice and visibility to poor women and identifying their preferences and including them in the decision making process of the poverty reduction policies and to be sensible to cultural characteristics of the community. Datta (2003) analyzed the SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) and argued women have to find innovative strategies to mobilize and empower self employed women, as SEWA did, and consistently struggle with men

dominated local, national and international institutions to enforce new policies for the empowerment of women.

As mentioned in the section of “rural development, community development and agricultural development cooperatives”, the agricultural cooperatives in rural areas face structural problems in relation to the management of cooperation such as; “lack of autonomy due to government interference, lack of credit facilities and technical support, poor management of resources, illiteracy, inadequate access to markets, mismanagement, being inaccessible for the poorest members of the community, lack of equal participation and democracy in the decision making processes of the cooperative”.

These difficulties generalized for agricultural cooperatives are also relevant for the rural women’s cooperatives. Moreover, there are other difficulties women’s cooperatives confront with in their daily activities. First of all, these cooperatives were encouraged as additional income gathering entrepreneurship for women in rural areas not only in agricultural activities but also the previously mentioned activities in handicrafts, textile, agro-tourism which means learning additional skills in especially trade, marketing and entrepreneurship and having more workload. This is especially not easy for women since they have other domestic duties (child care and housework) to perform in their household regardless of their labor in agricultural production and in the cooperatives. Secondly, women have difficulties in networking with state institutions, non-governmental organizations and private sector and other cooperatives like themselves in terms of their lack in social capital and social and cultural assumptions about women’s secondary position in society. Thirdly, the women’s cooperatives have difficulties in persuading women joining the cooperative because of the already heavy workload of rural women and their families’ and community’s patriarchal ideas about women’s position in their community which restricts their involvement in the cooperative as active agents and entrepreneurs (Vakoufaris, Kizos, Spilanis, Koulouri, Zacharaki 2007, Koutsou and et all 2003,).

#### **2.5.4.1.1. A Model for Analyzing Rural Women's Empowerment through Rural Women's Organizations**

Friedmann (1992:31-36) has suggested an alternative development model which incorporates local, national and global levels of development which would include the isolated poor people. His model argued for an understanding of empowerment of poor households and its members which integrates psychological, social and political aspects of power. This alternative model of development both considers the global dynamics of capitalism and the micro-structures of households and locality. In this model, by differentiating regional/territorial needs of different social groups who are mostly disempowered, it offers a decentralized, participatory decision making process in development. Thus, it pictures a dynamic relationship between the localities and the policy making authority (state) in which households and localities constantly struggling for empowerment. State then, is a strong but responsive and accountable entity rather than bureaucratic and static. This model calls for a dynamic, interactive and inclusive model of development. He centered household at the center of his analysis as a productive and proactive units which have its own processes of joint decision making which could be based on traditional gender and age division of labor or more flexible division of labor. The identified three dimensions of empowerment (psychological, social and political) are interacting and overlapping with each other. Social power is identified as: "access to certain "bases" of household production, participation in social organizations and financial resources". "When a household economy increases its access to these bases, its ability to set and attain objectives also increases."(1992:33). Political power is identified as; the access of households to the local and national decision making structure about the future of the households, including both the right to vote, power of collective action and power to identify their needs and problems. Psychological power is basically described as the self-confident behavior which is based on intersubjective work or successful social or political action. Empowerment in this sense is defined as a process emerging "from below and within specific territory-based social formations such as villages or neighborhood" (1992:33). This definition is mostly underlying the agency aspect of the concept of empowerment. In his analysis, the economic dimension of empowerment appears to be a factor affecting

all other dimensions since he recognizes the global capitalism and the poverty as a factor affecting the conditions of poor/neglected households as a unit.

Friedmann's analysis was also re-modeled by Lennie (2002), and Allahdadi (2011) in their studies analyzing in a communication technology project for rural women and in community development projects in general. Similarly, Gangwar et al (2004) empowerment with four dimensions as; rural women's economic independence together with self-perception (referring to psychological empowerment), social participation (referring to social empowerment), group action (similar to political empowerment). Lennie (2002) identified the forms of empowerment as; psychological, technological, social and political empowerment. Allahdadi (2011) identified forms of empowerment as; psychological, organizational, community, and political empowerment. In this study, to analyze the empowerment of rural women through the establishment and management of rural women's organizations, an adaptation of all the three models were suggested. The dimensions of empowerment suggested in this study of rural women's organizations are; psychological, organizational, social, economic and political. Social empowerment could be defined as Lennie (2002:229):

- new knowledge and information,
- awareness and understanding of issues,
- skills, abilities and competence,
- support, friendship and inspiration,
- participating group activities with women
- networking

Political empowerment could be defined also as Lennie (2002:229);

- having a voice and being listened to
- participating in policy making
- taking action to change your life or your community
- networking and lobbying
- changing stereotypes about rural women

Psychological Empowerment could be defined also as Lennie (2002:229);

- Self confidence and self esteem
- Feeling more valued and respected
- Motivation, interest and enthusiasm (especially to be engaged in the cooperative as active female agents)
- Freedom to do things to express yourself
- Feelings of belonging
- Wellbeing and happiness

Economic empowerment could be adopted from Gangwar et al (2004:115)'s study;

- Ability/ right to earn their self income; either by being employed in the cooperative or being employed in other institutions/ organizations that are networked in the process of founding or managing cooperative
- Control over income; the decision about what to do with the income earned by women and by family
- Control over property/ resources in terms of land, greenhouse, animal; things that can viewed as having accumulative nature

Mayoux (1995:226-227) discussed the possibilities of women's cooperatives to have an important effect on lessening the gender inequalities in terms of enabling women to earn and control income.

The mere introduction of cooperative production would not appear in itself to lead to any greater changes in women's position than employment in private industry, even where it provides a regular income. Issues such as women's access to resources, their freedom of movement outside the home and their burden of unpaid domestic work need to be addressed. Although they may not be aware of all the possible options, ultimately women themselves are likely to be the best judges of how this might be done. Recent developments in participatory action research and participatory gender training could be adopted into mainstream cooperative training courses for both women and men. Because of the extensive organizational strength of the cooperative movement, there is also considerable scope for networking between women in cooperatives and linking with other women's organizations to press for wider change.

As the last dimension, also organizational empowerment could be adopted from Allahdadi (2011:41):

- Awareness about the role of rural women's organizations
- Access to the state and other institutions' technical help in organization's issues
- Identification with the membership of the organization.
- Establishing and managing a democratic, participatory, fair organizational structure for the organization

It is important to note that all these dimensions have empowerment could not be realized through the activities of rural women's organizations and contrastingly; events of disempowerment could occur in certain contexts or activities of organizations. Such as adopted from Lennie (2002:234-236);

- not having your voice heard or not being given an opportunity to express your concerns due to various factors,
- little or no immediate action being taken by government or industry on your issues due to the slowness of the policy- making process, which increased cynicism and skepticism,
- feeling very nervous or lacking confidence to speak out, asking questions, or to take part in certain project activities,
- lack of sense of belonging to the cooperative,
- feeling that you are not valued or respected by the people or organizations involved in the project
- feeling intimidated by others participating in the cooperative business

It is significant to acknowledge that all mentioned dimensions of empowerment are assumed in a dynamic interaction with each other and overlapping each other in a specific context of time and place but also in relation with the global economic conditions of capitalism and patriarchy. It is important to acknowledge that the local context of empowerment of rural women is subject to dynamic relationship with the local socio-economic, political and cultural conditions of rural women's lives. Thus, the specific characteristics of these local contexts will be analyzed in relation with the empowerment of rural women who are members of the researched cooperatives in the fifth chapter.

### **2.5.5. Conclusion to Rural Development, Agriculture and Rural Women**

In this section of this study, the aim was to elucidate the concept of rural development in an historical understanding in relation with the agricultural sector policies and rural women's socio-economic role, position and status in rural development policies. This section was constructed to present the current rural development approach in relation with agricultural sector policies and rural women's position in these policies in an historical context. In the first sub-section of "Rural Development and Its General Context", the historical continuum in relation with the general development approaches was presented with the interpretations of Ellis and Biggs (2001)). They have presented an historical outline of rural development ideas in decades from 1950s to afterwards of 2000s. Their historical outline shows that mainstream rural development approaches have transformed from modernist ideas of large scale mechanized agriculture based rural development to neo-liberal and postmodern ideas of rural development implying structural adjustment programs, locality based, actor oriented rural development programs and projects. In this sub-section also critical approaches which gave importance to participation of the targeted groups, knowledge, culture perception and viewpoint of rural poor were discussed.

In the second sub-section of "Rural Development and Agriculture", in accordance with the last two periods of Ellis and Biggs' (2001) historical continuum, the current rural development approach and agricultural policies at the global level were identified and discussed. The characteristics of the mainstream development paradigm was identified as; multi-level, multi-actor, multi-faceted process; affected by the general integration of agricultural sector and food industry which impose flexibility, specialization and commercialization of agricultural products and unique cultural and environmental characteristics of rural areas. This "New Rural Development Paradigm" also enforce multitasking and farming economically to the farmers. However, it should be discussed in terms of the characteristics of farmers of underdeveloped countries such as Turkey. It could be argued small and medium sized farmers of underdeveloped countries such as Turkey, have been economically farming without commoditized inputs (subsistence farming) and in pluriactivity

(employed in other sectors than agriculture in informal sector or as wage laborers in other sectors) for long time. In the next sub-sections of Rural Development; characteristics of sustainable development and EU rural development paradigm and policies were described and discussed. Rural development paradigm and policies of EU is in accordance with the previously described characteristics of the mainstream rural development paradigm and policies. EU rural development paradigm is significant in this study in the sense that the rural development and agricultural policy of Turkey was restructured according to the integration process to EU which will be explained in detail in the fourth chapter. As the last sub-title of the sub-section of "Rural development and Agriculture", the concept of community development was discussed in relation with the the rural development and agricultural development cooperatives. Agricultural development cooperatives are significant in the sense that they have been seen as mechanism of rural development by both modern and critical rural development approaches. They have been seen as spaces for communities of rural areas to express their views, to mobilize their own resources in self-help action and even to politicize for enforcing their demands to national and political authorities. This mechanism has been seen as a part of community development in a local rural area because of the cooperatives being democratic, flexible and participatory. The agricultural cooperatives also could flourish community spirit, identity and social organization which work in poverty reduction, job creation, economic growth and social development. These could be achieved only if the cooperative could sustain democratic leadership with technical and managerial capability. The cooperatives' problems such as; lack of autonomy from government, inadequate access to markets and resources, mismanagement and patriarchal management were also discussed.

After the discussions about the rural development and agriculture, the socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women in rural development paradigm, policy and projects were analyzed. As it was mentioned before, current rural development policy assumes rural women as available family labor to be either unpaid family labor in rural households, or paid labor in insecure, least paid informal sector in jobs in a continuum with their reproductive labor such as food preparation, service sector and sewing, knitting, etc... in accordance with the characteristics of

pluriactivity in rural households and economic farming. Moreover, in this subsection, a model for analyzing the rural women's empowerment was discussed in relation with the rural women's organizations. This model is important in the sense that the dimensions of this model will be used in analyzing a sample of rural women's organizations Turkey in this study. These dimensions will be analytically used to explore on the problems, conditions and potential of rural women's empowerment in Turkey through rural women's organizations. This model is the last theoretical discussion to be explored on. In the next section, the conclusion of second chapter, which is about the theoretical discussions of this study, will be constructed.

## **2.6. Conclusion to Second Chapter**

The theoretical structure and main conceptual discussions of this study have been presented in the second chapter. The main question of this study, which is revealing the conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment through rural women's organizations in Turkey is tried to be problematized in relation with several factors. These factors could be named as; the conditions and problems of women's empowerment through female agency and development, the conditions and problems of women's development through and within development policies, the conditions and problems of underdevelopment affecting the agricultural sectors of underdeveloped countries such as Turkey, socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women in underdeveloped countries such as Turkey, current rural development paradigm interacting with the conditions of underdevelopment and affecting the agricultural sector and the socio-economic conditions and position of rural women. These factors were tried to be conceptualized in the sub-sections of the theoretical structure under the titles Feminism, Empowerment, Female Agency and Development; Feminism and Development; Underdevelopment, Agriculture and Rural Women; Rural Development, Agriculture and Rural Women.

In the section of "Feminism, Empowerment, Female Agency and Development", the aim was to clarify on the conditions and potential of female agency and women's empowerment in the process of development. Critical feminist development theory and thought claim sustaining female agency through strategic or oppositional identity

formation is critical in enlarging the potential of women's empowerment in and through development. Empowerment of rural women in this sense is strongly related with women's construction and sustainability of oppositional and/or strategic identities which would let them to reevaluate their daily problems and experiences of exploitation, domination and subordination. It is claimed that this reevaluation with self-actualization, self-definition, and self determination could enable women empower themselves. The dimensions of empowerment were defined as; psychological, social, economical, organizational and political which could be observed in the women's feelings of self-esteem, feeling as a valued and respected member of a group, access to intangible resources of analytical skills, economical resources, social networks, and organizational strength. In this section also the way development policy programs and projects are designed was analyzed considering the power dynamics in the accumulation of knowledge regarding development policies to explore on the the conditions and problems of women's development through and within development policies. As another discussion point is analyzing the means and ends of development policies. Some feminist authors argued for making a distinction between practical and strategic goals in the development policies and projects for women. While the strategic interests are harder to achieve, practical interests are related with solving women's daily problems. Strategi interests were tried to be achieved to create alternative set of social relations in which women are in equal position with men. The importance of this division is that it aims to generate new forms of "collective awareness" and "association" with which women could reflect on their own problems and create their own strategies.

In the sub-section of "Feminism and Development", the conditions and problems of women's development through and within development policies were analyzed firstly through analyzing the Feminist Development approaches of Women in Development, Women and Development, Gender and Development, Women, Culture and Development in a historical context and in relation with each other. Secondly, the socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women were analyzed through DAWN and GAD approaches' arguments in the issue. The significant elements of discussion is about the effects of general global capitalism on rural households, sexual division of labor, rural women's productive and

reproductive activities, women's lack of landownership and other economic resources.

In the section of "Underdevelopment, Agriculture and Rural Women", the aims were revealing the conditions and problems of underdevelopment affecting the agricultural sectors of underdeveloped countries such as Turkey and to explore on socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women in underdeveloped countries such as Turkey in the historical context. In the first sub-section of this section, firstly the general arguments of development theories of modernization theory, dependency theory and world system theory were discussed. In the second sub-section of this section, the current situation of agricultural sectors of underdeveloped countries was discussed in relation with the general historical and global tendencies of the sector. There are several factors affecting the convergence of food industry and agricultural sector which was discussed in this sub-section. This convergence was also enhanced by state policies regarding reducing the state subsidies for agricultural production; creating new standards to increase the efficiency in agricultural products, making trade agreements according to these standards (determined by GATT agreements prepared by World Trade Organization), lessening the tariffs in agricultural products, permitting technological developments through new agricultural inputs. It is important to mention that the conditions for competition between developed and underdeveloped nations have become more unjust with these policies since the agricultural sectors of developed nations have continued to be supported by their nation states. In the last sub-section of this section, the socio-economic conditions and position of rural women in the agricultural sector was discussed. It is important to note that while rural women labor in productive and reproductive agricultural work, they have mostly been employed as unpaid family labor and labor as a required labor for the survival of small sized farming households, they generally do not have decision making power in their households regarding economic assets of the household or landownership. In addition, women also were negatively affected by the economic crises as being the first to be dismissed from jobs and have the least paid jobs; mostly in informal sector. In most of the cases of rural households, while the rural women's work load have increased with the additional income gathering

activities which became necessary for the survival of the family household, their monetary gain or share in the resources of the family have not been increased

In the section of “Rural Development, Agriculture and Rural Women”, the intention was to expose the relationship among rural development, agricultural sector and rural women in an historical understanding. In the sub-section of “Rural development and Its General Context”, the historical continuum of rural development policies in a historical continuum was presented with the Ellis and Biggs (2001)’s work. In the sub-section regarding rural development and agriculture, the current rural development paradigm was discussed in relation with its main aims, methods and policies. All these aims, methods and policies were designed in relation with the previously mentioned change in the general viewpoints and policy regimes of rural development in the previous sub-section. The “new development paradigm” more focuses on mult-tasking and multi functioning of rural households with more integration to rural markets in relation with which they could produce, serve and market with what they have in their local environment. This also requires farmers to develop more marketing skills, social networks and re-invention of local cultural assets and products that could be marketed. Moreover, it seems to require more efficient time planning and more labor use for the farmers (more intense exploitation of labor with longer working hours) with enlarging their labor with “pluriactivity”. In this sub-section, also the role of agricultural development cooperatives in community development were discussed together with the difficulties they face in their activities.

After inquiring about the relationship between rural development and agriculture, in the sub-section of “Rural Development and Rural Women”, the socio-economic conditions, position and status of rural women in rural development paradigm, policy and projects were elucidated. The problem of rural women in the current rural development policy and projects is that their workload in least paid, informal and in insecure jobs has increased with the decrease of the income of the mainstream agricultural activities of the farming households. This workload often is a continuum of their skills in food preparation, service sector and sewing, knitting, etc... in accordance with the characteristics of pluriactivity in rural households and economic farming. In addition, in this sub-section, a model for analyzing the rural women’s

empowerment through rural women's organizations was suggested. This model is significant in this study that the dimensions of this model (psychological, social, economical, organizational and political empowerment) will be made use of to analyze a sample of rural women's organizations in Turkey. It is assumed that these dimensions could be useful for studying conditions, problems and potential of rural women's empowerment in Turkey through rural women's organizations.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Introduction to Third Chapter

The methodology of a study determines how the necessary knowledge is gathered, analyzed and interpreted. The methodology of this study will be based on the feminist methodology. This study is designed to make use of qualitative research with indepth semi-structured interview. In depth interviews were made with two different groups of respondents. The first group is the experts and field workers of rural development and gender and development employed at state institutions, non-governmental organizations and other organizations/ institutions working in rural development. The second group is the representatives of the rural women's organizations. Since rural development is both a professional practice carried out by the experts and a subject area, it is assumed that the interviews will enlighten about the process of the programs and projects. It is also assumed that interviews with the active members of the cooperatives and one village women association will enlighten about the real problems, struggles and empowerment potential of the rural women who founded organizations as both an entrepreneurship act and as grassroots organizations. In this study, village women associations, rural women's cooperatives in the form rural development cooperatives and women's cooperatives were investigated as grassroots organizations of rural women. Even if there are differences in legal terms about these three kind of women's organizations, since the rural development projects and activities for all three groups intersect in practice and women's general conditions living in rural areas have similar characteristics and it will be interesting to acknowledge if there is significant structural differences between three types of organizations, a sample of these organizations were selected. In the next sub-section, the main methodological viewpoint of the study namely feminist methodology will be analyzed.

### **3.2. Feminist Methodology**

In this study, a socialist feminist methodology argues for a knowledge based on the subject position of oppressed groups one of which is the women is offered. In clarifying her theoretical position regarding the postmodernism and its methodological and epistemological views, Hartsock (1996) argues against the postmodernist understanding of Foucault which rejects the enlightenment thinking all at once. She claims (1996:52-53) that epistemologies of situated knowledges can let to the constitution of important alternatives to the postmodernism's rejection of enlightenment. Rather than rejecting the possibility of knowledge altogether, these alternatives to enlightenment and postmodernist theories are based on viewpoints with a position. These view points acknowledge that the knowledge we argue for is shaped by the position we are engaged in. Secondly, rather than persisting on the false dichotomy of the impartiality of reason as in contradiction to bias, these viewpoints from below recognize the multiple and opposing nature of their reality. Lack of impartiality is not defined as lack of knowledge because these knowledges characteristic of being self-conscious can assist to see how doctrines of reason been used to distort, deny and erase the realities other than of the dominant group. Thirdly, the oppressed groups have experienced the fatal effects of the exclusive universalities disseminated by the West which are predicated on the disembodied universality of reason. Because of the embodied, social and collective character of situated knowledges, the opposite problem of descent can be avoided in to a particularistic relativism. Fourthly, rather than agreeing to the false preference of all-powerfulness or powerlessness, these knowledges can be acknowledged as partial and changing together with the attainments of continuing struggles. Finally, as engaged knowledges based on struggle and survival against the status quo, these knowledges must reflect on the issues of power. Fear, vulnerability, struggles to survive and thus issues of power and empowerment are at the heart of these knowledges. Thus, to construct an alternative explanation of the world is obligated to change power relations and to constitute subjectivities based on the experience of the dominated and the marginalized.

As Harding stated (1993:49), Harraway claimed that it turned out to be possible “to have simultaneously an account of radical historical contingency for all knowledge claims and knowing subjects, a critical practice for recognizing our ‘semiotic technologies’ for making meanings, and a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of real world.” For Harraway, feminist objectivity means situated knowledges. The standpoint epistemologists have claimed to provide a fundamental map or “logic” for how to do this problematic”. But for Harding, these maps can be misread if a person could not comprehend the standards used to make them. The critical point in reading the maps is to “have it both ways” by claiming that real knowledge that is socially situated.

Moreover, as Hartsock argued, (1998:244) the knowledges available to these multiple subjectivities that are described have different characteristics from that of the “disembodied and singular subject of the enlightenment”. The characteristics of this understanding have several primary common aspects with postmodern thinking such as; “qualities of multiplicity, of being locatable in time and space, and particular cultures of being embodied in specific ways”. For them, the “social location” is significant. Because of their historical and contextual specificity they are partial and therefore coming from “social locations” convey a multiple and contradictory reality. They aren’t permanent, they alter and they distinguish the change in relation with change in the historical conjuncture and the balance of forces. To the extent that these knowledges become self-conscious about their assumptions, they make available new epistemological options and go beyond efforts at survival in order to recognize the centrality of systematic power relations. So, this knowledges may turn out to be knowledges that are both accountable and engaged. In order to analyze these perspectives, it is necessary to comprehend the specific situations of oppression and the existential problems which emerged from the lives of the oppressed.

Smith (1988) (Charles, 1996:23-24) argues that “feminist research practice should never lose sight of women as actively constructing as well as interpreting the social processes and social relations which constitute their everyday realities.” As she argued the social relations have a material existence and are constituted by social actors. Thus, feminist researchers should expose the ways in which women’s

experiences of daily life are formed by and also form wider social relations. As Charles quotes (1996:24) Davies (1996) argued that rationality is not the only means of knowing: feeling is also a significant part of knowing. Roseneil's (1996) study (Charles, 1996:24) also demonstrate that the women's experience of 'fractured identities' is not a thing which they can be blamed for but it is a product of the opposing expectations there were placed on them.

In this understanding, women are epistemologically source of superior knowledge based on their exploited, dominated and subordinated position in society. Harding (1993:54) also argued that because knowledge claims are always socially situated and the dominant groups fail to critically and systematically to investigate their advantaged social position and the beliefs of dominant groups are effected by such advantages, their social position is a disadvantaged one for producing knowledge. Furthermore, their explanations become "practical politics" which legitimate exploitative relations. In parallel, Smith argued (1988) beginning with women's standpoint in the feminist research and practice generates a superior knowledge than beginning with the standpoint of men precisely because men have been successful in removing themselves from the daily tasks that are vital for the maintenance of social life. As, Harding (1993:57) quoted from Smith, Smith (1988) argues that it should not be a big surprise that men would not value women's activities as part of distinctively human culture and history because women's work does not have a social character looking form their perspective which is based on their activities. In addition, she states that we can produce questions about why it is basically women who are responsible for the body and emotional work, if we begin the analysis from women's lives, and besides what the results of this assignment are for the economy, state, family, the educational system and other social institutions. The importance of these questions is that they direct to less partial and less distorted understandings of women's worlds, men's worlds and the underlying relations between them than the questions which are only based on the part of human activity that men in the dominant groups preserve for themselves which is the supervision and administrating tasks based on abstract and mental work. Thus, they can theorize without interfering of daily tasks. This is why they could provide their theoretical explanations at an abstract level without connection to the material social processes in which most

women are closely involved in and which maintain the abstract world occupied mainly by men.

Moreover, Harding (1993) claims that the reality that societies are stratified by race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality or some other ascriptive categories and this reality is forming the structure of society while the activities of those at the top manage and set limits on the activities of all people together with their understanding about their situation. In contradiction with this, the activities of those at the bottom can be a source to see human's relations with each other and with natural world much more clearly. The reason behind is that the way marginalized groups' understanding of their own experience lives can sustain important problems to be analyzed or to become research agendas. Furthermore, rather than the understanding of the marginalized groups' of their own situation, the beliefs and activities of people at the center are used to make policies and engage in social practices effecting those marginal lives. According to Hartsock (1998:241-242) dominated groups experience a succession of "inversions, distortions and erasures" which can turn out to be epistemologically constructive. Moreover, every group lives the world in a manner which their experiences make them to see and to know characteristics of the world which is ambiguous, invisible or occasional and secondary for other groups.

Haraway (1988) and Hartsock (1997, 1998) similarly asked the question of how to maintain a radical and contingent account of knowledge claims and knowing subjects, thereby giving up the false "we", while preserving solidarity, across differences, among women in the name of a long-term or wide-ranging feminist movement. As Hartsock (1998) stated, for Gramsci (1971:346), the construction of subject is the consequence of the complex interchange of "individuals" and larger scale social effects. Moreover, in order to see individual as a series of active relationships which is a very important process, the concept of individual must be reformed. Together with this, it can be seen that the formation of the "collective subject" suggested by standpoint theories always necessitates a contingent and delicate reconstruction/transformation of these complex subject positions. Achieving standpoint necessitates self conscious transformation of individuals into resistant, oppositional and collective subjects. Moreover, similarly, Weeks (1995:101) also

argues that “this project of transforming subject positions into standpoints involves and active intervention, a conscious and concentrated effort to reinterpret and restructure our lives. A standpoint is a project not an inheritance, it is achieved not given.”

Within her materialist framework, Hartsock (1987:164) describes an epistemologically significant point that “double aspect” of women’s live can provide a very important “privileged point on male supremacy which would enable an analysis of social relations and a critic of the phallocratic institutions and ideology that form the basis of capitalist and patriarchal relations. For Hartsock (1987:174-175) the main mission of feminism is to “revalue” female experience search for common threads which connect the diverse experiences of women and articulate a standpoint that offers the possibility of a fully human community grounded in an analysis of women’s claims to knowledge. This analysis assumes a coherence of an account of gender identity rooted in the difference between two sexes.

As Hartsock (1998:228) made a quotation, De Lauretis Teresa (1990:116) claims that the existing situation of feminist theory necessitates a reconceptualization of the subject as multiply structured across variable axes of difference. She argued for to achieve a position outside the male heterosexual monopoly of knowledge since she thinks that the subject of feminist consciousness is different from the consciousness defined and constructed by women’s oppressions. The feminist consciousness is less pure and could be in conformity with the existing oppressor and is based on different positions structured with several axes of difference between women. Moreover, she claimed that the construction of “eccentric subjects” is leading to a change in the understanding of historical consciousness which means a double or multiple consciousnesses of similar oppressed groups which is not universal or coextensive with human thought. This consciousness was explained as historically determined but also is gained in a process of struggle and interpretation which let to a rewriting of self in relation to a new approach to community, to history and to culture. Hartsock declared that her De Lauretis’s (1990:144) arguments based on claiming the eccentric subjects are subjects are subjects of an remarkable knowledge which could led to a rethinking of self in association with a new comprehension of

community, history and culture are in agreement to Hartsock's (1998:233) claim that "adaptation of a feminist standpoint allowed one to see that the taken for granted common sense of Western culture is the "abstract masculinity" and a very destructive ideology.

In relation with their understanding of social reality, Hartsock (1998:242) described areas in which more theoretical study is required to be done. Firstly, the status of the "experience" should be theoretically analyzed. Secondly, the way the oppressed groups are constructed in relation with their oppression and marginalization should be inquired. These groups are given importance because they are seen as having the possibility of empowering themselves through comprehending their position in society with sharing their experiences. Thirdly, the relations between politics, epistemology and claims of epistemic privilege should be analyzed in detail and new understandings of engaged and accountable knowledge should be developed.

### **3.3. Qualitative Techniques of the Study: Indepth Interviews**

There are two different semi-structured interview questions. One of them is for the experts and the other is for the members of women's organizations. First type of interviews was conducted to analyze the general structure of rural development policy environment and its dynamics. Second group of interview was conducted to understand these women's problems, struggles and empowerment potential.

### **3.4. Participant Selection in Interviews with Experts**

The respondents for the indepth interviews with the experts were selected from the employees of the important rural development institutions / organizations in Turkey. Most of the respondents are employees of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Food at the Ankara policy making center and at the districts which cooperatives were founded. There are respondents who are representatives of the important rural development NGOs in Turkey, or who are working with relation with the BTC rural development investment program. There are three academic experts who are members of different universities and three gender and development related

project coordinator/directors were also interviewed. The respondents were selected according to their employment in significant organizations/institutions working in rural development in Turkey.

### **3.5. Participant Selection in Interviews with active members of rural women's organizations**

During sample selection, a sample which includes all nine regions of Turkey tried to be included in order to see the regional/ local differences between rural women's organizations. Moreover, since most of the women's cooperatives were founded at city centers, women's cooperatives which are founded in a village or a small town were selected. Both forms of cooperatives are chosen to see the similarities and differences between these two kinds of cooperatives in terms of their narratives of establishment, their in-group and out group relationships, their access to economic, cultural and political capital, their area of expertise, and their self-identification and self-actualization process. The rural development cooperatives are to be established in villages and funded by the Ministry of food, agriculture and animal husbandry. The women's cooperatives are on the other hand, are founded in towns and cities and there are more cooperatives in more urbanized, metropolitan cities with the main aim of creating income for women. Thus, women's cooperatives are characteristically more urban but it is acknowledged that the differentiation of urban from rural areas are at minimum in small towns and it is also important to see the ambiguity of urban-rural distinction in terms of economic and social relations in small towns. Moreover, in accordance with the funds for rural tourism in villages and creating additional income gathering activities similar to the ones in small towns, some of the cooperatives established in villages are not so different from women's cooperatives in small towns in terms of their establishment narratives and their aims.

There are only 4 village women association and the first one was only founded in 2002, which is the investigated one (Protection and Development Association of Women's of Saitabat Village). This one is especially selected since there were not any significant village women grassroots organizations in the two lists in the Marmara region. They were either at urban localities (the ones in women's

cooperatives) or were not really active. The women's associations were reached through the list of "Women's cooperative Union" declared at their web site. There are 43 women's associations in the list. Two of them were selected. Rural development cooperatives headed by women were reached through the list of Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Food in the sense that all these cooperatives are legally and technically bound the ministry. There are 36 rural development cooperatives of women in the list.

Only two women's cooperatives were selected which has been assumed to be have rural characteristics from the list of 43 women's cooperatives. One of them was localized at a Çadırkaya village at Erzurum named "Erkadın Cooperative" and founded with the encouragement of a development project of PAR Consultancy which is a company working with BTC consorsium which was carrying out rural development investment program in the villages regions of petroleum pipeline of Baku-Ceyhan. The other was a small town of Mardin; Kızıltepe. This cooperative was selected even it is at a small town but not at a village in the sense that there are no really active rural development cooperatives at Southeastern villages of Turkey since it is planned to at least have one cooperative from the Southeastern part of Turkey. From the 36 rural development cooperatives a selection was tried to be made according to the concentration of cooperatives at the 9 regions of Turkey. 3 from 14 cooperatives in the Central Anatolia region, 1 from 4 cooperatives in blacksea region, 1 from 4 cooperatives of Eastern Anatolia Region, 1 from cooperatives of 5 Aegan region, 1 from the 3 Mediterranean Region were selected. Their names are Ayaş Akaya cooperative, Nallıhan Davutoğlan cooperative, Sarıcakaya cooperative, Çayırtepe Cooperative, Çanakçı Karabörk and Kuşköy cooperative, Güney Ertuğrul cooperative, Erdemli Karabörk Cooperative. During this selection another dimension was to find really active cooperatives which are really managed by women. Thus, while trying to understand which cooperatives are really managed by women and active, information regarding current situation of all of them were gathered through phone calls and sometimes interviews with the district's general directorate of the ministry of agriculture, animal husbandry and food. Since there is no real active women's rural development cooperative in southeastern region, a cooperative could not be reached to be interviewed. This information is gathered through the R43, R44.

The list of the rural development cooperatives and women's cooperatives is at Appendix D

### **3.6. Methodological Discussions from The Field and Limitations of Research**

Methodological discussions of the study are mainly related with the problems of how to gather and analyze the knowledge. The methodological approach of this study have different assumptions about the epistemological concerns; claiming that every knowledge is situated and participants in the research are also active agents who create and interpret the social reality. In addition, the most exploited and dominated social groups are epistemologically in superior position to reveal the social reality in a more objective way. So, in this study, the subject position of the participants tried to be revealed and their views were tried to be analyzed in this way. A difficulty was to reveal the difference between participant's view points about rural development and rural women's empowerment and the view points of the institutions/ organizations they are employed in. As a second methodological concern, researcher has to state her point of view without involuntarily enforcing the participants to share her views during the interviews. As a third point, informal relations are very important in contacting the participants and taking sincere answers from them. People feel more secure to answer the questions, if the researcher mentions someone they know. Another difficulty was taking the answer of the question asked since some of the respondents repeatedly talked about other thinks unasked at the interviews. It is important to note that especially in the interviews with the active members of the women's organization, the time spend with them and doing daily activities with them also explained their subjective positions in their families, in their village and in their cooperative, and potential of their empowerment in economic, psychological, social, political, organizational dimensions.

In this study, the rural women grassroots organizations mainly based at villages as a population tried to be reached through two lists and search about village women associations. The sample was tried to be somewhat representative acknowledging the regional/ local differentiations between different villages in the different geographical locations of Turkey. However, since some of the women's cooperatives

are learned to be in the process of shutdown or never active at the time of the interview, some of the cooperatives in this study gave the information about the foundation and shutdown process rather than the actual working process of the cooperative. Since, it is discovered that the cooperatives being unsuccessful is very common together with the alternative of being taken over by men, it is assumed that it is also significant to show about these unsuccessful or inactive cases.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY**

#### **4.1. Introduction to Fourth Chapter**

In this chapter, the aim is to describe and discuss the current situation of Turkish agriculture, Turkish rural development policy, gender and development policies of Turkey and the projects and activities of state institutions, state organizations and Non-governmental Organizations regarding rural women in Turkey.

In the sub-section of underdevelopment and agriculture, firstly, the agricultural and rural development policies of Turkey will be presented in an historical continuum. Secondly, the current economic conditions of Turkish agricultural sector will be analyzed in relation with the landownership, regional differences in Turkey and poverty in rural areas.

After analyzing Turkish agricultural sector in relation with primary characteristics regarding landownership, regional differences and poverty; the rural development policies of Turkey, considering the IPARD (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Rural Development) program for integration to EU, will be elucidated. Afterwards, in the sub-section of “Underdevelopment, Rural Development and Rural Women in Turkey”, the conditions, position and role of rural women in rural development plans, programs and projects will be presented and discussed. This analysis will consider both the projects and activities of State institutions and organizations and Non-governmental organizations.

## 4.2. Underdevelopment and Agriculture in Turkey

In order to understand the situation of Turkish agricultural policies, it is important to consider the general economic conditions of Turkey in world economy as an underdeveloped country and in relation with the historical changes regarding the agriculture and food sectors' new situation in the world capitalist economy. As Oral (2006:7-84) discusses, Turkish agricultural structure has been subject to different agricultural and economic policies in accordance with the general economic conditions of Turkey in world economy. Oral divides (2006:x) the historical periods of Turkish economy regarding the changes in agricultural policy as; "Rebuilding of Turkish Agriculture According to Liberal Economy (1923-1929), State Capitalism (1930-1939), 2<sup>nd</sup> World War Years (1940- 1945), Relations With Imperialism and Export Oriented Industrialization (1946-1961), Introverted Dependent Growth (1962- 1979), 24 January -12 September Process: The Policies Against Labor (1980-1988), The Blocking of the Structural Adjustment Process and Financial Deregulation (1989- 1993) and 1994 Economic Crises and Decisions in the 5<sup>th</sup> of April". Keyder Ç. and Pamuk Ş. (1985), Keyder Ç. (1985, 1999), Pamuk Ş. (1984, 1987), Sönmez M. (1978, 1980, 1982, 1999) and Sönmez S. (2001) have also conducted studies on the historical change of agricultural policies in Turkey. In these periods, the general agricultural policies in Turkey were changed in relation to taxes in agricultural sector, the law and amendments regarding the land structure in Turkey resulting in granting land, expending of land per agricultural households or intensifying land, subsidies to agricultural producers regarding agricultural inputs and products. As it can be seen below at page, table 4 indicates a historical timeline of Turkish agricultural and rural development policies.

**Table 3: Historical Overview of Agricultural Policies and Rural Development in Turkey**

<b>Time Period</b>	<p><b>The Sectoral Government of rural areas (1923-1963):</b>  <u>1923-1929: Nation building and Liberalism:</u>  Policies were made in order to increase capitalization of agricultural production with mechanization of agricultural production and giving credits for inputs of agricultural production to the big-land owning farmers. 1923 Turkish Economics Congress in Izmir. The Law enabling tractor import of Ziraat Bank for agricultural producers in 1923  <u>1930-1939: State Capitalism</u>  From 1932 to 1940s- it is also called statism  <u>1935-1948: Land reform period</u>  1940-1945: (2. World War Years)  1946-1961: Relations with Imperialism and Import Substitution industrialization  <u>1948-1963: Agricultural Reform Policy period</u></p>
<b>Rural Strategy</b>	Rural Development through agricultural development
<b>Mechanisms of rural strategy</b>	Agricultural development Land reform
<b>Influential international organizations</b>	ABD Marshall Plan (1923-1963)
<b>Rural development projects funded by foreign sources</b>	
<b>Other rural development projects</b>	
<b>Time Period</b>	<p><b>Regional/ integrated government of rural areas (1963-80)</b>  1962-1979: Inward Oriented Foreign sources dependent Growth Strategy</p>
<b>Rural Strategy</b>	Multi-sectored, integrated/ regional rural development policy
<b>Mechanisms of rural strategy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community development</li> <li>• Merkezköy (centre village)</li> <li>• Köykent (village town)</li> <li>• Integrated rural development projects</li> </ul>
<b>Influential international organizations</b>	UN and WB
<b>Rural development projects funded by foreign sources</b>	Çorum- Çankırı Rural Development Project (1976-1984) funded by WB
<b>Other rural development projects</b>	

Source: Adopted from Kayıkcı (2009:26-27), T.C. ARDSI 2011b and Oran (2006)

**Table 3 (continued)**

<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Rural Areas governance (1980-)</b> 1980-1988: Economic Policies against Labor 1989-1994: Economic Deregulation with the crisis of structural adjustment Policies 1994- 2002: Neoliberal Economic policies with SAP of IMF 2003-2012: AKP policies in relation with integration process to EU
<b>Rural Development Strategy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Privatization</li> <li>• Localization: Regional approach to Rural development: in service provision and bottom-up projects (Especially after neoliberal policies):</li> <li>•Governance</li> </ul> <p>This policy approach allows for NGOs involvement in the policy making process</p>
<b>Mechanisms of Rural Strategy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Privatization</li> <li>• Regionalization (with bottom-up projects and in providing services</li> <li>• Governance</li> </ul>
<b>Influential International Organizations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• OECD</li> <li>• WB</li> <li>• UNDP</li> <li>• IFAD</li> <li>• EU</li> </ul>
<b>Rural Development Projects Funded by Foreign Sources</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ARIP ( agricultural reform implementation project) 2001-2007: Economic activities investment support and agricultural investments support (funded by WB) (includes direct income support system (DIS)+ Farmer transition +restructuring of ASC and ACSU+ project support services</li> <li>• ÇATAK: Protection of agricultural lands for environmental aims (2005-2008)</li> <li>• Eastern Anatolia Development program funded by EU (2004-2007)</li> <li>• Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) funded by EU, UNDP, WB and others (1989-2010)</li> <li>• Anatolia watershed rehabilitation project (2004-2012) funded by WB</li> <li>• Erzurum Rural development project (1984-1988) by IFAD and WB</li> <li>• Bingöl-Muş Rural development project (1990-1999) by IFAD and UNDP</li> <li>• Yozgat Rural development project (1991-2001) by IFAD and UNDP</li> <li>• Ordu-Giresun Rural development project (1997-2006) by IFAD and UNDP</li> <li>• Erzincan-Sivas Rural development project (2004-2010) by IFAD and UNDP</li> <li>• Diyarbakır-Batman-Siirt Rural development project (2007-2012) by IFAD and UNDP</li> </ul>
<b>Other Rural Development Projects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Village based participatory investment program (ARIP) (2001-2008)</li> <li>• Support Project for Infrastructure of Villages (KÖYDES)</li> <li>• Mesudiye KÖYKENT (village-town) project</li> <li>• Support Project for Infrastructure of Small Municipalities (BELDES)</li> <li>• Rural development investments support program (RDISP) (2006-2010)</li> </ul>

Source: Adopted from Kayıkçı (2009:26-27), T.C. ARDSI 2011b and Oran (2006)

### **Some important historical events in the agricultural and rural development policy of Turkey:**

- The Law enabling tractor import of Ziraat Bank for agricultural producers in 1923.
- Three important laws were enacted in 1924:
  1. The law numbered 498 regarding the foundation of Conventional Agricultural Associations (Itibari Ziraiye Birlikleri) in 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1924.
  2. The law numbered 432 regarding the foundation of Ministry of Agriculture
  3. The Village law numbered 442.
- The abolishment of the tax ‘Aşar’ and increasing the taxes for land ownership in 1925
- Starting of Cadastral Work in Rural areas in 1925
- Adoption of Civil Law in 1926 :Law for enabling giving premium to the farmers using tractors in agricultural production in the lands larger than 2 thousand decar
- Customs and Consumption Tax Exemption for the chemical inputs and fuel oil and gasoline for agricultural production.
- the acceptance of the documents giving user rights to some families in relation with the institutions of ‘timar and iltizam” of the Ottomon Empire for taking land possession rights in 1929
- The foundation of the law numbered 1470 regarding the foundation Agricultural Credit Cooperatives.
- The abolishment for tax exemptions of fuel oil and gasoline for tractor users and giving Compensation Payments for tractors of agricultural producers enabling them to buy new tractors using heavy oil
- The admittance of Turkey to ILO (International Labor Organization) in 1932
- The land reform was mentioned at government program (CHP/1.Bayar government) in 1937
- 1940 National Security Law
- Some policies of Government regarding implementing National Security Law:

1. Labor requirements for farmers to work in military service, highway construction
  2. Other constructive services
  3. Taxes of land, animal and highway
- Appropriation of agricultural products by State from 1941 to the end of War: At June 1942, new regulation was established based on the appropriation of a portion of grain products rather than all of them.
  - Provision of Land for Farmers Law (ÇTK): According to Keyder and Pamuk (1985) most of the land distributed (98%) is land owned by state.
  - 27 September 1946: The admittance of Turkey to IMF (which was transformed from Bretton Woods)
  - 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1946: The Admittance to UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration)
  - The foundation of OEEC in 1948 and its transformation in to OECD in 14.12 1960 in accordance with Paris Agreement (Turkey is one of the members of the OECD)
  - 1960: The admittance of Turkey to IDA (International Development Association)
  - 1947: Turkish Economic Development Plan
  - 1958 Paris Conference
  - The foundation of SPO (DPT) in 1960
  - The foundation of Village Development Cooperatives with the law of 1163 in 1969
  - The foundation of TKV in 1969
  - The foundation of Village Development Cooperatives with the law of 1163 in 1969
  - The foundation of Union of Village Development Cooperatives in 1971
  - The economic program decisions in 24<sup>th</sup> of January 1980 based on economic liberation in all sectors
  - The economic precautions implementation plan issued in 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1994
  - ARIP (Agricultural Reform Implementation Project which was planned by World Bank in 2001) whose implementation continued till to the 2008 and which was

also a commitment of Turkey for obtaining fund from IMF for the macro-economic stabilization programme aiming to reduce inflation rate and stabilize the general price level (OECD, 2011:46).

In the period between 1946- 1951, there are some important dates regarding the agricultural sector such as; Turkey's participation in Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944 which would be the beginning of IMF and World Bank and the Economic Cooperation Agreement between Turkey and USA in 1948 which would be Turkey's joining to Marshall Plan of USA with taking credits used in mechanization in agriculture, infrastructure development in mining, energy and transportation. As Oral argues (2006:viii) the agricultural policies in Turkey which were implemented to subsidy pretty commodity producers and farming households till 1980s with the enforcements of World Bank and International Money Fund, were based on decreasing the possibility of social conflict and class struggles coming from the farming households.

#### **4.2.1. The State of Turkish Agriculture and Rural Areas**

##### **4.2.1.1. The Restructuring of Turkish Agriculture**

Many studies (Aydın 2001, Aysu 2002, Günaydın 2002, Günaydın 2003, Emre 2003, Kendir 2003, Oyan 2004, Güler 2005, Oral 2006, Doğan 2006) examining the recent Turkish agriculture policies are based on analyzing the effects of structural adjustment programs which were implied in coordination with Turkish general macro-economic policies and agreements with IMF and WB. These structural adjustment programs are mainly based on a neo-liberal understanding of general economy and politics reducing the government expenditures to the minimum limit and redefining the state's role in general economy. An important phrase in the agricultural policy has started with the World Bank suggestions in agricultural sector in 1996. These suggestions were including the elimination of purchasing of agricultural products by the state enterprises, elimination of input subsidies, decreasing the taxes on agricultural trade, to utilization methods to diversify production facilities and to gradually closing and privatizing of State Economic

Enterprises of TEKEL (Directorate General of Enterprise of processing Tobacco, Tobacco products, Salt and Alcohol) TMO, TZDK, TŞFAŞ (State enterprise of Sugar Fabrics) and ÇAYKUR. These suggestions were repeated in IMF documents in the years 1999 to 2005 and gradually implemented in Turkish agriculture (Oral, 2006). In relation with this commitment to IMF, State Economic Enterprises of TEKEL, TZDK, TŞFAŞ were privatized and TMO was restructured with limiting its activities. TIGEM's land and facilities were rented to the private companies but the privatization of the enterprise could be an issue in the following years. In addition, the subsidy character of agriculture has been restructured by eliminating the general subsidies for agricultural and inputs but giving subsidies for projects of agricultural enterprises and civil organizations or agricultural cooperatives which would be examined in detail in the following sections of the study. The restructuring of Turkish agricultural sector can be summarized as follows in relation with the restructuring and privatization of related institutions:

#### **4.2.1.1.1. The Privatizations in Turkish Agricultural Sector**

1. Privatization of YEMSAN by selling all its components from 1993 to 1995 (T.C. Directorate of Privatization Administration, 2012)
2. Privatization of SEK from 1993 to 1998
3. Privatization of ORÜS from 1996 to 2000
4. Privatization of TZDAŞ from 1999 to 2003
5. Privatization of İGSAŞ in 2004 (İGSAŞ, 2012)
6. Privatization of TÜGSAŞ from 1999 to 2005
7. Leasing of TIGEM lands and equipments since 2004 (Oran, 2006:218)
8. Privatization of TEKEL in 2005
9. Privatization of EBK from 1995 to 2005
10. Privatization of ORÜS from 1996 to 2000
11. Restructurization of (TKKB,2012) in 2005 with the law numbered 5330 and with the legislative decree numbered 553.
12. Privatization of TŞFAŞ from 2009 to 2011 (T.C. (ÖİB) Directorate of Privatization Administration, 2012)

In addition to the Turkey's commitments to IMF and projects supervised by World Bank, Turkey has been subject to General Tariffs and Trade Agreement of World Trade Organization (WTO) which aims to liberalization of World Trade. GATT agreements were formulated with periodical discussions named as "trade rounds" between the countries representatives. There are two major agreements regarding the Turkish Agricultural Policy; first one is GATT agreement on Agriculture in Uruguay Round (8<sup>th</sup> round) which had been signed in 1994 (Oral, 2006:86). In the Uruguay round three areas of concern were determined as; access to market in terms of quantitative restrictions on agricultural imports, agricultural export subsidies and domestic agricultural subsidies (Sayın, Taşçıoğlu and Mencet, 2011:4- 5).

Market access implies the alteration of the non-tariff barriers to tariffs and the prevention of any further non-tariff barriers. According to the agreement, "developing countries" were allowed to make reduction in their tariffs with an average of 24 percent in ten years while developed countries should decrease their tariffs with an average of 36 percent in six years based on the tariffs of 1986- 1988 period. In addition, the tariff reduction per product is at least 10 percent in developing countries while at least 15 percent for developed countries. Turkey has agreed on reducing the tariffs with an average of 24 percent with equal portions each year and per product 10 percent tariff reduction till the year of 2004. This difference between 24 percent average and 10 percent per product allows for the choosing of the tariffs to be reduced in maximum amount and to be reduced in minimum amount. The minimal access requirement has not been applied to Turkish requirements. Second item of "agricultural export subsidies" implies the (Gonzales 2002:461) the reduction of export subsidies in relation with the amount of agricultural products. In relation with this rule the subsidies would be decreased 36 percent in value and the subsidized export amount would be reduced 14 percent in six years based on the average of the export subsidies in the time period between 1986 and 1990. Turkey has agreed to these reductions in value and amount in 44 products in ten years.

**Table 4: GATT Agreement Tariff Rates, Turkey, (%)**

Tariffs Area	Base Year Rate	2004 Highest Limit	The Average of Tariff Reductions	The Interval of Tariff Reductions
01 Alive Animal	43,5	37,6	12,9	10-33
02 Meat and others	195,1	175,3	10,2	10-22
04 Milk and others	131,1	117,2	10,8	10-23
05 Other meat products	21,0	10,6	49,5	22-72
06 Trees, Roots Flowers, and others	33,0	28,8	12,6	10-27
07 Eatable Vegetables, Roots and others	35,6	30,0	15,8	10-23
08 Eatable Fruits and others	64,1	53,4	16,7	10-60
09 Coffee, Tea and others	85, 3	56,8	33,7	22-50
10 Grain	161,1	145,0	10,0	10
12 Oily Seeds, Seeds and Hay	34,1	43,3	35,2	14-67
14 Other Vegetables	41,3	22,1	59,1	56-60
15 Animal and Vegetable Oil	40,6	29,7	27,5	22-50
16 Meat and Fish products	90,3	82,1	10,0	10
17 Sugar and sugar products	113,1	90,7	19,8	10-39
18 cocoa and Cocoa products	69,2	51,0	26,2	10-38
19 Grain, Flour and Milk products	64,1	55,4	13,6	10-22
20 Vegetable and Fruits products	73,8	59,6	19,3	10-22
21 Other eatable products	70,5	51,4	27,0	20-34
22 Beverages with and without alcohol	87,6	70,7	19,2	15-37
23 Food Industry Residuals	11,3	10,0	11,0	10-17
24 Tobacco and related products	150,0	113,1	24,6	10-28
52.01 Raw Cotton	10,0	6,0	40,0	40
52. 02 Cotton Waste	20,0	12,0	40,0	40
52. 03 Harrowed Cotton	20,0	12,6	37,0	37

Source: TUSUIAD (1999:82)

As it can be seen from the table 4 above, while meat and other, milk and other, grains, sugar and sugar related products, Meat and Fish products, tariffs reduction were near the minimum limit of 10 percent, tariff reductions were near 40 percent in most of the other products to maintain 24 percent average of all tariff reductions for the whole of all products.

As the third component of Uruguay GATT agreements, “domestic agricultural subsidies” were reorganized. Domestic agricultural subsidies were to be reduced 20 percent in six years in developed countries and to be reduced 13, 36 percent in developing countries in ten years. “De Minimis” rule also states that the subsidies should not exceed 5 percent of the production value of the product and not exceed 10 percent of the production value of the products. Turkey has no additional requirement for domestic agricultural subsidies since its subsidies do not exceed 10 percent of the value of the product. We have other subsidies regarding investment subsidies and input subsidies. According to the Şahinöz (1996:300), the GATT Uruguay round decisions were enforcing dishonest trading because of the differences between developed and underdeveloped countries in terms of production amount per person, production costs, infrastructure of trade.

The other GATT Agreement round was made at the Doha (Katar’s capital) in 2001. GATT rounds were planned to be finished until to the date of January 2005. However, the Doha rounds could not be finished with an agreement. The negotiations were suspended in July 2006, restarted in 2007 and framework for the agreements regarding agriculture and non-agricultural market access were determined at the end of 2008. Till the beginning of 2009, the problematic areas regarding the measures of WTO against “protectionism” and scheduling the “special” and “sensitive” products could not be solved. The negotiations are intended to be completed in the year 2011. (T.C. Ministry of Economy, 2011:8). In addition, the T.C. M. of Economy (2011:9) declared that Doha round of GATT agreement in agricultural sector is negotiated in three sub-titles as; competition in exports, domestic agricultural subsidies, market access with an additional title regarding cotton. Since the agricultural tariffs were agreed upon by all countries in the section of market access, the important issue of negotiations regarding Turkey’s agricultural

policy is the decisions about “special safeguard mechanism- SSM” which would determine the tariffs about “sensitive products” and “special products”.

Many studies (Aysu A. 2002, Emre E. 2003, Günaydın G. 2002, Güler B. A. 2005, Kendir H. 2003, Oyan O. 2004, Yenal Z. 2001) regarding the restructuring of agricultural sector in Turkey argued that the structural adjustment policies implemented in underdeveloped countries like Turkey, will increase the penetration of global capital into agriculture and the production relations in agriculture will be transformed qualitatively. These studies also argue that with the influence of global capitalist development through the implementation of neo-liberal policies and structural adjustment programs constituted with the guidance of IMF and World Bank, Turkey has been through transformative changes and becoming a more dependent country. The agricultural sector of Turkey is also becoming more dependent and Turkey is losing its self-sufficiency in agricultural products due to increasing liberalization and deregulation in agricultural products. In the process of global capitalist development in Turkey, with the influence of IMF and World Bank and World Trade Organization, the structural adjustment programs which have been implemented with increasing amount has started to be implemented in agriculture and the state subsidies and protection in agriculture has been gradually reduced.

This is still an ongoing process since Turkey has not fully deregulated and liberated its agricultural products. This process has started with reducing the role of state in organizing and subsidizing the agricultural production and continues with the decreasing in the trade tariffs and enforcing standards in agricultural products with the GATTs agreement in agriculture. Thus, this study project assumes that the underdevelopment is preventing the development of agricultural sector.

Regarding with these commitments and related restructuring of agricultural sector, rural development policy has been altered according to the integration process to EU with “Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Rural Development Programme (IPARD)”. IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:8) is a component of the general “Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance” of the EU which establishes the structure of integrating to European Union for the candidate countries like Turkey. IPA also

includes “assistance for transition and institution building, cross-border cooperation (with EU member states and other eligible countries for IPA), regional development (transport, environment, regional and economic development), human resources development (strengthening human capital and combating exclusion).

Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry has prepared its IPARD program and announced and revised it annually. The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:2) interpreted the policies of restructuring agricultural sector and rural state institutions as an indispensable and necessary element of general economic policies of Turkey at that time which aims to stabilize the economy and imply structural reforms with firm monetary, fiscal, and incomes' policies. This general economic policy was applied to decrease the debt stock and inflation rate and accordingly ensure macroeconomic stability and efficient, flexible and productive economy. In addition to the firm monetary, fiscal and incomes policies, other regulations were implemented regarding public finance, financial sector and private sector investments. According to SPO plan (2007:1), acknowledging the general economic problems of Turkey, the main problems of crop production are efficiency, marketing and subsidies. The sectoral growth rate has fluctuated between years in relation with the general economic policies and agricultural policies of Turkey.

The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:2) also identified some characteristics of Turkish development such as;

an overall growing economy with frequent periods of economic crisis; a growing population with great disparities of income and capabilities, especially between urban and rural areas and different sectors of the economy; a rich endowment of natural resources strained by overconsumption and poor management and more so concentrated in the agricultural sector and rural areas.

In relation with the previously mentioned historical trends in agricultural sector in Turkey, it would be informative to mention some important historical policy changes in the agricultural sector. It can be argued that after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the agricultural sector had been modernized and mechanized. According to the Oral (2006:43), the period between 1946-53 is the period of agricultural development due

to the mechanization in agriculture and increasing of subsidies in agricultural production especially through credits of Agricultural Bank. As Oral (2006:45) argues in the period between 1946 and 1962, the industrial capital has transformed in the sense that there is an increase in the general share of private sector in industry and an increase in the investment goods in industrial sector relative to consumed goods and increase in the intensification and centralization of capital and fourthly an increase in the monopoly capital that is joined with international capital.

As Oral claims (2006:55), the agricultural subsidies in the period between 1962 and 1979 were mainly used by the big landowner households and intensify the inequalities between small and big land owner households in agriculture. As Oral (2006) mentions, according to the survey of Agricultural Bank (1973), the state credits were mainly used by the big landowners. While the 44 % of agricultural credits were given by organized sources, the 56 % of agricultural credits were given by non-organized sources. But the 70 % of the credits of small landowners were given by non-organized sources. These non organized sources were mainly users and merchants.

In this study, it is assumed that the dominant mode of production is petty commodity production in Turkish agriculture. The conditions of underdevelopment affecting Turkish agriculture enabled the penetration of transnational capital to Turkish agriculture. The extent of this penetration is dependent on the relationship between transnational capital and the petty commodity producers which are the dominant mode of production in Turkish agriculture. The agricultural policy of Turkey was based on subsidizing the small and middle sized farming households in agriculture and animal husbandry till the restructuring of agricultural sector after 1980. Supports to the domestic agricultural products were mainly based on commodity price subsidies for crop commodities and variable input subsidies. Commodity price subsidies were carried out by the purchasing of State Economic Enterprises the products of grains, pulses, sugar, tobacco, tea and purchasing of the Agricultural Sales Co- operatives Unions (ASCUs) the products of horticultural crops, cotton, oilseeds, nuts and olive oil. The Agricultural Bank was the main provider of agricultural credit and subsidies for agricultural inputs until the reform in 2001

(OECD, 2011:42 – 45). But after 2001, Agricultural Bank has started to give credits to farmers with only sufficient collateral; Agricultural Sales Cooperative Unions (ASCUs) and State Economic Enterprises (SEEs). The Agricultural Credit Cooperatives (ACCs) mainly distributes the credits to the farmers. Until 1994, ASCUs were authorized to set prices for members' commodities and to purchase from producers on the behalf of the state as support mechanism. After 1994, ASCUs lost their authority to purchase on the behalf of the government. In 2000, the ASCU law which decreased the government role to management of co-operative and giving these Co-operatives independence from government and financial autonomy. Also within the ARIP framework in 2001, financial aid was given to the restructuring and transformation of ASCUs into independent, financially autonomous and self-managed co-operatives selling and processing their members' products to domestic or foreign merchants or industrialists. However, Oral (2006: 267 - 271) argued the restructuring of ASCUs is a process of de-functioning these Co-operatives since they were forced to financial crises to continue on purchasing and selling the agricultural products and firstly their industrial establishments and secondly their establishments regarding trade would be enforced to be privatized.

The economic precautions implementation plan was issued in 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1994 which was based on advancing economic liberation program of 1980. The plan which was issued in 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1994 (Oral, 2006:86-87) includes basic principles such as;

1. In subsidies in the form of purchasing agricultural products from the producers with a predetermined price, the prices will be determined taking into consideration of the world prices, prices of other agricultural products, wages and salaries.
2. Direct Payments and ensuring credit opportunities for producers will be increased rather than price support for producers
3. Supporting purchases will be limited in the products grain, sugar beet and tobacco.

4. The subsidies for agricultural inputs will be limited and prices of inputs that are disseminated by state organizations will be determined by market conditions.
5. The institutions and organizations of agriculture will not be financed directly or indirectly by Central Bank.
6. In the products with excess supply, especially tobacco, the plantation land will be limited and precautions for decreasing production will be taken.
7. The State Economic Enterprise EBK (SEE regarding the production and processing of Meat and Fish) and YEMSAN will be privatized. TZDK will be privatized or closed until the end of the year. TEKEL fabrics of beer in Ankara, Bomanti and Cibali tobacco fabric will be closed until the end of the year 1994.

Being a State Economic Enterprise ORÜS was added on the privatization program in 1992 and privatized in January 1996 with its eight enterprise facilities. As Oral (2006:265) claims with the privatization of ORÜS enterprises, the forestry products processing industry's general production and employment capacity decreased a great amount causing migration from the immediate area of these enterprises to other more developed regions.

In relation with these measures after related with the economic decisions of 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1994, other policy reforms were implemented in agriculture in 2001 as ARIP (Agricultural Reform Implementation Project; it was prepared by World Bank) which result and the elimination of price, credit and input subsidies in agriculture and utilizing only Direct Income Subsidy; reducing the role of State Economic Enterprises in agricultural marketing; limiting the production of some agricultural products with quota some products with limiting land areas; restructuring of agricultural Co-operatives; and privatization of state institutions making activities in distribution, marketing and research and development in agricultural sector (OECD, 2011:44 and Oral, 2006:ix). ARIP was amended in 2005 by funds of World Bank for cadastral works, rural development activities and agri-environmental policies and extended to the end of 2008. The ARIP projects include land consolidation, the Village Based Participatory Investments Programme, Licensed Warehousing

Investments and the Conservation of Agricultural Lands for Environmental Purposes (ÇATAK) (OECD, 2011: 47). In addition Direct Income Subsidy payments were ended in 2009 while the “diesel” and “fertilizer” payments were given for the farmers who qualify for DIS payments starting from 2003.

About the subsidies of government in agriculture, (SPO, 2006a:31) it is stated that direct income subsidy payments were used to maintain stability. In this regard, the “Agricultural Strategy 2006-2010” and 2006 “Agriculture Law” was constructed to maintain a stable and predictable environment for producers to conduct production planning. The law of 5363 agricultural insurance and law for licensed warehouse in agricultural products were constituted with the aim of developing markets for agricultural products and improving risk management.

TZDK (the state economic enterprise to supply the agricultural equipment, chemical fertilizers and pesticide to the farmers) was taken as one of the state institutions to be privatized in 1998 and it was liquidated in May 2000. The 9<sup>th</sup> development plan (T.C. SPO, 2006a:57) also declared from the withdrawal from the processing of sugar, tobacco and tea products by the year 2013 while TMO (Soil Products Office) will be restructured. As a component of the 2001 reforms, the activities of TMO in grain production were reduced but the Office was involved in the purchase of Hazelnuts till 2009. TEKEL’s (Tobacco, Alcoholic Drinks and Salt production state enterprise) production units were privatized in 2008 and with the Sugar Law in 2001, the sugar processing was limited with quotas according to the standards of EU.

The sugar law in 4<sup>th</sup> of April in 2001 was based on the commitments to IMF and the regulations according to this law (Oral 2006:251- 252);

1. The sugar fabrics which were connected to the state enterprise of TŞFAŞ (Turkish Sugar Fabrics Cooperation) were prepared to be privatized.
2. A Sugar Institution which would manage TŞFAŞ through a Sugar Committee.
3. Sugar Committee would be composed of seven members that would be appointed by Council of Ministers.

4. Sugar purchase prices would be determined by managements of sugar fabrics independently.

Other state economic enterprises which work in animal husbandry were EBK (the Processing of Meat and Fish and later also Poultry), SEK (Milk and Milk Related Products Industry), YEMSAN (Feed Industry Corporation). All of these state enterprises were privatized. According to Günaydın (2005:236), these privatizations have consequences such as;

1. The privatized establishments were utilized in other functions.
2. The oligopolistic enterprises that were established after privatizations purchase the products of farmers with lower prices but selling to consumers with higher prices.
3. The farmers were enforced to sell their milk and meat products with lower prices but supply the necessary inputs with high prices which cause many of them to quit animal husbandry.
4. The problems of animal husbandry enforced the farmers to quit farming and become unemployed and/ or migrate to urban centres.
5. The deterioration of animal husbandry sector also increased poverty and hunger especially in the regions of Eastern Anatolia region and Southeastern Anatolia Region.

TİGEM (General Directorate of Agricultural Enterprises which mainly deals with research and development in the agricultural seeds and breeding in husbandry and other inputs in agriculture) was planned to be privatized but after strong arguments against its privatization TİGEM lands and equipments were decided to be rented to the private enterprises in August 2004 (Oral, 2006:218). Oral (2006:218) also argued against the privatization of TİGEM with declaring reasons such as;

1. Dependency to international capital in seed development and animal breeding will increase and fertile land areas will be used by international private enterprises.

2. Turkey would give up research and development activities in seeding and animal breeding which will diminish the local seeds and animal breeding in Turkey.
3. TIGEM's facilities aiming to increase productivity and in animal husbandry and crop production and to advance these sectors by providing inputs to farmers would be ceased and these facilities would be let to the private international enterprises' research and development laboratories.
4. The control and supervision of seeds and pesticides in the national level which was executed by this state institution could not be carried out and both the genetically modified seeds and pesticides would easily be implemented by these international companies in Turkey.
5. With the increase in the dependency in the production of seeds and animal breeding, the farmers would be forced to purchase the seeds, pesticides and other chemical inputs from the oligopoly of national and international companies.

#### **4.2.1.2. Turkish Agricultural Sector in Relation with General Conditions of Turkish Economy**

T.C. SPO (2006b:6) identified the strong and weak characteristics of Turkish rural areas in “national rural development strategy” in SWOT analysis. The strong characteristics were stated as:

extensive agricultural land (dry, wet and irrigable) and irrigation opportunities, abundance of agricultural production potential (crop production, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery) and potential for product diversity, diversity of inputs and raw materials for agricultural industry, rural labor force potential, diversity of local products which can be converted to trademark, completion of transport, communication and electricity infrastructure to a large extent, diversity of flora and fauna, low environmental pollution and existence of potential for organic agriculture, richness of culture and tourism assets, and their high potential in respect of tourism, diversity of traditional crafts and handicrafts, the experience obtained in rural development projects, increasing number of non-governmental organizations engaged in rural development, prevalence of public institutions.

Weak points were stated as:

high dependency of rural employment and income sources on agricultural activities; prevalence of hidden unemployment and informal employment in agriculture sector; small scale and fragmented agricultural holdings; inadequacy of agricultural training and extension services and cooperation; difficulties in conformance with standards and quality; problems regarding agriculture-industry integration and inefficiency of marketing activities; insufficiency of capital and financial resources; dependency of production on natural conditions and low productivity; prevalence of poverty in rural settlements, especially in forest villages; low education level and low schooling ratio of female students; necessity of improving efficiency of education, health and social security services; small, scattered, unplanned settlement units and high number of settlements; insufficiency of rural infrastructure and modernization requirements of the existing infrastructure; problems regarding balance of conservation-utilisation of natural resources (land, water, forest, pasture and grassland, fishery resources etc.); low soil quality; widespread erosion due to rough terrain; inappropriate utilization of land resources due to ignoring of soil capability; inadequate coordination between public institutions providing services to rural population; inadequacy of data required analyzing economic and social structures of rural areas.

In the plan also the threats were also recognized as;

Detoriation in macroeconomic stability; changing trend in agricultural support policies and further liberalization of international trade; increasing of adverse socio-economic problems in the restructuring process of agriculture, such as unemployment and poverty; migration of young and qualified labor force from rural areas, loss of productive factors and ageing population; increasing pressure of rapid urbanization, industrialization, and developing tourism activities on natural resources; global environmental problems; rising oil and other input prices in the world, growing intra and inter-regional development disparities.

Moreover in the T.C. SPO Plan (2006b:7), the important problems in agricultural structure were defined as; the problems regarding agricultural subsidies, agricultural credits problems, the lack of insufficient irrigation investments, fragmentary land structure in agriculture, the problems regarding the scale of agricultural holdings, the insufficiency of organization and marketing infrastructure.

In the IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:11) considerable importance is given to the economic GAP between Turkey and OECD member states in terms of purchasing power parity GDP per capita with baseline indicators. Turkish figures are

the lowest in OECD countries (2005 data) and correspond to 26% of the EU-15 average. As IPARD report (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:12) quoted from OECD report (2000), compared to EU countries, Turkey has a much larger population in rural areas. According to this report, 58% of the total Turkish population was living in “predominantly rural areas” in 1990 but it reduced to 40% in 2000. The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a) mentioned that there is a tendency to migrate from more rural areas to the less rural regions and towards predominantly urban regions in years from 1990s to 2000s.

There are some additional notes in the plan (MARA, 2011:46) about the change of agricultural structure and rural areas:

- The agricultural employment increased 149 thousand people in the period 2007-2008. 721 thousand of the total employed population of 7.184 in rural areas is illiterate. The 76, 3 of this illiterate employed people are women.
- The ratio of the age group of 15-24 in the rural total employment (7184) is 15.5. The ratio of the same age group in rural unemployment is 36, 7.
- While of the 44,2 % of the unemployed 7.3 million people in agriculture is working at housework, 8,4 % of them is retired, 2,9 % is seasonal worker, and 22,3 % is unable to work.
- The 24 % of unemployed in agricultural sector has been unemployed for more than one year.
- The 84, 1 % of employed women in rural areas work in agriculture.
- Of the 3, 6 million farmers in rural areas, 2 million is men and 1,6 million is women.
- Of the 5 million population employed in agriculture in Turkey country wide, 2, 3 million (47 %) of them is women.
- Of the 5 million population employed in agriculture in Turkey country wide, 434 thousand of them is casually paid, 104 thousand of them is employer, 2,2 of them is self-employed and 2.3 million of them is unpaid family labor. 1,8 million (78 % ) of the unpaid family labor is women. 4,4 million people working in agricultural sector (87 % of the total people

employed in agricultural) is not included in the social security system of Turkey

As it is stated in the plan, the agricultural employment has decreased 700 thousand in the years between 2004 and 2008. The non-agricultural employment is higher in the relatively developed regions. As it is argued by the same plan (MARA, 2011:46), the employment in agricultural sector is in a decreasing tendency. This tendency is expected to let unemployment people search for job opportunities in other sectors in the near or far away urban areas. The plan advises for the employment of these people in non-agricultural economic facilities in their hometown with the creation of job opportunities in these regions. However, as one of the interviewed experts of state R39 said the government knows that the population living in rural areas and engaged in subsistence farming will decrease but they do not formulate a sound policy about it since they could not decide on the ideal rate of decrease in rural population; whether it should be %5 or %15. Moreover, in the “National Rural Development Strategy”, Third goal of this strategy is mentioned as reducing the negative effects of agricultural restructuring in socio-economic and environmental conditions of rural areas. These statements show that the national institutions that are responsible for policy formulating in agriculture are presuming that the recent agricultural and rural development policies will not be sufficient to hold population in rural areas. In agreement with this, R49 and R53 mentioned that there is a great migration from rural areas to urban areas that cannot be changed by a number of projects but with long term state policies which would plan and coordinate agricultural production considering macro level (global level) agricultural sector and Turkey’s agricultural potential and resources. R53 also mentioned there are high decreases in the level of agricultural production with the lack of young labor in the villages and aging of rural areas.

In the process of restructuring of the agricultural sector since 1990s and the abolishment of credits and input subsidy mechanism of the state to agricultural production was decreased. In accordance with this, the women farmers (R16, R17, R18) in Ertuğrul village complained about the high prices of inputs (fertilizers, insecticides) and they and others (R1, R2, R4) complained about low prices of their

agricultural products. In relation with this difficulty, one of the R 48 mentioned that the rural development projects have to assist farmers to increase their income over their expenses in agricultural production through participatory process with acknowledging the regional resources and environmental conditions.

As another problem in rural areas, no specific policies for improving of the living and working conditions of agricultural seasonal laborers who are the most poor and vulnerable category in agriculture were mentioned in national agricultural and rural development policy documents. The policies regarding them are mostly implemented by regional/ local MFAAH personnel, regional/ local Ministry of Labor and Social Security Personnel and regional development agency personnel at the provincial and district level. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security has prepared a strategy and action plan in 2010. This plan (2010), has formulated new regulations in the issues of transportation, education, health, sheltering, social security and the working conditions. However, implementing of this policy is not easy since it needs convincing the mediator agents of these laborers to the new system. R46 mentioned that the project of settlement of these agricultural laborers in prefabricated houses (already built by provincial administration) could not be achieved in Afyon rural areas since the mediator agent of these agricultural laborers did not register to the ISKUR provincial directorate.

As in other studies (Ecevit and Ecevit 2002) mentioned, there is a tendency of using rural areas residence and subsistence economy but sending male members of the household to be wage labor in urbanized areas. As a similar occurrence, in villages which are near to small towns or city centers, there is a tendency of young male members of the communities to be wage laborers in the city center mainly in service sector and in industrial sector as it was observed in the research of this study in Çayırtepe and Kösbucağı. In these two cases young males of the households of who could find job in the city center of Erzurum and Mersin or Erdemli / Mersin were working at there at wage laborers. In these cases, subsistence agricultural labor is continuously done by the female members and older members of the family. In some cases, it was mentioned that the young people who could find jobs in the city center

are moving to the city center in the villages; Ertuğrul in Denizli, Saitabat in Bursa, Çayırtepe in Erzincan.

The state policy to hold rural people at the rural areas is about increasing the other income opportunities in rural areas which would require increasing effort, effectiveness and coordination of related institutions in rural areas. The most visible structural problem in rural areas seems to be unskilled labor force in rural areas which would limit the employment opportunities in non-agricultural sectors that would enable economic resource efficiency which would be needed to increase income generating activities for rural people. Thus, the advancement of non-agricultural employment in rural areas is related with the socio-economic development of the region and the quality of agriculture in the region.

#### 4.2.1.2.1. Land Ownership and Utilization

The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:9) compared Turkish land EU land utilization, land classification and land ownership. Moreover, the programme classified the land use in farming in three main types as; intensive farming (18 %), semi-intensive farming (2, 9 %) and extensive farming (78, 5 %). Moreover, intensive and extensive livestock farming are identified as the main livestock farming types and extensive livestock farming is more dominant in Turkey which leads to the intensive use of pasture land.

**Table 5: Land Utilization Type**

<b>Land Utilization Type</b>	<b>Area (Ha)</b>	<b>(%)</b>
Farming Land	26.590.000	34,13
Unused And Undeveloped Potentially Productive Land	1.944 .340	2,50
<b>Pasture Land</b>	21.505.168	27,61
- Meadow	646.691	0,83
- Grassland And Permanent Pasture	20.858.477	26,78
<b>Forest / Brush</b>	23.227.975	29,82
- Forest Land	15.184.879	19,49
- Brush Land	8.043.096	10,33
Water Surface	1.158.109	1,48
Other Land	3.474.108	4,46
<b>Total</b>	<b>77.899.700</b>	<b>100,00</b>

Source : T.C. SPO (2006a:42) taken from TURKSTAT (2004)

As it can be seen from the table 5, the farming land in Turkey is 34, 1 % of the total land. But unused and potentially productive land is 2,5 % of the total land. According to TURKSTAT'S agricultural structure annual surveys for the period 1984-2004, the total farming land of Turkey decreased by 3,0%. Since 1995 this trend slowed-down, with a decrease of 0, 9 % for the period 1995-2004. (T.C. ARDSI, IPARD programme, 2011a:9)

In addition to land use type in Turkey, it is important to acknowledge the state of the quality of farming land in Turkey, to analyze the agricultural structure of Turkey and development capabilities in agricultural sector.

**Table 6: Agricultural Land Usage Capabilities in Turkey**

The Classification Regarding The Land Usage Capabilities	Classification Of Lands According To Irrigability	Acreage (Hectar)	Acreage (%)
<b>Arable Land</b>	1- Irrigable	5.012.537	6,4
	2- Irrigable	6.758.702	8,7
	3- Irrigable	7.574.330	9,7
	4-Restrictedly Irrigable	7.201.016	9,3
	<b>Total Arable Land</b>	<b>26.546.585</b>	<b>34,1</b>
<b>Non-Arable Land</b>	5-Irrigable with Measures	165.547	0,2
	6-Not Irrigable	10.238.533	13,2
	7-Not Irrigable	36.288.553	46,6
	<b>Total Non-Arable Land</b>	<b>46.692.633</b>	<b>60,0</b>
<b>Land Not Fit For Cultivation</b>	8-Not Fit For Cultivation	4.557.909	<b>5,9</b>
	<b>Total Land</b>	<b>77.797.127</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:49) (taken from TURKSTAT 2001 General Agricultural Census Agricultural Householdings)

As it can be seen from the table 6 above, the 60 % of the total land in Turkey is non-arable due to lack of irrigation while 34,1 % of total land is arable farming land. According to the TURKSTAT general agricultural census results, the amount of agricultural land in Turkey is 22, 1 million hectares, 18, 4 of which is under the possession of agricultural farming households. In addition, the farmer registry system's temporary results indicate that the registered land is 16, 7 million hectares

with a number of 2, 6 million households by 2007. As the plan stated (2011:48), cadastral activities in Turkey has been carried out by three different state institutions namely; general directorate of land registry and cadastre, general directorate of forestry and ministry of food and agriculture and animal husbandry which can cause coordination problems and inefficiency. The plan also identified the problems of Turkish agricultural land structure as; utilization of fertile land in non-agricultural activities and the existence small scale agricultural holdings with scattered lands without geometrical parcel structure. The major characteristic of agricultural structure in Turkey is the fact that Turkish agricultural activities are carried out by subsistence and semi-subsistence family farming households. These small farm households are scattered and in small parceled lands. The plan (2009:54) argued that in order to maintain efficient, high-quality, market oriented farming in these households; an efficient agricultural organizational framework is required.

The MARA plan (2011:49-50) claims that scattered and small land structure decreases the efficiency in agricultural production with hardening the utilization of technology, decreasing labor efficiency and preventing capital accumulation. In addition to the rural land scale structure in Turkey, the possession of the agricultural house holdings is important to analyze the farming land structure in Turkey. Some of the respondents (R9 and R10) mentioned about the problems about the scattered and small sized fielding land problems and government's new legal reforms to unite scattered land by exchanging lands. However, as R9 said, it would be rather complicated to share the fields since the quality of the lands also differ in some cases and it can cause conflicts between shareholders. It can be seen from the special emphasis in plan of T.C. SPO (2006a:61), the rural development policy is based on increasing the economic contribution of some rural agricultural activities above others. In this regard, the animal husbandry production, cattle culture breeding and cross breeding in cattle breeding, utilization of certified seed in grain production, organic farming is given more emphasis in general agricultural production in Turkey. T.C. SPO (2006a:61) also gave emphasis on the importance of land reform in regards to irrigation, consolidation of land and afforestation.

**Table 7: Priority Given Agricultural Activities**

	<b>2006</b>	<b>2013</b>
The share of animal husbandry production in the total agricultural production	28,0 %	37,0 %
The share of certified seed usage in grain production (wheat and barley )	30,0 %	50,0 %
The share of the cattle culture breeding and cross breeding in cattle breeding.	67,0 %	77,0 %
The share of organic farming in total farming.	1,0 %	3,0 %

Source: T.C. SPO (2006a:61).

Table 7 indicates, the goal of increasing animal breeding from 28,0 % to 37,0 % of all agricultural activities, certified seed usage in grain production from 30% to 50% of all grain production, the cattle culture breeding and cross breeding from 67% to 77 % of all cattle breeding, organic farming from 1 % to 3 % of all farming. These activities were given priority in the rural development agenda of Turkey in the sense that they would be supported in rural development programs and projects.

As the IPARD programme states (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:60) since 1980s, Turkey has been producing organic products first according to national regulations and then according to the EU legislation (no: 2092/91). Moreover, organic production increased from 292.000 tons in 2003 to 458.095 tons in 2006 (MAFAAH, 2006 data) and % 95 of these products were exported as processed products to EU, USA, Canada, China, Japan and New Zealand. Contrasting with this data, domestic consumption of organic products has started after 1990s through healthy food and specialized shops. The programme analyzes the lack of consumption of organic food by domestic consumers with the lack of awareness about certified organic products and relative high price of organic products (70-200% more expensive than conventional ones) and low trust of consumers in authenticity of labels. Moreover, it is mentioned that government has not offered any specific subsidies for organic farming and it has expanded its production through the farmers' efforts in learning know-how of organic farming. As of 2006, there were 11 certification bodies, 6 of which are the agencies of the EU, for organic production. The rest of them are the

domestic control and certification bodies authorized and accredited by the expert authority in Turkey. In order to decrease their costs for their expertise, farmers have tendency to apply in groups which can prevent them to sell their products to alternative markets.

#### **4.2.1.2.2. Regional Differences in Turkey**

According to IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:64), the rural urban distinction in Turkey is complex since rural households are economically active in non-agricultural sectors and urban households in agricultural activities. It is interesting that 33, 6 % the rural households are not engaged in agriculture and in urbanized regions such as Ankara, Izmir the households involved in agriculture is over 40%. The only exception of the urban regions is Istanbul with only 14, 9% of households engaged in agricultural activities.

With considering the complexity of rural urban division in Turkey and the new development paradigm which considers to construct rural development policies based on the combination of agricultural and non-agricultural development of the regions with their most promising characteristics, the rural development policies has been recently designed in accordance with the general regional development policy. In this regard, it is stated in the rural development plan (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:47) that the advancement of non-agricultural economic activities in the rural regions which are relatively developed became an important tool for maintaining the source efficiency since relatively more developed regions are more receptive to the development efforts. The plan also (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:48) indicated that agricultural labor's disintegration is less in the relatively more developed areas since the agricultural products could be marketed more easily and there is an existence of agricultural industry in relatively more developed areas. By contrast the less developed regions have faster disintegration of agricultural labor due to the lack of market opportunities previously mentioned in the relatively developed regions. Thus, the report claims that the agricultural employment opportunities are strongly related with the development level of the regions. As a policy proposal, the plan argued that to substitute for these market problems and lack of agricultural industry, these areas

should be subsidized with other support mechanisms especially in the agricultural products with comparative advantages.

The national rural development strategy document policy (T.C. SPO, 2006b:6- 7) also gave importance to the disparities between the development levels of rural and urban regions. According to the plan, the reason of these disparities are based on relatively advantageous position of industrial and service sectors and migration to urban areas from rural areas. The plan also recognized the mechanization process in agriculture in 1950s and liberalization of economic policies by the implementation of the market reform program in the 1980s as the important policies effecting Turkish agricultural structure and its contribution to general economic indicators. In relation with the statistical measures of migration, it is stated that 75 percent of Turkish population was living in villages in 1950s; it reduced to 56 percent in 1980, and 35 percent in 2000s. In addition, it is stated that the villages have a tendency to be the permanent residence of older people. Migration is also related with the regional development since the relatively more developed regions of Marmara, provinces on the coasts of Aegean and Mediterranean seas has taken migration flows while villages in the other regions of the country has given out migration. State Planning Organization has conducted a research (T.C. SPO, 2003) for ranking provinces and regions according to their socio-economic development levels. While the social variables include indicators regarding demographic situation, services regarding education, health and infrastructure of electricity, transportation and etc..., employment opportunities, the economic variables include the situation of manufacturing, building, agriculture sectors and financial variables regarding investment and income. According to the this report Turkey has divided into 12 regions of Istanbul, West Marmara, Aegean, East Marmara, West Anatolia, Mediterranean, Middle Anatolia, West Blacksea, East Blacksea, Northeast Anatolia, Middleeast Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia. Moreover, as it can be seen from the table 18 below, 81 provinces of Turkey were graded into five groups and they were ranked between themselves.

**Table 8: Grade of Provinces According to Socio-economic Development Levels**

Grade	Provinces					
1 <sup>st</sup> Grade	Istanbul (1)	Ankara (2)	İzmir (3)	Kocaeli (4)	Bursa (5)	
2 <sup>nd</sup> Grade	Eskişehir (6)	Tekirdağ (7)	Adana (8)	Yalova (9)	Antalya (10)	
	Kırklareli (11)	Denizli (12)	Muğla (13)	Bolu (14)	Balıkesir (15)	
	Edirne (16)	Mersin (17)	Bilecik (18)	Kayseri (19)	Gaziantep (20)	
	Zonguldak (21)	Aydın (22)	Sakarya (23)	Çanakkale (24)	Manisa (25)	
3 <sup>rd</sup> Grade	Konya (26)	Karabük (27)	Isparta (28)	Hatay (29)	Uşak (30)	
	Burdur (31)	Samsun (32)	Kırıkkale (33)	Nevşehir (34)	Karaman (35)	
	Elazığ (36)	Rize (37)	Trabzon (38)	Amasya (39)	Kütahya (40)	
	Malatya (41)	Kırşehir (42)	Artvin (43)	Afyon (44)	Düzce (45)	Çorum (46)
4 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Osmaniye (47)	K. Maraş (48)	Niğde (49)	Giresun (50)	Kastamonu (51)	
	Tunceli (52)	Sivas (53)	Kilis (54)	Bartın (55)	Aksaray (56)	
	Sinop (57)	Erzincan (58)	Çankiri (59)	Erzurum (60)	Tokat (61)	
	Ordu (62)	Diyarbakır (63)	Yozgat (64)	Adıyaman (65)		
5 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Bayburt (66)	Kars (67)	Şanlıurfa (68)	Iğdır (69)	Batman (70)	
	Gümüşhane (71)	Mardin (72)	Siirt (73)	Ardahan (74)	Van (75)	
	Bingöl (76)	Hakkari (77)	Şırnak (78)	Bitlis (79)	Ağrı (80)	Muş (81)

Source: T.C. SPO (2003: 55 & 71)

As it can be seen from the table 8, the provinces of Marmara region and Aegean region are more developed than the Eastern regions of Turkey. In this research, “statistical region units” classification system was used. In this system, more developed provinces were classified as the leading province of less-developed provinces in smaller group of regions. For example, Tekirdağ and Balıkesir are seen as the leading provinces of the group West Marmara which also includes Edirne, Kırklareli and Çanakkale. As it was explained from the research document (T.C. SPO 2003:6-12), this research is based on detecting the regional differences in Turkey regarding socio-economic development levels, and formulate policies to lessen these disparities.

As Hoşgör and Smits (2006:3-6) states, Turkey has been divided into four different regions according to development levels. The authors (2006:3) declare that western Turkey is the most developed region of Turkey being the most densely populated and urbanized region having booming touristic areas in the coastal areas. In this region, the Aegean area has also an important agricultural sector with valuable agricultural products of cotton, sunflower and citrus fruits. In their classification (2006:4) South of Turkey is the second developed region also with high levels of urbanization and high population density and an agricultural centre with a range of highly exported agricultural products and highly varied, active and swiftly expanding manufacturing sector. The agricultural land ownership includes both a few big landowners and predominance of small landownership with high levels of mechanization, tenancy exercises and seasonal migration. As the third developed region, the central of Turkey including Ankara based its economy on government related activities and expenditures. It is more a cultural centre than industrial or agricultural centre. Agricultural production is less varied, mostly cereal production with mechanized agricultural techniques. The region has not sufficiently developed in terms of infrastructure and migration to more urbanized provinces is very common within the region. North of Turkey is the fourth developed region with its fertile land areas in the coastal area with high mountains and forestry areas. The region's infrastructure has developed very lately due to climatic and topographic characteristics. Related with these characteristics, the households are very apart from each other and do not permit for close community relations. The region give out large numbers of migration to other regions and in many cases, women were left in the households to carry out intensive agricultural production while men migrated to work in urban centres out of the region. The least developed region is the East which can also be divided into two parts as; eastern and southeastern. The Eastern part is much more mountainous in its terrain and most significant economic activity is animal husbandry while general crop production is based on self-consuming and not for market with average size of agricultural householding is smaller than Turkey average with low mechanization level. The out migration is very high and rate of population growth is close to zero. Southeastern part is also does not have industrialization and have insufficient infrastructure. The inner migration in the region is high especially in some provinces of Diyarbakir especially in relation with

the conflict between PKK and State's security forces. The Southeastern Anatolian Development Project has been executed to increase irrigation, hydroelectric power and agricultural production.

As the 9th plan (T.C. SPO, 2006a) reports, Turkey has participated in the European Union social exclusion prevention program in 2003 and in this regard a social inclusion document has started to be prepared for analyzing the current situation in Turkey regarding the issue. In the plan a special emphasis was given to the regional development policies and implementations in relation to the EU's requirements for restructuring local and central administrative bodies and for formulating an active, participative regional development policy with sufficient funding. In the plan, it is recognized that economic disparities between rural and urban areas and between different regions are still important and let to intense migration movements between regions and rural to urban.

There is an inadequacy of migrated regions to enable sufficient social services for all of the population. It is stated that regional development policy which formulates different solutions to different regions considering the different problems and potentials of the regions. In this regard, in 2005, "priority regions for development" (KÖY) were defined from the provinces which have a gross national product value of less than 1.500 dollars and from the provinces which have a minus value in socio-economic development index in 2003.

**Table 9: The Selected Indicators of the Regions Which have the First Five & the Last Five Value of the Socio-Economic Index**

2003, 26regions		GDP (2001)	Sectoral structure of employment (2005)			Urbanization Rate	
Regions			Agric.	Ind.	Serv.	%	In thousands
TR10 (istanbul)	1	143	0,7	37,0	62,4	90,7	44,1
TR51 (ankara)	2	128	7,3	16,0	76,6	88,3	25,6
TR31 (izmir)	3	150	18,1	27,7	54,2	81,1	39,9
TR41 (Bilecik, Bursa, Eskişehir)	4	17	18,3	37,8	43,8	76,4	38,7
TR42 (Bolu, Düzce, Kocaeli, Sakarya, Yalova)	5	191	20,4	26,8	52,8	57,2	-9,5
<b>Turkey</b>	—	100	29,5	19,4	51,1	64,9	-
TRA1 (Bayburt, Erzincan, Erzurum)	21	50	62,0	3,5	34,5	57,3	-43,5
TRC2 (Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa)	22	54	38,1	5,7	56,1	59,1	-39,5
TRC3 (Batman, Mardin, Şırnak, Siirt)	23	46	29,3	10,0	60,8	59,6	-46,8
TRA2 (Ağrı, Ardahan, Iğdır, Kars)	24	34	61,8	3,1	35,1	44,6	-57,3
TRB2 (Bitlis, Hakkari, Muş, Van)	25	35	48,0	6,3	45,8	49,3	-39,5

Source: T.C. SPO (2006a:47), taken from TURKSTAT

#### 4.2.1.2.3. Poverty in Rural Areas

As the T.C. SPO plan (2006:42) indicated, the rural poor became an important issue in Turkey. Even if poverty ratios in general show an improvement, the poverty ratios in rural areas increased in some of the indicators. In this regard, non-paid family workers in agriculture were documented as the poorest group in 2004. In addition, the migrants from rural areas to urban areas are not regularly employed with income but employed mostly as casual workers in service sector are also a risk group. The poverty ratio of casual workers decreased to 37, 5 % in 2004 from 45 % in 2002.

**Table 10: Poverty in Turkey in Percentages**

Region	Indicators of poverty	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>Kır</b>	Food poverty	2,01	2,15	2,36	1,24	1,91	1,41	1,18
	Complete poverty (food and non-food)	34,48	37,13	39,97	32,95	31,98	34,80	34,62
<b>Kent</b>	Food poverty	0,92	0,74	0,62	0,64	0,04	0,07	0,25
	Complete poverty (food and non-food)	21,95	22,30	16,57	12,83	9,31	10,36	9,38
<b>Toplam</b>	Food poverty	1,35	1,29	1,29	0,87	0,74	0,48	0,54
	Complete poverty (food and non-food)	26,96	28,12	25,60	20,50	17,81	17,79	17,11

Source: T.C. ARDSI (2011:44) TURKSTAT Poverty Study

As it is stated in the table 10, food poverty and complete poverty has decreased both in rural and urban areas from 2002 to 2008. Moreover as the report declared (2009: 18) the risk groups as families with more than five members, illiterate people, unemployed and casually employed people, people employed in agricultural labor and single parent households. According to the data of T.C. SPO (2006a:42), income distribution improved together with the poverty indicators. As the plan declared while the wealthiest 20 % of Turkish population's share in usable income is 9, 5 times of the poorest 20 % of population in 2002. This ratio decreased to 8, 1 in 2003, 7, 7 in 2004. As the plan mentioned most wealthy 25 % EU'S share in usable income is 4, 6 times more than the poorest 25%.

**Table 11: Selected Income Distribution and Poverty Indicators (Percentages)**

	2002	2003	2004
<b>The 20 percentages zones in income distribution</b>			
First 20 %	5,3	6,0	6,0
Second 20 %	9,8	10,3	10,7
Third 20 %	14,0	14,5	15,2
Fourth 20 %	20,8	20,9	21,9
Fifth 20 %	50,1	48,3	46,2
<b>Gini Coefficient</b>	0,44	0,42	0,40
<b>The rate of food poverty (hunger)</b>	1,35	1,29	1,29
<b>The rate of complete poverty (food and non-food poverty)</b>	26,96	28,12	25,60

Source: T. C. ARDSI-The IPARD Programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:4) taken from TURKSTAT Poverty Indicators.

Moreover, as it can be seen from the table 11, ratio of Turkish population who are under poverty line (including the food expenditures) to total population was 1, 35 in 2002, was 1, 29 in 2004. Poverty ratio which excludes food expenditures was 29, 96 in 2002, it was 25, 6 in 2004.

Moreover, in the T.C. SPO's plan (2006a:43) it is stated that populations who are subject to poverty risk such as women, children, migrants are in the need of educational, cultural, medical services. Moreover, especially the rural migrant women face the problem of being out of economic life and in the risk of social exclusion and poverty. As a related statistics, it is mentioned that participation in labor force for women is 19, 3 in urban areas, but 33, 7 in rural areas.

### **4.3. Rural Development and Agriculture in Turkey**

As it can be seen from the previously mentioned history of Turkish agricultural and rural development policies, current Turkish rural development policy could be described with localization: region based rural development policy and governance together with privatization (Kayıkçı, 2009:26-27) and mainly organized through the policies of integration to European Union, commitments to IMF and WTO. The state institutions and other state organizations are restructured and reorganized according to the requirements of EU. As Kayıkçı (2009:256) summarizes; after 1980s, there are some main policy changes such as; the privatizations of previously mentioned state owned enterprises in agricultural sector, the abolishment of the general directorate of Village Works and transference of its responsibilities to provincial special administrations as a localization strategy, the preparations for the foundation of ARDSI as an institution which will disseminate EU funds for agricultural development and the establishment of two supreme boards in agricultural sector namely; Sugar board and tobacco products and alcoholic beverages market regulation board. As, R39 stated the rural development policy of Turkey is formulated in relation with the IPARD plan.

The main rural development policy planning and implementing agency is the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Animal Husbandry and its main policy

implementation body; Agricultural, and Rural Development Support Institution (ARDSI)/ TKDK). The other important policy making state institutions are newly founded Ministry of Development and its related body of Undersecretariat of State Planning Organization (T.C. SPO), Undersecretary for Foreign Trade and Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of European Union. The responsible state organizations are identified by Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs in IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:105) in the instrument for pre-accession assistance rural development program (2007-2013) as;

- The ministry of Agriculture, Food and Animal Husbandry (MAFAH), Agriculture and Rural Development Support Institution (ARDSI/TKDK), General Directorate of Agricultural Reform (MAFAAH/ TRGM), Department of Farmers' Training and Publications operating under General Directorate of Agricultural Reform .
- Ministry of Economy and Undersecretary for Foreign Trade (it is the authority for designing the Turkey's formulation, administration and co-ordination of Turkey's agricultural trade policy consulting with the Public Procurement Agency, The Export Credit Bank of Turkey, the Union of Chambers, Commodity Exchanges of Turkey and the Turkish Exporters' Assembly and local chambers of commerce and exporters' associations)
- Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
- Ministry of Development (and State Planning Organization: national development plans, annual programmes, annual investment programmes, medium term programmes which form an agenda for economic and social consistency with the EU are constructed by this organization)
- Ministry of Family and Social Policies; and General Directorate of Women's Status and Directorate- General of Social Aids
- Ministry of Science, Industry And Technology,
- Ministry of European Union
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism
- Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources- and General Directorate of Public Hydraulic Works Administration (DSI)
- T. C. Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Treasury

- Ministry of Labor and Social Security
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Health

The instrumental process designed for pre- assistance to EU is called IPA and its fifth component is IPARD which is the policy plan for rural development and agriculture. These regulatory policies are designed by EU to realize and supervise the EU's rural development policy, common agriculture policy and other related policies. The IPARD programme includes specific amounts of funds for projects which are appropriate for the programme's general policies and EU's common agricultural policy. The program is planned to be applied over a single multi-annual "rural development program" covering the time period 2007-2013 for Turkey. (T.C. ARDSI, IPARD programme, 2011a:xv)

As the IPARD programme declared, to implement IPA and IPARD in Turkey, the government authorities with responsibility are:

- National IPA Coordinator (NIPAC)
- Competent Accrediting officer (CAO)
- National Authorizing officer (NAO)
- National Fund (NF)-
- Audit authority (AA)
- Operating structure for IPARD
  - Managing authority (MA)
  - IPARD Agency (ARDSI), agriculture and rural development support institution

According to the same document (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:xv), the IPARD program for Turkey is intended to be realized considering the important concerns and requirements of Turkey as a country and in relation with the policies designed in the National Rural Development Plan (2010-2013) (T.C. MARA, 2011), 9<sup>th</sup> Development Plan (2007-2013) (T.C. SPO, 2006a), Agricultural Strategy (2006-2010) (T.C. MARA, 2004) and Strategic Plan (2007-2013) (T.C. MARA, MAFAAH 2009), and the EU's Multi-Annual Indicative Planning Document (MIPD).

In relation with this macro level rural development policy, the development committees were established at regional/ provincial level. The rural development policy in Turkey was mainly formulated with an understanding of defining rural regions, increasing their livelihood in terms of health, education and infrastructure services then finding the “local assets” (goods that could create an additional value/ high value or touristic characteristics) in specific regions that can be commercialized. In coordination with this principle of considering regional, provincial differences and participatory approach to development, there are also provincial and regional master plans prepared by the provincial directorate of MFAAH and Provincial governance. In addition, there are 26 regional /provincial development agencies which are working under the Ministry of Development (2012). The mechanism of defining the strong and weak characteristics of these regions are based on the idea of participatory development in regions through the regional/ provincial development committees working in relation with previously mentioned rural development policy. Twenty six development agencies which were founded in Turkey are namely; Trakya, İstanbul, South Marmara (Çanakkale, Balıkesir), İzmir, Zafer (Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya and Uşak), Bursa-Bilecik-Eskişehir, Ankara, North Anatolia (Çankırı, Kastamonu, Sinop), West Blacksea (Zonguldak, Karadeniz, Bartın), East Marmara (Yalova, Koceli, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu) , Middle Blacksea (Çorum, Amasya, Samsun, Tokat), East Blacksea, Northeast Anatolia (Erzurum, Erzincan, Bayburt), Dicle (Mardin, Batman, Siirt, Şırnak), Fırat (Bingöl, Elazığ, Malatya, Tunceli), Karacadağ (Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa), İpekyolu (Gaziantep, Adıyaman, Kilis), East Anatolia, Çukurova (Adana, Mersin), Mevlana (Konya, Karaman), West Mediterranean (Antalya, Isparta, Burdur), South Aegean (Aydın, Denizli, Muğla), Ahiler (Aksaray, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Niğde, Nevşehir), middle Anatolia (Kayseri, Sivas, Yozgat), Serhat (Ağrı, Ardahan, Iğdır, Kars) development agencies (T.C. M. of Development, 2012).

The rural development agencies were established with the law of 5449 which states some of its duties as; “increasing the partnership among public policy making bodies, private sector, non-governmental organizations, increasing the efficiency of resources, contributing to the development of the region through motivating the local potential, contributing to the improvement of regional rural and local capabilities and

supporting the projects which includes improvement of regional/ local capabilities.” The rural development agencies work through the development committees whose members include the provincial and district governors, the nongovernmental organizations of the region, private sector members, representatives of municipalities, experts from universities, representatives of state institutions, and representatives of chambers of agriculture, chambers of commerce and chambers of trade. The aim of founding these agencies was to realize participatory governance in regional development embodied with the principles of spatial sensitivity of the region’s needs, problems and potential with a bottom up strategy enabling social inclusion of the actors in regions within the committees of development. However, it is open discussion whether these councils could allow for democratic participation of all the stakeholders of development in that region. It is mentioned by the interviewed experts of Non-governmental Organizations, R47, R48, R49 that the highest authority in provinces and districts are governors and it is not realistic to organize the committees as a place where governors are not the ultimate decision makers.

There is also another element of the rural development policy in Turkey, which was designed in relation with the principle of participatory rural development and Leader program of the EU within the IPARD program. This element was designed by the measure of 202 “Preparation and implementation of Local Rural Development Strategies” which implies the foundation of LAG (Local Action Groups) of private sector, regional public bodies and NGOs to formulate local rural development strategies and act on these strategies. These groups’ member selection and the funds will be government of IPARD agencies. The central body of IPARD is ARDSI and the related agencies of ARDSI will be the responsible authorities in the formation of LAGs and implementation of funds for this measure. The coordination and cooperation of these two mechanisms of rural development policy making at regional/ provincial levels are important for the efficiency of the rural development policy in general and in the efficient use of funds and other resources.

In addition to appointed governors at provincial and district level are to implement state policies, there are also elected municipalities at provincial and district level

which are mainly responsible for sustaining and management of infrastructural services in the provinces, districts and in small towns (Belde). In addition, the villages are governed by mukhtars who are elected by the village population. As R47 mentioned; there are complex relations in the governance of the regions and provinces between elected and appointed governors and between different municipalities since in some cases they could be in good relations with each other and in some cases they could compete and have conflicts over the government resources and could have different ideas about the needs and problems of the region. Again, cooperation and coordination between different policy making bodies at different hierarchal levels becomes important in implementing rural development policies.

This point is also stated by the Minister of MFAAH at a conference:

The successful implementation of rural development policy necessitates the cooperation and coordination of both the public bodies and the cooperation and coordination of private sector, NGOs and public bodies, but these two concepts are foreign to us, do not have a place in our language.

Interestingly, the point was also mentioned by R47 who mentioned that the rural development policy formulated in relation with the process of integration to EU and IPARD could not be applied in Turkey because the program necessitates the cooperation and coordination of the public policy making and implementing bodies and also necessitates changes in the programs of many ministries. In the workshop, it is also mentioned by the R 39 who stated that they do have difficulties in implementing policies in coordination with the institutions of other ministries even if there are protocols signed for it. In the next section of this study, the general rural development policy will be described within the national rural development policy documents which were mentioned in the previous sentence.

### **4.3.1. General Aims, Principles and Strategies of Rural Development Policy in Turkey**

The development plans are the main planning state document regarding the development vision and plans of Turkey and includes the national framework for social and economic development of the country including agriculture and rural development. The 9<sup>th</sup> development plan is designed for the time period from 2007 to 2013. The annual programmes and the annual investment programmes are the main means for the implementation of development plans. T.C. SPO (2006a:1) states the aim of development of Turkey as “Turkey, a country of information society, growing in stability, sharing more equitably, globally competitive and fully completed her coherence with the European Union”. The 9<sup>th</sup> plan (2006a:2) defined five development aims to achieve this goal. These aims are increasing competitiveness, increasing employment, strengthening human development and social solidarity, ensuring regional development and increasing quality and effectiveness in public services.

There are sub-dimensions of these aims in the 9<sup>th</sup> plan, which are related with the rural development (2006a:3). For the first aim of “increasing competitiveness”, the related sub-dimensions are increasing the capabilities of R&D and innovativeness, increasing the efficiency of the agricultural structure, evolving labor market, sustaining macroeconomic stability, decreasing the extent of informal economy, advancing the financial system, advancing the energy and transportation infrastructure, protecting the environment and advancing the urban infrastructure, extending the information and communication technologies, improving to the high value-added production structure in industrial and service sectors. For the second aim of “increasing employment”, the related sub-dimensions are advancing active labor policies, increasing the sensitivity of education to the labor demand. For the third aim of “strengthening human development and social solidarity”, the related sub-dimensions are advancing the income distribution, social inclusion and struggle against poverty, improving the effectiveness of the social security system, sustaining and enhancing of culture and increasing social dialogue. For the fourth aim of “ensuring regional development”, the related sub-dimensions are improving the

affectivity of regional development policy at the central level, enabling the development which is based on local dynamics an internal potential, advancing the institutional capabilities at the local level, assuring development in rural areas. For the fifth aim of “increasing the quality and effectiveness in public services, the related sub-dimensions are increasing the rationality in arranging authority and responsibility between institutions, enhancing policy making and execution abilities, advancing human resources in public sector.

In the 9<sup>th</sup> development plan of T.C. SPO (2006a:49), the most emphasized element related with rural areas is increasing the efficiency in the economic activities of the rural area. Second element is increasing the economic income of the rural areas thorough high value products which could have been easily exported or could have a label and be marketed easily. Thirdly, the integration of agriculture and food industry was given importance and incentives of modernization of agriculture and food production techniques were promised to be subsidized. Fourthly, the micro projects which have a potential to increase employment were promised to be subsidized. Fifthly, the rural women were promised to be given professional training in order to increase their chances in getting employment. Other than women, it is stated that the poor and vulnerable would be supported through the more efficient and coordinated efforts of municipal authorities, civil organizations and central state in sustaining education, sheltering and employment to the poor and vulnerable.

National rural development strategy 2006-2010 is also an explanatory document for analyzing rural development policy in Turkey. The framework for the development of the agriculture sector is formulated within the context of national strategies and objectives and in full consideration of EU integration. The strategy serves as the basis for legislative arrangements in the agriculture sector. The national rural development strategy (T.C. SPO, 2006b:12) is formulated as:

to improve and ensure the sustainability of living and job conditions of the rural community in its territory, in harmony with urban areas, based on the utilization of local resources and potential, the protection of the rural environment and cultural assets.

In this document, the main principles and strategic aims of Turkey were declared together with an analysis of the strong and weak characteristic of Turkish rural areas. The aims and principles were identified as the main means to achieve general goals for the long-term development of Turkey. First goal is to decrease the differences between the urban and rural regions of Turkey and increasing the economic output of rural areas to Turkish economy. Second goal is sustain a steady migration trend and a demographic structure which enable balanced and sustainable development. Third goal is to decrease the negative influence of agricultural restructuring in socio-economic and environmental conditions of rural areas. Fourth goal is the protection, development and sustainable usage of environment and natural resources. Fifth goal is to achieve convergence in economic and social terms with EU and transposition of the Acquis Communautaire.

National Rural Development Strategy (T.C. SPO, 2006b) declares that the main principles of rural development in Turkey are spatial sensitivity, cooperation and participation, sustainability, social inclusion, efficient control and consistency in policies and their implementation, efficiency in utilization of resources. With the principle of spatial sensitivity, the rural development strategy is based on the idea of considering regional differences of socio-economic conditions, problems and potentially promising characteristics in Turkey when constructing and implementing regional development policies in accordance with the regional development plans. It is stated that the relatively less developed rural areas will be given priority in order to lessen the rural-urban differences in development. With the principle of cooperation and participation, the cooperation and participation of central, regional, local governments, private sector, universities, non-governmental organizations, producers unions and all shareholders was targeted. With the principle of sustainability; the economic sustainability of the holdings working in agriculture and non-agricultural sectors, the sustainability of environment, natural resources, historical and cultural assets and sustainability of public investments and services were targeted with the concern of reducing the negative influence of rural development projects on rural people and rural areas and continuation of rural development's positive effects on people and on rural areas. In the fourth principle of social inclusion; increasing the active participation of poor and vulnerable rural people to the economic and social

life and increasing their quality of life were targeted. Moreover, related with the principle of efficiency in utilization of resources; it is declared that the projects and activities of rural development have to comply with rural development strategy and plans, regional and sectoral strategies and priorities and international laws and agreements that Turkish government is subject to.

By R47, R48, R49, R50 and R51 mentioned that there are problems in the implementation of all these principles of “sustainability, social inclusion, efficient control and consistency in policy and efficiency in utilization of resources, participation and cooperation and spatial sensitivity”. There are problems in the sustainability of the specific rural development projects since the success of these projects necessitates the active involvement of the targeted groups whose opinions are not usually taken before projects implementation and the effectiveness of the projects are not usually measured afterwards. And there is also lack of environmental consciousness in the farmers in usage of water, in sustaining the quality of soil and in waste disposal which is threatening the sustainability of agricultural production in Turkey. Social inclusion is the problem in the sense that the funds for the poor in rural areas would not include all the populating needing these funds. Thus, how the funds of projects, aids of General of Social Aids and other subsidies are disseminated to the farmers and cooperatives is not clarified. R 50 mentioned that the aids of General of Social Aids are given to the people who have good informal relations with the political administration of Justice and Development Party (AKP).

Four main strategic aims were identified as in this report (T.C. SPO, 2006b:3) as;

1. Development of economy and increasing the opportunities of employment,
2. Development of human resources, organization capabilities and local development capacity,
3. Development of physical infrastructure services and increasing quality of life in rural areas,
4. Sustaining and development of rural environment.

In realizing these aims, the rural development strategy (T.C. SPO, 2006b) also considered the following sub-items:

- Advancing product quality and providing the conditions for attaining the food security and safety.
- Enabling the increase in the competitiveness and income of producers by taking necessary precautions to reduce the production costs and extending technological means.
- Advancing the agricultural marketing infrastructure by enhancing the conditions of reaching to the marketing, increasing the intensity of agriculture- industry integration, increasing the availability of high quality raw material and consequently increasing the competitiveness of the food processing industry and increasing the capability to meet the demands of consumers.
- Formulating and implying rural development projects which give priority to participation and direct involvement of producers by extending the financing options for them and advance the quality of life in the rural areas.
- Foundation and strengthening of agricultural producer unions which give assistance to the producers in the marketing process of the products.

The 9<sup>th</sup> plan (T.C. SPO, 2006a:31) considers “increasing the efficiency of the agricultural structure” significant in the sense that it defines the problems which prevents reaching this aim as; the small land ownership which decrease the efficiency of agricultural production, about the not-efficient usage of water supplies for the agricultural production, low production efficiency in livestock production, non-sufficient farmer producer organizations and some deficiencies in the coordination of different state units/ organizations executing rural policies which brings out problems regarding the health issues in husbandry and crops production and food safety standards. After some problems occurred, the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry has become the main responsible institution in controlling and supervising food production.

Moreover, as T.C. SPO (2006a:31) declared, for the problems of irrigation new regulations for the newly privatized organizations conducting irrigation systems were advised. For the low-level of farmer organizations, it is mentioned that a new law was constituted. For the lack cooperation among state organizations, more adaptation of EU’s legislation in agriculture and rural development were advised. Moreover, it is stated that with the abolishment of general directorate of village services in 2005, measures have to be taken to execute the issues of land consolidation, drainage, land protection and investments in pond, underground and surface irrigation systems. Furthermore, regarding the coastal fishery and inland water, the resource

management was advised to be executed considering the sustainable usage of natural resources. In the fish breeding activities, problems about the sustainability of environment were advised to be considered. Another issue is related with the production and dissemination of agriculture knowledge. It is stated that more contribution of producer organizations in education and publishing activities are needed together with the more supportive research and development studies done by public service institutions.

The National Rural Development Plan (MARA, 2011:19) is designed to be the framework of all rural development plans in the time period between 2010 and 2013. NRDP (MARA, 2011:20) identified the rural development areas considered important in the integration process to EU as; the modernization of agricultural farming households, food security and food safety, the processing of agricultural products, conservation of rural environment, advancing of professional training opportunities, advancing of non-agricultural economic activities in rural areas, advancing of rural infrastructure and implementing rural development projects. In addition to this, rural development policy claims to include policies to struggle with poverty, to invest in renewable energy, to decrease the problems related with natural disasters, to advance tourism, educational and health services. While implementing these policies the plan also claimed to differentiate the following principles as; advancement of region and locality based rural development policies, management and supervision of rural development policies with bottom up approach, advancement of local governance, focusing on solving targeted people's problems, co-financing and co-designing of projects, emphasizing on the process rather than the results of the policies and projects, the construction of public, private and civil coordination and cooperation organizations, the clarification of the division of labor between local and central government bodies regarding projects, formulating a control and evaluation process of projects which is based on measurable indicators, the sharing of final evaluation reports with the public.

The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:10) has also described the structural problems of Turkish agriculture as; an important income difference with the EU countries, increasing regional differences in Turkey in terms of income and

migration; informal economy and low level of education of the rural population. Furthermore, the programme is focused on the policy measures in the areas such as; degradation of the rural environment, low productivity, unpaid labor force and poverty. The National Rural Development plan (MARA, 2011:12) recommended state intervention to compose efficient farm households and more diversified rural economy with a gradual transition from semi-subsistence farming. According to T.C. SPO (2006:31), regarding the problem of small landownership, a law was constituted to prevent the division of small lands. In the next section the measures/ tools of IPARD programme which was prepared in order to solve the problems in Turkish rural areas and agricultural sector will be explained.

According to the T.C. SPO (2007:1), the most important policy interventions in the crop production in Turkey is the policy arrangements related with European Union's and world trade organizations' requirements. According to this plan's interpretation, agricultural policies would be arranged after the identification of Turkey's agricultural products with comparative cost advantage. IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:59) also mentioned that the agricultural goods which have comparative cost advantage are those goods which have low costs in production factors and thus structural efficiency in labor productivity. To analyze which goods have comparative advantage in EU market, the programme compares the agricultural goods prices and labor productivity with Europe. The plan (T.C. SPO, 2007:1) states that after the identification of these products, these products should be subsidizing giving emphasis to agricultural research and development to increase technological efficiency, seed production, fresh fruits and vegetables production and organic farming. The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:59) also mentioned the importance of agriculture and food chains in EU free trade area in the sense that Turkey has to export those goods for which the country has a comparative cost advantage. In the plan, the aim of "increasing competitiveness" is giving importance to the aim of improving the efficiency of the agricultural structure. In this regard, food security and safety; ecologically sustainable use of natural assets and animal health are the main tools in constructing a competitive and organized agricultural structure. In this plan, the rural and regional development strategies were integrated in an effort to be in accordance to EU rural development policies and funds criterions.

### **4.3.2. The Rural Development Aids and Projects of the State in Turkey**

The selected agricultural aid tools in the time period between 2006- 2013 were stated as by the IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:116- 124):

1. Direct income support (DIS) payments: DIS payments are given to the farmers who are registered in the National Farmers Registry System (NFRS) according to their lands' acreage. This payment is given to the farmers having acreage between 0.1 ha and 50 ha.
2. Deficiency payments: these payments are given once for every production period for the products which have domestic supply shortages. The products which will be given these payments were decided by the council of ministers which is declared annually.
3. Compensatory payments (farmer transition): these payments are given to producers who alter to alternative crops from the products that have been oversupplied. The aim of this payment is to prevent structural problem of oversupply in agricultural production. The decision is given according to the communiqué which was issued and dated 05/05/2007. A
4. Animal husbandry support: this support is given to the animal husbandry in different levels of production such as; support for the production of fodder, support for the production of certified fodder seed, support for the purchase of pregnant heifer, support for the calves support for the artificial insemination, support for stable or mobile milking units and cooling tanks, support for the fosseptic dip, support for silkworm, support for mohair (angora wool), support for the improvement of ovine animal breeding, support for the establishment of the area free of animal diseases, support for the animal registry system, support for the animal vaccination services, support for the protection of animal genetic resources, support for apiculture (beekeeping), support for aquaculture, support for the employment of veterinarians in animal origin holdings, support for contractual livestock breeding. The animal husbandry support payments' implementation is decided on yearly issued communiqués and is grounded on the council of minister decision dated 21/2/2005.

5. Agricultural crop insurance support: this support is given according to the agricultural insurance law dated 14/6/2005. With this scheme, crops, animals, aquaculture and fishery products and constructions were given insurance against natural disasters.
6. Rural development support, environment conservation payments (ÇATAK): the donor of these payments is World Bank. These payments were one of the components of agricultural reform implementation project of Turkey (ARIP). These payments were given in time period between 2005 and 2008 with a funding of 7, 14 M Euro. These payments were legalized with the soil conservation and land use law in 2005. Its main goals are to decrease the negative effects of agricultural activities to environment, to limit erosion, to conserve renewable natural resources, to sustain the natural cover and the quality of soil and water in the areas which are at risk. It was implemented in pilot provinces of Isparta, Kayseri, Kırşehir and Konya.
7. Rural development investments support program (RDISP): it is a support program which targets to support investments of storage, processing and packing of agricultural products and investments for infrastructure activities with the initiation of individual or a group of agricultural producers in rural areas. The program has been carried out since 2006 starting with 81 provinces, 16 of which are included in the village-based participatory investment program. This program has the aims of increasing the income and quality of life in rural areas, forming the agriculture-industry integration, providing the alternative income sources, advancing the effectiveness of current rural development facilities, advancing the infrastructure in rural areas, advancing of entrepreneurial skills, to increase the opportunities to make use of mainly EU's and all international funds.
8. Village infrastructure support project (KOYDES): this project is executed to sustain healthy and adequate drinking water and to increase the infrastructure for village roads.
9. Municipality infrastructure support project (BELDES): this project is executed to advance the infrastructure services in municipalities with a population less than 10.000.

Other aids are given in selected areas such as; research and development activities, agricultural expansions and training activities, in implying certified seeds. In addition, while the direct payments were reduced to 45%, new agricultural aid schemes were implemented in the form of rural development funds (10% of the total agricultural aid amount), environmental preservation funds (5 % of the total agricultural aid amount) and crop insurance aid (5% of the total agricultural aid amount) and deficiency payments (13% of the total agricultural aid amount). In relation with the aids, the rural development strategy document has declared that the agricultural funds could not be lower than 1% of the overall GDP of Turkey.

The Rural development Projects planned and implemented by state bodies of the MARA (or MFAAH) and projects which are funded by International Organizations of FAO, WB and UN were mentioned in the IPARD Programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:125-143). The agriculture and rural development projects funded by international donors were stated. They are ARIP project (village based participatory investment program), eastern Anatolia development program (EADP-DAKP), Southeastern Anatolia project (GAP), Anatolia watershed rehabilitation project, and the IFAD projects.

As IPARD (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a) declares regional development projects, the southeast Anatolian development project (GAP), Zonguldak- Bartın- Karabük Regional Development Project (ZBK), East Blacksea Regional Development Project (DOKAP) And East Anatolia Project's main plan implementation and Yeşilirmak Regional Development Project are being executed. As the programme declares, these projects could only be limitedly financed excluding the southeast Anatolian regional development project. In the IPARD Programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:125), it is stated that local development projects in Turkey has increased. In order to increase coordination between non-governmental organizations, private holdings and public holdings, to make use of existing resources efficiently and to intensify regional development through stimulating local dynamics and internal potential; a constitution regarding the rural development agencies' foundation, coordination and responsibilities was legislated in 2006. In relation with this issue, especially the responsibilities of municipal administrations and other local government bodies were

increased. As a component of regional development plan, the regional development policy was designed also to attract foreign capital investments with the efforts of investments support and publicity agent and investment support offices in provinces. In 2005, the project for supporting the infrastructure of villages has started to be implemented. However, it is stated that the dispersed and pieced structure of rural settlement units is hardening sustaining the physical and social infrastructure services.

ARIP Project (Village Based Participatory Investment Program) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:126) which was mentioned above in the title of rural development support, environment conservation payments (CATAK), is based on two related component with the goal of enlarging the income in rural areas and increasing social standards by protecting natural resources. The facilities of the program activate both private and public agencies and individuals who wish to work under the principles of the project. The two components of the program are “economic activities investment support” and “agricultural infrastructure investment support”. The first component includes all the activities related with storage, processing of food and advancing the technology to achieve improvement in these activities. The project executed in the following provinces; Çanakkale, Denizli, Bolu, Konya, Karaman, Burdur, Hatay, Niğde, Tokat, Artvin, Gümüşhane, Rize, Ardahan, Malatya, Adıyaman, Batman.

Eastern Anatolia development programme (EADP-DAKP) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:127): this project is funded by EU (45 m Euro) and executed in the time period between 2004- 2007. This program’s aim is to decrease regional disparities by advancing local skills and capacities and thus sustaining the economic activities of the projects after the project has ended with a steady increase in income levels. The management of the program is structured according to the EU decentralized implementation system. The projects adopted innovative and participatory approach in the planning and implementing of the policies in the provinces of Bitlis, Hakkari, Muş and Van in 4 different policy schemes in different locations as;

- Agriculture and rural development (15,6 M. Euro- 148 projects),
- Small and medium sized enterprise (8,5 M. Euro- 68 projects),
- Tourism and environment (7,5 M. Euro- 49 projects) and
- Social development (1, 9 M. Euro- 44 projects).

Agriculture and rural development scheme is targeting to advance farmer (men and women) agricultural practices, skills and knowledge, increasing agricultural productivity, livestock/crop quality and yields, increasing income levels through new income generating activities, advancing livestock and grazing land husbandry and management, advancing environmental consciousness and rural natural resources management. The applicants of this scheme are farmer groups who are registered in the national farmers' registry system or with the ministry of F. A. and Animal H. or registered with the chamber of agriculture farm registration document, non-profit making legal persons (non-governmental organizations, local authorities and their unions, labor unions, public servants' unions, employer unions and confederations of these unions: chambers of industry, commerce, agriculture and similar professional chambers and associations; foundations, universities, non-profit training institutions, vocational schools, agricultural cooperatives and rural service unions. The activities of this project scheme include both capacity building activities that are based on increasing the knowledge and awareness of the farmers and investment activities that are based on funding the investments on the inputs and expenses of agricultural production facilities.

Support to small and medium sized holdings scheme aims to provide assistance to the current business owners in modernizing and advancing their production, the quality of their products and their marketing strategies and to increase the general employment level in the region. To achieve this aim, the direct investments in production, investments for advancing services, and investments for marketing expenses, expenses for advancing technology and expenses of quality guarantee systems were funded.

Tourism and environment (T&E) scheme has two basic components of environment activities and tourism activities. It aims to advance environmental quality, cultural

and historical heritage, to protect and advance the bio-diversity, to improve the conditions of pollution and health hazards, to awaken environmental consciousness, and to increase tourism income. National and international organizations (Non-governmental organizations, local authorities and their unions, universities, provincial directorates, etc...) can apply for this program scheme as long as all projects activities are executed in the specified region of the program the applicant is registered in one of the countries.

Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:130-135) is funded by EU, UNDP, World Bank, cooperation with international organizations and other countries with a total funding of 39, 5 billion TL for the period of 1989 to 2010. Within the GAP, several micro projects and pilot projects have been carried out by the GAP-regional development administration (RDA). These projects aims to make a progress in the education, organization, and income generation of the rural population under the coordination of GAP-RDA, with the cooperation of governorships, municipalities, NGOS, EU and international organizations. The general aims of the GAP projects are; advancing the investment in the region that will enable development of economic conditions, advancing the condition of health and education services, increasing the employment opportunities, advancing the quality of life in urban areas, advancing of rural infrastructural services, advancing transportation conditions within and among regions, establishing infrastructure for current and future industries and conservation of water, soil, air and related eco-systems. GAP projects of rural development include sub-projects named as; afforestation and erosion control, income generating activities in the non-irrigated areas, multi-purpose community centres (ÇATOM), EU-GAP regional development programme (2002-2007).

(ÇATOM) Multi-Purpose Community Centers are the only women-specific scheme of the GAP projects or rural development policy in general. These centres have been founded in squatter settlements of urban areas and centrally located villages of the GAP region with a range of training services for women such as; training services on literacy, home economics and nutrition, health and hygiene, family planning, maternal and child health, income generation activities and carry out women

entrepreneurship development programmes, organization of social and cultural activities, early-childhood development programmes and humanitarian aids programmes. The ÇATOMS' aims to advance social and economic development of women, to advance the participation of women in productive employment, to increase awareness about women's education and gender-balanced development activities and to encourage the women's participation in the public area and in the development process and thus to enhance the status of women with a gender-balanced approach to development. The project is carried out with the cooperated efforts of governors, civil society organizations and international organizations. The programs are planned and executed with the participation of local communities and participant women. The committees of ÇATOM are structured by the election among the participant women. There are 29 ÇATOMS in nine provinces of the GAP region.

EU-GAP Regional Development Programme (2002-2007) aims to advance the socio-economic conditions of the region, to sustain steady economic growth and to decrease the regional inequalities and to advance the employment conditions and productivity of the region. It has three components of cultural heritage development project (CHD), SME development in GAP region (GAP-GIDEM project) and rural development project. The main objective of the SME development in GAP region is advance economic development in the region through advancing the competitiveness of the small and middle holdings through increasing their skills in entrepreneurial, operational and managerial areas. The offices of the project service information, training and consultancy and carry out local economic activities which are named as "opportunity windows". Rural development project in the EU-GAP regional development program operates in the same aims of the general rural development project of Turkey, targets to increase the income of beneficiary farmers and rural Small and Middle Enterprises, increasing the quality of farm and agro-industry products with increasing processing and marketing conditions, to increase diversification of non-agricultural and non-farm activities, increasing employment, extension of the usage of production factors, enhancing handicraft activities, promoting environment friendly farming and agro-industrial activities, advancing infrastructure in the agricultural activities.

GAP action plan (2008-2012) has been started in June 2008 and aims to sustain economic growth and social development, to expand employment rates in the region to national average, to advance the infrastructure services in the region, to build the institutional capacity of the region and to advance the quality of life in the area. To realize the economic development aim of the action plan, three attraction centres in the GAP region, namely Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa and Diyarbakır were planned to be developed with an emphasis for environmental concerns, renewable energy, organic farming and cultural and historical heritage. To realize the aim of social development, the project aims to advance the life quality of the women, elderly people and children and disabled together with enhancing the public services of education, health and vocational training and employment finding and cultural facilities. To realize the aim of advancing the infrastructure, the irrigation projects, logistical advancements, advancements in the infrastructural problems of drinking water, waste water and solid waste, extension of joint industrial and trade facilities were given importance. To realize the aim of building institutional capacity, the foundation of three regional development agencies in Gaziantep, Mardin and Şanlıurfa were planned together with advancing the institutional services of government local and regional bodies and with promotion of NGOS, private sector, and professional institutions in the region.

Anatolia Watershed Rehabilitation Project (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:136) is funded by World Bank for the period of 2004 to 2012 with a project budget of 36, 5 M. Euro. The project targeted to constitute an environment-friendly agricultural and forestry activities management which will also increase the institutional capacity and public awareness. The project intends to advance the management of pastures and rehabilitation of pasture and forest areas, advancing the production of fodder crops, increasing vegetation in these areas, decreasing the fallowed lands, rehabilitation of the polluted areas of agricultural origin. The project has been carried out in the water-basins areas of the rivers Yeşilırmak and Kızılırmak and in the provinces of Samsun, Amasya, Tokat, Çorum, Sivas and Kayseri. The activities in the project is composed of fallow reduction, pasture rehabilitation, demonstration, production of fodder crops in irrigated land, beekeeping and orchards in dry area, correct use of marginal agricultural area, afforestation.

There are IFAD projects namely; Erzurum Rural Development Project, Bingöl- Muş Rural Development Project, Yozgat Rural Development Project, Ordu- Giresun Rural Development Project, The Ongoing Sivas-Erzincan Development Project, The Ongoing Diyarbakir- Siirt- Batman Development Project. (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:137-139)

Erzurum Rural Development Project (1982-1989) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:137): with a total budget of 110 M. Euro, the purpose of the project was to advance the productive capacity and living conditions of the poorest people who work as mainly small-scale, mixed-crop and livestock farmers in the region. Project activities were composed of plant protection, veterinary and irrigation services, a pilot high-altitude pasture demonstration, field tests and crop adaptation trials. The project gave credits for small-scale farmers for using new technical packages and applied procedures such as; apiculture and milk collecting. The project was carried out in 1046 villages of Erzurum with reaching 76000 families.

Bingöl- Muş Rural Development Project (1990-1999) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:138) was intended to advance agricultural production and decrease poverty in the least developed areas, to advance rural employment opportunities, to promote individual and group's entrepreneurial activities and to advance the quality of life of farmers and especially the women with a total budget of 42 M. Euro. The activities of the project includes infrastructural activities, building village group centres, enhancing technical packages and livestock husbandry practices by intensive sheep production and income generating activities for women in apiculture and traditional carpet production. 35,000 households at total in the region were reached.

Yozgat Rural Development Project (1991-2001) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:138) targeted to enhance the income and quality of poorest people in the region through measures to advance rural infrastructure and to advance productivity on animal and plant production. Women were given specific emphasis by creating income-generating activities for them in bee-keeping, sericulture and weaving. The total budget of the project is 32, 80 M. Euro with reaching 640 villages and 30000 households.

Ordu- Giresun Rural Development Project (2000-2006) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:138) targeted to advance the income and life standards of the people of the region through new income generating activities and advancing the infrastructure with sustaining the natural environment. The project had a participatory approach, which had started with planning the development project with the villagers before the implementation of the project. In the project, trainings relevant to animal husbandry, forestry and plant diversification were carried out. In addition credits were given to the farmers with low interest rates in the areas of plant, livestock or fruit production. The farmers conducted afforestation, animal husbandry with insemination and kiwi production. Water infrastructure and roads of the villages were improved. The project had a total budget of 42, 5 M Euro and reached 140 villages from Ordu and 140 villages of Giresun. Furthermore, 688 families benefited from credits which create employment for 32000 people.

The Ongoing Sivas-Erzincan Development Project (2005-2012) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:139) targets to assist small family holdings with advancing social and agricultural infrastructure and living standards of rural people through enhancing agricultural productivity and income level in the least developed areas of Sivas and Erzincan. The project will include 200 villages and about 2000 people in the poorest villages with a budget of 24 million Euro. The project is composed of agricultural development activities in crop production, forestry and livestock production; advancing community relations, coordination and cooperation capabilities and executing project management and support.

The Ongoing Diyarbakir- Siirt- Batman Development Project (2006-2011) (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:139) targets to advance the economic and social status of poor

population of the provinces of Diyarbakır, Batman and Siirt with a total budget of 30 million Euro especially through diversification for income sources, increasing employment, advancing economic efficiency, increasing the professional and organizational skills of the individuals and groups to enhance the employment opportunities for targeted groups. The program has three sections as; village improvement programme, rural economic growth, and individual and institutional capacity building for rural poverty reduction.

The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:140) states that the rural development projects that have been implemented in the IPARD agenda are different in two dimensions. Firstly, it is stated that the IPARD program includes the issue of food safety and diversification of income generating activities to lessen the problems of rural poverty. Secondly, it is mentioned that the previous programs did not consider the lessening of agricultural labor and its effects on farming practices.

#### **4.3.3. Measures and Tools of IPARD Programme in Turkey**

The emphasis on efficiency, transition from semi-subsistence farming households and diversified rural economic activities is a continuum of the rural development policies of the EU. The small-sized farming households are declared to be the source of inefficient farming and a problem in rural development also in the documents of T.C. SPO. Moreover, the IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:11) also states that more farmers cannot continue agricultural production especially in rural areas with less than 20.000 inhabitants and with small farming land.

The EU oriented rural development program is based on constituting small and middle scale capitalist farming system in Turkish agriculture especially with the project schemes in the selected agricultural sub-sectors which are thought to be the sub-sectors Turkey has a comparative cost advantage in global scale. The IPARD Programme has seven kinds of measures for rural development in Turkey. As the IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011b) states, three kind of these measures are in the form of projects for small and middle sized entrepreneurship of agriculture and food sector to be applied by the farmers/ entrepreneurs in selected provincial areas.

The first set of measures (code 101-1 and 101-2) includes the “investments in agricultural holdings to restructure and to upgrade to community standards”. This type of measure includes milk and meat producing agricultural holdings. These holdings should be registered at the National Farms Registry System and the Animal Registry System and the National Tax system. However, if the agricultural holding is founded recently, it could only be registered in the National Tax system at the beginning of the process but at the end of the process it should be registered also the National Farms Registry System and Animal Registry System. This measure is designed to modernize farming and improve farming to European standards with “Good Agricultural Practices” while instrumental in Turkey's preparation for the execution of the “acquis communautaire” regarding Turkey’s acceptance of Common Agricultural Policy of EU. The selected provinces for the adaptation of this measure in milk producer agricultural holdings are (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:203); Afyonkarahisar, Ağrı, Aksaray, Amasya, Ankara, Ardahan, Aydın, Balıkesir, Burdur, Bursa, Çanakkale, Çorum, Denizli, Elazığ, Erzurum, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Kars, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Manisa, Mersin, Muş, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Uşak, Yozgat. The selected provinces for the adaptation of this measure in meat producer agricultural holdings are (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:210); Afyonkarahisar, Ağrı, Aksaray, Amasya, Ankara, Ardahan, Çankırı, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Kars, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Manisa, Mardin, Muş, Nevşehir, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Uşak, Van, Yozgat.

Second set of measures includes the (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:226) “investments in processing and marketing of agricultural and fishery products to restructure those activities and upgrade them to community standards”. This type (code 103-1, 103-2, 103-3, 103-4) includes the processing and marketing of milk and milk products, meat and meat products, fruits and vegetables and fishery products. The provinces included in milk and milk products processing and marketing scheme are (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:236); Afyonkarahisar, Ağrı, Aksaray, Amasya, Ankara, Ardahan, Aydın, Balıkesir, Burdur, Bursa, Çanakkale, Çorum, Denizli, Elazığ, Erzurum, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Kars, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Manisa, Mersin, Muş, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Uşak, Yozgat. The provinces included in meat

and meat products processing and marketing scheme are (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:245-246); Afyonkarahisar , Ağrı, Aksaray, Amasya, Ardahan, Çankırı, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Kars, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Manisa, Mardin, Muş, Nevşehir, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Uşak, Van, Yozgat. The provinces included in fruits and vegetables processing and marketing scheme are (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:252); Amasya, Aydın, Balıkesir, Burdur, Bursa, Çanakkale, Çorum, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Hatay, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Manisa, Mardin, Mersin, Nevşehir, Samsun, Şanlıurfa, Tokat. The provinces included in fishery products processing and marketing scheme are (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:257); Burdur, Elazığ, Erzurum, Giresun, Hatay, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Kastamonu, Konya, Malatya, Mersin, Ordu, Samsun, Sivas, Trabzon, Van.

The programme continues the new rural development paradigm in EU which emphasizes the importance of diversification of economic activities in rural areas as pluriactivity and creating and marketing unique rural products and services as rural development policy is also the major strategy for new Turkish rural development strategy to maintain rural population's income and welfare. In accordance with the aim of diversification of rural economic activities, T.C. SPO National Rural Development Strategy (2006b:14) declares that “the basic resource is in strengthening rural economy is the local assets possessed by the rural areas.” Regarding the regional development policy (T.C. SPO, 2006a:46), the development policy was constructed thorough initiating and supporting the internal potential and entrepreneurial abilities of the region through detecting and marketing unique, natural inheritances of the regions. It is stated that through constructing sets of regional areas with leading sectors which have label potential. In this regard, the technological development through research and development were given importance. Also in regional development, it is stated that local participation of the local shareholders are to be sustained through maintaining of the culture of shareholding, synergy, ownership and consciousness in development.

In the rural development (T.C. SPO, 2006a:46), the rural economic efforts which are based on both agricultural and non-agricultural goods such as forestry products, food

products, tourism and recreation, hand crafts and food industry were promised to be supported. IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:63) mentioned the assets of rural areas as; diversity of products, purer environment, the diversity of natural resources, the richer landscape, and the unique historical and cultural heritage moreover, the programme declares that in the east region of Turkey, 60% of rural population's main economic activity is farming which is low for diversifying rural economic activities. To overcome this difficulty, the programme suggested policies both considering rural farms with medium-sized farms with specialized and engaged in market-oriented types of crops and animal husbandry and small and very small farms with mixed productions. There is a tendency to pluri-activate the farm households by male often working off the farm in near urban areas. According to the programme (2011a:63) to reduce the negative effects of this kind of migration, a relatively easy way to acquire know-how have to be disseminated to the population with making use of inherent knowledge of the local population about endogenous resources of the area. As the program declares (2011a:67), the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry identified honey production, medicinal and aromatic plants production, ornamental plants, local typical agricultural and food productions and traditional handicrafts and rural tourism as diversified economic activities in rural areas.

Third set of measures includes the “diversification and development of rural economic activities”. Third set of measures (code 302-1, 302-2, 303-3, and 304-4) includes diversification and development of on-farm activities, local products and micro enterprise development, rural tourism and Aquaculture development. In the rural areas, measures for vulnerable are promised to be taken together with basic infrastructure improvements and increasing financial opportunities for general rural population. Diversification and development of on-farm activities includes the measures to develop bee-keeping, Medicinal and aromatic plants and ornamental plants. Selected provinces in this scheme are: Afyonkarahisar, Amasya, Burdur, Çankırı, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Giresun, Hatay, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Kars, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Ordu, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Trabzon, Yozgat, Uşak. (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:304-305).

Local products and micro enterprise development scheme in the third set of measures includes local traditional crafts, local products, natural and heritage resources which are aimed to be commoditized and supported with scheme of small and middle sized entrepreneurship. The special arts and traditional local products were mentioned in the Annex 1.11.2 and Annex 1.11.3 of the IPARD programme with a priority given to projects which could create employment opportunities in local areas and regions. The list of traditional handicrafts which were identified in the list of IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:71) is the Annex 1.11.2. Included handicrafts are:

wood work, gold work, copper working, glassware, production of ceramics, pottery, tile making, weaving, silverwork, wickerwork, embroidery edging, basket weaving, music instruments making, felt making, rug weaving, carpet weaving, saddle making, stone working, decorative stonework and mother-of-pearl inlay.

These handicrafts are seen as an economic activity and additional income source especially for rural women together with the local agricultural and food production. The list of local agricultural and food products were also listed in the IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a) Annex 1.11.3. This schemes selected provinces are; Afyonkarahisar, Ağrı, Amasya, Burdur, Çankırı, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Erzincan, Erzurum, Giresun, Hatay, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Kars, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Mardin, Nevşehir, Ordu, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Trabzon, Uşak, Van, Yozgat.

Together with the previous pluriactivities, rural tourism and recreational activities based on diverse natural, historical and cultural heritage of Turkey are identified by the ministry's IPARD program (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:72) as for both inland tourism and outbound tourism. Some mentioned tourism types are common coastal tourism, eco-sports, nature observation, rural leisure, mountain climbing and trekking. These tourism activities were seen as source of sustainable incomes and employment for rural people and as a tool for changing rural areas to desirable places to live and work. Eco and agro tourism were especially viewed as pluriactivities to reduce migration to urban centers. Moreover, the programme states the concern for the negative attitude for tourism activities in rural areas which could be solved by local capacity building.

According to IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:72), the high planning council has agreed on “Turkish Tourism Strategy (2023)” and “Turkish Tourism Strategy Action Plan (2007- 2013)”, which were published in the official gazette. “Turkish Tourism Strategy Action Plan (2007-2013)” is declared to identify diverse tourism activities for the whole year. In addition, in the “Tourism Strategy Action Plan” nine “Culture and Tourism Development Regions” and seven “Tourism Development Corridors” and ten “Tourism Cities” were identified. The Programme (2011a:73) also has decided on the most important transportation axis (roads/ railways) which is required to be developed to enable access to tourism areas. The black sea coast is described as “Plateau Tourism Development Corridor”, the East Anatolia region and Central Blacksea region as “Winter Tourism Development Corridor”, the Southeast Anatolia region as “Gourmet and Religious Tourism Development Region” and also “Culture and Thermal Tourism Development Regions” were defined in other regions of Turkey. Many tourism agencies already organize trips for domestic and foreign tourists to the regions mentioned above. When the tourism statistics are analyzed, the influence of these agencies on the number of arrivals, number of beds and the number of touristic establishments at provincial level especially in the provinces located in the priority development regions can be clearly identified. The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:5) identified the food industry and tourism as two important sub-sectors for rural development. The food industry was also declared to have 5 % share of the GDP and a 20 % share of in the production of manufacturing sector in 2002.

Rural Tourism scheme of this third measure (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:316) is about assisting the development of “small boarding houses, bed & breakfast rooms and food serving facilities, assisting the creation and development of on-farm accommodation and the development of tourist recreational activities (sports activities, nature discovery, heritage discovery) by micro rural entrepreneurs or by farmers in selected priority provinces”. This measure will be applied in the provinces of (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:317); Afyonkarahisar, Ağrı, Amasya, Burdur, Çankırı, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Erzincan, Erzurum, Giresun, Hatay, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Kars, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Mardin, Nevşehir, Ordu, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Trabzon, Uşak, Van, Yozgat. These provinces are

selected according to the criterias and tourism areas presented in the Tourism Strategy of Turkey-Conceptual Action Plan.

Aquaculture development scheme of the third set of measures is designed (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:321) to assist “micro and small farmers (either already engaged in fish production or taking up this new activity) to expand their fish-farming and upgrade to Community standards and Good Fish-rearing Practices”. The provinces in this sheme are Afyonkarahisar, Amasya, Burdur, Çankırı, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Giresun, Hatay, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Ordu, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Trabzon, Van.

Another set of measures which is also related with small producers in agriculture is (T.C. ARDSI, 2011:217) measure 102 which is the “support for the setting up of producer groups” in the products of Fruits, Vegetables including Mushrooms, Flowers, Medicinal Crops, Milk, Read Meat and poultry Meat, Egg, Honey, Fish. The measure’s aim is to improve the bargaining power of producer groups in relation to other stake holders in the food-chain by (2011:218):

- Adapting the production and output of the members of producer goupes to market requirements;
- jointly placing goods on the market, including preparation for sale, centralisation of sale, and supply to bulk buyers;
- Adapting the production and output of producers to meet the relevant Community standards compliance with the Acquis communautaire;
- Establishing common rules on production information, with particular regard to harvesting and availability;
- To insure effective standardization in all marketing steps and delivery of products in the food-chain.

The provinces selected for this measure are Afyonkarahisar, Ağrı, Amasya, Aksaray, Ankara, Ardahan, Aydın, Balıkesir, Burdur, Bursa, Çanakkale, Çankırı, Çorum, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Giresun, Hatay, Isparta, Kahramanmaraş, Karaman, Kars, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya, Manisa, Mardin, Mersin, Muş, Nevşehir, Ordu, Samsun, Şanlıurfa, Sivas, Tokat, Trabzon, Uşak, Van, Yozgat.

Another set of measures is related with the ecological concerns in rural areas named as (code 201-1, 201-2 and 202-3) “Preparation for the Implementation of Actions Relating to Environment and Countryside”. The submeasures are “erosion control, Water Resources Conservation and Biodiversity.” This measure aims to sustain agricultural production with good agricultural practices defined in the program with payments to farmers or other land managers who make a “voluntary agri-environmental commitment” for a period between 5 and 7 years. These commitments should exceed the compulsory standards established by the Turkish Code of Good Agricultural Practice and other relevant national legislation. This measure is designed with an aim to improve local capabilities and local development strategies through learning and implementing the LEADER program of IPARD as integration process to EU (T.C. ARDSI, 2011:263).

Another important policy implementation issue related with the EU policies is the organic farming. The IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:36-37) defined organic farming as “an alternative production method” which aims to achieve an environment friendly agricultural production system, rejecting the use of synthetic agricultural chemicals, hormones and mineral fertilizers and proposes a system with organic and green fertilization, alternation, soil protection, the use of resistant varieties in crops and using of natural enemies in a closed systems to achieve quality in agricultural production. The organic farming is based on sustaining environmental production and animal welfare and a new domestic and international market in agricultural sector.

Moreover, the T.C. SPO plan (2006a:74) recognized that the research of biological diversity and genetic sources in agricultural production is important. In this regard, agriculture, environment and technology policies were decided to be integrated allowing for assessing and reducing the risks of genetically modified seeds. Other ecological issues such as green house effect and pollution problems in environment and climate change were mentioned as areas of importance.

The sixth set of measures is the measures related with ensuring local and participatory rural development environment with the measure code 202 named as;

“Preparation and implementation of Local Rural Development Strategies”. Measures (code 202-1, 202-2, 202-3, and 202-4) is still in the preparation phase which is designed to increase regional and local rural development through participatory, bottom-up approach named as LEADER approach of EU with the IPARD Agencies being the managing agency. In preparing for this measures regarding participatory local development, the IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:74) mentioned about the experiences of participatory rural development projects in Ordu- Giresun, and Sivas- Erzincan as finished projects (funded by IFAD) and village based investment support programme under the agricultural reform implementation project (ARIP) by the World Bank. IFAD projects’ plans were conducted by the villagers with the aim of including the beneficiary villagers’ interests were involved in the project and improving physical environment and raising their income levels with new economic activities. ARIP was conducted in the time period between 2005- 2008. The IPARD programme claims that this project can be a helpful tool in the execution of the leader approach of the EU with its experience on utilization of local actors. Moreover, as T.C. SPO (2006a:48) declares, EU funded (exceeding 300 hundred million Euro) regional development projects were implemented in 49 provinces. Moreover, the projects which intensify the cooperation between local actors, are sensitive to the local needs with bottom-up approach, emphasize participation and costs sharing are promised to be conducted in pilot schemes and then extended.

The IPARD programs are mainly organized with giving grants to small and middle sized enterprises, and cooperatives of agriculture. All these measures to give credits small or middle sized entrepreneurs are a new practice for officials and the small sized farmers/ entrepreneurs. Moreover, the applying mechanisms are complex. R39 mentioned: “We are trying to help farmers/ entrepreneurs to apply for the projects of EU however we are also learning in the process. It is even not easy for us to understand the procedure.” Similarly, R 48 mentioned that there is a lack of rural development experts who can formulate the general rural development policy of Turkey and regional-local rural development projects. In addition, R 47, R48 and R49 also mentioned that the rural development should not be trial process but based on knowledge regarding global agricultural sector, agricultural product knowledge, regional knowledge regarding cultural norms and values and regional environmental

conditions and economic potentials of the region with a participatory approach including the targeted people's involvement in planning the process. R 48, R 51 also mentioned the importance of planning the projects with the targeted group and taking their consent in the projects.

In unison with the idea of "Participatory Development", IPARD program in Turkey gave importance to local capacity and bottom-up local action/actors. The Leader Approach was mainly organized through an area based approach with a local emphasis envisioned and implemented by Local Action Group (LAG) including public and private actors' involvement in the defined elements of rural development such as; in agricultural sector, environmental issues, the wider rural economic issues, the quality of life, cultural issues. According to IPARD report (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:276), this Local action groups have to comply with the following conditions:

- The private component of the LAG must have representative partners from various locally based socio-economic sectors, relevant for the territory concerned and include representatives of civil society, such as, indicatively, farmers, rural women, young people and their associations, non-government organizations, local cultural or environmental associations. The economic and social partners and representatives of civil society, at the decision-making level; these must make up at least 50% of the local partnership.
- LAGs must propose an integrated local development strategy, based at least on features of being based on local development strategies, local public-private partnerships, a bottom-up approach, multi sectoral design and implementation of local rural development strategies.
- LAGs must show an ability to define and contribute to the implementation of a development strategy for a defined area.
- The area selected shall be coherent and offer sufficient critical mass in terms of human, financial and economic resources to support a viable development strategy.
- The population covered in each area should be as a general rule greater than 5,000 inhabitants and not exceed 150,000 inhabitants.

The approach aims to integrate economic and social issues in an integrated and multisectoral way and giving emphasis to innovative actions, transfer of knowledge between rural groups through building networks and cooperation with a payment that the group divides into areas according to the selected priorities of the group. The approach (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a: 276) was declared to be including some characteristics:

1. area-based local development strategies;
2. local public-private partnerships ("Local Action Groups" (LAGs))
3. a bottom-up approach with a decision-making power for Local Action Groups concerning the elaboration and implementation of local development strategies;
4. a multi-sectoral design and implementation of the local development strategies;
5. implementation of innovative approaches;
6. implementation of cooperation projects;
7. networking of local partnerships.

This measure includes sub-measures of “Acquisition of skills, animation and assisting with development strategies; Implementation of local development skills; Running costs of LAGs and Cooperation Activities”. (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:277) The submeasure (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:279) “Acquisition of skills, animation and assisting with development strategies” includes the actions such as;

- a) capacity building, (b) initiatives to bring the local actors together for skills acquisition, animation and discussion of local needs, (c) support the production of a diagnosis of the area, (d) support the creation of a partnership (LAG) with a legal status, (e) support the preparation of the local development strategies (f) support the building-up of networks and networking activities.

The seventh measure is the technical assistance (code 501) which is designed to (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:325) to grant allowances for

monitoring of the programme, ensuring an adequate flow of information and publicity, to support studies, visits and seminars, providing support for external expertise, providing support for the evaluation of the programme and providing support for the future implementation of a national rural development network.

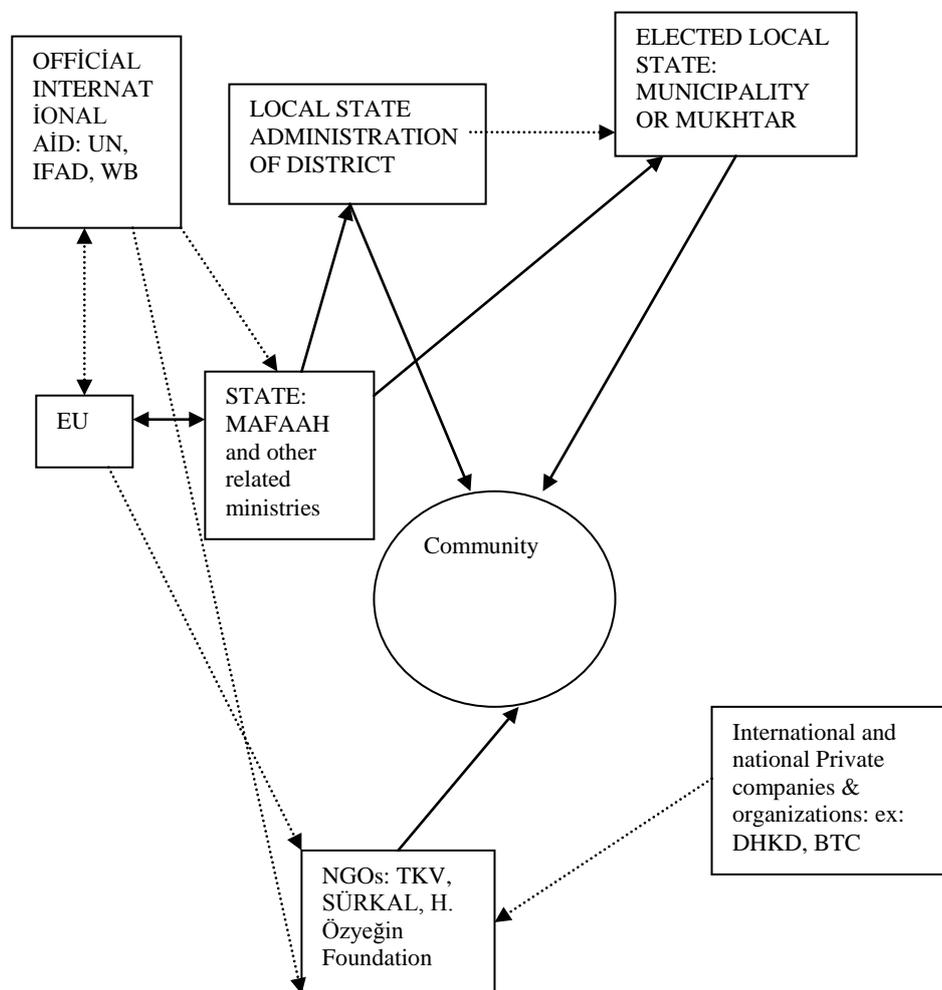
#### **4.3.4. Relationships among International organizations, National Rural Development Policy Maker Agencies and NGOs in Turkey**

As, previously mentioned, the agricultural sector at the world level is subject to more commercialization and capitalization with the influence of global organizations such as; WTO, WB and IMF. Moreover, as it can be seen from the subsidy mechanisms of the state such as IPARD, other projects mentioned in the fourth chapter of Turkey, the state or public projects in Turkey for the agricultural sector, mostly planned and implemented in relation with EU and in cooperation with UN. However, the ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry also have contradictions with these organizations in the usage of credits and other issues. The Minister of MFAAH mentioned in a speech at the conference of “There is hope in rural areas” that in WB has interfered to the usage of a loan they give to Turkey and did not let the ministry to make investments in terms of dipping irrigation system in rural areas. Similarly, the minister also complained that EU has been reluctant to give the promised funds after the Ministry has completed the required investments in IPARD. Thus, minister mentioned these organizations are not sincere in their arguments of enabling rural development in Turkey.

As it could be seen from the general agenda of IPARD, national rural development policy documents, there is a promise and a declared aim of enabling the local participatory rural development environment in coordination with EU rural development paradigm and the recent rural development paradigm’s characteristics mentioned in the related chapter. In this sense, the rural development policy included the foundation of IPARD’s measures requiring the foundation of LAGs, foundation of IPARD agencies in provinces and the foundation of regional/provincial development agencies. However, there are problems regarding the democratic process, the R47, R48, R49 mentioned that there is no guarantee of being taken into consideration and assisted or cooperated by the governors of the provinces, districts and other government officials when they carry out the projects in any area. Mainly, it is stated that they could be successful in their projects when they make use of informal relations and meetings at the local areas with the governors and public officials before starting a project. Moreover, most of the experts interviewed

mentioned that NGOs of rural development in Turkey could not be in agreement with the restructuring of agricultural sector and the abolishment of public institutions supporting Turkish farmers and the abolishment of subsidies in agricultural production which left the small sized agricultural farmers alone against market mechanisms and capitalist enterprises at national and international level.

Moreover, R52 mentioned that there is great inefficient usage of resources in the rural development policies in the sense that while the governors hesitate to enable the usage of unused tools of provincial administrations, they employ unnecessary people with high income. These relationships can be shown with a figurative model adopted from Friedmann (1992:148) for the rural development policy at the next page.



**Figure 1: Rural Development Policy Regime in Turkey**

This figure shows the relationships between different organizations and institutions in rural development policy of Turkey. The arrows show the type and dimension of relationships in terms of economic funds and policy decision making power. The central Turkish policy making state institutions are related with official international aid organizations and taking funds from them, it is not directly controlled from them but it is affected by their policies. However, central state is more controlled from the EU rural development policies because of its commitment to be integrated to EU but still has some bargaining power in the issues. So their relationship is interactive. Central state directly controls the local state administration and elected local state but elected local state is also controlled by the local state administration. But this control is not absolute; there could be certain diversions from the local state administration especially in the case of municipalities. It is also important to notify that muhktars are much more directly controlled by the local state administration legally and administratively from the local state administration. Even if NGOs are not controlled by the central state in terms of funds or policies directly, in their programs and projects they are continuously interacting with local administrative state and local elected state. Moreover, this interaction and relationships affect greatly the success of the projects and policies. In addition, the economic resources of NGOs could both include the EU, Official Aid institutions and international and national private companies and organizations. The relationships and control of these organizations on the activities and program and project designs could differ from one NGO to the other. Moreover, it is also important to note that all these relationships are interactive with each other and the general rural development policy and the NGOs policies at programs and projects conflict with each other in some specific cases as the respondents explained in this section.

#### **4.4. Underdevelopment, Rural Development and Rural Women in Turkey**

In this study, it is assumed that it is necessary to consider the conditions of underdevelopment and patriarchy to understand the political, economical and social conditions and status of rural women in Turkey. Furthermore, it is necessary to analyze rural women's secondary and exploited situation within specific conditions of agricultural production and rural women.

In addition, in relation with the previously mentioned characteristic of Turkey as an underdeveloped country, development and empowerment of rural women in Turkey is related with the neo-liberal economic policies in agricultural sector and changes in rural development policies and agriculture subsidizing system. It is also important to acknowledge that rural women in Turkey are mainly members of petty commodity producer farming households in Turkey. Thus, the rural women's development is strongly related with the living conditions of small sized farming households conceptualized as petty commodity production in rural sociology. Thus, the issues related with development such as; reduction and elimination of social policies, increasing costs of agricultural inputs, the worsened economic conditions of the household, the technological developments especially in the agricultural inputs, the are effective in determining the socio-economic conditions and positions of rural women and thus development of rural women.

The rural women's socio-economic status is closely associated with non acknowledged non-monetary (non-paid) female labor in agricultural production and domestic tasks. Women's labor is very important in the survival of the petty commodity household. According to Bernstein (Kandiyoti 1985:26), the exploitation of labor in household is possible with intensification of labor when the productive forces have reached its inherent limits. According to this explanation, with the intensification of labor; the labor is devaluarized and adapted to the market conditions. In this process, even if the productive forces are not developed, the intensification of labor enabled the exploitation of labor of the household in an extended scale. Considering women's unpaid labor in petty commodity production, it can be claimed that exploitation of women's labor enables the continuation of petty commodity production.

Especially with the increasing pressure of commoditization in agriculture through purchasing agricultural inputs, the petty commodity producers are forced to use survival strategies. Aydın (2001) (Karkiner, 2006:3) identified these survival strategies as; strategies intended for creating new income resources, strategies intended for consuming saved resources or borrowing, reducing consumption, and reducing costs. The petty commodity producer tries to survive trough intensification

of its labor and extension of labor time. Moreover, Karkiner (2006:3) stated that the decrease and/ or extinction of state subsidizing policies lead to the decrease in the income of household and/ or the expropriation of petty commodity producers. In relation with this, considering the women's relationship with paid labor, unpaid family labor and sexual division of labor and land; the women's work load in household and thus exploitation of women's labor increase together with the increasing inequality.

According to Ecevit (1994:96- 97), it is necessary to analyze the women's labor in relation with production, reproduction and land ownership in order to understand the transformation of the women's labor in agriculture. In the petty commodity production based on unpaid family labor, the organization of production has a critical importance in assessing the status of rural women. The women's labor in agriculture is considered to be reproductive even if she works in the agricultural production process because of her lack of ownership of land and monetary resources. Karkiner (2006:5) and Aydin (2001:22) claimed that the raising of children and the labor of women in the household are both a part of the survival strategies. Thus, they also claim that resistance to poverty in agricultural areas is based on the intensification of women's labor and extension of labor time and make use of women's labor as the main mechanism of the reproduction of petty commodity production. Furthermore, as Ecevit and Ecevit (2002:276) stated the petty commodity production which is the dominant mode of production and unequal division of landownership lead to impossibility of capital accumulation in agriculture and thus prevent women's ownership of land which strengthens feminization of agricultural labor and exploitation of women's labor.

In this study project, it is assumed that both capitalism and patriarchy has benefited from the exploitation of women's labor in rural production. As Friedmann (197?) claimed, this exploitation is different from the exploitation of men since the petty commodity production's survival can be achieved only through the exploitation of women's labor and their role in reproduction of household. In the capitalist system, the sexual division of labor is enforced socially and thus, domestic labor's being a

primary responsibility of women reduce her power in labor market and the secondary position of women's domestic labor is reinforced by labor market.

As related with the discussions of underdevelopment and the changes in global capitalist system that are mentioned the previous sections, the development policies about rural society and agriculture has been gradually ceased in Turkey. The elimination of rural development policies of state worsened the socio-economic conditions of rural women. The reasons of this can be summarized as;

1. It reduced and even eliminated social policies of health, education and social security policies of employment and retirement.
2. It increased the costs of agricultural production and thus; it increased female labor in agriculture through intensifying labor and extension of labor time.
3. The worsened economic and social conditions of the household, increased women's oppression and exploitation in the general society and in the global capitalism. Firstly, women's labor is exploited more with the extension of their work load in agricultural production while male members of the household start to work in areas other than agricultural production as wage workers. Secondly, women became the cheapest source of labor with the lowest wage and lowest job security in agricultural production especially in seasonal labor.
4. Technological developments in agriculture mainly enforced women to work in labor intensive jobs while limiting their participation in the decision making process, and limiting their ownership of economic resources and benefits.
5. The decrease in the state's role in agricultural development increased the penetration of transnational capital in agricultural production as farmers are becoming more dependent to the market for the inputs and for selling the products and thus increased the devolarization of the women's labor.

The studies in rural Turkey and rural women (Ecevit 1993, Kandiyoti 1984, Ertürk 1988) argue that development efforts to modernize and/ or socially change rural areas have worsened women's socio-economic status. As Ertürk (1990:190) argued, the rural development projects in Turkey have strengthened the gender division of labor by excluding women from the modernization process without presenting

women opportunities for active roles in decision making processes and in the institutions of rural development. As Ertürk states (1996:344) the research studies (Aydın (1986), Berik (1987), Ertürk (1995a), Kandiyoti (1990), Morvaridi (1993), Sirman (1990), Yalçın-Hekmann (1991)) regarding rural women and development have indicated three important points. Firstly, it is stated that there is a distinct sexual division of labor in which women are carrying out labor intensive and not-skilled tasks and men are carrying out more qualified, information and mechanization based tasks. Secondly, valued goods are mainly the ones that are purchased rather than that are handmade which gives importance to the income level of the family rather than women's capabilities and skills. Thirdly, women could benefit from the opportunities of development regarding education, health, informative sources and credits, et cetera less and thus women's active participation and control in the daily livelihood is much less.

In this study study, it is also important to clarify that rural development policies and projects in Turkey that has women related aims and activities, have tendency to increase women's work load and exploitation in the household and not challenging the patriarchal relations in the families, households and in their communities if any particular cautions are not taken within the projects. As it was mentioned in the chapter of the development and gender, the development policies and projects were continuously criticized by the feminist approaches firstly with leaving women outside the modernization and technical development process, secondly with ignoring women's productive work in agriculture by considering its as continuation of reproductive activities in the household, thirdly with only increasing women's work load with additional economic activities without increasing women's capabilities to economic decisions in their families and fourthly not challenging the patriarchal relations in their families and communities with increasing women's empowerment. In this section, in analyzing the relation between rural women and development in Turkey, the current situation of development policies and projects regarding rural women will be described firstly with revealing the representation of rural women in development plans & in other policy documents, secondly with revealing the analysis of the projects & activities in relation with rural women in Turkey.

#### **4.4.1. Representation of Rural Women in Development Plans & in other Policy Documents in Turkey**

If the five year progress plans are examined, it could be seen that the women's problems regarding their socio-economic status and secondary position in Turkish society are not analyzed under a separate title until the sixth development plan (1990-1994) which was issued in 1989. Till this date, women's problems and other social problems related with the socio-cultural values, norms and structure of Turkish society were seen as secondary and subject to change in relation with the economic development and economic growth in Turkey. As mentioned in the section regarding development and rural women, women's movement active involvement in international efforts for development policy planning and implementation especially in relation with United Nations, enabled the declaration of "Women's development decade" for the years between 1975 and 1985 and acceptance of Convention for the elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women by the member countries of UN. Turkey has signed the convention for the elimination of discrimination against women in 1985. In Turkey's general policy making instruments, gender inequality and discrimination against women have only become an issue after 1980s, after the signing of the (CEDAW) Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women" in 1985. The secondary position of women in society and issue of women's empowerment through development processes only recently became an issue in Turkey in relation with Turkey's commitments regarding UN with the acceptance of CEDAW and integration process to EU.

As Kulak (2011:105) argues, measures to lessen the effects of restructuring of the agricultural sector in Turkey was advised and presented in the form of developing entrepreneurial skills in promising economic activities to generate additional income in rural areas. In the sixth development plan (T.C. SPO, 1989:304), increasing the agricultural workers' involvement especially women's involvement in the social security and insurance system was targeted and measures to increase the extent of social security and insurance system were presented. In addition, three problems at macro level were identified. One of these problems is the women's status (T.C. SPO, 1989:341) in society. In this title, inaccessibility of educational and health services

for women and insufficient employment opportunities for women were identified as important problems. It is promised that (T.C. SPO, 1989:353) women's access to services of education, health and means for opportunities of employment will be increased in order to advance women's share in the development of Turkey. Moreover, women's issues were identified as a social sector and additional measures were promised to be taken to advance women's socio-economic status in Turkish society.

The seventh development plan (T.C. SPO, 1995) is important in the sense that the implications of the GATT agreements on agriculture were started to be implemented within the period of this plan especially in relation with the decisions issued in 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1994.

In the seventh development plan (T.C. SPO, 1995), in relation with the problems of women, the inability of women to access to the services of education and health were mentioned again in this plan. In addition, (T.C. SPO, 1995:40) it is targeted that reforms in the Turkish civil code which were formulated to establish the equality between women and men in family and in society and to enable working women to carry out responsibilities of mothering were to be issued and implemented in the period of this plan. The reform in the civil code includes the issues such as the resignation of the residence of the family, head of the family and surname after marriage, representation of family in law, minimum age of marriage, inheritance, alimony, and occupational position of the spouses. The development plan also targeted the implementation of the newly founded principles regarding sustaining gender equality such as; equally sharing the economic assets and properties that were attained during the marriage with the occurrence of divorce, equally taking responsibilities for the maintenance of family, increasing women's involvement in social and economic life. Moreover, new regulations in the criminal and tax and labor law were targeted to attain women's equal participation in social and economic life especially giving importance for increasing maternity leave, child care and nursery. In relation with the rural women specifically, the Department of Women Farmers was founded in September 1997. However, this department has been closed down in 2011 together with TEDGEM (MARA General Directorate of Organization

and Support) under which the department works after the restructuring of the ministry of Agriculture.

In the eight development plan (T.C. SPO, 2000:105) the aims such as; advancing women's socio-economic status, increasing women's education level in order to increase their participation in social and economic life, labor force, decision making processes in business and in family were mentioned. In order to achieve these aims, the plan targeted utilizing visual and printed media to increase awareness about women's rights and gender equality together with increasing the level of formal and informal education. Also, measures and employment policies were planned to be implemented in order to increase the rural women's participation in labor force. These policies were planned to include professional training projects for rural women and income generating projects with emphasis on creating additional value. In the eight plan period, the establishment law of the General Directorate of Women's Status (GDSW), which was founded in 1994, was legislated in November 2004.

In the ninth development plan (T.C. SPO, 2006a:37- 40), increasing employment is one of the five general goals of the development goals mentioned in the "Rural Development and Agriculture in Turkey" section of this study. The plan acknowledges there is a need to increase professional training for women and opportunities for women's employment together with an emphasis on increasing the educational publications in agricultural production and increasing the effectiveness of producers' organizations and cooperatives and increasing the participation of women in these producers' organizations and cooperatives.

In addition to the five- year development plans, there are the other policy documents such as Agricultural Strategy document of T.C. SPO, the national rural development strategy of T.C. SPO and National Action Plan for Gender Equality (2008- 2013) of GDSW and IPARD program. Agricultural Strategy document of T.C. SPO (2004:3), the strategic aim of "Increasing rural income and advancing the livelihood conditions of rural society" was identified with a special emphasis on the aim of "Increasing women's and youth's involvement in economic activities in rural areas". National Rural Development Strategy (2007- 2013) (2006b:19) targeted

advancing employment opportunities for female unpaid family labor in rural areas. Aims such as; increasing the literacy rate of women, advancing formal educational opportunities for women, increasing social awareness regarding women's rights and responsibilities in family and in social life were mentioned. Moreover, women specific professional training programs for increasing entrepreneurial and organizational skills were targeted under the aim of "Struggling with poverty and increasing the employment opportunities for disadvantaged groups". (T.C. SPO, 2006b: 19).

National Action Plan for Gender Equality (GDSW, 2008:7) identified education, economy, poverty, power and decision making mechanisms, health, media, environment, human rights and violence as policy areas for sustaining gender equality. Under the title of economic issues, the second objective is "to improve the economic position of women in rural areas".

Strategies to improve the economic conditions of rural women were defined as (GDSW, 2008:41);

- Ensuring that women working in rural areas benefit from technological opportunities and developments,
- encouraging women's entrepreneurships in agriculture based business lines; supporting the establishment of women's cooperatives; enhancing women's memberships and active participation in existing cooperatives,
- Implementing and diversifying income generating projects for rural women as well as projects aimed to improve labor conditions
- Providing agricultural extension services for women in a more widespread and effective manner
- Including female agricultural workers in the social security system

The third objective in the action plan (GDSW, 2008:42) related with the section of women and economy is to reduce the gender gap in wages and to struggle against gender discrimination in the labor market. To achieve this goal the strategies were defined as; reforming the current Labor Act in order to integrate gender equality definitions to legislative structure, providing data regarding the wage differentials between women and men carrying out the same occupation or job, working on the readjustments regarding the wage differentials of women and men carrying out the

same job and implementing necessary measures against the discriminations experienced by women regarding the admission to jobs, performance and promotion.

In the section of poverty of the action plan (GDSW, 2008:46), the objectives were defined as; carrying out activities to advance the situation of poor unemployment and strengthening coordination among institutions in the issue of poverty. In the first objective, the strategies were mentioned as; extending existing micro credits for women and their availability in a sustainable and equally shared manner, improving social assistance and social services for women in more sustainable, accessible manner and equally shared manner, and establishing continuous regular income for poor women.

The IPARD program (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a) adopted reverse discrimination policies in the process of determining the projects to be subsidized. Regarding the measures for “investments in agricultural holdings to restructure and to upgrade to community standards”, the holdings that are owned by a woman are more advantageous obtaining the subsidies. Secondly, in the subsidies regarding fishery, the enterprises whose 75% of all employees are women in minimum, are advantageous obtaining the subsidies. Thirdly, in the subsidies regarding the establishment of producer organizations and cooperatives, the organizations and cooperatives, whose 50 % of all members are women, are advantageous obtaining the subsidies. Finally, the entrepreneurial projects implemented by women or owned by women are advantageous obtaining the subsidies.

#### **4.4.2. Projects & Activities in relation with Rural Women in Turkey**

There are discussions about the possible consequences of development efforts on women of underdeveloped countries were discussed in the sections of Feminism and Development of this study study. The studies in Turkey related with the effects of development efforts in rural women and rural areas are also questioning the same problem. Ertürk (1996:346) argued that with the realization that development efforts are not successful but create unbalanced development which tends to differentiate rather than integrate society and increases the disparities between east and west,

agriculture and industry, rural and urban, poor and rich and women and men; alternative approaches of development for underdeveloped countries were tried to be formulated. The author (1996:346) also argued that even if development ideology is male dominant and westernization focused and based on top-down approach to rural development, there is a strong need for underdeveloped countries to formulate their own development agendas including the women specific concerns.

According to Ertürk (1995:147) the rural development programs and projects in Turkey, could be classified in four groups. The first group is the projects without any gender orientation and with a top-down approach based on an economic development model. These projects mostly include the investments in rural infrastructural development and modernization and mainly implemented by most of the underdeveloped countries. Second group is the projects which have a component regarding women. This group of projects includes activities targeted for women in areas that are considered appropriate for women; such as trainings in literacy, home economics, child care, family planning and handicrafts. As it can be seen easily, these activities are mainly reproductive activities. Third group is the projects which targeted especially women with limited project funds especially executed by third world countries. The fourth group of projects is the integrated rural development projects. The author claimed that the fourth group of projects has potential to sustain women's participation in development for a long time period. In addition, it is stated that the determining factors of the success of these projects are political views of the state and funding organizations and consciousness level of the participants.

#### **4.4.2.1 Projects & Activities of State Institutions and Organizations in relation with the Rural Women in Turkey**

There are several state related institutions, programs and projects in Turkey that have planned and implemented rural women related policies and projects. First important public agency is the Social Support Program (SSP/ SODES) which was established under the title "Realization of Social Development" which is a component of Southeast Anatolian Project Action Plan. This program was established for the period between 2008 2012 and includes aims such as; increasing quality of

livelihood, increasing social solidarity and integrity, advancing employment level in Southeast Anatolian Region, advancing the professional training and income generating activities, realization of social inclusion and supporting sports facilities and social and artistic activities. SODES have three components as; Employment, Social Inclusion, and Culture, Arts and Sports. Women were acknowledged as one of the primary target groups of the projects together with migrants, unemployed, children and youth who suffer from poverty.\* 395 projects were financed with a total budget of 42 million TL in 2008, 778 projects with a total budget of 91,8 million TL in 2009 and 1187 projects with a total budget of 150,026 million TL in 2010. In the period between 2008 and 2010, approximately 43% of total budget was expended for Social Inclusion projects, 41% of total budget was expended for Culture, Arts and Sports projects and 16% projects were expended for employment projects. The provinces that are targeted in this program are the provinces of the Southeast and East Anatolian projects ; Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa, Şırnak, Ağrı, Ardahan, Bayburt, Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Iğdır, Hakkari, Kars, Malatya, Muş, Tunceli, Van.

Second important public agency is the GAP Management. It's most important policy agency is the ÇATOMs (Multi-Purpose Community Centers) which were mentioned in the previous section that is a component of Southeast Anatolian Project. This project has the advantage of using participatory approach in designing and implementing special activities with the active involvement and governance of participants. In ÇATOMs, the participant women make an election to establish committees to govern activities. Another important public policy instrument is the project called "Innovations in Empowerment of Women in Southeast Anatolian Project Region" and it has been executed in relation with the ÇATOMs since 25<sup>th</sup> of March 2008 with the partnership of UNDP, T.C. Ministry of International Affairs and GAP Management. This project has been implemented to empower social and economic life of women in the Southeast Anatolia through the innovations in production and marketing strategies. It has been mainly implemented in the 9 provinces of Southeast Anatolian Project region by the sponsorship of Sweden International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

The project was organized to socially and economically empower women in the region through constructing a system of network and partnership between women to gain income. It is assumed that the process of network and partnership construction would increase women's organizational and institutional capabilities and thus enable them to be empowered. The project includes financial support in the form of supplying inputs and machinery to the ateliers that are managed by targeted women and technical support in the form of increasing designing and marketing capabilities of women. Moreover, also technical support is also given for advancement of organisational and institutional capabilities of the ateliers. These supports mechanisms include training programs in institutionalization, marketing, product design, gender, reproduction health and sustaining of market organization for the products produced by participant women. Other Non-governmental organizations working in women's issues and organizations such as; MOKID, Batman Women's Development Foundation, S.S. Multi-Purposed Mardin Women's Business Cooperative, Besni Active Women's Social Solidarity Business Cooperative, and Gaziantep University Women's Cooperative and et cetera in addition to ÇATOMs (Multi-purposed Community centres) became the supporters of the project.

Since the project has started in 2008, the most important element of the project is the establishment and strengthening the ateliers of handicraft souvenir, soap, textile (with the establishment of new label as "Argande"), food (in the forms ranging from phyllo, pastry to cafes, catering firms and restaurants) and jewellery and construction of professional production facilities. Related with the professionalization of the production process and product design advancement, marketing and sales network has tried to be created.

As it can be seen from the result pages of the facilities report (GAP 2010:19- 20), these facilities were designed to especially economically empower women in the conditions of economic change that enforces rural population's migration to urban areas and increasing unemployment conditions especially for women. This project was assumed to include the elements that could enable Southeastern Anatolian women to participate in economic and social life through increasing their education level, professional skills.

Another public institution related with women's empowerment is the General Directorate of Women's Status (GDSW/KSGM). This institution has been founded in April 1990 with the name "Directorate of Women's Status and Problems" and achieved its recent name in 2002. Recently, it has been working under the ministry of Family and Social Policies since the last elections in June 2011. The institution is aiming to strengthen women's socio-economic status, to sustain equal legal rights and equal opportunities for women with men, to advance strategies to prevent of all discriminations against women. Some important projects and activities of this institution related with rural areas are; Advancing Women's Employment project (1994-2000), Promoting Gender Equality Twinning Project (April 2007- October 2008), Micro credits supports to poor women in coordination with provincial authorities and "Policy Expert Trainings" which were given to the experts in public institutions in the issue of Gender equality.

In the "Advancing Women's Employment project", two rural research projects named as: "Participation of women in employment in rural areas: An evaluation of Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs' and World Bank's training programs" and Effects of women training services to women's employment in rural areas in Izmir region" were conducted. In the project of "Promoting Gender Equality Twinning", a Gender equality national action plan was formulated which has a component of improving women's economic status in rural areas. In the Policy expert trainings, a total number of 771 management personnel of province and district directorate of agriculture and management personnel of province and district directorate of community training centres were given trainings in the issues of gender. In the trainings, the aims were to create a gender perspective and increase awareness and sensitivity in the issues of gender in the public institutions.

In this regard the GDSW formulated a national action plan for sustaining gender equality but as Sancar (2011:85) also argued the gender equality program action plan is more like a statement of desirable developments in the issue rather than actual what is to do document. Kandiyoti (2011:54-56) also clarified this situation by mentioning that feminist movement in terms of grassroots organizations and NGOs has pressured to ensure the governments' actual involvement in elimination of

discrimination against women in special cases of injustice and also worked against government's unjust or intolerable actions in the issues such as the annulment of a adultery law. This could be possible because of the Turkey's integration process to EU and Women NGOs' active pressure and support and advocacy of the liberal Press. The continuous need for the control and pressure of the Non-Governmental Women groups for the sustaining of gender equality in formulating laws and the law's implementation process is evident in Turkey.

This document of GDSW "Gender Equality National Action Plan" was analysed in the section of "representation of rural women in development plans and other policy documents in Turkey" and the only tangible suggestions of the program were the microcredit programs for especially poor women, different kind of trainings for targeted women for employment and incorporating Gender Equality Sensitivity training into in-service training programs for educators, health personnel and professional organizations and in Trade Unions and Confederations of Workers-Employers. The concept of empowerment was both used in UN projects in Turkey and in the aims of the GDSW (2011) with the previously mentioned mainstream gender conceptualization of the term. The national action plan for gender equality of GDSW also mentioned the problem of women's empowerment especially in relation with the economic terms and income generating activities. Another item in this plan is the integration of women to power and decision making process of the political institutions. Even if the Gender Sensitivity trainings for educators, health experts, professional organizations and trade unions and confederations of workers-employers were planned, the actual ingredients of the training were not clarified. In addition, training programmes for the public bureaucratic organizations at the provincial level for principles of provinces, districts and municipalities who have a decisive authority in the implementation process of the development programs and aids programs for the poor and women were not suggested in this action plan. R57, R58, R52, R38, R50, R49 who has been working on regional and/or local projects and representatives of Non-governmental organizations mentioned that these authorities are the decision making power in the province or district and lack a gender perspective to assist development for women, slow to adopt the innovative ideas such as applying for a patent for Needlework in Nallihan and are mostly

reluctant to let the usage of public goods such as; unused hand looms or empty rooms in government buildings.

Directorate- General of Social Aids (SYDGM) is also a public institution which has been supporting poor people either through income generating programs for micro enterprises in agricultural production, animal husbandry and small shops of souvenir, food, electronics, textile, handicrafts, plumbing services, et cetera (T.C. SYDGM, 2011a) or through training programs (T.C. SYDGM, 2011b) which were designed to train poor women in the professional, technical and social skills to increase their chance to find employment.

In addition to previously mentioned public efforts for empowerment of women especially in rural areas, perhaps the most important public agency was the Department of Women Farmers which had worked under the TEDGEM (General Directorate of Organization and Support) but it has been abolished together with the TEDGEM after the elections with the restructuring of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. However, the activities and employees of the “Department of Women Farmers” were transferred to the “Department of Farmers’ Training and Publications” which works under the “General Directorate of Agricultural Reform”. The main aims of Department of Women Farmers were to train the women farmers with new agricultural publication methods, to increase women’s involvement in agricultural production and in rural development, to train women in issues of home economics and enable rural women and their families to reach the social and cultural advantages of modernization. (T.C. TEDGEM, 2011) The department’s main aim was to train rural women through increasing interaction between the public bodies and rural women. However, it is not clear whether these aims are still valid in the new bodies of the ministry or the public policies aimed for rural women are abolished altogether.

The main activities of the Department of Women Farmers were training rural women the women farmers’ agricultural knowledge contests and “Regional Women’s Workshops in Rural Areas” in nine regions. These regions are;

1. Middle Anatolia Region (Eskişehir, Bolu, Bilecik, Çankırı, Çorum, Kırşehir, Kırıkkale, Kütahya, Uşak, Yozgat),
2. Blacksea Region (Trabzon, Rize, Bayburt, Gümüşhane, Giresun, Ordu, Samsun, Sinop, Kastamonu, Zonguldak, Bartın Karabük),
3. Aegean Region (Denizli, Çanakkale, Balıkesir, Manisa, İzmir, Aydın, Denizli, Muğla, Burdur, Isparta),
4. Marmara (Tekirdağ- Bursa, Kocaeli, Edirne, Sakarya, İstanbul, Kırklareli, Yalova and Düzce)
5. Middle East (Tokat-Amasya, Sivas, Elazığ, Malatya, Tunceli and Adıyaman),
6. South East (Mardin, Bingöl, Siirt, Bitlis, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Van, Hakkari, Batman, Şırnak, Muş),
7. East Anatolia (Kars, Ağrı, Erzincan, Erzurum, Artvin, Ardahan, Iğdır),
8. Mediterranean (Gaziantep, Adana, Mersin, Antalya, Kahramanmaraş, Gaziantep, Kilis, Hatay and Osmaniye),
9. Middle-South (Konya, Afyonkarahisar, Aksaray, Karaman, Kayseri, Nevşehir, Niğde).

The results of these workshops are to be transferred to the policy instruments for rural women and a workshop in Ankara which will integrate all workshops was planned by the department of women farmers and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. These workshops were transformed into workshop book serials which includes the discussions in each group together with the opening and closing speeches of the workshop and with the conclusion remarks (T.C. TEDGEM 2008, 2010a and 2010b). However, it is ambiguous if these policies are to be integrated into the general agenda of the related ministry after it's restructuring in June 2011 and abolishment of the related department and its supervising Ministry body of TEDGEM. The workshops were designed with these aims in four main titles and eight groups. In the title of “rural area and woman”, the issues of poverty, education and health; in the second title of “the role of woman in agricultural production and marketing in rural areas” agricultural production and entrepreneurship and marketing; in third title of woman and natural resources, the use, management and protection of natural resources and in the fourth title of “Employment and

organization of women in rural areas and social security, agricultural employment and organization and social security was discussed.

Another important problem about the process of the rural development programs for rural women is that they are designed with a top to down strategy, designed by the MFAAH bodies in the center and the employees of the MFAAH in provinces and districts are responsible for executing the program; choosing the targeted rural women in provinces and districts and guide them during the program starting from the admission process to the end. R37 who was working at government body of Department of Women Farmers mentioned that they prepared the programs and projects for rural women at the center in relation with the general national rural development policies which are designed in relation with the integration process to EU but they interact with the “field” as a controlling and supervising and organizing body; they know about the field through the routine reports from the provincial and district directorates of the ministry and meetings in which the people from the center asks about the problems about the programs and projects. The central bodies of the ministry which is formulating the programs and projects also try to find solutions to the programs when problems occur. The manager also mentioned that they consider the regional differences when they are formulating programs and projects for rural women of some region; in this regard they divide Turkey in nine regions of the Workshops to solve the different problems of the rural women from different regions. As she stated, they learn about the program/ project area with counselling to the experts (science committee of the workshops and other regional experts from Universities) they have pre-review process before the project begins. She also mentioned that they formulate some programs and projects in relation with the international organizations of UNICEF, FAO, UNDP which prepare projects for rural women and children, and they are also a counselling body for these organizations’ projects for rural women and children. In this time, they were waiting for IPARD programs to be opened to admission process to design projects for rural women; they have continuing projects with FAO. In addition, UNDP have projects for women cooperatives, with which they assist rural women to apply for the program. In summary, the department of Women Farmers was a national policy making body for rural women, designing policies, programs and projects for rural

women in relation with national rural development policy and programs and projects of international organizations. As it is abolished and transferred to another unit, it is probable that there would not be any policy making body specific to rural women in the near future.

This department was responsible for training rural women about agricultural methods and aims to increase their self-confidence in the sense that they participate in economic and social life of their villages. It can be said that the workshops (T.C. TEDGEM, 2008,2010a and 2010b) were designed to integrate women to the general rural development policies of Turkey and with an aim of economically empowering women through increasing women's decision making power and participation in village cooperatives, in marketing of agricultural products, in financial issues of households, in small and middle sized entrepreneurship in rural areas through projects of Agriculture and Rural Development Institution or micro credits programs. The main problem regarding this aim is that to reach this aim more efforts are needed to challenge the existing patriarchal ideology and relations in family, in rural communities and in society in general since patriarchal ideology and relations do not allow for equal conditions, position and status in the participation of women in the labor process of the agricultural production, in rural development and in society in general. Moreover, the workshops could only encourage rural women to be involved in decision making in economic issues in their families and in their communities without offering tools of how to make it possible. In addition, as it is also said in the related documents of workshops, the policies of economically empowering rural women could only be achieved through in service training programs for employees of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, and other public bodies, provincial and district employees and employees of municipalities. The workshops of Middle South region were based on the supervision of scholars from Universities and interaction of government officials from different levels of hierarchy with women farmers. Even if there is a hierarchy among farmers and experts in general and among experts from different levels of government bureaucracy and among the supervisors of the workshops and the other participants in the group, it is still an environment where the women farmers were learning something about economics of farming and ask questions about entrepreneurship, micro credits, social security

problems, natural resources conservation etc.. The workshop groups discussed about the rural women's position and conditions in agricultural production. However, it was interesting that male participants of the workshop were mostly in the managerial positions of the General Directorate of provinces of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and women were mostly employees in secondary ranks. Moreover, some of the women interviewed (R1, R2, R3, R15) as the chair of women's cooperatives were women who participated these workshops.

The ministry of Education has also contributed to the development activities for rural women through the activities of "General Directorate of traineeship and Informal Education" and "General Directorate of Technical Education for Girls". The General D. of Technical Education for Girls has been organizing and giving professional training programs in elderly care, touristic handicrafts, and nutrition and food preparation. There also other training programs that are executed in coordination with the T.C. ISKUR (Turkish Employment Institution) which are finding employment for the 50% of the trainees. (T. C. The General D. of Technical Education for Girls:2011a and 2011b) "General Directorate of traineeship and Informal Education" also have been giving professional training courses in order to increase the skills and capabilities of the labor force in 131 different sectors such as; computing, accounting, tourism, hairdressing, tricotage. (T.C. General Directorate of traineeship and Informal Education: 2011a and 2011b)

The ministry of Labor and Social Security has also formulated a reform program called "Operational program to improve human resources" which includes a measure to encourage women's employment and increase female labor force. (Kulak:2011) Turkish Labor Institution (T.C. ISKUR) has been implementing policies to increase women's employment in labor force as a component of its active labor policies without a diversification in its policies according to rural and urban division. The institution implemented 3 main projects in the issue of sustaining employment for women (T.C. ISKUR 2011a). First one is the "Active labor force market policy project for sustaining decent work for women in Turkey". This project is (T.C. ISKUR, 2011b) implemented in Ankara, Konya, Gaziantep in the period between 2009 January and 2010 April with the cooperation of the International Labor

Organization. Second one is the “Strategy development project to increase women’s employment” (T.C. ISKUR, 2011c) for the period between 2009 and 2010 February in cooperation with British Council. Third one is the “Professional training and employment project for girls and women” which was implemented from the year 1991 to 1996 for the women living in squatter housing in Istanbul, Kocaeli and Şanlıurfa in cooperation with UNICEF (T.C. ISKUR, 2011d).

Another important problem about the process of the rural development programs for rural women is that they are designed with a top to down strategy, designed by the MFAAH bodies in the center and the employees of the MFAAH in provinces and districts are responsible for executing the program; choosing the targeted rural women in provinces and districts and guide them during the program starting from the admission process to the end. R37 who was working at government body of Department of Women Farmers mentioned that they prepared the programs and projects for rural women at the center in relation with the general national rural development policies which are designed in relation with the integration process to EU but they interact with the “field” as a controlling and supervising and organizing body; they know about the field through the routine reports from the provincial and district directorates of the ministry and meetings in which the people from the center asks about the problems about the programs and projects. The central bodies of the ministry which is formulating the programs and projects also try to find solutions to the programs when problems occur. The manager also mentioned that they consider the regional differences when they are formulating programs and projects for rural women of some region; in this regard they divide Turkey in nine regions of the Workshops to solve the different problems of the rural women from different regions. As she stated, they learn about the program/ project area with counselling to the experts (science committee of the workshops and other regional experts from Universities) they have pre-review process before the project begins. She also mentioned that they formulate some programs and projects in relation with the international organizations of UNICEF, FAO, UNDP which prepare projects for rural women and children, and they are also a counselling body for these organizations’ projects for rural women and children. In this time, they were waiting for IPARD programs to be opened to admission process to design projects for rural

women; they have continuing projects with FAO. In addition, UNDP have projects for women cooperatives, with which they assist rural women to apply for the program. In summary, the department of Women Farmers was a national policy making body for rural women, designing policies, programs and projects for rural women in relation with national rural development policy and programs and projects of international organizations. As it is abolished and transferred to another unit, it is probable that there would not be any policy making body specific to rural women in the near future.

This department was responsible for training rural women about agricultural methods and aims to increase their self-confidence in the sense that they participate in economic and social life of their villages. Both from the content analysis of the Book serials of the regional Workshops “Women in rural areas” (2008,2010a and 2010b) and from the observations regarding the last workshop in Konya, it can be said that the workshops were designed to integrate women to the general rural development policies of Turkey and with an aim of economically empowering women through increasing women’s decision making power and participation in village cooperatives, in marketing of agricultural products, in financial issues of households, in small and middle sized entrepreneurship in rural areas through projects of Agriculture and Rural Development Institution or micro credits programs. The main problem regarding this aim is that to reach this aim more efforts are needed to challenge the existing patriarchal ideology and relations in family, in rural communities and in society in general since patriarchal ideology and relations do not allow for equal conditions, position and status in the participation of women in the labor process of the agricultural production, in rural development and in society in general. Moreover, the workshops could only encourage rural women to be involved in decision making in economic issues in their families and in their communities without offering tools of how to make it possible. In addition, as it is also said in the related documents of workshops, the policies of economically empowering rural women could only be achieved through in service training programs for employees of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, and other public bodies, provincial and district employees and employees of municipalities. The workshops of Middle South region were based on the supervision of scholars from Universities and interaction of

government officials from different levels of hierarchy with women farmers. Even if there is a hierarchy among farmers and experts in general and among experts from different levels of government bureaucracy and among the supervisors of the workshops and the other participants in the group, it is still an environment where the women farmers were learning something about economics of farming and ask questions about entrepreneurship, micro credits, social security problems, natural resources conservation etc.. The workshop groups discussed about the rural women's position and conditions in agricultural production. However, it was interesting that male participants of the workshop were mostly in the managerial positions of the General Directorate of provinces of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and women were mostly employees in secondary ranks. Moreover, some of the women interviewed (R1, R2, R3, R15) as the chair of women's cooperatives were women who participated these workshops.

An important project which is still ongoing is "Promoting Women Employment Grant Scheme", which has been executed by the institution under the title of active policies and supporting women's employment operation. The scheme was given in the year 2009 but the related organizations and institutions are still implementing the project. The scheme were given to the non-profit seeking cooperatives, non-governmental organizations seeking public interests, chambers of commerce and industry, chambers of artisans and craftsman, vocational organizations, universities, research institutes not affiliated to government bodies, technical and vocational training institutions, organized industry zones (OIZ), SME representative organizations (such as: professional/technical associations and/or foundations), trade unions of workers and employers, public training centres and international organizations and local administrative bodies in the provinces (municipalities, special provincial administrations, and the associations of local authorities). (T.C. ISKUR, 2011e:7). The objectives of the scheme were mentioned as: "improving women's employability, supporting women's entrepreneurship and diminishing cultural and other objectives that hinders women's participation in the labor market" (T.C. ISKUR, 2011e:5). In all these projects ISKUR has been implementing projects in cooperation with the international organizations or institutions in coordination with Turkey's aim to become a member of European Union.

KOSGEB (Department of supporting and developing small and middle sized Enterprises), even if this institution does not support rural women specifically, it has been implementing projects aiming to advance entrepreneurship of women in small and medium scale through trainings and financial support. As a supporting institution, TC. Halk Bank has been also giving entrepreneurial credits for women without an office or workplace but intends to open a business in trade, services sector or manufacturing.

#### **4.4.2.2 Projects & Activities of Non-Governmental Organizations and institutions in relation with the Rural Women in Turkey**

Several non-governmental organizations are directly or indirectly support programs and /or implements projects for rural women. These studies not necessarily include agriculture but aims to contribute to development of rural areas and rural women. It is important to acknowledge that these studies have different priorities regarding the specific “processes and effects of development project” and the general aims of the civil non governmental organization. Moreover, also the non-governmental organizations make use of external funds mainly coming from international and national organizations such as UN, FAO, EU, WB and others in addition to their intrinsic financial resources.

The studies of TOBB (Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity exchanges) established a “Women Enterprises Commission” in its organization bodies which organizes activities such as; training courses for women entrepreneurs, activities to build capacity in women entrepreneurs’ economic activities. This commission was organized as in 73 provinces as “Women entrepreneurs’ commission”.

In similar way, TESK (Turkish Confederation of Tradesmen and Craftsmen) has implemented a project named as “Supporting Women Entrepreneurs Project” regarding the women working in small scale family enterprises between the years 2002 and 2004. The project mainly focuses on training and consultancy. Another project of TESK, which was also aiming women entrepreneurship, was implemented in the time period between July 2007 and June 2009. This project has aimed to

increase institutional capacity of 25 unions through training and consultancy services. (TESK, 2011)

Women's Entrepreneurs Association and Garanti Bank has established a "Women Entrepreneurship Support Packet" to give credits to women entrepreneurs including KOBİ (Small and Middle Sized Enterprises) project credits, investment credits, working place credits and cash credits. These credits' highest limit is 30 thousand US dollar. (Garanti Bank, 2011)

Some important non-governmental organizations which were implementing development projects in rural areas are the SÜRKAL, TKV, Hüsnü Özyeğin Foundation, and TEMA. SÜRKAL (Sustainable Rural and Urban Development Association) has been formulating small scale projects with a human perspective. SÜRKAL has organized projects specifically for women such as "Socio-economic development of Women through Goose husbandry", development of handworks, home economics and protective health trainings for women, women employment project through seedling cultivation (SÜRKAL, 2011). These projects were acknowledging the need for a gender sensitive approach in development projects and policies.

As an important non-governmental organization, TKV (Development Foundation of Turkey) has been implementing rural development projects for along time as being one the first rural development agency in Turkey, as it has been founded in 1969 with principles of participatory and permanence and includes rural development projects which aims to increase the welfare of rural households with additional income facilities, to contribute to the betterment of women's socio-economic position and to sustain the participation of the targeted group to the projects (Gülçubuk, 1997:97).

Hüsnü Özyeğin Foundation has also started long-term development project in Kavar Basin in villages of Kolbaşı, Yassıca, Düzcealan, Tokaçlı, Dibekli, Bolalan and their hamlets in Bitlis Tatvan. This project include the separate targets in the areas of economic development, physical infrastructure, social development, empowerment

of women, environment, cooperation development, and development of rural projects evaluation and policy formulation. Hüsnü Özyeğin Foundation also include training programs for increasing women's social and economic capabilities such as; literacy courses, supporting trainings for women in the issues of handwork, milk production, apiculture in Kavar loom area (Bitlis-Tatvan: Kolbaşı, Yassıca, Düzcealan, Tokaçlı, Dilbekli, Bolalan villages). (Hüsnü Özyeğin Vakfı, 2011)

Micro Grameen (2011) in Turkey has been also giving micro credits to specifically women who have entrepreneurial intentions after giving them training. Even if this project is not strictly rural women oriented, the beneficiary women in these projects are either living in predominately rural areas (small provinces) or squatter housing of urban areas or directly taking credits for animal husbandry. This NGO has at least one office in every province in Turkey.

TEMA is also an NGO in Turkey which has been implementing policies in regarding with the environmental problems, the struggle against erosion and desertification with demonstration, reforestration and rural development projects which includes activities such as; training programs for farmers, conservation of natural life projects, reforestration, and apiculture. However, this organization does not have general women related rural development policy. Their main concern (TEMA, 2011) is increasing the awarenss of farmers in the ecological issues and forming examples of recovery activities in the ecological sense. They implemented some of their projects with the cooperation of international organizations such as; EU and UN and with MFAAH.

The women's coming together with common goals is important in the women-related projects of the rural development NGOs and ÇATOMs. Women are more involved and actively participating in projects, if they are working in groups in each other with an aim to be trained in some issue, to finish an income generating project or to discuss the solutions of their problems in any issue. However, as the experts of NGOs (R49, R50, R51, R52, R55) mainly said the problem is about enabling women to come together in under one place regularly and sustaining trust both within each other, to the project and the members of the group and project. As the interviewed experts mentioned, projects have difficulties in collecting women at one place

regularly for training or other projects or for discussions since they have a workload at home and also there is a lack of a closed space for women in the village and small districts. Also some of the respondents (R49, R52, R53, R55) mentioned that common closed buildings are designed for men usually in the village.

The cultural values and traditions are affecting the norms and rules of rural women's lives and thus, the other members of rural communities; elders and men need to be convinced with women's "new" demands about their role in social and economic life. During the process of the development programs to empower women, the balance between challenging the status quo in gender relations is strongly related with the development agency's members' relationships with the targeted women and men. The R53, R54 also mentioned that they make meetings with the men (the husbands' of the target group of women) to provide men's adaptation with the activities and goals of program. Similarly, some of the respondents (R54, R55) mentioned that men have to be integrated in the program somehow or convinced about the programs for women. The projects mainly focused on the empowerment of rural women are mainly executed by the NGOs working in rural development such as; TKV, SÜRKAL and HÜSNÜ Ö. Foundation. These NGOs have been implementing women related projects. These projects have mainly aimed to increase women's decision making abilities through creating possibilities for them to earn income. However, in agreement with the previously mentioned arguments; R49, R46, R51, R52 mostly argued the decision making abilities of women and/or empowerment of women to individuals who can make decisions is strongly related to their interaction with their husbands and other females in the household. In addition, the experts interacting with them often have to persuade the man and sometimes older females in the household for women to participate in the rural development activities of the project. The problem is that women's work load in house is already loaded with kids, housework and agricultural work. Sometimes women themselves do not want to participate in the activities because it means for them extra work. As also R49, R51, R52 clarified, since the development activities are determined by the NGOs and the related fund giving institution, women do not consider these activities useful for the improvement of their lives and experts could not analyze the situation of these rural women if they do not make intense observations or ask and listen to

them. Thus, the problem of formulating a bottom-up project of rural development with gender integrated approach is really problematic. The need to integrate the views and real problems of rural women in the process of formulating and implementing projects is mentioned by R 47, R48, R49, R50, R51, R52, R54 who are rural development experts. R49 also mentioned that “we offer them entrepreneurial training programs while they have other basic needs- problems in their lives and she gave an example of that. A woman participant in their project said that “I don’t know about rural development, but there is a near road that takes five hours to walk and we have to pass everyday which is full of stones, that cuts our feet.” Thus, the experts of the projects have a different agenda and different ideas about development than the targeted people. In agreement with this statement, Kabeer (1994) mentioned that the policies and projects to empower women have to be formulated with a participatory approach defining women as capable actors relating practical and strategic needs of women with an aim of breaking the silences of women and based on women’s cooperative strength and creativity.

Another dimension in the policies of gender and women in Turkey is the micro-credits programs which are given to women to have small businesses, have increased in its implementation by public bodies, international governments and NGOs since 1990s. The public institutions of KOSGEB and GDSW and non-governmental organization of Micro Grameen and Women’s Entrepreneurs Association with Garanti Bank is giving women micro credits. As Ecevit Y. (2011:138-139) argued, these micro credits programs were mainly given to women to control poverty by governments and international organizations rather than to empower women even if the mentioned aims of the program includes the empowerment of women. These microcredit programs were also mentioned in the 9<sup>th</sup> development plan and other rural development policy plans to be given to rural women. However, the problem is the issues of usage of this micro credits in the rural households. The institutions or organizations which give these credits policy given institutions do not supervise or work on the actual usage of these microcredits programs in the households.

As also Ecevit Y. (2011:139) argued, the authors working about micro credit programs for women decided on that these programs enabled the management of

increasing poverty and unequal distribution of income, participation of women in informal labor force and women becoming tools for struggling against poverty. As it can be seen from the development plans and other policy documents regarding rural development, micro credits program have been mentioned in relation with the poverty problem in rural areas. As it can be seen from the representation of rural women in development plans and other official documents of the state in Turkey, rural women's problems were mentioned especially in relation with poverty and unemployment of women became an issue since the term of 6<sup>th</sup> development plan (1990-1994).

Moreover, there are projects and policies regarding the empowerment of women and with the efforts of feminist movement in Turkey. Even if there are different feminist and/or women groups working with public institutions and international organizations in different projects of health, education, poverty, employment and violence, it could not be said that these feminist groups work in collaboration or in accordance with the previously mentioned understanding of empowerment. As Sancar mentioned (2011:100-101), the women movements in the World and in Turkey, became integrated in to the public institutions and lose their ideological and critical views which work for revealing the different, hidden and strategic forms of patriarchal dominance in society. Because, the women's movement has started to work through NGO structure, using women funds of different international organizations and other civil organizations in women projects which require and teach different techniques, knowledge and experience. Thus, women's organizations became a problem solving and implementing institution through women's projects with a narrow interest area rather than being an organization which is politically self-directed and ideologically oriented to criticize patriarchy.

#### **4.5. Conclusion to Fourth Chapter**

In this chapter, the rural development and agricultural sector policies of Turkey in an historical context, the current economic situation of Turkish agricultural sector, gender and development policies of Turkey, the current conditions, position and

status of rural women in rural development policy, in program and projects was portrayed and analyzed.

In the section of “Underdevelopment and Agriculture in Turkey”, firstly the historical outline of the agricultural sector and rural development policies of state from the 1920s to afterwards of 2010 were presented. It is important to note that agricultural policies in Turkey, could be analyzed as being in accordance with the general rural development agricultural policies of the other underdeveloped countries and in relation with the general economic conditions of Turkish economy and the global agricultural sector dynamics. Few examples for this could be given such as; Turkey’s Marshall Plan mostly in 1950s enabling farmers to own tractors, admittance of Turkey to ILO, IMF and WTO and the foundation of State Planning Institution, the privatizations of Turkish state enterprises in agriculture according to agreements with IMF in 1990s in the form of SAPs, and then the IPARD program as a part of integration program to European Union.

Secondly, the economic situation of Turkish agricultural sector was presented. Turkish rural population (40,8 % in rural and predominantly rural) and employment in agricultural sector is relatively high considering EU countries. However, as seen in the statistics, the rural population in Turkey is in the process of continuing migration to urban areas and leaving the agricultural production. As a characteristic in rural areas, most of the arable land in Turkey is small sized and segmented in Turkey and there are difficulties in the irrigation of the land. Moreover, there are socio-economic differences between developed and undeveloped regions and between urban and rural areas in general. Even if it requires more research in rural areas, it could be guessed from informants statements that high prices of inputs and low prices of agricultural products of farmers let the farmers to migrate, to produce other non-agricultural products and services in rural areas as supplementary income gathering activity, or paid employment of some family members in urban areas in other sectors than agriculture. All these problems were recognized in the development plans and mostly solutions were suggested according to the IPARD program which was discussed in the sub-section of “Rural Development and Agriculture”. IPARD program necessitates a coordination and participation of different ministries and

departments to work together. It is also stated by some informants that there are problems in coordination of the activities of different ministries and different organizations of state. There is a figure showing different actors of state and other organizations in the general rural development policy regime of Turkey at the end of the sub-section of “Rural Development and Agriculture”. As it could be observed in the IPARD program, rural development policy in Turkey was tried to be designed to increase small enterprises of farming households, commoditization of agricultural products more effectively with marketing agricultural assets in culture, traditional food, traditional crafts, environment, etc...in accordance with the “new rural development paradigm” and “EU development paradigm” analyzed in the second chapter. However, these policies could not sustain the survival of farming households of petty commodity producers in Turkey, since all of them could not turn into small enterprises of any kind.

As analyzed in the sub-section of Underdevelopment, Rural Development and Rural Women in Turkey, affected from the general conditions of underdevelopment, rural women in Turkey have suffered from the worsening economic conditions in agriculture. SAPs in Turkey has worsened conditions of rural women in Turkey since the general subsidies for agricultural sector is decreased or changed in character, women are enforced to be employed in informal sector or increasing their labor in productive agricultural works in addition to their productive and reproductive labor in their households. In this sub-section, it was also stated that the development plans, projects and activities regarding rural women, suggested additional income gathering activities for women mostly in traditionally women’s jobs in forms of micro-credits, entrepreneurship and employment in informal sector. These income gathering activities, as Ecevit (2007) and others argued, function as mechanism to control and reduce poverty. However, the activities and projects which could supply women to be active agents in the planning of projects and activities and spaces to gather with other women of their community and act and discuss about their problems in family and in labor issues, could bring about potentials for their empowerment. In terms of practical and strategic interests, these projects and activities could be more effective in changing women’s socio-economic conditions and position if they give

importance giving women an opportunity to raise their voices in terms of their problems.

In the next chapter, the rural women's organizations will be analyzed in relation with their conditions, problems and potentials for empowerment in its psychological, social, economical, organizational and political dimensions.

## CHAPTER 5

### RURAL DEVELOPMENT, EMPOWERMENT OF RURAL WOMEN & RURAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN TURKEY

#### 5.1. Introduction to Fifth Chapter

In this study, the problem of rural women's empowerment within rural development will be discussed in the examples of rural women's cooperatives in the form of rural development cooperatives of villages, women's village association and women's cooperatives. In accordance with the discussions of the "new rural development" paradigm, cooperatives were seen as a significant element of rural development which can enable participatory development agenda from bottom-up. In addition, the critical approaches against the modernization theory's assumptions of rural development also view the cooperatives as mechanisms / tools for social change in rural areas. Thus, this study tries to analyze women headed rural development cooperatives', women's village associations' and women's cooperatives' potential power to promote social change within their environment for themselves. This power to promote social change is acknowledged in strong relation with the empowerment of active members of the cooperatives, which was recognized with psychological, social, economic, organizational and political dimensions of empowerment. As discussed previously in the firstchapter of the study, the empowerment of rural women is strongly related with the assessment of these women of their socio-economic and political position in their household, in their communities and in society in general. Psychological empowerment is how women feel about their self within their organization as Lennie (2002) described. While the economic empowerment is more related with their decision making power regarding economic assets, social empowerment is about their social capital in forms of social capital, social networks and educational and occupational trainings. Organizational

empowerment is about the women's capabilities to operate as democratic, fair and economically successful organization. Political empowerment is more about women's acting on political matters with political thinking, networking and lobbying.

As the previous studies in Turkey and in other underdeveloped countries acknowledge rural women usually are in a disadvantaged position due to their lack of access to education, occupational training, agricultural and / or local market and income and their unpaid productive and reproductive labor in agricultural households (Safilidou-Rotschild et al, 2007, Prakash 2003). Also it is important to acknowledge only one rural development cooperative could be founded in a village in Turkey thus the women headed rural development cooperatives could be founded in villages with no previous cooperative managed by men. As empowerment could only be achieved through the process of rural women's self-assessment of their socio-economic and political position and their vision to do something about it, it is the active members' of the cooperatives' decisions regarding the activities of the cooperative, and the goals and strategies of the cooperatives and the process of determining these goals and strategies will enlarge or minimize their potential for empowerment.

In order to explore on the potential of cooperatives' power to promote social change and the empowerment of its members and its community, an adaptation of the models of Friedmann (1992), Lennie (2002) and Allahdadi (2011) will be used as an analytical tool to analyze empowerment of these women in psychological, economic, organizational, social and political dimensions. However, before analyzing the empowerment of these groups, it is also important to discuss about their cultural and economic background in their local context. Thus, a description of each cooperative and its members in relation with their local environment will be made before analyzing empowerment in terms of previously mentioned dimensions of empowerment. Firstly, socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the regions' and localities'' where the cooperatives have been set up will be described. Secondly, common and different characteristics of the members of the Cooperatives (age, education, marital status, ethnic identity and class) will be described. Other discussed items in this chapter are:

- Common and Different Characteristics of the Members of the Organizations and group identity and psychological and social empowerment
- Rural Womens Organizations Narratives of Foundation, Female Agency and Psychological and Social Empowerment
- Economic Empowerment: Ability/Right to Earn Income and Control Over Income and Resources
- Self-Definition, Self-Awareness and Group Identity and Organizational, Psychological and Social Empowerment
- Networking, Learning Social Skills, Abilities and Competence and Social Empowerment
- Organizational Empowerment
- Organizational, Social and Political Empowerment
- Hindrances to Empowerment: Disempowered Areas of Active Members of Rural Women's Organizations
- Rural Women's Struggles, Wishes and Possibilities for Empowerment

## **5.2. Socio-economic and Cultural Characteristics of the Localities'' of the Organizations**

In order to differentiate the socio-economic characteristics of the localities of the researched cooperatives in Erzurum Çayırtepe, Erzincan Çadirkaya, Mardin Kızıltepe, Denizli Ertuğrul, Bursa Saitabat, Ankara Akkaya, Ankara Davutoğlan, Eskişehir Sarıcakaya, Mersin Kösbucağı, Giresun Karabörk; the first distinction could be their rural and urban characteristics in terms of legal and technical definitions. Second distinction among these cooperatives is their mainstream income gathering activity and the cooperative's relationship with the main income activity. Third one is the distance to the near city center and availability of means of public transportation and its effect on employment of village population and marketing of products of village and cooperative. Fourth one is the heterogeneity / homogeneity of the villagers in terms of socio-economic status and ethnical and cultural background.

### **5.2.1. Rural versus Urban characteristics of the Localities of the Organizations**

In legal and administrative sense, except Mardin- Kızıltepe and Eskişehir-Sarıcakaya all of them are villages. Kızıltepe and Sarıcakaya are legally districts. But Sarıcakaya has more rural characteristics in the sense that its community's main income gathering activity agricultural production based on mostly commercialized vegetable farming. However, Kızıltepe is a small town whose economy is based on labor opportunities such as; being worker in construction sector, service sector or other urban jobs near or around Mardin, being engaged in seasonal jobs as agricultural workers, having small sized shops at the district bazaar and subsistence farming in near villages. Thus, Kızıltepe is showing a mixture of urban and rural characteristics in terms of income gathering activities of the community living there. In cooperative localities which are near to urban centers, it could be observed that male members of the households (Erzurum/ Çayırtepe, Kızıltepe, Ayaş, Davutoğlu, Saitabat, Kösbucağı) are also in a position to look for employment in the city center as formal wage labor in differing sectors.

The distinction between urban and rural seemed to be more pronounced in Southeastern region of Turkey since the rural development cooperatives in villages of the southeastern region which are established in women's name in paper are mainly managed by the most wealthy and influential male members of that village who were coming from the families who have been landlords in that region for a long time. Thus, as R39 and R40 mentioned, women headed rural development cooperatives at that region (there are officially four cooperatives engaged in animal husbandry) are managed by powerfully man in practice contrasting with 8 women's cooperatives and 55 women's voluntary associations (Uçan Süpürge, 2012) in the small towns and cities of the region. There are also other development activities for women of the Southeastern region such as the Southeastern Development Agency's ÇATOMs (GAP, 2012) (30 multi-purposed Community centers in the region) and UN's activities in assistance with the Southeastern Development Agency's programs about women. There is also one program about empowering women's associations in that region which is managed by a private institution and GAP management. The women's cooperations and women's voluntary associations are mainly creating

informal job opportunities for women in that region as the studies regarding their activities have shown.

### **5.2.2. The mainstream Income Gathering Activity of the Locality and Its Relationship with the Organizations' Business**

Second distinction could be made about their main area of income. In all of the localities interviewed with, the main income gathering activity has lost its economic power in sustaining the livelihoods of the community living in that area. Thus, while in some cases, the cooperatives have presented an additional income gathering activity to the main course as a pluriactivity with women's labor, in other cases; it included a mechanism to restore the sustainability of livelihood with making changes over the main activity.

In Çadırkaya and Çayırtepe, the main course of income is animal husbandry with production of sugar beet and forage crop and dairy farming as in the general region of East Anatolia together with subsistence farming in grain. The interviewed members of the cooperatives in that region mentioned or complained about small sized land ownership and discuss about the solution to this problem. The agricultural production of these lands is mechanized and there is less need for women's labor in productive agricultural work. Mostly oldest males (the patriarch of the households) were working in highly mechanized farming. But women's labor is still needed in dairy farming in these regions. In fact, essential conditions are available in this Çayırtepe for dairy farming; traditionally they have been raising stock, producing forage crop and there is no need for manpower because of the mechanization in agriculture. As R5 explained:

We do not need much labor because of mechanization. While it was taking 3-4 moths, I can handle with field works on my own in a week now. Besides, fields are small. Wheat, barley and forage crop are being planted in general. Furthermore, we have been planting "silaz" ( a type of corn) recently, produce much more milk (increasing from 5 kgs to 8 kgs) when we feed animals with "Silaz".

Moreover, R5 said, they had been planting sugar beet before but it was restricted with quota by the government. The restriction is repealed now but instead of sugar

beet they have planted other crops now. Currently, there are more than 1500 breeding animal in village. At the present time, forage crops are being supported. They are waiting for the fuel-oil support of government.

But there are some problems mentioned about the agricultural production and the dairy farming. The first problem was mentioned by R5 as the segmented and small structure of fielding lands due to the sharing of fielding lands by brothers which led to decrease in land productivity. Even if, siblings came to an agreement in some way about the fielding lands, there are unplanted jointly owned lands in many cases. One of the young women, R9, is aware of the present law in which government is aiming to integrate the fields by making the small field owner give his field to the big field's owner. But she (R9) says "it is too complicated; also it is hard to agree on since field's qualities are different from each other and no one wants to pick the less precious field." Another man (R10) also mentioned the law and said that "At least I will know which field is my property and I will be able to plant whatever I want".

As a second problem in agricultural production mentioned by the respondents in Çayırtepe is that the fielding lands are drier than they were because present water sources are being used for drinking water and tractors are being used in producing. As a third problem, founder stated that government officials are not coming to treat every animal disease as they did before but they are just coming to vaccination. Former headman states that they are having difficulties about dealing with animal diseases because if there is just one invaccinated animal, disease spreads out to whole village. While they are making free vaccination because of the spreading disease fact, villagers do not want to get their animal vaccinated with the reason of pregnancy of animals and vets can not persuade them. Villagers are not willing to artificial impregnation because of religious beliefs, for this reason they have to persuade the village imams, he says. As a fourth problem, R5 also mentioned the decrease in the animals prices (animals which cost 6 thousand liras before are now could only be sold at 3 thousand).

The women's cooperative in Çadirkaya's main area of expertise is based on a traditionally women's task about preparing "çeyiz", but not related with the main

income gathering activity of the village. Majority of the Çadırkaya village people have their own land, women are working at the field, producing sugar beet, wheat and forage crop but because agriculture mechanized they are just working 3-4 days while just making the harvest. For the rest, they are engaged in animal husbandry.

In Denizli/ Ertuğrul, Eskişehir/ Sarıcakaya and Ankara/ Akkaya and Ankara/ Davutoğlan, the interviewed members of cooperatives also mentioned the problems regarding with the small sized agricultural land. But their agricultural production needs more labor in the sense that vegetable farming is more labor intensive in the production process. Moreover, the agricultural production is more commercialized since it is sold in the near food markets (wholesale) of Denizli, İzmir, Ankara and İstanbul. Except the cooperative in Denizli/ Ertuğrul, the cooperatives' main area of expertise is based on the mainstream income gathering activity (vegetable farming) in that village with modernization of the production process and integrating (commercializing) it to market for efficiently.

In general, in Akkaya, people make their living by producing vegetables, especially cucumber, eggplant, pepper and sauce pepper, radish cabbage, cauliflower, celery and carrot. According to what the chair of cooperative (R1) said they shouldn't had problems about marketing farming products because of its nearness to Ankara. However, because of the conditions of competition in vegetable market, they couldn't harvest tomatoes last year. She said it had made them very sad because they could not earn the money they have deserved for their labor. Afterwards they thought that they could make tomato paste with the tomato they could not have sold. She especially indicated that, generally women at the village have intense labor hours because they have work both at home and at field. She said, even the ones who don't labor in the field have to supervise the laborers and deal with the usual domestic tasks at the evening.

Davutoğlan seems to be one of the richer rural localities because of its wide range of products and nearness to the touristic small towns and Ankara. In general, village people make their life by producing vegetables, they produce grapes, zerdali (a kind

of apricot), cherry apple and fruits like these, tomato, sunflower. Besides, winter vegetables can be produced, spinach, lettuce, carrot are being produced.

Sarıcakaya has an advantage of different climate features; it is a place where they can harvest 4 times a year in greenhouses. However, just vegetable producing is possible; there is no other place to produce anything other than that. The cooperative has enabled the advancement of general agricultural production with the practice of greenhouse building. For this reason, they can make commercial profit by dealing with the production. Besides, it resolves the yield loss and lack of agricultural production which are caused by the small size of the fields and greenhouses. According to indications of the leader of the cooperative (R2), because of the micro climate similar to Antalya, they can produce 2 primaries and 2 secondary kinds of products in greenhouses.

In Ertuğrul village, the dairy farming was adopted by the cooperative in an attempt to add an additional income facility to the traditional vegetable farming in that village. Because agriculture doesn't provide to make living as in older times, because of the fuel-oil cost (the government's support is just 1/3 of the need) and other agricultural expenses, young people migrated from the village. Moreover, R15 said that their ancestors had settled down in Ertuğrul village because natural water is very special here. Despite the fact that the land per capita is very small, in general the soil is very fertile. Agriculture is mechanized; there are tractors, harvesters, and milking machines. In this village, agricultural production covers the whole year except for very cold winter days. People are producing fruits and vegetables, which has commercial value and producing to eat and doing intensive winter preparation. For this reason, in general, since agricultural labor in vegetable gardening is done mostly by women, women's workload is very high. It is seen that dairy farming has increased this load.

In Saitabat village, the village's main area of expertise is agricultural production of chestnut and strawberry. As it can be seen most of the other cases, the traditional agricultural production was not able to sustain livelihood in the village when this association was founded. The women who established the cooperative was willing to

start their activities under the village cooperative's name managed by men but men did not want women to work with women. The association was founded with an aim of establishing an agro-tourism facility near the waterfall. They have set up a restaurant near the waterfall and also market traditional local food in that restaurant and using internet services.

Similarly, the cooperative in the villages of Karabörk and Kuşköy, the cooperative was founded with an aim of sustaining a better livelihood for the poor families in those villages whose main income gathering activities (tea and hazelnut) has lost its economic value. Setting up a cooperative based on the credit of government in dairy farming was viewed to be an additional income opportunity for poor subsistence farming households. The members of this cooperative are 72 people who are living in the villages of Karabörk and Kuşköy. As far as I learned from agricultural engineer (R42), this district which is giving a lot of immigration, is generally poor, general agricultural production is based on subsistence farming. Many people migrated from this village to metropolitan cities in Turkey or even to out migrated to Germany, the villages' population is lower in winter season. 22 members have been living in the village only in summer season. Some of the families come to harvest hazelnuts and then turn back. Besides, the government's drawing back from the subsidizing hazelnuts and tea production have worsened the economic conditions in this district since these two products are the main income activities of this district. (This area has more income from hazelnuts, compared to tea production.) Moreover, this year's hazelnuts were very few. In this region, other products; cucumber, corn, collard greens, are just for subsistence production. Therefore, families which have no other income or additional wage are in very bad conditions. Some families began to produce kiwi fruit as an alternative income.

In the cooperative in Kösbucağı, the cooperative was founded with an aim of creating an additional income gathering activity with an agrotourism facility based on a restaurant and pension. In this village, it is a real problem that women have a lot to do and agricultural production lasts nearly a whole year. In this village, every kind of vegetable and fruit can be produced. They can use for themselves some of the products they obtained, and sell some of it. Agricultural fields are scattered around

and because much labor is needed, women's labor is needed. Because of this, if women want to do something for additional income, household will complain in case she neglects domestic work or field work. For this reason, despite the fact that village has over a hundred households; there are just 17 women who joined to the cooperative. According to cooperative leader's (R19) indications, meeting with husbands and gaining their trusts were very effective on some women's participation to cooperative activities.

As mentioned previously, Kızıltepe is showing a mixture of worker in service and industrial sectors, seasonal labor in agriculture, subsistence farming and small sized entrepreneurship. In this pattern, as one of the young woman (R28) indicated, it is not easy for an uneducated woman to be a regular, formal wage laborer in this district. The cooperative was founded for sustaining the livelihood of its members; firstly widowed/divorced single parent women and then young unemployed people.

### **5.2.3. Distance to the Near City Center and Availability of Means of Public Transportation**

The nearness of city center is significant in two points. Firstly, in the villages where the near city center is close enough, usually the young male members of them look for employment in the near urban center. As an example, Çayırtepe is very near to Erzurum (9 kms/15 minutes with car), so that young men could have the regular jobs at Erzurum but continue living in village. Single men still living with their families are generally working as wage labors or just officers in Erzurum such as R12. Some families' female individuals (R11) quitted the confection job at town because she had decided to live in the village with her family after her divorce. She said that the wage she earned in her former job in textile atelier does not compensate even with transporting expenses. Moreover, if she (R11) had a home to live in Erzurum—if her family had been living there- she would not quit the job. This difference between men and women is probably firstly related with their income differences and secondly related with the timetable of public transport. It is only available to go to the town in the morning and turn back to the village at eventide. It is not possible to turn back with public transport if working hours exceeds. Additionally, village has a

primary school which has students from other villages and has a high school very close to the village that could be walked on foot.

Kösbucağı is also very near to the Erdemli district (12kms), which is a touristic center of Mersin. They have a system in which lots of families' males work at town and women work at agricultural production in general. In Kösbucağı village the public transportation opportunities to Erdemli (there are buses pass by at certain times every day; nearly at every hour or something) are available in several times a day. Erdemli is also 57 km to the Mersin center; it takes approximately 50 minutes to go from Erdemli to Mersin by bus.

Similarly, Saitabat is near to the city center, 9 kms to the Kestel and 12 kms from Kestel to Bursa. This region is similar to Kösbucağı with its transportation facilities however; it has become more popular and economically empower the women of the village.

Similarly, in the villages near Ankara, some of the members of the households look for employment opportunities in the city. But it is not as significant as in Çayırtepe and Kösbucağı since they have to labor in agricultural production in vegetable gardening areas and public transportation facilities are not available as in Kösbucağı and in Çayırtepe. Akkaya village is 95 kms far from Ankara, by driving a car it takes a half and one hour. But transportation is also a problem there; it would at least two hours to go there by public transportation of minibuses. Davutoğlan is 130 km far from Ankara, between Nallıhan and Beypazarı. And you have to take Nallıhan or Beypazarı minibuses to go to Davutoğlan which will take two and half an hour.

The other communities do not have the advantage of being employed in the city center and living in village system. But as the second significant advantage some the villages of these cooperatives have the advantage of near to the agricultural products market as in the case of Akkaya, Davutoğlan and Sarıcakaya, Kösbucağı, Ertuğrul and Çayırtepe. Sarıcakaya is far 273 km from Ankara and 267 km from Istanbul. The cooperative leader (R2) mentioned that that used the advantage of nearness in their marketing of their products in to the fresh vegetable and fruit markets.

In Kösbucağı and Akkaya and Davutoğlan, the villages are also near to touristic districts of Erdemli, Nallihan and Beypazarı. Because of the fact that Beypazarı is more improved, community of Davutoğlan village prefers going to Beypazarı. Because of this village near to both Nallihan and Beypazarı districts which are around Ankara attracting local tourists, the village has a location which makes it able to market its unique local products but its inhabitants despite the efforts of the family carrying out cooperative, didn't show interest making innovations or improving themselves with the cooperative business. It is a possibility that villagers are not in good relationship with the founders of the cooperative and thus not attempting to be active member of cooperative. Erdemli is a touristic district which could have positive effects on the cooperative in Kösbucağı whose main activity is agrotourism. Since being near to Erdemli could help attracting customers for the (agrotourism) cooperative in the sense that Erdemli has hotels and touristic places which local tourists come at for summer/ sea tourism. Therefore, the dynamic of this cooperative also allows to the villagers to be both urban and villager.

Ertuğrul village is not also far away from center. It is 35 kms from Denizli and it takes 50 min with bus. It is 24 km from Buldan district of Denizli, 18 km from its own district Güney. What is more interesting is that the district which the village is legally bound to is much more far away from the center than it is. Because the district is less developed, they are going to Buldan which is much developed in both touristic and textile industry and more sufficient to provide their needs. As R15 said, they are going to district Güney for just official reasons. It is not easy to go from village to town daily. Every morning there is just one bus at 7.45 a.m. and there is one at the evening at 3 p.m. If you have a vehicle, you can go to the Buldan which has nearly half-hourly or Yenicekent which has 3 or 4 buses in a day and then got on another a minibus from there to Denizli city center. The members of the cooperative (R15, R16, R17, R18) said that they go to the near markets of Buldan and Yenicekent for buying agricultural inputs and marketing and selling their agricultural products but the fuel costs are becoming too much for them.

The other villages are not advantageous in terms of distance and availability of transportation to the near city centers. Çadırkaya is technically a small municipality.

To reach this village, you have to get off from the bus at its connected district Mercan firstly and secondly take another vehicle from Mercan to move in to the village which is not easy if you don't take a taxi. Thus, public transportation from Erzincan to village, and village to Erzincan is problematic. There is a bus at 7 pm from Erzincan center to the village and a bus from village to Erzincan at just morning hours till 9. In fact, it is just 100 or 111 km from village to Erzincan.

The cooperative of Kuşköy and Karabörk is 80 kms from Giresun and 100 kms from Trabzon. To reach this cooperative, from Görele district on the Trabzon- Giresun road, you should climb to the mountain by the direction of Çanakçı district. While going to the both places, you have to go about 30 kms road going inside the mountain. According to what the cooperative leader of Karabörk (R14) indicated, poverty is rising as you go inside the mountain. Kuşköy is much more far away from the district center (Çanakçı) than Karabörk, going more in to the mountain.

Kızıltepe district, which is generally a place Kurds live at and belongs to Turkey's low-income group, is on the road from Mardin to Şanlıurfa and far from Mardin 21.5 kms, has buses to Mardin continually. But the cooperative business is based on very local (focused on Kızıltepe) food service in the dining hall of municipality and in the park cafeteria for the residence of Kızıltepe. They do not have local and traditional product to market which could attract tourists from all over Turkey, as in the case of other cooperatives.

### **5.3. Common and Different Characteristics of the Members of the Organizations (age, education, marital status, ethnic identity and class) and Group Identity and Psychological and Social Empowerment**

The characteristics of the members in terms of age, education, marital status, ethnic identity and class is significant in the sense that if we could identify these women as heterogeneous or homogenous groups and the effect of these characteristics in the formation of group identity, the sense of being togetherness to achieve certain goals and their potential to be psychologically and socially empowered.

As research of these cooperatives indicated, in nearly all the cooperatives, leader or initiators of the cooperative are either young unmarried women or women which are over their reproductive ages and therefore do not have responsibility to take care of her children daily basis. The age dimension and the existence / non-existence of children affect the work load of women. Similarly, being married also add women an additional work load in domestic household duties. Their work load increases if they are married or if they have children. Thus, women who are single, or do not have children have less work load and more available for the cooperative business. Sometimes there are no significant differences in the economic situation of member women in cooperatives, but their socio-economic conditions differ according to the number of family members who could labor in the family land and accordingly to their productive and reproductive workload in the household.

In *Saitabat* village the nine members of board of directors of the cooperative all were married. But they either do not have children or children were adults themselves. When asked, they mentioned their husbands show tolerance for their work but the word “tolerance” indicates unusualness in the attitude. The members of the cooperative (19 women) in *Akkaya*, are actively engaged in vegetable gardening in the village. As R1 clarified, members of the cooperative are married women with children but their children do not need intense child care. The cooperative in *Kösbucağı* have also the same tendency. It has only 17 members mostly aged between 23-45, whose active members are 5 young women with different marital status, 2 of them unmarried, one of them engaged and two of them are married. In *Çadırkaya*, all the active members were single (widowed, divorced, and never married) in the age group of 30-45. Active women in the cooperative don’t have husbands or fathers who can intervene with their lives. Possibly, they can join actively to the cooperative because of they do not have any strong patriarch figure in their life. They live with their families but they do not have tasks in agricultural production of any kind. Their being not married seemed to enable them to work in handicraft of needling and sewing since they said most of the women can not come because of their responsibilities in their households and in agricultural work. Their being not married seemed to create an identity for them. Still, they have indicated that the members of the household are complaining that they are neglecting their

domestic duties in the times they work intensively for the cooperative business (their job does not always require long laboring hours since they have business if they have any order from customers).

Similarly in *Kızıltepe*, the active members of the cooperative are either young single women or widowed/divorced elderly women. In *Kızıltepe*, R 28 mentioned how much marriage and growing up a child blocks women's lives and what they want to do since husbands leave women alone while carrying out house works but they have to help them in domestic work.

She said:

'I have an advantage, I am single and have no child, so I am not limited in the aspect of family, for this I am free, I mean I can do whatever and whenever I want, therefore I am very comfortable. I have a neighbor who is 15 years old. I do not know, when I saw the willingness of that girl to marry, I thought to commit a suicide, she is only 15, she does not know even what marriage means.'

The cooperative in *Çayırtepe* is not active but the previous members of the cooperative were consisting of women in the age interval of 30-55. However, the older women outside of the reproductive ages were more willing to be members of the cooperative since they do not have small children to look after and they are more familiar to dairy farming. It can be said that if the cooperative was active, the most active women would be the women with no children, with less opportunities to find a job in the city center and with relatively lower income and most probably women outside reproductive ages. Women were traditionally responsible for dairy farming but most of the younger women (R9 and R11) are not willing to do dairy farming but looking for opportunities in working textile companies, training for jobs or other forms of paid labor in Erzurum. But they have difficulties in this kind of job because one of them is married with children and have responsibilities of child care and other reproductive tasks in home and the other one was recently divorced and had to move to the village after the divorce.

Similarly, the active members of the cooperative in *Ertuğrul*, are mostly the women who are over the age 45 without any obligations for child care. The cooperative members of the *Ertuğrul* village are 64 women and 3 men who are either widowed or single in a village which has only 84 households. This village is having shortage of young people since the young people who find jobs in Denizli or İzmir center, migrated to the cities. With the absence of a younger population to labor in the household, the dairy farming becomes a real burden for the women who have cattle who have regular agricultural labor in the vegetable farming. As they have said (R15, R16, R17) their normal labor hours is from 5 am to 8 pm with approximately two hours rest at noon. The cooperative was founded at the end of 2004. The active members of the cooperative are mostly a kin of some kind, some of them are daughter and mother, some are cousins, etc... The members of this cooperative are mostly a homogenous group with similar characteristics; most of them married, aged more than 45, unpaid family workers with small land ownership. Moreover, it seems that these women are more willing to care for animals. They said that cleaning and feeding the cattle got easier with the technology of milking machines, water pipes and with the open stall systems built by the government credits. However, it can be thought that their back pains which they complained to each other throughout the conversations could be because of carrying the forage sacks.

The cooperative in *Sarıcakaya* is much more larger and have members of different age groups of women. It has 220 members, 71 of them have their own greenhouses which were build with the credit of SYDGM in 2005. As the cooperative leader (R2) mentioned the active members include all kinds of women with different marital status and some of them have children. The board of management of the cooperative is mainly older women who have grandchildren. Probably, marital status and having children is not variables effecting being active members of the cooperative in the sense that the labor in their greenhouse is another way of laboring in their field which is expected from them in general sexual division of labor. The cooperative in *Karabörk and Kuşköy* have members from different age groups of women. Similarly, this could be due to the factor that subsistence dairy farming is a traditional farming activity in the region. *Davutoğlu* cooperative could not able to establish the cooperative in the sense that it has lost its active members and not able to take funds

from the government. The original members of the cooperative were the members of the same family.

Second observable dimension in characteristics of them is their education level. In some cases such as Kızıltepe, Akkaya, Sarıcakaya, Kösbucağı, Karabörk and Kuşküy, the chair of cooperatives are young woman educated from high school at least with skills of communication and networking in village and networking with outside actors such as state, private companies, NGOs, etc... In some other cases, these leader women are middle aged, not necessarily educated but still have some network connections in the village and outside village as in the case of Saitabat, Davutoğlan and Ertuğrul village. In the other cases of Çadirkaya and Çayırtepe, the education level of nearly all women are primary school but the network was tried to be established by the outside influence of an NGO effort and of an old mukhtar who is also a successful entrepreneur in animal husbandry.

The ethnic identity was a kind of advantage in the cooperatives of Saitabat and Kızıltepe, with different meanings. In the case of Saitabat, the active members think as (R26) said “we are proud that we conserve and present our culture and our village with this restaurant.” But in a way, they have already lost their culture, they could not speak in Georgian language as their parents but their food and their village has represented their culture and traditions. By contrast, in Kızıltepe, Kurdish identity was an identity of a minority group which is suppressed and harassed by dominant Turkish culture. R28 and R29 mentioned the times they were harassed by their classmates in high school when they were in İzmir and in İstanbul. As R 28 said; “They were saying things like, what are you doing here, go back where you come from and the like.” Moreover, some of these Kurdish women (R30, R31) belong to families which have left their villages because of compulsory immigration; one of the women’s (R30) husband was at jail first and he became victim of unsolved murder just after he came out of jail. It could be guessed that the difficulties these women have to face in their lives, have gave them power to struggle. Women in kitchen speak Kurdish between themselves most of the time. R 28 translated their Kurdish expressions into Turkish for me from time to time.

In other cases, no significant ethnical identity of the group was pronounced by the cooperative members. But Çayırtepe village consists family groups have different ethnic and religious origins. There are both Sunni Kurds and Sunni and Alevi Turks. According to the census data, the population of the village decreased from 1042 to 990 between the years 1997 and 2000. There are both Alevi and Sunni families in this village but the cooperative members interviewed were all coming from Sunni families. Some of the interviewed people (R5, R9, R10, R11) mentioned that some people left the village and settled in Erzurum in the previous years. Furthermore, while commenting about Erzurum generally, R9 commented about problems at southeastern region and economic problems:

The entity which created job opportunities is the University. When it closes down in summer, shops do not have any revenue. They (the governments) did not construct factory or anything in Erzurum because of terror. Where the governments made (build factories) investments, they (Kurdish people) did not give up arms. People of Erzurum get satisfied with their share; majority of them is supporting the government because of its public services which can easily be seen such as; railways. With these reasons, they are supporting the government. Conservative Erzurum!”

Furthermore, some of them (R9, R10, R11) indicated that they are thinking to move in Erzurum, too. Kurds living in the village are seem to like they have migrated from other southeastern regions, but still there is a Kurdish shepherd family looking after animals who came to the area to live in the plateau in summer time period. The village had a system of employing cowmen for all the animals in the village for the duration of summer. Interviewed people are scared from this Kurdish family with the suspicion that they could have problems with law enforcement officers since they carry Kurdish flag.

There are also differences between religious attitudes between women of the village of Çadirkaya reflecting on their relations with the men employed in state offices. The first woman interviewed with R6, the one who is more conservative and joined to the cooperative by the influence of mukhtar, is a woman who talks with men unwillingly even for the office works of cooperative even if she was at the executive board of the cooperative with the two young and educated women she mentioned. She is wearing “burka” while wandering in Erzurum. She talked about 2 women, who are connected

with cooperative and are graduated from high school (one of them is niece of founder of cooperative). She said these young women are not like her in the sense that they can deal with cooperative works, since they are educated, not shy or conservative like her.

In terms of class differentials, there were not any significant class differentials between women since they were unpaid family workers except the cooperative business most of the time. In terms of socio-economic status, the families' members' employment conditions becomes important.

As it is understood, Çayırtepe village consists families have different socio-economic characteristics. Income levels of the families are also strongly related with how many people are employed in Erzurum. As an example, R6 was economically more advantageous position since his husband was retired from being a gardener in municipality of Erzurum, his two young sons were employed in Erzurum as workers in private companies with social security and not just yet married. And she was a housewife without laboring in land or dairy farming.

Contrastingly, there was one older woman (R8) aged 55 who would like an opportunity like this cooperative membership because she is now an unpaid family laborer with a heavy load of work in animal feeding, dairy farming and reproductive tasks. She had to breed animals to make a living but this year economic conditions were very bad, forage prices were very high, field crops to breed animals were very few, if she attempts to sell the animals, and she won't make good money. She told that they do not have enough feed for animals since their land was not productive enough, and her work load is much since she does not have a daughter. R8 mentioned that neither her nor her husband have a retirement pension, she has three sons of two of whom lived with her in the village. But only one of them has a regular job a working in GMAT, and they did not have enough harvest this year to bale hay because of the drought.

R8 said that<sup>1</sup>:

Thanks God, at least we don't have to carry water now, tap water is flowing. I have 3 sons, one of them is working at Izmir Bornova, he doesn't make any contribution to us. Another of them is working at GMAT, he contributes to us. The last one couldn't get a job because his father didn't send him to a job at Erzurum, to make him work at the field. Then a drought came and he was just unemployed. We (she and her husband) don't have a salary. This year we had no product. There is drought because of the water shortage.

R8 has not health insurance or retirement guarantee; her economic conditions were more difficult. They didn't produce enough this year. They do not have a tractor, if you give the product to the emballeur, he takes his share. Therefore, there must be a lot of forage crop. They could not afford it. Shepherd costs 3 or 3.5 thousand liras, very expensive according to her. Emballeurs cut a bale for 25 liras. It is necessary to give 1-2 thousand liras to persuade him. However, they don't have crop to persuade him. Then, you need machine to plant. If you can't afford it, manpower is needed but there is not manpower anymore since young do not want to work in field. So, who could afford to buy, bought machines. Besides, as she specially emphasized she hasn't got a daughter to help her in her labor. In families breeding animals, it is woman's job to milk animals and to keep them clean. Thus, the presence of one or more females in house is very important because men don't deal with these jobs. In fact, women are milking animals with machines.

Some families are retired from government, have social insurance, have working children may seem this job as an additional income, some families have very limited income, have no insurance or have green cards. Founder of the cooperation in Çayırtepe, R5, stated that the ministry has given credits for dairy farming

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<sup>1</sup> “En azından eskiye göre şansımız su taşımak zorunda değiliz, musluktan su akıyor. 3 oğlum var, biri İzmir bornava'da çalışıyor, bize katkısı yok. Biri gmatta çalışıyor, bize faydası dokunuyor. 3. işe giremedi, tarlada çalışsın diye babası göndermedi. Ama sonra kuraklık oldu, işe giremediğiyle kaldı. Aylığımız da yok. Bu sene hiç ürün olmadı. Su olmadığı için, kurak. buğday, arpa, yonca, korunga ekıyoruz. Onlarda bu sene olmadı. Traktörü yok; balyacıya verirsiniz, o da payını alıyor. O yüzden çok ot olması lazım. Bizim gücümüz yok. 3- 3,5 bin lira çoban hakkımız tutuyor, pahalı. 3- 4 yer biçirmiş, 90 liraya balyasını yaptırıp parasını alan var. 25 milyona balyasını biçiyorlar balyacılar. 1-2 bin lira lazım ki onu razı edensin, otu çok olan da. Ama bizim zaten otumuz yok. Ekmek için makine lazım. Onun için güç yoksa, insan gücü lazım, insan gücü yok artık, makineye gücü olan almış. Şimdi gençler çalışmak istemiyor (tarımda).”

cooperatives which have members with green cards. (Green cards are given to very poor families without any social security and health insurance). According to (R5) him; and it is not reasonable to give credit funds to green card owners because they do not have adequate land and sufficient resources to supply forage crop to breed 5 animals per person. In this village, people are already have been producing forage crops, giving it to their animals or selling it to make their lives. There is not significant existence of vegetable or fruit gardening in this village. Besides, in general, women specified that there is no job in field for them and every job is being made by tractors. Women take care of the animals, they don't work in fields. Even the productivity of the fields is good. There is water shortage in the village since the river's water became drinking water. Different women (R6, R7, R11) said that women living in this village didn't want to deal with animal breeding. Normally, they were planting forage crops, wheat, barley, clover.

The other example of economic differentials is the cooperative of Karabörk and Kuşköy which included two villages; Kuşköy being poorer than Karabörk. Kuşköy is more far away to the district and provincial center. As the chair of the cooperative (R14) mentioned "poverty in villages increases with going further upwards to the mountains and thus Kuşköy is more poor than Karabörk where she lives. While she was founding the cooperative with the District director of MAFAAH's support, the cooperative members' number has to be at least 50 to apply for the credits program for animal husbandry cooperatives. Thus, they had to include Kuşköy to reach 50 members but they have now difficulties to regularly meeting with all the members of the cooperative and collecting signatures. The members of this village are originally from more or less the same ethnic and cultural background and living here since they have born.

However, the economic differences of women were based on their families' position in land and cattle ownership, and their educational differences. It could also be seen that the younger women aged between 25 to 40 were more advantageous in achieving education of secondary and high school in terms of their families' supporting their education. Some of women has started to distance education for secondary school and high school with their engagement in cooperative business.

#### **5.4. Rural Women's Organizations' Narratives of Foundation, Female Agency, and Psychological and Social Empowerment**

The narratives of foundation of the rural women's organizations have significant elements to identify the degree of women's active involvement in the foundation process of the organization and the clues for exploring female agency in the foundation of organization and in the daily routine functioning of the organization.

The type of the cooperative (either rural development cooperative of a village or women's cooperative), the main area of expertise of the cooperative (animal husbandry (dairy farming), rural tourism, vegetable gardening or handicraft in sewing and needling) are effecting the procedure and process of the foundation of the cooperatives. Thus, the conditions of these mentioned sectors at local, national and international level in economic terms has affected the process of cooperative's foundation and daily difficulties in the management of the cooperative. The rural development cooperatives which were based on animal husbandry as the main productive activity were mainly founded with an aim to achieve to (SYDGM)'s credit funds for animal husbandry. (SYDGM) Directorate- General of Social Aids have been giving credits to rural development cooperatives under the headline of "(KASDP): Social Aids projects in Rural Areas". This aid program was first designed to give credits to rural development cooperatives active in vegetable gardening and animal husbandry and was giving credits to build greenhouses and open stall systems and buying cattle. But for the time being, the program has been giving credits only for rural development cooperatives which are specialized in animal husbandry. The animal husbandry rural development cooperatives that have been analyzed in this study are active in dairy farming.

It is also imperative that the credits for the cooperatives to build greenhouses or improve animal husbandry from the SYDGM through the working of District directorates of the ministry of Agriculture, Food and Animal Husbandry was also a significant incentive for establishing the women headed rural development cooperatives engaged in vegetable gardening and animal husbandry. As there is a requirement for the cooperative to include the poorest people with green cards

(having green cards to receive health services were used as a indicator of being the poorest from the credit giving institutions) in the village with a minimum member of 50 to gain the credits, these women had difficulties to gather 50 willing members for the cooperative. These women gather usually close relatives and friends who would trust them first. Another difficult problem rises when they have to collect monthly fees for the bills of the cooperative since the poorer members would have more difficulties paying back fees and the credit loan for their greenhouses, cattle and stalls. As one of the experts of the District Directorate of the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Animal Husbandry (R42) mentioned “We have given credits for building separate greenhouses and separate open stall systems for different members in a cooperative and also for greenhouses and open stall systems for being used collectively. The second never runs smoothly since members argue within each other in daily usage and financial matters.

Interestingly, the income gathering activities of women headed rural development cooperatives and women’s cooperatives are intertwined with each other. The women’s cooperatives have been engaged in rural/ agro tourism, needling and sewing business, food service business, education activities for children, trainings for women. And also there are women rural development cooperatives in the villages which are engaged with rural / agro tourism in addition to cooperatives engaged in vegetable gardening and animal husbandry, as in the case of Kösbucağı Village in Mersin Erdemli. There is also a women’s cooperative in Karaburn / İzmir which is also engaged in agricultural tourism.

In generally, women rural development cooperatives are in villages and the women’s cooperatives were usually founded in the urbanized areas but there are exceptions. “Manisa Centrum rural development cooperative” has been engaged in producing and marketing handiwork and traditional food products of members of the cooperative women in the city center of Manisa. This cooperative was the only cooperative which was in both lists of women headed rural development cooperatives and the women’s cooperatives. As another exception, there is one women’s cooperative in a village in Çadırkaya / Erzincan which is engaged in women’s handiwork in needling and sewing business. Only 12 of the 43 women’s

cooperatives are established in small towns; such as in the case of “Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi”. The other cooperatives are all established in provinces.

Thus, it could be seen that in some cases, since there could only be one rural development cooperative in a village which is managed by men, women can establish a women’s cooperative (environment, culture and business cooperative) to establish a cooperative of their own. Or they could establish a voluntary association as in the case of the Women’s Association of Saitabat Village, officially named as; “Protection and Development Association of Women’s of Saitabat Village” (Saitabat Köyü Kadınları Kalkındırma ve Koruma Derneği) which is the first women’s village Association. The chair of this association, R 25 mentioned that “We wanted to develop our village with enlarging income opportunities in the village to especially prevent the migration outside the village and continue the existence of our village. To reach this aim, we asked the rural development cooperative in the village to work with them but they did not want us to be active members of the cooperative so we established our association in 2002.” This association is working like a cooperative with active nine members and have a restaurant at the village waterfall which has become a local touristic place in Kestel / Bursa. As the chair of this association R 25 explained, they were encouraged by another women’s tourism activities in a near village of “Cumalıkızık” and decided to make some touristic income gathering activities in their village. This association is based on a touristic restaurant and the preparing and marketing of local and traditional foods of this “Georgian” village.

In most of the cases that was contacted in this study, cooperatives were founded with influence of an outside institution (such as; the ministry of food, agriculture and animal husbandry, an NGO, a university, a development agency, etc..) through personalized contact with a field expert of these institutions) and self-confidence of a few women who usually choose one among themselves in the process who seemed to be more qualified to lead cooperative and is also trusted and accepted from the prospective members as the leader of the cooperative. Most of the rural development cooperatives were founded by the women with higher social and cultural capital and some influence in the village with their character, socio-economic position or family

connections. It could be said that the process of founding a cooperative was managed mostly by women who are psychologically and socially more powerful. Moreover, the process of founding the cooperative brings out a psychological and social empowerment for the women who initiated the process of establishing the cooperative if they are successful.

The head of the cooperatives of rural development cooperatives; R1, R2, R3, who also knew about each other from the training meetings of the department of “Women Farmers” of the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Animal Husbandry, mentioned that the idea of founding a rural development cooperative was suggested to them by the ministry after they had been successful in the “Competition of Women Farmers” that has been organized by the ministry. This competition was part of the program of training women farmers under the work of “Women Farmers department” in the ministry. Some of the women farmers who have been successful also have been sent to Japan as a reward and an opportunity to enlarge their vision. R1 said that they have become enthusiastic about founding a cooperative after they have been to Japan and see Japanese women farmers there and thought “Why aren’t we doing this? We could do it, too”. They have founded a cooperative with 26 women members based on vegetable gardening in village with 120 households. They have gained a grant from Ankara Provincial Special Administration (“Ankara İl özel idare”) to build a tomato paste factory with the assistance of the village mukhtar who is the uncle of the chair of the cooperative. R2 mentioned that the credits given to cooperatives by the ministry to build greenhouse was also an important factor to establish a rural development cooperative. After the cooperative has been founded the 71 member has build greenhouses and now successfully managing the greenhouses. R2 is both the chair of the Chamber of agriculture and the cooperative (since 2006) and also working in the district directorate of food agriculture and animal husbandry. R3 mentioned that she has been to Germany to visit her brother and also have visited some farming areas there, and really impressed by their production system and organization as a community. After she had been successful in the competition of women farmers, the ministry officials have suggested her to establish a cooperative in her village. She has established the cooperative with 12 women who are mostly

from her family in 2007 but could not draw women in the cooperative as members and could not be able to imply the projects she has envisioned.

As R15 has explained, she was trying to formulate a way of gathering extra income for the family households of the village with the deterioration of the income from the agricultural production of vegetables when the veterinarian at the district directorate of food, agriculture and animal husbandry suggested founding an animal husbandry cooperative which would be able to apply for credits for buying cattle and building open stall systems to the ministry.

However, in some cases, female agency in the cooperative could be evident after the foundation process by the fact that the idea of foundation of a cooperative can be formulated by a rural development NGO in Turkey with funds from EU, UN or from a private company or by a male member of the community with strong ties with local and regional state officials and private sector. If it is the case, the possibility of these rural women to be significant female agents in the management of the cooperative, is strongly related with the intentions of the founders in delivering the cooperatives' management to women and rural women's eagerness to claim the cooperative. In the case of Erzurum Çayırtepe, the cooperative was founded by the mukhtar of the village at that time (he had been mukhtar for 15 years) who is a well known farmer and entrepreneur and head of the chamber of agriculture for 11 years. He (R5) told that the idea of founding a cooperative based on dairy farming emerged with the ministry's credit opportunities for animal husbandry and building open stall systems. He had managed all the paper work, have persuaded people to join the cooperative since 50 members for the cooperative was necessary to apply for the credit. As he explained, it was difficult to find the prospective members of the board of directors (7 original, 7 substitute members) since women were reluctant to be a member; finally he persuaded his niece to the chair. R6 said that she went to official meetings in Erzurum in the beginning process to be a member of the board of directors of the cooperative and sign the papers but she is shy about talking to men officers or going to seminars involving meeting with men.

After all the necessary steps to establish the cooperative was taken: the money was collected by the prospective members (50 liras from each member) of the cooperative to set up the cooperative and the credit was granted for the cooperative by the ministry (18 thousand liras for building open stall systems), the cooperative was abolished. The cooperative was abolished since the founder of the cooperative has realized it was doomed to failure since some of the members of the cooperative either would not be able to pay back the credit or would sell the cattle (sığır) (some of the women came to him and told that her husband would sell the cows after they have been given to them) and not be able to carry out dairy farming.

He had told that

the poor members with green cards (% 30 of the members) will not be able to carry out dairy farming since they would not be able to find enough animal feed (they do not have enough land to cultivate animal feed) to feed these animals who are more bigger and need more food than traditional cattle of the region. I have thought of not involving these people but it would lead provoke gossip and unrest in the village. So, we have abolished the cooperative.”

After cooperative was abolished, some of the members of the cooperative were complainant about not officially making a meeting of board of directors before abolishing the cooperative; and they have been fined for it from the prosecution office without a trial. Interestingly, the prospective members of the cooperative that have been interviewed with (R6, R7, R8, R9, R10, R11, R12, R13) were not fully aware of the conditions of the government credit or the abolishment process. One of them mentioned that the abolishment of the cooperative was related with the problem of building open stall systems. R7 said the government did not want to give credit unless they build open stall systems and they could not be able to build them as the cooperative, so they have abolished the cooperative. One of them mentioned that some of the members would sell the cows so they would not be able to pay back the credit as the cooperative. Thus, R10 said: “trust issue” is “the center of it”; “if some members could not pay the credit back, all the members would be responsible for paying back the credit. So, we could not take the risk of trusting each other to pay back the credit.”

Thus, the cooperative in Erzurum Çayırtepe was more likely the project of one man who has more advantageous position in the village than other members of the cooperative. Secondly, the women members of the cooperative, even they would be the active laborers of the cooperative could not prevent its abolition or has made any attempt to re-establish this. One of the important factors in this is that younger women in the village do not like the work of animal feeding and dairy farming. One of the woman (R11) said “I do not living here in village, if I could live in Erzurum, I would work in a factory making textile products for “çeyiz”. (She was born in village, lived and worked in Erzurum before and after divorce she came to live with her parents in village because of economic necessity.) There were other young women who have also mentioned that they do not like doing dairy farming.

As another example of the idea of founding cooperative coming from outside; the Women’s cooperative in Erzincan, Çadırkaya was founded with the influence of the program of BTC organized through the efforts of “Par Danışmanlık”. However, the cooperative was mainly based on women’s handiwork needling and sewing business on “Çeyiz”, not any agricultural related production. The cooperative was founded with the idea of enhancing their traditional skills for needling and sewing skills and using them to create a space for women and an opportunity of generate income for women. The cooperative was accepted and appropriated by 3 active members of the cooperative since it has offered them a place (space) to work together. The women’s active involvement and agency in the cooperative is significant since they have continued to manage the cooperative after the project team has left their village.

As a similar example, one village cooperative was founded with the influence of a women assistant professor of Mersin University who wanted to establish a women cooperative in a village which would focus on generating additional income for women’s of that village. The cooperative was founded in a village which could have a small pension house and restaurant in the village with the fund from Çukurova Development Agency. As she R19 explained; this village was chosen because of the willingness and efforts of the mukhtar of the village and the women’s enthusiasm to be employed in an organization like this in which they would be self-employed in practice. In addition the chair of the cooperative is a young woman who was a

student at the university the women academician is employed. The informal strong relations between the two of them played also a significant role in the foundation process of the cooperative enabling them to work together. However, the cooperative seemed to be operating on its own now with the effort of the cooperative chair and other members.

Moreover, there are cases, like in Karabörk village in Giresun, the idea of founding the cooperative emerged from District general director of MAFAAH and suggested to one woman who is willing to work for the cooperative business in legal and monetary terms and still struggling to continue the effort of managing the cooperative with the support of the District general director of MAFAAH. Thus, even if the R14 mentioned that “I asked them to abolish the cooperative if they do not want to work for it; but they did not want it either.”, it is not possible to say there is a group of women who are active female agencies in the management of the cooperative since there is only the chair working for the cooperative.

There is also a narrative story in which the idea of founding a cooperative came from the women vice-president of a municipality and her three women friends who were also working in the municipality in Kızıltepe / Mardin. The idea of founding “Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi” was formulated in order to find occupational opportunities for women who do not have a husband or any education, training or skills to find a job. The cooperative’s main area of expertise could only be food servicing. They have attempted to make village bread (tandır ekmeği) and manage a park in the district since its foundation in 2007, but they could be successful only after they have started to manage the dining hole of the municipality. Nowadays they are managing the dining hole and also a park cafeteria in the district. In this cooperative, the founders are not active in any legal, administrative or manual labor in the cooperative; the people who are actually laboring are also managing these administrative and official documents and very proud of it. It seemed that the cooperative is successful in creating a job opportunity and sustaining it. One of them R 30 said “I am really proud that I can provide for my family; my kids on my own”. Interestingly, there are other cooperatives in the Southeastern Anatolia region of Turkey who has been established mainly in small

towns and cities but there are no working agricultural cooperatives managed by women in practice in the villages of that area.

### **5.5. Economic Empowerment: Ability/ Right to Earn Income and Control Over Income and Resources**

In this study, the economic empowerment of women will be discussed in relation with the division of space between men and women both literally and symbolically. Throughout this study, it is observed that women's engagement in business of cooperative has threatened this boundary between men's and women's space which could be different from locality to locality. It could be said that due to the level of conservatism (the level of resistance to women's empowerment) which could be legitimized with customs and religious attitudes, the boundary between women's space and men's space became more flexible in some cases, still very rigid in some others. This could be due to the fact that as Friedmann (1992:114) said women's loyalty to customs and survival of family and culture rather than women's rights and problems. Moreover, observing the intense domination of patriarchal ideology in sexual division of labor and control of economic resources, it could be also argued that current system of domination could be named as "capitalist patriarchy" as Mies (2001) said.

The first element of economic empowerment is women's ability to earn income through the business of cooperatives. In the cases of Sarıcakaya and Saitabat, women have gathered substantial income as members and thus, the cooperative has increased its members in the process. In the case of Saitabat, members of the cooperative all became entrepreneurs on their own right with the touristic restaurant and marketing traditional Georgian food with also using internet.

In the case of Sarıcakaya, the cooperative has enabled to commercialize their traditional agricultural production with green housing and networking with other cooperatives and state institutions in technical matters and establishing standards for marketing agricultural products to the food markets of Istanbul and Ankara. Moreover, greenhouse owners paid their credit debts to the state about the

greenhouses. According to indications of R2, there is one or two women who couldn't pay the debts at any month and they have paid their debts, too when the cooperative cumulatively paid its debt to the state. They would be paying the principal amount of credit for greenhouses, with no interest, in 8 years without paying first two years. However, some of their debts were delayed by the state; there are just 2 years to be paid all the debt. The greenhouse owner 71 women are carrying out the jobs of greenhouse which is 500 square meters. This business let them earn money than they would earn by being a wage labor in a minimum wage with insurances. The chair of the cooperative who is also working at the district agriculture, food and animal husbandry as a contractual personnel and the chair of chamber of agriculture, (R2) said "the land acreage here is mostly small, the richest farmer has 20 dekar but our land is valuable because of the climate here. We can harvest three times a year with our greenhouses. The credit has been given to the poorest people with very limited land but their economic conditions get better." Moreover, she said that she did not build a greenhouse for herself or taken the pay for the chair of the cooperative since she has to pay the accounting and other bills for running the cooperative. Another thing was that after they have been successful in agricultural production with greenhouses, other women (100 women) wanted to apply for credit to build greenhouses but the program had been closed then. R2 also argued that

Women had been working more than men before the cooperative, but their status were like labors, when they had began to engage in commercial transactions of greenhouses and gain a considerable amount of income, their status had changed and they had more decision making power at home. Women were no longer unskilled labors, they gained status with agriculture. If she is working on field, she can choose what to plant."

She explained the process:

She is making the product in field and crating it with packages and takes to the carrier. Then carrier takes them where producer wants to. For example, she determines a number of a wholesaler in Istanbul (e.g.152), she sends products with her name to the wholesaler. Afterwards, the bill comes to her name, she can follow the process. Such as; from what and how much she earned, which day her products sold more, which day sold less. Our cooperative is making these notifications as Producer Associations. We have

been doing this without a problem for 15 days, products are sent to the wholesaler named and high quality of products are being sent to the wholesaler.

In the case of Kızıltepe and Kösbucağı and Çadırkaya, women's cooperatives are in a position to earn income only sufficient to continue the cooperative and its business. Kösbucağı cooperative's main problem is ensuring customers for the cooperative; they use their social networks, arranging officers from the ministry of agriculture, animal husbandry and food in province and in district. Moreover, the cooperative has faced some problems regarding the purchase of the bedlines and other textile products. Some tradesman sold bad quality bedlines to them to use in pension (the sheets were torn). In some cases, the clients who question their products' authenticity (for this; she is planning to prepare a video record about their food preparation).

Çadırkaya cooperative is a relatively small cooperative with only 18 members, 3 of which are active. The active members said that (R33, R34, R35) there were 60 people when they could have more bulk orders. The bulk orders diminished when the project of "PAR Danışmanlık (Consultancy)" (the company which has supervised a series of development program in that village together with initiating the cooperative). R33 said that what they have told them was different, they hoped for more job opportunities and the development of the cooperative. Women (R33, R34, R35, R36) indicated that joining to the cooperative would be higher if the cooperative could offer income for everyone with insurance with bulk orders. Women now working in family land will prefer working at cooperative rather than being domestic and productive unpaid family labor. Active members in cooperative do not think to quit whether it brings good income or not, whether they earn 150 liras in a month without insurance or not. As they said: "We do not have insurance, we got 141 liras approximately per person in a month. For sure, it seems like a thousand for us, it is good money." The widowed woman is seemed to be the most vulnerable of them since she has two children. The other women were living with their families but could be able to use their income from the cooperative for themselves. There were other cooperatives which were also established by "Par Danışmanlık" but they were closed before.

In Karabörk, the cooperative is in a difficult position since most the members have difficulties to pay for the regular membership fees of the cooperative and the pay back the credits for cattle to the state. The cooperative of Akkaya was still in the process of waiting since their fabric about tomato paste was still in the construction process.

In Ertuğrul village, the cooperative was successful until this year due to the national economic policies in animal husbandry. Because of the increase in forage costs and not being able to produce forage crop in their village, this year they had problems about paying their debts. Some of them had to sell their cattle, but cattle don't make too much because of the decreasing prices. They had already taken 2 years postponed debts, but then government delayed their debts 2 more years, so they are going to pay it 4 years after taking. Some of the cooperative members (R17, R18) are feeling more depressed about credit debts and afraid of not being able to pay it this year. It is possible that families in which women have income other than agriculture or have children working at town or have retirement pension, feel economically safer.

The cooperative of Çayırtepe was closed down before the cooperative could gain any economic power. Thus, the cooperative's economic problems could not be involved in the processes. Davutoğlan was also in the process of abolishment because of its inability to create additional funds to make investment or any innovation for the agricultural production. The members of Davutoğlan cooperative are the wives and daughters of five brothers and their sister. The cooperative was founded with the initiative of the chair of the cooperative. There is no active woman member of the cooperative working for the cooperative business except the chair of the cooperative; they could not be an active cooperative working together. Besides, she said (R3) no one wanted to spend money for cooperative.

Everyone is lazy, asks for ready meals. They want to achieve things without spending money. How could this happen? I mean, you are buying a house and have a debt, then paying it every month. So you have to invest some money to farming, too.

As a second dimension of economic empowerment, the problem of control over income and resources became important. In the case of Akkaya cooperative, women's membership in cooperative is not relative in the sense that women could not reach any additional income with the business of cooperative. Similarly, Çayırtepe and Davutoğlan could not reach any economical gain from the cooperative. In Karabörk, women could not reach any significant income from the cooperative in the sense that cooperative business confronted problems related with the funding of cattle. In Ertuğrul village there are certain problems regarding paying back the credit taken from the state and it is said by the active members of cooperative (R15, R16, R17, R18) that division of income of the family including the cooperative business is decided by the husband and wife together. The cooperative business seemed to be an extension of family business and women have not secure the income from the business of cooperative yet. In Kızıltepe, women (R30, R31, R32) were proud that they are now in a position to earn their income and support their families. R30 and R31 mentioned they could have supported their children's university education in the sense that their children are also students and employees in service sector now. R32 is looking after her parents with her wage. This cooperative is planning to enlarge its activities in the future with integrating other members and other places for food service. In Kösbucağı, there are both empowering and disempowering forces in the economic sense since they have some difficulties in attracting local tourists in some seasons thus make the sustainability of the cooperative more difficult. It is easier to attract the tourists for the restaurant and pension in spring and summer rather than the winter. Women working in the cooperative said they used their income from cooperative for their children if they are married; single women are luckier to spend their money on their own needs.

#### **5.6. Self-definition, Self-Awareness, Group identity and Organizational, Psychological and Social Empowerment**

As the concept of empowerment implies, the women's perception of themselves and their re-review of their identities as women and as the members of the cooperative will effect their degree of attachment of the goals of the cooperative and their sense of togetherness as a group which will enlarge the possibilities for their psychological

and social empowerment. As Lennie (2002) identified; self confidence and self esteem, motivation, interest and enthusiasm, freedom to do things or express yourself, feelings of belonging, wellbeing and happiness as psychological empowerment. In addition, she (2002) mentioned support, friendship and inspiration, participating in group activities with women in the meaning of social empowerment. Organizational empowerment was identified with awareness about the role of agricultural cooperatives, access to the state and other institutions' technical help in cooperative issues, identification with the cooperative membership and establishing and managing a democratic, participatory, fair organizational structure for the cooperative in the second chapter. However, in this section related with empowerment, the relevant item of organizational empowerment is women's identification with the cooperative membership.

*Çadırkaya* cooperative is seemed to increase women's psychological and social empowerment in the sense that they learned new skills to make money increasing their self esteem and also their status socially with their identification with the cooperative and its business. In these women's agenda, the main change agent is mostly, how to earn more as a cooperative. They received their last bulk order 2 years ago while "Par Danışmanlık" was still counseling in the village. But their facilities are limited; first of all they are having difficulties about marketing their products. When suggested to build an online web page to show their products; they said they would have to pay a bill because of continually internet connection and they don't know if they will get an order which will provide this bill. The more they have connection with institutions which can give them bulk order, the more they can extend their cooperative. They said, once they had gone to Chamber of Commerce at Erzurum to market their products but they have turned without anything in their hands. They indicated that they want to receive more bulk orders and grow their job up. However, (R34) said: "by working at cooperative, talking with each other, we forget our problems. We are a kind of addicts of cooperative." Their job in their atelier made the connection between them stronger and strengthens their friendship. As a social aspect, they mentioned that thanks to the cooperative, people who they had never met before became their friends and customers. They think cooperative

make their lives richer and happier. They are happier because of these social aspects and they have some money belonging only to themselves.

In *Çayırtepe*, it is questionable whether this cooperative will affect the identification of individuals and cooperative because it is closed down. But in general, it seems that women in village feel belong mostly to their families and relatives. However, the group of women interviewed with has already a sense of solidarity, friendship and actively participating in group activities within each other, information exchange with each other in economic issues. Women in this group were 3 older women and their daughter and daughters-in-law. This group was cooperating with each other about issues like finding job, getting educated and giving information about education of children. I think this group is going to cooperate and help each other to carry out activities of the cooperative; if there would be a cooperative. Younger women in group have problems about living in the village. Since these women do not want to engaged in a cooperative business based on animal husbandry or dairy farming, but other sectors such as handmade textile; another cooperative based on other kind of economic activities could be established in that village.

In *Davutoğlan* the cooperative was not successful in gathering together women around common economic and social goals. As R3 explained:

Everyone wants to do things on their own; no one wants to do it together. “What we gained from being together? We couldn’t make money from it.” some says.

Similarly, the cooperative in *Karabörk and Kuşköy* the cooperative was not successful in gathering together women around common economic and social goals. In this district, cooperative members need to be together but they were careless about the cooperative business, then leader of the cooperative (R14) said “Lets close the cooperative, I’m fed up with dealing these things.”, but they didn’t want to close it. It seems in this stage, poverty affected the cooperative’s not being active. Because they couldn’t make the contribution which they had to do to make cooperative came into operation. Besides, leader of this cooperative identify herself as a feminist, she thinks a lot of effort has to be made to change the people in neighborhood. I think in this

situation, being single, having a family emigrated abroad, having a mother who is being with her just in summer, living alone other times are effective in being psychologically empowered. Besides, she makes her living by working as a civil servant; she is not dependent for anyone to live. However, still she is struggling to empower other women in the village in terms of economic and social sense.

In *Sarıcakaya*, it is not clear whether women members of the cooperative created an emotion of togetherness or not between them, apart from green housing provide income to them and their families' economy. But there is solidarity in the cooperative in the sense that they support people when needed and they couldn't pay their debts. Besides, at the stage of building the greenhouse and other that, they gained knowledge and experience about producing in greenhouse and marketing the products which has a positive effect on their social empowerment. I think, unlike the other cooperatives, this affected the women to expand themselves, move into other areas of expert other than agricultural production and have knowledge about commercial connections, therefore feel more improved. Moreover, the chair (R2) is in a position to teach other women about greenhouse business especially in relation with commercialization of agricultural products. Leader of cooperative *Sarıcakaya* (R2) said she had had to work more for carrying out activities of the cooperative voluntarily. She wanted to give some of her responsibilities to other women but, they didn't volunteered by saying they couldn't do what she had done. Her work is including everything regarding the technical and marketing problems of the greenhouse agricultural production activity of the cooperative includes actively doing research about legal and administrative rules in marketing products, innovations related with production techniques and utilizing for source of credits or funds for the cooperative. In other words, she is dealing with sending products vegetable shops, getting information about how they were sold, getting certificate from producer associations, getting knowledge about handling and packaging production. She is continuously being in contact with ministry of agriculture (she is working at ministry of agricultural) and vegetable market (wholesale) therefore the one who is going to do these things after her has to gain experience and learn from her. She said to me that she is going to get a worker and leave some parts of the job to her to lessen her burden.

In *Akkaya*, it is not also clear whether women members of the cooperative created an emotion of togetherness or not between them since they have not gained any money from the cooperative yet. They have been waiting for their factory of tomato paste to be finished (sponsored by the state province funds), to gain from cooperative business. As R1 explained, the opportunities for this cooperative's active members to come together sometimes could be difficult since they have no free time and all members are working in home or in field. Because of this, they could only meet together when they have to make a decision about the cooperative. However, R1 thinks, the meetings of the cooperative are mostly an opportunity for them to talk, discuss and solve problems about vegetable gardening and R1 wants to make cooperative meetings regularly.

In *Kösbucağı* and *Ertuğrul* village, the cooperative have collected members based on the efforts of the chairs of the cooperative and their personal involvement with the prospective active members of the cooperative. In *Ertuğrul* village, the cooperative chair (R15) she and her cousin and friend (R16) has gathered people one by one for membership. However, she sometimes have difficulties regarding the relationship with members. In general there has been an emotional togetherness which was brought by cooperating for long time between the most women in this cooperative. On the other hand, about the future of the cooperative, while leader think positively, thinks new projects and they can pay their debts in some way, members especially in-debt ones are more pessimist. Leader indicates that, once when she hadn't given forage to one member because of her debts, the member complained that she has paid the bills. But R15 showed the sales slips of former forage purchasing. She said she is tired about the cooperative works and wanted to leave the chair to other women but they didn't want to take it. "They both can't quit but they can gossip about you, but I prefer them to say to my face, I can explain whatever I did" she (R15) said.

*Kösbucağı* cooperative came out as a place which is not only an economic company but also a place that they work at and meet new people, meet each other socially out of home and have fun at. Women's association with themselves and with cooperative members is important in the sense that they have given effort together to carry out activities of cooperative and adapt to the place of restaurant and pension. The

building they have used as pension was a school and they turned it into a pension which 10 people can entertain in it with the help of Çukurova development agency's funds. Besides, in terms of cooperative members developing collective way of doing business, cooking the joint products in restaurant, tinning and selling them when they have guests were effective to create a strong relationship of the members as a group.

Similarly, the chair of the *Saitabat* village women's association also have contacted with the nine members of the management of the board and other active members and persuaded them to establish on a women's agro-tourism facility near the waterfall. This village association of women is bound to each other with strong friendship bounds, the idea of establishing a women's association was thought by R25 and accepted by the nine members of the board of directors. But their numbers continuously increased in time and now they have 113 members. The active members spoken with (R26, R27) are telling they have increased their self confidence since they have constructed a successful economic entity and they are happy while working together, it is a pleasure for them to be able to work together.

In *Kızıltepe*, women working at dining hall (R30, R31) said they had improved and had gained their self-confidence, they had felt that they were not useless, when they had begun to work at cooperative. The cooperative gave them self-confidence by causing them to wander in the district and to make them gain their own money. They saw women around were appreciating them. R30 said: "Women shouldn't say it is fate, they shouldn't feel themselves hopeless. If a woman has courage, she can do whatever she wants."

Besides gaining money, because of the fact that they don't need their husband's family to make their lives, they become like "free" individuals. Some of the children of those women are at high school, some of them are at university, and they are all working at the same time. Children got happy when their mothers began to work and bring home extra income, and they supported their mothers.

The oldest one in the group of women (R30) working at dining hall, who is the first beneficiary of the cooperative, was like chef cook and others are like under her

supervision. Between dining hall laborers, the most different and alone was the employee of the cooperative who was the youngest of the group in dining hall. She (R34) is looking after her family; she did not talk much and was shy about talking about herself.

### **5.7. Networking, Social Skills, Competence and Social Empowerment**

Education and learning social skills, abilities and competence seemed to be one of the important elements of social empowerment in the cooperatives. In Çayırtepe, nearly all of the women interviewed mentioned their lack of education as a source of powerlessness and economic barrier in finding jobs for themselves. One of the older women (R7) mentioned her regret about not sending her daughter to the university because she was afraid of something happening to her. Since especially young women are looking for opportunities for working in the urban center rather than the traditional village life based on animal husbandry and dairy farming, formal and informal education and special training in public training centers became important. The young women discussed about the working opportunities in Erzurum in childcare, textile ateliers and industrial work in packing factory.

The importance of training facilities of the state officials were mentioned by R3 and R4 (in Davutoğlan) who also argued for the effectiveness of these programs to enlarge the possibilities for modernizing agricultural production and increasing the productivity of agricultural work.

Agriculture is something different. I learnt by going conferences. If you postponed watering the crops, they get dry immediately. If you don't pity it, it doesn't to you, also. Don't give it herbicide, and then see that every product is ill. It requires very care. You have to sacrifice your sleep if necessary. (...) Conferences about how to do good agriculture should be given to the women at the village. I heard at a conference if you don't care the grape vine, it doesn't cares you, too (it doesn't grow up). She said that one of her neighbors unsuccessful on grape vine is because of that she doesn't know how to care of it. (...) Okay, authorities of village and district officials of the ministry announces farmers that conferences will be given. If it is going to last 10 days, they come and leave just being talked with men at cafeteria. It shouldn't be like that. The program is certain, just place needs to be arranged for 10 days, names who would attend conference should be collected and they

should explain this information with the implication of the techniques in agricultural fields. When there is bazaar (Monday), they say us to come to Nallıhan for conference; they talk about an hour and give a smoke break, then finish it. (...) Who goes to the conference? Papers go to agricultural office to village mukhtar if there is a conference at Nallıhan, neither the mukhtar let it to be announced at the mosque, nor villages know about the conference about grapes, tomatoes and grape vine at Nallıhan. (...) Headman goes to conference, says “grape vines is none of our business”, then conference ends in a short time.

In cooperatives which deal with the agricultural production of vegetable and fruits, the ambition to learn more about agricultural production was mentioned. These cooperatives of Akkaya, Sarıcakaya and Davutoğlan are at near regions Ankara, have trained in ministry seminars and other programs, have been successful in the women farmers contest and some of them went to Japan as a reward. Thus, all these networks of training and guidance assisted even urged them to establish their cooperatives. However, the problem is more about making women in their communities more active participants of cooperative with also training them. R1 said she wished she could use the cooperative as a tool for bargaining for their agricultural products. R1 also has started to get educated in secondary school and planning to go the high school next. She has used her informal networks (through her uncle who was a mukhtar of their village once) to gain grant for a tomato paste factory in the village. R2 is more advantageous in this sense. She said she could go to some training seminars about producing more durable and healthier products other regions of Turkey such as; İzmir, Antalya and Blacksea Region. They have also given training programs in the issue of greenhouse agricultural production to their members.

In Kızıltepe, the cooperation is not concentrated on increasing the skills and capabilities of women since the cooperative’s activity is based on food service sector which is traditionally known by the beneficiaries/ employees of the cooperative. However, the older women who did not know Turkish fluently have learned writing in Turkish. They are able to pay for their debts or follow official papers. Other than women in Kızıltepe is more interested in increasing their network with other women’s cooperatives’ all over Turkey than applying for other government or state funds or forming networks about them. It is in a sense more democratic, participatory

and independent from the mainstream gender policies of the government and the state.

In Kösbucağı women, most specifically the chair (R20) have used her own entrepreneurship, her social network in ministry and her abilities in public relations and marketing in terms of advertizing the cooperative business (the restaurant and the pension). Additionally, they make presentations as a cooperative in opening stands at festivals, local fairs or expositions.

In Saitabat, the nine active members are mainly responsible for the managing of the general network of the cooperative especially after the cooperative has gained reputation and started to be known as a local touristic restaurant in waterfall of Kestel. But the cooperative is also in a continuous process of teaching skills and increasing the capabilities of all member women. As examples; they have taken touristic basic English course and they have designed a project to train women in handiwork, computer using techniques and other training programs in an old school building and waiting for a reply for their project.

In Ertuğrul village, all the necessary skills and trainings to manage the cooperative was taken by the R15 such as; general computer usage techniques, accountancy program and active internet usage skills. She has been using these skills in cooperative business both in networking with the upper cooperative unions in the region and her relation with the state organization and bureaucratic procedures.

In Çadirkaya, it seems these women need to both extend their social environment and more education to learn marketing strategies, doing accountancy work, to get more orders. One of them (R36) said it in this way:

We are guilty, while working with Par Consultancy we could take more education for marketing our products and learn doing cooperative's legal procedure, we had trouble after they had gone because they were doing these work.

## **5.8. Organizational Empowerment: Decision making and participation in the Organizations**

The democratic participation in the cooperative organization is related with the empowerment of member women in two significant aspects. Firstly, the democratic participation within the cooperative in terms of deciding on what to do about cooperative business brings out a sense of togetherness, trust and psychological empowerment. Secondly, the democratic participation in the cooperative is also important in terms of the organizations ability sharing the voluntary tasks, income gathering activities and responsibility about the management of the cooperative. This more tangible participation in the cooperative business allowed for the realization of support, friendship and inspiration among members. While in some cases such as; Çayırtepe (which could not even have started to the organization of cooperative) and in Davutoğlan (in which the leader said she (R3) could not gather women who did not want to conduct a business together. Actually this cooperative did not go far from being former village mukhtar's project as an idea and attempt, that is to say, people paid to join the cooperative but they could not have the opportunity to participate in the cooperative. R3 said the women are saying "We could not achieve anything from acting or selling together.) In some other cases, such as the case of Karabörk and Kuşköy, the chair of the cooperative (R14) mentioned the main problem is poverty and work load of women which does not let women to be active members of the cooperative. R14 hired a place for women for to gather together as the cooperative and perhaps in other activities in a kind of sewing or knitting when the cattle bought by state credits were not suitable for the environment conditions. However, till now she could not be able to formulate a well working cooperative based on women's participation as she visioned.

Another cooperative business which is in progress is the Akkaya cooperative who will more actively start working as a cooperative after the establishment and starting of the tomato paste factory. This cooperative has not started working as a cooperative yet. Thus there has not been organizational empowerment in the lives women yet mostly due to the heavy work load of women in household and in agricultural production.

In Ertuğrul village, the active cooperative members are participating in the sense that they have close relationships based on solidarity and friendship. However, there are not much tasks done together in terms of the cooperative business. The chair (R15) is handling all the activities of the organization when she called for help, only her close friend (R16) have helped her in terms of the legal and administrative business. Moreover, the business requires for continues work, bargaining and sometimes struggling with government officials, clients (companies purchasing milk) and with the cooperatives theirs is a bound to at regional level. All these jobs were mainly done by the chair. She also comes together with the members in an attempt to lessen the credits of the indebted members to the state. She also stated that in some cases, there can be misunderstandings or problems with members regarding purchasing of members forage for their animals. In some cases, she heard gossips and told them to face rather than talking about her since she believes she is accountable and prove herself. In a few cases, she explained herself to them afterwards.

In Kösbucağı village, the chair is mainly responsible for the managerial and administrative and legal business of the cooperative as being more educated, resourceful and outspoken of the members. However, she said (R20) she gives importance of not being rude or giving orders to others. But she is the one who leads the others even if she urges other members to speak freely, express themselves and deal more with the cooperative business. Moreover, these women have a heavy work load at home because of agricultural production for three seasons in addition to their domestic work load. In times of touristic visits to the pension or the restaurant, the active members (5 members including the chair) work together in servicing the customers. To keep the quality and the standards of their products stable (especially the products which sold in jars) they are manufacturing in restaurants. As R 20 said, they also present and sell the agricultural food giving priority to the member women. They said it is difficult to maintain the quality of the food services and sold, thus they are doing most of their products in the cooperative restaurant. They earn more from restaurants than they earn from pensions because cooperative pensions are cheap.

The similar condition of sharing the commercial food production and not reducing the quality of the product is evident in *Saitabat*, in the sense that they were enforced

to do the same production in their restaurant. But since their customers and the member of women are greater in numbers, they have designed a work plan after a few trials. They have been grouped in the name of their products which were done in a few groups. A group is consisting of 8 to 10 people who labor in the same product restaurant at a time determined by the group members. Moreover, these 8 to 10 people have differing tasks in a group. There are a few groups in the name of one product doing the same job at different times. There are five or six products which are presented as the elements of traditional Georgian food serviced at the restaurant near the waterfall. The management of the production process, the legal and administrative cooperative business, presentation and advertisement of the cooperative to the local area is carried out by the board of directors of the cooperative that have nine members. Some of the executive members (R26, R27) mentioned that when there is any problem among members of the cooperative, they try to solve the problem by openly talking about it in the cooperative with the parties involved and with a person (mostly chair or other influential board member) who could mediate between them.

In Saricakaya however, the general sharing of responsibilities were not divided among members. However, it seems that other members of the cooperative who are also in the board of directors do not wish to be a part of the management of the cooperative in terms of administrative, legal and technical matters. These members have also responsibilities of domestic work load and agricultural productive work load. To have a democratic participation in the cooperative other women needs to have information and experience as much as the cooperative leader has. But according to the cooperative leader said; even the board of directors does not have the necessary knowledge regarding the procedures of cooperative business and they do not intend to get information and experience. It seems the cooperative leader is going to continue to be the manager of the cooperative. But R2 said she will employ a woman for helping her dealing with the cooperative business. This shows the cooperative works mainly on individual responsibility not common responsibility. The other members are paying their fees of membership and paying back credits taken for building greenhouses and sometimes are coming to ask for advice or

solution to their problems. Thus, the potential for psychological, social and organizational empowerment is lessened by not active participation of members.

Contrastingly, in Çadırkaya, there is no such big business or cooperative work to be handled by the members since the cooperative is a very localized and specified business. However, in current sharing of responsibilities and tasks if they additional bulk business order, they call for other members of the cooperative to labor with them in the order. In other managerial, administrative and legal tasks of the cooperative, the three active members share the responsibility.

In Kızıltepe, there is more strict division of labor in terms of managerial and administrative tasks and the food preparation and service tasks. The managerial and administrative tasks regarding the dinner hall and cafeteria were carried out by two young women who are more educated (university students). While one of the young women is managing the cafeteria, the other is managing the dining hall. There are women cooks in the kitchen (four women) and three other waiters in the cafeteria. The strict division of labor between the employees of cafeteria and the managers has tried softened by the approach of the manager. She (R29) said; she always tries to sustain a working environment friendly for all the employees and is fair for all the members. She said she wanted the waitress to ask for help if any problems occur<sup>2</sup>.

For example, I am against to dictatorship so I will not be a dictator and I am against to be seen superior to humans giving orders so I am not going to do this. For example when we decide to arrange a meeting among each other; I am saying I am not superior to you, so say what you think we should do. Only our duties are different. We all are equal; you are human as, me. As an example, we have a friend, who is against taking orders and strict about it. some one told him “came and watch the dishes”, he said “Am I girl! No, I

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<sup>2</sup> “... mesela diktatörlüğe karşıyım onun için de diktatörlük yapmıcam insanların üstün görülmeye karşıyım mesela başkalarının tepede emir vermelerine onu yapmıcam mesela arkadaşlarla toplantı hali alıyoruz mesela buranın düzeni, ne yapmalıyız falan diyorum mesela ben sizden üstün değilim. Dedim sadece görevlerimiz farklı yoksa eşitiz, sende insansın bende insanım o şekilde konuşuyoruz. Mesela bir arkadaşımız var sert bi çok sert biri böyle emir verenleri aşırı bir şey var tepkisi var. Bak mesela yukarı gelen arkadaş dedi git bulaşığı yıka.Dedi yok yıkamıyorum ben yıkamıyorum ben kızmıyım ben yıkamıyorum.Dedim tamam ben giderim yıkarım biraz geçti ben gitti oraya baktım baktı tamam dedi abla ben yıkıyacam. Gitti 2 saat bulaşığın yanında kaldı öyle çok iyi insan vardı. Mesela iyi dille konuştuğunda anlayan insan vardır. Gerçekten mesela çok ters biri normalde hiç kimse onunla anlaşacağını zannetmedi.Ama şuan en iyi hepsiyle iyi anlaşıyorum.”

won't. Then I said, I will wash the dishes. A little while after, he went and washed the dishes for approximately two hours. Nobody assumed I could have worked with him because he is bad tempered. But he is a good person when communicated in a sweeter way.

The customers wanted the waiters to wear same shirts; she (R29) has to buy them shirts unwillingly because of customer wishes. In terms of preventing the uniformity, she thought about buying different colored shirts for every one.

Similarly she gave importance to the position of older women in the dining hall who are working as cooks. She (R29) said to “mothers”:

This place is yours, you built up this place, and it had been built with your labor. Your labor will never be ignored, you always have a special place here, come and have a seat, drink our tea, be with us, support us.

She says “mothers” are coming and helping a lot. Besides, when she faces with a problem she wants help from them, they help to shop for cafeteria and they assist her.

## **5.9. Organizational, Social and Political Empowerment**

In nearly all the cooperatives, the cooperative's public relations, relationships with funding institutions of state/ government, municipality, or NGOs and other relationships with private companies are mainly carried out by the chairs of the cooperative. In the cases of Akkaya, Sarıcakaya, Kösbucağı, Karabörk and Ertuğrul villages chair of these cooperatives are trying to formulate new ways of increasing their knowledge of the role of cooperatives, to access technical and funding assistance of other organizations and networking and lobbying with other institutions. In Akkaya, the only significant relationship is the state through personalized provincial contacts and through relations with district general directorate of MAFAH. In contrast, Çadırkaya women even could not have such an opportunities since it was closed soon after.

In the case of Sarıcakaya, the chair is continuously studying about rules and procedures of agricultural production and what they can do as a cooperative. She said she have examined the law and there is a R2 also have informal and formal contacts

with the people in agricultural production since she also works as contracted personnel in the district General Directorate of MAFAH. She also said the new law of wholesale was advantageous terms for cooperatives / productive unions. R2<sup>3</sup> argued that the merchant could pay tax payments (%2) to the cooperatives or production unions instead of the state.

R2 uses the high numbers of greenhouse agricultural producers and other members of the cooperative in the area in gaining bargaining power. Another important factor is increasing their bargaining power in the market, the Akkaya cooperative chair (R1) is aware of the cooperative's probable bargaining power in dealing with merchants and marketing their product. She is thinking about being the leader in using better agricultural techniques in the village in order to increase their bargaining power.

In Karabörk and Kuşköy, the cooperative chair had gained a credit about women's tasks from EU but lost it somehow. She said "I and the district general director of MAFAAH could see that the money was granted for us. But then, it is said the money was transformed to somewhere else."

Kösbucağı cooperative's relationship with other institutions or organizations is mainly based on the chair's (R20) study and research on the related funds and support for the cooperatives. Cooperative's first funding institution was Çukurova Development agency which assisted for the reformation of an old school building and cafeteria to a pension and restaurant. As she learned, she could get a fund from the province social funds for entrepreneurial companies in the form assisting packages or storage facilities, but these funds are mostly bound to the governor's decision about supporting to the project or not. The problem with network in this

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<sup>3</sup> Bu son hal yasadındaki değişiklikle bizim gibi kooperatif ve üretici birlikleri gerçekten iyi yere gelecekler ne olacak üye sayısı artacak, bildirimlerle hallerden geri dönüş olacak ve kooperatiflere para akışı sağlanmış olacak belirli bir miktarda. Tamam, küçük küçük miktarlar ama toplandığında bir çok şeyi güçlendirecek küçük kooperatiflerde." "Hal'e gönderilen mallardan satın alanların halen ödedikleri bir miktar var hale ödüyorlar bu üreticiden kesilmiyor yani satın alan adam hale ödüyor. Biz bu şekilde birlikte yaptığımız zaman ben kooperatif olarak birlik olarak ziraat odası aynı şekilde bu işi yaptığında o satıcı yani mali alan tüccar tacir market her kim ise % 2lik bir vergiden muaf hale geliyor. O %2'lik dilimi hale ödemeyip kooperatiflere ziraat odalarına ya da birlikler'e ödeme şeyi var bir tane maddede küçücük bir şekilde yazılmış. Onun üzerindiyim eğer onu aşarsam, eğer güzel bir para dönüşü olacak her halde. %2'lik bir şey, %2 de 2000 ya da 5000 üyesi olan insan için her ürettiği malın %2 sini demek ciddi bir rakam.

cooperative is case that while the other agricultural cooperatives can get a fund from the MAFAH for greenhouse building or for animal husbandry; agrotourism facilities do not have a regular funding scheme.

Women's cooperative in Kızıltepe takes support from the municipality so they do not attempt to take support any from the ministry. They have not done any application to the ministry and the EU. But this cooperative has an urge to communicate more to the other woman cooperatives. Both one of the mothers working in the kitchen and young women gave voice to that thought. Through the women's cooperatives union, they have a little contact with the cooperatives that is close to them geographically. This cooperative have more urban characteristics compared to the other cooperatives, so have an urge to create new job sections and to create changes at member's lives. Also members of this cooperative did not contact any governmental channel and did not think to contact.

The case of Saitabat is unique in the sense that it did not get any support from other institutions or state organizations at the beginning of the cooperative. But they have become quite popular afterwards in public in the sense that they have won a reward from EU and a Netherlands TV channel came to make a documentary film about their cooperative. The association's activities and products are presented in their web site (Saitabat, 2012)<sup>4</sup>. R26, 27 told that they had taken micro credit for the cooperative building and they have made a restoration in their building.

In Kösbucağı, the chair of the cooperative is dealing all the work to plan for how to pay the debts, the probable projects or grants which the cooperative could apply to. She is carrying on these businesses by meeting someone working in ministry and university's related department visiting them time to time and keeping the informal relationship continuous. Also it seems the result of getting a fund from the district directorate of agricultural ministry or province can be related with "knowing" or "have relationship" with necessary people as R45 mentioned. This seemed to be not any easy for task for women living in the village who have not established such relationships so far. Being located in a touristic area which have various festivals and

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.saitabatkdd.org/dernegimiz.html>

fairs could be an advantage for presenting the cooperative to the local area and Turkey. If the cooperative can continue its existence with the women laboring in the cooperative for a few years it may become flourished in time.

#### **5.10. Hindrances to Empowerment: Disempowered Areas of Active Members of Rural Women's Organizations'**

The first kind of hindrances is about the local stereotypes about being women but being in men's place or position. It is important to discuss that these invisible line is crossed at different points at different localities according to local traditions, beliefs and norms about what is being women and men. This invisible line in some cases could have been directly crossed by some rural women; it has been indirectly crossed by in some others or even has started to be crossed in many others. In general, these lines of women's and men place and position are always in a continuous bargaining and crossing and rewriting process at different localities. It is also important to note that, in nearly almost all the cases, these women have been motivated by some outside factor; some times an institution (a resourceful man, a government agency/officer, municipality, NGO or University academician, etc...) and sometimes another example in an another village (Cumalıkızık village).

The first basic hindrance was the barriers against the actual existence women in specific man dominated places. The women in Çadırkaya cooperative can not freely roam in the village bazaar area. As one of them (R34) said:

For example, we can not purchase any thing from the village bazaar area. We have to go to Erzincan if we like to purchase anything or can send our nephew to by something for us. If we find a male to carry out our works in bazaar (buying fabric etc.), we can't cope with gossips of the men. Ones, who don't think so, also will join the ones who are gossiping. Nothing changes easily here.

The women in this village has established cooperative in one end of the village bazaar, they continue to go their atelier daily basis with bypassing the bazaar. In a way, a new line between men and women spaces was established within the village.

Another similar but more flexible, more implicit border between men and women has always been crossed in the Erzurum center. R6, R9, R11 mentioned that they feel the local men's stare on them when walking down in the main streets of Erzurum and irritated by them. However, their reaction to this was different; one of them said "I can not go there alone. I wear "burka" over my face; I can not talk with any strange men". Some of other women mentioned "I would ask address to younger men, who are younger than me in order to prevent them to make any disrespectful glances or remarks." Similarly R14 said "Men are always swearing in the streets so women are always sitting at the balconies rather than going in to the streets."

In Kızıltepe, these rules for men and women's places in social life are in current struggle. As R28 mentioned people are always talking about her talking with her male friends in the cafeteria but she is not planning to change this since her family trusts her. Similarly, R31 mentioned that "Kızıltepe knows us, especially after working at iftar tent. Normally, it is not seen usual that woman making service here, but in iftar fest tent, we make both cooking and service." Moreover, R30 and R31, R32, R33 mentioned they were hesitant to walk in Kızıltepe streets let alone make service in the dining hall or in iftar tent but they have become used to it. R 29 told me about a old saying which tells about village life; it says a frog only knows the sky as an entity which have space as much as a well top;<sup>5</sup>:

Another less explicit hindrance for the cooperative business is the boycott or avoidance of the village community of the cooperative and its business. In this regard, Kösbucağı cooperative is struggling with, at a certain rate, boycott of the families which did not join the cooperative. They said some people in the village did not support the project and waiting them to give up or fail. Also they said sometimes when the clients ask the address of pension, some villagers show the dormitory in the village.

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<sup>5</sup> Kuyu dibindeki kurbağa gökyüzünü kuyu başı kadar bilirmiş. Şey, mesela bütün insanlar o köyün yaşamına göre, düşüncelerine göre hareket emek zorundaymış gibi bir yaklaşım var; onun için sevmiyorum köyü; o düşüncelerinden dolayı, yoksa doğayı seviyorum".

In most of the cases, the women mentioned that some of the villagers, or men, people with more strict ideas about women's place (which is not at commercial business) is talking/ gossiping about them and waiting for them to fail in their business. The cooperative in Sarıcakaya, R2 mentioned men telling her "Are you not tired, why are not continuing it, why are you so ambitious about it?" She also mentioned that %60 of women's husband in their region including hers is opened minded about women's dealing with commercialized agriculture. Ayaş cooperative chair (R1) also said her husband did not want her to work in cooperative because of his fear from gossips telling that it is not women's job. R1 said "Some people think, it is not proper for a woman to work in cooperative, it is enough for her to labor in agricultural production in field and in domestic work." However, she was lucky in the sense that her mother-in-law and father-in-law has supported her and persuaded their son allowing and supporting their daughter-in-law in cooperative business. As an another example, R 14 said men here are mainly against the new things but always say "you can not be successful as a women group when she tries something new." She believes that local officers coming from elsewhere could think differently, more modern as their contemporary district director of MAFAAH who is from Artvin.

As an another example now being accepted from the community after being successful, R25 told that the men of the village at first did not want women in their cooperative and then they could not understand about what their association is. They said that they could not be successful. After they had started to build their touristic restaurant they had also re-changed the environment around the waterfall and the restaurant and they have faced problems of constructing an environment and a building with a disadvantage of being women. Some of the contracted constructors has tried to change the terms of their agreement, they have asked for wood from the Ministry of Forestry. When they have managed to change the environment conditions near waterfall and have made a renovation in the building, some of the villagers have started to send their wives to the restaurant.

Another aspect is about women's social insecurity; women are usually insured through their husbands. It is a fact which could not be thought otherwise. The opportunities of government accepting fees for social security could be used for

women but in most cases, they are not used for women. In one case, when an older woman (R13) asked about if she has social insurance, her son (R12) answered “her husband is her insurance.” The issue of insurance was also mentioned by the R1 and R3 and they said, they wish the government could enable them for social security.

The second kind of hindrances is about the conditions of underdevelopment and the decline of the prices of their products or animals and the prospective solutions for it. They are trying to find solutions to these problems in different ways. In the vegetable and fruit farming, they are trying to integrate their products more in to the product marketing by making tomato paste or drying fruits and then selling them. While R1 was successful finding a fund for tomato paste factory, R3 could not find a fund for her facility to dry tomatoes, grapes and apples. Sarıcakaya Cooperative made use of greenhouse building strategy in agricultural production to increase the market value of their products. When they can not see any option with changing their agricultural production design or product, they have found other income gathering activities in the case of Kösbucağı, Ertuğrul, Karabörk and Kuşköy. In some other cases, such as, Çadirkaya and Çayırtepe women were suggested income gathering activities for them. In Kızıltepe, the women find the way of survival through the assistance of some active women politicians within the BDP party in the municipality. In Davutoğlan (R3) was trying to make an agreement with a project company which asked from her 50 thousand TL for applying with a project. But she did not have so much money and she could not do it.

In Karabörk and Kuşköy cooperative, they have been the dairy cattle but they have received breeding cattle who were giving 5,5 kilos milk instead of 25 kilos. Even if they have feed these animals with the advised forage and advised form, they could not get that much amount of milk from the cattle. Vaccines were not also successful. R 14 was only cooperative chair who was directly challenging the local and state bureaucratic policies regarding women. She said they were blocked in their attempts for formulating income generating facilities for the women of these villages. But she was still looking for something even if her attempts in training in handiwork, her effort in taking micro credit for cattle were blocked after she had been allowed to follow the projects.

### **5.11. Members' of Organizations' Struggles, Wishes and Possibilities for Empowerment**

Most of women's wishes are about increasing their business except the cooperatives Çayırtepe which has not really started business and Davutoğlu which has decided not to continue with cooperative business. The women who are engaged in vegetable gardening were aiming to increase their economic potential and bargaining power in the case of Sarıcakaya and Akkaya. Sarıcakaya chair (R2) said that her wish is to see Sarıcakaya as a place known as greenhouse vegetable production. Akkaya chair wishes to prevent the problems in marketing unused tomatoes and other vegetables. Similarly, Kösbucağı cooperative needs more regular customers.

Women in Kızıltepe and Çadirkaya wishes to be more connected to other women's cooperatives and doing something with them. Among the women in Kızıltepe, first of all there is a solidarity about sustaining the livelihood of women who are in poverty in that small town, except this, they are planning to share all kind of problems with making other projects about disabled people, children and women who wanted to present and market their handiwork in sewing and needling. In Çadirkaya women also work for more bulk orders to include more women from their village.

In Ertuğrul village, women cooperative wishes to eliminate its debts: especially more indebted members (R17, R18). Moreover, their dreams are more about continuing sustainability of their livelihood in that village which is based on too much labor. In Karabörk and Kuşköy cooperative, the chair (R14) wants to establish something that can be left to the next generations as a tradition or example. She believes (R14) some day it could happen.

Saitabat women's village association seemed to be more dynamic and hopeful of them with its bigger numbers. Their attempts or new activities seemed to be revolving around making their small village more popular touristic center together with enlarging women's capacities in agrotourism, networking and social capital. They mention about their aims such as; "increasing women's self-esteem, women's

contribution to family income, helping poor people of our village and preserving our culture with “imece” (voluntary collective work)”

## **5.12. Conclusion to Fifth Chapter**

In this chapter, the conditions, problems and potentials for rural women’s empowerment were analyzed through a sample for rural women’s organizations in the form of women’s cooperatives, women headed rural development cooperatives and rural women’s village associations. The conditions, problems and potential of rural women’s empowerment were analyzed through discussing the psychological, social, organizational, economical and political dimensions of empowerment.

The socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the localities and common and different characteristics of the members of the organizations act as basis for enabling or disabling their potential for empowerment. One of the important elements of the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the organizations is the rural/urban characteristics of the locality. It affects their acces to nearby markets for their agricultural and other products related with their organizations’ business activities. Moreover, it also affects the way their community accepts or rejects changes in relation with their main income gathering activities and the activities of the women’s organization. It is harder for smaller communities to accept changes than larger communities. One of the respondents express this as<sup>6</sup>; “a frog who is at the bottom of a water well, knows the extent of sky as the water well shows.

In accordance with the theoretical explanations in the second chapter and discussions regarding the socio-economic conditions of Turkish agriculture under the conditions of underdevelopment in the fourth chapter, communities have problems in sustaining their livelihood with only their traditional main income gathering activity and have started to search alternative ways to survive in the localities of this study in general. Moreover, the localities with more population and more income gathering opportunity from agricultural products have more advantage in starting a new economic activity for the women’s organization in terms of economic resources

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<sup>6</sup> Bir kuyunun dibindeki kurbağa, gökyüzünü, ancak kuyunun başı kadar bilir.

especially if they plan to make something on agro-tourism which would use their local products. However, it also could mean lack of time for doing a new income gathering activity if their agricultural production requires mainly women's labor; time scheduling could always be problem as in the cases of Denizli Ertuğrul, Eskişehir Sarıcakaya, Ankara Akkaya. On the other hand, if they do not have enough money from their main income gathering activity to start a business organization such as in the example of Karabörk and Kuşköy; they could have problems regarding money because of the poverty of the locality in all the activities of the organization. Localities which have mechanized agricultural farming such as in Erzurum Çayırtepe, Erzincan Çadirkaya, even if gathering women's labor is not so big problem; women's problem is sustaining another income gathering activity other than agriculture which could also be accepted by their community such as; sewing, knitting, etc...with their limits in social networks and capabilities. In all these localities, localities with easier means of transportation to near urban centers have advantage and the reverse have disadvantage for sustaining the activities of the women's organizations. Moreover, mostly in these organizations; mainly active women are either young, unmarried or at least without children or women outside of their reproduction age. It is observed that young women with children are mostly absent in these organizations. It is assumed that having children to be taken care of seems to be obstacle for being active member in these organizations since it requires a substantial time of young women in care labor. Moreover, in most cases, younger women are more educated and/ or more eager to continue their education in either high school or in university. If women have a common ethnical or cultural identity as in the case of Kızıltepe (Kurdish) or Kestel in Bursa (Georgian); it has affected their group identity positively, with a sense of togetherness and belonging. All these characteristics act as a basis to influence their potential for their empowerment; firstly affecting economic, psychological and social empowerment and then organizational and political empowerment.

As explained before, the existence of female agency in the process of foundation of the organization has affected women's psychological and social empowerment positively in most of the cases even if they have been supported by state or other institutions or organizations. Perhaps it is because; female agency in the foundation

process shows women's intention for doing something for themselves. However, it could survive only if it has become a group activity, which could be seen with the case of Davutođlan. In this village, the head of the cooperative could not be successful in sustaining active women members for the cooperative.

As an important reason for women's economic empowerment within rural women's organizations, it could be said that gaining additional income and sustaining this income was mainly the first reason for women's involvement in the organizations. It could be said that to sustain their economic activities became problematic firstly, in relation with arranging time for women's all activities including their other labor consuming activities such as other productive tasks in agricultural, reproductive tasks in house work, child and elderly care, etc... Secondly, their activities became problematic when they have to market their products of the organization. This issue is also strongly related with social empowerment in the sense that it necessitates increasing their social network, capabilities in marketing and in the organizations' legal and bureaucratic work and also their skills in the production process.

Women's self-definition, self-awareness and perception of their group and group activities also are other matters affecting their group identity and psychological empowerment. In psychological empowerment, what is mentioned is about is related with social psychology in the sense that it is related with how individual members of the group feel about themselves within their group and in their activities. The groups which have stronger group identity have more members with higher self-esteem and belief in themselves and in the group are more advantages in sustaining their organizations' activities and overcoming the difficulties they face as an organization. Also in most of the relatively successful cases, women mentioned the act of foundation of the organization and gaining the necessary skills for managing the foundation have also changed the women's perception about themselves positively.

Organizational empowerment is more related with how women manage their organization. It becomes very important for the future of the organization in the sense that if democratic decision making structure and democratic participation in the voluntary and non-voluntary labor is achieved at some level; the members of the

organization sustain their membership in the organization. It also affects the economical empowerment since organizational empowerment enables to find additional economical resources with social networks, lobbying and knowing about legalities and bureaucratic rules and manage the existing economical resources with efficient and active accounting and control.

Organizational empowerment and social empowerment overlap or intervene with each other in the process of carrying out the activities of their organization. These processes were described by the members of the organizations as learning by doing; increasing their social networks and people they knew and learning skills for the management of the organization in accounting, in legal matters and other technical issues.

Women also faced hindrances in achieving success in their organizations because of economical problems in the main income gathering activity of their community and their organization, cultural assumptions about women's place in society preventing their existence in marketing of their products or carrying out the management of the cooperative. If the cooperative is successful, male members of the community could attempt to gain the management of the cooperative as it was done in some cooperatives in the Aegean area (these cooperatives were not researched but certain information about their management was given by officials of local District Directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Ministry).

In this study, all the dimensions of the empowerment are interrelated and overlapping in real life. It is important to say that all women's organizations aim to reach firstly economic empowerment and secondly psychological empowerment. Organizational empowerment and social empowerment are dynamic and interrelated with each other and their existence is necessary for the continuing of the organization and could positively affect the emergence or enlargement of political empowerment. Thus, it could be said that while economic and psychological empowerment is the base of all dimensions of empowerment, social and organizational empowerment could be the most dynamic process of empowerment and political empowerment is hardest dimension or outcome to achieve.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION & DISCUSSIONS

The aim of this study was to explore on the rural women's empowerment through women's organizations in rural areas in relation with the national rural development policy with socialist feminist perspective. In order to reach this aim, it is important firstly to analyze the concept of empowerment in relation with rural women's empowerment in Turkey. As it was discussed in the theoretical discussions regarding empowerment, development and female agency, the concept of empowerment was used with a critical viewpoint by DAWN thinkers challenging the existing mainstream liberal WID approach which have a modernist and capitalist approach. However, the concept of empowerment has also started to be used by mainstream development agencies in their agendas as an aimed outcome of the projects and policies. Thus, the concept has lost its critical focus when it was assumed to be achieved by development policies and projects thorough measurable steps of the projects' processes. The empowerment concept was presented with a broader sense of the concept in this study study. This understanding, as it was previously explained in study theoretical structure, is based on the different conceptualization of the concept of power and empowerment which includes power over, power within, power with others and power to. However, As Parpart, Rai and Staudt argued (2002:7) the liberal view of the mainstream international organizations consider empowerment concept with only the meaning of 'power over' which could be explained as the ability of marginalized people to convince powerful institutions and people to make change in the policies, especially in the development policies through rational discussion, evolutionary change. However, empowerment concept which includes the three different meanings includes realization of self-worth, capabilities, self-actualization, self-definition and self-determination of marginalized groups in society with an emphasis of collective power of marginalized people to make a

change in society. In this way, empowerment is described both as a process and an outcome. Thus, the conceptualization of the empowerment in feminist discourse of the GAD approach includes additional content and interpretation of the term. This term in GAD discourse is used with the other analytical tools of GAD such as, gender division of labor, access to and control over resources, types of work, influencing factors and conditions and position of women, practical and strategic interests of women and potential for transformation in the analysis of problematic areas for rural women and development policies and projects.

Thus, the general concepts of empowerment, gender and development have different meanings for different agents in society. It is also acknowledged that current rural development paradigm and development theory in general is based on the normative and ideological character of the term development. Every development theory is based on its own values and assumptions regarding the problems and related solutions of development.

The feminist development approaches starting with the 1970s liberal feminist approach of WID has suggested theoretical explanations and practices of development. These approaches are mainly influenced by the the general development theory and feminist theory they have political and scientific affinity. These approaches of WID, WAD, GAD, WCD were analyzed in relation with their historical context, general views about patriarchy and capitalism in the theoretical section of Feminism and Development. In this study, the theoretical and analytical tools of GAD approach which has been used both by radical feminist and socialist feminist approaches and gives both importance to structures of capitalism and pathriarchy has been chosen for analyzing the dynamics of the relation between development and gender.

Secondly, it is important to analyze the conditions of rural women's empowerment through the rural women's organizations in relation to the conditions of underdevelopment in Turkey which affect the development and gender development policy maker institutions/ organizations' relationships with each other and the general policy making environment. In the fourth chapter, the conditions of rural

development policy environment, the position of rural women in SPO plans, IPARD plan and GDWS commitments and plans regarding sustaining gender equality and in other institutions programs and projects about women's empowerment in Turkey were discussed to reach this aim. It could be said that national rural development policy in Turkey views women as a vulnerable category and economic empowerment of rural women through micro credit programs and income gathering activities is seen as strategy and control mechanism for rural poverty. Moreover, this understanding is also evident in other institutions /organizations micro credit programs. In relation with the GDWS's policies regarding elimination of discrimination against women, empowerment of women and sustaining gender equality is seem to be an obligatory attempt to being integrated to the general global gender mainstreaming reflected in UN's and EU's policies. Despite the fact that gender mainstreaming de-politicizes women through defining and structuring the women's movement with global projects, programs and funds, it is even difficult to establish a mainstream liberal economic empowerment policy for women in Turkey. Because the related central, regional and local state institutions and organizations, the related officials are reluctant to imply these policies as expressed some of the respondents.

As it was observed in the data gathered for this study, there are a political view differences between the national rural development policy agencies and the views of rural development NGOs. However, not all the experts working for the government are in agreement with the public rural development policies but mostly the government officials in the position of managerial positions were in a position to defend the rural development policies.

Even if this program and the general rural development policies in Turkey are reformulated officially and theoretically in relation with the principles of European Union rural development paradigm such as; participatory development, sustainable development, spatial sensitivity and mainstream gender development ideals and empowerment of women, the practical implementation of these principles in policies and projects include more complex and intense relations between actors of development such as; the local administrations and municipalities, NGO, Grassroots

Organizations, the targeted group. Despite the fact that, the legislative regulations for the implementation of these principles are enacted, the bureaucratic culture, social and cultural prejudices, the traditional viewpoints regarding women prevent the influential practice of these principles. Moreover, the internalization and implementation of these principles by these actors in relation with the “social location” or the contextual and situational position of these actors are crucial in the process and long term effects of the rural development policies and projects.

There are three areas of conflict in the rural development policies as it was expected in the theoretical discussions as well. One of them is the current position of Turkish farmers who are mainly petty commodity producers who now face the problems of the restructuring of agricultural sector. While the NGO representatives mainly acknowledge that the rural development policies which are based on the new rural development paradigm could not help the survival of the petty commodity producers in rural areas, the high level bureaucrats of state in the ministries of Development and Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry mentioned ambiguous statements about the effects of national agricultural sector policies to the petty commodity producers in agricultural sector. As an area of conflict between NGOs and state, the experts of NGOs mentioned that the principles of participatory development and sustainability of rural development policies, efficient use of government resources, coordination and cooperation between public policy making bodies or between public bodies and NGOs mostly could not be realized in the micro policies and projects of rural development. The third area of conflict is increasing women’s participation in economic life. The view points of NGOs and women experts are more critical about women’s problems but they can not formulate or act on more challenging policies regarding women’s problems because of not being independent and because of the fear of losing support from public institutions. In addition, some experts mentioned that as experts of rural development, there is a problem of not understanding the life of targeted people’s needs and problems because of acting on memorized discourse and orientations regarding the rural development paradigm and women’s development. Moreover, the women experts employed in public institutions are facing the constant problem of legitimizing their concerns and policies regarding rural women to their male colleagues and superiors and daily come face to face with

jokes or gestures to underestimate the gender issues and women's problems as it was also mentioned to be happening in the UN's offices related with women's issues by Kabeer (1994).

As a common point, nearly all the experts (both government and NGOs) and also the active members of the organizations of rural women mentioned about the problems regarding the highly bureaucratic and complex structure of the application process of the rural development projects and the dependency to international funds regarding rural development and its role in determining the agenda of rural development and gender related development policies in rural areas. Thus, it is also acknowledged by the experts that the knowledge about development policies and related concepts with development are created in relation with the international development agenda of international organizations which are tried to be imported and implemented by countries like Turkey. These observations are also in agreement with the Kabeer's (1994) arguments of the creation of knowledge of development from a westernized, positivistic and male point of view and the lack of empowerment in the sense that it means the inability of determining the aims and processes of development agenda.

As previously analyzed in the related section, the agricultural sector has been subject to changes with the convergence of agriculture and industry through innovations of biotechnology in terms of using of agricultural raw materials in differentiating foods in markets using of substitute of agricultural raw materials in foods to increase shelf life, increasing dependence of family farm on industrial inputs and capitalist forms of marketing, increasing of flexible and part-time working in agricultural sector, increasing commodification of food, increasing problems related with food and ecological concerns. All this characteristics of the change in agricultural sector together with the SAPs applied to underdeveloped countries which include the abolishment of subsidies of state to the agricultural sector, liberalization of agricultural sector with GATT agreements has increased the economic problems of small sized agricultural family enterprises and their conditions of continuing agricultural production and their conditions of survival. As an additional point the women in these family enterprises are mainly unpaid family workers whose labor is

elementary in the survival of these families as a group. Rural women are affected from the changes in the policies regarding the restructuring of agricultural sector and Structural Adjustment Programs since they are dependent to their husbands and their families for their survival in the sense that they are not in monetary relations in society but in the non-monetary relations of reproduction relations. Acker (1994) and Elson (1994) analyzed non-monetary reproductive labor of women sustains the existence of their families and the capitalist system since women's unpaid labor is assumed to be an indefinite labor force by the capitalist system. As discussed in theoretical discussions about the relation of underdevelopment and women; the informalization of women's labor, feminization of labor and feminization of rural labor and housewifization of women are some trends regarding the current problems of underdevelopment and extension of capitalism. These trends are showing that women are employed in the lowest wage, least skilled, least secure jobs, and the first to loose their jobs in the economic crisses times.

It is important to analyze changes in the rural development paradigm in relation with the changes in capitalist system, the conditions of underdevelopment and the restructuring of agricultural sector at world level with the expansion of capitalist relations to agricultural sector. The rural development paradigm based on the liberal views of development in general and supported by neo-liberal policies of capitalism. The characteristics of rural development paradigm are discussed in the theoretical chapter of rural development. The current rural development paradigm argues that rural areas could not be developed just considering the agricultural sector but through increasing commercialization of rural areas with assets of rural areas with agriculture-industry integration with small scale production of foods in rural areas, rural tourism, and local labor intensive hand made products. Also this paradigm includes sustainable development and farming economically. The rural development in this sense is supported by small and middle sized enterprise funds with participatory process. This paradigm could be a working solution to the problems of developed countries of EU with relatively more developed rural areas not in the need of investments of infrastructure and more industrialized agricultural sector. However, it could not be solution for the underdeveloped countries like Turkey, who have still a relatively high population living in rural areas and in the need for investments in

infrastructure for rural areas and have very small sized agricultural production with small parcels of arable land without necessary protections for agricultural sector helping it small sized petty commodity producers to compete with other agricultural producers in the capitalist relations of agricultural sector at the world level.

As it is explained in the section of rural development and rural women, the paradigm of rural development has formulated rural women related projects with the influence of the characteristics of the change in agricultural and food sectors and the neo-liberal policies at the agricultural sector implemented through SAPs in underdeveloped countries and the trends related with employing women as the cheapest labor force. All the rural development policies of diversifying the income generating activities in rural areas, economic farming and micro finance programs are especially related with increasing women's labor in the monetary economy without reducing their reproduction related tasks at households and thus increasing rural women's work load. In addition these rural development projects related with increasing rural women's economic role in families and in rural societies do not challenge the existing patriarchal relations since they do not offer any challenging ideas about the gender division of labor, decision making structure in families and increasing the socio-economic status of women in their household and in society. They seem to function only to guarantee the agricultural households' survival in the rural areas with increasing the exploitation of women's labor.

In this study, after the theoretical discussions, the methodological orientation of this study, which was feminist methodology, was explained in the methodology chapter. This methodology argues that all knowledge is situated in social locations and knowledge can be objective in the sense that it could acknowledge this locatedness. Thus, the marginalized and oppressed groups can be source of more objective knowledge because they have a subject position which is based on these groups' own assessment of their situation revealing the oppressing relations. Also, the process of gathering knowledge through ten rural women's organizations was elucidated in the methodology chapter,.

Thirdly, the rural women's empowerment is to be discussed from the viewpoint of active members of rural women's organizations. In the fifth chapter rural women's organizations were tried to be discussed with the question of rural women's empowerment. Rural women's empowerment through the rural women's organizations was analyzed with the psychological, social, economic, organizational and political dimensions of empowerment. These dimensions' realization is related with and overlapping with each other. The economical dimension is the dimension which is aimed by the rural women's organization and it could easily be observed by the additional income rural women gather from the organizations' activities, rural women's active control over this income and rural women's control over income and resources in their families. The organizations of rural women are mainly organized with an aim of increasing income opportunities for themselves and their families and then their local area of village or very small provinces. Even if these projects are aimed mainly to economically change the lives of them, they can be considered as a step in creating an environment for the women to increase their self-esteem and their abilities to act as a group in certain activities with an orientation towards their goals and thus a step to increase their decision making power and acting on their decisions as a group.

The psychological dimension is reflected through women's self definitions and self actualizations and it is very subjective in the sense that it is bound to the women's group identity, in-group relationships, perceptions about their lives but it is also related with the specific conditions of rural women's position in the locality of the organization, their economic success as an organization and socio-economic conditions of rural women in that locality especially in relation with their daily labor activities. Social dimension of empowerment (increasing capabilities, networking, friendship and inspiration within group, active participation within group and networking) is strongly related with women's increasing their social capital, capabilities necessary for the successful operation of their organization and their ability to network with rural women in their community with each other and with the local administrative bodies in terms of increasing their skills and capabilities and gathering information about grants, funds, etc... available to them. Organizational ability is more about organizations' having a consciousness of being economically

successful, democratic, participatory, self-questioning, self-replicating and fair especially in relation with a the division of labor in the organization and learning the necessary skills for carrying out the activities of the organization. To achieve an organizational empowerment through these activities of rural women's organization require involvement of all the members of the group to the decision making process in democratic terms. Political empowerment is observed the most difficult to achieve of all the mentioned empowerment dimensions since it necessitates all other dimensions' positive influence since it requires a strongly bound group relationship based organization with networking and lobbying skills and social capital. Political empowerment is about participating in policy making process and changing stereotypes about rural women.

In all these all dimensions, different hindrances affect rural women's empowerment in different localities since the specific cultural, socio-economic and political conditions and rural women's subjective interpretations of these conditions influence rural women's empowerment. An important element of these hindrances is about the women's socio-economic position in the household and in the community and stereotypes about the spatial distinctions between men and women both in the literal and symbolic sense in a specific local society. Conservational views about women's role and position in households, in economic life, in communities; religious affinities, economic conditions, political affinities affect rural women in different contexts in different levels and forms.

It is significant to mention influencing factors in empowerment of rural women. There are divergences in the living conditions of women in different localities and cultural norms of gender in different local contexts in Turkey. These factors affect the context of rural women in relation with their male relatives, the communities, the provincial and municipal authorities. The first of these influencing factors to analyze in relation with the empowerment of rural women is the gender division of labor in the households and in public life. In this regard, an important point of empowerment of rural women in Turkey is sustaining the women's actively involvement of decision making in their families, communities and in public and private institutional mechanisms. The rural women's active involvement in the decision making is low in

Turkey in the sense that rural women's position in their household and in the financial matters is secondary and dependent in rural areas and in society in general.

As also related with the gender division of labor in rural areas, as it is stated in the a theoretical discussion, women's labor in the household which is mainly based on subsistence farming is counted as reproductive work even it is essential for the survival of the family and it includes productive work. In the interviews with the active members of women's cooperatives, it is oftenly stated that rural women mainly does every kind of work in relation with the rural households; and mainly her work load is more than the men, who is mainly the machine user and decision-making person in the household especially in relation with the market relations and financial matters. It is stated by R1 "a man says he is successful when he makes others do something for him, a woman says she is successful when she makes, creates or does something significant". R34 also mentioned that the projects that enable women to participate in income generating activities is not automatically reducing their other duties in home regarding child care, housework or other productive works in farming. The problem of increasing work load is solved in the specific conditions of the household/ family. Generally, the increasing work load is shared by the other female members of the household and even sometimes the neighbourhood.

Moreover, the members of the women's organizations in Eskişehir and in Bursa Kestel mentioned that their husbands and other family members (children and older members) have supported them in their activities with "being emphatic and sensible" by sharing the household work in food preparing or child care and/or not being offended by the women's labor outside home at late hours of the evening. However, all these mentioning of this "being emphatic and sensible" implies there is situation out of norm in women's income generating activities outside home which either could be tolerated by or not tolerated by husbands and other family members. As an important influencing factor in the continuation of any rural women's organization is the fixedness of the conservative cultural norms and expectations about women's role in social and economic life in this specific community.

Another influencing factor to the empowerment of rural women in Turkey is their access to possession of land as the basic economic asset in the rural areas. It is a reality that the land is owned by male members of the family even woman has possession rights regarding land in law. Another related point in land ownership in Turkey, is that there is still a significant amount of arable land which is not still registered in cadastre and to the National Farmers Registry System. MFAAH is more actively involved in increasing registration to the National Farmers Registry System in the integration process to EU. Since the public bodies are concerned about the small sized landownership of the arable land, it is not expected that women will actively make decisions on the agricultural land they possess.

Within this study of ten rural women's organizations, it could be said that while economic empowerment and psychological empowerment are the base of all dimensions of empowerment, social empowerment and organizational empowerment are the most dynamic processes of empowerment and political empowerment is hardest dimension or outcome to achieve.

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## APPENDICES

### A. QUESTIONS OF INDEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH EXPERTS

1. What are the aims of rural development policy of Turkey after 1990s according to you? How these policies could be improved? (Sizce 1990 sonrası Türkiye'nin kırsal kalkınma politikasının temel amaçları neler? Bu politikayı geliştirmek için ne gibi değişimler yapılabilir?)
2. Do you think that agricultural development is still significant in rural development policies after 1990s? Why? (Sizce 1990 sonrası Türkiye'nin kırsal kalkınma politikasında tarımsal kalkınmanın önemi sürüyor mu? Neden? )
3. What do you think of the relations among state institutions, international organizations and non-governmental organizations in rural development policies? How these policies could be improved? (Sizce 1990 sonrası Türkiye'de yürütülen kırsal kalkınma çalışmalarında devlet kurumları, uluslararası kuruluşlar ve sivil toplum örgütleri arasında nasıl bir ilişki var? Bu ilişkiler nasıl geliştirilmeli?)
4. Do you think that rural women needs to be empowered related to men? If yes, with which policies and strategies could rural women be empowered? (Kırsal kadının erkekten farklı olarak güçlendirilmeye ihtiyaç duyduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Evetse, bu güçlenme hangi politika ve stratejilerle gerçekleştirilebilir?)

5. What are the main problems of rural women according to you? Is the distinction between practical solutions to daily problems and strategies to lessen the gender inequalities useful in solving these problems? (Sizce kırsal kadınların temel problemleri neler? Bu problemlerin çözümünde, günlük sorunlara dayalı pratik çözümlerle, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı eşitsizlikleri gidermeye dayalı stratejiler ayırımı yapmak faydalı olur mu? Neden?)
6. What are kind of problems are encountered in planning and implementing rural development projects having activities related with rural women? (Kırsal kalkınma projeleri hazırlanırken ve yürütülürken, kırsal kadına yönelik çalışmalarda ne gibi sorunlarla karşılaşılabilir?)

I would be delighted if you state your views in any other issues that you considered important besides the questions. (Not: Soruların dışında kırsal kalkınma ve kırsal kadın çalışmalarında önemli gördüğünüz noktalar varsa, eklerseniz, sevinirim.)

**B. QUESTIONS OF INDEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH THE ACTIVE MEMBERS OF RURAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS (IN TURKISH)**

1. Kooperatifinizi kurduktan sonra gndelik hayatınızda (evde/ ev dıřında) nasıl deęişiklikler oldu? Bu deęişiklikler sizi nasıl hissettirdi?
2. Kooperatifinizi kurduktan sonra kendiniz daha gçl, güvenli hissediyormusunuz? Neden?
3. Geleceęinizle ilgili beklentilerinizde ne gibi deęişiklikler oldu? Nasıl?
4. Kooperatifinizi kurduktan sonra gelirinizde bir deęişiklik oldu mu? Olduysa bunu nasıl deęerlendirdiniz?
5. kooperatife katılmanız aile bireyleriyle olan iliřkilerinizde deęişiklikler yarattı mı? Neler hissetmeye bařlandınız? Dřnceleriniz, duygularınız deęiřti mi? Nasıl?
6. Kooperatifinizi kurduktan sonra kydeki dięer kadınlarla (kooperatif alıřmalarına katılan ve katılmayan) iliřkileriniz deęiřti mi? Nasıl?
7. Kooperatifinize katılan dięer kadınlarla dayanıřmanız arttı mı? Nasıl? Sorunlarınızı özme konusunda birbirinize yardım ediyor musunuz?
8. Bu kydeki kadınlara ynelik ne tr alıřmaların yapılmasını istersiniz?

## **C. INFORMATION ON INTERVIEWS**

### **1. Representatives of Women Headed rural development cooperatives in Turkey**

R1:

Institutional Information: Ankara/Ayaş/Akkaya Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Chair of the Ankara/Ayaş/Akkaya Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: June 2012, Akkaya

R2:

Institutional Information: Eskişehir/ Sarıcakaya Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Chair of the Eskişehir/ Sarıcakaya Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: July 2012, Sarıcakaya

R3:

Institutional Information: Ankara/Nallıhan/Davutoğlan Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Chair of the Ankara/Nallıhan/Davutoğlan Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: July 2012, Davutoğlan

R4:

Institutional Information: Ankara/Nallıhan/Davutoğlan Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Ankara/Nallıhan/Davutoğlan Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: July 2012, Davutoğlan

R5:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Founder of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R6:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (the first women I interviewed)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R7:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (first older woman)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R8:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (Second older woman)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R9:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (the first younger woman- daughter in law of first older woman)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R10:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (husband of the first woman I interviewed)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R11:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (second younger woman)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R12:

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (brother of second younger woman)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R13

Institutional Information: Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Member of the Erzurum/ Çayırtepe Rural Development Cooperative (father of second young woman)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çayırtepe

R14:

Institutional Information: Giresun/ Karabörk ve Kuşköy Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Chair of the Giresun/ Karabörk ve Kuşköy Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: July 2012, Karabörk

R15:

Institutional Information: Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Chair of the Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Ertuğrul

R16:

Institutional Information: Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Ertuğrul

R17:

Institutional Information: Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Ertuğrul

R18:

Institutional Information: Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Denizli/Ertuğrul Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Ertuğrul

R19:

Institutional Information: Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Founder of the Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Kösbucağı

R20:

Institutional Information: Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Chair of the Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Kösbucağı

R21:

Institutional Information: Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Kösbucağı

R22:

Institutional Information: Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Kösbucağı

R23:

Institutional Information: Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Kösbucağı

R24:

Institutional Information: Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Personal Information: Active member of the Mersin/Mercan/Kösbucağı Rural Development Cooperative

Interview Date: September 2012, Kösbucağı

## **2. Representatives of Women's Village Associations in Turkey**

R25:

Institutional Information: "Saitabat Köyü Kadınları Kalkındırma ve Koruma Derneğı"

Personal Information: Chair of the "Saitabat Köyü Kadınları Kalkındırma ve Koruma Derneğı"

Interview Date: September 2011, Saitabat in Kestel / Bursa.

R26:

Institutional Information: "Saitabat Köyü Kadınları Kalkındırma ve Koruma Derneğı"

Personal Information: Member in charge of media relations of the "Saitabat Köyü Kadınları Kalkındırma ve Koruma Derneğı"

Interview Date: September 2011, Saitabat in Kestel / Bursa.

R27:

Institutional Information: "Saitabat Köyü Kadınları Kalkındırma ve Koruma Derneğı"

Personal Information: Active member of the "Saitabat Köyü Kadınları Kalkındırma ve Koruma Derneğı"

Interview Date: September 2011, Saitabat in Kestel / Bursa.

### **3. Representatives of Women's cooperatives in Turkey**

R28:

Institutional Information: Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Personal Information: Chair of the Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Interview Date: June 2012, Kızıltepe

R29:

Institutional Information: Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Personal Information: Vice Chair of the Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Interview Date: June 2012, Kızıltepe

R30:

Institutional Information: Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Personal Information: Active member Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Interview Date: June 2012, Kızıltepe

R31:

Institutional Information: Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Personal Information: Active member Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Interview Date: June 2012, Kızıltepe

R32:

Institutional Information: Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Personal Information: Active member Kızıltepe Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi

Interview Date: June 2012, Kızıltepe

R33:

Institutional Information: Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi  
(Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Personal Information: Chair of Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi  
(Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çadirkaya, Erzincan

R34:

Institutional Information: Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi  
(Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Personal Information: Active member of Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi (Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çadirkaya, Erzincan

R35:

Institutional Information: Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi  
(Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Personal Information: Active member of Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi (Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çadirkaya, Erzincan

R36:

Institutional Information: Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi (Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Personal Information: Active member of Erkadın Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi (Erzincan Çadirkaya)

Interview Date: June 2012, Çadirkaya, Erzincan

#### **4. Representatives of Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Ministry**

R37:

Institutional Information: Department of Women Farmers in Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Department is recently abolished: interview was made before its abolishment)

Personal Information: Expert in Department of Women Farmers in Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Department is recently abolished: interview was made before its abolishment).

Interview Date: September 2011, Ankara

R38:

Institutional Information: Agricultural Economics Research Institution in Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Researcher in Agricultural Economics Research Institution in Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: September 2011, Ankara

R39:

Institutional Information: Agriculture and Rural Development Support Institution in Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: An employee of Agriculture and Rural Development Support Institution in Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: September 2011, Ankara

R40:

Institutional Information: Sarıcakaya district directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Expert in (Kırsal kalkınma ve Örgütlenme müdürlüğü) of the Sarıcakaya District directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: June 2012, Sarıcakaya, Eskişehir

R41:

Institutional Information: Çanakçı district directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Veterinarian in the Çanakçı district directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: September 2012, Çanakçı, Giresun

R42:

Institutional Information: Çanakçı district directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Agricultural Engineer in the Çanakçı district directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: September 2012, Çanakçı, Giresun

R43

Institutional Information: Şanlıurfa Provincial directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Expert in (Kırsal kalkınma ve Örgütlenme müdürlüğü) of the Şanlıurfa Provincial directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: September 2012, Şanlıurfa

R44:

Institutional Information: Viranşehir District directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Expert in (Kırsal kalkınma ve Örgütlenme müdürlüğü) of the Viranşehir District directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: September 2012, Viranşehir, Şanlıurfa

R45:

Institutional Information: Mersin Provincial directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Expert in (Kırsal kalkınma ve Örgütlenme müdürlüğü) of the Mersin Provincial directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: September 2012, Mersin

R46:

Institutional Information: Afyon Provincial directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Personal Information: Expert in Afyon Provincial directorate of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Interview Date: November 2011, Konya

## **5. Representatives of NGOs and Private Companies working in rural development projects**

R47:

Institutional Information: (SÜRKAL) Sürdürülebilir Kentsel ve Kırsal Kalkınma Derneği

Personal Information: The Chairmanship of SÜRKAL

Interview Date: October 2011, Ankara

R48:

Institutional Information: (TKV) Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı

Personal Information: The Chairmanship of TKV

Interview Date: November 2011, Ankara

R49:

Institutional Information: Hüsnü Özyeğin Vakfı

Personal Information: Program Director of Hüsnü Özyeğin Vakfı

Interview Date: November 2011, Ankara

R50:

Institutional Information: Diyarbakır KIBELE Vakfı

Personal Information: Active member of Diyarbakır KIBELE Vakfı

Interview Date: December 2011, Ankara

R51:

Institutional Information: Par Danışmanlık

Personal Information: Program Director Par Danışmanlık

Interview Date: March 2012, Ankara

R52:

Institutional Information: BTC Company

Personal Information: Chair of the BTC Community Investment Program

Interview Date: June 2012, Ankara

### **Representatives of Academic Experts in Rural Development and rural women**

R53:

Institutional Information: Ankara University Agricultural Engineering Faculty

Personal Information: Professor in Ankara University Agricultural Engineering Faculty

Interview Date: November in 2011, Ankara

R54:

Institutional Information: Selçuklu University Agricultural Engineering Faculty

Personal Information: Proffesor in Selçuklu University Agricultural Engineering Faculty

Interview Date: November in 2011, Konya

## **6. Other Experts in Development and Gender**

R55:

Institutional Information: United Nations

Personal Information: Program Director of United Nations in a women related project

Interview Date: November in 2011, Ankara

R56:

Institutional Information: Directorate General of Women's Status

Personal Information: Researcher and expert in the Directorate General of Women's Status

Interview Date: November in 2011, Ankara

R57:

Institutional Information: GAP

Personal Information: Assistant in the project of "Empowerment of Women and Women in NGOs in the least developed regions (Southeastern Anatolia, East Blacksea and East Anotolia Region)

Interview Date: September in 2012, Şanlıurfa

## D. THE LISTS OF RURAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN TURKEY

### LİST 1: Women's Cooperatives in Turkey

#### Marmara Region member Women's cooperatives (20) (Urbanized Region) (20/43)

1. Bahçelievler Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Kültür Çevre İşletme Kooperatifi)
2. Beyoğlu Lider Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi)
3. Historical Eyüp Toys Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi)
4. Tomurcuk Culture Solidarity and business cooperative (İST)
5. Hope Passangers Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Kağıthane/İST)
6. First Step Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (İST)
7. İmece Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (İST)
8. Modern (Çağdaş) Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi)(Adapazarı)
9. Kardelen Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (İzmit)
10. Simge Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Kocaeli),
11. Nilüfer Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi)(Düzce)
12. Gündöndü Women Support environment Culture Business Cooperative (Kadın Destek Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Çorlu)
13. İniatiator (Öncü) Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Tekirdağ)
14. Tekirdağ Women's support and business cooperative
15. Çanakkale enterpreneur women production and marketing kooperative
16. Biga Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Çanakkale)
17. Karabiga Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Çanakkale)
18. Körfez Active women Environment development solidarity Business Cooperative (Çanakkale)
19. Nar Çiçeği Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Eskişehir)
20. Nar Kadın Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Balıkesir)

**Aegean Region (6) (6/43)**

21. Hanımeller home products consumption cooperative (Denizli)
22. İncirliova first step Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Aydın)
23. Karaburun Women Agro-tourism and business cooperative (İzmir)
24. Manisa center rural development cooperative
25. Ödemiş home based working women art cooperative (Ev Eksenli Çalışan Kadınlar Küçük Sanat Kooperatifi) (İzmir),
26. Yenipazar Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Aydın)

**Southeast Anatolia Region (8) (8/43)**

27. Suvarlı women multi purposed business cooperative i (Adıyaman)
28. Besnili active women solidarity and business cooperative (Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma İşletme Kooperatifi) (Adıyaman)
29. Bağlar struggle against violence against women communication environment culture and business cooperative (Kadına Yönelik Şiddetle Mücadele İletişim Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Diyarbakır)
30. Hope of light Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Diyarbakır)
31. Gaziantep Women Culture Environment and development Cooperative
32. İpekyolu Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Mardin)
33. Kızıltepe Support women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Destek Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Mardin)
34. Mezopotamya Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Şanlıurfa)

**East Anatolia Region (8/43)**

35. Life women environment culture business cooperative (Van)
36. Bostaniçi women support environment culture business cooperative Destek Çevre Kültür İşletme Kooperatifi (Van)
37. Doğubayazıt Women support environment and business cooperative
38. Erkadın Kadın Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Erzincan)

**Central Anatolia Region (5/43)**

39. Ankara Zeytindalı Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi)
40. Kırk Örük struggle against women cooperative (Ankara)
41. From cocoon to silk home based working women cooperative (Ankara)-textile; making bags mostly
42. Hanımeli Women Culture Environment Business Cooperative (Kadın Çevre Kültür ve İşletme Kooperatifi) (Kayseri)  
(In the process of abolition: food business (traditional mantı))

**Blacksea Region (1/43)**

43. Women solidarity cooperative producing Ladik fabric (Samsun): It has been closed, members whereabouts are unknown.

## LIST 2: Women's Agricultural Development Cooperatives in Turkey

Women's Agricultural Development Cooperatives are listed at the table below.

**Table 12: Women's Agricultural Development Cooperatives List\***

No	Location and Name	Area of Activity	Date of Foundation and acception to the program	N. of Members	Current situation	Budgeted From
<b>Central Anatolia Region (14/36≈ %39) 3 Chosen</b>						
1	Aksaray-Güzelyurt-Gaziemir TKK	70*2 Dairy Farming (süt sağırcılığı )	- 200 5	50	Active	KASDP
<b>2 chosen</b>	Ankara- Ayaş-Akkaya TKK	Vegetable Gardening (Sebzecilik)	2007 -	19	Interviewed with the head of the Cooperative	Ankara İl Özel İdare
<b>3 chosen</b>	Ankara-Nallıhan-Davutoğlu	Vegetable Gardening (Sebzecilik)	2007 -	12	Interviewed with the head of the Cooperative	Ankara İl Özel İdare
4	Karaman-Merkez-Kisecik TKK	50*6 Breeding Cattle (damızlık sığır)	2007 - 2007	45k+5e	The head of the cooperative is now a men and women and men are members.	Genel Bütçe
5	Karaman-Sarveliler-Sarveliler TKK		2008 – 2009	54	Active; iniative is a men; both men and women members.	KASDP
6	Eskişehir – Mihalgazi-Mihalgazi TKK	116*500m <sup>2</sup> Greenhouse cultivation (seracılık)	2004 - 2005	119	Active, smaller- less developed then Sarıcakaya Cooperative	KASDP
<b>7 chosen</b>	Eskişehir – Sarıcakaya – Sarıcakaya TKK	71*500m <sup>2</sup> Greenhouse cultivation (seracılık)	2004 - 2005	157	Interviewed with the head of the Cooperative	KASDP
8	Kırşehir-Çiçekdağı – Büyüktefelek TKK	50*25 Sheep Raising (koyunculuk)	2005 - 2005	50	Cooperative has been shutdown.	KASDP
9	Kırşehir-Çiçekdağı – Alahacılı, Safalı, Armutlu, Tepecik	51*25 Sheep Raising (koyunculuk)	2008 - 2008	51	It has become smaller, now mainly executed by men.	KASDP
10	Kırşehir – Merkez-Körpınar TKK		2007 -	42		

**Table 12 (continued)**

No	Location and Name	Area of Activity	Date of Foundation and acceptance to the program	No of Members	Current situation	Budget From
<b>Central Anatolia Region (14/36≈ %39) 3</b>						
11	Konya- Ilgın-Büyükoba TKK	50*50 Sheep Raising (koyunculuk)	2007	76	It has been shutdown.	Genel Bütçe
12	Kütahya-Tavşanlı-Çukurköy TKK	50*4 Breeding Cattle (damızlık sığır)	2005 - 2007	55	It has been given credits for building barn.	Genel Bütçe
13	Nevşehir-Gülşehir-Yeniyaylacık TKK	?	2010 -	42		
14	Yozgat-Kadışehir-Kadışehir	?	2010 -	8		
<b>Southeastern Anatolian Region (4/36=11%) 1</b>						
15	Adıyaman-Merkez-Koçail TKK	50*25 Sheep Raising (koyunculuk)	2005	50	It has previously been a women's cooperative but its board of directors have been taken by men and it is @now in the process of shut down.	KASDP
16	Mardin-Derik-Pınarcık TKK	100*2 Dairy Farming (süt sığırcılığı )	2007	105	It has been managed and directed by a male big landowner. Women's membership is only in paper.	KASDP
17	Şanlıurfa- Suruç-Suruç TKK	they could not have decided on what to do. Perhaps can do something later on.	2008	156	It is the only cooperative in Southeastern region with women's administration but not active,	Have not used any fund yet.
18	Şanlıurfa-Viranşehir – Demirci TKK	Dairy Farming (süt sığırcılığı )	2007	28	It has been not active, and it is managed by a male big landowner. Women's membership is only in paper.	KASDP

**Table 12 (continued)**

<b>Eastern Anatolia Region (4/36=11%) 1 chosen</b>						
<b>No</b>	<b>Location and Name</b>	<b>Area of Activity</b>	<b>Date of Foundation and acception to the program</b>	<b>No. of Mem-bers</b>	<b>Current situation</b>	<b>Budgete d From</b>
19	Bitlis- Merkez – Bitlis Merkez TKK		2011 -	30		
20 <b>CHOSEN</b>	Erzurum – Merkez-Çayırtepe TKK	59*2 Dairy Farming (süt sığırıcılığı )	2004 - 2004	100	Interviewed with the head of the Cooperative & Active members	KASDP
21	Hakkari – Yüksekova- Yüksekova TKK	?	2007 -	20		
22	Muş – Merkez – Sundu Beldesi TKK	30*10 Breeding Cattle (damızlık sığır)	2010 -	30		KASDP
<b>Blacksea Region (4/36=11%) 1 Chosen</b>						
23	Amasya- Merkez-Şeyhsadi-TKK	50*6 Breeding Cattle (damızlık sığır)	- 2008	60	Active	Genel Bütçe
24	Çorum- Mecitözü – Köprübaşı TKK	50*4 Breeding Cattle (damızlık sığır)	2003 – 2007	90	Active	Genel Bütçe
25 <b>CHOSEN</b>	Giresun – Çanakçı- Karabörk, Kuşköy TKK	Dairy Farming (süt sığırıcılı.)	2007 -	72	Interviewed with the head of the Cooperative	KASDP
26	Zonguldak- Devrek – Merkez, Çobanpehlivan, Dedeoğlu TKK		2010 -	24		

**Table 12 (continued)**

<b>Aegean Region (5/36=13,8%) 1 Chosen</b>						
<b>No</b>	<b>Location and Name</b>	<b>Area of Activity</b>	<b>Date of Foundation and acception to the program</b>	<b>No. of Mem-bers</b>	<b>Current situation</b>	<b>Budgeted From</b>
<b>27 CHO SEN</b>	Denizli – Güney-Ertuğrul TKK	50*2 Dairy Farming (süt sığırıcılığı)	2004 -2005	67	Interviewed with the head of the Cooperative & Active members	KASDP
28	İzmir- Kiraz-Yağlar TKK	100*2 Dairy Farming (süt sığırıcılığı)	2003 -2004	103	Cooperative is in the process of shutdown- the head of cooperative is contacted with	KASDP
29	İzmir- Ödemiş – Kaymakçı TKK	100*2 Dairy Farming (süt sığırıcılığı)	2004 -2006		The board of directors changed members; now consisting of men.	KASDP
30	Manisa– Turgutlu – Urganlı TKK	100*2 Dairy Farming (süt sığırıcılığı)	-2006	100	The board of directors changed members; now consisting of men.	KASDP
31	Manisa- Merkez- M. Merkez TKK	Handcrafts and also a member of the other list of women cooperatives	2008 -	46	It has not been chosen because it is located in city center and activated in non-rural activities.	

**Table 12 (continued)**

<b>Mediterranean Region (3/36=11%) 1 Chosen</b>						
32	Kilis – Merkez-Kocabeyli, Karaçavuş, Süngütepe, Saatli TKK	50*25 Sheep raising (koyunculuk)	2008- 2009	104	The board of directors changed members; now consisting of men.	KASDP
33 <b>chosen one</b>	Mersin – Erdemli - Kösbucağı TKK	Rural Tourism	2010 -	17	Interviewed with the head of the Cooperative & Active members.	Have been granted funds in the foundation process from Çukurova Development Agency
34	Mersin – Erdemli – Değirmençayı TKK	Rural Tourism	2011 -	15	Cooperative has been in the process of shutdown.	
<b>Marmara Region (3/36=11%) None Chosen</b>						
35	Bolu - Kıbrısçık-Sarıkaya TKK	30*10 damı sığır (breeding cattle)	2007- 2007-	30	Cooperative has been shutdown.	Genel Bütçe
36	Bursa- İnegöl-Aşağıbalık, yukarıbalık TKK	90*2 (Süt sığırcılığı) Dairy Farming	2004- 2006-	90	Cooperative is in the process of shutdown-	KASDP

## E. SOME TABLES REGARDING AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN TURKEY

**Table 13: GDP per capita in 2001**

OECD class	GDP per capita in Euro	Share of population %
Wholly rural	1.372	18,9
Predominantly rural	1.399	20,9
Intermediate	1.945	42,7
Predominantly urban	3.002	17,5
<b>Total Turkey</b>	<b>1.907,12</b>	<b>100,0</b>
		67.803.927

Source: IPARD programme (T.C. ARDSI, 2011a:59) as elaborations on TURKSTAT data

As the table 13 indicates, “Predominantly urban” areas, which includes 17, 5 % of the total Turkish population, had an average income in 2001 of 3.002 Euro. This amount is twice of the income of “wholly rural” areas (1.372 Euro) which includes the 18, 9 % of the total population. “Intermediate areas”, includes 42, 7 % of the total population and GDP have also an intermediate level of income with 1.945 Euro. Predominantly rural areas have an average income of 1.399 Euro income and include 20, 9 of total population.

**Table 14: The Sector Shares (%) of GDP for the Period 1998-2008 with Ruling Prices based on the year 1998.**

Sectors	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Agriculture	12,5	10,5	10,1	8,8	10,3	9,9	9,5	9,4	8,3	7,6	7,6
Industry	26,8	24,9	23,0	22,4	21,0	20,9	20,3	20,3	20,1	20,0	19,7
Services	60,7	64,6	66,9	68,8	68,7	69,2	70,2	70,3	71,6	72,4	72,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: T.C. Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA) (2011:48)

From the table 14, it can be seen that while the contribution of agricultural sector and industrial sector to gross domestic production (GDP) has decreased, the contribution of service sector to GDP has increased 12 percent from the year 1998 to 2008. Another important dimension to see the agricultural sector’s overall situation in the Turkey economics is the import and export level. As the T.C. SPO declared

(2011:49), even if the relative contribution of agriculture to GDP has decreased, the expansion in the agricultural trade indicates a dynamic market in agricultural sector.

**Table 15: The Sectoral Distribution of Exports and Imports**

<b>Exports</b>	<b>2005</b>		<b>2008</b>	
<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Million Dolars</b>	<b>Percentages</b>	<b>Million Dolars</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
Agricult. &Animal H.	3.314	4,51	3.924	2,97
Fishery	140	0,19	240	0,18
Food Produ. & Beverages	4.272	5,80	6.476	4,90
<b>Total Exports</b>	73.476	100,0	132.027	100,0
<b>Imports</b>	<b>2005</b>		<b>2008</b>	
<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Million Dolars</b>	<b>Percentages</b>	<b>Million Dolars</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
Agricult. &Animal H.	2.542	2,18	6.151	3,05
Fishery	24	0,02	41	0,02
Food Produ. & Beverages	2.114	1,81	3.763	1,86
<b>Total Imports</b>	116.774	100,0	201.964	100,0

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:48) Elaborated From TURKSTAT

As it can be seen from the table 15, while the export of processed agricultural products and food and increased and the import of agricultural raw materials has also increased.

**Table 16: Change in the Share of Agricultural Employment in Total Employment in Turkey, in Urban and in Rural Areas**

Years	Non-Institutional Civil Population	Turkey		
		Total Employment	Agricultural Employment	
1990	55.294	18.539	8.691	
2000	66.187	21.580	7.769	
2005	67.227	20.067	5.154	
2008	69.724	21.194	5.016	
Change (%)	26,1	14,3	-42,3	
Years	Urban		Rural	
	Total Employment	Agricultural Employment	Total Employment	Agricultural Employment
1990	7.715	383	10.823	8.308
2000	11.104	419	10.477	7.350
2005	13.126	697	6.940	4.457
2008	14.010	647	7.184	4.369
Change (%)	81,6	68,9	-33,6	-47,4

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:45) elaborated from TURKSTAT HLF Statistics

As seen in the table 16 elaborated by Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (2011: 48), there is also considerable number of agricultural labor in urban areas. In the time period between 1990- 2008 the employment in agriculture has increased by 68, 9 percent in the urban areas (with a population over 20 thousand) which indicates an overall increase in the agricultural activities. However, agricultural employment has decreased 47, 4 percent in rural areas, 42, 3 percent in overall Turkey from the year 1990 to 2008 which indicates that agricultural activities are decreasing in rural areas. If we consider which economic sectors in Turkey employ people in Turkey in urban and rural areas, we could understand the general tendencies of the economy.

As it can be seen from the table 17 below, we can see that agricultural employment has decreased 49 percent, in Turkey in general but the services sector employment has increased 47 percent and industrial sector employment has increased 37 percent from the year 1990 to 2008. Furthermore, it can be seen from the table 18 that this general trend of change in the decrease of employment in agricultural sector and increase in the other sectors more clearly can be seen in the rural areas, rather than urban areas whose employment structure changed less dramatically. The agricultural employment is in a decreasing trend with much greater numbers in rural areas while industrial and service sector employment are increasing in rural areas. But as an interesting data, industrial employment is also decreasing in urban areas while

agricultural sector employment is more or less stable in urban areas. The service sector employment is the only increasing employment type in urban areas.

**Table 17: The Distribution of Employment in Relation with Location and Sectors (In Percentages)**

Sectors	Turkey						
	1990	1995	2000	2004	2005	2008	Change %
Agriculture	46,9	44,1	36,0	34,0	25,7	23,7	-0,49
Industry	15,3		17,7	18,3	20,8	21,0	0,37
Services	37,8		46,3	47,7	53,5	55,4	0,47
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Sectors	Urban						
	1990	1995	2000	2004	2005	2008	Change %
Agriculture	5,0		3,8		5,3	4,6	-0,08
Industry	29,2		27,3		27,5	26,7	-0,09
Services	65,9		68,9		67,2	68,7	0,04
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Sectors	Rural						
	1990	1995	2000	2004	2005	2008	Change %
Agriculture	76,8	77,1	70,2	67,5	64,2	60,8	-0,21
Industry	5,5		7,5		8,2	9,7	0,76
Services	17,8		22,4		27,6	29,5	0,66
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:46) elaborated from TURKSTAT Household Labor Force Statistics

**Table 18: The Indicators for Labor Force in Rural Areas**

Years	Non-institutional Civil popul.	Labor Force	Total Emp.	Labor Force Parti. Rate	Unemployment Rate	Non-agric. Unemp. Rate	Emp. Rate	Unemploy. Popul.
1990	27.119	11383	10.823	66,9	4,9	16,6	63,6	5.630
2000	27.272	10902	10.477	58,7	3,9	10,2	56,4	7.679
2005	20.125	7408	6.940	52,1	6,3	14,8	48,8	6.812
2008	21.375	7742	7.184	51,4	7,2	15,4	47,7	7.332
Change (%)	-21,2	-32,0	-33,6	-23,2	46,9	-7,0	-25,0	30,2

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:46)

As it can be seen from the table 18, the decrease in non-institutional civil population is less than the decrease in the total employment in rural areas. Moreover, there is a spontaneous decrease in labor force and total employment. Besides, there is also a

decrease in labor participation rate and increase in unemployment. These tendencies indicate that there is a population in agriculture who has continued to live in rural areas after leaving the employment. This group is analyzed (MARA, 2011:46) to be mostly old people and women. As Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (2011:46) declared, even if the employment in agriculture has been declining, it still seems to be the primary economic activity in the rural areas. It is stated that the 25% of total population in Turkey is still living in the villages with no other alternative income other than agriculture.

**Table 19: Basic Labor Force Indicators in Percentages**

Labor force indicators	Turkey				Urban				Rural			
	1990	2000	2005	2008	1990	2000	2005	2008	1990	2000	2005	2008
Labor force participation rate	56,6	49,9	46,4	46,9	47,2	44,1	44,1	45,0	66,9	58,7	52,1	51,4
Employment rate	52,1	46,7	41,5	41,7	41,5	40,2	38,4	39,2	63,6	56,4	48,8	47,7
Unemployment rate	8,0	6,5	10,6	11,0	12,1	8,8	12,8	12,8	4,9	3,9	6,3	7,2

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:45) constructed the table using TURKSTAT data

As the table 19 indicates, while the labor force participation rate and employment rate is decreasing in urban and rural areas of Turkey and in Turkey in general, unemployment is increasing in urban and rural areas of Turkey and in Turkey in general. As an interesting point, all indicators are in much greater numbers in rural areas, showing a more clear change of employment in rural areas.

**Table 20: Irrigated and Non-irrigated Lands (Decare)**

Yillar	Irrigated land	%	Non-irrigated land	%	Total land By holdings	%
2001 (1)	34.545.882	20,1	137.108.752	79,9	171.654.634	100
1991	30.935.454	14,4	183.559.370	85,6	214.494.824	100
1980	27.982.831	13,6	177.951.529	86,4	205.934.360	100

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:52) (taken from TURKSTAT 2001, TURKSTAT 1991 and TURKSTAT 1980 general agricultural census agricultural holdings (household) (numbers were rounded up).

As the table 20 indicates, in contrast with the decrease in the total land possessed by the holdings, there is an increase in the lands which could be irrigated. Moreover,

As T.C. MARA plan (2011:52) states, by the year 2005, 49 million decare land are to be irrigated which means there is 21 million decare increase in the land which is irrigated. This situation would mean the increasing need for labor force in agriculture. The plan also claims that with the increase in the irrigated land to 65 m. decare, an additional 2 million agricultural workers would be employed. Furthermore, the plan stated that the irrigation of agricultural lands increase average agricultural income to 310 TL/ da from 60 TL/ da with 2004 data of general directorate of hydraulic works. Table 21 is showing the numbers of parcel and scale of lands in the possession of farm households in Turkey, to analyze the change in the rural land scale structure of Turkey.

**Table 21: The Numbers of Parcel in the Agricultural Lands and Scale of Lands per Farming Households (Decare)**

Years	Total Number of AgricultureH ouseholds	Total Number of Parcels	Total Land (Decare)	Number of Parcels per Household.	Average Parcel Length	Average H. Scale
2001 (1)	3.022.127	12.323.405	184.348.223	4,1	15,0	61,0
1991	3.966.822	21.601.272	234.510.993	5,4	10,9	59,1
1980	3.558.815	22.903.948	227.640.289	6,4	9,9	64,0

Source: T.C. MARA (2011: 50) (taken from TURKSTAT 2001, TURKSTAT 1991 and TURKSTAT 1980 general agricultural census agricultural holdings (household) (numbers were rounded up).

Regarding the data in the table 21, the MARA plan (2011:49) argues that together with a decrease in sectional structure of lands, a substantial number of agricultural lands have been abandoned. The reason behind this interpretation is that the parcel length increased with a decrease in the number of parcels per holdings. In addition, average enterprise scale in agriculture has decreased together with the decrease in the number of agricultural holdings.

**Table 22: Possession Structure of Agricultural Farming Households**

Year	Variab.	Farming in self-owned land (1)	%	Farming in self-owned and other land	Ave. Parcel length	Only farming in others land	%	Aver. housh. Scale
<b>2001 (3)</b>	Number of househ.	2597111	85,9	317327	10,5	107686	3,6	3022127
	Land acreage	143424266	77,8	34227597	18,6	6696360	3,6	184348223
<b>1991</b>	Number of househ.	3672085	92,6	229304	5,8	65433	1,6	3966822
	Land acreage	209422087	89,3	22854792	9,7	2234114	1,0	23451093
<b>1980</b>	Number of househ.	3223754	90,6	270107	7,6	64954	1,8	3558815
	Land acreage	197285923	86,7	26287592	11,5	4066774	1,8	227640289

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:51) (taken from TURKSTAT 2001, TURKSTAT 1991 and TURKSTAT 1980 general agricultural census agricultural holdings (household) (numbers were rounded up).

As it can be seen from the table 22, from 1980 to 2001, the number of renting and sharecropping house holdings has increased together with the land they have utilized. This situation indicates that the farmers more frequently have increased the acreage of land to achieve efficiency through increasing the scale of agricultural production especially after the migration of some of the land owners.

**Table 23: Number of Holdings According to Economic Activity Type**

Years	Number of Farming Househo. with Land	Number of Farming Househo. Without Land	Total Number of Total Farming Househo.	Number of Farming Househo. Engaged in both Crop Prod. & Animal Husba.	Number of Farming househ. Engaged Only with Crop Produc.	Number of Farmin Househol. Engaged Only in Animal Husbandry
<b>2001(3)</b>	3.022.127	54.523	3.076.650	2.074.439	929.582	72.629
<b>%</b>	98,2	1,8	100,0	67,4	30,2	2,4
<b>1991</b>	3.966.822	101.610	4.068.432	2.935.055	993.685	139.692
<b>%</b>	97,5	2,5	100,0	72,1	24,4	3,4
<b>1980</b>	3.558.815	92.095	3.650.910	3.140.638	418.177	92.095
<b>%</b>	97,5	2,5	100,0	86,0	11,5	2,5

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:51) (taken from TURKSTAT 2001, TURKSTAT 1991 and TURKSTAT 1980 general agricultural census agricultural holdings (household) (numbers were rounded up).

As it can be seen from the table 23; the total number of farm holdings, number of farm holdings both breeding livestock and producing plant and the number of farm holdings without land decreased at the same time. This could indicate that the subsistence farming which is based on producing plant and breeding livestock at the same time is showing a decreasing tendency. In order to increase understanding of what type of agricultural production is taking place, the land is classified according to the products in table 25.

**Table 24: Land Utilization by Agricultural Holdings (Decare)**

Years	Total Land Under the Possession of Farming Households (2)	Total Land Cultivated by Farming Households	Sown Areas	Vegetable Garden	Fruit, Vineyard, Grove and Other Permanent Plants	Fallow Lands	Total* Other Lands
		A+B+C+D	A	B	C	D	
2001 (1)	184.348.223	171.654.634	122.539.119	3.715.120	18.024.791	27.375.604	12.693.594
1991	234.510.993	214.494.824	157.848.470	5.211.652	19.400.588	32.034.114	20.016.169
1980	227.640.289	205.934.360	130.902.876	3.151.621	14.775.144	57.104.719	21.705.929
Change %	-19,0	-16,6	-6,4	17,9	22,0	-52,1	-41,5

Source: T.C. MARA (2011:52) (taken from TURKSTAT 2001, TURKSTAT 1991 and TURKSTAT 1980 general agricultural census agricultural holdings (household) (numbers were rounded up).

\*permanent meadow and pasture, forestry, woodland,, unused and undeveloped potentially productive land, non-agricultural land.

It can be seen in the table 24 that the total land under the possession of farming households is decreasing together with the total land farming cultivated by farming households. It can be also be seen from the table 25 that 69 percent of total agricultural production is crop production, 19 percent is follow land, 3 percent is vegetables, 2 percent is olive tree areas, and 2 percent is vineyard in 2001 data (TURKSTAT 2001). Furthermore there is an increase in the land utilized for fruit and vegetable farming from the year 1980 to 2001. This could be based on the fact that fruit and vegetable farming is more commercialized which make them preferable when some members of the household migrated to urban areas for other job opportunities. In addition to the data from 1980 to 2001 about the usage of land

possessed by farm households, the utilization of agricultural land in different utilizations is in the table 25 and table 26.

**Table 25: The Utilization of Agricultural Land In Turkey (1000ha)**

Year	Total Agri. Land *	Total Cultivated Agri. Land & Total Preennial Land **	T. Cult. Agri. Land & Preennial Land / T. Agricul. Land %	Total Cultivated Agri. Land	Total Cultivated Land / Total Agricul. Land %	Total Preennial Land	Permanent Meadow and pasture	Area of Forestry
2001	40967	26350	0,64	23800	0,581	2550	14617	20703
2002	41196	26579	0,64	23994	0,582	2585	14617	20703
2003	40645	26028	0,64	23372	0,575	2656	14617	20703
2004	41210	26593	0,64	23871	0,579	2722	14617	21189
2005	41223	26606	0,64	23830	0,578	2776	14617	21189
2006	40496	25879	0,63	22984	0,568	2895	14617	21189
2007	39505	24888	0,63	21979	0,556	2909	14617	21189
2008	39122	24505	0,62	21555	0,551	2950	14617	21189

Source: T.C. MAFAAH (2009:15) TURKSTAT (2009:198) Turkey Statistical Yearbook.

\*total agricultural land is the sum up the total cultivated agricultural land, total preennial land and land for permanent meadow and pasture.

\*\*this column is the showing the total cultivated agricultural land and total preennial land.

As it can be seen from the table 25 above, while the total cultivated lands and total agricultural land is decreasing, total preennial land and areas of forestry is increasing in Turkey. In relation with this, the ratio of preennial land in total agricultural land is increasing in relation to other cultivated areas while the permanent meadow and pasture areas remain the same. As the continuation of the table 25, the table 26 is the detailed data of the total cultivated agricultural land and total preennial land.

**Table 26: Total Land Area for Cerials and Other Crops in Lands in Turkey ,  
(1000 ha)**

<b>Total land area for cerials and other crops (1000 ha)</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Cultivated Agricultural Land (2)</b>	<b>Sown Area</b>	<b>Fallow Land</b>	<b>Area of Vegetable Gardens</b>
2001	23800	18087	4914	799
2002	23994	18123	5040	831
2003	23372	17563	4991	818
2004	23871	18110	4956	805
2005	23830	18148	4876	806
2006	22984	17440	4691	853
2007	21979	16945	4219	815
2008	21555	16460	4259	836
<b>Total Prennial Land (1000 ha)</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Prennial Land (3)</b>	<b>Area of Fruits, Beverage And Spices Crops</b>	<b>Area of Vineyard</b>	<b>Area of Olive Trees</b>
2001	2550	1425	525	600
2002	2585	1435	530	620
2003	2656	1501	530	625
2004	2722	1558	520	644
2005	2776	1598	516	662
2006	2895	1670	513	712
2007	2909	1671	485	753
2008	2950	1693	483	774

Source: T.C. MAFAAH (2009:15) TURKSTAT (2009:198) Turkey Statistical Yearbook.

As it can be seen from the table 26, while the sown area and fallow land is decreasing, area of vegetable lands is increasing in the cultivated land. Besides, the prennial land is increasing together with its components of area of fruits, beverage and spices crops and area of olive trees while the area of vineyard is decreasing.

**Table 27: State of Agricultural Affairs in Irrigation, Consolidation & Afforestation.**

	<b>2006</b>	<b>2013</b>
State irrigation affairs irrigation area (net cumulative)	2,55 million hectare	3,00 million hectare
General agriculture reform directory land consolidation activity (cumulative)	0,60 million hectare	1,27 million hectare
Industrial and land conservation afforestation (cumulative)	2,60 million hectare	3,30 million hectare

Source: T.C. SPO (2006a:61).

Furthermore, as it can be seen from the table 27, irrigated areas are planned to be increased to 3 million hectare, afforestation areas are to be increased to 3, 30 million hectare and the consolidation activity to be extended to the 1,27 million hectare.

## F. CURRICULUM VITAE

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1990-1997	A. Menderes Bahçelievler Anatolian Highschool
1997-2001	B. A. in Sociology, Middle East Technical University (METU)
2001-2004	M. S. in Science and Technology Policy Studies, METU
2001-2011	B.A. in Economics, Anadolu University
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2007-2013	Research Assistant in Sociology Department in METU
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### Research Interests

Feminist Theory, Gender and Development and Rural Sociology

## G. TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma GAD Yaklaşımı ve DAWN inisiyatifini sosyalist feminist bir perspektifle yorumlayarak, kırsal kadınların güçlenmesindeki koşullar, problemler ve potansiyelleri kırsal kadın örgütlerine dair bir örnekleme (iki kadın kooperatifi, yedi kırsal kalkınma kooperatifi ve bir köy kadın derneği) analiz etmektedir. Belirtilen kadın örgütleriyle kırsal kadınların güçlenmesini etkileyen süreçler olarak; kadınların kalkınma sürecindeki konumları, azgelişmişliğin Türkiye tarımına ve kırsal kadınların sosyo-ekonomik ve politik konumlarına ve koşullarına etkileri, Dünya’da ve Türkiye’de kırsal kalkınma politikalarının hem tarıma hem de kırsal kadına yönelik geçirdiği değişim gibi faktörler incelenmiştir.

Bu çalışmada, Friedman (1991), Lennie (2002) ve Allahdadi (2011)’in geliştirdikleri modellerin birleştirilmesiyle oluşturulan bir modelle; kırsal kadınların kadın örgütleriyle güçlenmesi, güçlenmenin psikolojik, ekonomik, sosyal, örgütsel ve politik boyutlarıyla analiz edilmiştir. Psikolojik örgütlenme, kadınların öznel pozisyonları ve kimlikleriyle ilgili olduğu için kadınların güçlenmesinin önemli bir boyutu olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Charles (1996), Greenwood (1996) ve Sandoval (1991) de belirttiği gibi; kadınların öznel pozisyonları toplumsal hayatta üstlendikleri rollerin ve kimliklerin çeşitliliği ve ayrılığı sebebiyle parçalanmış olarak düşünülebilir. Bu durumda psikolojik güçlenme süreci de kadınların kendi değerleri, yetenekleri hakkında daha olumlu bir görüş kazandıkları, yalnız olmadıkları ve bir gruba ait oldukları hissiyatını geliştirdikleri bir süreç olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır (Lennie: 2002). Eğer kadınlar, kendileri için stratejik kimliklerini kendilerini tanımlama, gerçekleştirme ve kendi adlarına karar verme yoluyla oluştururlarsa, kadınlar kendi hayat koşullarını yorumlamak, değiştirmek istediklerine karar vermek ve değiştirmek için yeni bir bilinç kazanabilirler. Kadınların Charles (1996) ve Roseneil (1996) belirttiği gibi stratejik veya birleşmiş bir kimlik edinmeleri süreci güçlenme süreçlerine dahil olabilir; ve üzerinde gücü olma (power over), içerden güçlenme (power within), birlikte güçlenme (power with others), bir şeye gücü olma (power to) gibi farklı güçlenme tanımlamalarını içerebilir. Bütün bu güç

tanımlamaları aynı zamanda güçlenmenin psikolojik, ekonomik, sosyal, örgütsel ve politik boyutlarını içerir. Üzerinde gücü olma bazı şeylerin gerçekleşmesini sağlamak olarak düşünüldüğünde örgütsel, sosyal, ekonomik ve politik boyutları içerebilir. İçeriden güçlenme daha çok bireysel bilinçlenme ve psikolojik güçlenmeyle ilgiliyken, birlikte güçlenme sosyal, örgütsel ve politik boyutları içererek daha çok grup olarak örgütlenme, birlikte ortak hedefler doğrultusunda çalışma ve politikleşme anlamına gelir.

Kabeer (1994) içeriden güçlenmeyi (empowerment from within); kadınların hayatında değişmez veya tartışılmaz olarak kabul edilen olguları derinlemesine düşünme, analiz etme ve değerlendirmeyi içeren, bireysel görünen problemlerin sosyal sebeplerini açığa kavuşturan bir süreç olarak tanımlamıştır.

Güçlenmenin ikinci boyutu olarak, sosyal güçlenme, kadınların analitik becerilerini geliştirme, sosyal ağlarını arttırma gibi soyut yetkinliklerini arttırmasıyla ilgilidir. Örgütsel güçlenme ise kadınların kendilerinin belirledikleri hedeflerine ulaşmak için örgütsel yapılar kurma süreçlerini içerir. Bu süreç hem örgütleri yönetmek için hem becerilerini arttırmalarını hem de katılımcı, demokratik ve adil yönetim araçları geliştirmelerini içerir. Politik güçlenme ise farklı kimlikleri de olabilen farklı kadın gruplarının benzer hedefler için yerel, ulusal ve hatta uluslararası ortak çalışması olarak düşünülebilir.

Güçlenmenin bu tanımlamaları ve boyutlarına bağlı olarak, kalkınma ve güçlenme arasındaki ilişkiyi, kalkınmanın yerel, ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde, öncelikleri ve hedefleri farklı ve zaman çatışabilen kalkınma örgüt ve kurumlarını içerdiğini düşünerek kurabiliriz. Bu kurum ve örgütlerinin kendi içlerinde ve birbiriyle güç ilişkilerinin de kaynakları ve olanaklı kalkınma politika, program ve projelerini kontrol etmekle ilişkili olduğunu dikkate almak gerekir. Biraz önce belirtilen boyutlarda kadınların güçlenmesi, kadınların kendi kalkınma politika, program ve projeleri için mücadele vermesiyle ilişkilidir. Ancak, bu mücadeleyi genelde alt sınıftan gelen kırsal kadınların vermesi, bu kadınların yerel, ulusal ve uluslararası kalkınma örgüt ve kurumlarına ulaşması oldukça zor olduğundan, oldukça zorlu bir iş gibi görünüyor. Ayrıca güçlü kalkınma kurumları kendi politikalarını, özne

konumunun tarafsız olduđu, bilimsel ve pozitivist bilimsel anlayıřa gre şekillendirmektedir. Byle oluřturulan politikalar; gayri safi yurtiçi hasıla, bte aıđı gibi soyut deđerlere nem verirken, politikaların znde olması gereken, insanların yařama kořullarını iyileřtirmek iin uđrařmadıđı belirtilerek feminist kalkınma kuramları ve dřnrleri tarafından eleřtirilmiřtir.

Bu dřnrlerin zerinde durdukları bařka bir nokta ise; dezavantajlı kadın gruplarının ekonomik becerilerini arttırmanın bu grupların otomatik olarak kalkınma politikaları, programları ve projelerinde ajans olma zelliđi kazanmalarına sebep olmamaktadır. Bunun gerekleřmesi iin kamusal kurumların temel kurallarını, hiyerarři yapılarını ve uygulamalarını deđiřtirmelerinin gerektiđi ayrıca sylenmektedir. Bu bađlamda, kalkınma rgt ve kurumlarının, toplumsal cinsiyet iliřkileri alanında alıřan blmlerindeki rgt ii iliřkileri de bu kuramcılar tarafından tartıřılmaktadır. Kabeer (1994) gibi eřitli dřnrlere bu kurumların toplumsal cinsiyet iliřkilerinin dnřmesine engel olabildiđini sylenmektedirler. Ayrıca kadınların kurduđu taban rgtlerinin kalkınma politika, gndem, program ve projelerinin oluřturulmasında etkili olmasının gçlenmenin sosyal, rgtsel ve politik boyutlarında etkili olduđu belirtilmektedir. Kardam (1989) da kadın taban rgtleri arasında koalisyon, ađ ve ortaklık kurulması ancak kadınların temel ihtiyalarının karřılanması yoluyla oluřturulabilir diye iddia etmektedir. Kadınların, psikolojik, ekonomik, sosyal, rgtsel ve politik boyutlarda gçlenmesinin kadınların ailelerinde, topluluklarında ve genel olarak toplumda sosyo-ekonomik ve politik konumu ve statsnn dnřtrlmesine etkide bulunacađı dřnlmektedir.

Feminist kalkınma kuramları, DAWN giriřimi ve GAD kuramı anaakım kalkınma politikalarını ve uygulamalarını sosyalist feminist bir yoruma izin verecek şekilde eleřtirecek şekilde eleřtirmişlerdir. Feminist kalkınma yaklařımları, kalkınma kuramlarının feminist yaklařımla eleřtirilmesiyle tarihsel bir sre iinde farklılařarak oluřmuřtur. GAD yaklařımı ve DAWN Giriřimi, gçlenme kavramını eleřtirel bir şekilde ilk defa oluřturulmasına katkıda bulunmuşlar ve gçlenme kavramını, ncelikli olarak liberal kalkınma yaklařımlarının kadına ynelik politika ve projelerini eleřtirmek iin kullanmışlardır. Bu yaklařımlar, kadınların ortak zne pozisyonlarını kapitalizm ve ataerkilliđe karřı oluřturarak bir mcadele vereceklerini

savunuyorlar. Ayrıca bu yaklaşımlar, kapitalizmi ve onunla ilişkili olarak oluşturulan anaakım kalkınma politikalarını ve onların kadınlar üzerindeki etkisini eleştirel bir bakışla inceliyorlar. Buna bağlı olarak, kadın örgütlerinin birlikte oluşturdukları özne konumlarını belli tarihsel ve sosyo-ekonomik koşullar içinde incelemişlerdir. DAWN Girişimi, dünya kadın kongresinde, üçüncü dünya kadınlarının, ortak amaçlar doğrultusunda ittifak kurması sonucu oluşmuştur. Bu girişim, toplumsal cinsiyet olgusunun ve güçlenmenin tarihsel ve mekânsal farklılaşmasını dikkate alan bir politika oluşturulmasını savunmuştur. Güçlenme kavramı da bu eleştirel yaklaşımın etkisiyle, üçüncü dünya kadınlarının eleştirileriyle ortaya çıkan bir kavramdır. GAD ve DAWN yaklaşımları öncelikle kalkınma politika, program ve projelerinin hazırlanma ve uygulanma biçimlerini eleştirmişlerdir. Onların düşüncesine göre; toplumsal cinsiyet sosyal ve bağlamsal, içeriği farklı yerellikler ve farklı zamanlarda değişen bir kavramdır. Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramı değişken olması sebebiyle hem süreç hem de sonuç olarak hissedilir. Güçlenme kavramı ise, bu yaklaşımlar tarafından, kadınları, ataerkil kurallara ve baskıcı ve sömürücü ataerkillik ve kapitalizme karşı ortak çalışabilecek sosyal ajanslar olarak görmeyi varsayar. Bu bağlamda, kadın taban örgütleri, kadınların ortak çalışmasını teşvik eden, bilinçlendiren, popüler eğitim veren, farklı insanlara/ kadınlara kendini ifade etme fırsatı veren ve hatta ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde politika ve kurallara etki edebilecek bir önemde görülür. Bu yaklaşımlar, güçlenme kavramını popüler hale getirip; psikolojik, sosyal, örgütsel, ekonomik ve politik boyutları içerir ve kişisel, ortak ve bağlamsal özellikler taşıyor hale gelmesini sağlamışlardır. Bu çalışma kapsamında, kalkınmayla güçlenmesinin ilişkisini kurmak için; kırsal kadınların, Türkiye benzeri bir ülkede güçlenmesinin koşullarını etkileyecek ekonomik, kalkınmaya dair; sosyal, ekonomik ve politik etkenlere de değinilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu yüzden, genel olarak kapitalizmin kırsal hanelerin sosyo-ekonomik koşullarına etkisi, kırsal kadınların geçimlik üretimi sürdürmekteki rolleri, cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü, kadınların kırsal alanda hem üretim hem yeniden üretimdeki emekleri, kırsal kadınların toprak ve diğer maddi kaynaklara sahip olmama durumu, ve hanenin tarımsal üretimdeki merkezi rolü gibi faktörler kırsal kadınların güçlenmesini etkileyen unsurlar olarak düşünülmüştür.

Ayrıca az gelişmişliğin uluslararası ve ulusal kalkınma politikalarına, tarım sektörüne, kırsal hanelerin yaşam koşullarına ve kırsal kadınların sosyo-ekonomik ve politik koşullarına ve konumlarına etkisi de incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bunu gerçekleştirmek için kalkınma kuramlarının genel tartışmaları, az gelişmişliğin tarım ve gıda sektörüne etkisi ve kırsal kadınların sosyo-ekonomik koşullarına ve konumuna etkisi açıklanmıştır. Az gelişmişliğin tarıma etkisi tartışılırken, küresel olarak, tarihsel bir süreçte tarım sektörünün geçirdiği dönüşüm pek çok yazar (McMichael and Friedman) tarafından incelenmiştir. Bu inceleme yapılırken analitik bir kavram olarak öne çıkan kavram gıda rejimi kavramıdır. Tarihsel olarak tarım sektörünün geçirdiği dönüşüm gıda rejimlerinin değişmesiyle açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Gıda rejimi, kapitalist birikim sürecini gıda üretimi ve tüketimi süreçlerinin analiz edilmesiyle ortaya çıkan bir kavramdır. Bu çalışmada, en son gıda rejiminin oluşmasına bağlı olarak, tarım sektörünün ve gıda sektörünün çeşitli etkenlere bağlı olarak bütünleştiği iddia edilmektedir. Bu faktörler, kırsal hanelerin, sınai girdilerine daha çok bağımlı hale gelmesi, bu hanelerin ürettikleri ürünlerin pazarlanması ve dağıtılmasında özel sektöre ihtiyaç duyulması; gıda ürünlerinde giderek artan oranda sınai girdiler kullanılması; gıda sanayinde üretim sürecinde giderek artan oranda tarımsal ürünler yerine geçen başka katkı maddeleri kullanılması; Uluslararası Para Fonu (IMF) ve Dünya Bankası gibi uluslararası kurumların giderek artan şekilde (teknik yardım, hibe, kredi ve yeniden yapılandırma programlarıyla) az gelişmiş ülkelerin tarım sektör politikalarına müdahale etmesi olarak açıklanabilir.

IMF'yle az gelişmiş ülkelerin yaptıkları antlaşmalarla oluşturulan “Yeniden yapılandırma programları (SAPs)”, az gelişmiş ülkelerin ithal ikameci kalkınma programlarını bırakmalarını, pazara dayalı üretim yapmalarını, kamusal hizmetler, yoksullar ve kırsal haneler için kaynakların azaltılmasını gerektirmektedir. Ayrıca bu yeniden yapılanma programlarıyla beraber, tarımsal üretimde devletin tarımsal desteklerinin azaltılması, tarımsal üretime yeni standartlar ve üretime verimlilik getirilmesi, Dünya Ticaret Örgütü'nün hazırladığı genel gümrük antlaşmalarıyla belirlenen bu standartlara göre ticaret antlaşması yapılması, tarımsal üretimde gümrük gelirlerinin azaltılması, yeni tarımsal girdilerin üretilmesinde teknolojik gelişmeden faydalanılması gibi politikalar az gelişmiş ülkeler tarafından

benimsenmiştir. Bu politikalar, genel olarak, gelişmekte olan ülkeler tarımsal üretimlerini desteklemeye, araştırma ve geliştirme faaliyetlerini de destekleyerek devam ettiği için az gelişmiş ve gelişmiş ülkeler arasındaki farklılıkları arttırdığı için eleştirilmiştir.

Bunlara ek olarak, az gelişmişliğin ataerkil toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarıyla birleşerek, kırsal kadınların sosyo-ekonomik koşullarını ve konumlarını negatif olarak etkilediğini düşünmek gerekir. Bunu sağlayan nedenler olarak; kırsal kadınların en az güvenceli ve en az gelirli işlerde istihdam edilmesi, ekonomik krizlerde işten ilk çıkarılan olmaları, aynı işlerde çalışan erkeklerden az para almaları ve aile içinde bakım ve yeniden üretim işlerini ücretsiz yapan bireyleri olmaları düşünülmektedir. Ayrıca, kadının yeniden üretim ve paraya dayalı olmayan emeğinin hem kapitalist sistemin devam etmesinde hem de kırsal hanelerin devam etmesindeki önemine rağmen, paraya dayalı olmaması, metalaşmamış olması sebebiyle değersiz görülmesi de Elson (1994) ve Acker (2004) gibi düşünürler tarafından dile getirilmiştir. Bu düşünce genel olarak paraya dayalı olmayan üretim ve yeniden üretim ilişkilerinde çalışan Türkiye'deki kırsal kadınların araştırılmasında önem kazanır. Bukh (1980) ve Leon ve Deere (1980) de belirttiği gibi; Ghana ve Kolombiya gibi Türkiye benzeri az gelişmişlik koşullarındaki ülkelerde de, kırsal kadınların metalaşmamış ve parasal olmayan emeği kırsal yaşamın ve tarımsal üretimin devamlılığında önem taşır. Ayrıca bu ülkelerde de tarımsal üretimle gıda sektörünün birleşmesi, tarımsal üretimde teknolojilerin rolünün artması tarımsal üretim hanelerin yaşam koşullarını zorlaştırmıştır. Kırsal kadının iş yükü, artık temel tarımsal üretim hanenin devamlılığını sağlamaya yetecek gelir getirmediği için; kadınların hane gelirlerini arttırmak için tarım dışı gelir getirici faaliyetleri üstlenmeye zorlanmasıyla artmasıdır. Böylelikle kadınların parasal gelirleri veya aile içindeki gelirden payları artmadığı halde iş yükleri ve çalışma saatleri artmış olur. Bu durumda, kadınların ücretsiz veya çok az ücretli, güvencesiz emekleri hanenin kötüleşmiş ekonomik koşullarda yeniden üretimini sağlar. Bu koşulların, Türkiye'deki kırsal kadınların hayatlarında da etkili olduğu çeşitli yazarların çalışmalarında ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışmada da, bu koşulların etkileri, kırsal kadın örgütleriyle, kırsal kadınların güçlenmesini çalışırken incelenmiştir.

Az gelişmişliğin kırsal kadınların sosyo-ekonomik koşullarını ve konumunu ve güçlenme koşullarını etkilemesinden başka, az gelişmişlik koşullarına da bağlı olarak oluşturulan kırsal kalkınma politikaları da kırsal kalkınmanın güçlenmesini etkileyen bir unsur olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, kırsal kalkınma politikalarının hem tarımdaki sektörel politikalarla hem de kırsal kadınların bu politikalarının içindeki konumları incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Kırsal kalkınma politikalarının, küresel kalkınma politikalarının tarihsel değişimiyle ilişkili olarak, tarihsel olarak belli dönemlerde değiştiğini belirtmek gerekir. Ellis ve Biggs (2001) çalışmalarında gösterdikleri gibi; kırsal kalkınma politikalarına dair fikirler 1950'lerden 2010 sonrasına, modernleşme, tarımın teknolojisinin geniş tarımsal alanlarda tarım yapılması ve böylelikle verim arttırışı sağlanması düşüncesinden, kırsal alanda tarım dışı sektörlerde yerel zenginliklerin ortaya çıkarılması ve pazarlanması, yeniden yapılandırma programlarına bağlı olarak devletin genel tarımsal desteklerinin azaltılması ve daha eleştirel olan kalkınmada demokratikleşme ve yerel aktör odaklı, katılımcı kalkınma modelleri benimseme gibi düşüncelere doğru bir geçiş yapmıştır. Bu geçiş sırasında, özellikle ithal ikameci politikaların az gelişmiş ülkelerde başarılı olamaması, üçüncü dünya ülkelerinin, kırsal kalkınma politikalarını insan odaklı olmayışlarıyla eleştirmesi, kapitalist üretimi tarımsal üretimde arttırma politikasının neo-liberal politikalar yoluyla benimsenmiştir. En son kırsal kalkınma politikalarının temel fikirlerinden biri olarak, özellikle de Avrupa Birliği kırsal kalkınma politikalarında etkili olan, kırsal kalkınmada demokratik katılımın ve yerel aktörlerin politika ve proje oluşturma süreçlerine katılmasının sağlanması önemli bir unsur olarak ifade edilebilir.

Çağdaş kırsal kalkınma politikaları, tarım ve gıda sektörlerinin esnekleşme, uzmanlaşma ve ticarileşme (tarımsal ürünlerin, kendine has, kültürel ve çevresel kırsal yerelliklerin) yaratan bütünleşmesinden etkilenerek; çok düzeyli, çok aktörlü ve çok boyutlu süreçler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu politikalar aynı zamanda çiftçilerin farklı işleri birlikte yapma ve giderleri azaltan ekonomik yöntemler geliştirme gibi özellikler edinmesini de gerektirmektedir. Ancak bu özellikler Türkiye benzeri az gelişmiş ülkeler için, önceden beri olan özellikler olarak düşünülebilir. Türkiye benzeri az gelişmiş ülkelerin, küçük ve orta büyüklükteki çiftçi haneleri için ticarileşmemiş girdileri kullanarak, tarım dışı sektörlerde de ailenin bazı

üyelerinin istihdam edilmesi, ailenin birden farklı çeşitte ve birbirine alternatif tarımsal üretim yapması, bazı ürünlerin sadece geçimlik olması gibi durumlar yeni değildir. Bu durumlarda çelişik olabilecek önemli faktör tarımsal üretimin metalaşması sürecinde az gelişmiş ülkelerin hane halklarının gelişmiş ülkelere göre dezavantajlı konumda olmasıdır. Bunu sağlayan faktörler şu şekilde belirtilebilir: Arazinin küçüklüğü, teknolojik gerilik, tarımsal girdilerin (tohum, gübre ve tarımsal ilaç) hızla uluslararası şirketler tarafından metalaştırılması, devlet desteklerinin azlığı, tarımsal üretimdeki bazı uluslararası standartlara ulaşmakta ve ürünü pazarlamada güçlük çekme, çevresel kirlenme.

Avrupa Birliği kırsal kalkınma politikaları daha önce belirtilen çağdaş kırsal kalkınma politikalarına uygun olarak; kırsal kalkınmanın yerel zenginlikleri ortaya çıkaran ek gelir getirici faktörleri de içererek tarım dışı alanları da içine alması, çiftçilerin tarımsal üretimlerini küçük ölçekte de olsa ticarileştirmek istemesi, bölgesel ve yerel katılımı artırarak kırsal kalkınma politika süreçleri getirmesi gibi özellikler taşır. Türkiye’de de Avrupa Birliği kırsal kalkınma politikaları, AB’ne giriş sürecinde, bu politikalara uyumlaşma sürecine girilmesiyle önem kazanmıştır. Türkiye’de bu süreç AB kırsal kalkınma politikalarına geçişi sağlayacak IPARD programının oluşturulması ve uygulanmasıyla başlamıştır. Bu politikalar aynı zamanda kırsal alanda yaşayan toplulukların toplumsal kalkınmasını da içeren uygulamalara izin verebilir. Bu anlamda tarımsal kalkınma kooperatifleri hem modern hem de eleştirel kalkınma kuramları tarafından toplumsal kalkınmanın araçları olarak görülmüştür. Bu kooperatifler demokratik, esnek ve katılımcı olmaları sebebiyle kırsal alanların kalkınması ve kırsal alanda yaşayanların kendi fikirlerini ifade etmeleri, kendi kaynaklarını kendilerine yardım faaliyetleri içine girerek yaratmaları ve hatta ihtiyaç ve isteklerini ifade ederek ulusal politika süreçlerini etkilemeleri için bir araç olarak düşünülmektedir. Ancak bu kooperatiflerin başarılı olabilmesi hem ekonomik olarak iyi yönetilmelerine hem de demokratik ve adil olmayı ve topluluğun ortak çıkarlarını gözetmeyi başarımlarıyla mümkündür. Böylelikle topluluk ruhunu ve kimliğini ortaya çıkarmakta, yoksulluğu azaltmakta, yeni işler yaratmakta, ekonomik büyüme ve sosyal gelişme yaratmakta başarılı olan bir sosyal organizasyon olabilirler. Bu kooperatifler; genel olarak; devletten bağımsız

kendine başına hareket etmekte, pazar ve kaynaklara ulaşmakta ve yönetmekte ve ataerkil olduğu için demokratik olmakta sorun yaşayan kurumlardır.

Kırsal kalkınmada belirtilen bu özelliklerin dışında, kırsal kadınların sosyo-ekonomik koşulları ve konumunu ve dolayısıyla güçlenmesini etkileyen başka faktörleri de dikkate almak gerekir. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi kırsal kadının kırsal hanedeki iş yükü genel olarak ağırdır. Kırsal kalkınma politikalarının, hane halkının, tarım dışı sektörlerde girişimcilikte bulunması veya hali hazırda tarımsal üretim yaptıkların ürün veya ürünlerin işlenmesi ve ondan sonra pazarlanmasına dair politikalar önermesi söz konusu olmaktadır. Bu durumda kadınların zaten ağır olan iş yükü artmaktadır. Bu aynı zamanda kırsal kadınların emek gücünün, kırsal alanda çoklu gelir getirici faaliyetlerin olması prensibine bağlı olarak, yeniden üretim emeklerine benzer enformel ve güvencesiz işlerde (kadınların kendi el işlerini satması, geleneksel gıdaları hazırlama ve sunma, hizmet sektörü gibi) çalışması da söz konusu olmaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında incelenen kırsal kadın örgütleri de bu bahsedilen bağlamda çalışan örgütler olarak düşünülmektedir. Bu örgütlerin kırsal kadınların güçlenmesine etkilerini incelemek üzere geliştirilen model, güçlenmenin psikolojik, sosyal, örgütsel, ekonomik ve politik boyutlarını dikkate almayı önemli bulmuştur. Bu modelle kırsal kadınların güçlenme koşulları, problemleri ve potansiyelleri anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın yöntem bilimsel yaklaşımı olarak, dezavantajlı grupların görüş ve pozisyonlarını dikkate alan feminist yaklaşım benimsenmiştir. Bu yaklaşıma göre; herhangi gruba dair veri toplanırken, soyut bir tarafsızlık yerine, bu grubun baskılanması, ezilmesi veya sömürülmesine dair bilginin toplanmasına dair veri toplanması önemli görülmektedir. Bu yaklaşımın gereklerine göre, kırsal kadınların güçlenmeye dair koşulları, problemleri ve potansiyellerinin incelenmesi için, onların kurdukları taban örgütlerine dair veri toplanması benimsenmiştir. Bu veriler toplanırken, kadın örgütlerinin farklı yerelliklerdeki özelliklerinin farklılaşabileceği düşünülerek, farklı bölgelerden kadın örgütlerinin seçilmesine özen gösterilmiştir. Ayrıca kırsal kadın taban örgütleri arasında, kadınlar tarafından yönetilen tarımsal kalkınma kooperatifleri, kırsal özellikleri olan kadın kooperatifleri ve köy kadınlarının dernekleri olmak üzere üç tip kadın örgütü biçimi belirlenmiştir. Bu

örgüt biçimlerinin hepsinden de örnekleme seçilmiştir. Böylece otuz altı kadın tarafından kurulmuş tarımsal kalkınma kooperatifinden yedi tanesinin, kırk üç kadın kooperatifinden iki tanesinin ve dört kadın köy derneğinden birisinin aktif üyeleriyle görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu örgütler seçilirken, aynı zamanda, farklı sektörlerden kadın örgütlerinin seçilmesine de önem verilmiştir çünkü bu sektörlerin karşılaştığı farklı sorunların kadınların güçlenmesine dair sorunların, potansiyellerin ve koşulların oluşmasında etkili olabileceği düşünülmüştür.

Bu modelle, kırsal kadınların örgütleriyle güçlenmesinin analiz edilmesinden önce, Türkiye’de kırsal kalkınma ve tarım politikalarını, toplumsal cinsiyet ve kalkınma politikalarını ve kırsal kadınların bu politikalar içindeki konumu betimlenmiş ve analiz edilmiştir. 1920’lerden bugünlere, tarım sektörünün ve kırsal kalkınma politikalarının geçirdiği dönüşüm, tarımsal kalkınmaya dayalı kalkınma anlayışı ve devlet kapitalizminden; bölgesel kalkınma, yerelleşme ve yönetim gibi kırsal kalkınma anlayışlarına geçişi gösterir. Aynı zamanda bu dönüşüm kırsal kalkınmanın bölgesel ve yerel diğer ekonomik etkinlikleri (kırsal turizm, zanaatkarlık ve el işçiliği gibi) de kapsayacak şekilde genişletilmesini içermeye başlamıştır. Özellikle Avrupa Birliğine uyum sürecinde oluşturulan genel kalkınma planına bağlı olarak yerel kalkınma komiteleri ve kalkınma ajansları kurulmuştur. Bu süreçlerin daha önceki genel tarımsal girdilerin desteklenmesi sürecinin yerine, küçük ortak ölçekli, kırsal işletmeler kurulmasını desteklemeye yönelik olduğu görülebilir. Bu işletmeler, kuruluş itibarıyla bir köye ait kooperatif tarafından ve ya bir grup üreticinin birleşmesiyle de oluşturulabilir. Daha önceki genel azgelişmişlik, tarım ve kırsal kalkınma tartışmalarının Türkiye örneğinde geçerli olduğu, tarihsel olarak da Türkiye’nin kırsal kalkınma ve tarım politikalarında Dünya’daki tarım sektörünün gıda rejimlerine bağlı olarak değişmesine paralel olarak değiştiği de görülmektedir. Buna örnek olarak, Türkiye’nin 1950’lerde aldığı Marshal yardımı ve tarımda makineleşmenin desteklenmesi; aynı dönemlerde Türkiye’nin ILO, IMF ve WTO örgütüne girmesi, Devlet Planlama Teşkilatının kurulması verilebilir. Ve yine 1990 sonrasında, dünya’daki politika değişmelerine bağlı olarak; tarım sektörünün IMF’yle antlaşmalara bağlı olarak yeniden yapılanması ve tarımdaki devlet teşekküllerinin özelleştirilmesi, Avrupa Birliğine giriş sürecinde IPARD programının hazırlanması ve yürütülmesi gösterilebilir. Bu politikaların kırsal alanda küçük

ölçekli tarımsal işletmelerin varlığını devam ettirmesi için önlem alınmadan; tarım sektöründe sermaye ilişkilerinin etkisini ve önemi arttırma amacı taşıdığı gözlenmiştir.

Bütün bu politikaların tarihsel değişimine ek olarak, tarım sektörünün ekonomik durumunu da gözetmek gerekir. Türkiye’de tarımsal nüfus (% 40,8: kırsal ve yoğun olarak kırsal alan) ve tarımsal istihdam (yaklaşın toplam istihdamın % 30’u) göreceli olarak fazladır. Ayrıca, tarıma elverişli alanların pek çoğu küçük ve parçalı arazileridir. Türkiye tarımında sulama sorunları olduğu da bilinmektedir. Ayrıca, çok daha fazla araştırma gerekse de, yapılan çeşitli araştırmalarda, üreticilerin belirttiklerine göre; tarımsal girdilerin fiyatları yüksek ve elde edilen tarımsal ürünlerini fiyatları düşük kalmaktadır. Buna da bağlı olarak, kırsal ve kentsel alanlar arasındaki gelişme farkı hem de farklı bölgeler arasında gelişmişlik farkı mevcuttur. Bu yüzden kırsal yoksulluğun artmasıyla, mevsimlik tarım işçiliği, tarım dışı enformel sektör ürünlerin kırsal hanelerde üretilmesi, bazı hane üyelerinin tarım dışı işlerde köyde yaşayarak istihdam edilmeleri veya hane üyelerinin bazılarını şehre göç ederek para göndermesi gibi durumlar artmaya başlamıştır. Bu durum IPARD programında ve kırsal kalkınmayla ilgili kalkınma planlarında da belirtilmiştir. IPARD programı farklı bakanlık ve diğer devlet kurumlarının ortaklaşa birlikte çalışmasını öngören çok sayıda proje ve programı içermektedir. Tarım bakanlığına bağlı olarak çalışan bazı görüşmecilerin de belirttiği gibi bu çeşit ortaklaşa çalışmalarda koordinasyon ve ortaklık açısından problemler yaşanabilmektedir. Türkiye’nin kırsal kalkınma rejimi; daha önce Figür 1’de de belirtildiği gibi devlet kurumları, kalkınma ajansları, STK’lar ve Uluslararası çeşitli kalkınma kuruluşlarının (Dünya Bankası, FAO, IMF gibi) birlikte çalışmasını gerektirmektedir. Bu devlet kurumlarının içinde kırsal kalkınma ajansları, belediyeler, muhtarlıklar, kaymakamlıklar ve tarım ilçe müdürlükleri, merkezi düzeyde başta Tarım, Gıda ve Hayvancılık bakanlığı olmak üzere çeşitli bakanlıklar bulunmaktadır.

Türkiye’de kırsal kalkınma politikaları, Avrupa Birliği kırsal kalkınma paradigmasıyla ilişkili olarak katılımcı kalkınma, sürdürülebilir kalkınma, bölgesel duyarlılık ve anaakım toplumsal cinsiyet idealleri ve kadınların güçlendirilmesi gibi

prensipieri içerse de, bu prensiplerin politikalarda ve projelerde pratik olarak uygulanması yerel yönetimler ve belediyeler, STK'lar, taban örgütlenmeler, hedeflenen gruplar gibi kalkınmanın aktörleri arasında karmaşık ve yoğun ilişkileri içermektedir. Bu prensiplerin hayata geçirilmesi ve bununla ilgili kanunların uygulanması amacıyla getirilen hukuki düzenlemeler gerçekleşse de, bürokratik kültür, toplumsal ve kültürel önyargılar, kadına yönelik geleneksel bakış açısı bu prensiplerin etkili bir şekilde uygulanmasına engel olmaktadır. Bununla birlikte bu prensiplerin ilgili aktörlerin “sosyal konum”ları veya bağlamsal ve durumsal konumlarına bağlı olarak içselleştirilmesi ve uygulanması, kırsal kalkınma politika ve proje süreçlerinde ve uzun dönem etkilerinde hayati önem taşımaktadır.

Ayrıca, Ecevit (2007)'in de belirttiği gibi, kadınlara yönelik gelir getirici faaliyetlerinin esas olarak amacı da yoksulluğu kontrol etmek ve azaltmak gibi görünmektedir. Ancak kadınların aktif ajanlar olarak kalkınma projelerine dâhil edildiği, birlikte çalışmaları ve işlerinde ve ailelerindeki problemleri de konuşmak için alan sağlandığı proje ve programların kadınların sosyo-ekonomik koşullarını ve konumunu değiştirmeye ve kadınları güçlendirmeye yönelik olumlu etkisi olduğu düşünülebilir. Hem kadınların pratikteki yaşam koşullarını hem de stratejik, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ve kabullerini dönüştürmeye yönelik faaliyetlerin geliştirilmesinde bu projeler etkili olabilir.

Türkiye’de tarımsal kalkınma ve kırsal kalkınmanın kırsal kadınlarla ilişkisin yukarıda belirtilen tartışmaları dikkate alırsak, kırsal kadının tamamlanmış bir süreç olarak, kırsal kadın örgütleriyle güçlenmesinin mümkün olmadığı aşikârdır. Ancak, bu kırsal kadın örgütlerinin güçlenme yaratma potansiyeli bu kadınların kendilerini psikolojik, sosyal, örgütsel, ekonomik ve politik olarak güçlendirmeleriyle mümkün olabilir. Bu güçlenme boyutlarının, birbirlerinin varlığını artıran ve birbiriyle iç içe geçen şekilde tezahür ettikleri düşünülmektedir.

Çalışmaya konu olan yerelliklerin sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel özellikleri, kırsal kadın örgütlerindeki aktif üyelerin ortak ve farklı özellikleri, bu kadınların güçlenme potansiyeline yardımcı veya engelleyici olan birer unsur olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Ayrıca, çalışılan kırsal kalkınma örgütlerinin çalışma alanlarının; tekstil/ çeyiz üretiminden, kırsal turizme, seracılığa, süt üretimine dayalı hayvancılığa kadar farklılaşabildiği de görülmektedir. Bu sektörlerin ulusal düzeyde yaşadıkları problemlerin ve devletin ve diğer kurum ve kuruluşların bu sektörlerdeki desteklerinin, örgütlerin sürdürülebilmesinin koşullarının etkilendiğini belirtmek gerekir. Örgütlerin sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel özelliklerinin önemli unsurlarından biri yörenin kırsal veya kentsel özelliklerinin ön plana çıkmasıdır. Kırsal veya kentsel unsurların ağırlıklı olması, bu kadın örgütlerinin ürettikleri tarımsal ve diğer ürünlerin pazara ulaşımında ve işletmelerinin diğer ekonomik faaliyetlerinin düzenlenmesinde etkili bir faktör olarak ortaya çıkar. Ayrıca, kentsel mekânlara ulaşım olanakları ve kültürel olarak yakınlık, ilgili yerel toplulukların esas gelir getirici tarımsal ve diğer faaliyetlerinde değişime açık olup olmamalarını da etkilemektedir. Daha küçük topluluklar için değişimi kabul etmek ve bilinmeyen durumlara açık olabilmek daha zor olabilmektedir. Görüştüğüm kadınlardan biri bunu “Su kuyusunun dibindeki bir kurbağa, gökyüzünü su kuyusunun başı kadar bilir”, diye ifade etti.

Buna ek olarak, az gelişmişliğin kırsal kadınların güçlenme potansiyellerini daha önce belirtilen tartışmalara uygun olarak genel olarak negatif olarak etkilediğini vurgulamak gerekir. Bu çalışmada da, bu görüşe uygun olarak, kırsal kadınların ve ailelerin pek çoğu, köylerinde yaşayan ailelerin, artık geleneksel gelir getirici faaliyetleri geçimlerini sağlamak için yeterli olmadığından, buldukları yörelerde yaşamlarını devam ettirmek için alternatif ek gelir getirici faaliyetler bulmaya çalıştıklarının ifade ettiler. Ayrıca, daha çok nüfuslu ve tarımsal gelir getirici olanakları fazla olan yerelliklerde, kadın örgütlerinin yeni ekonomik faaliyetlere başlamak için avantajlı oldukları düşünülebilir. Bu durum, özellikle kırsal kadınlar, örgütlerinde, kendi yerel tarımsal ürünlerini kullanarak tarımsal veya kırsal turizm faaliyetleri yürütmek istedikleri zaman avantaj olarak ortaya çıkıyor. Bununla birlikte tarımsal üretimin çeşitli gelir getirici faaliyetler içerdiği görece daha kalabalık yerlerde, kadınların yeni faaliyetler için zaman yaratmaları, özellikle esas tarımsal üretim yoğun olarak kadınların emeğini gerektiriyorsa, bir sorun olabiliyor. Bu çalışmada da, Denizli Ertuğrul köyünde, Eskişehir Sarıcakaya’da ve Ankara Akkaya köyünde, kadınların örgütleri için tarımsal üretimden zaman ayırmaları oldukça zor oluyordu.

Başka bir durum ise, Karabörk ve Kuşküy kadın kooperatifinde olduğu gibi, kırsal kadınların esas gelir getirici tarımsal faaliyetlerinin artık yeterince gelir getirmemesi ve örgütün yapacağı işe hiç para ayıramama durumudur. Bu kooperatifte yörenin yoksulluğundan dolayı kooperatif işletmesinin devamlılığını sağlayacak üyelik aidatlarının toplanmasında bile sorun yaşanıyordu. Bazı tarımsal üretimin makineleştiği ve kadın emeğine ihtiyaç duyulmadığı hallerde, Erzurum Çayırtepe, Erzincan Çadirkaya gibi yörelerde, kırsal kadınların temel yönelimi tarım dışı, yaşadıkları topluluk tarafından da kabul edilebilecek bir gelir getirici faaliyet bulmak oluyor. Bu faaliyetler çoğunlukla kadınların kendi evleri için yaptıkları yeniden üretim faaliyetlerinin devamı niteliğindeki el işleri, dikiş, nakış ve gıda hazırlama gibi sektörler oluyor. Erzurum Çayırtepe'deki kadınların arasında, yaşı daha fazla, hayvancılıkta çalışıp ekonomik güçlük yaşayan kadınlar da var.

Bu kadınlardan biri durumunu şöyle anlattı:

“En azından eskiye göre şansımız su taşımak zorunda değiliz, musluktan su akıyor. 3 oğlum var, biri İzmir bornava'da çalışıyor, bize katkısı yok. Biri Gmatta çalışıyor, bize faydası dokunuyor. 3. oğlum işe giremedi, tarlada çalışsın diye babası göndermedi. Ama sonra kuraklık oldu, işe giremediğiyle kaldı. Aylığımız da yok. Bu sene hiç ürün olmadı. Su olmadığı için, kurak. buğday, arpa, yonca, korunga ekiyoruz. Onlarda bu sene olmadı. Traktörü yok; balyacıya verirseniz, o da payını alıyor. O yüzden çok ot olması lazım. Bizim gücümüz yok. 3- 3,5 bin lira çoban hakkımız tutuyor, pahalı. 3- 4 yer biçirmiş, 90 liraya balyasını yaptırıp parasını alan var. 25 milyona balyasını biçiyorlar balyacılar. 1-2 bin lira lazım ki onu razı edensin, otu çok olan da. Ama bizim zaten otumuz yok. Ekmek için makine lazım. Onun için güç yoksa, insan gücü lazım, insan gücü yok artık, makineye gücü olan almış. Şimdi gençler çalışmak istemiyor (tarımda).”

Bunun böyle olmasının önemli bir sebebi olarak kırsal kadınların yetersiz sosyal ağlar ve yeteneklere sahip olması düşünülebilir. Bu çalışmadaki kadın örgütlerinden daha fazla ulaşım olanaklarına sahip olanların diğer yörelerdeki örgütlere göre kadın örgütlerinin faaliyetlerini sürdürmede ve örgütün devamlılığını sağlamada daha avantajlı oldukları görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte bu örgütlerde aktif çalışan kadınların çoğunlukla genç, evlenmemiş ya da en azından çocuksuz veya üreme yaşı geçmiş kadınlar oldukları görülmüştür çocukların kadınlarınsa genel olarak bu örgütlerde pek aktif olmadıkları gözlenmiştir. Bu durumda, genç kadınların bakacak çocukları olmasının, bu durum kadınların emeklerin önemli bir kısmını gerektirdiği

için bu örgütlerde aktif olarak yer almasına engel olduğu görülmektedir. Bunlara ek olarak, çoğunlukla incelenen bu örgütlerde çalışan genç kadınlar, eğitilmiş veya eğitimlerine açıktan liseye devam ederek veya üniversite okuyarak devam etmeye istekli kadınlar.

Eğer örgütteki kadınlar, Mardin Kızıltepe (Kürt) veya Bursa Kestel’de (Gürcü) olduğu gibi, ortak etnik veya kültürel bir kimlik taşıyorlarsa, bu grup kimliklerini bir ait olma ve birliktelik duygusuyla olumlu olarak etkileyen bir unsur olarak ortaya çıkabilir. Ancak bu kimliklerin de farklı biçimlerde kadınları etkilediğini de görmektedir. Etnik kimlikler, Saitabat ve Kızıltepe’deki kooperatifler için bir avantaj gibi ortaya çıksa da kadınların ana etnik kimlik, Türk kimliğinin yanındaki konumunun farklı adlandırılmasına dayalı olarak farklı anlamlandırıldığı görülmektedir. Saitabat örneğinde, R 26’nın söylediği gibi “biz kültürümüzü ve köyümüzü bu restoranla koruduğumuz için gururluyuz” olarak da ortaya çıkmaktadır. Ancak aslında, köydeki Gürcüler, dillerini ebeveynleri gibi konuşamadıkları için kültürlerinin bir kısmını kaybetmiş olarak da düşünülebilirler ama öyle düşünmüyorlar. Bunun sebebi kendi kimlikliklerini Türk kimliğinin dışında konumlandırmamaları olabilir. Buna karşıt olarak, Kızıltepe’deki Kürt kimliği baskın Türk kimliği tarafından baskılanmış ve taciz edilmiş bir kimlik olarak ortaya çıkıyor. R28 ve R29, İzmir ve İstanbul’da lisede sınıf arkadaşları tarafından taciz edildiklerinden bahsettiler. R 28: “onlar, işte, burada ne yapıyorsunuz, nereden geldiyse oraya gidin gibi şeyler söylüyorlardı.” Aynı gruptaki bazı Kürt kadınları (R30, R31) köylerini zorunlu göç yüzünden terk eden ailelerden geliyorlardı. Ve ayrıca bu kadınlardan bazılarının eşleri hapse girmiş sonra da faili meçhul cinayete kurban gitmişti. Bütün bu etnik kimliğe dayalı baskılanma deneyimlerinin, kadınlara mücadele etmeleri için, bilinçlilik düzeylerini arttıran bir zemin teşkil ettiği için, kadınların güçlenmesine olumlu etkide bulunduğu düşünülebilir.

Bütün bu belirtilen özellikler kadınların güçlenmesinin koşullarını ve güçlenme potansiyellerini etkileyen bir temel olarak etkili oluyor. Bu etkiler öncelikle ekonomik ve psikolojik güçlenmeyi sonrada sosyal ve örgütsel güçlenmeyi ve daha sonra politik güçlenmeyi etkiliyor.

Daha öncede tartışıldığı gibi, devlet veya diğer kurum ve örgütler tarafından desteklenselerde kadın aktör konumunda olmasının örgütün kurulması sürecindeki varlığı, kadınların psikolojik ve sosyal güçlenmesini olumlu olarak etkiliyor. Belki de, örgütün kurulma sürecinde, kadınların aktör konumunda olması, kadınların kendileri için birşeyler yapma niyetini ve kararlılığını gösteriyor denilebilir. Ancak, kırsal kadın örgütleri, Davutođlan örneğinde görüldüğü gibi, eđer grup faaliyetine dönüşemiyorsa, kadın örgütleri varlığını sürdüremez. Davutođlan örneğinde, bu kooperatifin başkanı, kooperatif için aktif olarak rol üstelenecek kadınlar bulmakta başarılı olamamış.

Kırsal kadın örgütleriyle ekonomik güçlenmenin önemli bir nedeni olarak, kadınların ek gelir kazanmak ve geliri devam ettirmek istemeleri ve örgüte bu amaçla katılmaları görülebilir. Bu ekonomik geliri devam ettirmeleri, öncelikle kadınların bütün yaptıkları işlere, tarımsal üretim, hanedeki diğer ev işlerine de zaman ayırmaları gerektiği için zor olabilmektedir. İkinci olarak, ürünlerini pazarlamak sorunu yaşadıkları için zor olabilmektedir. Bunu gerçekleştirebilmeleri diğer güçlenme biçimleri ve özellikle sosyal güçlenmeyi sağlamalarıyla yakından ilgili olarak ortaya çıkıyor. Kadınlar, eđer, sosyal ağlarını geliştirip, pazarlama becerileri, örgütün yasal, muhasebe ve yönetim işlerini yürütmelerini sağlayacak becerileri geliştirirlerse ürünlerini pazarlamada da başarılı olabilirler.

Kadınların kendilerini tanımlamaları, kendilerinin farkına varmaları, grup olarak ve grup faaliyetleri hakkındaki algıları grup kimliklerini ve psikolojik güçlenmelerini etkileyen faktörler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Psikolojik güçlenmede esas olan, daha çok sosyal psikolojik bir olgu olarak kadın örgütlerinin bireyler olarak kendi gruplarında ve grubun faaliyetlerinde kendilerini nasıl hissettikleridir. Daha güçlü grup kimliği, kendine güveni ve gruba inancı olan bireylerden oluşan örgütler, örgütün faaliyetlerinin devamlılığını sağlamada ve örgüt olarak karşılaştığı problemleri atlatmakta daha başarılı oluyorlar. Ayrıca, başarılı örneklerin çoğunda, kadınlar, örgütün kurulmasının, örgütün yönetilmesi için gerekli becerilerin edinilmesinin, kadınların kendileri hakkındaki algılarını, kendilerine olan güvenlerini olumu yönde etkilediklerini söylediler.

Örgütsel güçlenme daha çok kadınların örgütlerini nasıl yürüttükleri olarak çıkar. Örgütsel güçlenme örgütün geleceğinde, örgütte demokratik karar verme yapısı ve gönüllü ve gönüllü olmayan işlerde demokratik katılım belli bir derecede oluşturulabilirse, örgütün üyelerinin örgüte devam etme olasılıkları artar. Genel olarak, örneklerde örgütün güçlenmesi, aynı zamanda, ekonomik güçlenmeye olumlu etkide bulunuyor. Bunun sebepleri olarak. sosyal ağların geliştirilerek ve lobicilik yapılarak ve yasal ve bürokratik kurallar öğrenilerek yeni ekonomik kaynakların bulunması ve mevcut kaynaklarını etkili ve aktif muhasebe ve kontrolle iyi kullanılabilmesi mümkün olabiliyor.

Çoğunlukla, örneklerde örgütsel güçlenme ve sosyal güçlenmeye örgütün faaliyetlerinin yürütülmesi sürecinde iç içe geçiyor. Bu süreçler, örgütlerin üyeleri tarafından, yaparak öğrenme, sosyal ağlarını ve tanıdıklarını arttırma, örgütün gelişmesi için becerilerini geliştirme olarak tanımlanıyor.

Bütün bu süreçlerde, kadınların örgütlerinde başarılı olmalarının önüne bazı engeller de çıkabilmekte. Bu engeller, kadınların gelir getirici faaliyetlerini yürüttükleri sırada karşılaştıkları, esas gelir getirici tarımsal işlerine veya örgütün ana gelir getirici faaliyetine bağlı ekonomik problemler, kadınların toplumsal konumuna bağlı, kadınların istedikleri faaliyetleri yürütmelerine ve istedikleri pazarlama imkânlarına ulaşmasını engelleyen kültürel kabuller veya kadınların ekonomik işletmeler veya örgütler kurmasını istemeyen toplumsal cinsiyet kabulleri olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bazı durumlarda, kooperatif ya da örgüt başarılı olduğu zaman, ilgili topluluğun erkek bireyleri kadınlara örgütü kendilerine devretmesini teklif edebilmektedirler. Bu çalışmada buna benzer örneklerin Ege bölgesindeki bazı köylerde olduğuna dair, bu kooperatiflerle görüşme yapılmasa da, ilgili tarım ilçe müdürlüklerinden bilgi alındı.

Az gelişmişliğin Türkiye tarım sektörüne bu genel etkilerine ve ataerkil toplumsal cinsiyet kabullerine rağmen, bu kırsal kadın örgütleri belli bir ölçüde üyelerini psikolojik, ekonomik, sosyal, örgütsel ve politik olarak tanımlanan boyutlarda güçlendirmekte başarılı olabilmişlerdir. Bu çalışmadaki kadın örgütlerinin öncelikle ekonomik sonra psikolojik örgütlenmeye önem verdikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Örgütsel güçlenme ve sosyal örgütlenme dinamik ve birbirleriyle ilişkili olarak ve diğer

güçlenme biçimlerini olumlu olarak etkileyerek ve güçlenmeyi genişleterek ortaya çıkıyor. Her iki güçlenme biçiminin de örgütlerin devamlılığının sağlanmasında, bunu sağlayamayan örgütler varlıklarını sürdürmekte zorlandıkları için hayati oldukları da gözleniyor. Bu çalışmada, ekonomik güçlenme ve psikolojik güçlenme diğer bütün güçlenme boyutlarının temelini teşkil ederken, sosyal ve örgütsel güçlenmenin en dinamik süreçler oldukları ve politik güçlenmenin ulaşılması en zor boyut veya sonuç olduğu gözlenmiştir.

## H. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Furat

Adı : Mina

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce): Rural Development and Women's Empowerment:  
The Case of Rural Women's Organizations in Turkey

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**