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THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION AND THE THROES OF LANDLESS  
PEASANT WOMEN IN TWO AEGEAN VILLAGES OF TURKEY  
IN THE 1960S

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology  
in the Graduate School of  
Binghamton University  
State University of New York  
2018

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Accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology  
in the Graduate School of  
Binghamton University  
State University of New York  
2018

April 10, 2018

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## **Abstract**

The debates on the historical processes of agrarian transition and the experiences of rural women in these processes have never lost their appeal for sociological study, although the studies have focused on the political economy of development and rural women in development in the 1960s and 1970s and have then shifted to microeconomics, power relations, and the formations of subjectivities since the 1980s. This thesis develops a framework, which helps analysis of the global and local processes of agrarian transition across gender and class lines in Turkey in the 1960s. In the existing literature, it was generally assumed that petty commodity production deployed itself and rural poverty and class inequalities abandoned in Turkey after World War Two. By testing this hypothesis, this dissertation illustrates the negative impacts of the global economic development project, the Green Revolution, on landless peasant women in two Aegean villages, Göllüce and Atalan, in Turkey by focusing on the changing material conditions of production, the genderless class-based organization of land occupations, state policies targeting rural women, mutually constitutive relations between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism and competitive party politics and political reactions to the mobilization of women through land occupations and women`s resistance to all of these factors. These factors and women`s agencies are interpreted by using two-part theoretical model that combines the insights of feminist Marxists and intersectional theorists to present a grounded and coherent analysis.

By using this theoretical model, this dissertation reveals five patterns in two villages. First, it explains the social, economic, and political processes that resulted in social inequities and unequal distribution of the benefits of the Green Revolution for landless women in rural Turkey. And it sheds lights on local processes of differentiation and pauperization among peasants across gender and class lines and the places of these women in rural economy and politics. Secondly, by probing the relations between politics, peasantry, and rural women's activism in two chapters, the thesis shows that the genderless organization of land occupations by the leftist student organizations and the youth branches of the political parties did not alleviate gender and class inequalities. In addition, different reactions of the politicians to peasant struggles, specifically land reform attempts by occupations, and to the political mobilization of women left intact class specific relations of agrarian production and patriarchal control over female labor power in two cases. Thirdly, the thesis elaborates on how gender-based state policy targeting rural women, home economics projects, and the ways it was implemented were intended to recast and reinforce gendered divisions of labor at the disadvantage of women by pedagogically essentializing conventional role of housewifery and ignoring them as agricultural workers. Fourthly, the thesis scrutinizes intertwined relations between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism in two cases. By evaluating the workings of these farms as it relates to rural female labor power, I reveal how landless women, as a class, were marginalized in the processes of the consolidation of agrarian capitalism, how gendered expectations and norms affected the uses of rural female labor power, and how they struggled against their marginalization by strategically using the same norms. Lastly, this thesis demonstrates that women took active roles in using gendered norms and

expectations to lessen their domestic and agricultural workloads, shaping state policy and redefining gendered divisions of labor and affecting the politicians to reconsider the legitimacy of agrarian policies and necessity of making land reform in rural Turkey. Thus, they contested for all of the structural forces worsening their working and living conditions in two research sites. And their gendered contestation shows us that landless peasant households are not composed of conflict free individuals sharing solely the same class specific interests.

To my beloved husband and son



## **Acknowledgements**

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Prof. Benita Roth, for her intellectual stimulation, emotional support, valuable comments, patience and encouragements while making research and writing this dissertation. As an academic role model for me with her discipline and dedication to her work, she read it very carefully, gave timely feedbacks and edited it many times. And her experience in social movements, and critical feminist perspectives enriched my interpretations. I am also greatly indebted to Prof. Leslie Gates and Prof. William Martin not only for their presence and criticisms as my committee members, but also their insight, kindness and patience throughout the dissertation process. Their comments have been very influential in how I formulated my questions and organized chapters. I also thank Prof. Kent Schull for his encouragement, questions and comments as an academician specialized in the Middle East, criminology and state theories.

My field research and research in the archives was a secretive trip to knowledge. For their trust in my project and me and for their support in this trip, I am deeply grateful to Hikmet Çetinkaya, Ali Rıza Bodur and Bülent Çoşkungür. Hikmet Çetinkaya who witnessed land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan as a journalist gave me invaluable support to conduct interviews with other journalists and activists by using his personal networks. And Ali Rıza Bodur who took an active role in the mobilization of landless peasants in two cases took me to the villages and, with his help, I was able to make interviews with the peasants themselves. Lastly, I owe special thanks to Bülent

Çoşkungür because he made invaluable documents- the leftist journals, newspapers, and personal archives- on the peasant discontent and movements from the archives of TÜSTAV accessible to me.

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## Table of Contents

<b>List of Figures</b> .....	xii
<b>Chapter 1-Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Introduction.....	1
Significance.....	5
Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	14
Literature Review on the Green Revolution and Turkey.....	15
Theoretical Framework.....	26
Neoclassical Approaches to Development and Rural Women.....	26
Feminist Marxists and Agrarian Capitalism.....	32
Intersectionality and Agrarian Change Studies.....	35
Two-Part Model: Material Conditions of Production and Patriarchies.....	43
Outline of the Thesis.....	50
<b>Chapter 2- Contentious Labor Processes Between Landless Women and the Landlords in Two Villages: Rethinking Rural Class Structure in Turkey After World War II</b> .....	<b>55</b>
Two Cases: Sharecropping and Contested Labor Relations.....	58
Mechanized Cotton Production and New Gendered Division of Labor.....	66
Arrival of Mexican Wheat and Uprising.....	73
New Gendered Interpretation of Green Revolution in Turkey.....	83
Conclusion.....	103
<b>Chapter 3- Göllüce and Atalan: Imagined Genderless Landscapes for the Land Reform in Turkey</b> .....	<b>108</b>
FKF and the National Democratic Revolution.....	112
The RPP-The JP: Villages as the Terrain of Politics of Land Reform Against Radical Left.....	126
The TWP and Socialism Through the Party.....	131
Gendered Outcomes of the Land Occupations.....	137
Conclusion.....	139
<b>Chapter 4- State-led Home Economics Project and the Experiences of Landless Peasant Women in Development</b> .....	<b>143</b>
Historical Background and Objects of Home Economics Project.....	146
Home Economics Project in Practice: Intentions of Home Economics Personnel and Experiences of Landless Peasant Women.....	157
Re-imagining Gender and Rural Development.....	173
Conclusion: The interface of Home Economics with Gender Relations and Rural Economy.....	179
<b>Chapter 5- Competitive Party Politics, Landless Peasant Women, and Their Political Activism in Two Villages</b> .....	<b>183</b>
New Form of Peasant Politics under	
The Rule of the JP Government in Two Villages.....	184
Gendered Content of Politics and Rural Women.....	200
Reactions of the Politicians to the Mobilization of Landless Peasant Women.....	216

Conclusion.....	232
<b>Chapter 6-Conclusion.....</b>	<b>235</b>
New Class and Gender Specific Approach to Agrarian Transition and Rural Development in Turkey.....	235
Relevance of the Dissertation to Broader Intellectual Agendas.....	251
Appendix.....	264
Bibliography.....	292

## List of Figures

Figure 1.1. Geographical location of the research sites.....	264
Figure 2.1. Fatma Irfan Serhan, “Ağalar ve Masallar.” <i>Yön Dergisi</i> , No:13, 07.18.1962, p.13.....	265
Figure 2.2. Özden Alpdağ, “Jandarmaya hazine arazisinde kadınlar karşı çıktılar.” <i>Aksam Newspaper</i> , 25.Feburary.1969, p.1. ....	266
Figure 2.3. “Atalan köyünde traktörlü işgal.” <i>Aksam</i> , 02.Feburary.1969, p.1.....	267
Figure 2.4. Özden Alpdağ, “İşgalci köylüler vali muavinine `açız` diye bağırdı.” <i>Aksam</i> , 04.Feburary.1969, p.1. ....	268
Figure 2.5. “Göllüce`de jandarma, kadınlara hücum etti: İki ağır, 4 yaralı var.” <i>Cumhuriyet</i> , 18.March.1969, p.1.....	269
Figure 3.1. Anon., “Arazi işgalleri uyarma niteliğinde.” <i>Ulus</i> , 12.Feburary.1969, p.7.270	
Figure 3.2. Anon., “Köylüler Birleşin.” <i>Köylü</i> , Number: 3, 11.June.1969, p.1.....	271
Figure 3.3.1. Anon., “Akhisar olayları ile ilgili AP bildiri yayımladı.” <i>Ege Telgraf</i> , 08.Feburary.1969, p.1.....	272
Figure 3.3.2. Anon., “Akhisar olayları ile ilgili AP bildiri yayımladı.” <i>Ege Telgraf</i> , 08.Feburary.1969, p.6.....	273
Figure 4.1. Müjgan Dericioğlu, “Köy Kadının Eğitimi ve Gezici Kadın Kursları,” <i>Köylü: Günlük Siyasi Aksam Gazetesi</i> , Year: 15 No: 4433, 1.May.1969, p.1.....	274
Figure 4.2. Necdet Başarır, “Cahil Vatandaş’ Sözü Toplumdan Silinmelidir: Yetişmiş Kişilerin Eğitimi,” <i>Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi</i> , Year: 10 No: 513, 10.August.1967, p.1.....	275
Figure 4.3. Anon., “Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim,” <i>Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi</i> , 7.May.1970, p.3.....	276
Figure 4.4.1. Süleyman Demirel, “Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim,” <i>Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir</i> , Year: 3 No:22, year? p.6.....	277
Figure 4.4.2. Süleyman Demirel, “Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim,” <i>Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir</i> , Year: 3 No:22, year? p.7.....	278

Figure 4.4.3., Süleyman Demirel, “Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim,” <i>Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir</i> , Year: 3 No:22, year? p.8.....	279
Figure 5.1. Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Ecevit jandarma kordonu altındaki Göllüce’de konuştu: “Anayasa mücadelenizi durdurmak isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır,” <i>Cumhuriyet</i> , 19.03.1969, p.1.....	280
Figure 5.1.2. Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Ecevit jandarma kordonu altındaki Göllüce’de konuştu: “Anayasa mücadelenizi durdurmak isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır,” <i>Cumhuriyet</i> , 19.03.1969, p.7.....	281
Figure 5.2. Özden Alpdağ, “Jandarmalar arasında konuşan Ecevit “Köylü Haklıdır” dedi,” <i>Aksam</i> , 19.03.1969, p.1. ....	282
Figure 5.3.1. Anon., “CHP kanunsuzluğu teşvik ediyor,” <i>Son Havadis</i> ,14.02.1969, p.1.....	283
Figure 5.3.2. Anon., “CHP kanunsuzluğu teşvik ediyor,” <i>Son Havadis</i> ,14.02.1969, p.7.....	284
Figure 5.4. Anon., Demirel toprak işgali konusunda demeç verdi: “Tapu devletin namusudur!” <i>Son Havadis</i> , 11.02.1969, p.1.....	285
Figure 5.5.1. Özden Alpdağ, “İşgalci köylüler Demirel’e mektup yazdı: “Bu işgal değil toprak reformudur,”” <i>Aksam</i> , 22.02.1969, p.1.....	286
Figure 5.5.2. Özden Alpdağ, “İşgalci köylüler Demirel’e mektup yazdı: “Bu işgal değil toprak reformudur,”” <i>Aksam</i> , 22.02.1969, p.1.....	287
Figure 5.6. Hikmet Cetinkaya, “Jandarma bizi yerlerde sürükledi diyen yedi Atalan’lı tevkif edildi.” <i>Cumhuriyet</i> , 25.02.1969, p.1.....	288
Figure 5.7. Ahmet Gültaş. “Köylüler tapusuz arazi bize dağıtılsın diyorlar.” <i>Milliyet</i> , 04.02.1969, p.1.....	289
Figure 5.8. Gürel Seydialioğlu, “Atalan Köyü Dramı: Devletten umudu kesen köylü toprak reformunu bizzat yapıyor.” <i>Ulus</i> , 20.03.1969, p.3.....	290
Figure 5.9. Gürel Seydialioğlu, “Atalan köyü dramı: Anayasayı duvara asmak suç olmuş.” <i>Ulus</i> , 23.03.1969, p.3.....	291

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### **This Land is Yours**

That morning  
The morning of a sublime protest  
News on papers  
About the atomic test in Torbalı villages  
For the first time, in my country,  
Democracy smelled like a hot bread.

Emine from Göllüce  
Is pushing 100  
Said ‘‘Lords, we are starving!’’  
Her words, like a knife,  
Tearing off the darkness  
Stuck in somewhere

Torbalı villagers woke up  
Villages are waking up  
Lords, along with your lady lord,  
Look for a place to hide!  
Land land land  
Made of the blood of laborers  
As warm as the songs.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> İbrahim Osmanođlu, ‘‘Toprak Sizindir,’’ *Forum*, 04.15.1969, No:361, p. 6.

#### **Toprak Sizindir**

O sabah  
Yani soylu bir eylemin sabahı  
Torbalı köylerinde atom denemesi  
Haberleriyle çıktı gazeteler  
Sıcak somun koktu ilk kez  
Ülkemde demokrasi

Göllüce’li Emine

İbrahim Osmanoglu  
*Forum*, 04.15.1969

This poem that addresses itself to the land occupier women in Göllüce in 1969, one of two large farms of Torbalı, scrutinized in this dissertation, provides us key words to interpret escalating rural class inequalities, agrarian change, peasant discontent and the place of female agrarian workers in rural Turkey in the years of the Green Revolution. The Justice Party (1965-1971), which succeeded the populist, and right-wing government of the Democrat Party of Adnan Menderes in the 1950s also ruled Turkey by using the same discourses of egalitarianism, developmentalism and democracy throughout the 1960s. Against the legacy of these discourses, as İbrahim Osmanoglu mentioned in his poem, landless peasants of Göllüce who “woke up” by gaining consciousness of structural inequalities launched a “sublime protest” that had an “atomic” power to transform all forms of social and economic inequalities peasantry experienced in rural Turkey in those years. For the first time, in the history of the country, landless peasants, especially women, who put their “labor” to land as agrarian workers, claimed these lands and landlords and politicians supporting them were scared of their “democratic” peasant struggle smelling like “a hot bread.”

---

Yüz yaşın bastonuna dayanmış  
“Açız beyler” diyordu  
Kelimeler bıçak gibi  
Karanlıkları yırtıp  
Bir yerlere saplanıyordu

Uyandı Torbalı köylüleri  
Uyanıyor köyler  
Arayın korkunun deliklerini beyler  
Hanımağanızla birlikte  
Toprak toprak toprak  
Mayası emekçilerin kanı  
Türküler kadar sıcak



Land occupations in two cases were spectacular manifestations of the negative impacts of the global project of the Green Revolution on landless women and they show us how local level class and gender-specific social, economic, and political relations and inequalities as intersecting dynamic social forces obscured the premises of the project for them and conditioned their resistance through the occupations.

Over the 1950s and 1960s, the project took credit saving the world from a food shortage. India, Pakistan, and Turkey among others declared self-sufficiency in food, and agricultural technology received praise for reversing the economic fortunes of these regions.<sup>2</sup> But, as studied by many scholars, this agricultural miracle has been criticized for impoverishing peasants, increasing class polarization and causing worse working conditions among peasants.<sup>3</sup>

In order to obtain a full view of the effects of the Green Revolution and the change it has brought about in different rural regions in Turkey, it is necessary to examine the social and economic consequences that this project has had on certain segments of society, specifically the poorest and the most marginalized members of society, like rural women. The Green Revolution promised to alleviate gender inequalities in rural communities by increasing rural women's access to means of production, giving them greater decision-making in the selection of crops and their

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<sup>2</sup>Andrew Pearse, "Technology and Peasant Production," *Development and Change* 8(1977). p.127. ; Norman Borlaug, "The Green Revolution Revisited and the Road Ahead, Anniversary Nobel Lecture by Oslo, Norway." Available from [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1970/borlaug-lecture.pdf](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1970/borlaug-lecture.pdf); "The Green Revolution, Peace, and Humanity: Agbioworld." Norman Borlaug. 1970. `The Available from: <http://www.agbioworld.org/biotech-info/topics/borlaug/nobel-speech.html>

<sup>3</sup> For these critiques, see Michael Lipton, *New Seeds and Poor People*(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989). ;Keith Griffin, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). ; James K. Boyce, "Reflections: Keith Griffin," *Development and Change* 42, no. 1 (2011). p.262-283. ; Pinstrup-Andersen Per and Peter B.R. Hazell, "The Impact of the Green Revolution and Prospects for the Future," *Food Reviews International* 1, no. 1 (1985). p.1-25.

marketization, allowing them the use of state credits, increasing their household income control and making unpaid female laborers paid ones. But many feminist scholars writing in the 1970s and 1980s have argued that the modernization project of the Green Revolution fell short of these promises.<sup>4</sup>

The choice of Turkey as the country of study for this dissertation as to the impacts of the Green Revolution on rural women provides us with an interesting case study because it is often cited as one of the most successful examples of it with an increased area under cultivation, and the advent of agrarian capitalism in the 1960s.<sup>5</sup> This is because the analysis of the project of the Green Revolution was done in a gender-blind fashion, with the scholars concentrating only on small peasants and its economic effects, like the consolidation of petty commodity production during this process in Turkey.<sup>6</sup> These studies seldom touched on its distinctive results for rural women belonging to different classes in different regions.

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<sup>4</sup> Carmen Diana Deere, "The Division of Labor by Sex in Agriculture: A Peruvian Case Study," *Development and Change* 30, no. 4 (1982). p.796-811. ; Magdalena Leon de Leal and Carmen Diana Deere, "Rural Women and the Development of Capitalism in Colombian Agriculture," *Signs* 5, no. 1 (1979).p.60-77. ; Jennie Dey, "Women in African Rice Farming Systems," in *Women in Rice Farming*(Vermont: IRRI, 1983). p.436. ; Sarah Radcliffe, "Between Hearth and Labor Market: The Recruitment of Peasant Women in the Andes," *International Migration Review* 24, no. 2 (1990). p.229-249. ; Benjamin White, "Women and the Modernization of Rice Agriculture: Some General Issues and a Javanese Case Study," in *Women in Rice Farming*(Vermont: IRRI, 1983). p.137-142. ; Joan P. Mencher, "Landless Women Agricultural Laborers in India: Some Observations from Tamil Nadu, Kerala and West Bengal," *ibid.*p.361; Bina Agarwal, "Rural Women and High Yielding Rice Technology in India," *ibid.*p. 322.

<sup>5</sup>Sinan Yıldırım, "From 'Imaginary' to 'Real': A Social History of the Peasantry in Turkey (1945-1960)" (Bogazici University, 2009). p.73. ; Burak Gürel, "Agrarian Change and Labor Supply in Turkey 1950-1980," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 11, no. 2 (Apr. 2011). p.202. ; Tolga Tören, *Yeniden Yapılanan Dünya Ekonomisinde Marshall Planı Ve Türkiye Uygulaması* (Istanbul: Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı, 2007). p.195.

<sup>6</sup> See Çağlar Keyder, "The Cycle of Sharecropping and the Consolidation of Small Peasant Ownership in Turkey," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 10, no. 2-3 (Jan/Apr. 1983). p.130-145. ; "Social Structure and the Labour Market in Turkish Agriculture," *International Labor Review* 128, no. 6 (1983). p.731-743. ; Nükhet Sirman- Eralp, "Pamuk Üretiminde Aile İşletmeleri," in *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar*, ed. Ş. Pamuk and Z. Toprak(Ankara: Yurt Yayınları/TSBD, 1988). ; Korkut Boratav, "Türkiye'de Tarımın 1960'lardaki Yapısı İle İlgili Bazı Gözlemler," *SBF Dergisi* 27, no. 3 (1979).

In my dissertation, I will focus on one group of agricultural workers who not only did not benefit from the Green Revolution, but rather saw an increase in their workload - landless peasant women in Göllüce and Atalan villages located in the Aegean region of Turkey. Which local and global factors obscured the promises of the Green Revolution for these women? In order to answer this question, I will explore the impacts of historically contingent processes of agrarian transition throughout the Green Revolution on landless peasant women in two Aegean villages in Turkey, and identify four factors that potentially put them at disadvantageous positions, and their resistance to these factors: a) changing material conditions of agrarian production related to the gender hierarchies and class positions in these villages, b) the genderless, class-based organization of land occupations, c) state policies, specifically home economics policies and agrarian policies, and their negative impacts on these women`s living and working conditions, and d) competitive party politics and gendered political reactions to the mobilization of women through land occupations.

### **Significance**

In this study I will focus on gendered and class-specific processes of agrarian transition, dealing with three themes and subsequent questions that will be probed in the cases of the Göllüce and Atalan villages in the Aegean region of Turkey in the 1960s:

- As to relations between politics, peasantry and rural women`s activism:  
How were landless peasant women involved into the politics? How did their struggles affect agrarian transition, rural class structure and gendered relations? Through which mechanisms did they give voice to their gender

and class-specific claims for land reform and gender equality? How did gendered expectations and politics affect peasant movements, specifically land occupations, and the perceptions of rural women's activism in two cases?

- As to state policies targeting rural women and women's role in shaping these policies: In what ways did state policies, home economics projects in particular, regulate rural female labor power and reinforce gender and class inequalities in two settings? How did landless peasant women affect the implementation of these policies to lessen their workloads and cope with poverty?
- As to intertwined relations between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism: How did gender hierarchies and expectations influence labor control mechanisms, the objectives and implementation of agrarian state policies and the intensive uses of female labor power for domestic or agrarian tasks in two cases? How did the same inequalities frame the organization of peasant movements and the perceptions of the politicians that affected the place of women in agrarian production? How did landless peasant women strategically use the same norms and expectations to lessen their domestic and agricultural workloads?

Before explaining this study's significance for understanding the effects of the global and local processes of the Green Revolution on landless peasant women, I will explain why these two cases are important to understand the complexity of agrarian

change in those years. I have chosen these locations for number of reasons. Primarily, they exemplify places where the project of the Green Revolution was programmatically implemented through state-sponsored agricultural policies. In those years, cotton had an important place in the Turkish economy both as an export commodity and as a raw material for textile sector.<sup>7</sup> And these villages located in the basin of Menderes River, were the centers of cotton production in the 1960s. The same district were also used as the sites of experiment by wheat specialists from Washington D.C. and Oregon State University and regional committees with the support of Rockefeller Foundation and the Agricultural Research Institutes to expand the cultivation of Mexican wheat at the second half of the 1960s.<sup>8</sup> In sum, these villages were experimental sites for the implementation of the project of the Green Revolution in Turkey and so these villages are pivotal localities to trace its impacts on rural women.

Secondly, these villages are important settings to explain the impacts of the Green Revolution on landless peasant women because women were actively involved in land occupations in 1969, which were spectacular manifestations of the negative impacts of the project on these women. Landless peasant women in these villages resisted the changes brought about by the state-sponsored project of the Green Revolution, and made their resistance public by the occupations. Their chosen tactic, land occupations, was not an accident; land occupations were a form of protest that crystallized the women's discontent with the project. A close analysis of these land occupations, in other words,

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<sup>7</sup> Cotton was Turkey's leading export after 1965 and, according to the regional distribution of agricultural products in Turkey, 95 percent of cotton and 34.3 percent of wheat had been produced in the Aegean region in the 1960s. Oddvar Aresvik, *The Agricultural Development in Turkey*(NY: Praeger, 1975). p.47.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 153-179. As a result of large scale imports of seeds, fertilizers and the suitability of wheat to the coastal regions, the area under cultivation for Mexican wheat increased from 165.000 to 770.000 hectares and it became a more profitable yield in Turkey, especially in 1968 and 1969.

provides us with an important opportunity to explain how the gendered divisions of labor, and the relations between landless peasant women and the wider society, were reconfigured throughout the process at the expense of these women.

Thirdly, the changing social organization of agrarian production in the 1950s-1960s in these villages reveal the different trajectories of agrarian transition in rural Turkey as opposed to the claims for the consolidation of petty commodity production in these years. In the literature on agrarian transition in Turkey, it has generally been assumed that petty commodity production consolidated itself in rural Turkey in the 1950s and only in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, where large farms and agrarian capitalism sustained itself because of landlordism and legacies of feudal past.<sup>9</sup> As opposed to this assumption, statistical figures support the argument for the presence of landlordism and increasing dispossession in the Aegean region in the 1960s. According to the State Institute of Statistics, the percentage of landless families in Izmir was 8.8% (308.899) in 1963 while it increased to 11.6 % (405.182) in 1970.<sup>10</sup> For the Village Inventories,<sup>11</sup> in 1968, 26.735 families out of 96.212 (27.8%) were landless and the percentage of dispossession that included landless peasant, peasants who rented all of their land for subsistence, and sharecroppers was 36.1% in Izmir.<sup>12</sup> In addition, 750

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<sup>9</sup> For the detailed explanation of this argument see Bahattin Akşit, *Köy, Kasaba Ve Kentlerde Toplumsal Değişme*(Ankara: Turhan Kitapevi, 1985). ; "Kırsal Dönüşüm Ve Köy Araştırmaları: 1960-1980," in *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar*, ed. Ş. Pamuk and Z. Toprak(Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1988). ; Bahattin Aksit and Adnan Akçay, "Socio-Cultural Aspects of Irrigation Practices in South-Eastern Turkey," *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 13, no. 4 (1997). p.523-540.

<sup>10</sup>Boratav, p.785.

<sup>11</sup>These inventories of the General Directorate for Land Settlement (1962-1969) have information on population, geographical and ecological conditions, social and economic structure, different forms of land use and land distribution in 35.640 village in rural Turkey.

<sup>12</sup>Köy İşleri Bakanlığı, *Köy Envanter Etüdlerine Göre İzmir*(Ankara: Ankara Yarı Açık Cezaevi Matbaası, 1971). p.138. ; Boratav, p.794.

villages that constituted 2.1 percent of all villages belonged to one person and the owners of 8.7 percent of cultivated land were absentees who lived in the cities and used the lands for production for the market in rural Turkey.<sup>13</sup> These figures were higher in Torbalı where the two villages I study in this dissertation are located. 37 families run the capitalist farms and 7.6% of cultivated lands belonged to them while 1.219 families cultivated 5.7% of the land in Torbalı in 1968.<sup>14</sup> In addition, there were 1009 farm manager and supervisor in these farms of Torbalı and 447 out of 1009 was female in 1970.<sup>15</sup>

Accordingly, I argue that landlordism, rural class and gender inequalities were strongly affected the organization of capitalist agrarian production in two large family farms in the Aegean region in the 1950s-60s. By revealing different path of agrarian transition in two cases, I nullify the argument for the consolidation of petty commodity production and the confinement of landlordism and agrarian capitalism to the Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia after the Second World War in rural Turkey. When the working of two large farms before and after the mechanization of agriculture is analyzed in terms of the changing material conditions of production, increasing rural class differentiation between landlords and peasants, dispossession, class and gender specific uses of labor power and gendered struggles against proletarianization in three periods-technologically backward sharecropping (1938-late-1950s), mechanized cotton production for the market (late-1950s-1967), and laborsaving and highly mechanized

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<sup>13</sup>Boratav, p.792-93.

<sup>14</sup>Köy İşleri Bakanlığı, p.54-55.

<sup>15</sup>Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, *Izmir İli Genel Nüfus Sayımı: Nüfusun Sosyal Ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri*(Ankara: DIE Matbaası, 1970). p.46.

Mexican wheat production (after 1967),- it reveals the complexity of agrarian change in Turkey in the 1960s.

In this dissertation, I also probe the relations between politics, peasantry, and rural women's activism. And I analyze the genderless and class-based organization of the peasant movement, land occupations, by the leftist student organizations and the youth branches of the political parties and argue that these activists and politicians conceptualized these villages as imagined homogeneous landscapes according to their political perspectives on land reform; and ignored the gendered implications of this imagination. I argue that a changing relationship between leftist politics and new and complex forms of peasant struggles- specifically land occupations and collective demonstrations in the late 1960s in rural Turkey.

To reveal the complexity of peasant politics in Turkey, in the fifth chapter, I illustrate different reactions of the politicians to peasant struggles, specifically land reform attempts, and to the political mobilization of women in two villages. And I probe the functions of these competitive party politics to reinforce class specific relations of agrarian production and patriarchal control over female labor power.

In addition, in this study, instead of representing peasants as homogenous mass and passive recipients of the political and economic policies, I consider them as active subjects shaping it. To acknowledge the place of landless peasant women in real politics, I explore how they politically gave voice to their claims against class inequalities, poverty and unequal gendered divisions of labor in the fields and households in their interactions with the politicians and state officials, particularly rural police officers, during the land occupations in 1969. I also explore how the political activism of women



affected the politicians and forced them to reconsider the legitimacy of agrarian policies and necessity of making land reform in rural Turkey. In this way, I introduce a new gendered dimension to the history writing of peasant movements, rural class relations and the politics of land reform in Turkey.

Secondly, this dissertation focuses on state policies targeting rural women and their role in shaping these policies in two cases. By examining state-led home economics projects in two villages in 1967-68, I explain how this gender-based state policy and the ways it was implemented were intended to recast and reinforce gendered divisions of labor at the disadvantage of women in two ways: First, I elaborate about how the objectives of home economics training courses pedagogically essentialized conventional role of housewifery and ignored them as agricultural workers. Secondly, by analyzing interactions between home economists, and the female participants, I explore not only gender politics intrinsic to the implementation of the policy, but also landless peasant women's active roles in shaping this policy and redefining gendered divisions of labor.

Beyond that, in my dissertation, I also intend to illustrate the impacts of agrarian state policies on landless peasant women's living and working conditions by exploring how agrarian state policies empowered landlords, and deepened rural class and gender inequalities in two cases. And I shed light on cooperative relations between state and landlords and its impacts on sustaining rural class and gender inequalities in the Aegean region.

Thirdly, I scrutinize intertwined relations between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism in two cases. By exploring these dynamic and reciprocal relations between, I contribute to the gender studies against dualistic understanding of two concepts. Instead

of defining patriarchies as ahistorical and theological expression of women`s suppression, I show how the process of agricultural intensification resonated with gendered norms and the gendered divisions of labor and how this resonance differed for rural women occupying different class positions.

By evaluating the workings of these farms as it relates to female labor power, I reveal how rural women, as a class, were marginalized in the processes of the consolidation of agrarian capitalism, how gendered expectations and norms affected the uses of rural female labor power, and how they struggled against their marginalization by strategically using the same norms. To do this, I analyze the working of two large farms before and after the mechanization of agriculture in terms of the changing material conditions of production, class and gender specific labor control mechanisms, and women`s resistance to these mechanisms in three periods: technologically backward sharecropping (1938-late-1950s), mechanized cotton production (late-1950s-1967), and laborsaving and highly mechanized Mexican wheat production (after 1967). In this way, I highlight the changing material conditions of production, pauperization, gendered labor control mechanisms and strategic uses of gendered norms by women as factors that explain the different and intensive uses of female labor for domestic or agrarian tasks in three periods.

Beyond that, this study explores mutually constitutive relation between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism by analyzing larger class and gender specific ideological structures in which subjects, state policies and organization of peasant movements and political solutions were framed in the 1960s in Turkey. In different parts of it, I explore how the class-based and gender specific goals of different actors, like

middle class home economists, leftist activists, or politicians to change the living and working conditions of landless peasant women did not fit these women`s lived experiences. By analyzing different governmentalities behind gendered and class-based developmentalist rural state policies, and the organization of peasant mobilization, I illustrate how women`s claims and experiences were turned deaf ears to reproduce existing forms of patriarchal and upper class ideological structures in rural Turkey, that has not received enough attention in the literature.

In addition, this study is significant because I look at links between rural economies, female labor participation decisions in landless peasant households and state policies targeting rural women. By elaborating the complex relationship between education, politics, rural female labor participation and patriarchy in the eyes of the home economists assigned by the state in two cases, I reveal the effects of the key policy toward women and rural development in the 1960s, the home economics projects on gender relations and rural economy. In this sense, it might be used for making critical assessments of state policies targeting rural women as it relates to recasting and reinforcing gendered divisions of labor at the (dis) advantages of rural women.

In my dissertation, which concentrates on gender and class specific impacts of the Green Revolution and landless peasant women`s resistance to those impacts in particular localities, I show that this global project did not target the whole society and it could not be an instrument for the eradication of societal inequalities in the context of Turkey. This study, which is sensitive to the contingent, processes of agrarian capitalism, changing material conditions of production, and, as a result, the emergence of new social relations of agrarian production will bring the multiple factors regarding the (re) production of

gender and class hierarchies to light. In this way, I contribute to the critical stance toward the achievement of societal and economic development by means of the project and reveal the complexity of agrarian transition, and processes of rural differentiation across gender and class lines. By addressing itself to the forms of intersecting inequalities and multiple social forces in accounting for the lives of these women, this dissertation contributes to the burgeoning sub-field in feminist intersectional literature on agrarian change. Against the studies that mostly define agrarian capitalism only in relation to class relations and take gender as an additive category used to sustain and support these relations in different ways, I take gender as an integral component of agrarian capitalism in this study. Instead of considering landless peasant women's marginalized positions solely a result of their class or gender status, I foreground multiple social and economic dynamics and relations that constituted these subjects and render an analysis based on politics and structural inequalities.

### **Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

Below, I briefly outline a number of relevant literatures to my project: 1) the literature on Turkey and the Green Revolution 2) neoclassical approaches in relation to the impacts of the Green Revolution on rural women 3) feminist Marxist approaches to the place of rural women in agrarian capitalism and 4) feminist intersectional approaches that seek to incorporate understandings of overlapping dominations on rural women's lives. After exploring these literatures, I propose a two-part model which provides better theoretical insights to explain the complex factors that affected rural women's (in)abilities to benefit from the premises of the Green Revolution and explain why this two-

part model might be helpful to enrich our knowledge on the Green Revolution and women studies.

### **Literature on the Green Revolution and Turkey**

Turkish agriculture underwent overarching transformation in the 1960s. This transformation included the consolidation of agrarian capitalism, mechanization, increasing rural class differentiation, proletarianization, pauperization, dispossession among peasants, new forms of peasant movements- specifically land occupations and collective demonstrations against agrarian state policies- and the new role of leftist groups to mobilize peasants.

In order to understand these changes in the organization of social relations of agrarian production and new relations between politics, peasantry and state, (dis)continuities in agrarian state policies in the republican history of the state need to be elaborated. Thus, first, I briefly articulate the historical context as it relates to the changes in these policies to provide better understanding of the processes of agricultural transition. Then, I draw attention on two clashing views on the impacts of these agrarian state policies on living and working conditions of peasants belonging to different classes in Turkey in the 1960s: the consolidation of petty commodity production and increasing rural poverty and proletarianization. And I make a critical literature review to reveal different approaches to rural female labor power in accordance with these views and explicate why making class and gender specific interpretations of agrarian transition are important in Turkey.

Etatism in the form of protectionist state policy between 1932 and 1939, took the place of export oriented liberal economy policies that included improving production in the largest rural estates and transportation, and integrating Western and coastal parts to the world market.<sup>16</sup> As a sequel to the 1929 world-wide Great Depression, the state intervened into the economy and implemented protectionist measures by curtailing foreign trade, increasing tariffs, establishing agricultural cooperatives, providing subsidies for agriculture and encouraged production of raw materials for industry, especially cotton, tobacco and cotton.<sup>17</sup>

But etatism lost its legitimacy throughout the years of WWII and it was the main axis of contention in the 1950 election that marks the termination of single party rule and the rise of the Democratic Party (DP) to power in Turkish political history. This party gained the support of large landowners, commercial farmers and urban capitalists by promoting liberalization, foreign aid and private enterprises against rigid corporatism, noncompetitive protectionism and inefficient and expensive state interventions in economy.<sup>18</sup> The DP support among the large landowners was also based on their demand for political stability and fear of expropriation of private lands by the state with the 1945 “Law for Providing Land to Farmers” stipulated by the Republican People`s Party to regain the political support of peasants. As a reaction to increasing state taxes on agricultural products, seizing their agricultural products with low prices by the state

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<sup>16</sup> Tim Jacoby, "Agriculture, the State and Class Formation in Turkey's First Republic (1923-1960)," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 33, no. 1 (2006). p.42-43.

<sup>17</sup> Z. Y. Hershlag, *Turkey: The Challenge of Growth*(Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968). p.62-76 and p.111-113.

<sup>18</sup> Jacoby, p.43; Hershlag, p.135-137.

authority during WWII, small peasants had also supported the DP in the 1950 election and their reaction to oppressive state rule played an important role in its rule.<sup>19</sup>

Throughout the 1950s, the governmental strategy of the DP for agricultural development was a liberal economic policy promoting mechanization of agriculture, the uses of tractors and other technical inputs imported with foreign aid and capital of the Marshall Plan and statist infrastructural investments like dams, irrigation systems, to stimulate an internal market and agricultural production. After Turkey became a member of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation on 1948 for the Marshall Plan to “increase agricultural productive capacity and the supply of food and raw materials to the OEEC,” commercialization of agricultural production had gained momentum.<sup>20</sup> Until 1956, 37% of foreign aid was used for the import of treshing machines, and combine harvesters, and 23% of the aid was invested in the purchase of tractors from the USA.<sup>21</sup>

The government also supported the expansion of agricultural credits and sale cooperatives, by means of support pricing for agricultural products.<sup>22</sup> By making more investment in agriculture rather than industrialization, the government created an internal market through intensified transportation with roads and infrastructural investments. It also aimed at integrating Turkey into the world economy as the main exporter of agricultural products.<sup>23</sup> These agricultural development policies resulted in the electoral

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<sup>19</sup> Şevket Pamuk, "War, State Economic Policies and Resistance by Agricultural Producers in Turkey, 1939-1945," in *Peasants and Politics in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Farhad Kazemi and John Waterbury (Miami: Florida International University Press, , 1991)., p.101-106.

<sup>20</sup> Tören, p.150.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p.196.

<sup>22</sup> Kemal Karpat, "Political Developments in Turkey,1950-1970," *Middle Eastern Studies* 8, no. 3 (Oct.1972). p.353-354.

<sup>23</sup> Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni: Dün-Bugün-Yarın*, 2 vols., vol. 2(Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1978)., p.619-620. ; Yıldırım, p.208-213.

victory of the DP in 1954 again and, despite high inflation, budget deficits, decrease in foreign capital flow, world agricultural prices and imported inputs, the DP government continued to implement the same policies until the end of its rule in 1960.

Süleyman Demirel appeared in the Turkish political scene as the chairman in the party convention of the Justice Party (JP) on Nov.1964, to satisfy entrepreneurial demands for economic stability and preserve the political support of peasantry who expected the JP to follow the footsteps and agricultural development policies of the DP. But he continued to implement the same policies with small differences: firstly, he defended the idea of a rationally planned agricultural economy with the state plans for economic development. And, with these plans, the government invested 10 billion on agricultural reform between 1964 and 1967 and it increased to 16.9 billion with the 1968-1972 plan.<sup>24</sup> Secondly, for the JP government (1965-1971), import-substitution became an economic policy to provide cheap raw material for industrialization. Although industrialization, urbanization and migration gained momentum and state given subsidies and credits for it became an important policy under the rule of the JP government, agricultural development still remained in the political agenda of the party in the 1960s.<sup>25</sup>

As a result, total investment in agriculture increased to 15.4% in the period of 1963 to 1972 while it was 11.4% in 1955.<sup>26</sup> Thus, under Demirel's premiership, to increase in agricultural profits and productivity, infrastructural investments, state-given credits and subsidies for new technical inputs, crops and chemical fertilizers and foreign aids continued. In return, the size of cultivated lands linearly increased from 14.5 million

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<sup>24</sup> Avcioğlu, p.669.

<sup>25</sup> Karpat, p.363-367.

<sup>26</sup> Parvin and Hic, p.219.



hectares in 1950 to 23 million hectares in 1962.<sup>27</sup> In addition, agricultural credits augmented enormously: while the amount of state-given agricultural credits was 2.392 million in 1950, it was 9.030 million in 1970.<sup>28</sup> While the number of tractors was 1.066 in 1940, it tremendously increased to 74.982 in 1967 and it reached 105.865 in 1970.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the average quantity of chemical fertilizers rose from 0.14 kg in 1950 to 8.6 kg in 1965.<sup>30</sup>

In the literature, there are two clashing views on how these policies implemented by the DP and JP as a part of the project of the Green Revolution affected living and working conditions of peasants belonging to different classes in Turkey in the 1960s. First and foremost, it is presented as a modernist project targeting the development of whole society; thus, the evaluations of the Green Revolution were mostly genderless and class-blind. For some scholars, state policies between 1963 and 1980- pricing policies, extension of fertilizers, imported seeds and insecticides, organization of internal market, irrigation projects, sale cooperatives and credits for buying tractors and land- were instrumental in the consolidation of small independent family farming.<sup>31</sup> They emphasize the scale neutrality of new technologies and argue that these technologies benefited smallholders as well as large-farm owners. According to this dominant tendency, most of the sharecroppers became independent petty commodity producers in Turkey by

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<sup>27</sup> Barış Karapınar, "Land Inequality in Rural Southeastern Turkey: Rethinking Agricultural Development," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 32(Spring 2005).p.167.

<sup>28</sup> Parvin and Hic, p.218.

<sup>29</sup> Burak Gürel, "Türkiye’de Kırsal Sınıf Mücadelelerinin Tarihsel Gelişimi 1," *Devrimci Marksizm*, no. 6-7 (Summer 2008). p.91.

<sup>30</sup> Avcıoğlu, p.664.

<sup>31</sup>Keyder, "The Cycle of Sharecropping and the Consolidation of Small Peasant Ownership in Turkey." p. 130-145. ; Keyder, "Social Structure and the Labour Market in Turkish Agriculture."p.731-43. ; Boratav, "Türkiye’de Tarımın 1960’lardaki Yapısı İle İlgili Bazı Gözlemler."

beginning in the 1950s<sup>32</sup> or the mechanization of agriculture replaced the sharecroppers with the seasonal workers for large farming units.<sup>33</sup>

In this perspective, due to greater market integration, remittances from urban migrants, the reclamation of state lands, state subsidies, prices and credits, small peasants had greater access to the means of production and independent petty commodity producers took the place of sharecropper tenants in Turkey's agriculture in the 1960s. Thus, the focus is on the transformations of small peasantry and the ways they integrated into the market (as subsistence oriented producers, commodity or petty commodity producers) rather than sharecropping arrangements and large-scale capitalist farming. These modernist studies do not question the social and economic implications of the Green Revolution for rural women. Thus, they are not useful to explain how these policies and projects conceal and reproduce gender hierarchies in the service of agrarian capitalism.

Similarly, in the few studies of the gendered divisions of labor in rural Turkey, the focus is on female petty commodity producers and the role of their unpaid labor force in family farming. The group of scholars argues that after the mechanization of agricultural production, petty commodity producers used unpaid female labor more intensively, especially for subsistence production, as a coping mechanism against pauperization in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>34</sup> In addition to the feminization of subsistence production in many

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<sup>32</sup> Keyder, "Social Structure and the Labour Market in Turkish Agriculture." p.731-43.

<sup>33</sup> For the emergence of seasonal workers in the villages in Antalya province in the 1960s see Kemal Karpat, "Social Effects of Farm Mechanization in Turkish Villages," *Social Research* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1960). p.83-103. ; İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun Yarattığı Yapısal Dönüşümler Ve Kırdan Kopuş Süreci," in *Yerleşme Yapısının Uyum Süreci Olarak İç Göçler*, ed. I. Tekeli and L. Erder (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1978). p.313.

<sup>34</sup> Gülten Kazgan, "Türk Ekonomisinde Kadınların İşgücüne Katılması, Mesleki Dağılımı, Eğitim Düzeyi Ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Statüsü," in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat (1982). p.146. ; Yakın

villages, as Murat Seker underlines in his study on Southeastern Anatolia, some women from petty commodity producer households had to diversify their livelihoods and work as seasonal cotton or tobacco workers and took all responsibility for subsistence production on their family lands without any payment.<sup>35</sup>

These studies are important in terms of showing the impossibility of explaining the conditions of agricultural production by looking only at economic variables. They delineate the effects of social norms and networks to organize petty commodity production and social differentiation among peasant families in terms of their access to technical inputs.<sup>36</sup> These scholars also focus on the impacts of male urban migration on the transformation of gender hierarchies within and out of the household and so on the social relations of agrarian production.<sup>37</sup> Although these scholars problematize the definition of work as participation in an income-generating activity, draw attention on gender inequalities in the agrarian labor market, analyze the impacts of social norms on the uses of female labor power and acknowledge the functions of women`s unpaid labor for commercial agricultural production, their arguments on rural female labor are limited by petty commodity producers.

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Ertürk, "Türkiye'de Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelişme Ve Kırsal Kadının Konumu," in *Kadın Ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelişme*(Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Kadın Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1992). p.53-58. ; Nadide Karkıner, "Tarımda Kadın Ve Bazı Yapısal İlişkiler," *İktisat Dergisi* 469(Jan. 2003). p.24-31.

<sup>35</sup> Murat. Şeker, *Türkiye'de Tarım İşçilerinin Toplumsal Bütünleşmesi*(Ankara: Değişim Yayınları, 1986). p.178-206.

<sup>36</sup> Nükhet Sirman's Ph.D. study on the relations of production among small petty commodity producers and the importance of household for cotton production in the village of the Aegean region in 1978-1984 is one of the best examples for these rare studies. Nükhet Sirman-Eralp, "Peasants and Family Farms: The Position of Households in Cotton Production in a Village of Western Turkey" (University of London, 1988). ; Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women and Household Production: The Impact of Rural Transformation in Turkey," in *The Rural Middle East: Peasant Lives and Modes of Production*, ed. P. Glavanis(London: ZED Books, 1990). p.183-194.

<sup>37</sup> For example see Suzan Ilıcan, "Peasant Struggles and Social Change: Migration, Households and Gender in a Rural Turkish Society," *International Migration Review* 28, no. 3 (Autumn, 1994). p.554-579.

However, there are other forms of gendered and class based productive relations including sharecropping or landlessness in agrarian capitalism. Dispossession implies different relations of agrarian production, different relations with the means of production and different gendered divisions of labor in comparison with petty commodity production. Thus, how the implementation of the project of the Green Revolution at local level changed rural women`s control over the means of production, reconfigured the gendered divisions of labor and subsumed their labor power in different forms into agrarian capitalism cannot be answered by looking at these modernist studies that focus on the consolidation of petty commodity production after WWII in Turkish agriculture. In addition, since rural women are reduced to the category of petty commodity producer, it is not possible to dismantle gender and class dynamics peculiar to different groups of rural women, and the interplay between agrarian capitalism and social relationships that put them in disadvantageous positions within the time-period of the Green Revolution.

As opposed to these modernist studies on the consolidation of small peasantry through mechanization, another group of scholars have argued that the Green Revolution brought about increasing class polarization between large landowners, small peasants and sharecroppers because of differential access to cash crop, credits, agricultural inputs and commercialization in the 1960s.<sup>38</sup> According to these empirical studies, technology was not resource neutral and available to all and it did not satisfy the needs of smallholders,

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<sup>38</sup>Jan Hinderink and Mübeccel Kıray, *Social Stratification as an Obstacle to Development*(NY: Praeger, 1970). ; Bahattin Akşit, "Studies in Rural Transformation in Turkey in 1950-1990," in *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, ed. Paul Stirling(Huntington: Eothen, 1993). p.187-201. ; Aresvik, p.47. ; Mine Çınar and Oya Silier, *Türkiye Tarımında İşletmeler Arası Farklılaşma*(Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1979). ; Mübeccel Kıray, *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası*(Ankara: DPT Yayınları, 1964). p. 57-88. ; Bahattin Akşit, "Two Turkish Towns: A Study of Social Change. Class Structure, Commercial Involvement and Industrial Underdevelopment" (University of Chicago, 1971).

sharecroppers and landless poor peasants. Differential acquisition of modern agricultural technology, integration into urban centers and market resulted in differentiation and stratification in terms of class, land ownership and capital accumulation in rural Turkey in the 1960s. Thus, technical change in agriculture increased rural poverty and led to unequal distribution of income and wealth.

Statistics also support these empirical findings on increasing class polarization in rural Turkey in these years. Statistically, there was an increasing polarization in the land distribution and differentiation between landowners and sharecroppers and/or small peasants in this period. According to the data from State Institute of Statistics, cultivated land between 1 and 50 hectares was 24.4% in 1963, %29.6 in 1970 and %20 in 1980 while the percentage of lands between 500 and 1000 hectares linearly increased from 4.5% to 5.8% and became 7.9% in 1980; a full 40% of peasants were landless in 1970. And the coasts of the Aegean region were outstanding in terms of the accumulation of cultivated land in the hands of large landholders in these years.<sup>39</sup>

However, in these studies on class-specific social and economic effects of the commercialization of agriculture and the expansion of new technologies, the analyses of agrarian change normalize terms like small peasants, sharecroppers and landless peasants and take the household as a unit of analysis. In other words, property rights, labor relations, access to inputs, income distribution are not considered as contested issues

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<sup>39</sup>DIE, *1963 Genel Tarım Sayımı Örneklemeye Sonuçları*(Ankara: DIE Yayınları, 1965). ; *1973 Genel Tarım Sayımı Örneklemeye Sonuçları*(Ankara: DIE Yayınları, 1973). Tarımsal Yapı ve Üretim ile Tarım İstatistikleri Özeti, Köy Envanter Etütleri, 1963 Tarım Sayımları and 1970 Tarım Sayımı provide statistics on the size of cultivated lands, the distribution of land ownership among agricultural enterprises, types of agricultural enterprises and the number of dispossessed peasants in Turkey. The same statistics were also used and confirmed by the following scholars. Oya Köymen and Meriç Öztürkcan, "Türkiye'de Toprak Dağılımı Üzerine Bazı Notlar," in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*(Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999). p.75-96. ;Adnan Güriz, "Land Ownership in Rural Settlements," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, ed. Erol Tümertekin and Fatma Mansur Peter Benedict(Leiden: Brill, 1974). p.71-91.

within smallholder, landless households or sharecroppers. Thus, the impacts of the use of new technological inputs are conceptualized as class-biased but gender-neutral. In other words, even as these studies focus on class inequalities, they do not account for gender hierarchies in relation to the reorganization of agrarian production.

In addition, in accordance with this Marxist approach to agrarian transition in rural Turkey, some scholars make arguments for the proletarianization of all small peasants with the advent of agrarian capitalism.<sup>40</sup> They assume that different rates of capital accumulation between large-scale producers and peasants after the mechanization, had universally led to the proletarianization of masses and this process resulted in the dissolution of small peasantry and created the class antagonism between the rural proletariat and the agrarian bourgeoisie in Turkey in the years of the Green Revolution.

Although this approach to small peasants is helpful to understand rural class differentiation and antagonism, it understates the interrelationship between different forms of labor and agrarian capitalism when rural female labor is taken into account. By bringing gender relations under agrarian capitalism into focus, it becomes possible to understand rural class differentiation and analyze the impacts of the Green Revolution on rural women belonging to different classes. However, the above-mentioned simplistic account for the proletarianization of all small peasants with the advent of agrarian capitalism is not useful to explain how the implementation of the project of the Green Revolution at local level reconfigured the gendered divisions of labor and subsumed rural

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<sup>40</sup> As an examples for the Marxist scholars in Turkish literature, see Oya Köymen, "Yüzyıllık Tartışma: Tarım Sorununa Giriş," *Bilim ve Sanat* 78(1987). p.12-13. ; Muzaffer Sencer, "Tarım Proleteryası, Yoksul Ve Orta Köylüler," *Ant* 9(1971). p.34-50. ; Muzaffer İlham Erdost, "Kırsal Alan: Yapısı Ve Özellikleri," *Bilim ve Sanat* 78, no. 14-18 (1987). p.14-18.

female labor power in different forms- paid, unpaid or sharecropping- into agrarian capitalism.

Thus, the political economy of agrarian change is incomplete without analyzing gender and class specific impacts of changes in question since rural women are not a homogenous category affected in the same ways by the changes in the conditions of agrarian production. Labor-saving or labor-intensifying technologies do not guarantee more income, fewer working hours and greater productivity for all rural women. Thus, a class and gender-specific approach to technological change in agriculture reveals that technology is not good or bad in itself, but contextual agrarian relations transfer the benefits of new technologies to one class or gender. Control of input and output markets, ownership of new technologies, access to income it generates and to state given credits and subsidies affect the reorganization of gendered divisions of labor and inter and intra-gender hierarchies within and out of the household. This reorganization affects women from large farm households, small farm households, sharecropper households and landless households differently, but existing studies do not provide convincing explanations for the impacts of dynamic and overlapping social forces on women as it relates to the project of the Green Revolution in Turkey.

In sum, there are two clashing views on how the mechanization of agrarian production and agrarian state policies affected living and working conditions of peasants belonging to different classes in Turkey in the 1960s: the consolidation of petty commodity production and increasing rural poverty and proletarianization. The political economy of agrarian transition occupied a central place in the studies advocating these different views, but, unfortunately, the experiences of rural women in the social, political

and economic processes of agrarian transition have seldom been studied. The studies that resonate with the first view have focused only on intensification of the uses of unpaid female labor among petty commodity producers. These studies problematized the concept of paid labor, and demonstrated the impacts of social norms on the uses of rural female labor power in the years of the Green Revolution. But these studies do not provide explanations for the interplay between agrarian capitalism and social relationships that put rural women from different classes in disadvantageous positions in rural Turkey.

Similarly, gender neutral arguments for the proletarianization of all small peasants after the mechanization that accord with the second view cannot be referred to explicate subsumption of rural female labor in different but subordinated forms into agrarian capitalism. And, in these studies, peasant household is taken as a unit of analysis regardless of gender and class specific power relations and conflicting interests among household members. These relations and interests, gender asymmetries in the agrarian labor market, different forms and conditions of rural female labor participation, different gendered experiences of structural inequities among peasants and the places of women in rural economy, propel us to make rural women a subject of history and contemplate into the global and local processes of agrarian transition across gender and class lines in the 1960s in rural Turkey.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Neoclassical Approaches to Development and Rural Women**

As discussed above, neoclassical approaches to development and rural women were dominant among the Turkish scholars. Thus, there is need to examine the premises



of this widespread approach. In the 1960s, the mainstream neoclassical approach to development was based on the premise that developing countries would have to follow Western developed countries to achieve prosperity and social welfare. It was assumed that the project of the Green Revolution would result in greater infrastructural investment, create new economic opportunities, and enable everyone to realize their full potentials, so that the whole society would maintain itself without inter-gender and inter-class conflicts.<sup>41</sup> Thus, the main tenets of this perspective can be summarized as adherence to functionalism and to the consideration of development as essentially beneficial for whole society.

Neoclassical studies of rural women and development were important in this literature. According to this technologically determinist perspective, the adoption of new technology is a solution to rural women's exploitation in the sphere of agricultural production. These scholars consider peasant women as autonomous decision makers and argue that once agricultural production is mechanized, women will be released from unpaid agricultural work.<sup>42</sup> After the introduction of new technical inputs, like high-yielding crops, fertilizers and machines, to agricultural production, most of them will be completely ousted from agricultural work and will become paid agricultural laborers in easier farm jobs, and wage differentials between men and women will be abandoned in this new organization of production. Thus, for these scholars, women's economically

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<sup>41</sup>Rae Blumberg, "Rae Blumberg, Rural Women in Development," in *Women and World Change: Equity Issues in Development*, ed. Naomi Black and Ann Baker Cotrell (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981). p. 22. ; Barbara Rogers, *The Domestication of Women Discrimination in Developing Countries* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1980). p.41.

<sup>42</sup>Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (Vermont: Gower Publishing, 1986). ; Michel Burton and Douglas White, "Sexual Division of Labor in Agriculture," *American Anthropologist* 86(1984). p.568-583. ; Carol Ember, "The Relative Decline in Women's Contribution to Agriculture with Intensification," *ibid.* 85(1983). p.285-299. ; Billie Lee Turner and William E. Doolittle, "The Concept and Measure of Agricultural Intensity," *Professional Geographer* 30(1978). p.297-301.

productive work is considered as a precondition for both gender equality and rural women's empowerment in developing countries.

In the 1970s, by documenting asymmetric effects of modernization on women, liberal feminists made a critical intervention into the mainstream neoclassical approach to rural women. How the measures implemented in the name of agrarian development were often to women's detriment became a guiding question for these feminist studies. But, in these studies, rural women were treated as an undistinguished mass regardless of class differences and different meanings of gender in different societies. And gender discrimination was considered as the result of market imperfections, so, for these scholars, these imperfections could be corrected through the implementation of special programs targeting the development of rural women.

Since technology and progress are synonymous for these scholars – new technology is seen unquestioningly as a good thing – Boserup and others regard technology as always bringing progress to women's lives; they call for increasing participation of women into development projects and increasing their access to credits, land or technical inputs for commercial agricultural production.<sup>43</sup> Only in this way, rural women, who are considered as autonomous decision makers and users of technology, will be modernized and traditional unpaid farm work can be replaced with paid farm work for these women.

Since the problem for liberal feminists was the lack of integration into development for rural women in developing countries, their suggestions to rectify this

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<sup>43</sup> Megan Lylod-Laney and Josef Kienzle, "Making Each and Every Farmer Count: Gender and Participation in Agricultural Engineering Projects," in *Gender and Technology: Empowering Women and Engendering Development*, ed. Saskia Everts (NY: Zed Books, 1998). p.118-126.

problem were to integrate more women into the development agencies,<sup>44</sup> change the misperceptions about women`s work and generate new paid employment opportunities for them<sup>45</sup> or invent new methods of data gathering to reveal the complexities of women`s activities.<sup>46</sup>

These premises of neoclassical and liberal feminist studies can be criticized from different angles. First of all, the definition and measurement of work by neoclassical scholars are problematic. They define productive work as participation into income-earning activity and make the role of women`s unpaid labor force for agricultural production invisible. Since it is non-commodified, it is considered outside of the political economy. However, as Marxist-feminist scholar Lourdes Beneria explained, women`s unpaid labor reduces the costs of commodity production and so it is an inseparable part of agricultural production.<sup>47</sup> Thus, their labor power is productive and it is intrinsic to the functioning of agrarian capitalism. Simply put, women`s reproductive labor is socially invisible and economically undervalued and it is not considered productive by neoclassical scholars. And rural women`s paid work is also considered as a precondition for both gender equality and empowerment for liberal feminists even though they recognize the productivity of rural women`s unpaid labor power. Thus, both neoclassical and liberal feminist scholars argue for integrating rural women into development projects

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<sup>44</sup>Hanna Papanek, "The Differential Impacts of Programs and Policies on Women in Development," in *Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries*, ed. Rosalyn Dabber(Colorado: Westview Press, 1981). p.215-227.

<sup>45</sup>Hanna Papanek, "Development Planning for Women," *Signs* 3, no. 1 (1975). p.14-21.

<sup>46</sup>Ingrid Palmer, "New Official Ideas on Women and Development," *IDS Bulletin* (1979). p.42-52.

<sup>47</sup>Lourdes Beneria, "Accounting for Women`s Work," in *Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural Societies*, ed. Lourdes Beneria(NY: Praeger, 1982). p.119-149.

and creating paid employment opportunities to achieve gender equality in developing countries.

Another neoclassical myth which is easy to discredit is that new technologies always enhance women`s lives. This myth ignores the fact that the conditions of work for female agricultural laborers are affected by their access to land or other means of production and to household income after the adaptation of new technologies. Thus, what women from different classes of rural households do depends on the methods of agricultural production and the impacts of these methods on the survival of their households, their landholdings and wage income. For example, as different case studies show, changing patterns in landholding, the claims over land by rich farmers and the eviction of small tenants might cause pauperization among small farm households and this might result in the proletarianization or semi-proletarianization of women from landless or smallholder households.<sup>48</sup> In fact, greater participation in wage labor was not liberating for these women.

These cases show that, as opposed to technologically determinist perspective of neoclassical scholars, there are interconnections among accumulation, class formation and changes in gender relations for rural women of different classes. Since it enters already existing social relationships of production and reproduction, technological change is not a gender and class neutral and universal process. New technology enters into social spaces constituted by gender and other inequalities and technology changes the social organization of agrarian production by intensifying or generating new gendered divisions of labor in the processes of commercialization of agriculture in different contexts.

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<sup>48</sup>Gita Sen, "Women Workers and the Green Revolution," *ibid.* p.29-65. ; Leon de Leal and Deere, "Rural Women and the Development of Capitalism in Colombian Agriculture."p.60-77.

Lastly, bringing new technologies to farmer women`s doorsteps does not have positive impact on their well being because of gender realities in which technology operates. Neoclassical scholars make uninflected assumptions about women as economically rational actors and argue that women are autonomous decision makers choosing participation in technological development. And their solution to gender inequalities in developing countries is the adaptation of new technical inputs. But, this solution cannot be successful because it neglects the gender realities, and social and economic context in which technology operates. In other words, rural women are not autonomous agents and gender stereotypes affect their access to technology and the consequences of the dissemination of technology. New technical inputs in the agenda of development projects might not be appropriate to the needs of women and most of the rural women don`t have access to credits, land and government subsidies to benefit from new technology since technology is considered as the domain of men.<sup>49</sup> Thus, gender-biased and top-to-bottom projects and agrarian state policies might create sexual division of technology and ignore women`s lived material circumstances.

All in all, neoclassical scholars do not establish adequate premises for understanding the impacts of the project of the Green Revolution on rural women. By measuring women`s welfare as a function of their exemption from unpaid field work and considering women as autonomous agents, they lose sight of context specific interactions between capital accumulation, class formation, gender biases in the policies and projects

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<sup>49</sup>Susan Borgue and Kay Warren, "Technology, Gender and Development," *Daedalus* 116, no. 4 (Fall 1987). p.173-178. ; Margaret Mead, "A Comment on the Role of Women in Agriculture," in *Women and World Development*, ed. Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen(Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1976). p.9-12. ; Ann Whitehead, "Effects of Technological Change on Rural Women: A Review of Analysis and Concepts," in *Technology and Rural Women: Conceptual and Empirical Issues*, ed. Iftikar Ahmad(MA: Allen and Unwin, 1985). p.30-50.

and the reorganization of gendered divisions of labor for rural women. By focusing on the relationship between changing material conditions of agricultural production and reorganization of the gendered divisions of labor, feminist Marxists partially dismantle these interactions.

### **Feminist Marxists and Rural Women as Labor Source for Agrarian Capitalism**

With regards to analyzing the Green Revolution, feminist Marxists investigate the relationship between the gendered divisions of labor and commercial agriculture and question the commodification of rural female labor and market orientation of farmer households after the integration of subsistence-based agricultural production into market.<sup>50</sup> As different case studies reveal, in order to maintain family farm and households in the market, farmers make decisions about the allocation of land and technical inputs for market or subsistence-oriented production, the advantages of subsistence production and the rational distribution of male and female labor power. As a result, the gendered divisions of labor are transformed and women are proletarianized, or semi-proletarianized. Or when farmer households are reorganized in relation to the technical changes in agrarian production, rural women might also contribute to the reproduction of agrarian capitalism through their unfree labor.<sup>51</sup> In this sense, rural women's subsistence production, crop processing at home and their domestic work are

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<sup>50</sup> For the contribution of Feminist Marxists see Nancy Grey Osterud, "Gender and the Transition into Capitalism in Rural America," *Agricultural History* 67, no. 2 (Spring 1993). p.14-29. ; Michael Taussig, "Peasant Economics and the Development of Capitalist Agriculture in the Cauca Valley, Colombia," *Latin American Perspectives* 5, no. 3 (Summer 1978). p.62-91. ; Lucia De Corta, "Unfree Relations and the Feminization of Agricultural Labor in Andhra Pradesh in 1970-95," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 26, no. 2-3 (1999). p.71-78. ; Victoria Lockwood, "Capitalist Development and the Socioeconomic Position of Tahitian Peasant Women," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1988). p.263-285.

<sup>51</sup> De Corta, "Unfree Relations and the Feminization of Agricultural Labor in Andhra Pradesh in 1970-95." p.71-139.

also integral to commercial agriculture. They might continue to work as unpaid laborers in household lands and support family through subsistence farming after the mechanization of agriculture. But, in all cases, they cooperate with men as partners and so farming families reproduce themselves over time.

By analyzing reorganization of gendered relations of agrarian capitalism in different cases, feminist Marxists make visible different forms of rural female labor and its importance for capitalist agrarian production. In this way, these scholars refute neoclassical claim for the elimination of rural women`s unpaid labor with the mechanization of agriculture. As opposed to this claim, as Shahra Razavi illustrates, these scholars analyze women`s domestic labor and gender relations in terms of their function for the survival of household and the reproduction of capitalist relations of agrarian production.<sup>52</sup> Thus, they explain the material basis of rural women`s subordination and the importance of uses of rural female labor power in different forms to sustain agrarian capitalism.

Even though this perspective brings gender differentiation under agrarian capitalism into focus, increasing workloads and unfavorable working conditions for women are considered as solely the effects of pauperization of households after the commercialization and mechanization of agricultural production. In a strange way, the gender analysis of feminist Marxists is incomplete, since they regard the gendered divisions of labor solely as reorganized in response to changing class positions of households after intensification of agrarian production. Thus, rural female labor serves as another force in the reproduction of capitalist relations of production in agriculture and

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<sup>52</sup>Shahra. Razavi, "Engendering the Political Economy of Agrarian Change," *The Journal of the Peasant Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009). p.206-217.

the survival of households. The assumption is that women are part of harmonious, homogenous households; the household is a unit of analysis, there are always cooperative gendered divisions of labor within households and there are no conflicting interests among household members.

The feminist Marxists in this group have not, I think, adequately addressed the question of how *patriarchies* in specific times and places interact with social relations of agrarian capitalism. I find that feminist Marxists dehistoricize and universalize rural women's oppression and the devaluation of their work. In other words, they argue for a stable universal patriarchy and it is only the relations of agrarian production change the forms of women's oppression from different classes. Thus, the Marxist theory of production takes an account for rural women's positions in agricultural production. For feminist Marxists, rural female labor were exploited in subsistence-based agricultural production in the form of unpaid labor force whereas the commercialization of agriculture through technical changes converted them into semi-proletariats, unpaid laborers or proletariats. In any case, material relations of production define the forms of rural female labor and so there is no dynamic interaction between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism.

However, dual systems theorists like Hartmann posit that "...the material base upon which patriarchy rests lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labor power and... men maintain this control by excluding women from access to some essential productive resources'' and hence patriarchy and the social relations of production are intertwined.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, patriarchal relations in rural households cannot

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<sup>53</sup>Heidi Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union,," in *Women and Revolution*, ed. Lydia Sargent(Boston: South End Press, 1981). p.15.



be separated from agrarian productive relations. Women`s oppression within the household and conflicting gender relations are inseparable from the gendered divisions of labor in the productive sphere. Thus, men might solidify their control over land, new technological inputs, and machines that might enable them to dominate women`s labor power. There is a need to examine class and context specific intra-household patriarchal relations, inter- and intra-gender hierarchies and different interests in relation to changing material base of production in order to go beyond functionalist and economically reductionist explanations for deepened exploitation of rural female labor force through heavier workloads which was the negative impact of the project of the Green Revolution on rural women.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, a complete analysis of gendered divisions of labor should not be reduced to class-based analysis of rural households. Instead of arguing for cooperative gendered divisions of labor as a response to the loss of control over the means of production by farming households, there is need to understand mutually constitutive relationship between various forms of patriarchies and agrarian capitalism in different contexts. And intersectional approaches to rural women provide us theoretical tools to explain the interrelationship between patriarchies as it relates to economy and society in question.

### **Intersectionality and Its Premises for Gender and Agrarian Change Studies**

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<sup>54</sup> For the excellent critiques of dual systemic analysis of the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism see Iris Young, "Beyond the Unhappy Marriage: A Critique of the Dual Systems Theory," in *Beyond the Unhappy Marriage: A Critique of the Dual Systems Theory,* in *Women and Revolution*, ed. Lydia Sargent(Boston: South End Press, 1981). p.43-71. ; Olivia Harris and Kate Young, "Engendered Structures: Some Problems in the Analysis of Reproduction," in *The Anthropology of Pre-Capitalist Societies*, ed. Joel Kahn and Josep Llobera(London: The Macmillan Press, 1981). p.109-148.

In 1989, intersectionality was originally given a name by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a law professor at UCLA and Columbia and a leading thinker on critical race theory, to address the experiences and struggles of women of color.<sup>55</sup> After her study, the feminist and anti-racist scholars have started to utilize intersectionality as a theoretical framework for problematizing color-blindness and objectivity of institutional arrangements, and theorizing black women's experiences of oppression and discrimination in society.<sup>56</sup> And, since the 1990s, intersectionality has gained popularity among the scholars as a theoretical perspective to explain social inequalities, politics of difference, multi-dimensional oppressive relations and collective actions against these relations in different historical contexts.

Although the scholars have made an intersectional analysis to explore a variety of social phenomena, what it exactly means has not hitherto received enough attention among them. This makes it “a buzzword” in academia as if the concept solely captures identity politics based on difference to the detriment of structures as Kathy Davis's points out in her article.<sup>57</sup> To overcome this reductionist and simplistic definition of intersectionality, first, I will try to explain its promises and comprehensive insights as an analytical tool for the scholars to uncover the display of multiple structural forces, and the lived experiences of marginalized social groups, and their struggles for empowerment. Then, I will explore how feminist scholars have utilized intersectional

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<sup>55</sup> Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989). p.139-167.

<sup>56</sup> Jennifer C. Nash, "Re-Thinking Intersectionality," *Feminist Review* 89(2008). p.1-15.

<sup>57</sup> Kathy Davis, "Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful," *Feminist Theory* 9, no. 1 (2008). p.67-87.

framework and how it is used in contemporary agrarian studies specifically on gender.

Lastly, I will clarify its utility for my own research.

Sumi Cho, Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall argue that intersectionality is

“best framed as an analytic sensibility...What makes an analysis intersectional – whatever terms it deploys, whatever its iteration, whatever its field or discipline – is its adoption of an intersectional way of thinking about the problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power. This framing – conceiving of categories not as distinct but as always permeated by other categories, fluid and changing, always in the process of creating and being created by dynamics of power – emphasizes what does rather than what intersectionality is.”<sup>58</sup>

By revealing complex and intertwined relations between categories, intersectional approaches undermine the assumption that marginalized groups have unitary experiences and it is utilized to document structural inequalities along multiple dimensions. Thus, it has been the most effective tool to illuminate interplay of intersecting axes of power relations to create social and economic inequalities and to marginalize certain groups in society. As Cho and other co-authors draw attention in their article, when social categories are considered as intertwined, relational and nonadditive processes rather than fixed, abstract and separate entities, it becomes possible to acknowledge how power works in society to create social inequalities. Thus, this approach to mutually constitutive intersectional processes helps the scholars to explain structural forces that constitute the lives of different groups and multiple forms of domination operate in different contexts.

By excavating multilayered power relations and structures of domination, the scholars can influence interpretive lenses on inequalities and reveal ideological structures in which subjects, state policies, collective movements and political solutions are framed.

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<sup>58</sup> Sumi Cho, Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall, "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications and Praxis," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (June 2013). p.795.

And, by making an intersectional analysis, how needs and experiences of different social groups are represented in different institutions and policies can be problematized. As Jennifer Nash draws attention in her article, intersectional perspective provides new lenses to reveal co-constitution of privilege and oppression in society.<sup>59</sup> It makes possible to criticize the legacy of exclusions for marginalized groups and the proliferation of domination.

Intersectionality that does not give primacy to one category producing social inequalities is also against the argument linking the liberation of all society to transformation of social relations saturated with one category, like class, race or gender. As Benita Roth highlights in her article, intersectional approaches do not privilege one category over others and, by focusing on co-determination of inequalities, it provides an alternative to “vanguard center approach”<sup>60</sup> that links the abandonment of structural inequalities solely with one category.

Another important aspect of the definition of intersectionality is about instability of categories. As Roth and Mignon Moore explain in their articles, social categories are not fluid because these categories structure the lives of people and they make counter political claims on the basis of the same categories.<sup>61</sup> In other words, there are continuities in how categories are constructed. People use the same categories in different ways to challenge social inequalities and create new categories. Thus, while elaborating inter and intra categorical complexities, the researchers who use intersectional

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<sup>59</sup> Nash, p.3.

<sup>60</sup>Benita Roth, "Intersectionality: Origins, Travels, Questions and Contributions," in *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism*, ed. Verta Taylor Holly J. McCammon, Jo Reger, and Rachel L. Einwohner(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). p.5-6.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p.17 and Moore Mignon, *Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships and Motherhood among Black Women*(California: : University of California Press, 2011). p.7.

approaches should not forget the importance of stability of the categories to create social inequalities. However, the researchers should also explore how these categories represent the lived experiences and how people fight for equalities by making claims on the basis of the same given categories in practice. Only in this way, it is possible to understand how structural forces work and affect the lives of people and how those people as active agents struggle for equality and transform those given categories.

For a feminist scholarship, intersectionality provides a new *raison d'être* for acknowledging differences and finding new links on the effects of sexism, class, and racism etc. in different contexts. It gives the scholars theoretical tools to understand the effects of intersecting social categories on gendered identities, experiences and struggles in society. By “...making visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it,”<sup>62</sup> the feminist scholars can deconstruct essentialism of each category, and reveal ideological structures and power relations behind the homogenizing gender categories and normalization of discriminatory gender relations and inequalities. When gender is taken as relational social processes in simultaneous interaction with other social categories, it becomes possible to acknowledge the complexity of gendered power relations. In this sense, an intersectional analysis enables the scholars to take critical stance towards gendered power relations and structures of dominations including patriarchy.

While Marxist feminists can be charged with envisioning patriarchy as ahistorical and thus homogenizing forms of gender oppression as explained previously, intersectionality can also potentially provide a better theoretical framework to talk about

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<sup>62</sup> Davis, p.70.

gendered power relations between women and men. Scholars writing about gender dynamics from an intersectional perspective do not consider patriarchy as an a priori cause of women's oppression in traditional societies.<sup>63</sup> Rather, they take the complexities of local patriarchies' differential significance for women belonging to different classes or racial and ethnic groups at the center of their studies. Instead of replicating the modernist binaries of oppressed women in traditional societies via women in modern societies,<sup>64</sup> they examine the conditions of (re) constitution of patriarchal arrangements in different societies.

Intersectional studies are associated with a different method to explain gender inequalities. In a prominent feminist MacKinnon's words, intersectionality is "...grounded in the experiences of classes of people within hierarchical relations where systems of race, gender, and class domination converge," and "criticize a rigidly top-down social and political order from the perspective of the bottom up."<sup>65</sup> Thus, intersectionality as a method does not simply add gender, class and race as independent variables and abstract classifications.<sup>66</sup> These categories are taken as converging substantive realities in academic researches and scholarly articles. This method also focuses on social forces and dynamics and the convergence of different vectors of social inequalities instead of concentrating on top-to-bottom policies and projects. By applying it to gender and women studies, it becomes possible to argue against unidimensional

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<sup>63</sup> See Davis, p.75–85. ; Nash, p.10–15. ; Vrushali Patil, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Assessment of How Far We've Really Come," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2013). p.847-67.

<sup>64</sup> Valentine Moghadam, *From Patriarchy to Empowerment: Women's Participation, Movements, and Rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia*(NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007). ; John Caldwell, "A Theory of Fertility: From High Plateau to Destabilization," *Population and Development Review* 4(1978). p.553–77.

<sup>65</sup> Catharine MacKinnon, "Intersectionality as Method: A Note," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2013). p.1020.

<sup>66</sup> Crenshaw, Cho and Leslie Mccall, p.800-810.

conceptualization of women as oppressed group and examine critical role of gender norms and power relations in societies. Since intersectionality is inextricably linked to an analysis of power and structures of subordination and domination, it foregrounds the contingent operation of social dynamics and displaces the emphasis on subjects as the starting point of inquiry. Thus, by making intersectional analysis, it becomes possible to capture and explain the interplay of multiple social dynamics and inequalities within societies with regard to gendered relations.

Adapting intersectional way of thinking about gender relations to rural women and the processes of agrarian change have not only moved the unspoken world of rural women to the center of analysis, but also changed the way the Green Revolution is thought in a wide range of academic disciplines including economy, history, sociology and criminology in recent years. By capturing the synergistic relations between inequalities in the lived experiences of rural women in certain geographies, we can illuminate how intersecting axes of power and inequalities work in different processes to rural women`s (dis) advantage in different localities. In this sense, contingent operations of gender norms and hierarchies in relation to other forms of social forces like sexuality and class are significant for understanding the structural factors affecting rural women`s vulnerabilities or empowerment in the global processes of agrarian change.

In the burgeoning field of intersectional feminist studies, studies dismantling the central role of gendered power relations in the processes of agrarian change have been increasing in academia since the 2000s. How gendered norms, biases and perceptions manifest itself in everyday relations and affect the allocation of time between work and leisure, obligations, needs, tasks and control over resources and income for rural women

constitutes the central question for the agrarian change scholars writing from an intersectional perspective.<sup>67</sup> In Bina Agarwal's words, there is always "divergence between what a person *actually* contribute, needs or is able to do, and the *perceptions* about her/his contributions/needs or abilities."<sup>68</sup> Thus, the dominant perceptions of needs, obligations, roles and rights of rural women legitimize the devaluation of domestic work, female seclusion and lower wages for them. On the basis of the same perceptions, men are considered as household heads, control resources and income and appropriate female labor in agrarian societies.<sup>69</sup> In addition, social networks, class positions of the household, intra- and inter-gender relations as well as changes in the material conditions of production, including new technical inputs and crop patterns, affect differently the living and working conditions of rural women. Thus, gendered power relations are integral to reorganization of social relations of agrarian production.

This new literature on how agricultural intensification processes, like the diffusion of new technology, are related with gendered norms has provided new insights to understand the relationship between the gendered divisions of labor and agrarian

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<sup>67</sup> Ben D'Exelle and Nathalie Holvoet, "Gender and Network Formation in Rural Nicaragua: A Village Case Studies," *Feminist Economics* 17, no. 2 (2011). p.31-61. ; Sarah Bradshaw, "Women's Decision Making in Rural and Urban Households in Nicaragua: The Influence of Income and Ideology," *Environment and Urbanization* 25, no. 1 (2013). p.81-94. ; C. Dolan, "The 'Good Wives': Struggle over Resources in the Kenya Horticultural Sector," *The Journal of Development Studies* 37, no. 3 (2010). p.39-70. ; Susan Paulson and Milly Senaga Mugenyi Johanna Bergma Lodin, "New Seeds, Gender Norms and Labor Dynamics in Hoima District, Uganda," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 6, no. 3 (Aug. 2012). p.405-22. ; Marcia Nation, "Understanding Women's Participation in Irrigated Agriculture: A Case Study from Senegal," *Agricultural Human Values* 27(2010). p.163-76.

<sup>68</sup> Bina Agarwal, "Bargaining and Gender Relations: Within and Beyond the Households," *Feminist Economics* 3, no. 1 (March 1997). p.1-51.

<sup>69</sup> Benjamin Senauer, "The Impact of the Value of Women's Time on Food and Nutrition," in *Persistent Inequalities*, ed. Irene Tinker(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). p.157. ; Jane Guyer, "Intra-Household Processes and Farming System Researches: Perspectives from Anthropology," in *Understanding Africa's Rural Households and Farming System*, ed. Joyce Lewinger Mook(London: Westview Press, 1986). p.92-105. ; Jane Guyer and Pauline Peters, "Introduction," *Development and Change* 14, no. 2 (Apr. 1987). p.208.



change. And this perspective enables us to go beyond dualistic understanding of the relationship between agrarian change and (ahistorical) patriarchy. It reveals the interplay between gendered norms, intersecting social forces and inequalities and agricultural production. To explain interplay between patriarchies, class relations and agricultural intensification processes in the years of the Green Revolution in Turkey, I will use feminist intersectional approach as elaborated below in detail.

### **Two-Part Model: Material Conditions of Production and Patriarchies**

Given the strengths and weaknesses of the extant literature, it is my contention that only a model that focus on the gendered and class-specific effects of the Green Revolution can adequately account for rural women's lives and for their resistance to state-sponsored agrarian change in my cases. Thus, I intend to use the theoretical insights of feminist Marxists coupled with a feminist intersectional perspective to reveal the multilayered factors which operated to rural women's disadvantage: the agrarian state policies targeting rural communities and women, the changing material conditions of production, the dynamic interrelationship between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism, and women's agency and resistance to all of the above.

First, I plan to be sensitive to questions of capitalist development within the localities under investigation; indeed, given the Green Revolution's interventions into everyday relations of agricultural production, I must engage shifts in the organization of agrarian capitalism in rural Turkey and the world. When material conditions of production have been changed through the implementation of the global project of the Green Revolution, social relations of production as well as the gendered divisions of

labor have been reorganized across different countries. Thus, when nation states conduct the global project through credits, subsidies for technical inputs, and the distribution of high-yielding varieties and fertilizers, rural women find themselves in totally different relations. As the previous literature review on the subject shows, in the 1960s, because of newly created gendered relations of agricultural production, particular segments of rural women were the worst hit. When men reaped the benefits, rural women were apt to lose control over the means of agricultural production and income and they were in danger of having a greater workload to satisfy the needs of agrarian capitalism fostered by the Green Revolution. These effects will be explored in my research; while I am open regarding the Green Revolution's effects, it is my hypothesis at this time that, given gender-blind state policies, landless peasant women in the Aegean villages suffered from increased workloads in the fields and households.

Secondly, feminist Marxists give us tools to explain how changing material conditions of production led to the marginalization of women in rural societies with the advent of agrarian capitalism. Thus, it is helpful to understand new forms of labor control and the expropriation of female labor under agrarian capitalism in the context of Turkey. This approach can be used to explain why female labor power was subsumed in different but again subordinated forms into agrarian capitalism as a precondition for its reproduction. In other words, this perspective prevents us from considering the project of the Green Revolution as a neutral and developmentalist project targeting whole society. This allegedly gender-neutral project was implemented to conceal and maintain gender hierarchies and to create new forms of expropriation of female labor in tandem with the requirements of agrarian capitalism. Thus, the issue is not gender-blindness and lack of

integration of rural women into the developmentalist projects, but systemic marginalization of groups of rural women belonging to lower classes and gender discrimination for the sake of agrarian capitalism.

In this frame, I intend to explore the effects of changing material conditions on landless peasant women in the Aegean villages in two interrelated ways. First, I hypothesize that changing material conditions of cotton production in the selected large farms as it relates to female labor power was a factor that operated against women's interests. Thus, I will explore how female labor demand, forms of supervision and labor control were transformed within these two large farms with the advent of agrarian capitalism. Secondly, given their resistance to land reclamation by the landlords to produce Mexican wheat in 1969, my hypothesis is that land occupations by these women also reveal the relationship between changing material conditions of production, deterioration of working and living conditions for them and their reactions to these conditions and inequalities.

However, changing material conditions of agrarian production are not only determinants of worse working and living conditions for landless peasant women in the cases. Beyond that, dynamic relationship between agrarian capitalism and patriarchies should be examined. Since gendered power relations between men and women, patriarchies, are not static and ahistorical, the feminist Marxist approach is not useful for understanding the interplay between specific patriarchies and the local processes of the Green Revolution. Therefore, in order to understand how the collusion of specific patriarchies and overlapping social inequalities affected landless peasant women, I will use an intersectional approach.

In my study, I will use specific forms of intersectionality as theoretical tools to explain this interplay and social and economic inequalities landless peasant women experienced in two cases. I will make “a process-centered intersectional analysis” and apply “an inter-categorical intersectional approach” while scrutinizing how landless peasant women experienced the processes of agrarian capitalism in Turkey. Instead of defining agrarian capitalism only in relation to class relations and taking gender as an additive category used to sustain and support these relations in different ways, I think that gender is integral to agrarian capitalism and so rural gender relations also construct political economy. And process-centered and inter-categorical intersectional approaches are the most effective tools to unearth how power worked through the deployment of the categories of class and gender and how mutually constitutive intersectional processes constituted the lives of economically and socially marginalized landless peasant women in two villages.

Hae Yeon Choo and Myra Marx Ferree define “a process-centered... intersectionality as a process, highlighting power as relational, seeing the interactions among variables as multiplying oppressions at various points of intersection.”<sup>70</sup> According to this definition, in order to explain structural inequalities, the researchers should work on variations in the intersections across categories by highlighting material and social relations of power. Thus, process centered intersectional analysis take different forms of social stratification not as separate, independent strands of inequality, but as co-constructed social inequalities. By acknowledging different

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<sup>70</sup>Hae Yeon Choo and Myra Marx Ferree, "Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions and Institutions in the Study of Inequality," *Sociological Theory* 28, no. 2 (June 2010). p.129.

structural processes that organize dominant relations in society, it becomes possible to analyze how power works in society.

Process-centered intersectional analysis will enable me to illuminate how intersecting axes of power and inequalities operated to landless peasant women's disadvantage in two cases. Instead of considering landless peasant women's marginalized positions solely a result of their class or gender status, I will foreground multiple social and economic dynamics and relations that constitute these subjects and render an analysis based on politics and structural inequalities. To acknowledge why some individuals, specifically male landless peasants and landlords were relatively privileged, I will incorporate the effects of mutually reinforcing gender, and class-specific oppressive relations and explore multiple sources of domination over rural female labor in two cases, like labor control mechanisms used by the landlords, patriarchal relations or state policies.

In my study, I will focus on historically contingent structural factors that are important to reveal multi-layered forms of domination for landless peasant women in two cases. I hypothesize that these factors affected their (in) abilities to be the beneficiaries of the Green Revolution project and conditioned their resistance to these factors. I define these factors as a) changing material conditions of agrarian production related to the gender hierarchies and class inequalities in two villages, b) the genderless class-based organization of land occupations, c) state policies, specifically home economics policies and agrarian policies, and the impacts of these policies on women's living and working conditions, and d) competitive party politics in relation to the mobilization of women.

In my dissertation, by evaluating these factors, I intend to explain how gender hierarchies and class inequalities as intersecting dynamic social forces obscured the premises of the Green Revolution for landless peasant women in two ways. First, given gender-blind and class-biased state policies, organization of land occupations by the leftists and the politicians' reactions to the occupier women, my hypothesis is that these factors reinforced gender and class hierarchies in the selected villages. And my second hypothesis is that gendered norms negatively affected conditions and types of work for these women and increased their workload in the processes of agricultural transformation. Even if they could benefit from their networks and use the knowledge of home management they obtained from the state-led home economics courses to deal with increasing workload and even if they gave voice to their gendered claims to transform gendered divisions of labor in the fields and households in land occupations, their working conditions got worsened.

By analyzing these factors, my study will also influence interpretive lenses by addressing larger class and gender specific ideological structures in which subjects, state policies and organization of peasant movements and political solutions were framed in the 1960s in Turkey. In other words, by intersectional knowledge production, I will explore how class-based and gender-specific goals of middle class home economists, leftist activists or politicians to change working conditions of landless peasant women did not fit their real lived experiences. By excavating gendered and class-based implementation of state policies targeting rural women, the reactions of the politicians and the organization of peasant mobilization, I will illustrate how these women's claims

and experiences were turned deaf ears to reproduce existing forms of patriarchal and upper class ideological structures in rural Turkey.

I will also utilize intersectionality to understand relations between social structures landless peasant women inhabit and their actions challenging structural inequalities. Leslie McCall's definition of "inter-categorical intersectional approach" is useful for me to explain these relations. In this approach, McCall argues that scholars can use categories by "provisionally adopt[ing] existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions."<sup>71</sup> This emphasis on inter-categorical complexity enables the researchers to understand how different and intertwined categories are implicated in the building of social inequalities in specific and relational ways. The inter-categorical approach requires an acknowledgement of different ways through which intertwined social categories condition subjective positions and create inequalities in society and of strategic uses of these categories to challenge inequalities by the same subjects.

By using this approach, I intend to reveal the interplay of agency and structure for landless peasant women and underline how they contested and transformed constraining structural forces in particular localities. Thus, I agree with the warning Choo and Ferree made to the researchers against the risk of underplaying agency while working on structural processes that create inequalities from an intersectional perspective.<sup>72</sup> For me, analyzing how landless peasant women contested the categories of gender and class and

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<sup>71</sup> Leslie McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs* 30, no. 3 (2005). p.1773.

<sup>72</sup> Choo and Ferree, p.133.

transformed it in their fights for equalities is important as well as above-mentioned structural forces.

However, this does not imply that I take gender and class as constantly fluid categories or fixed stable abstract categories. According to my interpretive perspective, these categories are co-constructed as systemic inequalities and shape feminine subjectivities and living and working conditions for landless peasant women. These women also use the same categories in different ways to make their gender and class-specific claims in land occupations or state-led adult training courses targeting rural women. This kind of intersectional approach to social categories will give me an opportunity to document both the complex and multiple categories creating inequalities for landless peasant women, changing historical configurations of these inequalities and the creation of new categorical relations through their actions. This makes possible to understand the complexity of lived experiences of these women and the relations of inequalities along multiple dimensions.

### **Outline of the Thesis**

By tackling my research question- the impacts of the Green Revolution on landless women and their agencies to cope with these impacts in Göllüce and Atalan villages in Turkey in the 1960s,- I conducted 10 months of research in Turkey in 2015, which included an extensive research in different archives that preserve the collections relevant to my question, as well as in-depth interviews with the journalists, leftist activists from different political parties who were actively involved in the organization of land occupations in two villages and/or wrote about these landless peasants. As a part of



my field research, to acquire more in-depth information on lived experiences of landless peasants, I have also conducted interviews with them in the villages. For my archival research, I spent 9 months in the Ataturk Library, TÜSTAV (Social History Research Foundation of Turkey), the State Library of Beyazit, and the Library of Gender Studies in Istanbul and the National Archive in Ankara. In these archives, I particularly searched into the journals and local and national newspapers that richly document social, economic and political conditions of agrarian production for landless peasants and their activities in two cases.

In Chapter I, I set up the problem this dissertation grapples with, discuss why it is problematic and significant, make a critical literature review and outline the broad theoretical strokes of the dissertation and give a brief outline of the content of each chapter. After formulating my research question and explain its contributions to the fields of agrarian studies in Turkey, I also critically assess different theoretical approaches to rural women and agrarian development and change i.e. neoclassical, feminist Marxist and intersectional approaches.

In Chapter 2, I explore the working of these farms as it relates to female labor power in order to reveal how rural women, as a particular class, were marginalized in the processes of the consolidation of agrarian capitalism and how they struggled against their marginalization. For this chapter, the archival documents from the National Archive in Ankara, national newspapers, like *Cumhuriyet*, *Son Havadis* and *Ulus* and the interviews with the journalists and the landless peasants themselves were also used as valuable resources to trace the impacts of agrarian state policies on the escalation of rural poverty and class inequalities between the landlords and landless peasants in two villages,

especially after WWII. On the basis of these documents and interviews, I analyze the working of two large farms before and after the mechanization of agriculture in terms of the changing material conditions of production, class and gender specific labor control mechanisms, and women's resistance to these mechanisms in three periods: technologically backward sharecropping (1938-late-1950), mechanized cotton production (late-1950s-1967), and laborsaving and highly mechanized Mexican wheat production (after 1967). In this way, I highlight the changing material conditions of production as a factor explaining disadvantageous position of these women in the years of the Green Revolution.

In Chapter 3, on the basis of my interviews with the members of leftist student organizations and youth branches of the political parties, who actively supported land occupations in two cases, and of my archival research on leftist journals-*İşçi Köylü Gazetesi*, *Yön* (1961-67), *Ileri*, *Emek* (1969-1971) and *Proleter*- and local newspapers- *Demokrat İzmir*, *Torbalı*, and *Ege Ekspres* among others- at TÜSTAV and the State Library of Beyazıt, I argue that the genderless and class-based organization of the movement as a local factor did not alleviate gender inequalities in the selected villages. To explain this factor, I analyze how youth branches and leftist student organizations conceptualized these villages as “imagined homogeneous landscapes” according to their political perspectives on land reform; and the gendered implications of this imagination.

In Chapter 4, I argue that state policies constitute another factor to understand the disadvantageous position of landless women as beneficiaries of the project of the Green Revolution in Turkey. In this chapter, I seek to provide a critical assessment of state-led home economics project in two villages in 1967 and 1968. *State Development Plans*

(1963-1967 Plan and 1968-1972 Plan), *Village Inventories on the Aegean Region*, *Parliamentary Minutes* and *the National Institute of Statistics* were my primary resources to do this. In addition to these sources, I also used the journals of *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi* and *Türk Kadını* from the archive of the Library of Gender Studies as primary resources to trace the gender-specific agendas of the government on integrating rural women into the development projects, specifically home economics projects. And interviews with the landless peasants enabled me to explore its impacts on female labor power and women`s resistance to the project in two villages. My intention is to explain how gender-based state policy, specifically home economics policy, and the ways it was implemented were intended to recast and reinforce gendered divisions of labor at the disadvantage of rural women in two ways: First, I explain how the objectives of home economics training courses pedagogically essentialized conventional role of housewifery for rural women and ignored them as agricultural workers. Secondly, by analyzing interactions between home economists, and the female participants, I explore not only gender politics intrinsic to the policy, but also landless women`s active roles in shaping this policy.

In Chapter 5, on the basis of my archival research and interviews especially with the leftist activists from different political parties, I continue to evaluate the role of state politics in the regulation of labor relations and the determination of socio-economic status of rural women in two cases. I illustrate different class and gender specific reactions of the politicians from the RPP (Republican People`s Party) and JP (Justice Party) to peasant struggles, specifically land reform attempts, and to the political mobilization of women in two villages. I also explore how the political activism of women affected the

politicians and forced them to reconsider the legitimacy of current agrarian policies and necessity of making land reform in Turkey.

In Chapter 6, I summarize the findings from the research and its contributions to the literature on rural women, peasantry, politics, and agrarian capitalism in Turkey after WWII. And, in this part, I also explain its relevance to contemporary studies on the changes in agrarian production, the forms of rural female labor power, politics, and on peasant discontent and struggles in Turkey since the 1980s. And I explain how this dissertation opens new avenues for future gender and class specific researches on peasant movements, agrarian transition and social relations of agricultural production.

## Chapter 2

### Contentious Labor Processes Between Landless Women and the Landlords in Two Villages: Rethinking Rural Class Structure in Turkey After World War II

Class differentiation arising from the Green Revolution has been an extensive field of study to explain uneven agrarian development and transition in the developing countries in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>73</sup> However, most of these rural class-differentiation analyses were gender-blind because of their limited attention to women`s agricultural work, although most of the agrarian workers were women and so changes in the forces of production primarily affected their working and living conditions. Explorations into rural female labor give us better theoretical insights on the far-reaching effects of the Green Revolution because gendered divisions of labor and gender and class-specific labor control mechanisms and struggles are intrinsic to agrarian capitalism and rural class relations.

In this chapter, on the basis of my archival research and interviews with the residents of two large farms, Göllüce and Atalan, I explore gender and class-specific labor control mechanisms and landless peasant women`s strategies to adjust their labor intensity for agricultural work. In this way, I focus on the workings of these farms as it

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<sup>73</sup> For the examples of increasing rural antagonism see, Griffin, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: An Essay on the Green Revolution*. p.50. ; Raj Patel, "The Long Green Revolution," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013). p.19. For the perspective of proliferation of small peasants see, Regina Birner and Danielle Resnick, "The Political Economy of Policies for Smallholder Agriculture," *World Development* 38, no. 10 (2010). p.1443. ; Lipton, *New Seeds and Poor People*. p.109-114.

relates to female labor power and explain how rural female labor power was used in different forms in the processes of the consolidation of agrarian capitalism during the years of the Green Revolution in Turkey. To do this, I analyze the workings of two large farms before and after mechanization of agriculture in terms of changing material conditions of production, labor control mechanisms, patriarchies and women's resistance to these mechanisms by focusing on the experiences of landless peasant women in Göllüce and Atalan in three periods: technologically backward sharecropping (1938-late-1950), mechanized cotton production (late-1950s-1967), and laborsaving and highly mechanized Mexican wheat production (after 1967).

By exploring contentious labor relations between landless peasant women and the landlords in these three periods, I reveal how technological changes in agricultural production as well as patriarchal relations are intrinsic to the processes of the consolidation of agrarian capitalism. And I argue that both the changes in material conditions of production and gendered struggles over the control of rural female labor power mediated rural class conflicts and affected the trajectories of agrarian change in two cases.

In this frame, in the first part of this chapter, I explain how labor relations for sharecropper women changed with the mechanization of cotton production and then with the cultivation of Mexican wheat. First, by exploring different labor control mechanisms used by the landlords and the expropriation of female labor power different but again subordinated forms into agrarian capitalism in each period, I show that the project of the Green Revolution cannot be considered as a gender and class-neutral project. Since changing material conditions of agrarian production are not only determinants of

increasingly worse working and living conditions for landless peasant women after the mechanization of agricultural production, I also explore dynamic relationships between agrarian capitalism, class antagonism and patriarchies for each period.

In addition, I explain how these women actively struggled against proletarianization in each period. When landless peasant women contended against labor processes by applying certain strategies, they affected not only class relations, but also the organization of agricultural production. Thus, their strategies thwarted the capitalist farming dreams of the landlords and retarded their own proletarianization. In this sense, they affected rural class relations and agrarian change in the context of Turkey.

In the second part of this chapter, I explain how the real experiences of landless peasant women in two villages should change our ideas about what occurred in Turkey during the years of the Green Revolution and how it problematizes existing literature on rural class relations and rural female labor. By using two-part model incorporating the theoretical insights of feminist Marxist and intersectional analysis, I articulate a new gendered and classed interpretation of the project of the Green Revolution. By making an alternative interpretation of the project, I argue that gender hierarchies also found material expressions in the gendered divisions of labor for agricultural production. In this sense, beyond the feminist Marxists' evaluation of the relationship between changing material conditions of production, rural class structure and the gendered divisions of labor, there are mutually constitutive relationships between agrarian capitalism and patriarchal relations. And scrutiny of this relationships in two cases enable us to criticize the common tendency in the scholarship on the deployment of petty commodity

production and on the elimination of rural class inequalities in the processes of consolidation of agrarian capitalism in Turkey after WWII.

### **Two Cases: Sharecropping and Contested Labor Relations**

Based on my archival research and interviews with the peasants themselves in two selected villages, I will first explain the historical background and the emergence of sharecropping and then contentious labor relations specific to it in two villages. As a part of the organization of sharecropping relations, on the one hand, landlords used debt bondage, denial of property rights and sharecropping contracts as labor control mechanisms. In addition, gender relations and hierarchies based on agnatic ties, sexuality, age and marital statuses were also functioned as very important female labor control mechanisms in two cases. However, landless peasant women did not allow for a complete control over their labor power and applied certain strategies, like cooperation between all members of the household, self-help groups, and the reorganization of division of labor among women to lessen their workload as elaborated in the rest of this part.

When Hacı Ali Pasha, a rural police officer, directed a rural police force against the Greek bandits during the 1897 war with Greeks, Sultan Abdulhamid paid his tribute to him by granting state-owned land at Izmir.<sup>74</sup> Although there is not any document about the legal borders and size of this land, we know that it included the lands on which Göktepe, -Göllüce and Atalan villages- located. Göktepe village was located on the fertile hill and was very close to Göllüce and Atalan in the basin of Menderes River. And, as

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<sup>74</sup> Although there is no any official document about the title and borders of granted land, I assume that Ali Pasha had the official title of lands because, to consolidate its power and control over rural areas Ottoman Empire legalized private property with the 1858 Law and distributed the titles for state-owned lands. Since the land was given to Ali Pasha around 1878, it is most likely that he had the title too.



explained below, it is closely connected with the creation of Göllüce and then Atalan villages and its landless peasants.

When Ali Pasha passed away and his son inherited this land in 1915, he decided to build a big farm on these lands. However, to operate the farm, he needed a cheap labor power. Thus, he evicted all residents of Göktepe village who were using the lands for years and created his new Göllüce village in the early Republican era.<sup>75</sup> He did the peasants a "favor" and allowed evicted peasants to set up a tent and work for him in the newly created village, Göllüce. In this way, he forced poor peasants to work in his lands and the peasants who lost all means of production including their lands, few animals and their houses at Göktepe village had to sell their labor power for subsistence. Even though there is no information or any record on what he exactly did between 1915 and 1938, we know that he used his connections with the new bureaucrats of the Republic to lend money from the Ziraat Bank and tried to establish his own farms on these lands until he passed away on Dec. 12, 1938.<sup>76</sup>

The rest of the story sheds light on the historical path of sharecropping in Göllüce and Atalan. After his death, his daughter, Mesude Evliyazade, her mother and stepmother inherited the lands, but they did not get along with each other and so did not pay back their debt to the state bank on time. This led to the confiscation of land by the bank until Mesude Evliyazade saved money and paid their debt back in 1943. From then on, she used her political connections to convert Göllüce into a modern farm.<sup>77</sup> Since it was difficult to establish control over all land, in 1944, she gave the use right of Burgaz

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<sup>75</sup> Fatma İrfan Serhan, "Agalar ve Masallar," *Yön Dergisi*, No:13, 07.18.1962, p.13. For the caricature see Figure 2.1.

<sup>76</sup> Mesude Evliyazade, "Göllüce Çiftliği." *Cumhuriyet*, 19.May.1962, p.2.

<sup>77</sup> Serhan, p. 13.

village within her lands to the Atalan family and the village was renamed as Atalan village.<sup>78</sup>

The year 1946 was remarkable not only for transition into the multi-party system in Turkey`s political history with the Democrat Party (DP) of Adnan Menderes, a husband of Mesude Evliyazade`s nephew, getting into the parliament, but also for the 1946 Act of the incumbent Republican People`s Party, which legalized the expropriation of the lands over 5000 donums<sup>79</sup> and allocation of these lands to sharecroppers. While Adnan Menderes opposed this act in the parliament, his wife`s aunt, Mesude Evliyazade, officially changed the borders of both villages from the General Directorate of Land Registry as a safeguard against the plan of land expropriation and the execution of the Act in Tire in 1947. With the acknowledgement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Subaşı, Kırbaş, Burgaz (Atalan), Göllüce, Tulum and Bülbüldere villages were re-registered as the villages of Torbalı on March 22, 1947.<sup>80</sup> Thus, both of the villages remained out of the land reform debates and plans.

In addition, as proved by archival documents, under the rule of the DP (1950-1960), the relatives of the Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes continued to prevent land reform attempts. For example, in the state report prepared in 1954, it was argued that land reform could not be implemented in Evliyazade`s lands. Even though all lands over 5000 donums had to be expropriated by law and the landlords had control over 9000 donums (2700 registered in the name of Sadik Atalan, and 6300 in the name of Mesude

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<sup>78</sup> Erkin Usman, *Interview*. 24.December.2014.

<sup>79</sup> Donum is the Ottoman unit of area equivalent to English acre, representing the amount of land that could be ploughed by a team of oxen in a day. One donum is approximately one decare (1000 square meter).

<sup>80</sup> *State Archives*, “İzmir ili Tire ilçesinin Subaşı, Kırbaş, Atalan, Göllüce, Naime,Tulum ve Bülbüldere köylerinin Torbalı ilçesine bağlanması.” **Date:** 22/3/1947 **No:** 20932 **File Code:** 30..11.1.0 **Overlay Number:** 190.7.11.

Evliyazade), in this report, it was argued that only 4000 was fertile, so there was no need for land reform.<sup>81</sup> Thus, this report shows that state officials from the DP ignored landless peasants and violated their land rights by acting against the 1946 Act.

State agents also helped them for land acquisition. The case of Atalan village provides a great example for land acquisition by the relatives of Adnan Menderes in the 1950s. When Sadik Atalan passed away in 1954, Mesude Evliyazade convinced Sadik Atalan`s little boy of selling these lands to Sadik Giz, an Izmir deputy of the DP and Adnan Menderes`s cousin. And state officers registered the land of Atalan village in Giz`s name although Sadik Atalan`s boy was not legally culpable to sell the land. As a result, according to the legal records of land registered in the names of the members of the DP and Adnan Menderes`s relatives in Izmir, Sadik Giz had 19 pieces of land and Mesude Evliyazade 16 pieces by July 1960.<sup>82</sup>As the landlords claimed more land, they made landless peasants dependent and imposed their wills on them easily. As the relatives of the Prime Minister acquired more land, class inequalities increased in both villages and landless peasants found themselves as sharecroppers at disposal of the landlords, as explained below.

Since the level of technology was very primitive in both villages, the welfare of the landlords depended on their ability to expand sharecropping rather than making investment on new technical inputs in these years. Thus, the landlords formalized the conditions of cotton production in every January by making annual sharecropping contracts with the villagers. According to these contracts, the landlords provided all

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<sup>81</sup> *State Archives*, “İzmir Torbalı'nın Güllüce köyünde bulunan Güllüce Çiftliği hakkında notlar.” **Date:** 5/4/1954 **File Code:** E12 **Code:** 30..1.0.0 **Overlay Number:** 80.509. 2.

<sup>82</sup> *State Archives*, “DP mensupları ve akrabalarına ait İzmir ve ilçelerindeki tapu kayıtları.” **Date:**0/0/1960 **File Code:** 10. .9.0.0 **Yer Overlay Number:** 402.1221.4., 47- 80.

means of production including seeds, animals and plough and allocated a small parcel of land to peasant families with hovels. As for the peasants, they acquired 1/8 of the product, cotton, in return for providing labor power for the whole year.<sup>83</sup> Thus, for the landlords who had the rights for defining the working and living conditions in both villages, sharecropping was more profitable and cheaper in comparison with hiring paid laborers from other villages.

In addition to these contracts, the landlords applied other labor control mechanisms: First, they created debt bondages with the families who had to renew the contract every year in order to secure their houses and livelihoods. By lending money to families in need, they created a debtor-creditor relationship and forced them to accept the landlords' wills when they failed to pay back their debt. For example, as the interviewees mentioned, the landlords would ask sharecropper women for cleaning services, ask men for chopping and carrying wood or force them to waive their right for claiming 1/8 of the product.<sup>84</sup> In all of these examples, sharecroppers were at disposal of the landlords.

Denying property rights to landless peasants was another labor control mechanism used by the landlords. In this way, they pauperized peasants and made them dependent. The official report prepared on the villages on May 1954 gives us clues about on this mechanism. For example, the landlords prohibited the construction of stable frame houses and even the cultivation of any crop or plant around their houses. And of course, buying or selling land or demanding the title of small lands on which they lived had also been prohibited.<sup>85</sup> Based on her field trips to Göllüce, a leftist journalist, Fatma Irfan

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<sup>83</sup> The resident of Atalan 1, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid; The Resident of Göllüce 1, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.

<sup>85</sup> *State Archives*, "İzmir Torbalı'nın Göllüce köyünde bulunan Göllüce Çiftliği hakkında notlar." **Date:**

Serhan, explained how Mesude Evliyazade robbed sharecroppers of basic human rights and enslaved them to maximize her profits.<sup>86</sup> Her observations reveal the real impacts of the prohibitions on landless peasants' living conditions. According to her newspaper articles, these people were deprived of clean water and livable houses. As she depicted in the caricature, these poor sharecroppers were living in hovels without windows, like 'land slaves' of the landlords, under the threat of eviction and there was no difference between living on earth and underground for them. In addition, the landlord did not also allow them to construct a school within the village and forced everyone else to work as sharecropper on her lands.<sup>87</sup> Thus, the landlord tyrannized sharecroppers and forced them to accept her demands.

In response, sharecroppers also developed certain techniques to lessen their workload and secure their livelihood in both villages: cooperation between all members of the household, self-help groups, and the reorganization of division of labor among women. First, women, men and children engaged in collective work while planting, plowing, hoeing, harvesting and bailing cotton on their small parcels of land. As the interviewee pointed out, since their houses and the small field on which they worked were at the same place, it was easier to work together.<sup>88</sup> When the schools were closed in summers, children would also help their parents to plow, harvest and bail the cotton. In addition, it was easier for these women to take care of their small children and do house chores because home and work were separated from each other. This had two

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5/4/1954 **File Code:** E12 **Code:** 30..1.0.0 **Overlay Number:** 80.509. 2.

<sup>86</sup> Fatma İrfan Serhan, "Göllüce davası." *Demokrat İzmir*, 09.08.1962, p.2.

<sup>87</sup> Fatma İrfan Serhan, "Göllüce Dramı-1." *Cumhuriyet*, 03.May.1962, p.2. For the caricature, see Figure 2.1.

<sup>88</sup> The resident of Göllüce 2 and the resident of Atalan 2, *Interviews*. 25.December.2014.

consequences for women: it was easier for them to coordinate daily housework, like cooking and cleaning, and men were more helpful to take care of children- even if they did not cook and clean. Thus, it seems that there were more gender equal divisions of labor at these sharecropper houses in comparison with later mechanized agricultural production.<sup>89</sup>

Even though all members of the sharecropper families spent all of their time and energy for cotton production, they were not able to sell their share- 1/8 of cotton they produced. It was not easy for them to sell it at a fair market price because they mostly had to leave their share to the landlords or moneylenders in return of their debts. And usurers working jointly with the landlords were speculating about the low ceiling price just before the declaration of state-subsidized prices and bought their cotton at a very low market price.

Secondly, self-help groups (*imece*) enabled sharecroppers to work faster and organize better in labor-demanding stages of cotton production, like digging irrigation canals, hoeing, weeding and harvesting. Women created a social network with their close relatives living in the same village and they worked in rotation if needed.<sup>90</sup> In this sense, self-help groups organized by women functioned as a coping mechanism against above-mentioned technologically primitive and labor-demanding processes of cotton production. In these groups, labor was offered freely and exchanged as a reciprocated gift between small number of people tied to each other through multiple social relations: kinship and sexuality in particular. Since individuals were inserted into social networks on the basis of agnation principle, both women and men created self-help groups with

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<sup>89</sup> The resident of Atalan 1, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.

<sup>90</sup> The resident of Atalan 2, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.

their agnates. Thus, married women had to circulate their labor power for carrying out agricultural tasks for their husbands' kin and then they helped their own relatives. In this sense, husbands controlled their wives' labor power by forcing them to carry out agricultural tasks in the fields of their parents first. However, husbands were also involved into the same tasks through the self-help groups composed of their male relatives.

For unmarried women and widows, agnatic solidarity was also important notion to understand the formation and operation of self-help groups. These women also expanded their social network with their female relatives from parental side and cooperated in all stages of cotton production. And because of agnatic principle, fathers and (un) married brother were also responsible for taking care of them and assisting them on agricultural tasks. Thus, it can be claimed that although self-help groups were created on the basis of kinship relations and sexuality and implied male control over female labor, these gender-specific groups still cooperated at least on the farm work and so helped women to lessen their workload.

Even though both self-help groups and cooperative work imply gender equality, at least on farm work among sharecropper households, working conditions were detrimental to younger sharecropper women when domestic work was considered. Again, agnatic ties are important to understand intra-gender relations of authority and deference and the control over female labor power. Elder women, especially mother in laws, exploited labor power of brides and young girls more intensively, especially when they had a common residence.<sup>91</sup> These women had to do all domestic work in addition to be an agrarian

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

laborer under the service of landlords. In this sense, their domestic labor was contributed to the reproduction of labor power within the household and decreased the cost of cotton production. While transferring domestic work to younger women lessened workload for elder women, their reproductive labor also secured livelihood for the household.

Therefore, to understand all techniques developed by sharecroppers against labor control mechanisms, intra-gender relations and hierarchies based on age and marital statuses as well as inter-gender relations are very important. In this sense, the agnation principle reveals how gender-specific intra-village social relations are closely related with sharecropping and labor relations.

### **Mechanized Cotton Production and New Gendered Division of Labor**

In both villages, mechanized cotton production took the place of sharecropping in the late-1950s. These years became a glorious era for the landlords in Göllüce and Atalan because the aunt of the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes's wife, Mesude Evliyazade, and his cousin, Sadik Giz, continued to benefit from their political connections and accumulated all means of production in their hands until the official suppression of the DP government with the 1960 coup d'état. In addition to above-mentioned land acquisitions through political relations, starting from the late-1950s, the landlords made investments on technology by using state-given credits. Evliyazade obtained 13 tractors and combine harvester whereas Giz got 10 tractors for mechanized cotton production in these years.<sup>92</sup> In return, their capacity for capital accumulation increased and the landlords became capitalist farmers utilizing new technology to produce cotton

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<sup>92</sup> Serhan, "Göllüce Dramı-1." *Cumhuriyet*, 03.May.1962, p.2. ; Fatma Irfan Serhan, "Göllüce Dramı-2." *Cumhuriyet*, 10.May.1962, p.2. ; The resident of Atalan 3, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.



exclusively for the market.

Mechanization of cotton production and land acquisition increased yield per hectare and so made cotton production for the market more profitable. However, the landlords also needed to find a cheap labor force for labor-demanding tasks caused by the mechanization of production, such as seedbed preparation, application of fertilizers or intensified harvesting. With the purpose of finding cheap labor force, by taking back small plots of sharecropped lands, threatening landless peasants with eviction and bulldozing their houses, the landlord of Atalan forced them to sell their labor power for subsistence.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, the landlord in Göllüce blocked the village road illegally, enclosed pastureland for grazing few animals and integrated these lands into her cotton fields to convert sharecroppers into proletariats.<sup>94</sup> She also prohibited the cultivation of any plant around the houses. In this way, she created further pressure on the peasants to work as paid laborers in her cotton fields. Thus, in both villages, most of the sharecroppers were dispossessed, and lost control over small parcel of land and the product, and became proletarians in the service of the landlords.

However, since it was more profitable for the landlords to secure some labor force for cotton production through sharecropping contracts, they benefitted from different forms of female labor at the same time. The landlords used paid labor and sharecropping together by allocating small parcel of land and small houses to the few poorest families after the mechanization of cotton production. They allocated reed one-room shanty houses without windows to sharecroppers and provided all means of production, like cottonseed, tractor or fertilizer. In return, these desperate families continued to work as

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<sup>93</sup> The resident of Atalan 3, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.

<sup>94</sup> Serhan, “Göllüce Dramı-1,” p.2.

sharecroppers on a small parcel of land given to them.

The *Elçi* system (farm management system) was the most important labor control mechanism in the hands of the landlords in Göllüce and Atalan to discipline labor force after the mechanization of cotton production. In this system, the landlords hired some one, *elçi*, for farm management. *Elçis* were always male residents of the village to whom the landlords trusted. Farm management was considered as a male job because supervision in the field and contact with bank managers and state institutions to buy seed, fertilizer, fuel etc. were not proper jobs for women. Thus, there is a close connection between farm management and male gender identification. And both female landlord of Göllüce and male landlord of Atalan who had highly-ranked and respected status hired *elçis* to keep track of expenditures, wages, record items, set debts, hire labor force, assess the needs of the farm, and supervise the processes of cotton production.

Finding cotton laborers, especially women, in times of cleaning the fields, hoeing and harvesting between April and October was the primary responsibility of *elçi* in this management system. He negotiated working conditions with the landlords and distributed wages in the name of them. However, as confirmed by the landless peasants themselves, he abused his power and did not represent laborers and bargain for their interests.

Examining relations between the *elçi* and cotton workers reveals how these agents worked for the advantage of the landlords. First of all, *elçi* shut his eyes to coercive methods used by a farm steward (*kahya*) in order to discipline the labor force in the cotton fields. Farm stewards were armed men supervising the cotton laborers all day and he whipped them if they tried to take long breaks or chat with each other during labor

time in Atalan.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, armed horsemen paced up and down around the cotton fields surrounded by ditch and controlled working routines of the cotton laborers in Göllüce. Moreover, Mesude Evliyazade's son, Yılmaz, was sometimes accompanying them to supervise the performance of workers.<sup>96</sup>

Apart from allowing for policing by farm stewards, *elçi* himself applied coercive methods to reduce the cost of production and guarantee a cheap labor reserve in accordance with the landlords' interests. In this sense, first, he did not provide a secure transportation of women to the fields in both villages. Women were loaded on a truck, with no security, side by side with melons that were more valuable for the landlords.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, *elçi* did not take care of the quality and quantity of their meals. Generally, women worked with empty stomachs or rotten food was served to them, like a small portion of doughy pasta.<sup>98</sup>

In addition to these, *elçi*, as the representative of the landlords, also used reward-punishment mechanisms to control the labor force and reduce the cost of production. Threatening to fire them and cutting their daily payment were two basic mechanisms to discipline female laborers in the cotton fields. *Elçi* threatened to fire women if they did not work efficiently. For an *elçi*, women laborers were easily replaceable commodities and so he was using the option of hiring cheaper seasonal workers from other villages as a trump card. In addition, since they were paid according to the amount of cotton they picked, *elçi* could easily cut their payment by incorrectly weighing cotton out. Or *elçi*

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<sup>95</sup> Yıldırım, p.275.

<sup>96</sup> Serhan, "Göllüce Dramı-1," p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> İlhan Selçuk, "Ege'nin Atalan köyünde toprak mücadelesi var." *Cumhuriyet*, 21.March.1969, p.2.

<sup>98</sup> Yıldırım, p.275-76.

would simply cut their payment since they did not work effectively and not pick enough amount of cotton.<sup>99</sup>

Exploring into archival documents and the interviews with the landless peasants from Göllüce and Atalan also show that landless female peasants applied certain strategies against these labor control mechanisms. As all of the interviewees underlined, sharecropper households were reorganized in relation to the technical changes in agrarian production and women became paid laborers for the survival of their households.<sup>100</sup> As wealthier landowners invested their money capital in cottonseed, tractors and fertilizers, they undermined landless households' ability to subsistence. Due to the exclusionary accumulation of capital in the hands of the landlords, landless families were impoverished and so they reorganized the gendered division of labor in the household. According to the new division of labor, women were selling their labor for tasks that were more exhausting and demanding compared to those that employed men. Whereas women worked in labor-demanding jobs, like harvesting, weeding, plough, cultivation and irrigation, men were driving tractors, bailing cotton and making its transportation with higher wages.

The conditions of female laborers from sharecropper households were not different. As mentioned previously, since it was more profitable, the landlords in both villages preferred to keep some of the poorest households as sharecroppers. Since mechanized cotton production with fertilizers and tractors were faster than preceding technologically backward production, these sharecropper families completed their small

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<sup>99</sup> The resident of Atalan 1, *Interview*. 26.December.2014. ; the resident of Göllüce 3, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.

<sup>100</sup> The residents of Göllüce 1-4 and the residents of Atalan 1-4, *Interviews*. 26.December.2014.

parcel of land at a shorter period. But, unlike female paid laborers, sharecropper women were not free to sell their labor power because they had to exchange it for debts or credits from the landlords. The landlords exploited their labor power “whenever needed” especially during harvest times without making any payment.<sup>101</sup> To secure their hovel and sustain their households, women had to accept unfavorable working conditions. Thus, sharecropping contracts and debt bondage enabled the landlords to employ unpaid female labor power and to reduce the cost of mechanized cotton production.

This new gendered division of labor between female manual laborers and men working in skilled and easier jobs also show us the importance of gender relations intrinsic to agrarian capitalism. In other words, there is a close relationship between gender identification and agrarian labor relations. And agrarian capitalism sustains itself on the basis of this identification. By justifying the uses of rural female laborers for unskilled manual jobs as a natural consequence of their physical traits, how gendered definitions of femininity and masculinity affected the divisions of labor in agrarian production was ignored as explained below.

As the area under cultivation increased with the mechanization of cotton production, tractor driving was created as a new job corresponding to different degrees of skill, use of machinery and control. Tractors had started to undertake different stages of production, like preparing soil, controlling irrigation canals and drainage ditches, ventilating soil and transporting manual workers to the fields and cotton to the market in town. And men were employed in these jobs in both villages because of two reasons: first, it was not socially acceptable for women to contact with the state corporations or

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<sup>101</sup> The resident of Atalan 1, *Interview*. 26.December.2014.

other buyers of cotton in town. Secondly, these were skilled and decent jobs and only men could make it and maintain and repair tractors. Thus, they positioned themselves as superior workers against female manual laborers.

However, men had to submit to the authority of the male farm managers as just salaried employees. Landlords as paternalistic benefactors might want service in return of debts or favors and so the managers might use their labor to construct canals, transfer workers during harvest time etc. without making any payment. Since the managers could easily hire someone else for these jobs, except tractor driving, these men worked under the threat of frequent turnover and so they were vulnerable against the demands of the farm managers and landlords.

When it is asked why women worked in unskilled manual tasks, all of the interviewed landless male peasants claimed that women “naturally” worked fast and so the landlords and their representatives, farm managers, preferred to hire them to carry out unskilled tasks on the cotton fields.<sup>102</sup> Since they had “nimble fingers,” they worked faster and picked up more cotton in shorter time. Thus, hiring women workers were more profitable for the landlords. In addition, for the interviewees, women’s working habits, self-discipline, hard working and being compliant to authority, made them ideal workers in the eyes of landlords.<sup>103</sup>

By making these claims, male landless peasants drew attention on the close relationship between agrarian capitalism, gender identification and labor relations. Agrarian capitalism sustains itself by subsuming female laborers into unskilled manual jobs and rationalizes it as a natural consequence of women’s physical traits. Thus,

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<sup>102</sup> The residents of Göllüce 1-4 and the residents of Atalan 1-4, *Interviews*. 26.December.2014.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*.

different functions of women and men in mechanized cotton production, the gendered divisions of labor, were naturalized and how socially constructed gender relations and norms, gendered definitions of femininity and masculinity, affected the gendered divisions of labor in agriculture was ignored. And agrarian capitalism sustains itself on the basis of this naturalization and ignorance.

### **Arrival of Mexican Wheat and Uprising**

In 1967, these social relations of cotton production changed with the production of laborsaving and highly mechanized Mexican wheat in Göllüce and Atalan. It provides a great example for the mechanization of agrarian production with state regulation and foreign aid in the years of the Green Revolution in Turkey. In order to achieve self-sufficiency in a wheat production, and satisfy the demands from the big cities, this crop was imported from the USA and cultivated in the coastal regions as a part of state planned agrarian economy. Although foreign aid was taken from the USAID (The United States Agency for International Development), Turkish state closely regulated its price in the market, distributed the seeds, provided credits and subsidies for trucks, tractors, and fertilizers and other technical inputs and coordinated the education of technicians.

The production of this new crop made landless peasants unemployed and so increased discontent among them. Since Mexican wheat was a high-yielding and laborsaving crop, the landlords tried to subordinate peasants completely by firing them and forcing them to accept worse living and working conditions. However, through violent confrontations and land occupations, these peasants, especially women resisted against these processes of dispossession, proletarianization and pauperization.

But, before elaborating the reorganization of social relations of production in two villages, I explain the historical story behind Mexican wheat in Turkey and the villages to show the place of this crop in the project of the Green Revolution. First of all, historically, it was taken as a start-crop in the project of the Green Revolution when it was cultivated in Mexico in 1943 to solve the food problem and overcome economic backwardness under the program executed by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Mexican Ministry of Agriculture. Yet, the idea of achieving agricultural development and creating self-sufficient national economy by increasing Mexican wheat production captured the imagination of the Turkish policy makers in 1965.

Mexican wheat made the highest yields and gave satisfactory results in the trials of 1965 and 1966 in Turkey. When a son of Mehmet Can Eliyesil, a rich farmer from the Cukurova region, brought 40 kilograms of Sonora 64 from the USA to his father, this high-yielding crop gave good results on his farm at Tarsus-Adana in 1965.<sup>104</sup> Immediately after, 106 rich farmers from the Cukurova Chamber of Agriculture collected money and applied the government to import 60 tons of Sonora 64 seeds from Mexico and paid \$259 per ton in 1966.<sup>105</sup>

The success of the Cukurova farmers caught the interest of the Minister of Agriculture, Bahri Dagdas, and he negotiated with the USAID to introduce Mexican wheat varieties on a larger scale both to achieve self-sufficiency in wheat production, satisfy the growing needs of consumers in the big cities and to make Turkey a wheat exporter. With these objectives in mind, he invited a team of wheat specialists headed by

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<sup>104</sup> Odvar Aresvik, *The Development of Agriculture in Turkey*(NY: Praeger Publishers, 1975). p.154.

<sup>105</sup> L.M. Humphrey, *Mexican Wheat Comes to Turkey*(NY: Food and Agricultural Division(Turkey, 1969). p.5.



Charles Elkinton and O.A. Vogel- a Food and Agricultural Officer in Pakistan and a wheat breeder from Washington-to investigate the feasibility of the production of this wheat in Turkey. He also applied for a \$10 million credit from USAID to import of 50-60 tons of seeds in 1967.<sup>106</sup> In the spring of 1967, three wheat consultants from the US- Orvel Vogel, from Washington State University, Tom Jackson and Warren Kronstad from Oregon State University- visited the Cukurova region of Turkey and they wrote a report with Elinkton.<sup>107</sup> In this report, they did not confirm a large-scale import for the 1967-1968 seasons due to the lack of necessary technology and knowledge, and to the difficulty of state control in seed distribution. But they approved the import of 19.930 tons of commercial Mexican seed for farmers and 1.779 tons of certified seeds for state farms in the coastal areas.

The cultivation of Mexican wheat seeds in the coastal areas after this report represents a good example for a state-led agricultural development plan. First of all, the Inter-Ministerial Wheat Council was established with the collaboration of the State Planning Organization, the Ministry of Village Affairs, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources, and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to regulate the distribution of seeds and fertilizers, to distribute state funding for trucks, tractors, and for the education of technicians, and to determine the price of the Mexican wheat in the market. Second, Regional Wheat Committees in the Marmara, Aegean and the Mediterranean region, with sub-committees at county and provincial levels, were created in 1967.<sup>108</sup> They were in charge of training farmers and wheat specialists in the Wheat

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p.6-7.

<sup>107</sup> Aresvik, p.157.

<sup>108</sup> Humphrey, p.8-14.

Research and Training Stations at Izmir, Edirne, and Adana, and of the distribution of seeds, fertilizers and credits at local level. And 250 national extension agents and 12 wheat specialists from Oregon and Washington were collaborated to teach farmers crop management, controlling diseases and pest, seed bed preparation, and the cultivation of high-yield varieties through demonstration plots and regional seminars.<sup>109</sup>

The impacts of this government plan on cotton production in the coastal regions of Turkey, particularly in the Aegean region, were devastating. First of all, cotton yields did not compete with high-yielding Mexican wheat and the cultivated area devoted to cotton declined by 20 percent in 1968.<sup>110</sup> Statistically, 17.000 tons of Mexican wheat seeds were planted on 165.000 hectares and 9.225 farmers in the Aegean region cultivated it on 35.000 hectares in the 1967-1968 season. And its yield doubled the amount of the native wheat with 350-400 kilograms average yield per hectare.<sup>111</sup> As a result, Mexican wheat harvest in Izmir rose from 100.840 tons in 1968 to 237.000 tons in 1969.<sup>112</sup>

Mexican wheat took also the place of cotton in Göllüce and Atalan in the 1967-1968 seasons. When 13.000 tons of seed arrived at Izmir and Mersin ports and 6.930 tons to Izmir and Iskenderun harbors in 1967, many farmers were dreaming of getting rich by

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<sup>109</sup> Aresvik, p.117-122.

<sup>110</sup> Anon., “Buğday ekimi %15 oranında arttı.” *Köylü*, 06.January.1969, p.2. ; Anon., “Tütün ve pamuk ekimi azalıyor: buğday ekimi %150 oranında arttı.” *Tire Postası*, Year: 15, No: 3293, 03.January.1969, p.1.

<sup>111</sup> Anon., “Meksika buğday çeşitlerinin üstünlükleri.” *Torbaltı*, Year:2 Number: 163, 24.May.1968, p.1. ; Anon., “Meksika buğdayı Milas'ta da tam randıman verdi.” *Torbaltı*, Year: 2 No: 179, 12.June.1968, p.1-2. ; Aresvik, p.169.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p.171.

planting these seeds promoted by the Ministry of Agriculture on every occasion.<sup>113</sup> As many rich farmers who were willing to invest in this high-yielding variety, Göllüce and Atalan landlords got contact with the Izmir Wheat Research Center to be a part of the wheat experiment program under the supervision of an expert from American extension team, Charles.A. Hindes.<sup>114</sup>

To understand landlords` enthusiasm for cultivating Mexican wheat, first, we need to make a closer examination of its crop-specific conditions of production. First of all, fertile coastal areas and river valleys are the most suitable places for cultivating Mexican wheat. Thus, Göllüce and Atalan located in Buyuk Menderes river valley and its warmer climate had a good potential for it. Secondly, it is a laborsaving crop, so it implies reduction in the cost of production. It requires the use of grain drills instead of broadcasting, higher rates of nitrogen fertilizer, drainage, weed and pest control and seedbed preparation with drills to insure a maximum yield.<sup>115</sup> These conditions of production based on high technology decrease the need for labor power for planting, weeding and harvesting and so lower the cost of production. In addition, since it yields two times more than native wheat, planting this capital-intensive crop pledges high profit rates in return.

These promises of maximum profitability and redundant labor made cultivating Mexican wheat attractive for the landlords of Göllüce and Atalan. By utilizing their social and political networks and using their money capital, they had access to fertilizers

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<sup>113</sup> Mitchell W.A.- P.Tribble, "Türkiye`de Yüksek Verimli Meksika Buğdayı," *Istanbul Üniversitesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Dergisi* 20-21(1974). p.279-287.

<sup>114</sup> The occupier from Atalan, *Interview*, 26. 12. 2014. ; Humphrey, p.13.

<sup>115</sup> For the detailed explanation of the conditions of Mexican wheat production, see the article series, Anon., "Günümüzde çok bahsedilen zirai ürün: Buğday." *Söke Ekspres*, Year: 7 No: 2177-2182, 03.June.1969-08.June.1969, p.2.

distributed by the Agricultural Supply Organization, seeds by the principal breeding station in Izmir and the credits provided by the Ziraat Bank. As the village headman of Atalan said in his account, the Mexican wheat program was executed in favor of the landlords: “the Ziraat Bank was giving credits to the landlords with the signed document of landless village headmen, but it did not give a dime to the people in need, landless peasants and me.”<sup>116</sup> Thus, the program itself empowered the landlords through unfair distribution of Mexican wheat seeds, fertilizers and credits.

Increasing class antagonism in Göllüce and Atalan due to Mexican wheat production led to discussions on the negative impacts of Mexican wheat program on rural class structure in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in the same years. Both Vefa Tanir, a Konya deputy, in his parliamentary question and Sadrettin Canga, a Bursa deputy, in his parliamentary investigation question emphasized how the program resulted in unemployment and pauperization of cotton laborers via the enrichment of landlords.<sup>117</sup>

Closer scrutiny of why landlords preferred Mexican wheat and what happened in Göllüce and Atalan after its cultivation also confirms this argument about increasing rural class polarization. In addition to its above-mentioned profitability, the landlords changed crop pattern from cotton to Mexican wheat in order to increase their control over landless peasants and to eliminate the possible land occupation or peasant rebellion in different forms because, with the cadastral survey of 1967, landless peasants learnt that the landlords were cultivating state-owned lands. This survey revealed that the land registry

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<sup>116</sup> Gürel Seydialioğlu, “Atalan köyü dramı: Ağalar tedirgin oluyor.” *Ulus*, 22.March.1969, p.3.

<sup>117</sup> Tutanak. Konya Milletvekili Vefa Tanır'ın tohumluk buğdayın adaletsiz dağıtıldığı iddiasına dair sorusu ve Tarım Bakanı İlhan Ertem'in cevabı. *Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi*, Term: 3 Vol: 13 Meeting No:93/2, 30. April. 1971, p.83-84. ; Tutanak. Bursa Milletvekili Sadrettin Canga'nın Meksika Buğdayının Türk ekonomisinde meydana getirdiği tesirleri tespit etmek amacıyla Anayasanın 88 inci maddesi uyarınca bir meclis araştırması yapılmasına dair önergesi. *Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi*, Term: 3 Vol: 14 Meeting No:114/2, 06. June. 1971, p.323-353.

commissions shut their eyes to the uses of state-owned lands by the landlords until 1967. The landlords illegally used 26 pieces of state-owned land in Göllüce and 21 pieces of state-owned lands in Atalan until that survey.<sup>118</sup> 2500 out of 10000 donums in Göllüce and 3142 out of 7876 donums in Atalan were actually state-owned lands.<sup>119</sup> However, the landlords had claimed these lands as their own property, controlled living and working conditions of the peasants and kept them landless, poor and dependent until they learnt title fraud on state-owned lands. Thus, the knowledge they obtained from the cadastral survey increased their discontent for landlordism.

This constituted a threat of rebellion against the landlords. At this point, the Mexican wheat program comes to the landlords' help to prevent transformation of discontent into collective action. In Atalan, the landlord fired all paid cotton workers and cultivated Mexican wheat even on wasteland around the village so as to force landless peasants to leave the village and consolidate his control over land and production.<sup>120</sup> Landless peasants were also evicted from their houses. In addition, the landlord hired a seasonal labor force from other villages for spreading fertilizers, using drilling machines for seedbed preparation and making drainage.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, in Göllüce, the landlord built a security wall against the threat of peasant rebellion by cultivating Mexican wheat and employing hired laborers from other villages.<sup>122</sup> She left the cotton laborers in poverty, hungry and unemployment and increased her pressure on them to leave the village. In this

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<sup>118</sup> Anon., "Göllüce'de 26, Atalan'da 21 tarla tapu fazlası çıktı." *Tire Postası*, Year: 16 Number: 3357, p.1.

<sup>119</sup> Anon., "Köylüler bir araziye daha işgal ettiler." *Milliyet*, 03.Feb.1969, p.1,7. ; Hikmet Cetinkaya, "İşgalci köylüler için tahkikat açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 30.Jan.1969, p.1,7.

<sup>120</sup> Seydialioğlu, p.3.

<sup>121</sup> Özden Alpdağ, "Anlaşmazlık Meksika buğdayından çıktı: Arazi işgaline çocuklarla kadınlarda katıldı." *Aksam*, 02.Feburary.1969, p.1-7.

<sup>122</sup> Özden Alpdağ, "Göllüce'de açlık var: Hanımağa köylülere artık amelelik bile vermiyor." *Aksam*, 04.November.1969, p.4.

way, both of the landlords tried to waive the threat of peasant discontent and struggle for land reform in both villages and they reinforced their social and economic power.

However, both of the landlords were not able to dominate over landless peasants, especially women, completely. In both villages, they struggled severely against poverty, eviction, landlessness and unemployment through land occupations and fought to death with rural police officers, gendarmerie, collaborating with the powerful landlords to draw the occupants out of the landlords' enclosed lands. Analysis of these fights will show that the struggle of these women was against their worsening working and living conditions and for reversing the processes of proletarianization and pauperization.

In Atalan village, on Jan 28, 1969, landless and unemployed peasants, particularly women, occupied state-owned lands that were claimed and used by the landlords for years. Thus, they showed their discontent against landlordism through land occupations. As in their interview with a journalist, Gürel Seydialioğlu, the female occupants, Menevşe Sonmez, Sabahat Güleç, Hava Oduncu, Ese Erbil and Rabi Çubuk, declared that they were adamant on land occupations against the powerful landlords so as to eliminate poverty and improve their living and working conditions.<sup>123</sup> Ultimately, on February 2, 1969, they divided state owned lands into parcels and then cleaned weeds and plowed the land with rented tractors.<sup>124</sup> And women started to keep watch and ward the occupied lands.

But the landlord did not wait a long time and negotiated with the gendarmerie to suppress this uprising. Then, rural police officers helped the landlord to draw them out of

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<sup>123</sup> Seydialioğlu, p.3.

<sup>124</sup> Alpdag, *Anlaşmazlık Meksika buğdayından çıktı*. p. 1-7.; Anon., "Atalan köyünde traktörlü işgal," *Aksam*, 02.Feburary.1969, p.1. See Figure 2.3.

land by using excessive violence and to restore law and order in Atalan. The female occupant, Ayse Acar, tells of violent intervention of rural police force as follows: “All of us were running to the fields. Then, the gendarmerie confronted with us. They pushed us back with sticks. At that moment, they were putting bullets into their riffles.”<sup>125</sup>

Similarly, 45 years old female occupant Sabahat Güleç emphasized their fearful rush to the fields to prevent the restoration of the landlord’s control over lands with the help of gendarme in her interview with Özden Alpdağ:

“...Since we know that some pragmatic officers would give these lands to the landlords, we had started to walk towards the lands we ploughed. Gendarme stopped us and asked where we were going. When we gave answer to their question, they said that you would be screwed up there. We said that the son, you were right. Since we are peasant women, sometimes we eat herb sometimes we eat crap. We don’t eat the landlord’s lamb as always you do.”<sup>126</sup>

As both women stated well in their accounts, they were cognizant of the landlord’s power and his supporters and of class antagonism between poor landless peasants and powerful block of rural law enforcement agents and landowners. Thus, they were so sure that the gendarme would act against their interests to serve the occupied lands to the landlord. This confidence motivated them to run to the fields for the sake of better living and working conditions. However, as Sabahat Güleç told the journalists, the gendarmerie beat up women, swore and dragged them as they expected.<sup>127</sup>

Landless peasant women also occupied state-owned lands on Feb. 02, 1969,

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<sup>125</sup> Özden Alpdağ, “Jandarmaya hazine arazisinde kadınlar karşı çıktılar.” *Aksam*, 25.Feburary.1969, p.1-7. “Hep beraber tarlalara koşuyorduk, jandarmalar önümüzü kestiler. Sopa ile bizi geri sürdüler. Bu sırada tüfeklere mermiler dolduruyorlardı.” See Figure 2.2.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., “... Bazı işgüzarların bu arazileri yine ağalara mal edeceklerini bildiğimizden, biz de sürdüğümüz tarlalara yürümeye başladık. Jandarma önümüze çıkıp nereye gittiğimizi sordu. Tarlalara gidiyoruz diye cevap verdiğimizde gidin gidin orada boku yiyeceksiniz dedi. Biz de doğru söylüyon oğul biz köy kadınıyız, bazen ot, bazen bok yeriz. Sizin gibi hep ağa kuzusu yemeyiz dedik.”

<sup>127</sup> Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Jandarma işgalci köylülere baskı yapıyormuş.” *Cumhuriyet*, 24.Feburary.1969, p.1-7. ; Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Jandarma bizi yerlerde sürükledi diyen yedi Atalan’lı tevkif edildi.” *Cumhuriyet*, 25.Feburary.1969, p.1-7.

struggled against rural police officers and the landlord during the occupations in Göllüce. The female landlord, Mesude Evliyazade, rented out a part of state-owned land without waiting for the result of lawsuit against her about the illegal use of state-owned lands. And the renter, Emin Ersoy, wanted to plough the land and cultivate it with the help of her and the gendarme sent by the Torbali governor on March 18, 1969.<sup>128</sup> Since landless peasant women knew well the landlord's intention to confiscate the state-owned land and to reinstate her authority, 200 women run to the fields for cleaning weeds as soon as they heard that the landlord rented land out to someone else.

As expected, 30 rural police officers attacked women with the order of the gendarme commander Ömer Dönmez and the command of Kirazli governor, Tamer Ersoy, who was the relative of the renter and acted as a deputy for Torbali governor during the intervention.<sup>129</sup> Just after the intervention, a female occupant, Elif T., explained violence as follows: “Gendarmerie swore us, injured us... The representative of the governor was keeping a gun in his hand.”<sup>130</sup> As stated in a famous leftist journal, *Forum*, “this attack made in the name of the female landlord against female laborers” resulted in serious injury of two women and slight injury of four women.<sup>131</sup> 26 years old Hanim Gobekli was pregnant during the violent confrontation with the gendarme and she was fatally injured with a butt stroke. Besides, the rural police officers also seriously

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<sup>128</sup> Anon., “Göllüce’de arbede: Köy kadınları ile ağa taraftarları çarpıştı.” *Aksam*, 18.March.1969, p.1.

<sup>129</sup> Anon., “Göllüce’de jandarma kadınlara hücum etti: İki ağır, dört yaralı var.” *Cumhuriyet*, 18.March.1969, p. 1-7.

<sup>130</sup> İlhan Selçuk, “Göllüce’ye yağmur yağıyor.” *Cumhuriyet*, 20.March.1969, p. 2.

<sup>131</sup> Anon., “Göllüce’de köylü kanı,” *Forum*, No: 360, (01.April.1969), p.2. ; Anon., “Atalan ve Göllüce’de kanlı olaylar patlak verdi: İşgalci kadınlar jandarma ile dün dört saat çarpıştı.” *Ege Ekspres*, Year: 17 No: 6574, 18.March.1969, p.1-7. Özden Alpdağ, “İşgalci köylüler vali muavinine açız diye bağırdı.” *Aksam*, 04.02.1969, p.1, 7. ; Anon., “Göllüce’de jandarma kadınlara hücum etti: İki ağır, dört yaralı var.” *Cumhuriyet*, 18.March.1969, p.1, 7. For the pictures of the occupier women and injured women see Figure 2.4. and 2.5.



wounded Göllüce village headmen's wife, Cennet Yilmaz, while they were forcing women to leave the field.

As I will explain in detail in the next chapter, these struggles came to fruition on April 1969 and the landlords had to sell small parcels of land to the occupants in both villages. Even though its implications for class and gender equality are debatable, it is important in two ways in the context of this chapter on contentious labor relations between the landlords and landless peasant women. First of all, as agrarian laborers, women were central actors in this struggle and they played a key role against the hegemony of the landlords. Thus, the landlords did not completely subordinate peasants. Secondly, through violent confrontations and land occupations, these women also resisted against the process of dispossession, proletarianization and pauperization. As a household, they successfully achieved to possess a small parcel of land at the end. Although this does not imply better working and living conditions for women by itself, I still consider it as a positive intervention in the processes of dispossession and proletarianization.

### **New Gendered Interpretation of Green Revolution in Turkey**

The preceding empirical findings on the working of two large farms, Göllüce and Atalan, as it relates to women's labor power and the transformation of female labor demand with the mechanization of agricultural production enable us to critically assess the existing literature on rural class differentiation and agrarian change during the Green Revolution in Turkey. In this framework, I will particularly take on the arguments on the linear transition from sharecropping to petty commodity production and on the

elimination of rural class inequalities after WWII. By focusing on contentious labor relations between landlords and landless peasants, particularly women, I will show how the events of the case problematize existing literature and how it should change our ideas about what occurred in Turkey during the years of the Green Revolution.

First of all, on the basis of my findings, I argue against the dominant tendency in the literature that asserts that there was a linear transition from sharecropping to petty commodity production after WWII. The prominent group of scholars representing this tendency focuses on the consolidation of petty commodity production, and on the viability of small farmers as self-sufficient, technically superior tillers of soil after WWII.<sup>132</sup> For these scholars, integration into world economy through the Marshall Plan and the state policies of the 1950s -pricing policies, extension of fertilizers, imported seeds and insecticides, organization of internal market, irrigation projects, sale cooperatives and credits for buying tractors and land- were instrumental in the consolidation of small family farming. Thus, they emphasized the scale neutrality of new technologies since agrarian state policies were implemented to make these technologies accessible to smallholders as well as large-farm owners.

As a result of these policies, poor small peasants received titles for their illegally occupied state-owned lands with the Land Reform Law of 1946, which saved them from money lenders, and they got access to the means of production thanks to state subsidies and cheap credits. Thus, they were promoted to the middle class of peasantry. Similarly,

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<sup>132</sup> Çağlar Keyder, "Türk Tarımında Küçük Köylü Mülkiyetinin Tarihsel Oluşumu Ve Bugünkü Yapısı," in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983). p.1259. ; Çağlar Keyder, "Türkiye'de Ortakçılık Döngüsü Ve Küçük Köylü Mülkiyetinin Pekişmesi," *Yapıt* 11(June-July 1985). p.97. ; Keyder, "The Cycle of Sharecropping and the Consolidation of Small Peasant Ownership in Turkey."p. 130-145. ; Keyder, "Social Structure and the Labour Market in Turkish Agriculture."p. 731-43. ; Akşit, "Studies in Rural Transformation in Turkey in 1950-1990." p.189-192.

middle peasantry enriched itself by accumulating more means of production in their hands and they either became wealthy petty commodity producers or migrated to big cities by renting their lands out to small peasants. In both cases, according to this dominant tendency, the sharecroppers became independent petty commodity producers in Turkey beginning with the 1950s.<sup>133</sup> Thus, for these scholars, sharecropping was considered as a pre-capitalist relation of production doomed to disappear with the advent of agrarian capitalism. The transformation of small peasantry and the ways they integrated into the market (as subsistence oriented producers or commodity or petty commodity producers) were more important than the persistence of sharecropping arrangements and the consolidation of large-scale capitalist farming in the same years.

In contrary what these scholars argue, in this chapter, I showed that exploring into contentious labor relations and different forms of labor in relation to the (re) organization of agricultural production refutes the arguments for the elimination of sharecropping and for a linear transition from sharecropping to petty commodity production. As my cases showed, sharecropping might also be subsumed into agrarian capitalism to reduce the cost of production. For example, since it was more profitable, the landlords made sharecropping arrangements with some households after the mechanization of cotton production in two villages. Although most of the laborers were proletarians alienated from all means of cotton production, sharecroppers also occupied an important place in the organization of production. Thus, sharecropping should not be associated with semi-feudal relations of production that is doomed to dismantle after the consolidation of agrarian capitalism. And it is simplistic to argue for the elimination of sharecropping with

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<sup>133</sup> Keyder, "Türk Tarımında Küçük Köylü Mülkiyetinin Tarihsel Oluşumu Ve Bugünkü Yapısı." p.1268-1269. ; Keyder, "Türkiye'de Ortakçılık Döngüsü Ve Küçük Köylü Mülkiyetinin Pekişmesi."p.103-104.

the advent of agrarian capitalism and for the conversion of all sharecroppers to petty commodity producers.

Secondly, my empirical findings show that this dominant tendency in literature is problematic because it is incompatible with the real experiences of small peasants. As explained above, these scholars formulate agrarian question as a question of efficiency and productivity, not as a question of severe inequalities and class antagonism among peasants and between peasants and landlords. Thus, dispossession, pauperization and the proletarianization of peasantry are out of their agenda. For them, in the words of Çağlar Keyder, a prominent representative of this perspective, “landlessness derives from poverty; poverty is not based on landlessness.”<sup>134</sup> Thus, the main problem in Turkish agriculture was not inadequacy of land, but the lack of money capital.<sup>135</sup> In addition, for this literature, powerful landlords accumulated all means of production and exploited small and middle farmers only in Eastern and Southern Anatolia. Thus, class antagonism between landlords and peasants, proletarianization and dispossession was exceptional and peculiar to these regions.<sup>136</sup> Since small peasants did not have money to buy their own ox, plough, land and other means of production, they were not able to be independent petty commodity producers. Thus, for them, after WWII, there was an immediate need

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<sup>134</sup>Şevket Pamuk and Çağlar Keyder, "1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu Üzerine Tezler," *ibid.*8(Dec.-Jan. 1984-1985). p.61.

<sup>135</sup> Çağlar Keyder, "Türkiye’de Ortakçılık Döngüsü Ve Küçük Köylü Mülkiyetinin Pekişmesi," *ibid.*11(June-July 1985). p. 91-92.

<sup>136</sup> For the examples of the case studies on class relations in Diyarbakir villages in the 1950s and the 1960s see Zülküf Aydın, "Household Production and Capitalism: A Case Study of South-Eastern Turkey," in *The Rural Middle East: Peasant Lives and Modes of Production*, ed. Kahthy&Pandeli Glavanis(London: Zed Books, 1990). p.173-179. ; Karapınar, "Land Inequality in Rural Southeastern Turkey: Rethinking Agricultural Development." p.190-195. ; Bahattin Akşit, "Küçük Meta Üretimi, Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Ve Güneydoğu Anadolu," *Toplum ve Bilim* 48/49(Spring 1990). p.108-112.

for `ox reform` rather than land reform to eliminate agrarian poverty.<sup>137</sup>

However, the group of Marxist scholars argued for the tendency towards dispossession and pauperization among small holders and draw attention to increasing class polarization in rural Turkey in the years of the Green Revolution.<sup>138</sup> Thus, they have pointed out to the processes of dispossession and proletarianization in rural Turkey during the Green Revolution and my findings contributed to this genre of literature on rural class differentiation as follows.

First of all, Marxist scholars assume that small holders have experienced dispossession in these years in two different ways: alienation from all means of production or deterioration of their working and living conditions by renting out or selling land. Thus, the notion of dispossession includes both landless peasants and small and middle farmers who became impoverished with the reorganization of relations of production after the adaptation of laborsaving machines to agricultural production in the 1950s and the 1960s. When we look at the changes in the conditions of landless peasants, Muzaffer Sencer argues that the use of tractors and new technical inputs had disastrous effects on small peasants who were working in the lands of landlords as sharecroppers. It caused their eviction from land, the accumulation of capital in the hands of landlords and hence their estrangement from all means of production.<sup>139</sup> As a result, they had to sell their labor power as free laborers and work as paid workers in the production of industrial crops, particularly cotton.

These Marxist scholars also statistically supported their arguments for

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<sup>137</sup> Pamuk and Keyder, p.61.

<sup>138</sup> Köymen, p.12-13. ; Sencer, p.34-50. ; Erdost, p.14-18.

<sup>139</sup> Sencer, p.45.

dispossession, pauperization and proletarianization as follows. Statistically, according to the figures in the Village Inventory Studies, the number of paid agricultural workers augmented from 8.6% to 17.2% between 1952 and 1963.<sup>140</sup> And the number of paid agrarian laborers increased from 228.568 in 1950 to 651.800 in 1960.<sup>141</sup> To complement this, Muzaffer İlham Erdost uses another criteria to prove the pace of dispossession among small peasants: the number of landless peasants. Statistically, the percentage of landless households was 14.50% in 1950 and it linearly increased to 17.52% in 1968 and 21.85% in 1973. In 1981 1.718.249 families out of 5.563.110 (%30.89) was landless in Turkey.<sup>142</sup> Lastly, changes in the size of cultivated land are used to unearth increasing class polarization and pauperization among small holders in these years. As Faruk Kocacık underlines, especially in the 1960s, as the number of small farmers whose land is below 20 donums increases, the size of land cultivated by them shrinks from 11.3% in 1968 to 8.4% in 1973. However, while the number of landowners who held over 500 donums slightly decreased from 0.5% to 0.8% in 1973, they cultivated more land and its size jumped from 10.7% to 14.1% between 1963 and 1973.<sup>143</sup>

These figures reveal the tendency towards dispossession and pauperization among small holders and draw attention to increasing class polarization in rural Turkey in the years of the Green Revolution. According to these scholars, this fact stems from land enclosures, and the purchase of lands from small holders by large landowners. In return, small holders had to sell their lands, migrate or squeeze into smaller parcel of lands.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.40.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p.39.

<sup>142</sup> Erdost, p.15.

<sup>143</sup> Faruk Kocacık, "Türkiye'de Kırsal Kesimin Yapısal Değişmesi," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2, no. 1 (1984), p.161-174.

Small producers had lack of financial means to switch to new techniques, and large landholdings maintained themselves by swallowing up the lands of small holders. Thus, class antagonism and severe inequalities are significant to understand rural transition in Turkey.

As an extension of these Marxist critiques, my findings show that the project of the Green Revolution did not make landless peasants technically superior, self-sufficient tillers of soil. As the experiences of women in these villages showed, class polarization, asymmetrical power relations between the landlords and landless peasants were important problems even in the Western parts of Turkey as explained below. Thus, the findings of this chapter refute the authors who argue that the major problem in Turkish agriculture after WWII was not landlordism and class antagonism.

By exploring intra-village class inequalities and power relations between the landlords and landless peasants, particularly women, in two villages, it is possible to reveal rural class polarization and the importance of landlordism in Turkey during the years of the Green Revolution. In both villages, class polarization between landless peasants and large landowners increased through land concentration and other state ascribed inequalities in terms of having access to new technical inputs, including fertilizers, high-yielding seeds, tractors and of taking credits and subsidies to buy these inputs.

These inputs and credits were not accessible to all because of asymmetrical power relations between the landlords, state agents and poor peasants in Göllüce and Atalan. As explained previously, Mesude Evliyazade, the aunt of Adnan Menderes's wife, and Sadık Menderes, his cousin, used their political connections as the relatives of the

founder of an opposition party, the Democrat Party (DP), in 1946 to wave the threat of land expropriation. In order to prevent land expropriation and its redistribution to landless peasants with the implementation of the 1946 Act of the RPP in Tire, they even changed the borders of the villages in 1947 and re-registered the villages as Torbalı villages. The landlords continued to benefit from their political connections and accumulated all means of production in their hands as the relatives of the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes in the 1950s until the official suppression of the DP government with the 1960 coup d'état. By registering lands of Sadık Atalan's small boy in their names although it was illegal with the 1954 report, the landlords of Göllüce and Atalan empowered themselves with the help of state agents. In addition, starting from the late-1950s, the landlords made investments on technology by using state-given credits to obtain tractors and combine harvesters. In return, their capacity for capital accumulation increased and the landlords became capitalist farmers utilizing new technology to produce cotton exclusively for the market. And they continued to empower themselves by utilizing political connections while the Justice Party (JP), a populist and right-wing party like the DP was ruling Turkey in the 1960s. For example, they got credits from the Ziraat Bank and used it for buying high-yielding Mexican wheat seeds and expensive fertilizers in the late-1960s. The production of this laborsaving crop enabled them to fire and evict landless peasants and so increased class inequalities in both villages. To sum, it can be argued that class polarization between the landlords and landless peasants increased in these two cases and the political networks of the landlords played a major role to consolidate landlordism and to increase class antagonism in the years of the Green Revolution.

In addition to the landlords' increasing control over the means of production,



different labor control mechanisms reveal asymmetrical power relations between two classes. These mechanisms used by the landlords also show how they pauperized, disciplined landless peasants' labor power and made them a dependent class, a reserve army of labor, in relation to the organization of agrarian production. By using certain labor control mechanisms, the landlords created a cheap and dependent labor force at their disposal. And because of these mechanisms, working and living conditions had been worse for landless peasants as cotton production was reorganized and mechanized.

When cotton production was organized through sharecropping contracts from 1938 to the late-1950s, the landlords relied on debtor-creditor relationship with landless peasants and exploited their labor power in return of their debts. These peasants would waive their share of the product, or carry out the tasks given by the landlords, such as cleaning the house or chopping wood. In addition to this relationship, the landlords also made peasants poor and dependent class by means of sharecropping contracts and the prohibitions. By reserving the right to terminate the contract, deciding on the amount of the product shared by them and prohibiting the construction of stable farmhouses and buying and selling of land, the landlords kept peasants as landless, poorer and dependent reserve army of labor.

By applying different labor control mechanisms after the mechanization of cotton production in the late-1950s, the landlords continued to empower themselves and forced landless peasants to work for them as paid laborers or sharecroppers in their fields. Farm management system composed of two agents paid by the landlords- *elçi* and *kahya-* organized and disciplined labor force for new labor-demanding agricultural tasks, like tractor driving, seed bed preparation or intensified harvesting. Thus, labor controlling

strategies in this system, such as keeping them under constant surveillance in the fields, threatening with eviction, firing or cutting payments, and sharecropping arrangements made with the landlords put landless peasants at the landlords' disposal again. Landlords reduced the cost of mechanized cotton production by exploiting their labor power through these mechanisms.

And increasing control over landless peasants' life and working conditions through these mechanisms led to overt class struggle between two when the landlords preferred to cultivate highly mechanized and laborsaving Mexican wheat in 1967, and fired all of the laborers and evicted them. And increasing discontent among the landless peasants resulted in, land occupations organized against landlordism and unequal class relations in the villages in 1969. In this sense, these occupations provide us another proof for the importance of class antagonism during the Green Revolution in Turkey as explained later.

In addition to class antagonism between landlords and peasants, this study also showed how the changes in the mechanization of agricultural production led to intra-class differentiation among landless peasants. For example, while most of the sharecroppers became paid laborers in cotton fields after the mechanization of production, the landlords continued to keep few poorest households as sharecroppers to maximize their profits. Thus, even though working and living conditions deteriorated for all of them, it was worse for the second group.

By bringing gender differentiation under agrarian capitalism into focus, feminist Marxist approach provides us better theoretical insights to understand rural class differentiation and social relations of production in two villages. This perspective

provides us theoretical tools to explain relationship between changing material forces of agrarian production, reorganization of gendered divisions of labor and its importance for agrarian capitalism.<sup>144</sup> According to feminist Marxists, when the adaptation of new technologies changes the mechanisms of surplus extraction and when households lose their access to the means of production, women`s labor takes different forms in the spectrum between subsistence production and commercial farming. Thus, for these scholars, increasing workloads and unfavorable working conditions for women are simply the outcome of pauperization of households following technical changes in agricultural production. In other words, they regard the reorganization of gendered divisions of labor in response to changing class position of households after the mechanization of agriculture. In this view, women`s labor serves as another force in the reproduction of capitalist relations of production in agriculture and the survival of the household.

This approach to female labor and agrarian capitalism is helpful to explain how changing material conditions of production throughout the Green Revolution reconfigured the gendered divisions of labor to the detriment of rural women from lower classes in two villages. Thus, feminist Marxists give us tools to explain how changes in the material forces of production led to the marginalization of certain segments of rural society, particularly landless peasant women in two villages, with the advent of agrarian capitalism and why female labor power was subsumed in different, but again

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<sup>144</sup> Victoria Bernal, "Peasants, Capitalism and (Ir) Rationality," *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 4 (Nov. 1998). p.793-798. ; B.R. Roberts, "Peasants and Proletarians," *Annual Review of Sociology* 16(1990). p.353-355. ; Carmen Diana Deere and Alain de Janvry, "Conceptual Framework for the Empirical Analysis of Peasants," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 61, no. 4 (Nov. 1979). p.609.

subordinated, forms into agrarian capitalism as a precondition for its reproduction in Göllüce and Atalan.

On the basis of gender and class-specific analysis of the findings, this chapter showed how the conditions and forms of female labor, changed against landless peasant women's interests and how their workload increased with the mechanization of cotton production and then with the cultivation of Mexican wheat. As this chapter showed sharecropping, cotton and Mexican wheat production imply different social relations of production, and so different gendered divisions of labor. When labor relations peculiar to sharecropper, cotton or Mexican wheat producers in two villages are explored, it is found that changing conditions of agricultural production and the accumulation of all means of production including land and technical assets in the hands of the landlords put rural women in a disadvantageous position within a time-period of the Green Revolution in Turkey. In this sense, this perspective prevents us from considering the project of the Green Revolution as a neutral and developmentalist project targeting the whole society in Turkey.

Changing conditions of production, particularly increasing control over the forces of production by landlords, and labor control mechanisms were not only factors explaining women's marginalization in the villages. Gender relations as it relates to labor power was another factor that operated to marginalize them in the years of the Green Revolution in Turkey. In this framework, by addressing reciprocal relationship between patriarchal households and changing social relations of production before and after the mechanization of agricultural production, I argued that gender relations impinged on the reorganization of agrarian labor relations in two villages.

Intersectional feminist approach and its critiques of feminist Marxists' arguments for rural female labor and agrarian capitalism were helpful for me to make this argument. I argue against feminist Marxists for whom only the changes in the material forces of production determine the forms of women's labor in agricultural production. In other words, feminist Marxists argue for a stable universal patriarchy and, for them, it is only the relations of production change the forms of women's oppression from different classes. In this way, they dehistoricize and universalize women's oppression and the devaluation of their work.<sup>145</sup> But, I argue that there is a need to examine class and context specific patriarchal relations, inter- and intra-gender hierarchies and different interests within households in relation to changing forces of production in order to go beyond functionalist and economically reductionist explanations for deepened exploitation of rural female labor with the advent of agrarian capitalism. By focusing on mutually constitutive relationship between various forms of patriarchies and agrarian capitalism, intersectional feminist approaches to rural women provide us new lenses to explain the interrelationship between patriarchies as it relates to economy and society in question.<sup>146</sup> Intersectional feminist studies have addressed themselves to the forms of intersecting inequalities and social forces in accounting for the lives of rural women since the 2000s and have illuminated how intersecting axes of power and inequalities work to rural women's (dis) advantage.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> For the excellent critiques of dual systemic analysis of the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism see Young, "Beyond the Unhappy Marriage: A Critique of the Dual Systems Theory." p.43-71. ; Harris and Young, "Engendered Structures: Some Problems in the Analysis of Reproduction." p.109-148.

<sup>146</sup> Nash, "Re-Thinking Intersectionality." p.1-15. ; Patil, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Assessment of How Far We've Really Come." p.847-867.

<sup>147</sup>See for example, D'Exelle and Holvoet, "Gender and Network Formation in Rural Nicaragua: A Village Case Studies." p.31-61. ; Johanna Bergma Lodin, "New Seeds, Gender Norms and Labor Dynamics in Hoima District, Uganda." p.405-22.

My study also contributed to this burgeoning sub-field in feminist intersectional literature by showing the impacts of gender norms and hierarchies and of social forces like kinship, age, marital status, sexuality and class on the working conditions of rural women. Thus, I conclude that multiple social dynamics and power relations should be analyzed as one of the factors affecting rural women`s vulnerabilities or empowerment in the global processes of agrarian change in Turkey. Exploring into how agricultural intensification processes, like the diffusion of new technology, are related with gendered norms and the gendered divisions of labor within and out of household have provided new lenses to understand the relationship between the gendered divisions of labor and agrarian change. In this sense, this perspective also enables us to go beyond dualistic understanding of the relationship between agrarian capitalism and (ahistorical) patriarchy. It reveals the interplay between gendered norms, intersecting social forces and inequalities and agricultural production. Such a view is necessary to unpack the Green Revolution`s gendered effects on rural women`s lives. In this sense, it goes beyond economically reductionist explanations for intensive exploitation of rural female labor through heavier workloads, which was the negative impact of the project of the Green Revolution on rural women.

Although household members cooperated to secure their livelihoods, reorganized divisions of labor among its members after mechanization of cotton production and women accepted worse working conditions to prevent further pauperization, this did not imply gender equality among the members of the households in two villages. Gender relations and norms also strongly affected the gendered divisions of labor in two villages. For example, the use of new technical inputs, tractors , opened gendered tasks and

obligations to contestation and resulted in a new gendered division of labor to the detriment of women after the mechanization of cotton production. In other words, technical changes in agricultural production created new labor demands both for women and men and opened gendered norms, such as the value of work, to contestation to satisfy these demands. As a result, labor demanding manual tasks, like harvesting, seedbed preparation or the application of chemical fertilizers were devalued and feminized whereas tractor driving became a prestigious skilled job for men. Thus, these kinds of relationship between gendered norms and the forces of agrarian production affected the types of female labor power and this relationship is important as well as labor control mechanisms used by the landlords to explain women's increasing marginalization after the mechanization of agricultural production in two cases.

These social relations of production and the gendered division of labor were totally different before the mechanization of cotton production, but patriarchal gender relations were still influential on the conditions and forms of female labor in two villages. Self-help groups established on the basis of agnatic principle enabled sharecropper women to work faster and organize better in labor-demanding stages of cotton production, like digging irrigation canals, hoeing, weeding and harvesting. In this sense, these groups functioned as a coping mechanism against technologically primitive and labor-demanding processes of cotton production. However, husbands controlled their wives' labor power by forcing them to carry out agricultural tasks in the fields of their agnates first.

Agnatic ties are also important to understand intra-gender relations of authority and deference and the control over female labor power within sharecropper households.

Elder women, especially mother in laws, exploited labor power of brides and young girls more intensively to carry out domestic work. Thus, inter and intra-gender relations based on kinship, age and marital status affected the gendered divisions of labor as well as material conditions of production. These relations are not less important than changes in the material conditions of production to explain the marginalization of rural female labor and increasing control over the forms and conditions of this labor with the advent of agrarian capitalism.

However, neither labor control mechanisms, nor patriarchal relations imply total control over women's labor power. As my findings show, women contested labor relations and actively struggled against the processes of proletarianization in two villages. Thus, they affected their own living and working conditions and the landlords could not totally control the processes of transition into agrarian capitalism through labor control and supervision mechanisms. For example, when sharecropper women created self-help groups among women and all family members cooperated on the fields, their workload was lessened and they completed agricultural tasks in shorter time. Thus, both these groups and cooperation between household members enabled them to affect their own working conditions. Similarly, when they developed self-discipline as a paid cotton laborers or sharecroppers after the mechanization of cotton production, on one hand, they contributed to the landlords' project of cotton production exclusively for the market. On the other hand, they protected the class positions of their households and prevented further pauperization.

Their rebellion against the landlords who changed the crop pattern from cotton to Mexican wheat in 1969 is a great example for how they ruined the landlords' dreams of



capitalist farming, distorted their labor control mechanisms and retarded proletarianization. As explained previously, the cultivation of Mexican wheat and the realization of title fraud over state-owned lands were two reasons behind the peasant rebellion in the form of land occupations between January and April 1969 in both villages. By producing Mexican wheat in the 1967-1968 season, the landlords fired all paid cotton workers, hired a seasonal labor force from other villages and forced landless peasants to leave the village. In this way, both of the landlords tried to waive the threat of peasant discontent and struggle for land reform after they learnt illegal use of state-owned lands by the landlords in 1967 and became unemployed with the arrival of Mexican wheat in 1968.

However, landlords were not able to dominate over landless peasants, especially women, completely. In both villages, they struggled severely against poverty, eviction, landlessness and unemployment through land occupations and fought to death with rural police officers. The struggles of these women against their worsening working and living conditions were not successful to slow down the processes of proletarianization, dispossession and pauperization for the landless peasants of Göllüce and Atalan. As explained previously, some of them possessed at least a small parcel of land as a result of the negotiation made with the landlords on April 1969 and, in this way, they intervened into the working of agrarian capitalism and rural class relations. But this contention over the organization of production and labor relations did not retard their proletarianization. They continued to work as laborers

These contentious labor relations in two cases problematize certain approaches to rural female labor as it relates to the project of the Green Revolution in literature. First of

all, it refutes the arguments for increasing uses of unpaid rural female labor after the mechanization of agricultural production. In literature, the group of scholars argues that petty commodity producers used unpaid female labor more intensively, especially for subsistence production, as a coping mechanism against pauperization in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>148</sup> However, technological change did not cause more intensive use of unpaid female family labor for subsistence production in Göllüce and Atalan because they did not have their own lands. After the mechanization of cotton production, most of them had to sell their labor power to the landlords or continued to work as sharecroppers for subsistence and secure livelihood. Thus, there is need for new studies on the uses of rural female labor from different classes, apart from the petty commodity producers, and its functions for agrarian capitalism in Turkey in the years of the Green Revolution.

This study is also against the arguments for rural women's release from farm work because of urban migration. Some scholars associate modern women with consumerism and the reproductive sphere, and argue that all rural women adapted to the modern standards of femininity because most of them became consumers, and they were relegated to the private, reproductive sphere as a result of urban migration.<sup>149</sup> Thus, exemption from fieldwork and relegation to home was not a privilege for upper or middle-class farmer women who afforded urban migration. For these scholars, as industrialization gained speed in the 1960s, urban migration increased to satisfy labor demand in new industries and, for these scholars, poor sharecroppers` and small peasants`

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<sup>148</sup>Kazgan, p.146. ; Ertürk, p.53-58. ; Karkıner, p.24-31.

<sup>149</sup>Mine Tan, *Kadının Ekonomik Yaşamı Ve Eğitimi*(Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1979),p.94-117. ; Necla Pür, "Türkiye'de Kadın İşgücü Ve Sorunları," in *Kadın Ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelişme*,(Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Kadın Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1992). p.23-29. ; Tahire Erman, "Kadınların Bakış Açısından Köyden Kente Göç Ve Kentteki Yaşam," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar Ve Erkekler*(Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998). p.211-225.

immigration led to a decrease in the economically active agrarian population. However, urban migration did not result in the integration of rural women into paid labor force as expected, since they were not qualified workers and they took gendered responsibilities, like childcare, keeping them at home.<sup>150</sup>

But, the experiences of women in Göllüce and Atalan show that these are class-specific findings on rural female labor. Landless women of these two villages did not migrate to big cities and not release from farm work after the mechanization of agricultural production. Instead, because of reorganization of the gendered divisions of labor, they started to carry out more labor demanding agricultural tasks, like seedbed preparation, weeding, harvesting and applying fertilizers. Thus, changes in the forces of production increased their workload and converted most of them into paid laborers.

In addition to these, the experiences of landless peasant women in Göllüce and Atalan are also against Marxist arguments for the proletarianization of all small peasants with the advent of agrarian capitalism.<sup>151</sup> For Marx, the separation of capital and labor through the commodification of labor and dispossession is the basic pre-condition for agricultural capitalist production.<sup>152</sup> As a result of the accumulation of the means of the production in the hands of landowners through mechanization, land sales due to high taxes, indebts to moneylenders, land closures by landowners, and competition in the market, social relations of production for small peasants have transformed, and this transitional class is doomed to extinct with the consolidation of agrarian capitalism.<sup>153</sup> To

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<sup>150</sup> Kazgan, p.152-153.

<sup>151</sup> As an examples for the Marxist scholars in Turkish literature, see Köymen, p.12-13. ; Erdost, p.14-18. ; Sencer, p.34-50.

<sup>152</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital-a Critique of Political Economy*(NY: Vintage, 1977). p.940, 948 and 875.

<sup>153</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital Volume Ii*(Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967). p.348, 357, 389.

sum, for these scholars, different rates of capital accumulation between large-scale producers and peasants, have universally led to the proletarianization of masses. And this process leads to the dissolution of small peasantry and creates the class antagonism between the rural proletariat and the agrarian bourgeoisie.

Although Marxist approach to small peasants is helpful to understand rural class differentiation and antagonism, it understates the interrelationship between different forms of labor and agrarian capitalism when rural female labor is taken into account. By bringing gender differentiation under agrarian capitalism into focus, feminist critiques of Marxist approach give better theoretical insights to understand rural class differentiation. Analyzing the impacts of the Green Revolution, feminist Marxists investigate the relationship between the gendered divisions of labor and commercial agriculture, and they question the commodification of women`s labor with the integration of subsistence-based agricultural production into market.<sup>154</sup> These scholars assume that, in order to maintain family farm and households in the market, farmers make decisions about the allocation of land and technical inputs for production, the advantages of subsistence production and the rational distribution of male and female labor power. As a result, the gendered divisions of labor are transformed and women are proletarianized, semi-proletarianized or employed as unpaid laborers. Thus, feminist Marxists focus on different forms of women`s labor and its importance for capitalist agrarian production.

In accordance with this perspective, as this chapter shows, sharecropping, mechanized cotton and Mexican wheat production imply different social relations of

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<sup>154</sup> For the contribution of Feminist Marxists see Osterud, "Gender and the Transition into Capitalism in Rural America." p.14-29. ; Taussig, "Peasant Economics and the Development of Capitalist Agriculture in the Cauca Valley, Colombia." p.62-91. ; Lockwood, "Capitalist Development and the Socioeconomic Position of Tahitian Peasant Women." p.263-285.

production, and so different gendered divisions of labor in comparison with petty commodity production. And it provides answers to the questions that feminist Marxists ask about how the implementation of the project of the Green Revolution at local level reconfigured the gendered divisions of labor and subsumed rural female labor power in different forms into agrarian capitalism. From this perspective, I conclude that different forms of rural female labor- paid labor and sharecropping- after the mechanization of cotton production in two villages make difficult to define sharecropping, and agrarian capitalism as a separate organizational form of production and to make simplistic account for the proletarianization of small peasants with the advent of agrarian capitalism in the context of Turkey.

To sum, I made an analysis sensitive to the organization of large-scale farming including changing material conditions of production, class and gender-specific labor control mechanisms, and women`s strategies to contend labor processes with landlords before and after the mechanization in two villages. And I argue that this contention over the organization of production and labor relations should be put to the center of the analysis to grasp the complexity of rural class relations, the working of agrarian capitalism and the impacts of the Green Revolution on peasants belonging to different classes. This analysis change our ideas about what occurred in Turkey during the years of the Green Revolution and showe us an alternate story rather than the stories of the consolidation of petty commodity production, the elimination of rural class inequalities or the proletarianization of all small peasants in these years.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, by focusing on micro level interactions between the landlords and landless peasants, particularly women, of Göllüce and Atalan before and after the mechanization of agricultural production, I introduced a new gendered perspective to the literature of rural class differentiation, the Green Revolution and agrarian change in Turkey. This perspective is composed of the theoretical insights of feminist Marxists and feminist intersectional perspective to reveal the multilayered factors operated to rural women's disadvantage: the changing material conditions of production, class and gender specific labor control mechanisms, and women's resistance to these labor control mechanisms.

In this framework, I tried to be sensitive to the questions of changing forces and relations of agrarian production and contentious labor processes between the landlords and landless peasants, particularly women, within the localities under investigation. And, on the basis of feminist Marxist analysis of my findings, I conclude that changing material conditions of agrarian production as it relates to female labor power was a factor operated against women's interests. By exploring into new forms of labor control used by the landlords and the expropriation of female labor power different but again subordinated forms into agrarian capitalism, I showed that the project of the Green Revolution cannot be considered as a gender and class-neutral project. It systematically led to class antagonism between the landlords and landless peasants and marginalized particular group of rural women belonging to lower class for the sake of agrarian capitalism.

However, changing material conditions of agrarian production are not only determinants of increasingly worse working and living conditions for landless peasant

women after the mechanization of agricultural production. In this chapter, I argue that dynamic relationship between agrarian capitalism and patriarchies should also be examined to explicate these conditions. Since power relations between men and women, patriarchies, are not static and ahistorical, the feminist Marxist approach is not useful for understanding the interplay between specific patriarchies and the global processes of the Green Revolution, particularly mechanization of agricultural production. Therefore, in order to understand how the collusion of specific patriarchies and overlapping social inequalities affected landless peasant women, I used an intersectional approach to the working conditions of rural women in this study. It helped me to show how inter and intra-gender relations affected rural women's (in) abilities to lessen their workload and benefit from new employment opportunities created by the project and so how gender hierarchies found material expressions in the gendered divisions of labor for agricultural production. In this way, this perspective complemented feminist Marxists' evaluation of the relationship between changing material conditions of production, rural class relations and the gendered divisions of labor.

Furthermore, I also explained how these women contested labor relations and actively struggled against the processes of proletarianization and increasing workload in two villages. By using different strategies, like land occupations or self-help groups, they ruined or contributed to the landlords' dreams of capitalist farming, distorted their labor control mechanisms and retarded dispossession and proletarianization. These examples show how women affected their own living and working conditions and struggled for preventing further pauperization and protecting the class positions of their households. Thus, the landlords could not completely control the processes of transition into agrarian

capitalism through labor control and supervision mechanisms.

On the basis of these findings, I conclude that technological changes in agricultural production and gendered struggles over labor power are intrinsic to the processes of the accumulation of capital in rural Turkey. These struggles mediated rural class conflicts between landlords and peasants as well as affected the trajectories of agrarian change in the context of Turkey. Hence, contentious labor relations between women and landlords and different strategies used by women against proletarianization in the years of the Green Revolution have to be understood to provide better explanations for rural class relations and agrarian capitalism.

By focusing on relationship between patriarchies, state-sponsored mobile home economics courses for rural women, home economists' approaches to women and agrarian capitalism in two villages in Chapter 4, I will illustrate intensified exploitation of rural female labor after the mechanization of agricultural production from a different angle: how state policies reproduced gendered norms, like the value attached to women's domestic works and responsibilities and how it resulted in the reproduction of gender and class hierarchies and intensified exploitation of female labor in both villages. Thus, this chapter will show that there are resonances between state policies, gendered norms and the reorganizations of labor relations as a response to the mechanization of agricultural production. And these resonances are very significant to understand disadvantageous positions of these women in two cases.

In the next chapter, by elaborating interactions between leftist activists and landless peasant women, I will also continue to analyze the complex relations between agrarian capitalism, peasantry and patriarchy. I will argue that the genderless, class-based



and patriarchal organization of the peasant movement, land occupations in two villages, by the leftist student organizations and the youth branches of the political parties, was another factor that negatively affected the living and working conditions of women in two cases.

### Chapter 3

#### Göllüce and Atalan: Imagined Landscapes for the Land Reform in Turkey

In the golden age of land reform, between the 1940s and the 1970s, redistributive and distributive measures, like land reform and subsidies, had been the main constituents of developmental state interventions and policies to realize agricultural development and eradicate rural poverty in many countries ranging from Bolivia to Algeria and Vietnam. In this sense, land reform was considered as the pre-condition of the Green Revolution, which sought to promote the extension and intensification of commodity production through modern farming and increases in efficiency and productivity in agriculture.<sup>155</sup>

This interaction between the Green Revolution and land reform has been recognized in many debates on transforming rural class structure, ensuring social justice and equality among peasants, and assuring a self-sufficient economic growth.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> About land reform and its place in the project of the Green Revolution, see Henry Bernstein, "Land Reform: Taking a Longer View," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 2, no. 4 (Oct. 2002). p.433-463. ; Caroline Ashley and Simon Maxwell, "Rethinking Rural Development," *Development Policy Review* 19, no. 4 (2001). p.395-425. ; M.P. Cowen and R.W. Shenton, "Agrarian Doctrines of Development Part I," *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 25, no. 2 (1998). p.49-76. ; Tim Bayliss-Smith and Sudhir Wanmali, *Understanding Green Revolutions*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).p.18-36.

<sup>156</sup> As the examples for positive impacts of land reform on labor earnings, income and productivity growth for smallholders and landless peasants see Keijiro Otsulca and Violeta Cordova, "Green Revolution, Land Reform and Household Income Distribution in the Philippines," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 40, no. 4 (July 1992). p.719-741. For the examples of the negative impacts of it on deepening rural gender and class inequalities see Richard Levin and Daniel Weiner, *No More Tears: Struggles for Land in Mpumalanga South Africa*(Asmara: Africa World Press, 1997). p.117-137. ; Henry Bernstein, "Agrarian Questions of Capital and Labor: Some Theory About Land Reform (and Periodization)," in *The Land Question in South Africa: The Challenge of Transformation and Redistribution* ed. Lungisile Ntsebeza and Ruth Hall(Cape Town: Africa HSRC, 2007). p.27-60.

Expropriation of large landholdings by state implied the loss of power and control over the basic mean of production, land, for agrarian bourgeoisie while it meant social and economic justice for poor small peasants. Thus, it can be claimed that land reform opened questions about power and agency as a terrain of contestation in those years both in the policy debates and affected the courses of rural class struggles.

The degree of land reform, its substitutes, and objectives were also among the heatedly debated issues of Turkey's agricultural policy in the 1960s.<sup>157</sup> Landlords, peasants, bureaucrats, intelligentsia and leftist organizations were the contending groups concerned with land reform. Their debates were basically clustered around the necessity of allocating land to small peasants, and the impediments in the way of expropriating large landholdings, like the sanctity of private property right or the risk of losing landlords' political support. For the opponents of reform, land expropriation was unnecessary; they argued that improving efficiency and productivity was a matter of having landholders who produced commercial crops with new technical inputs in large farms. However, for the proponents of land reform, expropriation of large landholdings by state and its redistribution would be the panacea for solving the problems of inefficiency, rural poverty, and severe social and economic inequalities in rural Turkey.

In this context, leftist student organization, Federation of Idea Clubs (the FKF), and youth branches of the political parties, the Republican People's Party (the RPP) and Turkish Workers Party (the TWP), mobilized support for land reform in Göllüce and Atalan in the late 1960s and opened up the terrain of the rural class struggle to achieve

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<sup>157</sup> For a brief discussion of the place of land reform debates in Turkey's agricultural policy, see Reşat Aktan, "Problems of Land Reform in Turkey," *Middle East Journal* 20, no. 3 (Summer 1966). p.317-334.

distributive equity among landless peasants. Thus, exploring what they did there and how they politically justified their activities will shed light on the contentious politics of land reform in Turkey. In this chapter, my aim is to contribute to the debates on the politics of land reform and peasant movements in Turkey's rural history by probing the interactions between landless peasants and these party branches and the revolutionary youth organization throughout land occupations. I intend to show that large-scale gender and class inequalities, as well as different political perspectives on land reform influenced these interactions. In thinking through how these political perspectives and interactions were conducted in genderless terms, I introduce a new gendered dimension to the history writing of peasant movements, rural class relations and the politics of land reform in Turkey.

In this chapter, on the basis of my interviews with the members of the FKF (Federation of Idea Clubs) and youth branches of the RPP (Republican People's Party), and TWP (Turkish Workers Party), who actively supported land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan and my archival research, I argue that leftist students and the members of the youth branches of the parties ignored gender relations among the occupiers. Instead they saw occupiers as a homogenous mass involved in contention and, for them, all of the occupiers shared class interests in land reform- although women's actions as occupiers were visible to them. Thus, the political actors' activities were not informed by an understanding of gender relations. In order to show genderless and class-based organization of the land occupations, I will analyze how 1) youth branches of the political parties and leftist student organization conceptualized these villages as "imagined homogeneous landscapes" according to their political perspectives on land reform; 2)

how the discussions of land reform influenced their activities and interpretations of the events throughout land occupations; 3) how the occupier women were excluded from these activities and 4) the gendered implications of the land occupations. On the basis of this analysis, I argue that the genderless and class-based organization of the movement as a local factor did not alleviate gender inequalities in the selected villages. Understanding that these movements ignored gender helps to shed light on the disadvantaged position landless women in rural Turkey of the 1960s.

The youth branches of the RPP, and the TWP, with the FKF were the most active youth organizations in Göllüce and Atalan during the occupations. As Ali Rıza Bodur, the president of the Izmir Youth Branch of the RPP in those years, stated in our interview:

“Göllüce and Atalan were the fields of different leftist views on peasantism in those years. Everybody was trying to make their ideological propositions real in these villages. Land occupations made them feel like a believer who found the most uncommon Qur’an and embraced it.”<sup>158</sup>

Actually, these political parties and organization differed from each other in terms of their approaches to rural class structure, and their strategies for class alliances, but they all were excited to take part in the historically unusual movement of landless peasants in Turkey.<sup>159</sup> In this sense, these villages functioned as laboratories to test political parties’

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<sup>158</sup> Ali Rıza Bodur, *Interview*. 24.Dec.2014. “Göllüce ve Atalan köycülük üzerine farklı sol görüşlerin tartışıldığı. Herkes ideolojik görüşlerini orada gerçeğe dönüştürmeye çalışıyordu. Toprak işgalleri çok inançlı bir müslüman çocuğun çok kıymetli bir Kur’an bulup onu göğsüne basarken yaşadığı heyecanı yaşamaya benziyordu.”

<sup>159</sup> In Turkey, first landless peasant movement had occurred in Elmalı plain and land peasants occupied the dehydrated land of the Avalan lake on Elmalı plain in Antalya in 1967-68, over which Subasi family had a claim of ownership. But Göllüce and Atalan cases were the first occupations in the Aegean region. For Elmalı case, see Yusuf Yavuz, “Elmalı Ovasında Devrim Provası.” *Açık Gazete*, 01. November.2009. Available at: <https://www.acikgazete.com/elmal-ovasnda-devrim-provas/>

hypotheses on feudalism, agrarian capitalism and their strategies to change exploitative class relations in rural Turkey.

Regardless of their differences, the parties imagined these villages as homogenous landscapes for land reform and considered the occupiers as a genderless homogenous mass with a shared class interest. However, landless women's actions as occupiers were visible to the activists from the leftist student organization and the political parties. As explained in Chapter 2 in detail, most of the occupiers were women since changing relations of agricultural production with Mexican wheat primarily affected women's working conditions and they had reacted to unemployment, pauperization and enclosure of state-owned lands by the landlords through land occupations. They had kept watch the occupied lands, cleaned weeds on the same lands and fought to death with the rural police forces driving them out of lands. Thus, gender should have been a matter for the young activists. However, the male members of the political parties and student organization did organize the movement in gender-blind ways, and interacted only with the occupier men throughout the occupations as explained below.

### **The FKF and the National Democratic Revolution**

The FKF was established on January 17, 1965 by the coalition of five revolutionary youth organizations from Ankara in order to change the dependent position of Turkey in world economy under the aegis of the US. This organization targeted socio-economic inequalities created by this dependency and struggled for making Turkey an independent and self-sufficient country. This anti-imperialist organization of politicized

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university students also became more active in rural areas as a part of the 1968 student movements in Turkey.<sup>160</sup> Thus, youth activities were not confined to universities in the big cities; village studies and rural demonstrations were also on the agenda of the FKF. According to its view, peasants were not ready for expelling imperialism and eliminating the remnants of feudalism in Turkey because capitalist relations had not been consolidated in agriculture yet and feudalism was still the predominant mode of agricultural production in rural Turkey in the late-1960s; peasants therefore had to become a “class for itself” in the Marxist sense, but peasants were not a class for itself yet.<sup>161</sup> Thus, for the FKF, workers and peasants would cooperate with the progressive bourgeoisie, the military and the civilian intelligentsia on the national front to “destroy the feudal agricultural structure and introduce and consolidate modern capitalism.”<sup>162</sup> The FKF envisioned a politics where all anti-imperialist forces could solidify and fight for the development of national democracy and economy and the elimination of feudal relations through a national democratic bourgeoisie revolution.

In this view of the dynamics of class contention, landlords, usurers, merchants and the government were collaborating and were in support of imperialism whereas the national petty bourgeoisie, peasants, workers, youth and intelligentsia were allied

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<sup>160</sup> Fikret Babuş, *69 Hareketinin Köy Eylemleri: Devrim Havarileri Fkf Ve Dev-Genç*(Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2003). p.39-50.

<sup>161</sup> In defining class, Karl Marx uses the concepts of class-in-itself and class-for-itself. Objective relations to the means of production (in-itself) is the first stage of the formation of class-consciousness against the bourgeoisie, it is different from subjective expressions of class identity (for itself) through collective struggles. Thus, the FKF interpreted Turkish peasantry in the 1960s in light of Marxist theory of class and, for them, they were not ready to form a separate social class opposed to imperialism and so progressive and enlightened members of the organization should lead them. For the discussion of Marxist notion of class-in-itself and class-for-itself see, J. Claudio Katz, "Marx on Peasantry: Class-in-Itself or Class in Struggle?," *The Review of Politics* 54, no. 1 (Winter 1992). p.50-71.

<sup>162</sup>David Seddon and Ronnie Margulies, "The Politics of Agrarian Question in Turkey," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 11, no. 3 (1984). p.30.

national forces against them. Landlords, “the head guards, the policemen of backward production in agriculture,” were the touchstone of the imperialist block and they obtained their “power and wealth by taking the lion’s share of exploitation.”<sup>163</sup> They collaborated with imperialism to be more powerful and wealthier class and benefitted from the US-given aids or new technical inputs. In return, they increased their control over peasants’ labor power and all means of production including land. For the FKF, rural class polarization and poverty stemmed from increasing control over land by landlords. Thus, for this anti-imperialist student organization, attacking landlords through land reform was the basic strategy for overthrowing feudalism and imperialism and peasants were an important class to be allied with in order to make this attack successful.

The student activists of the FKF used land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan politically to confirm their above-mentioned views on feudalism, landlordism and imperialism and revolutionary strategy. These occupations were politically important for them in two ways: 1) they were examples of anti-imperialist and nationalist peasant mobilizations on the road toward national democratic revolution and 2) landless peasants who struggled for land reform and against landlordism in Göllüce and Atalan were important for them to reveal the possibility of collaboration between landless peasants and small farmers with insufficient land against landlordism.<sup>164</sup>

First of all, land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan were evaluated as a microcosm of the basic principles of national democratic revolution in the FKF

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p.54.

<sup>164</sup> Conceptually, similar to Bernstein I use peasant as farm laborers who do not own the means of productions including land and this class constituted by laborers on land, tenants or sharecroppers sell their labor power for subsistence while farmer refers to the owners, cultivators and operators of farmland. As the owners of the means of production, they produce, sell and operate as an agricultural enterprise. Bernstein, "Land Reform: Taking a Longer View." p.440-441.



publications. Ergun Aydınoglu, the President of the Socialist Idea Club, explains how these occupations were compatible with their perspective on class relations in rural

Turkey as follows:

“The land struggles of peasants with no land and insufficient land were integral to our national independence war against American imperialism and anti-nationalist classes. Poor peasants, as a powerful group supporting democracy and independence, are acting together with nationalist classes and groups whereas landlords with whom they are in fight collaborate with imperial and anti-nationalist classes.”<sup>165</sup>

As mentioned above, landlords occupied an important position in the rural class structure of Turkey in the 1960s. Since landlords, as the beneficiaries of state-given agricultural subsidies and new agricultural technologies funded by the Marshall plan, accumulated capital and the means of agricultural production in their hands, they were seen as self-interested and anti-nationalist collaborators of imperialism. They benefitted from the US given aids and state given subsidies to buy new seeds, fertilizers and other technical inputs and exploited peasants` labor power more intensely to provide cheap industrial crops, like cotton and sugar, to imperial countries, particularly the US, and in this way, imperialism sustained its hegemony over Turkey and made it underdeveloped as exploiting its natural resources and labor force. Thus, landlords and government were imperialist and anti-nationalist enemies collaborating with the US to empower themselves at the expense of landless peasants or peasants with insufficient land. And these peasants

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<sup>165</sup> Ergun Aydınoglu, “Yoksul Köylülerin Toprak Mücadelesi Milli Kurtuluş Savaşımızın Ayrılmaz Bir Parçasıdır.” *Ileri: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyalist Fikir Kulübü*, 19.June.1969, Number: 6, p.4. “Az topraklı ve topraksız köylülerin toprak mücadelesi, Amerikan emperyalizmine ve gayri milli sınıflara karşı yürütülen Milli Kurtuluş Savaşımızın ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır. Yoksul köylüler, bağımsızlıktan ve demokrasiden yana güçler olarak, Milli sınıf ve tabakaların yanında yer almakta, mücadele ettikleri toprak ağaları ise emperyalizm ve gayri milli sınıflarla ittifak içinde bulunmaktadır.”

and educated youth activists constituted nationalist forces to achieve nationalist democratic revolution and to make Turkey independent and self-sufficient country.

As explained in detail in Chapter 2, both of the landlords had used their political connections with the ruling party, the Democrat Party (the DP), as the relatives of Adnan Menderes in the 1950s to enclose more land, benefit from state-given credits and subsidies to buy new tractors, fertilizers. And the landlords continued to use their connections while the right-wing party, the Justice Party (the JP), was ruling Turkey in the 1960s to obtain high-yielding and labor-saving Mexican wheat seed and changed the organization of whole production. In return, class antagonism between poor and landless peasants and the landlords in both villages had increased and led to the occupations. However, it was peculiar to the FKF activists to link these occupations with imperialism.

According to the FKF activists' interpretation of land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan, landless peasants who developed an awareness of themselves as a class through land occupations were cognizant of this deeply rooted connection between landlordism, national independence and American imperialism. For them, land reform and national independence were closely related issues in the sense that landlords who made them dispossessed were the supporters of imperialism and the government. Thus, expecting land reform from the dependent government in support of landlords was not meaningful for landless peasants of Göllüce and Atalan. Thus, they themselves had decided to make land reform. In order to live in fully independent and self-sufficient Turkey, landless peasants became one of the leading agents acting in the same side with all nationalist people, particularly nationalist youth, in that second national independence war against imperialism for the FKF. In this sense, as expressed in the column of "World and

Turkey’’ on peasant movements in the prominent journal of the organization, *Aydınlık*, these occupations in Göllüce and Atalan were ‘‘a new link for the chain of national democratic revolution and the harbinger of an alliance between proletariat and peasants.’’<sup>166</sup>

In addition, for the FKF activists, landlessness and demand for land reform were the main motives behind land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan and, in this sense; the occupiers were struggling against landlordism and their struggle had to be supported by small farmers with insufficient land to abandon landlordism and make Turkey free of imperial world system. In order to achieve national democratic revolution, small farmers and landless peasants had to be mobilized by revolutionary youth around the issue of land reform. Thus, it can be claimed that the FKF activists considered all forms of peasant struggle including demonstrations and land occupations as the signs of increasing class-consciousness among peasants against imperialism and landlordism.

An ‘‘Independence and Land Reform’’ demonstration organized by the FKF on April 16, 1969 in Soke- a town in the Aydın province of Turkey- was a good example at this strategy of the FKF students. More than one hundred villages in the Aegean region participated in this demonstration for land reform and national independence, and against moneylenders, merchants and landlords. Mustafa Acar, an occupier from Göllüce, spoke first at the demonstration, and told that their land occupations were against powerful landlords. And the FKF activists interpreted his accounts as the sign of the collaboration of landless and small peasants with revolutionary youth against landlessness, landlordism

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<sup>166</sup> Anon., ‘‘Türkiye ve Dünya.’’ *Aydınlık*, March.1969, Number: 5, p.344.

and imperialism.<sup>167</sup> This demonstration inspired by land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan was important in terms of the participation of small petty commodity producers, especially tobacco producers, with insufficient land – their participation made clear that they were discontented and were willing to cooperate with landless peasants and fight against all exploiting anti-nationalist classes, particularly landlords.

This example also points out the role of merchants and brokers who were also part of anti-nationalist block in the eyes of the FKF activists. According to the leftist student activists from the FKF, small farmers who did not have enough land for subsistence were involved into this land reform demonstration to show their reactions to landlords, merchants and brokers. As Gün Zileli underlined in her book, landlords who had money capital and control over all means of production forced small peasants to borrow money from merchants with high interest rates to continue agrarian production, then small peasants had to take money from usurers to pay it back or rent or sell their lands to wealthier peasants or landlords. In addition, since landlords sold their products with a good price, small farmers lost their bargaining power in the market and had to sell crops to merchants with lower prices.<sup>168</sup> Land inequality was the underlying reason for this dependent and exploitative relationship between poor small peasants and rich landlords, merchants and brokers. Thus, like the plight of landless peasants, the redistribution of large landholdings was also a solution to transform the vicious circle that ran at the expense of poor farmers with insufficient land in the Aegean region. In this sense, landless peasants and small farmers without sufficient land did not hesitate to shout

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<sup>167</sup>Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Türkiye Gençlik Hareketleri Tarihi, 1969-1970*(Istanbul: Sevinç Yayınları, 2013).p. 356.

<sup>168</sup> Gün Zileli, *Havariler (1972-1983)*(Istanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 2002). p.209-210.

slogans together like “Land belongs to the cultivator,” “Landlord-America hand-in-hand!” in the Soke demonstration.<sup>169</sup>

However, I argue that, to legitimize their thesis of national democratic revolution, homogenizing landless and small peasants without sufficient land as a class and reducing all reasons behind peasant struggles to landlessness make invisible context specific motives behind peasant struggles and different social factors, like gender, affecting the organization of peasant movements. As explained in Chapter 2, women’s actions as occupiers were visible to the students as they confronted with the rural police officers or occupied the lands and kept watch in both villages. However, while supporting and organizing the occupations in Göllüce and Atalan, male FKF students considered the occupiers as a genderless mass, only addressed men and used certain tactics to mobilize them as follows.

The general president of the FKF, Yusuf Küpeli, declared their support for land occupations in both villages in the report called as “The Aegean Region Report for Democratic Turkey” just after the beginning of the occupations. He wrote the following: “We got in contact with 1500 landless peasants from Göllüce and Atalan who, out of starvation, ploughed 22.000 donum field claimed by the landlords.<sup>170</sup> We let them know that we are supporting their struggle for bread based on the constitutional right with all our heart.”<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Ergun Aydınoglu, “Ege Köylüsü Haykırdı Toprak İstiyoruz.” *Ileri: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyalist Fikir Kulübü*, 19.June.1969, Number: 5, p.5.

<sup>170</sup> Donum is the Ottoman unit of area equivalent to English acre, representing the amount of land that could be ploughed by a team of oxen in a day. One donum is approximately one decare (1000 square meter). It is a land measure of 920 square meters.

<sup>171</sup> Ali Yıldırım, *Fkf Dev-Genc Tarihi: 1965-1971 Belgelerle Bir Dönemin Serüveni*(Istanbul: Doruk Yayınları, 2008). p.274-75.

Küpelî's report came in the wake of a visit of twenty leftist student activists from FKF including Erol Temelkuran, a FKF Central Administrative Board Member, to Atalan on the second day of the occupations in order to support peasants' attempts to occupy state-owned lands that had been used by the landlords until the 1967 cadastral survey.<sup>172</sup> The first thing the FKF students did was to find the slogans for land reform demands, write them on the banners and hang them all around Atalan and then Göllüce. The FKF students put the demands of landless peasants and their rationale into words, in order to show their determinedness to the landlords, rural police officers and the leftist press members including Hikmet Çetinkaya, Özden Alpdag and İlhan Selçuk who rushed into these villages to write about land occupations. Their interviews with the occupiers and the activists provide us invaluable material to learn what the FKF students exactly did there. On the banners, the FKF students wrote "Peasants cannot be Landless," "Does Atalan Village Belong to Landlords?" "We Rely Upon Justice, Not the Landlords!"<sup>173</sup> and "There is Struggle for Land in This Village!"<sup>174</sup> In addition to these banners, the students wrote Article 37 of the Turkish Constitution on a paper board and posted it on the coffee house in Atalan:

"The state must take the necessary measures to use efficiently agricultural lands and to provide land for landless peasants or the farmers with insufficient land. With these aims in mind, the law might delimit individual land holdings depending on different agricultural regions and crop patterns. The state assists the farmer with obtaining the means of agrarian production."<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Feyizoğlu, p.27. "...anayasanın verdiği hakka dayanarak, Atalan ve Göllüce köylerinde ağaların gaspettiği 22.000 dönüm kadar araziye açıklıkla karşı karşıya kaldıkları için süren 1500 köylüyle ilişkiler kurup, haklı ekmek kavgalarını sonuna dek yürekte desteklediğimizi bildirdik."

<sup>173</sup> Çetin Altan, "Tapusuz toprak işgali." *Aksam*, 31.January.1969, p.2.

<sup>174</sup> Anon., "Egenin Atalan köyünde toprak mücadelesi var." *Cumhuriyet*, 21.March.1969, p.1.

<sup>175</sup> Gürel Seydialioğlu, "Atalan köyü dramı: Anayasayı duvara yazıp asmak suç olmuş." *Ulus*, 23.March.1969, p.3.

Since the constitution envisages land reform and allows for the redistribution of expropriated lands and wastelands to landless peasants, peasants in Atalan and Göllüce and their leftist student allies believed in the legitimacy of their struggles for land, justice and sustainable livelihoods through the occupation of state-owned lands. Thus, as Erol Temelkuran told me in our interview, in the meetings they had with men in the coffee house of Atalan, the male FKF students explained the meaning and necessity of land reform, mobilized and organized the landless peasants to make land reform and destroy traditional agrarian power relations and severe class inequalities in the villages.<sup>176</sup> But, unfortunately, they did not make any in-house meetings or personal meetings with women about their gender specific concerns and involvement into the occupations. Thus, they did not meet with women without transgressing local mores around gender.

In addition, there was not even one female leftist activist working actively in the villages to organize women. Even though many women were sitting around the coffee house during the meetings, the coffee house was a male headquarters to socialize with leftist students and the young people coming from other parties' youth branches, especially the RPP, to learn recent news and public reactions from the radio, newspapers and leftist journals and to plan the next step in the movement. I think that this implies something about the gendered composition of the leftist movements in general: there were no women who were trusted to organize. Also, it was probably due to this gender-composition as well as the patriarchal aspect of Turkish socialism that leftist students could not reach to the peasant women. As Erol Temelkuran explained in his response to the lack of attempts to organize women, the student activists of the FKF, in turn, who

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<sup>176</sup> Erol Temelkuran, *Interview*. 25.Dec.2014.

were composed almost exclusively of men, might be reluctant as well, since offending their husbands would put their overall cause and struggle into danger.<sup>177</sup> So, it is likely that students might not have even attempted to organize women due to the strategic troubles that this attempt might lead to. In addition, as the male interviewee from Atalan explained in our meeting, male peasants themselves were reluctant to let their wives communicate with the students.<sup>178</sup> They considered interactions between their wives, daughters and the students as dangerous and unnecessary. Since they were the representatives of the peasant households, they took decisions to be involved into the occupations and female members of the households could not make independent political decisions. Thus, in any case, unfortunately, these kinds of meetings gave men upper hand over women to decide on the participation into the occupations, especially in the reluctant and fearing households.

Leftist men used references both to Islam and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's speeches in order to win over the male household heads of these reluctant peasants in the coffeehouse meetings. The leftist journal that published the writings of peasants and workers, *Proleter*, delineated religious strategies designed to integrate reluctant landless peasants into land occupations, chiefly by making landlords seem to be bad Muslims. Osman Karamık, the contributor of the *Proleter*, quoted the prophet Mohammed's saying, "only the ones who cultivate land and put their labor on it can possess this land"; therefore, landlords who do not cultivate land cannot claim the right of ownership.<sup>179</sup> Based on this statement, leftist activists could argue that landless peasants had a religious

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> The resident of Atalan 2, *Interview*. 26.Dec.2014.

<sup>179</sup> Anon., "Topraksız Köylü Uyan." *Proleter*, No: 9, 10.May.1969, p.2.



right to reclaim land on which they had been working. Leftists also argued that these “disbeliever and degenerated landlords”<sup>180</sup> were not good Muslims because they were depriving landless peasants of basic needs for sustainable livelihoods.

Another strategy used by the leftist student activists in Göllüce and Atalan was to give reference to Ataturk’s speeches on land reform. In his annual messages of 1936 and 1937, Ataturk asked the Grand National Assembly to solve the problem of land inequality and also laid down some directions for doing so. In his own words,

“It is absolutely urgent that every Turkish farming family own as much land as it can live and work on.... We consider agricultural development as an important problem. First of all, in this country, there should not be any farmer without land... The size of the land that can be operated by large farmers should be limited according to the population density and soil fertility of each region.”<sup>181</sup>

Even though land reform had become an aborted attempt until 1973 in Turkey’s rural history,<sup>182</sup> this speech was important in terms of pointing out the urgency of making peasants proprietors of land and allowing the state discretion to limit large-holdings according to the demographic characteristics and the level of agricultural productivity in each region. Leftist activists used this speech to criticize the agrarian policy of the Justice

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<sup>180</sup> Osman Karamık, “Toprak Toprak Diyenler.” *Proleter*, No: 7, 15.May.1968, p.3.

<sup>181</sup> Aktan, p.320.

<sup>182</sup> Since landless peasants constituted a potential source of threat for the leaders of the RPP in the 1930s, land reform had much place in the discourses of the party. However, they did not stipulate any law until the Land Provision Law of 1945. Despite the pressures of the large landowners in the party to prevent the expropriations, 22.313.646 donums allocated until 1972. However, it was an aborted attempt because just 54.000 donums was expropriated from the land owners and it was abrogated in 1950 with their pressures. Thus, it did not transform property relations by expropriation. Yet, land reform had continued to occupy the agenda of the left-wing and right-wing politicians in the 1960s as a response to increasing visibility of peasant discontent, and fear of communism. Thus, there had been ten different drafts prepared by the large landowners within the parliament and the deputies from the JP, the RPP and the TWP between 1960 and 1971. For these drafts, see Reşat Aktan, "Türkiye’de Toprak Reformu Çalışmaları," in *Toprak Reformu Ve Ekonomik Gelişme*(Istanbul: Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı, 1971). p.65-93. ; for the results of the Land Provision Law see, Duran Taraklı, *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu Ve Uygulama Sonuçları*(Ankara: Kalite Matbaası, 1978). p.308.

Party (JP) government, to activate the nationalistic sentiments of injustice among landless peasants about inequalities and to increase their participation into the occupations.

I consider these two strategies very important to explain contextual relationship between Kemalism, Islam and land reform calls of the leftists. First of all, the right-wing ruling party, the JP, criticized the RPP's top-to-bottom, Kemalist and anti-religious policies since the early Republican era and sustained the legacy of the DP in the 1960s. This populist and conservative political party came to the power in 1965 by taking 52.9% of the votes in 1965 and they ruled alone until 1971. In this context where the populist government used people's religious beliefs to consolidate its political power, the JP did not only direct its arrows of critique to the RPP. It also stigmatized the left-wing political groups as anti-religious people struggling for bringing communism to Turkey. In their eyes, these groups were supporting class antagonism in Turkish society, and they were also responsible for increasing working class protests in big cities and peasant discontent in rural areas. In this way, for them, leftists were interrupting Turkey's economic and social development and acting against its national interests.

Two strategies used by the FKF students- giving reference to Atatürk's speech and the prophet's saying- can be interpreted as the indicators of the left-wing group struggling against the JP and for gaining the support of landless peasants in Göllüce and Atalan. These strategies showed that leftist activists were neither anti-religious nor anti-nationalists. By using Muhammad's and Atatürk's speech together, they gave landless peasants the following message: fear of left and communism were unreasonable because leftist activists were supporting and mobilizing them to achieve social and economic justice and to create independent and self-sufficient Turkey. As an extension of

their previously mentioned anti-imperialist, nationalist political discourse and their political strategy of land reform, the FKF students, by applying these strategies, addressed the issue of exploitation by landlords who were in the same imperial block with the JP and supported land occupations of the peasants who had decided to make their own land reform. In this way, it can be argued that two strategies used by the FKF students reflected their political discourse against the JP government.

Apart from making coffeehouse meetings to convince of reluctant peasants, Erol Temelkuran and his friends established ‘an occupation committee’ composed of the four former and present village headmen of Atalan and Göllüce to organize the activities and coordinate the occupations. Again the committee of men laid claims to the occupations in which most of the occupiers were women and this committee functioned as the organizer and the press agent in the villages during the occupations.

The FKF students and the committee prepared a declaration in collaboration with the male occupiers so as to give voice to their discontent and to show resistance against the landlords who claimed the ownership of large amount of state-owned land. The declaration “‘dedicated to the villagers” printed and duplicated in the mimeograph of Izmir Miners’ Union on February 04, 1969 to condemn vigorously the state and to justify the peasant resistance in the villages. But, to protect the privacy of the villagers, they removed their signatures from the publicized version as follows:<sup>183</sup>

“The lands you ploughed are yours. Exploiter landlords have no rights on it. Land belongs to the cultivator, the laborer. We are declaring that the Revolutionary Turkish Youth supports your legitimate labor struggle. We condemn the government, who has not promulgated land reform as ordered in the Constitution.”<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Refik Balcı, “Torbalı olayı ve FKF’nin tahriki.” *Ege Ekspres*, 03.Feburary.1969, p.1, 7.

<sup>184</sup> Turhan Feyizoğlu, *Fkf: Demokrasi Mücadelesinde Sosyalist Bir Öğrenci Hareketi*(Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2002). p.349. “Sürdüğün topraklar öz malındır. Sömürücü ağaların o topraklarda hakkı yoktur.

Similar to the coffee house meetings and the tactics they used, this declaration of the committee also exemplifies how the FKF considered the landless peasants as a homogenous genderless class in fight for land reform. There were clash of interests between the exploiter landlords and the government on the one hand, and the exploited landless peasants and leftist youth organizations who supported them on the other. And revolutionary youth activists publicized their thoughts on the rightness of landless peasants to claim state-owned lands and on the necessity of land reform through this declaration. As explained below, these ideas and activities of leftist student organizations were in the line of fire in the Cold War years and were severely criticized by the other parties who lived in the fear of communism and the raising radical left in the late-1960s.

### **The RPP-The JP: Villages as the Terrain of Politics of Land Reform Against Radical Left**

In comparison with the FKF, the RPP and JP had different political approaches to land reform and these approaches affected the imaginary and gender blind ways they constructed land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan. For the JP, there was no need for land reform because small peasants had enriched themselves with agricultural policies of the party. But, the same policies pauperized small peasants and consolidated landlordism for the RPP. Thus, according to the RPP, in order to achieve social and economic justice among peasants, agrarian policies, like state given subsidies and credits to buy new technical inputs should be a complement to land reform. Beyond these differences, both

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Toprak onu sürenin, alın teri dökenindir. Bu haklı emek kavganda Devrimci Türk Gençliği olarak sonuna dek yanında olduğumuzu bildiririz. Anayasanın emri olan toprak reformunu yapmayan iktidarı kınarız.”

of the parties agreed on the sanctity of private landownership. In this sense, the rise of peasant movements was a sign of escalating communism for both of the political parties. In the cases of Göllüce and Atalan, the political approaches of two parties to land reform and private property affected how they constructed villages as the landscapes of the contentious politics of land reform against radical left and the occupiers as a genderless mass.

In this frame, first, the youth branch of the JP prepared a counter-declaration on February 08, 1969 as response to the FKF declaration where they explained well the fear from the radical left among small peasants in the Aegean region, particularly Atalan. It was a warning for leftist student activists mobilizing landless peasants in the villages and, in this declaration, Zafer Kokoz, a provincial head of youth branch of the JP in Izmir, was addressing leftist activists in the villages in the following way:

“There are land occupations in Atalan and tobacco demonstrations in Akhisar... Few betrayers who come together under the roof of the FKF and lead these movements do not have a right to break down law and order and play with the faith of the public. Once again, we remind them to obey the rules of the democratic constitutional state. We are warning the ones who are using revolutionary methods and creating anarchy by asserting pseudo reasons in order to pave the way for a proletariat dictatorship in our rapidly developing beautiful country. The public has an upper limit of being patient and tolerable. We give a notification for not making fun of the citizens’ security and peace and immediately putting an end to these futile attempts as a nationalist youth.”<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Anon., “Akhisar olayları ile ilgili AP bildiri yayımladı.” *Ege Telgraf*, 08.Feburary.1969, p.1,6. ; Anon., “Ege solcu tahrikleri takbih ediyor.” *Ege Ekspres*, 09.Feburary.1969, p.1,7. “Atalan köyünde toprak işgali, Akhisar’da ise tütün mitingleri yapılmaktadır. ... Bu gibi hareketlerin öncülüğünü yapan birkaç satılmışın FKF adı altında toplanarak bu milletin kaderi, huzur ve güveni ile oynamaya hakları olmadığını, demokratik hukuk devletinin icaplarına uymalarını bir daha hatırlatırız... Her sahada hızla ilerleyen güzel yurdumuzda sudan sebepler göstererek ihtilalci metotlarla anarşi yaratıp kurmak istedikleri proleter diktatoryaya zemin hazırlamak sevdalarında olanlara milletinde bir sabır ve tahammül derecesi olduğunu bilmeleri vatandaşın huzur ve güveni ile alay etmekten vazgeçmelerini ve bu ümitsiz gayretlerine derhal son vermelerini milliyetçi gençlik olarak ihtar ederiz. ...” For the original declaration see Figure 3.3.1. and 3.3.2.

First of all, this statement is important to make sense of the JP's approach to land reform. For the JP, agrarian reform was to substitute for land reform, a view clearly influenced by the JP's adherence to the principles of liberal economy. The JP feared that land reform would negatively affect agricultural productivity by decreasing the scale of production, investments and free enterprise and obscuring integration of agricultural sector to market economy.<sup>186</sup> As the opponents of land reform, there was no need for enhancing equality among the peasants through land expropriation. Instead, without changing the status of landownership, state agents would continue to provide subsidies, credits, improved technology and capital inputs to wealthier peasants in a "rapidly developing" country. For this party, all of the leftist attempts to provoke and mobilize peasants against the government disturbed order and stability in the country.

Accordingly, the youth branch of the JP considered the mobilization of landless peasants in Göllüce and Atalan as an attack on peace and security and on the sanctity of private property. Thus, in this declaration, they also reacted to the increasing visibility of peasant discontent with state policies and expressed their fears from the alliances formed between leftist groups and peasants as in these cases.<sup>187</sup> In other words, according to the JP, leftist groups were provoking class antagonism between landless peasants and landlords for the sake of transforming private property regime and bringing socialism in Atalan. Thus, the right-wing youth branch of the JP denied the significance of class polarization and of landless peasants as a class in Atalan. In order to suspend economic growth of Turkey with agrarian reforms under the JP government, leftist students were

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<sup>186</sup>Manoucher Parvin and Mukerrem Hic, "Land Reform Versus Agricultural Reform: Turkish Miracle or Catastrophe Delayed?," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16, no. 2 (May. 1984). p.208-09.

<sup>187</sup>Bahar Bilgen, "Implementation of Land and Agricultural Reform Law No. 1757 in Urfa (1960-1980)" (Bogazici University, 2007). p.5.

brainwashing peasants toward favoring land reform, depicting landlords as another class exploiting them and provoking them to attack on the private property of the landlords. In this way, they were creating chaos and anarchy.

As opposed to the above-mentioned approach of the JP to land reform and rural class relations, increasing class inequalities between peasants and landlords was an important problem for the RPP. And agrarian state policies implemented by the JP were responsible for increasing class antagonism in rural areas and for the concentration of land and all means of agricultural production in the hands of wealthy peasants or landlords. To resolve the problems of peasants, especially landlessness and poverty among small peasants, the members of the RPP made a call for making land reform and agrarian reform together. As Ali Rıza Bodur expressed it in our interview, according to their new party vision- the center of left-, the underlying reason for land struggles in the 1960s was to destroy landlordism so as to reveal democracy and social justice through equal distribution of land; agrarian reform could come later to increase efficiency and productivity.<sup>188</sup> This new vision was Bulent Ecevit's challenge to drive the radical left and the Turkish Workers' Party out of the political arena and it was a security wall against the threat of communism and socialism.

In this center-left vision, exclusive implementations of state-sponsored agrarian reforms were only beneficial for large landowners and thus created severe inequalities between peasants and landlords in terms of income level and access to the means of production. The leftists wanted several steps to happen: First, state-owned pasture and cultivable lands would be redistributed to sharecroppers, tenants and landless workers to

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<sup>188</sup> Ali Rıza Bodur, *Interview*. 24.Dec.2014.

fight against rural poverty and to diminish class inequalities. The state would have a degree of discretion to limit and expropriate large landholdings in public interest by paying compensations for it. In Ecevit's words, this kind of "land reform does not abandon the private property, but it makes it widespread"<sup>189</sup> and it will prevent the escalation of class antagonism and the threat of communism among landless peasants and small farmers. But, according to the proponents of the new vision of the RPP, land reform would not be enough to enhance equity and so agrarian reform that included the distribution of advanced technologies, subsidies, and credits to all peasants should be made to insure agrarian productivity for small peasants as well.<sup>190</sup>

As an extension of this approach to land reform and rural class relations, the youth branch of the RPP's response to the declaration of the JP for land occupations in Atalan and Göllüce was not unexpected. Two young parliamentarians from the RPP, a Manisa deputy Doğan Barutçuoğlu and a Trabzon deputy Ahmet Şener were sent to Atalan and Göllüce to observe and report land inequalities and class polarization between powerful landlords and landless peasants. These deputies told their observations and justified the party's support for the occupations in the official newspaper of the RPP, *Ulus*, on Feb. 12, 1969 as follows:

"... New movements like the ones in Atalan and Göllüce can occur in other landless villages of Turkey. Since the situation of the villagers was so bad there, ... and the extreme leftist movements taking advantage of it, it is highly possible to see bloody encounters and anarchy there...Landless people in Atalan are cognizant of their constitutional right and they have been increasingly aware of it. This should be understood as warnings to the ones who resist understanding and executing land reform. We do not believe that the JP government will take a

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<sup>189</sup> Bülent Ecevit, *Bu Düzen Değişmelidir*(Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1974). p.153.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p.131-149.



lesson from it inasmuch as they do not give due importance to it and not give some thoughts on it...’’<sup>191</sup>

In this report, the RPP clarified its views on land reform, land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan and on the extreme leftists mobilizing landless peasants. On the one hand, they drew attention on landlessness, raising class-consciousness among landless peasants, the legitimacy of the occupations and on the immediate need for making land reform. They also made a call to the government for carrying out the reform there and other villages marked by peasant protests against landlessness and landlordism as a legal measure to prevent new landless peasant movements all around the country in the future.

On the other hand, similar to the JP view, they were against the idea of abandoning the right of private property and replacing agrarian capitalism with socialism. Thus, in the same report, they attacked on the extreme leftists- the FKF students- with whom they mobilized the landless peasants in Göllüce and Atalan for land reform in the same coffee house. As the owner of the coffee house in Atalan stated in our interview, support from the RPP youth branch through the meetings on land reform meant a lot to the occupiers who were the supporters of the party.<sup>192</sup> Their close connections with the politicians and other government officials provided security and prevented imprisonment of occupiers at the beginning of movement at least.

### **The TWP and Socialism through the Party**

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<sup>191</sup> Anon., ‘‘Arazi işgalleri uyarma niteliğinde.’’ *Ulus*, 12.Feburary.1969, p. 1,7. For the report see Figure 3.1. ‘‘... Atalan ve Göllüce olayları Türkiye’nin bütün topraksız köylerinde her zaman çıkabilir. Köylüler öyle bir bunalım içindedir ki ... bu bunalım aşırı akımlar tarafından istismar edildiğinden her an anarşiye ve kan dökülmesine müncer olabileceği kanısındayız.... Atalan köylüleri Anayasa’nın kendilerine bahşettiği olanakları anlamışlar bir uyanış içindedirler. Bunu toprak reformunu anlamak ve yapmak istemeyenlere karşı bir uyarma niteliğinde almak gerekir. Atalan köyü olaylarından AP hükümetinin bir sonuç çıkaracağını zannetmiyoruz. Zira şu ana kadar olaya gerekli önemi verip üzerine eğilmemişlerdir. ....’’

<sup>192</sup> The owner of the coffee house in Atalan, *Interview*. 26.Dec.2014.

The RPP could only function as a buffer zone between the occupiers and the law enforcement agents supporting the landlords for a short while. Seven male FKF committee members were arrested on February 25, 1969 and they were accused of attempting to violate the private property rights of the landlords and insulting state officials while rural police officers were executing the legal decision of driving the occupiers out of the fields of the landlords in Atalan and Göllüce- although the occupied lands were state-owned.<sup>193</sup> The TWP played a different role by defending the claims of male occupiers in the court and the politics of the workers' party strongly affected how they represented the occupations in the court and mobilized the occupiers in the coffeehouses of Göllüce and Atalan.

The occupier women were invisible to the law enforcement agents and they only went after the occupier men in two cases. As explained in Chapter 2 in detail, in both villages, most of the occupiers were composed of women and they struggled against poverty, eviction, landlessness and unemployment through land occupations and fought to death with rural police officers, gendarmerie, collaborating with the powerful landlords to draw the occupiers out of the landlords' enclosed lands. There were violent conflicts and fights between the occupying women and rural police officers who drove them out of the occupied lands with the order of the landlords and four women were fatally injured during these confrontations in both villages. The occupier women also divided state owned lands into parcels and then cleaned weeds and plowed the land with rented tractors during the occupations in early 1969 in Göllüce and Atalan and thus they were visible agents in the occupations. However, only male occupiers were prosecuted.

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<sup>193</sup> Anon., "Atalan'da yedi kişi tutuklandı." *Cumhuriyet*, 25.Feburary.1969, p.7.

Güney Dinç, the TWP lawyer of the occupiers, explained the reason behind the legal invisibility of the occupier women in the court when I interviewed him on December 25, 2014. He told me that, for rural police officers, the occupier men strategically put women forward for preventing the use of police violence during the occupations. Thus, men used them as “a shield.”<sup>194</sup> As this statement shows, the law enforcement agents arrested and prosecuted only the occupying men in Göllüce and Atalan because, for them, the occupying women were only the puppets of men to reduce the intensity of violence and to have a freer hand in protest at least for a while. Thus, women were not worthwhile to go after for the law enforcement agents and they could not be the vanguards of the political movement.

Dinç as a lawyer and a male member of the TWP General Executive Board in Izmir defended their case in the court and the occupier women were also invisible in his defense. In other words, he legally justified the occupations as a class movement against landlordism. To do this, he built defense for the occupiers on different evidences: first of all, he used the findings of the cadastral survey of the 1967. According to this survey, it was legally approved that 2500 out of 10000 donums in Göllüce and 3142 out of 7876 donums in Atalan were state-owned lands.<sup>195</sup> However, the landlords had claimed these lands as their own property, controlled living and working conditions of the peasants and kept them landless, poor and dependent until they learnt title fraud on state-owned lands. And the landless peasants had occupied these state-owned lands and so they did not violate the private property rights of the landlords. Secondly, he gave references to

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<sup>194</sup> Güney Dinç, *Interview*. 25.Dec.2014.

<sup>195</sup> Anon., “Köylüler bir araziye daha işgal ettiler.” *Milliyet*, 03.Feb.1969, p.1,7. ; Hikmet Çetinkaya, “İşgalci köylüler için tahkikat açıldı.” *Cumhuriyet*, 30.Dec.1969, p.1,7.

mitigating circumstances for the occupying men: rural police officers fired their gun up in the air and injured them with a butt stroke while driving them out of the occupied fields, but they did not apply to violence and use gun to defend themselves. Furthermore, Mesude Evliyazade had rented out a part of state-owned land without waiting for the result of lawsuit against her about the illegal use of state-owned lands and so the landless peasants had tried to prevent the landlords from reclaiming state-owned lands through the occupations. Thirdly, on the basis of Article 37 according to which the state must take the necessary measures to achieve efficient use of agricultural lands and to provide land for landless peasants or the farmers with insufficient land, he claimed that landless peasants used their constitutional rights through land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan. Since the state did not control and delimit individual land holdings, they tried to make their own land reform.

Based on this evidence, he represented the occupations as “the struggle for transition from being laborer to being land holder” and this successful defense resulted in the release of all committee members at the end of three months trial between March 20, and May 28, 1969.<sup>196</sup> The last suspect was released on May 28, 1969 with the adjudication of the criminal court of first instance.<sup>197</sup> Although the case was a positive achievement in terms of the acceptance of the legitimacy of the occupations in the criminal justice system, unfortunately, the occupations were represented as a peasant movement in which only men were at front during violent encounters with rural police.

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<sup>196</sup> Güney Dinç, *Interview*. 25.Dec.2014.

<sup>197</sup> Anon., “Kazamızın Atalan köyünden tutuklu olanların sonuncusu da serbest bırakıldı.” *Torbalt*, Year: 3 Number: 405, 28.May.1969, p.1.

In addition, as an extension of their party politics, the TWP members were considering this struggle as a movement of the landless peasants to possess land and to overthrow agrarian capitalism; for them, it was a good case to test the vision of the party according to which landlords had an influence over the ruling class and exploited intensely landless peasants' labor power in its own accord. The TWP thus advocated that "landlord state" should be replaced by "a state of the working class."<sup>198</sup> According to this view, peasants and proletariat in big cities would collaborate and struggle for transforming capitalist relations of production through a worker's party rule. Unlike the FKF view, the TWP saw agrarian capitalism as the dominant mode of production in Turkey's countryside and so the fundamental contradiction in economic production was between wealthy landlords and poor peasants who were subject to the mechanisms of capitalist exploitation. Peasants were selling their surplus product to merchants and usurers in the market, being dispossessed of land, and losing access to other means of production. Thus, a coalition between the nationalist bourgeoisie, workers and peasants for the sake of national democratic revolution would only reproduce the existing capitalist class relations in rural Turkey and could not improve living and working conditions of the exploited classes. For the party, only the TWP would solve their problems and put an end to the mechanisms of capitalist exploitation through land reform.

Exploring the ways the members of the TWP organized landless peasants in Göllüce and Atalan coffeehouses confirms the above-mentioned thesis of the party. For the TWP, women were not only invisible agents in the court; they were always invivable.

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<sup>198</sup> Seddon and Margulies, p.31.

Similar to the way that the youth branches of the RPP and FKF operated, the TWP also mobilized only men to achieve land reform in the coffee house and considered all of the occupiers as a homogenous class in fight for land equality. When two lawyers from the TWP, Güney Dinç and Süha Çilingirođlu, the TWP Karsiyaka district secretaries, and a member of the TWP administrative board arrived at Göllüce and Atalan on March 03, 1969, the first thing they did was to talk with the village headmen and then went to the coffee house in Atalan.<sup>199</sup>

In the coffeehouse meetings, they organized their speeches around two themes: first, large landholdings had to be expropriated and redistributed to landless peasants and, secondly, landless peasants would play a role to make socialist revolution by putting the party into power. As expressed in the article on the potential of land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan in *Köylü*, since the government was the instrument in the hands of the exploiters, particularly landlords and bourgeoisie, it could not represent peasants' and workers' interests and not make land reform. Only the TWP could voice their problems and improve working and living conditions of this exploited class all over the Turkey.<sup>200</sup> Landless peasants and farmers with insufficient land were the largest group in countryside and they were on the same side with the working class in the cities. And the TWP could come to the power only with the votes of peasants and workers to make land reform and to bring socialism.

Thus, according to the TWP, land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan showed increasing awareness of landless peasants about the class-biased politics of the JP and it

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<sup>199</sup> Anon., "TİP'li bozguncular Torbalı'da toplandı." *Ege Telgraf*, Year: 9 No: 3400, 03.Febuary.1969, p.1-6.

<sup>200</sup> Anon., "Köylüler Birleşin." *Köylü*, Number: 3, 11.June.1969, p.1. ; Anon. "Topraklar Bizimdir." 27.June.1969, *Köylü*, Number: 4, 27.June.1969, p.2. See Figure 3.2.

signified their support for the TWP in the next elections of 1969. This revolutionary peasant movement and landless peasants were in the agenda of the party in this way and the youth branch of the party gave full support to it as declared in the TWP Presidency Council in the congress of Istanbul.<sup>201</sup> Although their thoughts on how to achieve land reform and transform the existing mode of production, agrarian capitalism, was different from the RPP and FKF, the TWP also did not include gender dimension of land reform in their debates and considered land occupations only as a class problem.

A general assessment of the RPP, TWP and FKF activities in Göllüce and Atalan reveals that all of them considered the participants into the movement as a homogenous male mass with a shared class interest on the elimination of landlordism and the necessity of redistributive land reform. Thus, landless peasants constituted a homogenous class even if each party and student organization were different from each other in terms of the nature of Turkey's agricultural mode of production, rural class structure and class alliances and the strategies for making land reform and they imagined these villages accordingly. Their activities also meet in a common ground in terms of excluding gender relations from the organization of the movement through the meetings, the formation of the committee, and the legal process. In the last part of the chapter, I will analyze the implications of this type of class-based and genderless organization of the movement.

### **Gendered Outcomes of the Land Occupations**

Since the student organization and political parties addressed only men while mobilizing landless peasants, there cemented a gendered outcome stemming from land

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<sup>201</sup> TİP İstanbul İl Kongresi Divan Başkanlığına Sunulan Birlik İçin Karar Tasarısı, TÜSTAV, *Nebil Varuy Personal Archive*, No: 224/5, 5.April.1970, p.1.

occupations, that of increasing male control over female labor in landless peasant households in two cases. Thus, I argue that the political parties and the left-wing student organization were also partially responsible for these outcomes because they organized these occupations as a homogenous genderless class struggle.

First of all, looking at the process of negotiation between the landlords and the occupiers in Göllüce and Atalan show us the disjuncture between the commitments of the parties and the student organization to class equality among landless peasants and weakness in translating these into real actions to achieve gender equality. As a result of the occupations, a small parcel of land was registered in the name of the occupier men at end of four months struggle and it caused increasing control over women`s labor power afterwards as explained below.

As Namik Kemal Sentürk, the governor of Izmir, told me in our interview, the government charged him with mediating between the occupiers, leftist activists and landlords in both villages because it was necessary to “pacify the movement through negotiation and reinstate law and order.”<sup>202</sup> In Atalan, the Kabadayi family, who was one of the wealthy landowners, was persuaded to sell small parcels of infertile privately-owned lands (20 donum) to the occupiers. The occupiers paid its market value by installment in fifteen years with credits taken from the Ziraat Bank. Similarly, in Göllüce, Mesude Evliyazade, the landlord, accepted negotiation after her meeting with the governor and thirty-two out sixty-four occupant households in Göllüce were selected through lottery and bought unproductive privately owned land on the mountainous part of the village.

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<sup>202</sup> Namık Kemal Sentürk, *Interview*. 03.Feb.2015.



Securing a small parcel of land through negotiation with the landlords in Göllüce and Atalan was a positive achievement and signaled the legitimacy of their struggle and the destruction of the power of landlordism. However, it furthered gender inequalities in both villages. When the titles were ceded for each household and issued in the name of household heads, only men became its beneficiaries and reorganized gendered divisions of labor for their own advantage. For the state and the political parties, poor peasant households were unitary and so male household heads were the legitimate claimants of land, while women's claims to the household land were secondary to men's. Thus, it is likely that peasants' having titles did not make any difference in gender equity. On the contrary, it increased male control over female labor. As all of the occupiers interviewed from Göllüce and Atalan confirmed in their accounts, subsistence farming on the small parcel of the land has been feminized after the occupations.<sup>203</sup> As Sadık Atalan and Mesude Evliyazade had decided to make investment on animal husbandry and on milk in the farm buildings at Göllüce at the beginning of the 1970s, peasants had started to work in the mandarin fields of neighboring villages as paid laborers. However, women were also responsible for cultivating vegetables on the small parcel of land for consumption by their families. Thus, it can be argued that having titles in the names of male occupiers increased patriarchal control over female labor and increased workload for women in both villages.

## **Conclusion**

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<sup>203</sup> The residents of Atalan 1-4, *Interviews*. 26.December.2014. ; The residents of Göllüce 1-4, *Interviews*. 26.December.2014.

As in many countries around the world, land reform was a terrain of struggle for different contending groups in the pursuit of land and power in rural Turkey of the 1960s. Göllüce and Atalan, where the time bomb of land issue exploded in the late 1960s in the form of land occupations, provide a good example to understand contentious land reform politics in practice and its implications for rural class structure in Turkey. How the FKF, TWP, and RPP constructed these villages as imagined genderless landscapes in accordance with their political perspectives on land reform and rural class relations, how they excluded women from their activities and addressed only men in the meetings, the committee and trials in the court and what were gendered outcomes of their activities shed light on the questions about politics, power and agency as a terrain of contestation in those years.

This chapter represents an effort to provide gender – in this case, male -- and class specific explanations for the interactions between landless peasants and different youth branches of the political parties and leftist student organization. Even though leftist student organization and the party branches were different from each other in terms of their views on the dominant mode of agrarian production, class structure and the strategies to transform it, for all of them, there was need for redistributive land reform and the elimination of landlordism through land occupations and the occupiers were a homogeneous mass. Thus, gender concerns did not show up in their organization and activities and so gender relations did not inform the understandings of Turkey's land reform crisis and occupations even though women were central agents in occupations.

Landless women were marginalized in the agrarian class struggle due to the contradictions between the attitudes of the political parties and leftist student organization

towards class equality and discriminatory practices against landless women during the land occupations and its afterward. When they organized land occupations only as a struggle for redistributive land reform, landless peasants became only the gravediggers of large-scale farming for them. However, as I explained in Chapter 2, this was a movement not only against large-farming and landlordism, but also against dispossession and proletarianization, especially among women, due to the mechanization of cotton production and then the production of labor-saving Mexican wheat. Because of the changes in the conditions of agricultural production, gendered divisions of labor were reorganized to their disadvantage and so most of the occupiers were women in Göllüce and Atalan. Thus, there is need to restate the significance of struggle over land by exploring the contingent processes of the accumulation of capital, class antagonism and the reorganization of gendered divisions of labor in transition to agrarian capitalism rather than reducing it to the question of the scale of farming.

But, as explained previously, the land reform debates of the political parties and the leftist student organization were clustered around the redistribution of large-holdings and class inequalities and gender was delinked from these debates and activities in Göllüce and Atalan. It can be claimed that this conceptual delinking of gender and class pervades thinking throughout the land occupations and its aftermath. In this sense, I define the genderless and class-based organization of the movement as a local factor, which did not alleviate gender inequalities in the selected villages. Interrogating their political discourses and activities with feminist lenses provides us better understanding of the marginalization of women during the years of the Green Revolution in Turkey. By drawing attention on the gendered aspects of rural class struggles, which was

underwritten in the history of peasant movements, the analysis of the politics of land reform and the Green Revolution in Turkey, it also becomes possible to go beyond the simplistic accounts of peasant movements as a class struggle of landless cooperative households.

In the next chapter, by focusing on gender-based state policy, specifically home economics policy, itself and its practice, I will explain another political factor that led to the marginalization of landless peasant women in two cases. Similar to the gender-blind and class-based organization of land occupations, this gender-specific state policy also reinforced gendered divisions of labor at the disadvantage of rural women. And, in the following chapter, I explain as for politically active men from the parties and student organization and male accupants laid claim to women's political activism, for the home economic agents who intended to keep intact ideal gendered divisions of labor- women as housewives and men as agrarian workers- in practice, landless peasant women were also invisible as politically active agrarian workers.

## Chapter 4

### State-led Home Economics Project and the Experiences of Landless Peasant Women in Development

Home economics projects were executed as a gender-specific development policy to achieve rural women's social and economic development, regulate their labor power and alleviate rural poverty in the 1960s in many countries including Turkey, Africa and USA in the 1960s.<sup>204</sup> And these gender-specific projects were specifically designed to transform rural women into modern enlightened home managers and the producers of home-based handcrafts. In this way, this policy ignored rural women's involvement in agrarian production as active workers, regulated female labor within the households at the (dis) advantage of rural women and functioned to lessen or increase their work burden. Thus, it affected types, amount and conditions of working for rural women.

As such, a focus on state-sponsored home economics projects implemented in Turkey particularly as part of the Second State Development Plan (1968-1972) also illustrates the complex impacts of state policies on rural women's labor power. In Turkey, the effectiveness and organization of these projects have not received enough attention among the scholars.<sup>205</sup> There have been few detailed studies on home

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<sup>204</sup> For example see Eloise Comeau Murray, *Reorienting Home Economics in Africa*(Nairobi: Home Economics Association in Africa, 1993).; Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti, *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of Profession*(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

<sup>205</sup> See Nermin Girişken, *Ev Ekonomisi Ve Ev Ekonomisinin Toplum Kalkınmasındaki Önemi*(Ankara: Sevinc Matbaası, 1974).; Rezan Şahinkaya, "Türk Köylüsünün Kalkınması Ve Tarımsal Yayımda Ev

economics projects, its impacts on gender relations and rural economy, although it was the key policy toward women and rural development in the 1960s.

In this chapter, I seek to provide a critical assessment of home economics project in Göllüce and Atalan in 1967 and 1968. And my intention is to explain how gender-based state policy, specifically home economics policy, itself and its practice were intended to recast and reinforce gendered divisions of labor at the disadvantage of rural women in two ways: First, I explain how substance and goals of home economics training courses pedagogically essentialized conventional role of housewifery for rural women and ignored them as agricultural workers on the basis of two journals- *Türk Kadını* and *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*. Thus, in the first part of the chapter, by applying a feminist approach to the curricula of the home economics training courses, I explain the complex relationship between education, politics, rural female labor participation and patriarchy in the eyes of the home economists assigned by the state.

Secondly, by analyzing interactions between home economists, and the female participants in two villages, I further explain the link between rural economies, female labor participation decisions in landless peasant households and state policy. From a feminist perspective, I explore the impacts of the state policy on further marginalization of rural women in two cases. To do this, I analyze the implementation of the policy by applying neo-classical and, feminist Marxist economic theories of peasant household and female labor participation decisions and women in development approach and explain how home economists intended to reinforce a patriarchal status quo in terms of gendered divisions of labor in landless peasant households in two cases.

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Ekonomisinin Yeri," *Ziraat Müdendisliği Aylık Fikir ve Meslek Dergisi* 55(1971). p.28-30. ; *Cumhuriyet Köye, Köylü Kadına Ve Türk Ailesine Neler Getirdi?*(Ankara: T.B.M.M., 1983). ; Perihan Onay, *Türkiye'nin Sosyal Kalkınmasında Kadının Rolü*(Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1968).

In addition to gender politics intrinsic to the policy, I also explore landless peasant women's active roles in shaping this policy and redefining their gendered positions in landless peasant households. Ultimately, their active involvement into the implementation of the policy caused three unintended consequences: they used the knowledge on food preservation and preparation to create more time to work in the fields rather than being housewives; they rejected to be the consumers of modern home decoration items; and, instead of producing for the market as independent income earners, they made home-based crafts to cope with rural poverty. In this way, they recast existing gendered divisions of labor in their households. And, consequently, as opposed to the intentions of the home economists to make them housewives and the producers of home-based crafts for the market, they had to work more in the fields of the landlords as agrarian workers after the arrival of Mexican wheat in 1967. Meanwhile their housework burden increased with new tasks of cloth-making and food processing and preservation. Thus, gendered division of labor had been restructured at their disadvantage in two cases.

In this way, I do not only suggest new directions in theorizing rural women's experiences with the state policy and their roles in rural economy from feminist perspectives, but also take my argument in Chapter 2 one step further and present the complete web of connections between the state policies, gendered norms, and rural labor relations. Understanding these connections is critical because an analysis of how labor control mechanisms changed through agrarian state policies is not sufficient to explain the reorganization of gendered divisions of labor at the expense of women in Göllüce and Atalan. State-led home economics policies, its gender-specific practice and women's

resistance to it are also crucial to elucidate the interplay between gendered expectations, labor relations and state policies.

### **Historical Background and Objects of Home Economics Project**

First state-led mobile adult education courses for rural women (*köy kadını gezici kursları*) were established by the Ministry of Agriculture in Bornova, Izmir in 1954 to conduct home economics projects in rural areas. The employees were the graduates of the faculties of agriculture, institutes for girls or technical training colleges for women in cities, and they were mostly female. With the establishment of the Department of Home Economics in the Faculty of Agriculture at Ankara University in 1961, the length of education for a home economics degree was decided to be three years. Then, Ege University established the same department in 1963 and Hacettepe University followed it in 1968. And these three universities played an important role in training home economists throughout the next decade.

The students who completed the program were appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture as home economics experts and personnel to rural areas and their mission was to train rural women on “food preservation, nutrition, dressing, health, home decoration, home gadgets, family economy and family relations”<sup>206</sup> in mobile adult education courses for rural women. Thus, through these courses, rural women were integrated into the development plans for the first time as housewives rather than agricultural workers.

Statistically, these courses were common and many rural women participated in them. There was a linear increase in the number of home economics instructors and rural

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<sup>206</sup> Şahinkaya, "Türk Köylüsünün Kalkınması Ve Tarımsal Yayımda Ev Ekonomisinin Yeri."p.30.



women involved in mobile adult education courses. While there were 582 instructors and 13,342 rural women in the courses in 1955-56, their numbers increased to 705 instructors and 18,145 participants at the end of 1962-1963.<sup>207</sup> Regional numbers follow this pattern. For example, whereas there were 15 state-led mobile adult education courses in Izmir in 1966, the next year 483 rural women took home economics education in 19 courses in the same city.<sup>208</sup> The same trend continued in the next two years. In 1969, the numbers of the courses increased from 26 to 41 and 1302 rural female students were enrolled in Izmir.

At local level, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs and the Ministry of Education organized these courses. In Izmir, Göztepe Institute for Girls operated 15 of the courses while Karşıyaka Girl Institute was in the charge of 14 courses. And Cumhuriyet Girl Institute organized 12 out of 41 courses including the ones in Göllüce and Atalan.<sup>209</sup> These institutes were responsible for sending home economics personnel to the villages in nine months rotation, and following up the operation of mobile adult education courses through the evaluation reports this personnel regularly sent about the problems they came across, or their successful year-end exhibitions where modernized rural women present the clothes or handcrafts they made in the courses.

The policymakers who invested in these programs had three major goals in mind: the eradication of rural-urban difference by modernizing rural women, the creation of scientific housewives through home management education, and the alleviation of rural poverty by introducing new income-generating activities compatible with gendered

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<sup>207</sup>Onay, *Türkiye'nin Sosyal Kalkınmasında Kadının Rolü.*, p.187.

<sup>208</sup> Melahat Arık Gökmen, "Halk Eğitimi ve Köy Kadını." *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, Year: 10 No: 500, 11.May.1967, p.1,8. ; T.C. Başbakanlık DPT, *İkinci Beş Yıllık Plan Çalışmaları: Köy Ve Köylü Sorunu*(Ankara: SPD, 1967). p.89.

<sup>209</sup> Anon., "Köy kadınları gezici kurslarına bu yıl 1302 kişi iştirak etti." *Ege Ekspres*, 03.March.1969, p.2.

expectations. I will explain these goals with references to the existing literature and two journals representing different and similar approaches to rural women and development policies including home economics projects in the 1960s: *Türk Kadını*, a right-wing journal owned by Sıdıka Kaptanoğlu, supported agricultural extension policies implemented by Demirel's government and prioritized the role of motherhood for rural women; and *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, owned by Melahat Arık Gökmen, which was a gender specific journal that published informative articles and bulletins on home economics and covered the real experiences of both the extension personnel and the rural women who participated in the state-led mobile adult education courses on its pages.

These journals share the similar views on modernization and enlightenment of rural women, creation of ideal housewives and mothers, and alleviation of rural poverty by introducing new income generating activities compatible with these ideal roles. They differ from each other in terms of the emphasis on consumerism in *Kadın Sesi*, and on home economics education, motherhood and housewifization in the pages of *Türk Kadını*. These different and similar approaches to home economics projects in these journals will provide us in-depth views of the objectives of the projects and its functions to reinforce patriarchal relations and gendered divisions of labor in Göllüce and Atalan later.

First of all, home economics project aimed at awakening rural women and elevating them to higher living standards.<sup>210</sup> By disseminating scientific and objective knowledge for personal development, adult education on home economics would not

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<sup>210</sup> Jock Anderson and Gershon Feder, "Agricultural Extension: Good Intentions and Hard Realities," *The World Bank Research Observer* 19, no. 1 (Spring, 2004). p.41. ; Scott J. Peters, "Every Farmer Should Be Awakened: Liberty Hyde Bailey's Vision of Agricultural Work,," *Agricultural History* 80, no. 2 (Spring 2006). p.190.

only increase human capital of rural women, but also modernize traditional rural women. In this way, it would eradicate dichotomous relations between backward, traditional, rural women and progressive, modern home economics personnel from urban areas. In this way, solidarity and harmony in Turkish society would be achieved. Kadri Oğuz, a leftist author who dedicated his life to the issues of rural development, describes this approach as follows:

All policies and programs targeting rural women's development "...intend to create a united nation by eradicating social, economic and cultural differences between different social stratas through education. Thus, these progressive attempts, which continue until providing humanitarian living conditions, unite all in heart and mind."<sup>211</sup>

Since home economics projects were part of these programs, the goal of these projects was also to increase human capital through scientific information flows that improved rural welfare. And, in this sense, it was also considered as a growing movement of urban women to awaken rural women, enhance their living conditions and, consequently, eliminate rural-urban differences. It was believed that this progressive movement would terminate all forms of structural inequalities in Turkish society and make the imagined unified community real.

For both of the journals, modern and urban intellectuals including home economics experts were responsible for enlightening backward rural women by means of education. As Muazzez Aruoba mentioned in her contribution to the journal of *Türk Kadını*, these women were "forgotten citizens" and, as a part of "fight for civilization,"

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<sup>211</sup> Kadri Oğuz, "Toplum Kalkınmasında Halk Eğitiminin Rolü." *Köy Postası: Köycü Düşün ve Sanat Dergisi*, No: 253, 08.1965, p.1. "...cemiyetin çeşitli tabakaları arasındaki sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel düzey farklarını eğitim yoluyla elden geldiği kadar eriterek bir beraberlik içinde bir millet bütünü meydana getirmeyi amaç edinen, bunun içinde insanın insan olma, insan gibi yaşama imkanlarına kavuşturuncaya kadar adım adım ilerleyen aydın bir şuur, inanç ve hamle hareketidir."

urban women had to educate and modernize them in state-led adult education courses.<sup>212</sup> Only in this way, rural women would be involved into society as equal citizens and social development would be achieved.

Many articles in *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi* also underlined the role of home economics personnel to “abolish the slavery” of rural women and enhance their living conditions by means of scientific training in the courses.<sup>213</sup> In the column on the real experiences of the home economics personnel of mobile adult education courses across the country, many instructors pointed out their roles to urbanize rural women by teaching them how to cook, clean, dress up and decorate their houses.<sup>214</sup> For example, as Nermin Ertekin, a home economics instructor from the Izmir Bornova Girl Institute at Emiralem village, mentioned in her letter to the journal, rural women “were like uncultivated soils with rich mineral resources” in the eyes of educated urban women<sup>215</sup> and so the instructors were responsible for making their potential real by educating them in the courses. Thus, instructors themselves, as educated urban people, explicitly positioned themselves as superior, enlightened instructors over traditional rural women and mobile adult education courses were the places to modernize and urbanize them.

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<sup>212</sup> Muazzez Aruoba, “Medeniyetçilik Savaşında.” *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, No:1-2, Year: 1967, p.4-5.

<sup>213</sup> Anon., “Köy Gezici Kursları,” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 27.11.1969, p.1,8. For other articles on this topic see also Melahat Arık Gökmen, “Köy Kadını Sorunları.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 27.07.1969, p.1,8.

<sup>214</sup> For example see the letter of Ihsan Okay, a home economics instructor from the Izmir Cumhuriyet Girls’ Institute. Anon., “Köy Gezici Kursları Öğretmeni Köşesi.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 07.May.1970, p.5. On the same issue see also the letter sent from the village of Erzurum by the home economics instructor, Anon., “Köy Gezici Kursları Öğretmeni Köşesi.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 02.April.1970, p.5, 7.

<sup>215</sup> Anon., “Köy Gezici Kursları Öğretmeni Köşesi: Emiraleminden Gelen Mektup.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 05.Feb.1970, p.5.

Secondly, the political programs of home economics aimed at turning wives and mothers into modern home managers to achieve social development and to reinforce rural women`s traditional roles in Turkey.<sup>216</sup> Since rural women`s knowledge and skills for home management were critical to the living standards of each family, they had to acquire these knowledge and skills to be competent enough to increase the welfare of their families. It was assumed that this made them the central actors to achieve social development in rural areas.

As stated in the Second State Development Plan, state-led mobile adult training courses were instrumental in equipping rural women with the scientific knowledge of home management and producing proper mothers and wives within six to nine months of education.<sup>217</sup> As Müjgan Derecioğlu stated in her article in *Türk Kadını*, being mother and housewife were primary roles for rural women and, by involving into the mobile adult education courses, they would learn to be “perfect housewives” and “headteachers” who would raise well-behaved proper girls at home.<sup>218</sup> Similarly, in the journal of *Kadın Sesi*, these courses were considered as the sites for nurturing rural women and girls having good manners.<sup>219</sup> In this way, they would contribute to social development of the country.

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<sup>216</sup>Seniha Hasipek, *Ankara İli Köylerindeki Ev Ekonomisi Çalışmalarından Yetişkin Kadınların Yararlanma Durumları*(Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1988).p.1. ; Girişken, p.78.

<sup>217</sup> T.C. Başbakanlık DPT, *İkinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı Köye Ve Köylüye Neler Getiriyor?*(Ankara: Başbakanlık Yayınevi, 1968).p.29. ; Müjgan Derecioğlu, “Köy Kadının Eğitimi ve Gezici Kadın Kursları.” *Köylü: Günlük Siyasi Aksam Gazetesi*, Year: 15 No: 4433, 01.May.1969, p.1. For the original document see, Figure 3.1..

<sup>218</sup> Derecioğlu, p.1.

<sup>219</sup>Melahat Arık Gökmen, “Halk Eğitimi ve Köy Kadını.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, Year: 10 No: 500, 11.May.1967, p.1.8.

Beyond that, rural women educated in these courses would protect traditional family structure against the communist threat as underlined by many authors in *Türk Kadını*.<sup>220</sup> According to them, when educated rural women taught their daughters how to be an ideal housewives and mothers, they would also fight against communism that was against these ideal feminine roles in Turkish family and promoted immorality and degeneration in society. Thus, home economics courses were also presented as instruments for reinforcing traditional family relations as a safeguard against the threat of communism in the years of the Cold War in Turkey.

In the journal of *Kadın Sesi*, food preservation, home decoration and cloth making were three main courses in the curriculum to promote above-mentioned ideal roles for rural women. In these courses, scientific and standard measures for homemaking, particularly efficiency and management were promoted.<sup>221</sup> First, food preservation and processing classes were designed to produce efficient home managers.<sup>222</sup> In these classes, canning equipment, such as tin can sealers, second stoves or jars, were introduced to rural women. They also acquired scientific knowledge of cooking, making paste, yogurt, pickles and preserves by using local crops and animal products. It was assumed that rural women would become more effective and productive within the households after training in these courses. And they would save time and contribute to family budget by reducing money spent for nutrition.

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<sup>220</sup> See Neriman Öztürk, “Manevi Kalkınma.” *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, No:10 Year:1, p.10-11. ; Ahmet Cebeci, “Kommunizm Pençesinde Türk Kadınları.” *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, Year: 2 No: 13, p.28-29. ; İzmir Milliyetçi Öğretmenler Birliği Kadınlar Kolu Bildirisi, “Türk Anasından Türk Anasına: Büyük Türk Kadını.” *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, Year: 2 No: 13, p.20.

<sup>221</sup> Onay, p.140-141. ; Şahinkaya, “Türk Tarımı ve Teşkilat Yapısında Ev Ekonomisinin Yeri ve Önemi,” p.45-46.

<sup>222</sup> Anon., “Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 15.January.1970, p.3.

Another course targeting the production of scientific housewives was on home decoration. Rural women were introduced to fashion, home decor, and new homemaking technologies, such as dining tables, modern curtains, or electric stoves as part of these home management programs.<sup>223</sup> When educated rural women redesigned rural households with aesthetic and modern furniture and technologies, the living standards of rural families would be higher. Thus, home economics personnel encouraged the women to consume more to decorate their houses with these modern items and new technologies.

Similarly, cloth-making courses teaching rural women how to make modern and stylish everyday clothes did not only aim at the production of modern-looking rural women, but also promoted consumerism among rural women as underlined in many articles in *Kadın Sesi*.<sup>224</sup> They acquired new skills to sew underwear, nightwear and casual clothes, knit socks, make handcrafts, such as lacework and needlework in these courses and, to practice these skills, they were encouraged to buy new modern fabrics, sewing machines or other items required for making handcrafts.

Lastly, home economics project aimed at alleviating rural poverty by expanding the range of opportunities for income generating activities in rural households and so making rural women producers for the market. Thus, development practitioners and politicians considered private sphere, particularly the household, as an economic sphere. As mentioned in many articles on economic development and rural women in Turkey in the journal of *Kadın Sesi*, when rural women took vocational training on sewing, knitting,

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<sup>223</sup> Halit Görgül, “Köy Kalkınması ve El Sanatları Eğitim Merkezleri.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 08.May.1969, p.1,8. ; Anon., “Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 06.March.1969, p.3.

<sup>224</sup> Anon., “Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 07.May.1970, p.3. ; Anon. “Köy Kadını Gezici Kursları.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 18.May.1967, p.3. ; Derecioğlu, p.12.

basketry, socks making or lace making in adult education courses and sold their products in the market, they would contribute to family income and, in this way, rural poverty would be alleviated.<sup>225</sup> These tasks were considered to be compatible with gender roles and it would enable rural women to achieve their full potentials, as the Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel, pointed out in his speeches on adult education programs in Turkey in the journal of *Türk Kadını*.<sup>226</sup> Thus, when rural women were integrated into labor market as paid workers through vocational training, their economic and social status would be better in society.<sup>227</sup>

However, rural women's contributions to agricultural production were invisible in both of the journals. In other words, home economics personnel assumed exclusive gendered divisions of labor within peasant households and assigned only home management to women and agricultural work to men. As mentioned in the Second Development Plan, home economics projects should be designed to “help rural women improve their economic potentials and put their leisure time to good use.”<sup>228</sup> It was assumed that rural women had a lot of leisure time at home and that they were not using their labor power to earn money. Thus, female activity space, household, should be regulated through introducing new technological home gadgets, such as ovens or bottled

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<sup>225</sup> For example see, Anon., “Köylerde Yan Gelir.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, Year:10 No:512, 03. August.1967, p.1,8. ; Necdet Başarır, “Cahil Vatandaş Sözü Toplumdan Silinmelidir: Yetişmiş Kişilerin Eğitimi.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, Year: 10 No: 513, 10. August.1967, p.1,8. ; Anon., “Köy Kadını ve Halk Eğitimi.” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, Year:08 No:366, 15.October.1964, p.1,8. For Başarır's article see Figure 3.2.

<sup>226</sup> Süleyman Demirel, “Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim.” *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, Year:03 No: 22, p.6-9. ; Müjgan Derecioğlu, “Başbakanımızın ‘Teknik Eğitim’ Başlıklı Yazısı Işığında.” *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, Year: 03 No:23, p.12-13. For Demirel's speech see Figure 3.4.

<sup>227</sup> T.C. Başbakanlık Kadın Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, *İzmir'de Kırsal Kadına Yönelik Eğitimin İstihdama Etkisi*(Ankara: Cemweb Offset, 1999).p. 39-63.

<sup>228</sup> DPT, *İkinci Beş Yıllık Plan Çalışmaları: Köy Ve Köylü Sorunu*.p. 88.



gas, and teaching them how to contribute to family economy. First, new home technologies would cause to save energy and time and thereby rural women would be able to work in income-generating activities to contribute family income.<sup>229</sup> Secondly, as mothers and wives, they should learn to produce something for the market, such as socks and ready-made clothes, in order to cope with rural poverty.<sup>230</sup> In this way, they would actualize their economic potentials and put their labor power in the service of economic development.

I think that gender inequalities did not inform above-mentioned goals of the policy and design in both of the journals since it did not take the roles of rural women in agricultural production and the constraints on the uses of their labor power into account. It only stimulated gender roles- being mother and wife- for rural women and reinforced these roles in its design. These so-called scientific and progressive courses disguised gender and class politics in its curriculum, and thus these courses affected gender and class inequalities in rural Turkey. As explained later in detail, in these courses, all rural women were considered as homemakers whose primary role was to be mothers and wives. In other words, “homemaking became scientised and standardized and was based upon urban middle-class models of gender relations in which principles of efficiency,

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<sup>229</sup>Şahinkaya, "Türk Köylüsünün Kalkınması Ve Tarımsal Yayında Ev Ekonomisinin Yeri." p.47. Many articles in *Kadın Sesi* also supported this claim. See for example, Nejdet Başarır, "Gezici Kurs İsteği." *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 21.August.1969, p.1,8. ; Anon., "Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim." *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 19.June.1969, p.3. ; Anon., "Yaz Ayları ve Köy Kadını." *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 24.May.1969, p.1.

<sup>230</sup> Anon., "Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim." *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 06.Feburary.1969, p.3. ; Anon., "Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim." *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 07.May.1969, p.3. ; Anon., "Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim." *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 07.May.1970, p.3. For the column see Figure 3.3.

management and aesthetics formed the core curriculum.’’<sup>231</sup> These principles reflected the urban, bourgeois ideologies of gender and modernity. Accordingly, female space was home and being mother and wife was prioritized over all of the other roles in society and economy. Thus, for home economists, scientific house management was considered as an extension of gender roles and it was thought of an indicator of modernization, higher living standards, welfare and progress.

However, the promulgation of urban standards of living by home economists was not gender neutral and the information flow was highly political in the sense that the home economics projects reproduced patriarchal gendered divisions of labor- rural women as housewives and men as agricultural workers- in practice. Thus, patriarchal education in the adult training courses pedagogically and politically intended to essentialize and reinforce the role of housewifery for rural women.<sup>232</sup> In other words, by neatly tying the home as a rural women’s conventional sphere to the science of home making, home economicists politicized and gendered domesticity. In this way, they reinforced gender stereotypes and promoted domestic roles for rural women.

By using a feminist perspective, it becomes possible to challenge this conventional pedagogic approach that defines domestic economy as a field of female education.<sup>233</sup> Home economics as a gendered project devalued and rejected rural

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<sup>231</sup> Kim Berry, "Lakshmi and the Scientific Housewife: A Transnational Account of Indian Women’s Development and Production of and Indian Modernity," *Economic and Political Weekly* 38, no. 11 (March, 2003). p.1057.

<sup>232</sup> For the discussions on pedagogy and home economics see Stage and Vincenti, *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of Profession*. p.1-15.

<sup>233</sup> J. Patricia Thompson, "Beyond Gender: Equity Issues for Home Economics Education," in *The Education Feminism Reader*, ed. Lynda Stone(NY: Routledge, 1994). p.184-195. For Thompson, since feminism focuses on otherness and voiceless of women and fights against gender discrimination and inequalities, it provides theoretical tools to analyze masculine bias behind home economics.

women`s presence as agricultural workers in their ideal education curriculum. Thus, the objectives of home economics programs have to be interpreted by revealing pedagogic sex stereotyping and gender bias in educators` minds. The contents of curricula and the objectives of the policy had a gender-biased pedagogic mindset behind it as explained above. According to this mindset, home economists reinforced the image of rural woman as wife and mother by either creating home-based gender specific income generating activities or making them efficient home managers. And these women were invisible and voiceless as agricultural workers for the educators.

In addition, although home economics projects were presented as scientific, progressive and modern projects directly targeting the needs of rural women, historically contingent economic and social context in which these women had lived and worked was not taken into account in these projects. In other words, it was assumed that when rural women learnt home management and were integrated into home-based income-generating activities, they would automatically have better living and working conditions and these empowered individuals would actively contribute to social and economic development. But, as explained below, this was not the case for landless peasant women of Göllüce and Atalan.

### **Home Economics Project in Practice: Intentions of Home Economics Personnel and Experiences of Landless Peasant Women**

First of all, institutional relations and interactions between the home economics personnel and landless peasant women reveal how well home economics policy functioned in Göllüce and Atalan and to what extent it was participatory and inclusive. Primarily, there was a hierarchical and top-down institutional management system. The

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs and the Ministry of Education ran state-led mobile adult education courses for rural women. And under the supervision of these ministries, Cumhuriyet Girl Institute appointed those who successfully completed the program of the institute as home economics personnel to the villages of Izmir, including Göllüce and Atalan. However, the personnel did not have any control over the curriculum and the schedule of the courses. They only applied a pre-determined program, and made scheduled visits. They wrote monthly reports on the deployment of more agents, the implementation of complementary state policies (such as increasing credits), budget problems or lack of input supplies for the courses. But the institute often passed the buck to the ministries to solve the problems outlined in these regular reports. Thus, the home economics personnel were not able to change the ways the program was implemented due to bureaucratic obstacles.

There were also hierarchical relations between the personnel and landless peasant women who participated into the courses in Göllüce and Atalan. There were five educated, single and young female home economists who saw rural problems through the lens of their scientific training as opposed to the landless women who located their own problems into economic and social relations. Since these agents considered their knowledge of home management as objective, progressive, modern and scientific, and disseminated it to transform landless peasant women's needs and values in the nine-month courses, their approach to these women were prescriptive and exclusive. In other words, these agents considered women as the passive receivers of home economics curriculum, ignored how these women were positioned in the social and economic

relations, and did not adapt the curriculum to these women`s socio-economic conditions and needs in two cases as explained below in detail.

Three examples from the interviews reveal the contradictions between the experiences of landless peasant women and the ideal home management program as promoted by the personnel. First, food preparation courses given by home economists targeted the production of modern and efficient housewives, and these courses crafted already existing gendered expectations for these women in practice. But, instead of relegation into the households as housewives, landless peasant women used the food preservation courses to create more time to work in the fields as agricultural workers. Secondly, the personnel aimed at home improvement and the expansion of consumer culture with home decoration courses. However, women did not have material resources to buy expensive modern technologies and inputs promoted by the personnel. Thirdly, while home economists considered sewing and cloth making as income-generating opportunities for these women, women themselves preferred to use their new skills and knowledge to produce useful items for themselves and their children rather than the market. For the rest of the chapter, I focus on these three examples to reveal the gendered experiences of the home economics project, and demonstrate how the project reinforced gendered divisions of labor at the disadvantage of landless peasants women of Göllüce and Atalan and how women contested these divisions.

First of all, there was interplay between the state policies, particularly home economics projects, gendered expectations, and female labor participation decisions in two cases. By exploring this interplay, I explain how the state project itself that ignored landless women as agrarian workers essentialized the roles of motherhood and

housewifery and how it reinforced gendered expectations for the uses of female labor power in the landless peasant households. I also explicate why women were involved to the courses although it had intended to reinforce gendered divisions of labor and work to their disadvantage in two cases. In this way, I clarify the role of the patriarchal state policy to regulate rural female labor and increase workload for landless peasant women at home.

To understand how these courses reproduced patriarchal relations and why landless peasant women were involved into it, we need to dig into the socially constructed and gendered value systems and expectations on being proper wives and mothers in these villages and understand the impacts of these on their female identities. In this sense, I will explore how rural female identity is enmeshed into patriarchal power relations, how it is constructed through the knowledge of proper femininity through their socialization processes and how the same social norms and expectations were crafted by state-led mobile adult education courses for rural women in the villages.

Firstly, patriarchal power relations have always affected the identity formation of women in Göllüce and Atalan. And there had always been a dynamic relationship between gender identification, labor relations and agrarian capitalism for women in these villages. As explained in Chapter 2 in detail, patriarchal agnatic ties, intra-gender relations of authority and deference, and gender specific self-help groups were instrumental in the regulation of female labor power for sharecropper households in the 1950s. Similarly, new gendered ideals, such as the naturalization of women's fast working, self-discipline and being obedient to authority, were used to normalize new gendered divisions of labor- women for manual and labor-demanding tasks versus men

for skilled tasks- after the mechanization of cotton production in the late 1950s and 1960s. Thus, economic processes were not gender neutral. Political processes targeting rural women's development, home economics projects, were not also apolitical, and patriarchal expectations strongly affected the successes of these projects to shape female identities, and control their labor power in the late 1960s.

For the married male residents of Göllüce and Atalan with whom I conducted interviews, proper and respectable femininity was tightly nested with motherhood and wifehood in the 1960s. They defined gendered values and attitudes towards marriage, motherhood and childrearing as follows:

“We expect from women to be a good homemaker, mother and wife. It was important for them to cook well, serve well and iron well. These were their natural duties.”<sup>234</sup>

“Being a proper mother and doing housework were our expectations from the girls. But, the boys had to earn money and put bread on the table. ... Mothers used to teach the girls how to make everything ready on time for their future husbands in their childhood. Thus, they were born into it. And if we did house work and someone saw us or heard about it, they absolutely made fun of us for doing a female task.”<sup>235</sup>

Thus, knowledge of being normal women was transmitted to girls through their socialization processes. According to this knowledge, ideal woman was an efficient housewife and good mother. Mothers and in-laws provided models for gender relations and reinforced traditional gender attitudes by preparing girls for adult life and teaching them to be ideal females. By doing housework and bringing up children, they would gain

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<sup>234</sup> The resident of Göllüce 4, *Interview*, 26.December.2014. “Kadınların iyi bir ev hanımı, anne ve iyi bir eş olmalarını bekleriz. Onların iyi yemek pişirmesi, iyi hizmet etmesi ve iyi ütü yapması önemliydi. Bunlar onların doğal görevleriydi.”

<sup>235</sup> The resident of Atalan 3, *Interview*, 26.December.2014. “Kızlarımızın iyi bir anne olmalarını ve ev işi yapmalarını beklerdik. Ama erkek çocuk masaya ekmek koymak için para kazanmak zorundaydı... Anneler kızlarına çocukken kocalarına her şeyi zamanında hazır etmeyi öğretirlerdi. Böylelikle doğdukları andan itibaren ev işi yapmayı bilirlerdi. Eğer biz ev işi yaparsak ve birileri bunu duyarsa ve ya görürse, kesinlikle karı işi yaptık diye bizle dalga geçerlerdi.”

a respectful status in rural community. Thus, motherhood and home making were central to rural women's identities.<sup>236</sup> Landless peasant women and men internalized this knowledge, and made judgements on each other by relying on it, and so patriarchal power relations were the determinants of acceptable behavior for women and rural female identities were embodied into these relations.

According to men's accounts, motherhood and home making were natural responsibilities of women and so men did not perform "feminine" tasks, such as cooking, childcare or cleaning. As the heads of their families, they were primarily expected to earn money in paid jobs and to take care of their families. Since they constructed their masculine identities on the basis of this dichotomous approach to male and female tasks, they were fearful of being humiliated by others if they acted against gendered expectations. In this sense, male identities were also enmeshed into patriarchal power relations.

Consequently, for the male informants from the villages, female peasants joined food preservation and preparation courses because these courses were compatible with the above-mentioned gendered expectations and made them efficient at home to save time, money and energy. Beyond that, for the informants, these women had to use their extra-time to work more in the fields and contribute to family income:

"We were landless peasants and the landlords and *elcis* were watching us with their whips. You could not imagine how it was difficult for us to survive and earn livelihood... Thus, our women did not have the luxury of being housewives and staying at home. Food preservation courses helped them to find the new ways of reducing kitchen expenses and increasing work-time in the fields."<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> A prominent scholar, Necla Arat also makes the argument regarding the problems of women in rural Turkey in her book. Necla Arat, *Kadın Sorunu*, (Istanbul: Say Yayınları, 1986). p.156.

<sup>237</sup> The resident of Göllüce 4, *Interview*, 26.December.2014. "Biz topraksız köylülerdik ve toprak ağaları ve elçiler tepemizde kırbaçlarıyla bekliyorlardı. Bizim için hayatta kalmanın ve geçinmenin ne kadar zor olduğunu hayal bile edemezsin... Bu durumda kadınlarımızın ev hanımı olmak ve evde kalmak gibi bir



Therefore, food preservation and preparation courses reinforced gendered expectations and values in Göllüce and Atalan by teaching these women how to be efficient home managers. In these classes, landless peasant women acquired scientific knowledge for cooking, and making paste, pickles and preserves by using local crops. And the home economics personnel assumed that these women would become more effective and productive housewives within the households after these courses. And they would use their family budget for nutrition economically.

But, in Göllüce and Atalan, class and gender-specific lived experiences of landless peasant women reveal different impacts of the courses on female identity and gendered labor relations. Against the intentions of the personnel, these courses were not successful in relegating landless peasant women to the households and making them modern and efficient housewives. As mentioned by the male informant, since they lived under the constant threat of eviction and unemployment, agricultural work was not less important to female identity than domestic duties. Against the landlords who acquired new lands through political connections and made investments on new technical inputs for mechanized cotton production as explained previously in Chapter 2, women had to find new ways of coping with poverty. Thus, as lower-class women, food preparation and preservation courses enabled them to save time and energy to work more in the labor-demanding and low-paid manual tasks in the fields of the landlords. In this sense, landless peasant women's agricultural works were not invisible to men and, unlike the

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lüksü yoktu. Yemek pişirme kursları onlara tarlada çalışmak için daha fazla zaman verdi ve mutfaktan tasarruf etmenin yeni yollarını bulmalarına yardım etti.”

home economics personnel, they were conscious of women`s contributions to family income as agrarian workers.

Secondly, the personnel intended to make landless peasant women home managers and consumers through home decoration courses. Women were introduced to fashion, home decor, and new homemaking technologies, such as dining tables, stoves and modern curtains in these home management courses. Home economics extension agents were also expected to teach how to reorganize the interior house by eliminating unnecessary furniture to create a storage space and new rooms. The agents assumed that when educated rural women redesigned these houses with aesthetic and modern furniture and technologies, the living standards of rural families would be higher. Thus, the personnel encouraged landless peasant women to consume more to decorate their houses with these modern items and new technologies.

However, as a male informant from Atalan underlined, they could not afford to buy new decorative items, technologies and furniture:

“How could we buy curtains to our hovels without windows? We were living under poverty... so this course was waste of time for our women.”<sup>238</sup>

These poor peasants did not have the resources to buy the expensive modern technologies and inputs promoted by the home economists. Thus, this was the least interesting course for landless peasant women in the villages. Living and housing conditions were so poor for these peasants that they lived in hovels without windows, like the slaves of the landlords, under the constant threat of eviction and convictions. In this

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<sup>238</sup> The resident of Atalan 3, *Interview*, 26.December.2014. “Penceresiz klübelerimize nasıl perde alabilirdik ki? Yoksulluk içinde yaşıyorduk... bu yüzden bu kursa gitmek kadınlarımız için zaman kaybıydı.”

context, the home management courses aimed at making them consumers and home managers did not make sense for landless peasants.

In addition, the home economics personnel and landless peasant women disagreed on the value and meaning of women's agricultural work and the necessity of integration into the market by producing home-based handicrafts. Male informants explain this conflict between the intentions of the personnel and the experiences of women as follows:

“For the home economists coming from the city, our women were miserable and backward rural housewives. They did not know how to dress, how to cook etc. Immediately, new employment opportunities had to be created for them through cloth-making and sewing courses.”<sup>239</sup>

“I supported my wife to join the courses although she was reluctant to go... She did not want any extra work in addition to what she did at home and in the field. I supported her because we could save money if she made clothes for us at home.”<sup>240</sup>

Landless peasant women from the villages also explain the importance of agricultural work in their lives to cope with increasing poverty and class conflicts in the following quotations. Ayse, a female land occupant from Atalan, explains well this point in her interview with the journalist, Gürel Seydialioğlu, during the occupations as follows:

“That is enough... The ones who have faith and believe in God have to occupy the lands. We are the paid laborers of the landlords who employ us on their own will. ... They do not pay enough for subsistence.”<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> The resident of Atalan 3, *Interview*, 26.December.2014. “Şehirden gelen ev economicileri için bizim kadınlarımız zavallı ve geri kalmış köylü kadınlardı. Nasıl giyinir, nasıl yemek pişirilir falan bilmiyorlardı. Dikiş ve giyim kurslarında onlar için acilen iş imkanları yaratılmıyordu.”

<sup>240</sup> The resident of Göllüce 2, *Interview*, 26.December.2014. “Karımın kurslara gitmesini o istemese de ben istedim... Tarladaki ve evdeki işlerinden daha başka istemiyordu. Onu destekledim çünkü eğer bize evde giysi dikerse, biraz para biriktirebilirdik.”

<sup>241</sup> Gürel Seydialioğlu, “Atalan köyü dramı.” 21.March.1969, *Ulus*, p.3. “Yetti artık çilemiz... Dinini, imanını seven tarlalara yürüsün. Bizler ağanın yevmiyecileriyiz. İsterse çalıştırır, istemezse çalıştırmaz...Bizleri aç bırakır.”

Similarly, Hacer Nine, a female occupant from Göllüce, stated well how women had to accept worse working conditions in the fields as powerful landlords started to cultivate a new labor-saving crop Mexican wheat as follows:

“We are hungry, our children are starving... We don’t eat meat. Since we always eat turnip, the light has gone out of our eyes. Fortunately, sun is free and landlords cannot control sunlight. As they have cultivated Mexican wheat, they have not employed women as paid laborers any more. Thus, we have to accept what they pay. Some days, they gave only pasta. If we don’t accept it, they hire cheaper workers from other villages.”<sup>242</sup>

As explained in Chapter 2 and implied in the above-mentioned quotations, being an agrarian worker occupied an important place in these women’s lives. In both villages, landlords had applied new labor control mechanisms to sharecroppers after the mechanization of cotton production and, as a result, class conflicts between poor landless peasants and powerful landlords had escalated. Beyond that, to cope with poverty, gendered divisions of labor had been reorganized and living and working conditions particularly for women had gotten worse. To sustain their households, most of the sharecropper women had been paid laborers for labor demanding and difficult tasks in the cotton fields in the late 1950s. And these women who had composed of the reserve army of labor for landlords had actively struggled against dispossession and proletarianization through land occupations as landlords invested their capital on Mexican wheat after 1967. Thus, when female working conditions as it relates to the changes in the conditions of agrarian production in two cases have been analyzed, there is no doubt that agricultural work was very important in their lives.

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<sup>242</sup> Özden Alpağ, “Hanımağa köylülere artık amelelik bile vermiyor.” 04.Nov.1969, *Aksam*, p.4. “Açız, çocuklarımız açlıktan kırılıyor. Et yüzü gördüğümüz yok. Turp yiye yiye, gözümüzün feri söndü. Çok şükür güneş parayla değil. Ağalar onu kesemiyor. Meksika buğdayı ektiklerinden beri kadınları ücretli işçi olarak çalıştırmıyorlar. Bu yüzden ne verirse versin kabul etmek zorundayız. Bazı günler bir lokma makarna veriyor. Kabul etmezsek, komşu köylerden işçi kir alıyor.”

By intentionally ignoring this fact, home economics personnel failed to adjust their project to the real working conditions of landless peasant women in two cases. In this way, they failed to understand why these women used their skills for cloth making as a mechanism to cope with poverty instead of producing for the market and why they considered home based production as an extra work. For the home economists, these women were not agricultural workers and their primary responsibilities were childcare, and home management. And, to alleviate rural poverty and make them productive, new gender-specific income generating activities, such as knitting or sewing, had to be created for them. These activities would continue to keep rural women in domestic sphere as the producers of home-based crafts.

However, landless peasant women themselves preferred to use their new skills and knowledge to produce useful items for their families rather than for the market in Göllüce and Atalan. And they did not want to add other works for pay to an already full schedule of housework, childcare and agricultural work. In this sense, they considered the courses of cloth-making and sewing as a household survival strategy against powerful landlords and increasing pauperization in the agricultural season of 1967 and 1968.

These years were also remarkable to understand increasing class antagonism, peasant discontent and its explosion in the form of land occupations in 1969. Title frauds made by the landlords to claim state-owned lands in 1967 and increasing threats to deteriorate their living and working conditions in 1968 escalated tension among landless peasants and paved the way for land occupations led by women who composed the majority of low-paid agrarian laborers in the cotton fields before the arrival of Mexican wheat in the 1967-1968 season. Since their working conditions were getting worse in

these years, unlike the intentions of home economics agents, they did not have the luxury of relegation from agricultural work and so they did not want to devote their energy and time to produce home-based crafts for the market.

In this economic context, the gendered divisions of labor were also reorganized within the households to cope with poverty, and women acquired new skills of cloth making and sewing in the courses and used it to contribute family economy. Thus, it can be claimed that the reconfiguration of gendered divisions of labor in relation to the changing class position of households also intensified the exploitation of women's domestic labor. And both the development of productive forces and home economics courses negatively affected the intensity of work for these women.

Different approaches, specifically neo-classical and feminist Marxist approaches, are useful to analyze the relationship between state policy, particularly home economics project, and female labor participation decisions to rural economy in two cases. First of all, home economics personnel adopted new home economics model that was an extension of neo-classical approach to justify gendered divisions of labor in peasant households. In the golden age of the new home economics approach, in the 1960s, home economists considered peasant household as a unit of production, firm, and explained sexual division of labor in family by following a utility maximization and profit-making principles.<sup>243</sup> In this approach, they applied market-oriented model to explain labor participation decisions into rural economy and used time and opportunity costs analysis to explain gendered divisions of labor in peasant households. According to this model, everyone was a free, rational and autonomous decision maker to maximize utility and

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<sup>243</sup> Shoshana Grossbard-Shechtman, "The New Economics at Columbia and Chicago," *Feminist Economics* 7, no. 3 (2001), p.104-109.

profit.<sup>244</sup> Agricultural work for men and housework for women were presented as the most efficient way to utilize labor supply in peasant households.

Home economics personnel also accepted new home economics approach applied the notion of comparative advantage to explain the gendered divisions of labor at home in two cases. Landless peasant women as rational and altruistic human beings had to use their labor power for housework or the production of house-based products because opportunity cost of staying at home was lower for them. By analyzing labor force participation decisions for rural women and men in relation to the optimization of family utility, they naturalized homemaking for women and income earning activities out of households for men to sustain harmony and joint utility among household members.

From a feminist perspective, it can be claimed that new home economics approach did not question stereotypical gender roles, structural inequalities, conflict of interests and gendered power relations affecting female and male labor force participation decisions in peasant households.<sup>245</sup> Domestic work and the production of home-based crafts for rural women were considered as static and natural tasks and so they ignored dynamics of rural female labor participation decisions, including patriarchal relations, and class positions of households in their essentialist explanations for the sexual divisions of labor in peasant households.

As explained previously, for home economics personnel in Göllüce and Atalan, making landless peasant women efficient homemakers and the producers of home-based

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<sup>244</sup>Martha MacDonald, "Economics and Feminism: The Dismal Science?," *Studies in Political Economy* 15, no. 151-178 (Fall 1984). p.153-154. ; Barbara R. Bergmann, "Feminism and Economics," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 18, no. 3-4 (Fall-Winter, 1990).p.72.

<sup>245</sup>Lourdes Beneria, "Toward a Greater Integration of Gender in Economy," *World Development* 23, no. 11 (1995). p.1840-1841.

crafts were also thought as the best ways to utilize their labor power and so to integrate them into rural economy. These women were invisible as agrarian workers in the eyes of the personnel and, in order to maximize joint utility of family members, they had to use their labor power for domestic work and the production of crafts for market at home while men had to be employed in income generating agricultural works. Thus, the personnel applied new home economics model to explain the essential gendered divisions of labor in the households and landless peasant women were considered as autonomous individuals whose labor participation decisions were not conditioned by structural inequalities and power relations.

However, changing relations of agrarian production as well as class positions of peasant households strongly affected the uses of female labor power in both cases and feminist Marxists provide us theoretical tools to analyze landless peasant women's experiences in the courses and consequent changes in their labor participation to rural economy. For feminist Marxists, changes in broader political economy affects the composition of labor reserve and labor participation decisions for peasants.<sup>246</sup> Thus, unlike new home economics approach, class positions of peasant households and control over the means of production condition gendered labor processes for peasants. And rural women and men altruistically use their labor power in accordance with the needs of agrarian capitalism to prevent further pauperization. Again, for feminist Marxists, household is considered as a cooperative and altruistic site where rural women intensify their labor as material relations of agrarian production change.

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<sup>246</sup> Nancy Folbre, "Hearts and Spades: Paradigms of Household Economics," *ibid.* 14, no. 2 (1986).p.246-248. ; MacDonald, p.155-56.



As explained previously, since class conflicts between landlords and landless peasants increased and powerful landlords had more control over agrarian capital and labor processes, gendered divisions of labor in landless peasant households had to be reorganized to protect class positions of the households with the change into Mexican wheat production in Göllüce and Atalan in 1967. As a response to the consolidation of agrarian capitalism, women had to intensify their domestic labor and used the skills of cloth making and food preservation they obtained in the courses to deal with poverty. Thus, from a feminist Marxist perspective, it can be argued that their unpaid domestic work lowered the cost of maintenance and reproduction of agrarian labor force in landless peasant households. In addition, they, as a reserve army of agrarian labor power, had to sell their labor power at cheaper price and work more in the fields of landlords after the arrival of laborsaving crop, Mexican wheat.

In this sense, from a feminist Marxist perspective, landless peasant women intensified both their reproductive and productive labor to prevent further pauperization in both of the cases. And productive and reproductive spheres are not at odds with each other. As these cases proved, how rural female labor power is used in the households strongly affect rural women`s integration into rural economy as agricultural workers and reproduction of agricultural labor power. Similarly, working conditions in the fields have impacts on management of time and houseworks at home and it affect rural women`s decisions to intensify their domestic labor. In these senses, productive and reproductive spheres are not mutually exclusive.

Although a feminist Marxist framework is useful to explain the reconfiguration of gendered divisions of labor in landless peasant households in relation to class conflicts,

power relations in agrarian capitalism, and the importance of domestic reproductive labor in two cases, it does not explain interrelation between patriarchy and agrarian capitalism in two cases. Gendered expectations and norms behind domestic and agrarian work also have to be analyzed to explain changes in the gendered divisions of labor in the peasant households and the complexity of female labor force participation decisions to rural economy in two cases.

In order to understand the changes in the uses of female labor power as it relates to the state policy of home economics and so rural economy, there is need to explore interwoven effects of capitalism and patriarchy in two cases. Although landless peasant women intensified their domestic labor after the courses to fight with poverty, it would be reductionist to explain it as an example of altruistic cooperation between the household members belonging to the same class for two reasons: first, gendered expectations as well as class relations affected how they used their labor power. Since being housewife and mother were considered as ideal feminine roles for them in the eyes of home economics personnel and they constructed their female identities in accordance with these expectations, they were willing to be involved into the courses. Thus, these expectations and the ideal gendered divisions of labor according to which rural men are wage earners and women were home managers also affected their decisions to intensify domestic labor at home. Secondly, by bargaining with patriarchal expectations, they denaturalized it and affected the operation of agrarian capitalism. In other words, as they applied the knowledge of food preparation and preservation to save time and work more in the fields, they acted against ideal feminine roles and reorganized gendered divisions of labor in landless peasant households, according to which women were both agrarian workers and

domestic laborers. And by selling their labor power at a cheaper price to landlords, they also affected the social relations of agrarian capitalism in two cases. As a cheap reserve army of labor, they decreased the cost of agrarian production for landlords.

Consequently, unlike the assumption of feminist Marxists,<sup>247</sup> increasing workloads and unfavorable working conditions for landless peasant women cannot solely be considered as the effects of pauperization of households after the commercialization and technical changes in agricultural production in Göllüce and Atalan. Feminist Marxists argue for a stable universal patriarchy and, for them, only the relations of production can change the forms of women`s oppression by different classes. However, not only material changes in the conditions of agricultural production, but also the state-led mobile adult education courses organized on the basis of patriarchal norms and gendered expectations affected gendered divisions of labor and increased work burden for landless women in these villages. Thus, I think two cases show us how *patriarchal* values and expectations in specific times and places interact with material conditions of agrarian production and developmental state policies. Thereby, there is no ahistorical, apolitical and universal oppression for rural women.

### **Re-imagining Gender and Rural Development**

Three unintended consequences of the home economics projects- the uses of food preparation course to create more work time in the fields rather than being housewives,

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<sup>247</sup>Razavi, "Engendering the Political Economy of Agrarian Change." p.206-217. ; Tom Brass, "Why Unfree Labor Is Not `So-Called`: The Fictions of Jarius Banaji," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 31, no. 1 (2006). p.102-110.

cloth-making for alleviating rural poverty instead of being autonomous income earners and producers in the market and the rejection of being consumers of home decoration items- reflect the conflicts between the real experiences of landless peasant women in development projects, particularly the home economics project, and the intentions of home economics personnel in Göllüce and Atalan. In addition to neo-classical and feminist Marxist approaches, the assumptions of women in development approach and its critiques give us the tools for interpreting these conflicts and unintended consequences.

First of all, home economics extension policies targeting rural women's social and economic developments are not apolitical, universal and progressive policies as opposed to the assumption of women in development approach. As Yakın Ertürk, a prominent scholar on women and rural development in Turkey, expressed, rural development "is not a linear and technical process. In this complex and conflictual process, traditional relations surrounded by economic and political changes are reorganized and thus create different patterns of development."<sup>248</sup> Thus, technically deterministic development projects do not always empower rural women and these projects might result in the reproduction of traditional patriarchal relations and the reorganization of gendered divisions of labor at the expense of rural women.

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<sup>248</sup> Yakın Ertürk, "Doğu Anadolu'da Modernleşme Ve Kırsal Kadın," in *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, ed. Şirin Tekeli(Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993). p.202. Kalkınma "tek yönlü yayılan teknik bir süreç olmayıp, geleneksel yapılanmaların ekonomik-siyasal kuşatma karşısında yeniden düzenlenmeleri ile farklı dönüşüm örüntüleri oluşturan, çelişkili ve karmaşık bir süreçtir." For the examples of the studies on the necessity of integrating rural women into social and economic development through gender specific projects in different countries Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, (London: Allen&Unwin, 1970). ; Mmakgomo Tshatsinde, "Rural Women in Development: Policies and Issues," *Women and Economy* (1993).p.67-70. ; Gine Zwart, "From Women in Deelopment to Gender and Development: More Than a Change in Terminology?," *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 14(1992).p.16-21.

In this sense, home economics projects did not target gender equality.<sup>249</sup> Instead, they aimed at modernization, housewifization of rural women and their integration into the market as the producers of home-based crafts. As explained previously, it was assumed that rural women would be awakened, and their human capital would improve when they were involved into state-led mobile adult education courses. And they would be empowered in their community as they acquired new skills and knowledge on home economics. As a result, they would be the central actors to achieve social and economic development. However, the reasons behind unequal gendered divisions of labor were not explored and social construction of gender specific roles, responsibilities and expectations were not questioned in this approach and the project based on it.

Because of that, the project intended to reproduce hierarchical patriarchal power relations in Göllüce and Atalan through its objectives and curriculum. It also contributed to the reorganization of gendered divisions of labor within peasant households at the disadvantage of women in practice. Food preservation and preparation and cloth-making courses increased domestic work for landless peasant women in two villages. Thus, ideal gender roles for landless peasant women, being mother and wife, were reinforced in practice, and; thus, new skills and knowledge led to further marginalization and exploitation for women in two cases.

In addition, for the women in development approach, modern and urbanized development agents are responsible for enlightenment and empowerment of traditional

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<sup>249</sup> Rounaq Jahan and Soofia Mumtaz, "The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development," *The Pakistan Development Review* 35, no. 4 (Winter 1996). p.827. ; Kathleen Staudt, *Women, Foreign Assistance and Advocacy Administration*(NY: Praeger, 1985).; R.E. Evenson and Michele Siegel, "Gender and Agricultural Extension in Burkina Faso," *Africa Today* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1999). p.77. ; Rita Sharma, "Reforms in Agricultural Extension: New Policy Framework," *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 30 (Aug. 2002).p.3129.

rural women as the practioners of universal social and economic development projects.<sup>250</sup> As an extension of this assumption, in the villages, urban-biased personnel also assumed that landless women would be empowered, as they became housewives and home-managers and as they were integrated into economic life as the producers of homemade crafts. Home economics personnel also expected that teaching these women how to manage home and to generate income as housewives would alleviate rural poverty and increase their socio-economic status and living standandards. Traditional and backward women of Göllüce and Atalan just needed to participate into state-led adult education courses and passively absorb new information and techniques of home economics to make these expectations real.

However, landless peasant women took an active role in the practice of the development project targeting them. In this sense, these cases support one of the main critiques against the women in development approach: rural women were not passive recipients of the development projects, which was insensitive to local power relations.<sup>251</sup> Landless peasant women questioned top-down organizational mechanisms of decision making in the courses and created alternative uses of knowledge and skills to fight with poverty and protect class positions of their households.

As these courses defined proper roles for women as motherhood and housewifization in its curriculum, they crafted gendered values and expectations. But, this does not mean that the landless peasant women gave consent to male control over

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<sup>250</sup> Andrew P. Davidson, "Participation, Education and Pluralism: Towards a New Extension Ethic," *Development in Practice* 17, no. 1 (Feb. 2007). p.48.

<sup>251</sup> Joanne Sharp and John Birggs, "Doing Gender and Development: Understanding Empowerment and Local Gender Relations," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28, no. 3 (Sep. 2003). p.281-295. ; Jahan and Mumtaz, p.829. ; Brett O'Bannon, "The Normada River Project: Towards a Feminist Model in Development," *Policy Sciences* 27, no. 2-3 (1994). p.250.

their labor. They were constrained by a patriarchal system, but they still actively contested gendered divisions of labor within and out of households. When they interpreted commodity production at home as an extra workload and used their new skills for new food preparation and preservation to create more work time in the fields, they also contested gender divisions of labor. In other words, instead of relegation into the households as housewives and the producers of home-based crafts, they preferred to work more in the fields as agrarian workers. In this way, they went beyond gendered expectations in the minds of home economists.

These cases also verify another critique against the women in development approach: “It fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production and women’s subordination and oppression.”<sup>252</sup> Thus, this approach negates both social and economic context in which rural women lived and worked. As an extension of this critique, landless peasant women were considered as a homogeneous group and home economics agents ignored the impacts of structural inequalities, particularly class and gender on landless peasant women. In this way, they ignored the underlying causes of rural poverty and the subordination of women. Thus, women in development approach cannot explain why landless peasant women were against producing homemade crafts for the market and why they intensified their domestic labor and agrarian labor.

As explained previously in Chapter 2, there was a negative correlation between rural women’s status and economic modernization in two cases. After the mechanization of cotton production, landless peasant women became a reserve army of cheap labor and

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<sup>252</sup>E.M. Rathgeber, "Wid, Wad, Gad: Trends in Research and Practice," *The Journal of Developing Areas* 24., p.493.

so an instrument of agrarian capitalism while men got an access to skilled jobs in the early 1960s in both villages. And this new gendered division of labor was justified through gendered identification of labor-demanding agrarian tasks and of housework with women. In addition, the increasing class antagonism between powerful landlords who benefitted from changes in the material conditions of production and poor landless peasants also strongly affected their working and living conditions in these years. Especially when landlords started to cultivate high-yielding and labor-saving Mexican wheat in the 1967-1968 season, landless peasants, especially women working in labor-demanding tasks in cotton fields, came across the threats of eviction and unemployment and so they had to sell their labor power cheaper and work more in the fields.

Home economics project was implemented in this economic context of increasing class inequalities and pauperization which resulted in the explosion of peasant discontent in the form of land occupations led by women in 1969. And, in addition to their agrarian labor, landless peasant women had to intensify their domestic labor. Thus, they preferred to use their new food preparation and cloth-making skills to cope with rural poverty. Since the project ignored the importance of class and gender relations and of agrarian work in these women's lives, it was a futile attempt to achieve economic and social development of rural women in Göllüce and Atalan. Thus, it could not be used to explain how developmental state policies including home economics projects and changes in the material conditions of agrarian production correlated with gendered divisions of labor in the villages.



## **Conclusion: The interface of home economics with gender relations and rural economy**

In Turkey, home economics projects were invented as a special rural development and agricultural extension policies targeting rural women as in many countries in the 1960s. In this chapter, by focusing on state-led mobile adult education courses in Göllüce and Atalan in 1967-1968 season, I re-examined this developmental policy and its implications from women in development, neo-classical and feminist Marxist approaches and feminist critiques of these approaches. In this way, I highlighted the interplay between state policies, gendered norms, and rural labor relations, and showed that not only changes in the material conditions of agrarian production, but also developmental state policies are detrimental to understand gendered divisions of labor in rural communities.

Theoretically, home economics extension interventions were part of the developmental state policies, which were congruent with women in development approach. According to this approach, rural women had to be awakened, learn home management, and be integrated into labor market as income earners. These projects were considered as a universal, objective and progressive road to achieve social and economic development and to fight with rural poverty. In this framework, home economics projects were designed to disseminate scientific and apolitical knowledge and skills to rural women to transform them into productive and efficient home managers and workers at home. Consequently, home economics agents emphasized rural women`s domestic roles, and considered them as passive beneficiaries of the projects. Thus, the roles of housewifery for rural women were pedagogically essentialized and their presence as

agrarian workers was ignored and gender inequalities as it related to the divisions of labor were not explored.

Since home economics are interfaced with gendered norms and economic context, it is necessary to make class and gender-specific analysis of these development projects. As explained in this chapter, these courses crafted existing patriarchal power relations in practice, and affected rural labor relations at the disadvantage of particular class of rural women in two cases. However, landless peasant women interpreted and used new skills and knowledge they obtained in these courses on food preparation, home decoration and cloth making as active agents. As opposed to the home economists' intentions of making them housewives and the producers of home-based crafts, they applied food preparation courses to create more time to work in the fields; they did not become the modern consumers of home decoration items; and they made clothes to alleviate rural poverty.

In addition, these conflicts between the intentions of home economics extension agents and the experiences of landless peasant women in two villages prove that these courses were irrelevant to women's poor living and working conditions. Since these poor women were living and working under the threats of eviction and unemployment after the arrival of Mexican wheat in 1967 and class antagonism between the landlords and landless peasants were escalating, they were preparing themselves for land occupations in 1969 as agrarian laborers. In this context, women rejected the production of homecrafts for the market and preferred to use their skills and knowledge of food preservation and cloth making to cope with poverty and contribute to household income. Similarly, since they did not afford to buy new home decoration items, they rejected to be consumers. Besides, they did not want to add any extra work and prioritized their agrarian work over

home management. Thus, when class and gender relations are taken into account, it becomes obvious that home economics projects cannot be universal, apolitical projects and it might not lead progress and empowerment for all rural women belonging to different classes.

These conflicts also enable us to analyze the relations between state policy and women`s participation into rural economy. First, for the home economics personnel who adopted a neo-classical new home economics perspective, in order to maximize joint utility of peasant households, landless peasant women of Göllüce and Atalan villages, had to be integrated into rural economy as home makers and the producers of home-based crafts, not as agrarian workers. But, from a feminist Marxist perspective, changing relations of agrarian production, and structural inequalities, particularly class relations, also affected female labor force participation decisions in two cases. In order to sustain livelihood and fight with increasing poverty, landless peasant women had to intensify their domestic labor by using knowledge and skills they obtained in the courses. In addition, they had to sell their power at a cheaper price after the arrival of labor saving mechanized crop, Mexican wheat, in two cases.

Although feminist Marxists provide us theoretical tools to explain how gendered divisions of labor had to be reorganized as a response to increasing class conflicts and consolidation of agrarian capitalism in two cases, it is not useful for understanding female labor participation decisions as it relates to link between patriarchy and agrarian capitalism. First, since the curriculum of the courses was compatible with local gendered values, women were eager to participate into the courses and men supported their participation. In these courses, home economics agents reproduced gendered norms and

expectations for women in Göllüce and Atalan. Thus, they reinforced proper feminine roles of being mother and housewife. In this sense, food preservation and preparation and cloth-making courses increased women's work burden within the households by assigning them new and time-demanding tasks in the domestic sphere. On the other hand, these women denaturalized these gender specific roles and expectations, affected the operation of agrarian capitalism and reorganized the ideal gendered divisions of labor- men as agrarian workers and women as homemakers- as they sold their labor power at a cheaper price and worked for longer hours as agrarian workers in the fields.

In the next chapter, I will continue to evaluate the role of state politics in the regulation of labor relations and socio-economic status of rural women. I will focus on the relationship between agrarian capitalism, particularly property relations, patriarchy and politicians' treatment of landless peasant women in Göllüce and Atalan. By doing so, I will shed further light on the place of these women in patriarchal and class specific state politics and its importance for the reproduction of social relations of agrarian production.

## Chapter 5

### Competitive Party Politics, Landless Peasant Women, and Their Political Activism in Two Villages

In this chapter, I contribute to the history of peasantry and politics in Turkey by criticizing the statist approach to peasantry and politics.<sup>253</sup> The statist approach not only exaggerates state power, coercion and control over peasants, it also ignores how state policies affected peasant struggles and how these struggles forced the governments to change these policies.<sup>254</sup> Thus, in this approach, the state is considered as an omnipotent ahistorical entity and it is assumed that there is unity of interests between peasants and state. Peasants are represented as passive recipients of the political and economic developments rather than active subjects shaping it in the literature on peasantry in Turkey.<sup>255</sup> When peasants are defined as apathetical and politically passive and

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<sup>253</sup> Connell R.W., "The State, Gender and Sexual Politics: Theory and Appraisal," in *Gender-Power: Social Relations in Theory and Practice*, ed. H. Lorraine Radtke and Stam Henderikus (London: Sage Publications, 1994). p.148-163. ; Anna M. Zajicek and Toni M. Calasanti, "Patriarchal Struggles and State Practices: A Feminist, Political-Economic View," *Gender and Society* 12, no. 5 (Oct.1998).p. 507.

<sup>254</sup> Halil Berktaş, "The Search for the Peasant in Western and Turkish History/Historiography," in *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi (London: Frank Cass, 1992). p.110-184. ; For the few studies tackling this question, see Huricihan İslamoğlu-İnan, "Köylüler, Ticarileşme Hareketi Ve Devlet Gücünün Meşrulaşması," *Toplum ve Bilim* 43-44(1989)., p.7-31. ; Pamuk, "War, State Economic Policies and Resistance by Agricultural Producers in Turkey, 1939-1945."p.125-142.

<sup>255</sup> Doğu Ergil, "Toward a Theory of Modern Peasant Movements: With Special Emphasis on Turkey," *Islamic Studies* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1977). p. 97-116. For the example of exceptional study on peasant struggles see Farhad Kazemi, "Peasant Uprisings in Iran, Iraq and Turkey," in *Peasants and Politics in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Farhad Kazemi and John Waterbury (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991). p.106-124.

economically dependent class, their political behaviors and the transformative impacts of their political activism remain out of the research agendas of the Turkish scholars.

Contrary to the representation of landless peasants as a homogenous apolitical class, I consider landless peasant women as active subjects affecting state elites' speeches and local state officials', particularly the rural police officers', reactions in two villages. In the first part of the chapter, I explain how the discourse on developing, egalitarian and classless rural society was criticized among the occupiers in two cases and how this exemplifies the changing content of peasant politics in the 1960s. Then, I explore what landless peasant women claimed and how they gave voice to these class and gender specific claims for landownership, the abandonment of class inequalities, landlordism and poverty and better working conditions in the fields and gender equal divisions of labor in the households in their interactions with the politicians and state officials, particularly rural police officers. In the last part of the chapter, I explore the gendered reactions of the politicians to these claims as it relates to the debates on land reform, economic development, peasant struggles and the political activism of women. I probe the functions of competitive party politics to reinforce class and gender specific relations of agrarian production and patriarchal control over female labor power in two cases.

### **New Form of Peasant Politics under the Rule of the JP Government in Two Villages**

Land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan provide concrete examples that help us understanding changing relations between peasants and politics in the 1960s in Turkey. First of all, these politically mobilized peasants preferred to occupy state-owned lands in order to fight landlordism and the Justice Party (JP) government supporting landlords. In

this way, they delegitimized the discourse of developing egalitarian and classless rural society of the government. They decided to make their own redistributive land reform through occupations rather than using formal bureaucratic channels. This shows us there was a legitimation crisis of existing social, political and economic system in the eyes of the landless peasants in these years in the country.

In order to contextualize my findings, first of all, I explain the changing content of peasant politics in Turkey. The Democratic Party founded by Celal Bayar, Fuat Köprülü, Adnan Menderes and Refik Koraltan on January 7, 1946 won the 1950 election and governed the country until the coup of May 27, 1960. Its victory in the election was not only important for the beginning of the multi-party period in Turkish history. It was also a remarkable period to understand historical background of peasant activism since peasants gained political consciousness and actively involved in the politics in these years and, from then on, all parties had to change their political activities to take peasant support.

Ibrahim Yasa describes these developments as follows:

“...after transition into the multi-party period, it can be said that common people belonging to different groups were slowly aware of their strata or classes. Meanwhile, the peasants understood that they did belong not only to their enclosed and small community, but also to the broader society. Thus, they understood that they could have an impact on the political preferences of the country.”<sup>256</sup>

In this period, the ruling party, the Democratic Party (DP), applied different ideological control mechanisms to mobilize peasants and gain their political support. First

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<sup>256</sup> Ibrahim Yasa, *Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı Ve Temel Sorunları* (Ankara: Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1970).p.201. “...çok partili döneme girildikten sonra çeşitli halk yığınları yavaş yavaş kendilerinin de birer tabakaya, sınıfa bağlı olduklarını algılamaya başlamışlardır denilebilir. Bu arada köylüler sadece kendi kapalı ve sınırlı toplulukların değil, aynı zamanda da büyük toplumun parçaları olduklarını, kamuoyu ve ülkenin güdeceği siyasa da etkili olabileceklerini anlar olmuşlardır.”

of all, the DP government presented itself as the protector of democracy and people's will and, for it, elections and votes were sacred for all members of society. Thus, the government integrated peasants into the political system as voters. In this way, the peasantry learnt to protect their rights to vote and was cognizant of their power to affect politics through elections.<sup>257</sup> And the party got high-voter-turn-out by reinforcing the feeling of citizenship and stressing on political rights among peasants.

Secondly, the DP represented itself as a populist party against the single party regime of the Republican People's Party (RPP) and its police-state character and encouraged peasants to use bureaucratic channels to raise their objections and question the government activities. And peasantry used "*demir kirat*" ("iron horse") to refer to the DP in these years. It was a symbol in the Turkish legend of Koroğlu who was Robin Hood with his *kirat*, or horse, and he defended the folk against oppressive and punitive government. Thus, the state was not an omnipotent entity any more in their eyes and peasants had the right to question the power of the single-party government by using bureaucratic channels.<sup>258</sup> In other words, as Behice Boran, a prominent sociologist and the leader of the Turkish Workers Party (TWP) expresses, the most important result of the 1950 election was "resistance against the authoritarian, Jacobin state mentality."<sup>259</sup> Thus, as a part of the DP propaganda, peasants learned to criticize the government, unjust activities of law enforcement agents, authoritarian state mentality and malfunctioning slow bureaucracy of the single-party era. As local state officials made more contact with peasants through the party branches, state bureaucracy became more responsive to their

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<sup>257</sup> Yıldırım, p.151-196.

<sup>258</sup> Arnold Leder, "Party Competition in Rural Turkey: Agent of Change or Defender of Traditional Rule," *Middle Eastern Studies* 15, no. 1 (Jan. 1979).p.85.

<sup>259</sup> Behice Boran, *Türkiye Ve Sosyalizmin Sorunları* (Istanbul: Gün Yayınları, 1968). p.43-44.



appeals. For most of the peasants, the village branch of the parties, or the chief of the district had replaced oppressive state agents and local notables in the single party era.

In this way, party competition encouraged increased responsiveness to the demands and concerns of the rural people in the multi-party era. From then on, all of the political parties had to take peasants' political power seriously because, in Sinan Yıldırım's words, the peasants of the period were not "the ideologically created masters of the nation" any more, but they were "actually existed and actually owned the political power."<sup>260</sup> Therefore, peasants were not passive recipients of the political developments, but active participants in the politics any more.

In addition, the political activism of the peasantry should be evaluated in relation to economic transformation in the multi-party era. Until the end of its rule in 1960, the governmental strategy of the DP for agricultural development was a liberal economic policy promoting the uses of tractors and other technical inputs imported with foreign aid, supporting agricultural subsidies and cooperatives and making infrastructural investments like roads, irrigation systems, to stimulate an internal market and agricultural production and integrate Turkey into the world economy as the main exporter of food and raw material to the OEEC. And the JP government (1965-1971) continued to implement the same agricultural development policies with small differences: firstly, it defended the idea of a rationally planned agricultural economy with the state plans for economic development. Secondly, import-substitution became an economic policy to provide cheap raw material for industrialization.

These policies implemented by the DP and JP resulted in the consolidation of

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<sup>260</sup> Yıldırım, p.197. To support this claim, he gives Arslankoy case as an example and explains how the villagers fought against the gendarme and the people affiliated with the RPP to defend their votes for the DP in the election of 1950 and won a lawsuit with the support of the lawyers working with the DP.

agrarian capitalism in the countryside and the escalation of peasant discontent. Thus, although the DP gained the political support of small peasants by putting their poverty and state violence used against them into words and using the discourse of the developing peasantry, there are important reservations about its success. And these reservations make the folk character of the DP government questionable and lead us to see alliances between the interests of landlords and politicians during its rule. First of all, this party distributed 16.5 million donums to 312.000 peasant families between 1950-1960 while 1.5 million donums were allocated to 33.000 families between 1947-1950.<sup>261</sup> But, they implemented this redistributive policy without changing land tenure system and expropriating lands from big landowners.<sup>262</sup> And land reform was not in the political agenda of this party while ruling the country in the 1950s.

Secondly, even though the government made investments in agriculture rather than industries in these years, agricultural development policies did not eliminate rural class inequalities and result in economic prosperity for most of the peasants. In Doğan Avcioğlu's expression, agricultural development was a "vitrine" in Turkey because small group of people, particularly big landowners, gained privileges and so agrarian state policies did not result in the consolidation of small peasantry.<sup>263</sup> Agricultural development policies of the DP resulted in increasing proletarianization, dispossession among small and landless peasantry and facilitated accumulation of agrarian capital for big landowners. They acquired land from poor peasants, enclosed state-owned lands, and

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<sup>261</sup> Donum is the Ottoman unit of area equivalent to English acre, representing the amount of land that could be ploughed by a team of oxen in a day. One donum is approximately one decare (1000 square meter).

<sup>262</sup> Gürel, "Türkiye'de Kırsal Sınıf Mücadelelerinin Tarihsel Gelişimi 1." p.90.

<sup>263</sup> Avcioğlu, p. 618.

used state-given credits and subsidies to invest on new technical inputs.<sup>264</sup> In return, they did enlarge their own cultivated lands, reorganized social relations of agrarian production and accumulated more capital in their hands. As a result, these agrarian policies initiated the processes of the consolidation of agrarian capitalism and escalation of rural class inequalities during the DP rule.

In the 1960s, especially under the rule of the JP government, poverty, proletarianization and dispossession became more visible among small and landless peasants. Increasing number of landless peasants and paid agricultural laborers resulted in dispossession and class antagonism in these years in rural Turkey. Beyond that, as Oya Silier and Mine Cinar argued, dispossession does not only mean estrangement from land and other means of agrarian production. It also implies deterioration of living and working conditions of small peasants and their pauperization with or without losing small parcels of land.<sup>265</sup> In this sense, mechanization converted many small peasants into proletarians or semi-proletarians, and, because of their debts to landlords or usurers, they had to sell their lands and migrate to big cities. However, there had not been a significant decline in the numbers of small peasants owning land below 20 donums between 1952 and 1980.<sup>266</sup> Thus, despite rural-urban migration and land sales made by small peasants, new small peasants took the place of immigrants in the countryside. Merchants and usurers also played an important role to pauperize small peasants by benefitting from

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<sup>264</sup> Suat Aksoy, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi*(Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1971). p.72-76. ; Avcioglu, p.622. ; Cem Eroglu, *Demokrat Parti (Tarihi Ve İDeolojisi)*(Ankara: Imge Kitabevi, 1990). p.48.

<sup>265</sup> Çınar and Silier, *Türkiye Tarımında İşLetmeler Arası FarklılaşMa*. p.23.

<sup>266</sup> Burak Gürel, "Türkiye'de Kırdaki Sınıf Mücadelelerinin Tarihsel Gelişimi," in *Marksizm Ve Sınıflar: Dünyada Ve Türkiye'de Sınıflar Ve Mücadeleleri*, ed. Kurtar Tanyılmaz Sungur Savran, and E.Ahmet Tonak(Istanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2015). p.327-329.

imperfections in market.<sup>267</sup> By controlling sale cooperatives, making speculations on the prices of products, creating debt bondages with small peasants, and taking state-given credits, they constituted a powerful block against which small peasants also struggled.

In reaction to these processes of pauperization, proletarianization and dispossession, peasants` political struggles took new forms and gained momentum especially between 1968 and March 12, 1971. These new struggles- specifically land occupations and collective demonstrations against the JP government- imply a changing relationship between political activism and peasantry in the late 1960s. With the support of a rising political left in these years,<sup>268</sup> peasants gained political consciousness, mobilized against powerful landlords, politicians, and rich merchants and usurers. And when they asked for their land rights, questioned discriminatory implementations of agrarian state policies and demanded equal access to state-given credits, subsidies etc. in many peasant movements across the country, they were not only voters any more. They became real political actors shaping rural class relations and politics.

Land occupation in the Bayraktar village of Elmalı district in Antalya in 1967-1968 was the first movement of landless peasants against landlords claiming state-owned lands in Turkish history. After that, many landless peasants followed the same path of this village from the Mediterranean region and rebelled against landlords across the country. Historically, after the occupations in Elmalı, peasant uprising in Göllüce and Atalan was the biggest and most important movement in terms of its scale and the close political affiliations of the landlords with the DP and JP.

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<sup>267</sup> Avcioğlu, p.679-690.

<sup>268</sup> Muzaffer Kaya, "Türkiye'de Anti-Emperyalist Mücadele 1960-1975," *Journal of Historical Studies* 4(2006). p.1-12.

Land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan also provided a model for other occupations in the Aegean region. Landless peasants from Hortuna and Kuscuburun villages occupied illegally used beet farm on which they worked under unfavorable conditions just after the occupations in Göllüce and Atalan. Similarly, landless peasants from Kızılcaavlu and Yenioba villages located in Torbalı took courage from the same struggles and they were also involved into the occupations in the summer of 1970.<sup>269</sup> In January of 1970, landless peasants inspired by Göllüce and Atalan cases, fought for state-owned lands under the control of the landlords in Turalla village of Germencik, Aydın, too.<sup>270</sup> These occupations were not restricted to the Aegean region and peasant movements also escalated in Central and South Eastern Anatolia in the same years. Land occupations in Culuk village of Haymana on May 1969, Karadibek village of Gaziantep in the summer of 1969, Araplar village of Adıyaman on April, 1970 can be given as few examples to show commonality of land occupations in these regions in these years.<sup>271</sup>

Small peasant demonstrations against low base prices, unfair distribution of state credits and subsidies and against merchants and usurers benefitting from these agrarian state policies were also widespread in the period between 1968 and 1971. Leftist organizations, like the FKF and Dev-Genc, played important roles in mobilizing small peasants and organizing these demonstrations, especially in the Aegean and Black Sea Regions. By these demonstrations, small peasants producing tobacco, cotton, tea and hazelnuts gave voice to their problems, like high interest rates applied by usurers, low base prices for their products, seed and fertilizer black markets operated by merchants,

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<sup>269</sup>Babuş, p.156-169.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., p.170.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., p.156-157. ; Anon., “Ağaların gaspettiği toprakları köylüler işgal etti.” *İşçi Köylü Gazetesi*, No:14, 01.04.1970, p.1.

unjust distribution of credits etc. The rallies of tobacco producers from Akhisar on February 07, 1969 and from Ödemiş on February 02, 1969 against unfair implementation of agrarian state policies and merchants, the Fatsa Democratic Rights and Hazelnut Meeting on June 1969 in which hazelnut producers protested the JP government and Tarsus meeting of cotton producers against low base price on September 1969 exemplify this new form of political activism for small peasantry across the country, especially in these regions.<sup>272</sup>

In spite of the fact that there are no detailed studies of these movements, it is possible to analyze these movements to illustrate new forms of relations between peasants and politics in the 1960s, especially in the period between 1968 and 1971. First of all, land occupations were landless peasant movements against powerful landlords who illegally claimed state-owned lands and controlled peasants' living and working conditions. Thus, it can be claimed that landless peasants learned to ask and fight for their land rights in these years. Secondly, these struggles reveal that the JP government lost its legitimacy in the eyes of landless peasants and small peasants. They staked a claim to their political rights, particularly, voting rights, and gave their consent and support to the DP government in the 1950s to defend their interests against the oppressive single party regime and its law enforcement agents. But politically mobilized peasants preferred to protest landlordism and the JP government sided with landlords through land occupations or participated into large demonstrations against agrarian state policies in the late 1960s. In addition, state violence used by rural police forces against them during the occupations and demonstrations showed peasants how the government took sides with these

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<sup>272</sup> Babuş, p. 150-157. ; Anon., "Fatsa'sa "Fındık fiyatları ve demokratik haklar" konusunda köylü AP iktidarına karşı miting yaptı." *İşçi Köylü Gazetesi*, No.2 Year.1, 24.July.1969, p.1. ; Anon., "Tarsuslu yirmibin köylü iktidarın boğazına çöktü." *İşçi Köylü Gazetesi*, No. 6 Year.1, 26.Sep.1969, p.1, 4.

groups.<sup>273</sup> Thus, through their political activism, landless and small peasants played an important role in delegitimizing the discourse of developing egalitarian and classless rural society of the JP government.

Although peasants did participate into land occupations or demonstrations and showed their distrust in the government, they never considered their own activities illegal or criminal. In other words, they framed their claims and struggles by giving references to the 1961 Constitution. Thus, they adopted the notion of the rule of law and the constitutional state and used the legal rhetoric in their struggles to justify their claims.

In addition, there is another disjuncture between politically mobilized peasants of the 1950s and the 1960s in terms of using bureaucratic channels to legitimize their claims. While peasants relied upon the responsiveness of the state bureaucracy and made appeals to local party branches of the DP in the 1950s for their voting rights, they applied other strategies, like demonstrations and occupations, rather than using formal bureaucratic channels in the 1960s. These strategies reveal that since the government lost its legitimacy in the eyes of these peasants, they had decided to fight for their socio-economic rights by themselves.

In this context, landless peasants, especially women, also criticized the governmental discourse on egalitarian and developing rural society in Göllüce and Atalan. First of all, agrarian state policies of the JP government were not implemented

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<sup>273</sup> There are many cases in which rural police forces did violence to peasant protesters, especially the occupiers, and helped landlords to drive the occupiers out of lands. For unwarranted and unjust display of force by them see Anon., “Ağa Azap gölüne sahip çıkıyor: Bıçak kemiğe dayandı.” *İşçi Köylü Gazetesi*, No.14 Year.1, p.1, 01.04.1970, p.3. ; Anon., “Çayyüzü köylüsü gazetemize dedi ki: Merayı ağaya kaptırmayacağız.” *İşçi Köylü Gazetesi*, No.14 Year.1, 01.04.1970, p.3,4. ; Anon., “Yıllardır ekip biçtikleri topraklardan jandarma dayağı ile çıkarıldılar.” *Cumhuriyet*, 19.May.1969, p.1,7. ; Babuş, p.158, 170. And this display was not restricted to a certain region in the country. While the first two cases occurred in the villages of Aydın in the Aegean region, the others were from Urfa, Antalya and Adana.

rightfully and these policies did empower landlordism instead of eliminating rural class inequalities in these villages and, these peasants had occupied the lands since the government had lost its legitimacy in their eyes. Erkin Usman, a right-wing contributor to *Yeni Asır* newspaper, mentioned this point in the interview as follows:

“These plans were irrelevant to realities of rural society. Thus, they served to the interests of comprador class, landlords, in Göllüce and Atalan.... They realized this fact and they had never trusted in the JP government again. Because of this fact, they occupied the lands.”<sup>274</sup>

Similarly, the farm steward of Göllüce village pointed out how the state officials turned deaf ears to the problems of landless peasants and served everything on a silver platter to the landlords in the following quotation:

“The state had never come to our villages to serve us, and to alleviate rural poverty. We took out everything from our tripe. The government gave tractors, credits and everything to the landlords.”<sup>275</sup>

Thus, as an extension new forms of peasant politics under the JP rule, when landless peasants gained class consciousness, they learnt to question the legitimacy of existing government and its agrarian policies. In other words, they did not give their consent and political support for existing economic and political system under the JP government and mobilized against state policies serving the interests of landlords and pauperizing them. Thus, the discourse of the JP government on rural equality and development did not reflect the realities in which landless peasants lived in these years. For the occupiers, it was a pseudo-discourse used by the politicians to gloss over landlordism, rural poverty

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<sup>274</sup> Erkin Usman, *Interview*. 24.Dec.2014. “Bu planlar kırsal toplumun gerçekliklerinden kopuk planlardı. Bu yüzden Göllüce ve Atalan’daki işbirlikçi sınıfın, yani toprak ağalarının işine yaradı.Bu gerçeği fark ettiler ve bir daha asla Adalet Partisine güvenmediler. Zaten bu yüzden toprakları işgal ettiler.”

<sup>275</sup> The farm steward of Göllüce, *Interview*. 26.Dec.2014. “Devlet hiç gelmedi ki buraya bizim için, yoksulluk için. Ne çıkardıysak işkembemizden çıkardı.Hükümet traktörü, kredileri, her şeyi ağalara verdi.”



and agrarian state policies that deepened inequalities between the landlords and landless peasants.

In addition, in two cases, peasant discontent with the agrarian state policies is rooted in the rule of the DP government in the 1950s. As opposed to the studies that bring the folk character of the DP government against the single party regime into the forefront, for landless people of Göllüce and Atalan, it was not the protector of democracy and peasants. They considered the DP as a government sided with the landlords who were the relatives of the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, as mentioned in the interview with the occupier from Atalan:

“Under the rule of Adnan Menderes and then of Suleyman Demirel, they got titles for lands. They claimed everything including state credits, tractors and seeds. We made several attempts to send petitions... We did not get any response. In these years, when the landlords claimed some land, state land, it became their property. We have always supported the RPP because they did not use violence against us. Where would we apply when the landlords, the relatives of the Prime Minister, and the rural police officers sided with them used violence?”<sup>276</sup>

Thus, these peasants were aware of the fact that agrarian development policies of the DP and the JP served to the interests of the landlords and escalated class inequalities and poverty in two villages. Thus, it reiterated their distrust in the government. As explained in Chapter 2, glorious years for the landlords in Göllüce and Atalan had started in late-1940s because the aunt of Adnan Menderes’s wife, Mesude Evliyazade, and his cousin, Sadik Giz, used their political connections and accumulated all means of agrarian production in their hands as capitalist farmers producing cotton for the market until the

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<sup>276</sup> The resident of Atalan 2, *Interview*. 26.Dec.2014. “Adnan Menderes zamanında sonra Süleyman Demirel’le de tapuları sağlaşturdılar. Her şey, kredi, traktör, tohum benim dediler. Biz kac kez dilekçe göndermeye çalıştık... Cevap bile alamadık. O zaman ağanın istediği yer, hazine arazisi istediği yer tapulu malıydı. Her zaman CHP’yi destekledik biz çünkü bize şiddet uygulamadı onlar. Başbakan’ın akrabası ağalar ve ya onların jandarması bize şiddet uygularsa, kime şikayet edicen ki?”

official suppression of the DP government with the 1960 coup d'état. Under the rule of the JP government in the 1960s, the landlords continued to be the beneficiaries of agrarian state policies in two villages. Through their social and political networks and financial capital, they had access to tractors, fertilizers, and other technical inputs. Thus, starting from 1967, the Mexican wheat program was executed in favor of the landlords and the program itself empowered the landlords.

In addition, state bureaucracy was not responsive to peasants' complaints and petitions. Although they tried to contact with the courts and the governor, they did not get any response to their appeals as seen from three examples of official fights over road, land and school building in the early 1960s. First of all, Evliyazade, the female landlord of Göllüce, claimed the narrow road next to Kucuk Menderes River, closed it to the landless peasants, integrated it to her lands and started to cultivate cotton on it in 1961. From then on, they had to walk more than six kilometers to graze and get water to their animals and to go to other villages. To regain the use right of the road, landless peasants wrote a petition to the governor of Izmir and explained their difficulties to get water after the landlord claimed the road on state-owned land in 1961. Although the governor did not dismiss their petition, made a visit to Göllüce and reopened the road, the loyal servant of the landlord, Alparslan Bey, visited him in his office and threatened him with replacement. In addition, the landlord immediately submitted a petition for the road to the government on January 13, 1962 and, only after the five days of its submission, its acceptance was promulgated in the official gazette without any investigation. And the landlord was officially entitled to the road in this promulgation on January 18, 1962:

“Although the complainee villagers used the road to get water to their animals from Kucuk Menderes river and cross over into the other villages, they lost their

right of ownership for this allegedly violated road. Since the governorship did not respond to the village headman's appeal against the landlord's use of the land last year, the complainant became a prevailing party. Therefore, according to the verdict, the state-owned land that has been cultivated by the complainant, Mesude Evliyazade, for the last year belonged to her and the villagers of the Göllüce were the occupiers...<sup>277</sup>

This was not the only case that exemplifies how the landlords filed a complaint of alleged violation and successfully received a favorable judgment and defended their action. In another petition submitted to the Turkish parliamentary speakers office by the village headman, Durmus Ali Teker, on March 02,1962, landless peasants of Göllüce explained their unfavorable living conditions and made an official request for expropriation of untitled lands:

“In their village located in Mesude Evliyazade's farm, they did not own land, and have still had to live in straw and soil houses and, because of this, many people have suffered from fatal contagious disease. Thus, in their petition, they asked for allocating lands without titles. As a result of an investigation, since most of the land belonged to the shareholder, Mesude Evliyazade, is scrubby and stony and pasture land, it is not possible to expropriate and distribute it to the villagers on the basis of the Land Provision Law...<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> *The Official Gazette*, The Decree No.5, “Men'i Müdahale Kararı,” 18.01.1962. The complainant: Mesude Evliyazade the complaine: Göllüce Köyü Şahsiyeti. For the case, see also Fatma İrfan Serhan, “Göllüce Dramı-2.” *Cumhuriyet*, 10. May.1962, p.2 and Anon., “Göllüce Ağası.” *Yön Dergisi*, 14.05.1962, No: 22, p.4. “Her ne kadar tecavüze uğradığı iddia edilen yer eskiden beri müteceviz köylülerin hayvanlarını Küçük Menderes nehrinde sulamak ve diğer köylere geçmek için kullandıkları yol ise de, Göllüce köyü muhtarının bir yıl kadar evvel bu yolun müşteki tarafından sürülmesi sırasında Kaymakamlığa yaptığı müracaat nazarı itibara alınmadığından köylülün zilyetlik hakkı kaybolmuş ve müşteki haklı duruma geçmiştir. Bu hale göre kadimen yol olan fakat bir yıldan beri müşteki Mesude Evliyazade tarafından sürülerek üzerinde zer'iyat yapılan mezkur yere tecavüz etmiş kabul edilen Göllüce köyü halkının bu tecavüzlerinin men'ine, yerin zilyedi bulunan Mesude Evliyazade'ye teslimine...”

<sup>278</sup> *The Official Gazette*, The General Directorate of Land Works, The Decree No. 1.Ş 3122-0-1325-6236, 02.March.1962. “Köylülerinin Mesude Evliyazade'ye ait çiftlik arazisinin hudutları dahilinde bulunduğu, toprak olmadığını ve halen çitten sazdan yapılmış evlerde oturmaya mecbur kaldıklarını, bu yüzden birçok kimsenin verem olduğundan bahisle tapu miktarından fazla olan çiftlik arazisinin tevzi edilmesi istenmesi üzerine yerinde yapılan tetkikat neticesinde Mesude Evliyazade'nin hissedar bulunduğu ve büyük bir kısmı çalıklik, taşlık halinde ve mutlak mera olduğu anlaşılan yerden çiftçiyi topraklandırma kanununa göre kamulaştırma yapılarak köylünün toprak ihtiyacının karşılanmasının mümkün görülemediği...”

Although most of the poor landless peasants suffered from tuberculosis and lived in hovels, fertile lands of the female landlord were shown as stony, loamless and arid soil and their request for redistribution of untitled lands used by her was rejected. In his interview with Fatma Irfan Serhan, a contributor to *Democrat Izmir*, the village headman explained well how the female landlord used state bureaucracy and political connections for her own advantage in this example: according to his account, the official committee sent to investigate untitled lands did not make any investigation. The committee directly went to the house of the female landlord with her jeep for lunch. Before they left the village, they passed by the office of the village headman and only asked to which political party the villagers gave their votes. When he expressed the political support of the landless peasants to the RPP, they laughed in his face and left.<sup>279</sup> Thus, both their voting behavior and the political affiliation of the landlord with the DP and the JP directly affected the investigation and their support to the RPP functioned as a punishment to prevent expropriation and distribution of lands in Göllüce.

The same lands that were registered as infertile soil in the above-mentioned bureaucratic response to the petition were shown as a part of an agricultural enterprise in another example. When the Village Community Council sent a petition to the governor on April.1961 and asked for expropriating, receiving a grant land or buying a land from the female landlord to build a school in Göllüce, they did not get any official response to their petition. Then, the landlord sent the following petition to the same governor on 06. April.1962 to prevent school-building attempts of the landless peasants on her lands and they never got an official consent to construct school in the village:

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<sup>279</sup> Serhan, "Göllüce Dramı-2," p.2.

“My medium-sized and steady agricultural enterprise has been usually showed as a model agricultural enterprise to the foreign visitors by the provincial administration in Turkey. Since it cannot be expropriated by relying on the Soil Law No.4753,...hopefully, the attempts to build a school on my land will be prevented...”<sup>280</sup>

Again, there was a bureaucratic collaboration between the female landlord and state offices in this case. When it came to provide a land for school-building, the governor supporting the JP remained silent and did not take any action to provide land for it despite it was a legal requirement in the 1962 State Development Plan.

And this collaboration against school-building has its roots in the rule of the DP government. Although the RPP government officially decided on expropriating untitled lands to build a school in Göllüce in the late 1940s, this decision was put on the shelf by the DP government in 1950. The official decision of the RPP has been laid the foundation of the school building in 1947 and all of the villagers had carried 3,5 cubic meter stone for it.<sup>281</sup> However, as the DP came to power and stopped the construction, Evliyazade’s son, Yılmaz, and the butler, Osman Ege, forced the villagers to carry all stones to the farm building. Thus, the female landlord protected her use rights for state lands by means of her political connections again.

As these examples and interviews showed, the JP and the DP governments were not the protectors of the democracy and equality against an oppressive single party rule of the RPP in two cases. Landless peasants were made desperate by the powerful block between the landlords, and the DP and the JP governments. In other words, they were

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid., “Orta büyüklükte ve düzenli ziraat işletmesi olan, bu vasfıyla Türkiye’de örnek bir ziraat işletmesi teşkil edip yurdumuza gelen yabancılara sık sık Vilayet makamı tarafından gösterilen çiftliğim 4753 sayılı toprak kanunu hükümlerine göre kamulaştırma mevzuuna girmediği için... Topraklarımda okul yaptırılması teşebbüsünün durdurulması dileğiyle...”

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

deprived of any bureaucratic check and balance mechanisms to control the landlords and improve their living conditions.

As explained in Chapter 3, in Göllüce and Atalan, the youth branch of the RPP and a revolutionary anti-imperialist student organization, the FKF, had helped landless peasants to solidify and fight against landlordism, and the JP government in 1969. Thus, in addition to voting, peasant movements, specifically occupations, became another political mechanism to question transparency and accountability of state bureaucracy, the governmental support for landlordism, agrarian state policies and its implementation.

Consequently, in Göllüce and Atalan, landless peasants questioned the folk character of the DP and the JP governments in the 1950s and 1960s and they had delegitimized the discourse of developing egalitarian and classless rural society of the JP government. And they had decided to make their own redistributive land reform through occupations rather than using formal bureaucratic channels. In addition, leftist organizations and party branches helped them for mobilizing against landlordism and rural poverty as it happened in many cases in rural Turkey in the 1960s. In these senses, two cases were epitomes of new forms of peasant struggles and politics under the rule of the JP Government.

### **Gendered Content of Politics and Rural Women**

In this part of the chapter, I explore what landless peasant women claimed and how they gave voice to these claims in three ways. First, I explore their interactions with state officials, particularly the gendarmerie, in land occupations. Secondly, I explain how they used the constitution to legitimize their claims. Thirdly, I explicate their gender

specific claims. Then, I focus on gendered reactions of the politicians and its implications. In this way, I reveal how they uncovered the class-based character of the JP government and the cooperation between the landlords, the government and the rural police forces. This will show us gendered aspect of new politics on peasantry in the 1960s in Turkey: landless women actively struggled for making their own land reform, alleviating rural class inequalities and transforming gender specific working conditions and gendered divisions of labor in two villages. Thus, they were political agents in using land occupations to fight with gender inequalities as well as exploitative class relations.

Although rural women were politically active in the 1960s, voting was the main form of political participation into public life for rural women according to the literature. According to Sirin Tekeli's research on rural women's voting behaviors in different villages, especially married and widow peasant women took elections seriously and used their political rights.<sup>282</sup> But, there had always been someone else influencing and controlling their voting behaviors. Thus, men mediated their voting behaviors. However, this gendered content of politics was transformed when rural women were involved into the peasant movements as politically conscious agents in the 1960s.

Rural women were visible agents in peasant movements, especially in land occupations, and fought with rural police officers for their land rights in many cases. For example, in Olukpınar village of Konya, landless peasants, including many women, occupied untitled lands of the landlord in 1970 and three women were injured by the gendarmerie.<sup>283</sup> Similarly, in Elmalı, when the gendarmerie helped the landlord and intervened in land occupations, they took under custody 57 landless peasants and 41

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<sup>282</sup>Şirin Tekeli, *Kadınlar Ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*(Istanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982). p.246-265.

<sup>283</sup> Anon., “Çiftlik işgal eden köylüler jandarma ile çatıştı.” *Cumhuriyet*, 07.04.1970, p.1,7. ; Babuş, p.170.

peasants out of 57 were women.<sup>284</sup> And, in some cases, occupier women had successfully repelled the rural police forces. For instance, in Akdam village of Ceyhan, the court brought in a verdict and entitled landlords to the Resneli farm on Jan.1971, and the gendarmerie had to retreat because of decisive landless women on the occupied lands.<sup>285</sup>

I have not encountered any studies that emphasize peasant women's politicization, or situate their voices into social, economic, and political structures in different rural settings. In other words, peasants had been actively involved into the politics through occupations and demonstrations in the 1960s, but they were considered as homogenous mass and political mobilization of peasant women and its impacts have not hitherto received any attention in literature, even in the leftist studies.<sup>286</sup>

In Göllüce and Atalan, landless women were visible political agents struggled for land rights and against the JP government sided with the landlords as Temelkuran mentioned in the interview:

“This movement was from bottom to top. Thus, I cannot say that women were only used as a tactic against the gendarmerie. Women gained consciousness with the endeavors of the journalists and the leftist youth, and written material and organization. And, as distinct from men, women were stubborn and gave a direct reaction. As they understood the fact that the government would not make a land reform, they rebelled against landlordism and poverty and fought for class inequality and land.”<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Babuş, p.146.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., p.170.

<sup>286</sup> Although leftist organizations, like the FKF, DEV-GENC and the TWP party played an important role to mobilize peasants in the 1960s, there is no any study on the political mobilization of peasant women in the history writing of the left in these years even in biographies of leftist educated women. See Oya Baydar and Melek Ulagay, *Birbirimizin Aynasında Bir Dönem İki Kadın*(Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2011). ; Ayşe Yazıcıoğlu, *68'in Kadınları*(Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010).

<sup>287</sup> Erol Temelkuran, *Interview*. 25.Dec.2014. “Bu tabandan yükselen bir hareketti, sadece jandamaya karşı tatik olarak kadınlar kullanılıyordu diyemem. O zamanki giden gazetecilerle, yazılan çizilenle, örgütlenme ve solcu gençlerin çabalarıyla kadınlar bilinçlendi ve erkeklerden farklı olarak inatçıdır kadınlar, net tepki verdiler. Hükümetin toprak reformu yapmayacağını anlayınca, ağalığa, yoksulluğa karşı isyan ettiler ve toprak, sınıfsal eşitlik için savaştılar.”



Thus, the occupier women were conscious agents in two cases. They had gained a political perspective on existing relations with the state and landlords and decided on making their own land reform. For them, land occupations would function to abandon class inequalities between landless peasants and landlords and make peasants tillers of their own lands. And they gave voice to these claims in their encounters with the gendarmerie as follows.

In Atalan village, on January 28, 1969, landless peasants, particularly women, occupied state-owned lands that were used by the landlords for years. The landlord, Sadık Giz, was entitled to only 1,500 out of 13,500 donums land and 12,000 donums had been registered in his name by the state officials from the general directorate of land registry and cadastre under the rules of the DP and the JP governments.<sup>288</sup> The occupiers showed their discontent against landlordism and these governments through land occupations. In their interview with a journalist, Gurel Seydialioğlu, the female occupiers, Menevse Sonmez, Sabahat Gulec, Hava Oduncu, Nese Erbil and Rabi Cubuk, declared that they were adamant on land occupations against the powerful landlords so as to eliminate poverty and improve their living and working conditions.<sup>289</sup> Ultimately, on February 2, 1969, they divided state owned lands into parcels and then cleaned weeds and plowed the land with rented tractors.<sup>290</sup> And the occupier women started to keep watch and ward the occupied lands.

But the landlord did not wait a long time and negotiated with the gendarmerie to suppress this uprising. During the occupations, two squads from Tire and Torbalı came to

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<sup>288</sup> Özden Alpdağ, “Atalan köyünde traktörlü işgal.” *Aksam*, 02.Feb.1969, p.1,7.

<sup>289</sup> Seydialioğlu, “Ağalar tedirgin oluyor,” p. 3.

<sup>290</sup> Alpdağ, “Atalan Köyünde Traktörlü İşgal,” p.1,7. ; Alpdağ, “Anlaşmazlık Meksika buğdayından çıktı,” p.1, 7.

the village and these small numbers of rural police officers were responsible for making an appearance and discouraging the occupiers. And Sabri Güleç who was the RPP supporter and the village headman supporting the occupations sent a telegram to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Faruk Sükan about the gendarmerie. In his telegram, he explained the cooperation between the rural police officers and the landlords against landless peasants and asked for help in the case of bloody assaults between the occupiers and the gendarmerie.<sup>291</sup> But, unfortunately, he did not get any response to his telegram.

In addition, rural police officers helped the landlord to draw the occupiers out of land by using excessive violence and to restore law and order in Atalan. Sabahat Güleç, 45 year-old female occupier, emphasized their fearful rush to the fields to prevent the landlord's control over lands with the help of gendarmerie in her interview with the journalist, Özden Alpdağ:

“...Since we know that some pragmatic officers would give these lands to the landlords, we had started to walk towards the lands we ploughed. Gendarmerie stopped us and asked where we were going. When we gave answer to their question, they said that you would be screwed up there. As we got closer, gendarme took up a position. They were playing with and loading their guns. We said that the son, you were right. We understood that their intention was to discourage us. Since we are peasant women, sometimes we eat herb sometimes we eat crap. We don't eat the landlord's lamb as always you do.”<sup>292</sup>

As she stated well in her account, the occupier women were cognizant of class antagonism between poor landless peasants and powerful block of rural law enforcement agents and landowners. Thus, they were so sure that the gendarmerie would act against

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<sup>291</sup> Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Jandarma işgalci köylülere baskı yapıyormuş.” *Cumhuriyet*, 24.Feb.1969, p.1,7.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid. “... Bazı işgüzarların bu arazileri yine ağalara mal edeceklerini bildiğimizden, biz de sürdüğümüz tarlalara yürümeye başladık. Jandarma önümüze çıkıp nereye gittiğimizi sordu. Tarlalara gidiyoruz diye cevap verdiğimizde gidin gidin orada boku yiyeceksiniz dedi. Tarlalara biraz daha yanaşınca jandarma mevzi aldı. Tüfeklerin mekanizmalarıyla oynuyorlar ve mermi dolduruyorlardı. Gözümüzü korkutmak istediklerini anlamıştık Biz de doğru söylüyon oğul biz köy kadınıyız, bazen ot, bazen bok yeriz. Sizin gibi hep ağa kuzusu yemeyiz dedik.”

their interests to give the occupied lands back to the landlord. This confidence motivated them to run to the fields for the sake of better living and working conditions. However, as Sabahat Gulec told the journalists, the gendarme beat up women, swore and dragged them.<sup>293</sup>

In her interview with the journalist, Hikmet Çetinkaya, another occupier women from Atalan, explained the violence used by the rural police officers who sided with the landlord:

“Yesterday, the gendarme came... they dragged us over the fields... In village square, the landlords were giggling...All of us went to the lands we occupied. The gendarme commander gave an order to take up a position. I beat my breast and yelled at the commander to shot me...”<sup>294</sup>

Thus, all of the occupier women, as political agents, were critical of the legitimacy of the use of violence by the rural police officers. Under the banner of restoring state authority and sustaining law and order, agents of the state normalized the use of violence against the occupiers in Atalan. But, they were aware of the cooperation between the local officials, specifically gendarmerie and the JP government to sustain existing social and economic relations in Atalan.

Landless women also occupied state-owned lands on February 02, 1969, and struggled against rural police officers and the landlord during the occupations in Göllüce. On February 03, 1969, to suppress the movement, Mesude Evliyazade sent a petition to the governor of Izmir, Namık Kemal Senturk sided with the JP government. In this

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<sup>293</sup> Çetinkaya, “Jandarma işgalci köylülere baskı yapıyormuş,” p.1-7. ; Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Jandarma bizi yerlerde sürükledi diyen yedi Atalan’lı tevkif edildi.” *Cumhuriyet*, 25.Feburary.1969, p.1-7.

<sup>294</sup> Çetinkaya, “Jandarma bizi yerlerde sürükledi diyen yedi Atalan’lı tevkif edildi,” p. 1. “Evvelsi gün geldi candırmalar... Yerlerde sürüklediler bizi... Ağalar köy meydanında kıs kıs gülüyordu... Gettik köycek işgal ettiğimiz yerlere. Başefendi bu kez emir verdi mevzilenin diye askerlere. Açtım bağırimi, gel buraya başefendi vuracaksın vur hadi diye inledim...” See Figure 5.6.

petition, she complained about the criminal peasants who trespassed her lands and requested a state intervention to restore law and order in Göllüce. The lieutenant governor, Kazım Ataman, the Izmir gendarmerie commander, Orhan Tunçer, and the district governor of Torbalı immediately made a visit to the village and had a talk with the occupiers to end the occupations as an official state committee.<sup>295</sup> However, they did not convince the occupiers of ending the movement dedicated to eliminating landlordism. The occupier women blocked the road while the committee was leaving the village. They offered turnip to the state officials as a symbol of their bad living conditions and poverty, shout at them furiously and negated to leave the occupied lands.<sup>296</sup>

Then, the female landlord, Mesude Evliyazade, rented out a part of state-owned land without waiting for the result of lawsuit against her with regard to the illegal use of state-owned lands. And the renter, Emin Ersoy, wanted to plough the land and cultivate it with the help of her and the rural police officers sent by the Torbalı governor on March 18, 1969.<sup>297</sup> Since landless peasant women knew well the landlord`s intention to confiscate the state-owned land and to reinstate her authority, 200 women ran to the fields for cleaning weeds as soon as they heard that the landlord rented land out to someone else.

As expected, 30 gendarmes attacked on women with the order of the gendarmerie commander, Ömer Dönmez, and the command of Kirazlı governor, Tamer Ersoy, who was the relative of the renter and acted as a deputy for Torbalı governor during the

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<sup>295</sup> Anon., “Köylüler bir araziye daha işgal ettiler.” *Milliyet*, 03.02.1969, p.1, 7.

<sup>296</sup> Alpdag, “İşgalci köylüler vali muavinine açız diye bağırdı.” p.1, 7.

<sup>297</sup> Anon., “Göllüce’de arbede: Köy kadınları ile ağa taraftarları çarpıştı.” *Aksam*, 18.March.1969, p. 1.

intervention.<sup>298</sup> Just after the intervention, a female occupier, Elif T., explained violence as follows: “The Gendarme swore us, injured us... The representative of the governor was keeping a gun in his hand. We asked the gendarmerie whether we belonged to Turkish nation and whether our kids would die for hunger...”<sup>299</sup> And this attack made in the name of the female landlord against female laborers, resulted in serious injury of two women and slight injury of four women. 26 years old Hanim Gobekli was pregnant during the violent confrontation with the gendarmerie and she was fatally injured with a butt stroke. The rural police officers also attacked to Göllüce village headmen’s wife, Cennet Göbekli. While they were forcing her to leave the field, they pulled her hair and wiped the floor with her. Another occupier woman, Cennet Yılmaz, was also seriously injured with a stroke to her breast. Fadime Ersöz, age 45, was another female occupier hit in face by a gun butt by the police officer during the confrontation.<sup>300</sup>

The governor of Izmir, Namık Kemal Şentürk, issued a press statement just after the violent intervention of the rural police officers in Göllüce and, in his statement, he defended the intervention as follows:

“The cultivation of entitled lands will not be hampered. If it is necessary, I will build a police station in Göllüce to secure and maintain agricultural activities.”<sup>301</sup>

Thus, as for the gendarmerie, the occupiers were criminals in the eyes of the governor. It was not a problem to use violence against the occupiers or build a police station. What

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<sup>298</sup> Anon., “Olaylara Bakış: Göllüce’de Akan Köylü Kanı.” *Forum*, No: 360, 01.Apr.1969, p.2. ; Anon., “Göllüce’de jandarma kadınlara hücum etti: İkiisi ağır, dört yaralı var,” p.1, 7.

<sup>299</sup> İlhan Selcuk, “Göllüce’ye yağmur yağıyor.” *Cumhuriyet*, 20.March.1969, p.2“Jandarma küfretti bize, yaraladı bizleri... Kaymakam vekilinin elinde tabanca vardı... Biz jandarmaya... biz Türk millet değil miyiz? Bu çocuklar acından ölsünler mi? dedik.”

<sup>300</sup> Anon., “Jandarma 200 kadını dipçikle yaraladı.” *Ulus*, 19.March.1969, p.1,7.

<sup>301</sup> Anon., “İşgalci kadınlar jandarma ile dün 4 saat çarpıştı.” *Ege Ekspres*, Year: 17, Number: 6574, 18.March.1969, p.1. “Sahipli arazilerin ekilmesine kimse mani olamayacaktır. İcap ederse Göllüce köyüne bir karakol kurarak zirai faaliyetlerin devamını sağlayacağım.”

was important for these state officials was to protect the use rights of the landlord under the disguise of restoring law and order in Göllüce. And the occupiers unearthed this fact when they gave voice to their claims for class equality, and land reform. In this way, the police state character of the JP government and its support for landlordism came to light.

In addition to these encounters with the gendarmerie and the governorship, the occupier women made claims for land reform by making references to the 1961 constitution during land occupations in two villages. For the occupier women, since the JP government protected private property rights of big landowners, punished the peasants struggling for the same right and closed its eyes to their sufferings, it was acting against the constitution and so they were free to make land reform themselves as a constitutional right.

The 1961 constitution is important to understand how the occupier women gave voice to their claims because specific articles from this constitution- Article 36 and 37- were invoked by the politicians to support their arguments for or against the land reform and land occupations in the 1960s. For those who considered land reform as a communist threat against the right of private property, Article 36 was instrumental. This article defines the constitutional right of private property as follows: “Everyone has the right of private property and inheritance. And it could not contradict with the common interest.”<sup>302</sup> Thus, with reference to this article, expropriations and land occupations were considered as the attack on the right of private property. And, the liberal state was responsible for protecting the private property rights of the individuals to sustain law and

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<sup>302</sup> 1961 T.C. Anayasası, Official Gazette: 31.May.1961. The constitution is available at <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa61.htm> “Herkes mülkiyet ve miras hakkına sahiptir. Mülkiyet hakkının kullanılması toplum yararına aykırı olamaz.”

order in society. Otherwise, unlimited freedoms and violation of the private property rights would result in chaos and communism in the country.

As opposed to this position, for the proponents of land reform, Article 37 ordered the implementation of land reform law to achieve social and economic equality in rural Turkey: “The state must take the necessary measures to use efficiently agricultural lands and to provide land for landless peasants or the farmers with insufficient land. With these aims in mind, the law might delimit individual land holdings depending on different agricultural regions and crop patterns. The state assists the farmer with obtaining the means of agrarian production.”<sup>303</sup> Thus, the social and constitutional state was in charge of stipulating land reform law and taking necessary measures to provide land to landless or small peasants with insufficient land. As an extension of this perspective, if the government protected the rights of private property of big landowners and punished the peasants struggling for the same right, it was acting against the constitution and the peasants were free to make land reform themselves through occupations as they attempted in two cases.

The occupier women from Göllüce and Atalan also justified their occupations by using this article. In her interview with the contributor to *Ulus* newspaper, Gürel Seydialioğlu, a female occupier from Atalan explains her frustration with the gendarmerie, Ömer Düşmez, who lowered their banner from the coffee house. On this banner, Article 37 had been written by the occupiers to justify their claims for allocation of state-owned lands illegally used by the landlords for years. In her account, she criticized why it was considered as a criminal act by the rural police officers:

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid. “Devlet toprağın verimli işletilmesini gerçekleştirmek ve topraksız olan ve ya yeterli toprağı bulunmayan çiftçiye toprak sağlamak amaçlarıyla gereken tedbirleri alır. Kanun bu amaçlarla değişik tarım bölgelerine ve çeşitlerine göre toprağın genişliğini gösterebilir.”

“Why do they frequently speak of the constitution in the parliament if it is a crime to hang it on the wall? Why do our politicians always talk about it? Why is it a crime for us if it is not a crime for them? Or is it only a crime for us to make mention of the constitution?”<sup>304</sup>

Similarly, in her interview with another journalist, Hikmet Cetinkaya in the coffee house, a grandmother Emine from Atalan explained well that real criminals were the landlords who registered state-owned lands in their names and used for years:

“Write my lord, write legibly... We, the residents of Atalan, occupied the 13.500 donums land of the landlord. We don't violate the law. The rulers should hear this... All lands were corruptibly registered in his name. We make an objection to this fact. 12.000 donums belong to state. Indeed, the landlords act against the constitution... the landlords...”<sup>305</sup>

Again, in Göllüce, the occupiers put Article 37 on the wall in a village square to legitimize their struggle for land ownership. And the occupier woman reminded this article to the lieutenant governor, Kazım Ataman, and the provincial gendarme commander, Orhan Tunçer, when they came to the village to pacify their struggle:

“Mesude Evliyazade is entitled to use 600 donums. The rest of the land belongs to state. For years, we have worked on these lands as sharecropper and agrarian worker. According to the constitution, the Article 37, these lands should be allocated to us.”<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Gürel Seydialioğlu, “Atalan köyü dramı: Anayasayı duvara asmak suç olmuş.” *Ulus*, 23.March.1969, p.3. “Anayasayı duvara yazıp asmak suç ise, neden meclislerde sık sık sözü ediliyor? Niçin siyaset adamlarımız durmadan Anayasa'dan bahsediyor? Eğer suç değilse, niçin bizim için suç sayılıyor? Yoksa sadece bizim Anayasa'yı ağzımıza almamız suç mu kabul ediliyor?” For the picture of the woman see Figure 5.9. Gürel Seydialioğlu, “Atalan Köyü Dramı: Devletten umudu kesen köylü toprak reformunu bizzat yapıyor.” *Ulus*, 20.03.1969, p.3

<sup>305</sup> Hikmet Çetinkaya, “İşgalci köylüler için tahkikat açıldı.” *Cumhuriyet*, 30.Dec.1969, p.1,7. “Yaz beyim okunaklı yaz... Biz Atalan köyü sakinleri köyümüzün 13.500 dönümlük arazisini bölüşen ağanın topraklarını işgal ettik. Biz kanuna karşı gelmiyoruz. Bunu duysun başımızdaki büyükler... Toprakların hepsi yolsuz olarak ağanın üzerine geçiyor. Biz buna itiraz ediyoruz. 12 bin dönüm onların değil hazinenindir.Asıl kanuna karşı gelen Ağalar'dır... Ağa'lardır.”

<sup>306</sup> Anon., “Köylüler el koydukları toprakları bırakmıyor.” *Milliyet*, 04.02.1969, p. 1,7. “Mesude Evliyazade'nin 600 dönüm tapulu arazisi var. Gerisi hazinenin. Yıllardan beri bu topraklarda ortakçı ve işçi olarak çalışıyoruz. Anayasa'ya göre, 37.maddeye göre araziler bize dağıtılsın.” For the pictures of women during the occupation in Atalan see Figure 5.8. and for the ones in Göllüce see Figure 5.7.



Thus, according to the constitution, the state must take the necessary measures to provide land for landless peasants and delimit individual land holdings in two villages. And since the JP government turned deaf ears to the necessity of land reform and criminalized the peasants struggling for the same right, it was acting against the constitution. And it was legitimate for them to make land reform themselves and to claim state-owned lands. For the occupiers, the real criminals were the landlords and the government sided with them.

Complementarily, the occupier women severely criticized the rural police officers and the government sided with the landlords in their public speeches given to the journalists in the coffee place of Atalan after the violent confrontations with the gendarmerie. The peasants' words appeared on the newspapers show how they surprised by the gendarmerie's treatment to them:

“We asked the gendarme whether we were communists and why you swore us... Don't we belong to Turkish nation? Do you want these children to be dead? If we are not Turkish citizens, they can drive us into the sea...”<sup>307</sup>

The landless women's surprise regarding the gendarmerie's treatment in fact shows how they perceived the institution as an oppressive institution. For them, rural police serve to the interests of the ruling groups by acting upon the definition of crime made according to the ideological, class-based character of the state.<sup>308</sup> The rural police did not seem as a beneficial institution for them any more because, in both cases, from the beginning, gendarmerie sided with the lords and considered them as enemies and communists. In

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<sup>307</sup> Anon., “Jandarmaya hazine arazisinde karşı çıktılar.” *Aksam*, 25. February. 1969, p.1. “Biz jandarmaya gominist miyik bize küfrediyonuz dedik..Aha biz Türk milleti değil miyik..Bu çocuklar acından ölsünler mi... Biz Türkiye'nin vatandaşı değilsek denize döksünler bizi...”

<sup>308</sup> Ferdan Ergut, *Modern Devlet Ve Doğası: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Toplumsal Denetimin Diyalektiği*(İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004). p.20-21.

accordance with its instrumental role in sustaining the ruling class-based ideology, they cordoned off the villages to make the lands available for the use of landlords.

The occupier women participated in the meeting of peasants with Bulent Ecevit and talked with him after his speech on violence used against the occupiers in Göllüce on March 19,1969. Once again, they were present in the public sphere and gave voice to their concerns as follows:

“God sent you here. You should save us from the cruelty of female landlord. We are not foreigners... The gendarme came and cleaned the floor up with us... The gendarme commander said us that communists were deceiving us. From then on, we will engage with all land issues.”<sup>309</sup>

In this statement directly addressing the general secretary of the RPP, landless women explicitly told that they were not deceived peasants. As politically conscious occupiers, they were cognizant of cruelty of the landlord and legitimacy of their struggle against her. And they publicly represented themselves as women involving into the land occupations.

In the letter they had written to the Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel on February 22, 1969, the occupiers from Atalan also clearly stated that they were aware of the protection of landlords by state and its law enforcement agents. And, in the same letter, they represented themselves as politically conscious actors fighting for their land rights as follows:

“From the radio speech of the Prime Minister, we learnt that he pleaded us guilty to trespass on titled lands. We, the residents of the Atalan village, did occupy untitled state-owned lands within the borders of our village by relying on the results of the cadastral surveys. Thus, we did not occupy

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<sup>309</sup> Özden Alpdag, “Jandarmalar arasında konuşan Ecevit köylü haklıdır dedi.” *Aksam*, 19.March.1969, p.1. “Seni buraya Allah gönderdi. Bizi hanımağanın zulmünden kurtar. Biz gavur değiliz... candırmalar yerlerde sürüklediler bizi... sizi goministler kandırıyor dedi, başefendi. Bundan böyle toprakla ilgili her meseleyi biz halledeceğiz.”

private properties. Since the beginning of the occupations, we explained the fact that these were state-owned lands.... While the realities are like that, why we, the Atalan villagers, are kept under a gendarme control and why a restraining order is taken in the guise of the protection of private property right?...As the Prime Minister expressed in his speech, title is the honor of state. No one can close the eyes to its infringement. We, the residents of Atalan, did not occupied titled lands.”<sup>310</sup>

For the occupiers, this was a struggle for land reform rather than occupation because they had claimed state-owned lands. Thus, they were not apolitical deceived peasants under the control of leftists and they did not violate the private property rights of the landlords. On the contrary, they were aware of favoritism shown to landlords by the government and rural police officers.

But, beyond these claims against class inequalities, landlordism and rural poverty, there were gender specific claims that explain why the occupiers were mostly composed of women in two cases. Firstly, as all the interviewees pointed out, gendered experiences of poverty and work politically mobilized these women and made them occupiers. Okan Yüksel explains these experiences as follows:

“Women had a sense of ownership. They laid claims to their husbands, family and land because they were the ones who cultivated the lands of the landlords and reproduced their families. Women always contribute to home economics, take care of their children and sustain the family, but they had to manage home economy more carefully after Mexican wheat. And they worked on the fields. Thus, women were in the forefront of the movement. They were involved into it

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<sup>310</sup>Özden Alpdag, “İşgalci köylüler Demirel’e mektup yazdı: “Bu işgal değil toprak reformudur.”” *Aksam*, 22.Feb.1969, p.1,7. See Figure 5.5. “ Sayın Başbakanın radyo konuşmasında biz Atalan köylülerini, şahısların tapulu arazilerine tecavüz etmiş gibi nitelenmekte olduğumuzu dinlemiş bulunmaktayız. Biz Atalan köylüleri şahısların tapulu arazilerini değil, kadastro tespitleri sonunda tapu dairelerinden aldığımız tapu suretleri ile tapuda gösterilen arazi miktarları haricindeki hazineye ait olan ve köyümüz sınırları içindeki arazileri işgal etmiş bulunuyoruz. İşgale başladığımız günden beri bu arazinin hazineye ait olduğunu izah etmiş bulunuyoruz... Hakikatler böyleyken kişi hakkını koruyoruz diye men kararı alarak ve jandarma ile biz Atalan köylülerine neden baskı yapılmaktadır. Sayın başbakanın belirttiği gibi tapu devletin namusudur. Tapuya hiç kimsenin tecavüzüne göz yumulamaz. Biz Atalan köylüleri şahısların tapulu arazilerini işgal etmedik.”

with a feeling of possession and earning their keep. Women struggled for better working and living conditions there.”<sup>311</sup>

Therefore, in comparison with men, landless women distinctively worked as agrarian laborers in the fields of the landlords and their working conditions were getting worse after the arrival of labor-saving crop, Mexican wheat, in 1967. In addition, as poverty escalated, they had to intensify their domestic labor as home managers. And they had to sell their labor power at a lower price, and work more in the fields of the landlords as agrarian workers after the arrival of Mexican wheat meanwhile their homework burden increased with new tasks. Thus, gendered division of labor had been restructured at their disadvantage in two cases. This gender specific of living and working conditions and the demand for improving these conditions made women leading agents in the occupations in two cases.

Secondly, they made gendered claims through which they gave voice to their demands for gender equal divisions of labor. In other words, they expected that gendered divisions of labor relied upon the naturalization of housework for rural women would be transformed as they would have their own lands. Güney Dinç, a lawyer and a member of the TWP, and the interviewee from Atalan village explains gendered expectations from landownership as follows:

“These women were carrying the weight of the world on their shoulders. They were not only doing housework, but also working in the fields. Of course, they were expecting to lessen their workload, as they became the tillers of soil. At

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<sup>311</sup> Okan Yüksel, *Interview*. 24.Dec.2014. “Mülkiyet hissi var tabi kadında. Kadın hem erkeğine, ailesine, hem toprağına sahipleniyor çünkü ağanın toprağını eken, biçen ve ailesini yeniden üreten kendisi. Aileyi besleyen, yaşatan çocuklara bakan, ev ekonomisine katkıda bulunan hep hanımdır ve tarlada çalışan onlardı. Meksika buğdayından sonra ev ekonomisini daha dikkatli idare etmek zorundaydılar. Bu nedenle bu direnişte de hep kadınlar ön safhada yer almıştır. Mülkiyet, ekmek duygusuyla katılıyorlardı olaya. Daha iyi çalışma ve yaşam istiyordu kadınlar orda.”

least, they would cultivate their own land and it would be easier to take care of children.”<sup>312</sup>

“When we have our own land as a household, they were thinking that we would be more helpful at home. Instead of sitting around the coffeehouse all day or working at surrounding villages, we would cultivate our own land. And although cooking was not proper to men, we could take care of children and clean up the house.”<sup>313</sup>

Thus, hypothetically, subsistence farming on the small parcel of the land would not be feminized after the occupations and being entitled to land would not increase patriarchal control over female labor and increases workload for women in both villages. Women and men would engage in collective work while planting, plowing, hoeing, and harvesting crops on their small parcels of land. In addition, as the interviewee pointed out, since their houses and the small field on which they worked would be the same place, theoretically, it would be easier for these women to take care of their children and do house chores because home and work would not be separated from each other any more. Thus, it seems that there would be more gender equal divisions of labor in comparison with the production of Mexican wheat. The occupier women assumed that having land would lessen their workload as home managers and agrarian workers.

Consequently, as agents in the occupations, landless women in two cases forced the politicians to take the occupiers` claims into consideration, and started heated debates on peasant political activism and land occupations in rural Turkey. By exploring these debates below, I will continue to reveal the place of landless women in real politics.

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<sup>312</sup> Güney Dinç, *Interview*. 25.Dec.2014. “Her şey kadının omuzlarındaydı. Hem eviğini yapan, hem tarlada çalışan onlardı. Tabi ki toprak sahibi olunca işlerin kolaylaşmasını bekliyorlardı. En azından kendi topraklarını ekip biçeceklerdi ve eve yakın olunca çocuklara bakmak da kolay olacaktı.”

<sup>313</sup> The resident of Atalan 2, *Interview*. 26.Dec.2014. “Kendimiz, yani aile olarak kendimiz toprak sahibi olunca bizim evişlerine daha çok yardım etmemezi istiyorlardı. Kahvede oturmak ve ya civar köylerdeki tarlalarda çalışmak yerine kendi bahçemizi ekip biçecektik. Hem de yemek yapmak erkek adama yakışmasa da, çocuklara bakıp sağı solu toplardık o zaman.”

## **Reactions of the Politicians to the Mobilization of Landless Peasant Women**

In this part of the chapter, I explore the gendered reactions of the politicians to the above-mentioned claims as it relates to the debates on land reform, peasant struggles and the political activism of women. These debates shaped how political elites from the JP and the RPP envisioned these villages and guided their political speeches there. By explaining political contestation between state elites across gender and class lines in certain space and time period, I demonstrate how these struggles failed to transform existing gender and class specific relations of agrarian production, especially for landless peasant women, in two cases. None of the politicians did focus on local and gender specific working conditions and the relation between patriarchy, land ownership and control over female labor power for politically mobilized women. Both parties did not consider the occupier women as the agents struggling for their gender and class specific claims. For the politicians of the JP, these politically active women were terrorists and criminals while they were part of homogenous class-based peasant movement for the RPP.

Land reform debates have always been important to make sense of historically specific peasant ideologies, rural class relations, peasant activism and the contested political system in Turkey.<sup>314</sup> Thus, first, I briefly articulate historical and political

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<sup>314</sup>For example, although lands were distributed to Muslim immigrants from former Ottoman territories in the 1920s, land reform debates had gained momentum after 1934 settlement law for displacing people between East and West parts of the country and Ataturk's speech on 1937 to make all small peasants self-sufficient farmers. For more information on how nationalist ideology, lack of agrarian capital, population growth, increasing rural poverty, fear of rural unrest and peasant support to class struggle in the big cities affected the political elites' concerns about land reform in the early republican era, see Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "Elite Perceptions of Land Reform in Early Republican Turkey," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 27, no. 3 (2000). p.122-126. Law for Providing Land to Farmers was another remarkable attempt in the Turkish political system. Although İsmet İnönü stipulated this law in 1945 to regain the political support of peasants and legitimize the political system, his land reform attempts became an important

background of land reform debates and attempts in the context of the 1960s.<sup>315</sup> There were two clashing views on land reform that were applied by the politicians to two cases: on the one hand, the opponents of land reform and change in land tenure system, particularly the politicians from the JP government (1965-1971), built their argument on the sanctity of private property, the productivity of large landholdings, and security of capital investments to maximize agricultural productivity on the privately owned lands without land redistribution and expropriation.<sup>316</sup> And the party considered land reform as a path toward communism as a part of conspirational anti-communist understanding of the Cold War period. As Bahri Dagdas, a Ministry of Agriculture in the Demirel government between 1965 and 1969, expressed in his speech in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the land reform was a socialist threat to land tenure regime and expropriations from large landholdings were burglary since the titles were sacred.<sup>317</sup> Thus, by expropriating privately owned lands, this collectivist law would violate the right of private property, increase rural class conflicts and pave the way for communism in Turkey.

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political factor for the establishment of the DP and its political victory in the 1950 election. For more information on this law see Pamuk and Keyder, "1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu Üzerine Tezler."

<sup>315</sup> The 1965 Land Reform Draft was the most important political attempt of the RPP to drive the TWP (Turkish Workers Party) out of the political arena and to prevent the victory of the JP. The draft prepared by Turan Şahin, the Ministry of Agriculture, was compatible with the new policy of the left of center. But, because of the rift in the party, this draft, which aimed at eliminating sharecropping and making each peasant self-sufficient producers and owners of land, could not be stipulated. Türkiye Çiftçi Teşekkülleri Federasyonu, *Türkiye Çiftçi Teşekkülleri Federasyonu, Toprak Reformu Hakkında Cavit Oral'ın Konuşması*(Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1965).p. 25. ; Bilgen, p.14-15.

<sup>316</sup> Avcioğlu, p.693-695. Mümtaz Turhan, *Toprak Reformu Ve Köy Kalkınması*,(Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1965). p.9 ; Süleyman Demirel, "Demirel Ve Toprak Reformu," in *Toprak Reformu Ve Kooperatifleşme*, ed. Ziya Gökalp Mülayim(Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1976). p.54

<sup>317</sup> Tutanak, *TBBM Tutanak Dergisi*, Term 122, Session 1, 6.June.1973. For an anti-communist approach of the party see also Türkiye Ziraat Odaları Birliği p.6-12.

According to this perspective, as Cavit Oral, a famous landlord and the president of the land reform committee in 1965, mentioned in his speech, these “revolutionary socialist doctrinaires” of Soviet Russia and “sick and disabled minds” would divide “Turkish peasantry” into two classes as “landlords...burglars... exploiters...” and “slaves... starving and poor people.”<sup>318</sup> Thus, for him, under the guise of abandoning rural class antagonism and inequalities and achieving social justice, the leftist political organizations and parties mobilized peasants to transform land tenure regime and bring communism. And rural poverty, landlessness and class antagonism were provocative leftist discourses used to prevent economic development of the country. Since peasant struggles were organized by a group of people-clumsy and perverted communists- taking order from foreign forces to weaken the state and it was a threat for property, rebellious peasants should be taken under control.

How the main opposition party against the JP rule, the RPP, perceived land reform and peasants’ political activism was totally different from the perspective of the JP. For this party, land reform was an antidote to communism.<sup>319</sup> And it was an instrument for achieving equal distribution of wealth and income among all peasants and for eliminating economic and political power of the agrarian bourgeoisie over peasants.<sup>320</sup> Thus, for the party view, when privately owned lands were expropriated by state and redistributed to the laborers, socio-economic equality would be achieved. After the land reform, “the cultivators would have the right of ownership on lands they

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<sup>318</sup> Türkiye Çiftçi Teşekkülleri Federasyonu, p.16.

<sup>319</sup> CHP, *Köylüye Dönük Düzen Değişikliği- Chp 1969 Seçim Bildirgesi*(Ankara: Ulusal Yayınlar, 1969).p. 1-16

<sup>320</sup> Ziya Gökalp Mülayim, “CHP Niçin Toprak Reformu Yapmak İstemektedir,” in Ziya Gökalp Mülayim (eds.), *Toprak Reformu ve Kooperatifleşme*, (Istanbul, Tekin Yayınevi, 1976), p. 59-63.



work.’’<sup>321</sup> In the RPP bulletin for the 1969 elections, the party briefly expressed their approach to private property right as follows: ‘‘With the land reform proposed by the RPP, many peasants will have a right to land and so land will be distributed equally. In addition, agricultural productivity will increase with this reform.’’<sup>322</sup> Thus, all peasants would legally own their lands and agrarian state policies, like the establishment of cooperatives and state subsidies and credits, would be implemented as complementary policies to make small peasants efficient producers.<sup>323</sup> To take peasant struggles under control and restore order in society, redistributive land reform policy and agrarian state policies would have to be implemented together. Otherwise, peasant discontent in different forms would continue to escalate and create a threat of communism in the country.

These debates on land reform drafts and rural class relations strongly affected how politicians evaluated land occupations and political activism of women in Göllüce and Atalan. In his speech at the budget meeting in the Grand National Assembly on February 14, 1969, the general secretary of the RPP, Bülent Ecevit, addressed the land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan for the first time and explicitly supported it:

‘‘In different places, common people who despaired of the government and state have started to make land reform authorized and even ordered in the Constitution.... Constitution is above all rules and natural law precedes it. Common people who are cognizant of the right to live know how to gain this right. This natural law is far above all legal rules. No one can stop the peasants who have made a demonstration with the banner of ‘‘there cannot be landless peasants’’ in their hands and who have started to occupy the lands on which they have claimed a right to live. Authorities cannot

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<sup>321</sup> Anon., ‘‘CHP Nasıl Bir Toprak Reformu Yapacaktır,’’ in Ziya Gökalp Mülayim (eds.), *Toprak Reformu ve Kooperatifleşme*, (Istanbul, Tekin Yayınevi, 1976), p. 41-47.

<sup>322</sup>Ziya Gökalp Mülayim, "Chp Nasıl Bir Toprak Reformu Yapacaktır," in *Toprak Reformu Ve Kooperatifleşme*, ed. Ziya Gökalp Mülayim(Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1976). p.41.

<sup>323</sup> Anon., "Ortanın Solu Ve Tarım Politikamız," *Forum* (01.11.1966). p.1-4.

obstruct these peasants from establishing a fair society and making land reform.”<sup>324</sup>

This speech, which started heated debates among the politicians, particularly from the RPP and the JP, demonstrates well Ecevit’s perception of the peasant unrest in Göllüce and Atalan. For him, firstly, these occupations revealed that the JP government that turned a deaf ear to the issues of landlessness, rural poverty and class inequalities and to the necessity of redistributive land reform lost its political legitimacy in the eyes of landless peasants. Since the government did not take any steps to stipulate the law on redistributive land reform, landless peasants decided to make their own land reform to gain their right to live and occupied state-owned lands used by the powerful landlords for years in two villages. This was a legitimate and constitutional struggle to achieve social and economic justice among the peasants because, as stated in Article 37 of the Constitution, the state had to take any measures to provide land to the landless peasants or small peasants without sufficient land. But when the JP government ignored this article, landless peasants had a right to rebel against it.

In addition, on the basis of the theory of natural law, Ecevit stresses labor as the foundation of private property. For him, since landless peasants exerted their labor on state-owned lands as cultivators, they had the right to claim its ownership. In other words, since the occupiers put their labor in these lands, they should not be alienated from their

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<sup>324</sup> Hürrem Kubat, “Ecevit’in solculuğu,” *Ege Ekspres*, 16.Feb.1969, p.1. ; Anon., “Bu Başbakan söylöneni anlamıyor mu?” *Ulus*, 15.Feb.1969, p.7.

“Devletten, Hükümetten ümidini kesen halk Anayasamızın izin verdiği, hatta emrettiği toprak reformunu, yer yer kendisi gerçekleştirmeye başlamıştır.... Bütün yasaların üstünde Anayasa vardır. Onun da üstünde doğa yasaları, tabiat kanunları vardır .İnsanca yaşam hakkının bilincine varan bir halk, o hakkı elde etmesini bilir. Bu, bütün yasaların üstünde bir doğa yasasıdır. Ellerine “Topraksız köylü olmaz diye,” kendi yazdıkları dövizleri alıp yürüyüşe geçen ve üzerinde yaşama hakkı iddia ettikleri toprakları işgale girişen köylüleri, toprak reformu yapmaktan ve insanca toplum düzeni kurmaktan başka hiçbir güç durduramaz.”

labor and its products and their natural right was to own these lands for subsistence and living.

However, Ecevit did not argue for the abolition of private property and the commodification of labor power in a Marxist sense. On the contrary, as explained previously, the redistributive land reform project advocated by him and the RPP targeted the consolidation of private property among small and landless peasants, and elimination of sharecropping. In this way, all landless and small peasants would become self-sufficient agrarian producers and when disparities in ownership of land and means of production declined, socio-economic justice would be achieved among peasants.

As explained previously, the RPP had justified the necessity of making land reform with reference to increasing rural class inequalities, landlordism and the enforcement of laws to protect them in the rural country in the 1960s. During his visits to Göllüce and Atalan just after the violent confrontations on March 18, 1969, Ecevit explicitly denounced violence used against the occupiers because of the landlords' complaints. He made his first visit to Göllüce surrounded by a hundred rural police officers and the journalists- Hikmet Cetinkaya, Ozden Alpdag, Ilhan Selcuk and Kemal Bisalman-, and the deputies from the RPP accompanied him. In his speech, he addressed the landless peasants in Göllüce, he defined the landlords as real criminals, and criticized the government and rural police officers serving the interests of the landlords:

“...These lands belong to God. God gives it to people for subsistence, cultivation and living. We cannot accept injustices made against people as a rule.”<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> Anon., “Toprak yüzünden dipçiklenen köylülerle konuşan Ecevit, gözü yaşlı vatandaşlara şöyle dedi: “Bu toprak Allandır”, *Ulus*, 19.03.1969, p.1,7, p.7“...Bu toprak Allahındır. Bu toprağı insanlara Allah vermiştir. Orada ekip biçsinler, geçinsinler ve insanları doyurup yaşatsınlar diye. Bu toprak üzerinde kulların yaptığı adaletsizliğe kader diye kanun diye boyun eğmeyiz.”

“...You struggle for your right and fight in the name of humanity. The ones who claim that you violate the law, they act against our transcendental Constitution, break the law...This constitution will collapse on top of the people who want to suppress your Constitutional struggle.”<sup>326</sup>

On the same day, after taking a brief report from the Izmir Gendarmerie

Commander, Orhan Tunçalp in Göllüce, Ecevit made his next visit to Atalan. Again, he underlined the fact that the occupiers were in the struggle against the government and landlordism as follows:

“Dear residents of Atalan, you are fighting for your right. Although some legal rules are not on your behalf now, the God is with you. The ones who want to make religion an instrument of politics will say that it is your (faith) and (it is the God’s will.) They want to convince you to accept your (God-given) poverty and landlessness unquestioningly. The God is not unfair. Some people cannot offload their unfairness on the God....”<sup>327</sup>

As stated clearly, in both speeches, Ecevit pointed out the illegitimacy and unfairness of the governmental rule and considered the government and the rural police officers as real criminals breaking the law. For him, the government has lost the peasant support and it could not take the consent of peasants with coercion any more. Although the politicians from the ruling party still tried to convince peasants to accept God-given and unquestionable landlessness and poverty, the landless peasants were political actors questioning their poverty and coalition between the landlords, the government and the

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<sup>326</sup> Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Ecevit jandarma kordonu altındaki Göllüce’de konuştu: “Anayasa mücadelenizi durdurmak isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır,” Cumhuriyet, 19.03.1969, p.7. For the full speech, see Figure 5.1.1. and 5.1.2. “...Sizler, hak mücadelesi, insanlık mücadelesi yapıyorsunuz. Sizin, kanuna karşı geldiğinizi iddia edenlerin kendileri kanunlarımızın üstünde olan Anayasamıza karşı geliyorlar, çiğniyorlar.... Bu Anayasa, sizin Anayasa mücadelenizi durdurmak isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır.” See also Anon., “Bülent Ecevit, Atalan ve Göllüce Köylerinde dün de tahrik edici konuşmalar yaptı,” *Ege Ekspres*, 19.03.1969, p.1,7. See also Figure 5.3. Anon., “Ecevit köylü haklıdır dedi,” *Aksam*, 19.03.1969, p.1,7.

<sup>327</sup>Anon., “Toprak yüzünden dipçiklenen köylülerle konuşan Ecevit, gözü yaşlı vatandaşlara şöyle dedi: “Bu toprak Allandır.” *Ulus*, 19.March.1969, p. 7. “Sayın Atalanlılar, sizler bir hak mücadelesi veriyorsunuz. Şimdilik bazı kanunlar sizinle beraber olmasa bile hak sizinle beraberdir. ... Dini siyasete alet etmek isteyenler (kader) derler (Allah böyle istemiş) derler, topraksızlığımızı, fakirliğimizi size (Allahın takdiri) diye kabul ettirmek isterler. Allah adaletsizlik yapmaz. Birtakım kullar kendi adaletsizliklerini Allahın üzerine yıkamazlar....”

rural police officers. By means of land occupations, they strived against this powerful coalition and injustices it created to maintain existing economic and political order. Since the government did not fulfill its responsibilities against landless peasants and acted against the Constitution, their struggle for the right to own a piece of land was legitimate. And Ecevit's support for land occupations was not over with his visits during the occupations. He continued to show his support to their struggle by making his first visits to Göllüce and Atalan just after the 1969 election on October and thanked the peasants for their political support.<sup>328</sup>

The General Vice President of the RPP, Ismet İnönü, also supported Ecevit's perception of land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan and criticized the JP government in his speech at the Grand National Assembly as follows:

“Demirel's ideas on land reform drew upon the polemic against his opponent. This reform is mentioned in the provisions of the Constitution and the right of private property is also a constitutional right. In addition, it is not in conflict with other provisions. We do not allow for contradictory politics and stand against any stream of thought imperiling the constitutional rights.

...The obsession with title has to be fixed. Government should take the issue of land reform seriously...”<sup>329</sup>

As he expressed in the rest of his speech, the JP government should accept the fact that peasants did not trust the government any more because it did turn a blind eye to the landlords using state-owned lands and did not take the issues of landlessness, and poverty

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<sup>328</sup> Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Atalan ve Göllüce köylüleri, Ecevit'i ilgiyle karşıladı.” *Cumhuriyet*, 31.Oct.1969, p.1,7. Although the RPP did not win the election, it became the first party in both villages with 482 votes. And the JP got 31 votes in Atalan and 0 votes in Göllüce.

<sup>329</sup> Anon., “İnönü: “Hükümet toprak reformunu benimsemiyor,” dedi.” *Milliyet*, 14.Feb.1969, p.1,9. ; Anon. “İnönü: AP toprak davasını hedef almıyor.” *Ulus*, 15.Feb.1969, p.1. “Demirel toprak reformu konusunda kendini polemiğe kaptırmıştır. Bu reform Anayasa'nın hükmü olduğu gibi, mülkiyet hakkı da bir Anayasa hükmüdür. Haklar Anayasa içinde çelişmez. Biz birbiriyle çelişen politikaya müsaade etmemişiz, Anayasa haklarını tehlikeye düşürecek her türlü cereyanın karşısında olmuşuzdur....Tapu hastalığının düzeltilmesinin gereklidir. Hükümet toprak davasını ciddiye almalıdır.”

into its political agenda. And İnönü reminded that making all peasants landowners through redistributive land reform was also mentioned in the Constitution and made the government a call for protecting private properties as well as land rights of small and landless peasants.

In his response to Ecevit's and İnönü's speeches, the Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel explained his party's approach to the occupations in two villages on February 15, 1969 in the Grand National Assembly as follows:

“The Turkish Constitution legalizes the principle of the rule of law. When you accept this principle, you have to give consent for the legal rules. Yet, there is no room for coercion in the countries that accept this principle. There cannot be extortion, the violation of rights. Even if you have a right for something, you cannot claim it forcefully. You have to apply for state institutions, which exist to maintain law and order. You tell them to go and occupy these lands! Then, what if someone who is more powerful appears and claims the same land? What do they say? Where do they apply?”<sup>330</sup>

“There is the principle of rule of law. Rather than natural law, legal rules bind civilized people together. Do we need a general assembly any more if natural law is replaced with rule of law?”<sup>331</sup>

First of all, for him, the Constitution existed solely for the well being of all people. And the government and state institutions that exerted influence over all areas of life including the uses of private property rights enforced legal rules to guarantee a protection of property and freedoms in society. In this sense, the exclusive right of property conflicted

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<sup>330</sup> Anon., “CHP kanunsuzluğu teşvik ediyor.” *Son Havadis*, 15.Feb.1969, p.1, 7. For the original document see Figure. 5.3. “Şu hususu bilhassa belirtmek isterim ki, Türk anayasası hukukun üstünlüğü prensibini kabul etmiştir. Hukukun üstünlüğü prensibini kabul ettiğiniz takdirde, kanunları kabul edeceksiniz, zira, hukukun üstünlüğü kabul edilen yerde zor yoktur. Zorbalık yoktur, bizzat ihkakı hak yoktur. Hakkınız dahi olsa, zorla bunu almak yoktur. Mercilere gideceksiniz bütün bunlar bir hukuk nizamını korumak tesis etmek içindir. Diyorsunuz ki, gidiniz şu toprağı işgal ediniz. Etti, peki ondan daha kuvvetlisi geldi, çık buradan dedi, ne diyecek ve kime şikayet edecek?”

<sup>331</sup> Anon., “Demirel: Bugün toprak işgal edenler yarın evlere girerler... Yarın sıra elbiseye gelir.” *Ege Ekspres*, 15.Feb.1969, p.7. “Hukukun üstünlüğü prensibi vardır. Medeni insanı bağlayan doğaldan önce, hukuk kurallarıdır. Hukukun yerine doğayı ikame ederseniz, o takdirde parlamentonun lüzumu kalır mı? ‘‘

with the mentality of people who used natural resources, like land, through force and coercion, to survive in the state of nature. In the liberal constitutional state, everybody was equal in front of the rule of law and so all members of the community should obey the rules for their own benefits. Thus, no one could take the possession of land if it harmed someone else by doing so. The government was responsible for protecting the private property rights of the individuals to sustain law and order in society. Otherwise, unlimited freedoms, return to the state of nature and natural law would result in chaos in the country. Thus, political power in the hands of a designated body (the government, state institutions, criminal justice system and the general assembly) was omnipotent and unquestionable since it existed for the people's benefit.

In this sense, according to Demirel, the occupiers in Göllüce and Atalan were criminals since they questioned this power and violated the private property rights of the landlords. In the same speech, he explained how the government denounced these women and used the argument for criminal women against them as follows:

“...When people claim their own rights by themselves, it delegitimizes state authority.... You cannot encourage people to occupy the lands. The Turkish Constitution protects land rights and house owners as well as landless and homeless people.”<sup>332</sup>

“Do you want to make peasants attack on someone's private property, make them criminals and cause their suffering in prisons as convicts?”<sup>333</sup>

Thus, occupations were considered as criminal acts against the constitution. And the occupier landless peasants could not be allowed to break the law and make land reform

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<sup>332</sup>Anon., “Mecliste bütçe görüşmelerine dün başlandı.” *Milliyet*, 15.Feb.1969, p.7. “Herkes kendi hakkını kendi almaya kalkarsa ortada devlet otoritesi kalmaz. ...

Halkı arazi işgallerine teşvik edemezsiniz. Türkiye Anayasası, topraksızlar kadar topraklıların, evsizler kadar evlilerin de hakkını korumaktadır.”

<sup>333</sup> Anon., “Bu Başbakan Söyleneni Anlamıyor mu?”, p.7. “Bu sözlerle köylüyü başkasının mülküne saldırtıp suç mu işletmek, onu hapislerde süründürmek mi istiyorsunuz?”

by themselves. Thus, they had to be prosecuted and convicted in the criminal justice system to maintain law and order in society.

In addition, The Minister of Agriculture, Bahri Dağdaş, made further explanation on the governmental perception of the land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan in his two speeches at the Grand National Assembly on February 17, 1969 and at the general meeting of the Union of Turkish Agricultural Chambers on March 21, 1969. And, in these speeches, he did not only consider peasant struggle as the violation of the private property rights, but also as the product of the leftist provocations of the RPP, their land reform project and a communist threat:

“There are no cruel and tyrant landlords in Turkey. Landlordism implies seniority and it implies respect. Our land reform project is based on the consolidation of small parcels of lands. Coercion and force are not parts of this project... The opposition party swings this reform as the flag of hammer and sickle. They know its consequences and make it consciously. Do peasants stop after attacking on landowners and occupying their lands? Next, they will claim landlords` animals, houses and lives.”<sup>334</sup>

“...Revolutionaries say that they will apply to the method of deception, (natural law), if it is necessary. ... By acting against the Constitution, they created and supported anarchy in the country. ... The ones who gaze upon titled lands and struggle for gaining the support of landless people and for fragmenting lands under the name of achieving social justice cannot contribute to the development of this country. ... They should know that the only way to achieve social justice is the protection of private property.”<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Orhan Seyfi Orhon, “En hassas noktalar...” *Son Havadis*, 17.Feb.1969, p.2. “ Türkiye’de diktatör, zalim ağa yoktur. Ağalık, beylik saygı ifadesi içinde kullanılır. Bizim getireceğimiz toprak reformu toprağı birleştirme esasına dayanıyor. Bunda cebir ve gasp yoktur. ...Karşıdakiler bu reformu Orak-Çekiçli kızıl bayrak gibi sallamaktadır. Onlar bu işin nereye varacağını bilerek ve düşünerek yapıyorlar. Köylüler toprak sahiplerine hücum ederek işgallere başlarsa bu iş bu kadarla kalır mı? Hayvanlarını, mallarını, canlarını da almak isteyeceklerdir.”

<sup>335</sup> Anon., “Tarım Bakanı Ziraat Odaları Genel Kurul Toplantısında CHP’lilere çattı: “Herkes toprak” yalanı ile memleket idare edilmez.” *Son Havadis*, 21.March.1969, p.1,7. “ ...düzen değiştiricileri, icap ederse (doğal yasalarla) vatandaşları iğfal etmeyi bir metod olarak kullanacaklarını söylüyorlar. ...Kendilerinin getirdikleri anayasaya rağmen memlekette anarşik bir ortam kuruyorlar. ...Arazilere göz dikip sosyal adalet sloganı altında toprakları param parça edip, toprakla ilişkisi bulunmayanların sempatisini toplamak isteyenler bu memlekete hiçbir şey getiremezler. ...Bilmelidirler ki, sosyal adaletin yegane yolu mülkü mutlak manada teminat altına almaktan geçer.”



For the Ministry of the Agriculture, the land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan had been organized to gain the political support of the landless peasants by the RPP. Thus, the occupiers were not politically conscious actors, but deceived people. For Dağdaş, landlordism and landlessness were not real issues in the country and there was no need for redistributive land reform. Under the guise of bringing social and economic justice and equality to all peasants, these issues were created to provoke the peasants and replace existing land tenure regime with common property regime and communism. In this sense, the RPP was acting against the constitution and it was responsible for chaos, anarchy and insecurity in the country.

In addition, the politicians from the ruling party, the JP, particularly the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture, described the private property of the landlords as female and considered all of the occupiers in Göllüce and Atalan as male rapists. Süleyman Demirel, by referring to the land occupations in two villages, gave this speech to Cemal Devrim, a chief editor of *Yeni Asır Newspaper*, on February 11, 1969 and revealed his approach to the occupiers as follows:

“Land occupations are the products of propaganda... We consider land titles as legal deeds under the protection of state. Title is the honor of state. If you do not protect it, you cannot provide security to people. When the hymen of title is broken, the first stage of anarchy will be accomplished.”

...Indeed, the provoked citizens should know the truth: today, you can assume that you become landowners by means of extortion, coercion and violence. Tomorrow someone who is more extortionist than you can claim your land. Where do you go to complain about it?<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Anon., “Demirel toprak işgali konusunda demeç verdi: “Tapu devletin namusudur!”” *Son Havadis*, 11.Feb.1969, p.1,7. For the original document see Figure 5.4. “Toprak işgalleri hadiseleri, tahrik neticesinde olmaktadır.... Tapuyu daima devletin korumakla mükellef olduğu bir belge addetmişizdir. Tapu, devletin namusu demektir. Tapuyu muhafaza edemezseniz, yarın kişi emniyetini de muhafaza edemezsiniz. Tapu zırhı delindiği takdirde, anarşinin ilk kademesi başarı kazanmış olur. ... “Aslında tahrik edilen vatandaşın şunu da bilmesi lazım: Bu gün kuvvet kullanmak suretiyle, zorla, zorbalıkla farz ediniz ki toprak sahibi oldunuz. Yarın sizden daha zorba biri gelip aynı metotla sizin elinizden o toprağı aldığı vakit kimi şikayet edeceksiniz?” Demirel’s speech got also support from the Ege Chamber of Farmers and its

Accordingly, for him, title was the honor of the patriarchal state and so it was responsible for protecting private properties. Once again, landlordism, and the relations of agrarian production in large capitalist enterprises including unlimited capital accumulation and the uses of state-owned lands were not problems for the government. On the contrary, the right to private property was defined as female and the state had to protect the violation of this right by male occupiers to sustain peace, security and order in society. The preservation of property was the end for the omnipotent state. In other words, the government had been formed to preserve unequal property rights among individuals in society. Otherwise, the absence of land ownership would cause anarchy and chaos. By reifying the right of private property, and considering the occupiers as provoked male criminals and the occupations as honor crimes, the government left intact the partnership between patriarchy and capitalism, which set up social relations of agrarian production detrimental to all landless peasants. And the government did not have any political interest in the violation of the rights of landless peasant women and men to live and work and in their honorable struggles for having the land.

Furthermore, in two research sites, the politicians from the JP considered landless peasant women involved into the occupations as Gypsy women and terrorists who trespassed on a male dominant public sphere. In the context of Turkey, Gypsyism is a gender-linked derogatory term used to refer primarily to certain women. This female

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president Burhan Maner cited it in his speech on the land occupations in the same villages. See Refik Balcı, "Ege'li Çiftçiler, Vilayeti mahkemeye veriyor: Arazi işgalleri devlet namusuna bir tecavüzdür." *Ege Ekspres*, 16. March.1969, p.1,7.

referential term signifies masculine, immoral, disgusting, immodest, despicable and ignominious behaviours of rural, Roman, immigrant women or lower class uneducated women in cities. Their behaviours are judged with reference to these derogatory terms that constitute a social index of femininity for these women.

In this sense, first, Bahri Dağdaş, the Ministry of Agriculture, referred to the female occupiers in Göllüce and Atalan as immoral women in his speech at the sixth general meeting of the Federation of Turkish Peasant Association on March 20, 1969. In his own words, “if Gypsy women are entrusted to protect the honor of state, it will result in disaster.”<sup>337</sup> Thus, for him, these immoral women could not be liable for protecting the honor of state- the right to private property. These politicized women were the enemies of the state because they violated the law and so dishonored the state.

As Ecevit drew attention in his speech at Göllüce just after the violent intervention of the rural police officers against the female occupiers, these women were not respectable bearers of Turkish nationalism any more, but the enemies of the state: “These people who did consider their own peasant women as an enemy, injured them and left these injured women in the field for three hours cannot be human.”<sup>338</sup> Thus, the rural police officers sided with the JP government did not hesitate to use violence against these disrespectful and criminal women occupied the lands belonging to the landlords.

The female occupiers were also masculinized and perceived as terrorists who acted in a male dominant public sphere and interfered in the politics. Namık Kemal

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<sup>337</sup> Anon., “Dağdaş çiftçilere: ‘‘İşgallerden yılmayın.’’’ *Milliyet*, 20.March.1969, p.7. “Devletin namusu çingene kadınlarının elinde kalırsa felaket olur.”

<sup>338</sup> Anon., “Toprak yüzünden dipçiklenen köylülerle konuşan Ecevit, gözü yaşlı vatandaşlara şöyle dedi: ‘‘Bu toprak Allahındır.’’’ *Ulus*, 19.March.1969, p.7. “Kendi köylüsünün kadınına düşman yerine koyup, onu yaralayanlar ve yaraladıktan sonra üç saat tarlada bırakanlar, bakımsız bırakanlar insan değildirler.”

Sentürk, the governor of Izmir known with his support to the JP government, told me in our interview, “the politically mobilized women in Göllüce and Atalan were exceptional. While most of our rural women were obedient, apolitical, illiterate, but hard working and altruistic mothers, these terrorist women acted like men during the occupations. We should not generalize the case.”<sup>339</sup> Thus, for him, political activism of these women was criminalized in two ways: first, they were considered as exceptional terrorists who broke the law through land occupations. Secondly, they were accused of acting like men by taking part in these occupations. Instead of being submissive, irrational and apolitical mothers and wives and staying in their private sphere, home, unfortunately, they had preferred to be involved into the politics that was generally the domain of men.

To sum up, in two cases, for the politicians from the JP, existing class inequalities and relations of agrarian production remained intact and they ignored gendered claims through their speeches on female political activism in two villages. First of all, by defining the occupiers as a male group sexually assaulting the honor of the state- the private property rights of the landlords-, the patriarchal state became the protector of a large capitalist enterprises. Thus, the government turned deaf ears to rural class and gender inequalities and unlimited accumulation of agrarian capital despite the fact that the occupier women were politically conscious agents in the occupations. Secondly, although some politicians from the JP were cognizant of the presence of the landless women in the occupations, they interpreted their activism as masculine acts and criminal activities in contrast with the image of apolitical, irrational rural women confined into the domestic sphere. Instead of fulfilling their domestic duties as proper mothers and wives,

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<sup>339</sup> Namık Kemal Sentürk, *Interview*. 03.Feb.2015. “Göllüce ve Atalan’daki siyasi olarak aktif kadınlar sıradışıydılar. Köylerdeki birçok kadın itaatkar, siyasetten uzak, cahil ama fedakar ve çalışkan annelerdi. Oysa bu terörist kadınlar işgallerde erkek gibi hareket etmişlerdi. Onları genelleştirmemeliyiz.”

these exceptional women had violated the gendered boundaries and participated into politics. Once again, for these politicians, why most of the occupiers were women, for what reasons they took an active role in the occupations, and what kind of exploitative relations of production resulted in their political mobilization as agrarian laborers were irrelevant questions. And they were stigmatized as criminals who should not be involved into the politics to transform relations of agricultural production.

For the politicians from the RPP, the mobilization of landless peasant women was very effective in terms of shaping the new party policy of center of left. Erol Temelkuran expressed this fact well in our interview: “The political activism of these women impinged upon Ecevit’s political vision. He mentioned his famous slogan there: “Water belongs to its users and land belongs to its laborer.” And then, he put this slogan into the election bulletin and based his view on the center of left to this movement.”<sup>340</sup> Ecevit became the chair of the party on 1972 and then the Prime Minister of Turkey until 1980. As explained previously, how he, as a general secretary of the party between 1966 and 1972 envisioned peasantry, criticized agrarian state policies, supported land reform and peasant struggles helped him to consolidate the policy of left of center and strongly affected his success to win the election. Thus, landless peasant women were very influential in shaping the peasant politics for the RPP against landlordism and the agrarian policies of the JP government and its land reform agenda. But, his approach to politics and the occupier women were limited by party-specific land reforms projects and he also turned deaf ears gendered claims by considering landless peasants as a homogenous class. Thus, the occupier women were not considered as the agents

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<sup>340</sup> Erol Temelkuran, *Interview*. 24.Dec.2014. “Kadınlara gelince Ecevit çok etkilendi oradaki kadınların siyasi hareketinden ve ünlü toprak işleyenın su kullananın sözünü orada sarf etti. Sonrada secimlerde slogan olarak kullandı ve ortanın solu gorusunu bu harekete dayandırdı.”

struggling for their gender and class specific claims. Consequently, for the politicians of the JP, these politically active women were terrorists and criminals while they were part of homogenous class-based peasant movement for the RPP.

## **Conclusion**

Land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan in 1969 provide concrete examples to understand of changing relations between peasantry, competitive politics and rural women in Turkey in the 1960s. By occupying state-owned lands claimed by the landlords, landless peasants, particularly women, delegitimized the discourse of developing peasantry and classless rural society of the JP government. And, through the occupations, they attempted to make their own redistributive land reform that was considered unnecessary by the government. Thus, these two cases reveal the legitimation crisis of existing social and economic system in the eyes of landless peasants in the country in these years.

Landless peasant women made gender and class specific claims against poverty and landlordism and for better working conditions as agrarian laborers, gender equal divisions of labor at home and their rights for land ownership in their interactions with the politicians and state officials, particularly rural police officers, in two cases. This show us gendered aspects of new politics on peasantry in the 1960s: as opposed to apolitical representation of rural women in these years, landless women struggled for making their own land reform with the help of leftist organizations. And their mobilization was relied on gender inequalities as well as exploitative class relations.

In addition, there were differences in rhetorical gendered responses of the politicians from the RPP and the JP to the occupier women. First, land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan were evaluated in relation to land reform projects of the parties. On the one hand, the Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel, the ministers from the JP and the union and chambers supporting the ruling party considered occupiers as the opponents of land reform. Thus, for the JP, the occupiers were criminals violating the sacred private property rights of the landlords and they were deceived by the RPP. For the ruling party, landlordism, rural class inequalities and redistributive land reform were created as imagined problems to mobilize them. By siding with the landlords in Göllüce and Atalan and giving consent for using violence against the occupiers, this party tried to preserve existing relations of agrarian capitalism in two sites.

Similarly, the general secretary of the RPP, Bülent Ecevit, and the chairman of the party, İsmet İnönü, evaluated land occupations in two villages in relation to their redistributive land reform project that problematized landlordism and class antagonism in rural Turkey. And they made a call for redistributive land reform in order to achieve justice among the peasants and to make them legal owners of small parcel of land. From this perspective, the occupations in Göllüce and Atalan were considered as an important peasant struggles against the government that opposed land reform. However, the RPP was blind to gender specific claims of the female occupiers and, considered the occupiers as a homogeneous class in fight for land reform.

Secondly, by reifying the right of private property, and considering the occupiers as provoked male criminals, the ruling party also left intact the partnership between patriarchy and agrarian capitalism, which set up social relations of production detrimental

to women in two cases. For the party, female occupiers were sexually assaulting the honor of the state- the private property rights of the landlords-, and the patriarchal state had to protect its honor- large agrarian enterprises. Thus, the government also turned deaf ears to the violation of the living and working rights of landless peasant women.

In addition, the politicians from the ruling party considered landless peasant women participated into the occupations as immoral, disrespectable, disgusting gypsy women and terrorists who trespassed on a male dominant public sphere. Thus, their political activism was interpreted as exceptional, masculine and criminal activities. Once again, for these politicians, why most of the occupiers were women, and how labor control mechanisms and exploitative relations of agrarian production affected landless women's political mobilization were out of question.

To sum up, the politicians from two competing parties had divergent approaches to land reform, rural class inequalities and landless women's political activism. But both parties were blind to gendered claims of the female occupiers, so they contributed to the reproduction of rural class inequalities between landlords and landless peasants and of unfavorable working and living conditions for women in two cases.



## **Chapter 6**

### **Conclusion**

#### **New Class and Gender Specific Approach to Agrarian Transition and Rural Development in Turkey**

In my dissertation, I demonstrated the importance of gendered and class-specific processes of agrarian transition to explicate the changes in the political economy of agrarian production, accumulation and distribution and struggles over these changes from a critical feminist perspective. I explored the impacts of the historically contingent processes of agrarian transition throughout the Green Revolution on landless peasant women, in two Aegean villages in Turkey in the 1960s, and identified four factors that potentially put them at disadvantageous positions, and their resistance to these factors: a) changing material conditions of production related to the gender hierarchies and class positions in these villages, b) the genderless class-based organization of land occupations, c) state policies, specifically home economics policies and agrarian policies, and their negative impacts on these women`s living and working conditions, and d) competitive party politics and political reactions to the mobilization of women through land occupations.

My two-part theoretical model combines the insights of feminist Marxists and intersectional theorists and it has helped me to interpret these factors and women`s resistance to these factors. First of all, feminist Marxists gave me the theoretical tools to

explain how changes in the material conditions of agrarian production as it related to the implementation of the global project of the Green Revolution resonated with changes in the social relations of production including the gendered divisions of labor in the fields and peasant households at the disadvantage of women in two cases. Thus, this theoretical perspective enabled me to explain new labor control mechanisms and the expropriation of rural female labor in different but again subordinated forms as a precondition for the reproduction of agrarian capitalism in rural Turkey. Form this perspective, I argued that this project maintained gender and class inequalities in accordance with the requirements of agrarian capitalism in the 1960s.

In addition, feminist Marxists assumption of the existence of mutually constitutive relationships between domestic reproductive labor and productive labor for rural women was useful for me to explain the reconfiguration of gendered divisions of labor in landless peasant households in relation to class conflicts in two cases. Based on that assumption, I argued that, as a response to the consolidation of agrarian capitalism, pauperization, dispossession and class antagonism, women had to intensify their domestic labor and used the skills of cloth making and food preservation they obtained in the home economics courses to deal with poverty and to create more time to work as agrarian laborers in the late 1960s in two villages. Similarly, they had to intensify their productive labor and accept deterioration of their working conditions in the cotton fields to secure and maintain the class positions of their households in these years.

However, the following feminist Marxist assumptions were not instrumental in interpreting my other research findings: first, for these scholars, rural women's marginalized positions are solely a result of their class positions. Thus, gendered power

relations are not intrinsic to agrarian capitalism and so static and ahistorical patriarchal relations do not affect it. For them, since peasant households are only composed of cooperative altruistic members, female members are always willing to accept worse living and working conditions to sustain the class positions of their households and fight with rural poverty. Secondly, for these scholars, as only rural class relations and material conditions of agrarian production shape the trajectories of agrarian change, gendered expectations and contested gender relations are not important to explain changes in the gendered divisions of labor in peasant households, the complexity of female labor force participation decisions to rural economy and its role in shaping the processes of agrarian change.

Against these assumptions, I applied process-centered and inter-categorical intersectional approaches to explain the interplay between specific patriarchies and overlapping multiple social inequalities that conditioned the lives of landless peasant women in two cases. Thus, instead of conceptualizing the processes of agrarian capitalism only in relation to rural class relations, I showed how gender relations affected rural political economy and how mutually constitutive categories of gender and class affected the marginalization of landless peasant women as co-constructed social inequalities in economic, social and political systems in the context of Turkey in the 1960s. This kind of analysis made possible to reveal both politics and intersecting axes of power and structural inequalities, which operated to the disadvantage of landless peasant women in two cases. By explaining multiple sources of domination and control over rural female labor power including changing material conditions of production, the organization of land occupations, state policies, patriarchal relations, competitive party

politics and labor control mechanisms, I analyzed gender hierarchies and class inequalities as intersecting dynamic social forces that obscured the premises of the Green Revolution for these women in two villages.

I also utilized intersectionality to describe the active roles of these women to challenge these forces and so affect the trajectories of agrarian change in rural Turkey as active subjects. Therefore, I illustrated the interplay of agency and structure and so the contestation of the categories of gender and class by landless peasant women. In different chapters of this dissertation, I explained that when these women made gender and class-specific claims in land occupations and in state-led home-economic courses or strategically used the gendered norms and expectations to lessen their domestic and agrarian workloads, they transformed gendered divisions of labor, affected the advent of agrarian capitalism and reconstructed the categories of gender and class in two cases. Thus, intersectionality provided me theoretical insights to understand the complexity of lived experiences of these women, conflicting interests in peasant households and gendered experiences of intersecting social inequalities in rural Turkey.

Written with these theoretical perspectives, in this dissertation, I showed the importance of understanding social, economic, and political processes that resulted in social inequities and unequal distribution of the benefits of the Green Revolution for landless peasant women in particular localities. And my dissertation left a quite critical imprint on agrarian studies in Turkey by revealing gender and class-specific experiences of this project. It showed that this global project did not target the whole society and it could not be an instrument for the eradication of societal inequalities in the context of Turkey. In addition, this study, which was sensitive to the contingent, processes of

agrarian capitalism, changing material conditions of production, and, as a result, the emergence of new social relations of agrarian production brought the multiple factors regarding the (re) production of gender and class hierarchies and the uses of rural female labor power in different forms to light. Thus, in this study, I criticized the scholarly arguments for the consolidation of petty commodity production among peasants and the achievement of social and economic development by means of the project in rural Turkey after WWII. In the literature on agrarian transition in Turkey, it has generally been assumed that petty commodity production consolidated itself in rural Turkey in the 1950s and only in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, where large farms and agrarian capitalism sustained itself because of landlordism and legacies of feudal past. As opposed to this assumption, the changing social organization of agrarian production in two cases support the argument for the presence of landlordism and increasing dispossession and pauperization in the Aegean region in the same time period.

In order to show the complexity of agrarian transition, and processes of rural differentiation across gender and class lines, in Chapter 2, I explained intertwined and mutual relations between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism in two cases. To do this, I analyzed the working of two large farms before and after the mechanization of agriculture in terms of the changing material conditions of production, class and gender specific labor control mechanisms, and women's resistance to these mechanisms by using gendered norms in three periods: technologically backward sharecropping (1938-late-1950s), mechanized cotton production (late-1950s-1967), and laborsaving and highly mechanized Mexican wheat production (after 1967).

In both villages, landlords had applied gendered labor control mechanisms to sharecroppers before the mechanization of cotton production in the late 1950s and, as a result, class conflicts between poor landless peasants and powerful landlords had escalated. As seen from the reports and legal records from the state archives, under the rule of the DP (1950-1960), the relatives of right-wing Prime Minister Adnan Menderes- his wife's aunt, Mesude Evliyazade (the landlord of Göllüce) and his cousin, Sadik Giz (the landlord of Atalan)- prevented land reform attempts by using their political networks, changing the borders of two villages, claimed state-owned lands and registered it on their own names in these years.

Consequently, class inequalities increased in both villages and landless peasants found themselves as sharecroppers. By creating debt-bondages, making unfair sharecropping contracts, and prohibiting buying and selling of land, landlords pauperized the peasant families and exercised control over their labor power. And landlords arbitrarily exploited female labor power when they failed to pay back their debts. Since these families had to secure their livelihoods, sharecropper women had put their unpaid services, like cleaning and carrying wood, at landlords' disposal in two cases.

In these villages, mechanized cotton production took the place of sharecropping in the late-1950s. In these years, mechanization of agricultural production due to the Marshall Plan accelerated and shining era for landlords had started. In addition to land enclosures, landlords made investment on new technology by using state-given credits and subsidies. In return, their potential for agrarian capital accumulation increased and landlords became capitalist farmers utilizing new technical inputs to produce cotton exclusively for the market.

By taking small plots of sharecropped lands back, threatening landless peasants with eviction and bulldozing their houses, the landlords forced them to sell their labor power for subsistence. Thus, in both villages, most of the sharecroppers dispossessed, lost control over small parcel of land and became proletariats in the service of landlords. In the new social relations of agrarian production, most of the women were selling their labor for tiresome, demanding and heavy works relative to that of men. Since it was more profitable for landlords to secure some labor force for cotton production through sharecropping contracts, they benefitted from different forms of female labor at the same time and used waged labor and sharecropping simultaneously after the mechanization of cotton production.

The *elçi system* was an important female labor control mechanism in the hands of landlords for mechanized cotton production. *Elçi* was a male agent who negotiated the conditions of working and payment with landlords and distributed wages in the name of them. However, this agent abused his power and did not represent laborers and bargain for their interests in two cases. In addition to giving consent for policing of the agrarian workers by farm butlers, *elçi* himself applied coercive methods to reduce the cost of production and guarantee cheap female labor reserve in accordance with the interests of landlords.

The working conditions of female laborers from sharecropper households also worsened after the mechanization of cotton production. Unlike female paid laborers, they were not free to sell their labor power because they had to exchange it for debts or credits from the landlords. The landlords exploited their labor power ``whenever they needed`` especially during harvest times without making any payment. Thus, sharecropping

contracts and debt bondage enabled the landlords to find unpaid female labor power and so reduce the cost of mechanized cotton production.

And these women who had composed of the reserve army of labor for the landlords had actively struggled against dispossession and proletarianization through land occupations as landlords invested their capital on Mexican wheat in 1967. Landlords continued to empower themselves by utilizing political connections while the JP, a populist and right-wing party, was ruling Turkey in the 1960s. This laborsaving crop enabled them to fire and evict landless peasants or pay them less and so increased class inequalities in both villages. Title frauds made by the landlords to claim state-owned lands in 1967 and deterioration of working and living conditions paved the way for land occupations mostly led by women who composed of the majority of low-paid agrarian laborers in the cotton fields before the arrival of Mexican wheat in the 1967-1968 season.

However, there was no unidirectional relationship between agrarian capitalism and patriarchies and gendered expectations as well as class relations affected how these women used their labor power. There has always been a dynamic relationship between gender identification, labor relations and agrarian capitalism for women in these villages. As explained in Chapter 2, patriarchal agnatic ties, intra-gender relations of authority and deference neatly tied with the uses of female labor power in sharecropper households in the 1950s. Naturalistic gendered expectations for domestic work also affected gendered divisions of labor in these sharecropping households at the disadvantage of women in two cases.

In these households, gender specific self-help groups were also instrumental in the regulation of female labor power. These female self-help groups functioned as a coping



mechanism with labor-demanding and technologically primitive processes of cotton production. Beyond that, these groups showed how sharecropper women strategically used the same agnatic principle to lessen their workload and prevent complete patriarchal control over their own labor power.

Gender hierarchies also found material expressions in the gendered divisions of labor for mechanized cotton production in two villages. New gendered ideals, such as the naturalization of women's fast working, self-discipline and being obedient to authority, were used to justify new gendered divisions of labor- women for manual and labor-demanding tasks versus men for skilled tasks- after the mechanization of cotton production in the late 1950s and 1960s.

As their working conditions got worse and they came across the threat of eviction and unemployment after the arrival of Mexican wheat in 1967, women had also made gendered and class specific claims for land ownership and better working conditions through land occupations as explained previously. Thus, economic processes were not gender neutral and rural women actively contested these processes and affected the trajectory of agrarian change in two cases.

In the next chapter, by elaborating interactions between leftist activists and landless peasant women, I continued to analyze the complex relations between agrarian capitalism, peasantry and patriarchy. In Chapter 3, by exploring the genderless and class-based interactions between the members of the Federation of Idea Clubs (FKF), and youth branches of the political parties, the Republican People's Party (RPP) and Turkish Workers Party (TWP), and landless peasants throughout land occupations, I introduced a new and original gendered dimension to peasant movements, rural class structure and the

contentious politics of land reform in Turkey. In terms of analyzing the place of rural women in the organization of peasant movement by the leftist groups, this dissertation is a primary source in the field of peasant movements and politics in rural Turkey.

In this chapter, I argued that these activists and politicians conceptualized these villages as imagined homogeneous landscapes according to their political perspectives on land reform, categorized the occupiers a homogeneous male class and ignored the gendered and patriarchal implications of this imagination to sustain the disadvantaged positions of landless peasant women in two cases.

Land occupations in two cases were the microcosm of the basic principles of a national democratic revolution against feudalism and an imperial block of the JP government, landlords, merchants and usurers for the FKF whereas it was an instrument for making the TWP a ruling party and replacing agrarian capitalism with socialism. As opposed to these two clashing views, for the RPP, these occupations were distributive land reform attempts of landless peasants to be landowner and it would prevent extreme leftist ideas of abandoning private property and bringing communism to the country.

Although the occupier women were visible agents to all of them and there were violent confrontations between women and the rural police officers, all of these activists excluded women from their activities, including coffeehouse meetings only with landless men, the formation of a male committee representing the claims of the occupiers by the FKF, and the legal defense made by the TWP for the occupier men in the court.

These activities had a gendered implication for women. Even though some households gained a small parcel of lands at the end of the occupations in 1969 with the legal help of the activists, it did not improve living and working conditions for women in

two villages. They have become semi-proletariats who have worked as seasonal paid workers in other villages and spent part of the year on small family lands as unpaid laborers in two villages since the 1970s.

The relationship between politics and landless peasant women were not limited by above-mentioned gender and class-based organization of land occupations. In Chapter 4, I also evaluated gender specific developmental state politics, specifically home economics projects, and its importance for the (re) production of social relations of agrarian production in two cases in 1967-1968. This chapter was also crucial to elucidate the interplay between gendered expectations, state policies and the place of female labor power in rural economy.

First of all, I explained gender politics intrinsic to the substance and goals of the project that pedagogically essentialized conventional role of housewifery and ignored the participants as agricultural workers. Food preservation, home decoration and cloth making were three main courses in the curriculum to promote ideal roles of motherhood and housewifery for rural women and income generating activities compatible with these roles. Since home economists defined female activity space as household and perceived scientific house management as an extension of gender roles, home economics projects, were not apolitical, and patriarchal expectations strongly affected the successes of these projects to form female identities, and control female labor power in the late 1960s in two cases.

From a critical feminist perspective, I argued that home economics personnel in Göllüce and Atalan who advocated the above mentioned views did not question stereotypical gender roles, structural inequalities, conflict of interests and gendered power

relations affecting female and male labor force participation decisions in landless peasant households. Thus, they ignored the factors affecting rural female labor participation decisions, including patriarchal relations, and class positions of households in their essentialist explanations for the sexual divisions of labor in peasant households. In other words, home economics projects intended to reproduce patriarchal gendered divisions of labor in practice and ignored historically contingent economic and social context in which landless peasant women had lived and worked.

By bargaining with above-mentioned patriarchal expectations in these courses, landless peasant women denaturalized these expectations and affected the operation of agrarian capitalism. When I explored landless peasant women's active roles in shaping this project and redefining their gendered positions in landless peasant households, I have found three unintended consequences: they used the knowledge on food preservation and preparation to create more time to work in the fields rather than being housewives; they rejected to be the consumers of modern home decoration items; and, instead of producing for the market as independent income earners, they made home-based crafts to cope with rural poverty. In this way, they acted against ideal feminine roles and reorganized gendered divisions of labor in landless peasant households, according to which women were both agrarian workers and domestic laborers.

Based on these consequences, I argued that both the development of productive forces and home economics courses negatively affected the intensity of work for these women in two villages in the late 1960s. In other words, women had to intensify their domestic and agrarian labor in these cases. From a feminist Marxist perspective, their unpaid domestic work lowered the cost of maintenance and reproduction of agrarian

labor force in landless peasant households. In addition, they had to sell their labor power at cheaper price and work more in the fields of landlords after the arrival of laborsaving crop, Mexican wheat, to sustain their households. Therefore, productive and reproductive spheres were not at odds with each other in these cases. How rural female labor power was used in the households strongly affected rural women`s integration into rural economy as agricultural workers in two cases. Similarly, working conditions in the fields had impacts on the management of time and houseworks and so it affected women`s decisions to intensify their domestic labor. As a response to the consolidation of agrarian capitalism, women had to intensify their domestic labor to deal with poverty and to create more time to work as agrarian workers.

To reveal the complexity of peasant politics in rural Turkey in the 1960s, in Chapter 5, I also explained different gendered reactions of the politicians from competing parties to peasant struggles, specifically land reform attempts, and to the political mobilization of women in two villages. I also analyzed the functions of these reactions to reinforce class specific relations of agrarian production and patriarchal control over female labor power.

First, the ways the RPP and the JP interpreted land occupations and the political activism of landless women were restricted by the general promises of their land reform projects. On the one hand, the Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel, the Ministers from the JP, and the Union and Chambers supporting the ruling party interpreted land occupations as it related to their opposition to land reform. For the government, landlordism, rural class inequalities and the necessity of making land reform were created as imagined problems to mobilize landless peasants and the leftists deceived these poor peasants in

order to bring communism in two cases. In addition, by violating the sacred rights of private property, female occupiers were sexually assaulting the honor of the state and the patriarchal state had to protect its honor by using any means, including the use of violence against these criminal immoral rural women who trespassed on a male dominant public sphere. Thus, for these politicians, why most of the occupiers were women, and how gender and class specific labor control mechanisms and exploitative relations of agrarian production affected their political mobilization were out of question.

On the other hand, the General Secretary of the RPP, Bülent Ecevit, and the Leader of the Party, İsmet İnönü, evaluated land occupations in two villages in relation to their redistributive land reform project that problematized landlordism, rural poverty and escalation of class antagonism under the rule of the JP in rural Turkey. Thus, for these politicians, the occupations were legitimate constitutional struggles of politically conscious peasants against the landlords buttressed by the government.

However, by considering the occupiers only as members of homogeneous class in fight for land reform, these politicians ignored class and gender specific working conditions, and claims for politically mobilized women. In other words, they did turn deaf ears to gendered claims, like equal gendered divisions of labor at home after having land, and working under better conditions as agrarian laborers in two cases and did not take any steps to transform gendered and unequal social relations of agrarian production for these women.

These gendered political reactions should not lead us to underestimate the political impacts of the mobilization of landless women in two cases. First of all, land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan in the early 1969 provide concrete examples to

understand of changing relations between peasantry, competitive politics and rural women in Turkey in the 1960s. As opposed to apolitical representation of rural women in these years, landless peasant women were involved into politics through land occupations. And their political mobilization was relied on gender inequalities as well as exploitative class relations. This fact enables us to go beyond the simplistic accounts of peasant movements as a class struggle of cooperative peasant households in the context of Turkey.

In addition, the political activism of these women affected the politicians and started heated debates on peasant political activism and land occupations in rural Turkey. By occupying state-owned lands claimed by the landlords, landless peasants, mostly women, delegitimized the discourses of developing peasantry and classless rural society of the JP government. Thus, these two cases revealed the legitimization crisis of existing social and economic system in the eyes of landless peasants in the country in these years. Moreover, the political activism of these women impinged upon Ecevit's political vision of the center of left and his vision on peasantry. His support for redistributive land reform and peasant struggles also strongly affected his success to win the election in 1974.

Consequently, this dissertation reveals five patterns in two villages that are against the assumption of the deployment of petty commodity production and elimination of rural poverty and class inequalities in rural Turkey after WWII. First, it explains the social, economic, and political processes that resulted in gender inequities and unequal distribution of the benefits of the Green Revolution for landless peasant women in rural Turkey in the 1960s. Secondly, by probing the relations between politics, peasantry, and rural women's activism in two chapters, the thesis shows that the genderless organization

of land occupations did not transform social relations of agrarian production in two cases. In addition, different gendered reactions of the politicians to land occupations, and to the occupier women left intact class specific relations of agrarian production and patriarchal control over female labor power in two cases. Thirdly, the thesis elaborates on how a state policy targeting rural women, particularly the home economics projects, were intended to recast and reinforce gendered divisions of labor at the disadvantage of women by ignoring them as agricultural workers in two cases.

In addition, the thesis scrutinizes intertwined relations between patriarchies and agrarian capitalism in two cases. By evaluating the workings of these farms as it relates to rural female labor power, it reveals how landless women, as a class, were marginalized in the processes of the consolidation of agrarian capitalism, how gendered expectations and norms affected the uses of rural female labor power, and how they struggled against their marginalization by strategically using the same norms. Lastly, this thesis demonstrates that women strategically used gendered norms and expectations to lessen their domestic and agricultural workloads, shape state policy, transform gendered divisions of labor and affect the state elites' views on agrarian state policies and land reform in Turkey in the 1960s. Thus, they actively contested for the structural factors worsening their working and living conditions in two research sites. Their gendered contestations show us that landless peasant households were not composed of conflict free altruistic individuals sharing solely the same class specific interests.

These patterns shed lights on local processes of differentiation and pauperization among landless peasants across gender and class lines and the places of these women in rural economy and politics in the 1960s in Turkey. In this way, this study elaborates the



negative impacts of the global economic development project, the Green Revolution, in two villages in the Aegean region of Turkey.

### **Relevance of the Dissertation to Broader Intellectual Agendas:**

In Turkey, since the 1980s, with the internationalization of agriculture under the hegemony of transnational corporations and with the implementation of neo-liberal export oriented agrarian policies in rural areas, most of the peasants have been more vulnerable to volatile market conditions and pauperized.<sup>341</sup> In this capital-intensive organization of social relations of agrarian production, rural class structure and gendered divisions of labor within agriculture have also undergone overarching transformation and rural female labor power has taken many different forms in this organization.

First of all, majority of rural women have continued to be work as unpaid family laborers as small and medium-sized peasants have impoverished and men have started to work in off-farm informal jobs in different sectors including service, constructions and tourism.<sup>342</sup> According to the findings of the Turkish Statistics Institute, statistically, in 2015, unpaid female workers still constituted 71.8% in agriculture while it was %75.2 in

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<sup>341</sup> For this argument Murat Öztürk, *Agriculture, Peasantry, and Poverty in Turkey in the Neo-Liberal Age*(Netherlands: Wageningen Academic, 2012). p.67-89. ; Caglar Keyder and Zafer Yenal, *Bildiğimiz Tarımın Sonu : Küresel İktidar Ve KöylüLük*, 1. baskı. ed., İletişim Yayınları (2015). p.49-103, p. 53. ; Ayşe Koçak, "Farmer Support Regime and Political Economy of Agricultural Reform: Transformation of Turkish Agricultural Policy in the Post-2000 Era" (Bogazici University, 2012). p.34-56. ; Gürel, "Türkiye’de Kırdaki Sınıf Mücadelelerinin Tarihsel Gelişimi." p.345-346. ; Zülküf Aydın, "Neo-Liberal Transformation of Turkish Agriculture, Journal of Agrarian Change," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10, no. 2 (Apr. 2010). p.156-163.

<sup>342</sup> For this argument see, Duygu Dilek, "Türkiye’de Tarım Sektöründe Kadın İstihdamı: Bölgesel Temelli Bir İnceleme" (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2013). p.38-50. ; Esin Candan and Semiha Özalp, "Tarımda Kadın Emeği," *Tarım Ekonomisi Dergisi* 19, no. 1 (2013). p.95. ; Mehmet Arif Şahinli and Nazan Şahbaz, "Türkiye’de Tarım Sektöründe Kadın İstihdam Profili," *Uluslararası Sosyal ve Ekonomik Bilimler Dergisi* 3, no. 1 (2013). p.56. ; Serpil Sancar and Ayça Bulut, *Turkey: Country Gender Profile*(Ankara: Ankara University, 2006). p.17-35.

2008 and 75.1% in 2010.<sup>343</sup> Secondly, as a response to increasing rural poverty, rural women, especially from landless and small peasant households, have been integrated into rural economy as paid laborers. But, they have informally worked as low-paid seasonal migrant agrarian workers, daily workers or workers for subcontractor farmers. Thus, they are not counted in the official statistics as paid agrarian laborers.<sup>344</sup> Although the number of paid female agrarian workers has linearly declined and it was 79% in 1985, 60.5% in 2000, 46% in 2013 and 23.6% in 2015,<sup>345</sup> they have still composed of most of the paid agrarian laborers in rural Turkey. Lastly, the number of self-employed or employer women in agriculture has also increasing. While they were composed of rural female labor force 13.4% in 2004, it has been 19.4% in 2007 and rose to 29.5% in 2015.<sup>346</sup> As explained later, new agrarian state policies that have targeted making wealthier rural women self-entrepreneurs have played an important role for this increase especially in the 2000s. Although these women have not represented the majority, it shows us another important class- specific trend in the directions rural female labor has taken in current Turkey.

This dissertation might provide us insights to understand the dynamics of rural class differentiation, gendered labor relations and agrarian transformation in contemporary Turkey in three ways: First, it might be helpful to understand gendered power relations and asymmetries in the agrarian labor market in a neo-liberal era.

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<sup>343</sup> TUIK, "İstihdam İstatistikleri, "(Ankara2016). Available at [www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr).

<sup>344</sup> See Esra Peker and Yeşim Kubar, "Türkiye’de Kırsal Kesimde Kadın İstihdamına Genel Bakış," *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi* 14, no. 2 (2012). p.173-189. ; Vedat Pirinç, Seval Gökova, and Songül Akın, "Female and Child Labour in the Agricultural Sector: The Case of Diyarbakır," *Agriculture and Forestry* 60, no. 1 (2014). p.83-90. ; Dilek, p.54. ; Candan, p.97.

<sup>345</sup> TUIK, "İstihdamın Sektörlere Ve Cinsiyete Göre Dağılımı,"(Ankara2016). Available at [www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr).

<sup>346</sup> Ibid.

Secondly, this study gives us tools to explain gendered politics intrinsic to state policies targeting rural women, and the roles of rural women in shaping these policies. It might also guide new researches on the political activism of rural women and on peasant struggles in rural Turkey.

First of all, this dissertation might be useful to obtain more information on gender hierarchies, vulnerabilities and power relations in the agrarian labor market in rural Turkey. As examined in different parts of this dissertation including gendered labor control mechanisms, and home economics projects, gender norms and expectations closely correlate with the value of rural women`s domestic or agrarian work. By focusing on these correlations, this study enables us to ask the following questions on gender and class specific relations of agrarian production in the neo-liberal era: How do gendered norms and expectations, and hierarchical gendered relations affect domestic use-value and exchange-value production processes in peasant households influence each other? How patriarchal power translates itself into intensive uses of female labor?

However, in the existing literature, there are only few studies on gender relations as it relates to the patriarchal control and uses of female labor power in agrarian production in current Turkey. Deniz Pelek`s study on how rural men took the advantages of gender discrimination seasonal migrant female agrarian workers subjected in the labor market in Ordu and Polatli in 2009<sup>347</sup> and Namık Kemal Şentürk`s thesis on male control over the working conditions of women, in the cases of daily agrarian workers for pepper,

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<sup>347</sup> Deniz Pelek, "Seasonal Migrant Workers in Agriculture: The Cases of Ordu and Polatlı" (Bogazici University, 2010). p.105-122. On the same exclusionist manners, see also Dilek, "Türkiye'de Tarım Sektöründe Kadın İstihdamı: Bölgesel Temelli Bir İnceleme."p.78-81.

grape and pistachio in Kilis in 2005<sup>348</sup> can be given as examples for the rare studies on hierarchical gender relations and the problems of female agrarian workers, that need further scholarly investigation. New studies on these relations and problems will illustrate how rural women experience the exploitation and discrimination with different vulnerability levels according to their gender, class, ethnicity, age, marital status etc..

Furthermore, the correlations between gendered norms and the value of women's work have been studied only for seasonal female migrant workers or daily agrarian workers. For example, in Gamze Ergin's thesis, rural women's domestic work was devalued and the roles of motherhood and wifeness were prioritized by men and this resulted in double burden for seasonal female workers who came to Malatya for peach harvest from Sanliurfa, Diyarbakır and Adıyaman in 2008.<sup>349</sup> Female daily agrarian workers for pepper, grape and pistachio experienced the same thing in Kilis in 2005 as Türk explained in his study.<sup>350</sup> These kinds of studies should be multiplied to understand the impacts of gendered expectations on domestic and agrarian work for rural women belonging to different classes and on the ways they were integrated into rural economy.

In order to explicate the complex processes of female labor transition and asymmetries in the labor market with gender and class lenses, this dissertation also shows the importance of analyzing changes in material conditions of production as it relates to rural female labor power. In Göllüce and Atalan, after the mechanization of cotton production in the late-1950s and the arrival of laborsaving high-yielding crop, Mexican

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<sup>348</sup>Namık Kemal Türk, "Kilis İli Elbeyli İlçe Merkezindeki Kadın Tarım İşçilerinin Sosyal Ve Ekonomik Yapıları" (Ankara Üniversitesi, 2006). p.54-67.

<sup>349</sup> Gamze Ergin, "Türkiye'de Tarım Sektöründeki Kadın İşgücü: Malatya Örneği" (İnönü Üniversitesi, 2009). p.67-80.

<sup>350</sup> Türk, p.55-65.

wheat, in 1967, class inequalities and poverty had increased and, social relations of agrarian production had undergone a big transition. And, women's labor power had been subsumed into agrarian capitalism in different but subordinated forms to sustain these relations. By analyzing these changes, this study underlines the following questions that are important for understanding gender asymmetries and power relations in the market in current Turkey: What are the material factors that affect gendered divisions of labor in the agricultural sector? How gender interacts with class positions in framing rural living and working conditions in different cases?

But, the existing studies focus only on the changes in off-farm activities of rural women after the liberalization of agrarian production in Turkey. For example, in his field study on the transformation of social relations of agrarian production in Sakal village in the Southeastern Anatolia, Baris Karapinar explains well how changes in material conditions of production, land fragmentation, ecological constraints and low-yield cereal production resulted in diversification of livelihood and shifts in women's role from carpet weaving to dairy production among small peasants in the 2000s.<sup>351</sup> In another study, Emine Onaran Incirlioglu made comparison between the changes in labor processes for carpet weaver women as a response to intensification and mechanization of agricultural production and pauperization in two villages of Anatolia in 1986.<sup>352</sup> These kinds of academic studies on the effects of female off-farm activities on class differentiation among peasants, and on the survival of peasant households and the studies on the conditions for rural women's participation in wage earning off-farm activities need to be

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<sup>351</sup> Barış Karapınar, "Rural Transformation in the Age of Globalization: Small Farms in Turkey, 1980-2004" (London School of Economics and Political Science, 2014). p.153-183.

<sup>352</sup> Emine Onaran Incirlioğlu, "Gender Relations in Rural Transformation: Two Central Anatolian Villages" (University of Florida, 1991).p.366-386.

made to reveal the complexity of rural transformation in Turkey.

Changes in the material conditions of agrarian production also resonate with labor control mechanisms for rural women belonging to different classes. Thus, there is also need for new researches on gender and class specific labor control mechanisms and changes in these mechanisms with the neo-liberalization of agricultural production. In order to unearth how rural women experience the exploitation with different vulnerability levels according to their gender, and class, labor control mechanisms used by the employers, labor intermediaries, or landowners should also be explored in new studies.

This dissertation that included the analysis of gender and class specific labor control mechanisms used by different actors including landlords might also be useful for elaborating these mechanisms in the neo-liberal era. Labor control mechanisms used by the landowners, and big corporations constitute an academic field that does not take enough scholarly attention in Turkey.<sup>353</sup> But these mechanisms are very important to understand the impacts of structural adjustment policies on rural class differentiation and the transformation of gendered divisions of labor after the implementation of these policies. How big corporations put pressure on the farmers to achieve high yields without making legally binding contracts, and guaranteeing payment, how rich farmers and big landowners make agreements with the corporations to get input and subsidies and use these to reorganize social relations of production, how using female labor have become functional in the new accumulation processes and survival of poor sharecropper, landless peasant or small farmer households need to be answered in new studies to enrich our

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<sup>353</sup> Behrooz Morvaridi, "Gender Relations in Agriculture: Women in Turkey," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 40, no. 3 (Apr. 1992). p.567-586. Behrooz Morvaridi's study on the exploitation of unpaid female labor supply of sharecroppers by landowners who contracted with sugar corporations in Igdir in the late 1980s after transition into cash crop, sugar beet, is an important example in this field.

knowledge on rural class differentiation and new uses of female labor power in rural Turkey.

Secondly, this dissertation also enables us to interpret the political activism of rural women in the neo-liberal era. In Göllüce and Atalan, youth branches of the political parties, and leftist activists had mobilized landless peasants in accordance with their political views on rural class inequities, peasantry and land reform, but all of them had turned deaf ears to gendered claims made by the occupier women. This had limited their success transforming structural inequities, especially for women, in two cases. Based on these findings, this dissertation might be helpful to comprehend the class-based and gendered dynamics of current peasant movements, the roles of activist groups in organizing these movements and the factors affecting their successes and failures in rural Turkey. New studies on how the rural female protestors give voice to their claims, how civic society organizations and activists mobilize them in accordance with these claims and to what extent the movements became successful or failed will provide us better information on current peasant discontent and movements in Turkey. These studies also will enrich our knowledge on peasant movements and its social and economic implications for rural women.

In rural Turkey, as proved by the following examples, rural women are still taking very active roles in peasant movements against the policies of the JDP government that have facilitated privatization and commodification of road, soil and water, since 2002. But, unfortunately, there are only few academic studies and newspaper articles tackling the relations between rural women, peasantry and contentious politics. Şahinde Yavuz's and Özlem Şendeniz's article in which they explain how rural women's participation into

the demonstrations against hydroelectric power plants affected class and gender relations in Fındıklı village of Rize in 2010<sup>354</sup> and Üstün Bilgen Reinart's book on how the politicization of rural women to prevent the gold mining with cyanide and sustain subsistence farming in Bergama transformed class and gender relations at the advantage of women in 2002<sup>355</sup> are exceptional scholarly studies on the political activism of rural women and its impacts on gender relations in the neo-liberal era in Turkey.

Furthermore, as landless peasant women who participated into land occupations in Göllüce and Atalan, rural women have still encountered with politicians, rural police officers, and state officials, interacted with the activists, and civic society associations and made gender and class specific claims in these movements. However, these confrontations and the political reactions to rural women's activism have not hitherto taken any scholarly attention in the literature on rural Turkey. For example, rural women have taken active roles in the protests against the governmental support for the violation of land rights by the private companies in different regions in 2015. Most of the protesters against the Green Road project (Yeşil Yol) that aimed at privatizing and uniting pasturelands and constructing a road in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey were rural women. And there had been violent confrontations between the gendarmerie, and women preventing road construction with their protests in front of the bulldozers in Samistal at Çamlıhemsin, Rize.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> Şahinde Yavuz and Özlem Şendeniz, "Hes Direnişlerinde Kadınların Deneyimleri: Fındıklı Örneği," *Fe Dergi* 5, no. 1 (2013), p.43-58.

<sup>355</sup> Bilgen Reinart, *Biz Toprağı Bilirik! Bergama Köylüleri Anlatıyor* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003).

<sup>356</sup> See the following newspaper articles on this point: Pınar Ögünç, "Kendimiz Zaten Yeşilük, Yolun Yeşilu Olurmu?," *Cumhuriyet*, [http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/koseyazisi/377053/Kendimiz\\_zaten\\_yesiluk\\_yolun\\_yesilu\\_olur\\_mu\\_.html](http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/koseyazisi/377053/Kendimiz_zaten_yesiluk_yolun_yesilu_olur_mu_.html) . ; Eren Dağıstanlı., "Yeşil Yol'dan Direniş Notları: Acep Gene Öter Mi Samistal'da Bülbüller?," *Diken*, <http://www.diken.com.tr/yesil-yoldan-direnis-notlari-acep-gene-oter-mi-samistalda-bulbuller/>. For the



These kinds of confrontations and interactions between the politicians, rural police officers and politically active women show us the cooperative relations between the government, state officials, capital and rural police officers using coercive state power to secure the interests of the capital owners similar to the relations between gendarmerie, landlords and the government in Göllüce and Atalan. And, there is need for new academic studies scrutinizing different cases across the country to shed light on these cooperative relations and rural women's political activism against these relations.

This study might also be helpful to understand the objectives of current state policies targeting rural women. As for the home economics projects implemented in Göllüce and Atalan in 1967, state policies have still affected the ways women integrated into rural economy in Turkey. Since the 1990s, state projects have targeted integration of rural women into market as self-entrepreneurs. In Oya Açıkalin's words, new state policies "criticize the marginalizing or exploiting effects of capitalist market relations on women."<sup>357</sup> Thus, new top-to-bottom result-oriented state projects typically aim at improving rural women's access to resources (e.g., technical education, vocational training, credits) and making them self-employed entrepreneurs as in the villages of

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speech of a female protestor, Hava Ana, who has been the symbol of the protest see Anon., "Yeşil Yol Direnişinin Sembolü Kadınlar Mücadelemiz Sürecek," CNNTurk, <http://www.cnntrk.com/turkiye/yesil-yol-direnisinin-sembolu-kadinlar-mucadelemiz-surecek> "Devlet biziz! Benim sayemde o koltukta oturuyorsun!" There is also a documentary on the Green Road Protestors called as Tears Road (Gözyaşı Yolu), Engin Türkyılmaz, 2016 and the video on Havva Ana's speech is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAPt99aUxNg>.

<sup>357</sup> Oya Açıkalin, "Gender Approaches in Development Projects: Lessons from Eastern Turkey," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 66, no. 1 (2008). p.4. For the description of the same objectives in these plans see T.C. Gıda Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığı, *Kırsal Alanda Kadının Güçlendirilmesi: Ulusal Eylem Planı, 2012-2016*(Ankara: Eğitim Yayın ve Yayınlar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2012). p.1. ; Esra Kulak, *Tarımsal Üretim Süreçlerindeki Değişimin Kırsal Alanda Kadın: İstihdamına Etkileri: 1980 Sonrası Gelişmeler*(Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Kadın Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, 2011). p.115-117.

Mersin in 2009<sup>358</sup> and Ovakavagi village of Konya in 2011.<sup>359</sup>

In the National Action Plan for Empowerment of Rural Women 2012-2016 and for Gender Equality 2008-2013 of the JDP government, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Directorate General on the Status of Women also officially defined the transformation of rural women from small farms into self-entrepreneurs to increase agrarian productivity and make small farms viable in near future.<sup>360</sup> Instead of subsistence farming, they should produce cash crops by using state-given credits and loans to reorganize agrarian production with new technical knowledge and inputs. State would also provide gender-based training on entrepreneurship, marketing, branding, green housing and producing local organic products like fruit preserves, paste, butter and making contracts with the supermarkets and local bazaars.<sup>361</sup> In this way, rural female labor power would be productive and rural women would be integrated into rural economy as self-entrepreneurs with stable employment and regular income.

In Turkey, for the first time, rural women were regarded as agrarian workers in the VI. State Development Plan (1990-1994) with the establishment of the political advisory committee on rural women's employment as a part of "1987 Prospective Nairobi Strategies of the United Nations."<sup>362</sup> From then on, creation of on- and off-farm income-generating activities for female unpaid family workers has been a major political goal in the State Development Plans. And, these goals have occupied a central place in

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<sup>358</sup> Sevgi Rad and Hacer Çelik Ateş, "Participation of Rural Women in Sustainable Development-Demographical and Socio-Economic Determinants," *Sustainable Development* 20(March.2010). p.71-84.

<sup>359</sup> Cennet Oğuz, Aysun Yener, and Hari Haryadi, "Agricultural Extension Activities: A Study on the Possibilities of Rural Women: Case Study in Konya, Turkey," *Horticulture* 69, no. 2 (2012). p.206-214.

<sup>360</sup> Esra Kulak, *Tarımsal Üretim Süreçlerindeki Değişimin Kırsal Alanda Kadın: İstihdamına Etkileri: 1980 Sonrası Gelişmeler*(Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Kadın Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, 2011). p.115-117.

<sup>361</sup>T.C. Gıda Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığı, p.66-70.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid., p.107.

the IX. State Development Plan of the JDP government (2007-2013) with the establishment of the Department of Peasant Women (Kadın Çiftçiler Daire Başkanlığı), the state institution in charge of training rural women on new agrarian technologies and integrating them into rural economy as self-entrepreneurs.<sup>363</sup> Thus, it had been planned to regulate rural female labor power to satisfy market demands for cash crops and local homemade food items.

State-led income-generation projects for rural women are not limited by on-farm activities. State support to rural women who are willing to improve their skills for knitting, carpet weaving, sewing or doing other handicrafts and marketize their products has also mentioned in the IX. Plan.<sup>364</sup> All of these plans consider rural women's integration into economic life as a strategy for alleviating rural poverty and eliminating gender inequalities.<sup>365</sup> In other words, it is assumed that when rural women become entrepreneurs, economic development will be achieved.

This dissertation might also suggest new ways in explaining the objectives and impacts of these state plans on rural women. As this dissertation showed, gendered norms and expectations affect both the design of the policies and its consequences with regards to gendered divisions of labor in peasant households. Why rural women's domestic work is invisible in current policies, to what extent these policies are participatory and inclusive, and how gender politics are intrinsic to these projects are important questions

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<sup>363</sup> Ibid., p.108-126.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid., p.111.

<sup>365</sup> Yıldız Ecevit, "Türkiye'de Kadın Emegİ Konulu Çalışmaların Feminist Tarihçesi," in *Birkaç Arpa Boyu... 21. Yüzyıla Girerken Türkiye'de Feminist Çalışmalar Prof Dr. Nermin Abadan Unat'a ArmağAn*, ed. Serpil Sancar and Pelin Özer (Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011). p.138-139. ; Gökhan Gökulu and Mina Furat, "Türkiye'de Kadınla İlgili Kalkınma Politikalarının Ve Projelerinin Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirmesi," *Turkish Studies* 8, no. 8 (Summer 2013). p.1898-1904..

to conduct new researches in the field of agrarian studies in Turkey.

Moreover, similar to the analysis of the interactions between home economists and landless peasant women in Göllüce and Atalan in this study, new longitudinal studies should be made on institutional relations and interactions between the personnel and rural women to demonstrate the functioning of these policies in regulation of rural female labor power and the roles of rural women in shaping these policies. Since current agrarian state policies have affected the ways female labor used in agrarian sector and class positions of peasant households, its consequences should be elaborated to explicate different uses of new skills and knowledge by rural women as opposed to the state agents' intentions of making them self-entrepreneurs in different cases.

However, state projects that aimed at equipping rural women with entrepreneurship abilities have evaluated as it relates to gender relations only in few studies. Açıkalın's study on how discriminatory attitudes of the personnel and gendered expectations, like gossip, and teasing affected rural women's decisions on participation into the Eastern Anatolia Development Programme executed with the support of the EU in 2008 for greenhouse agriculture<sup>366</sup> and N.Durutan's article on how the selection of high income peasant households and of women involved in farming, specific commodity production, for the state projects made poor peasant women more vulnerable in the WB sponsored Agricultural Extension and Applied Research Project in 23 villages of Turkey in 1990<sup>367</sup> are some of the studies on demonstrating disparities along gender and class lines in the designs and implementations of current state policies.

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<sup>366</sup> Açıkalın, "Gender Approaches in Development Projects: Lessons from Eastern Turkey." p.13-14.

<sup>367</sup> Durutan N., "Agricultural Extension for Women," in *La Vulgarisation, Composante Du Développement Et Rural*, ed. Plaza P.(Montpellier: CIHEAM, 1994). p.77-88.

It is obvious that only rich peasant women who have enough assets to set up their own businesses or the ones who work as paid laborers in big agricultural enterprises benefit from current agrarian state policies. But, in the design of these policies, poor peasant women working as seasonal workers, subcontractors or unpaid laborers are invisible economic actors and the state has not taken any measures to improve their working conditions. Thus, new studies should be made on the impacts of state policies on rural female labor across different class positions and active roles played by women in shaping these policies.

In conclusion, there are gender and class-specific factors affecting the gendered processes of agricultural transition: patriarchal relations, gendered expectations and norms, changes in the material conditions of productions, labor control mechanisms, state policies, the organization of peasant movements and reactions of the politicians and law enforcement agents in rural Turkey. And this dissertation provides us theoretical insights to analyze these factors in the neo-liberal era. New studies on these social, political and economic factors will shed light on the processes of differentiation among peasants in the neo-liberal era, and the central place of rural women's in these processes in different localities and regions.

APPENDIX



Figure 1.1. Geographical location of the research sites.



Figure 2.1. Fatma Irfan Serhan, "Ağalar ve Masallar." *Yön Dergisi*, No:13, 18.07.1962, p.13.



Jandarmaların kendisini tartakladığını söyleyen Sabahat Güleç görülüyor.

Atalan Köyü kadınları bir duvara yazdıkları dövizin önünde. «Merhamet dilenmiyoruz, hakkımızı istiyoruz.»  
(Foto AKSAM: Özden ALPDAĞ)

## Jandarmaya, hazine arazisinde, kadınlar karşı çıktılar

Özden ALPDAĞ yazıyor, İZMİR

Ege Bölgesinde ilk kez, ağaların yıllardır ekip - biçtikleri hazine arazilerine shaip çıkan Atalar Köyünde, dünden itibaren kadınlar idareyi ele aldılar. «Bundan böyle.» diyorlar «Toprakla ilgili her meseleyi biz halledeceğiz. Kocalarımız jandarma baskısından yılmağa başladılar. Jandarma ile biraz da biz cebelleşelim.» (Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 4 de)

Figure 2.2. Özden Alpađ, “Jandarmaya hazine arazisinde kadınlar karşı çıktılar.” *Aksam*, 25.02.1969, p.1. “We don’t want your mercy, we want our right!” is written on the banner .



# Atalan köyünde traktörlü işgal



İzmir'in Atalan köyünü işgal eden kadınlar, işgalden sonra ekine zarar veren haşaratla mücadeleye başlamışlardır. Resimde kadınlar köydeki otları temizlerken görülmektedir. (Foto: AKSAM — Özel)

Figure 2.3. "Atalan köyünde traktörlü işgal." *Aksam*, 02.02.1969, p.1.



Ciftliği, diğer tarlalardan ayıran telörgüler arkasında sonucu bekleyen köylüler...



Menderes'in Halası Mesude Evliyazade'nin Göllüce'deki çiftliğini işgal eden köylülerin en yaşlısı Ayşe Nine, Valiye dert yanarken.

## **İşgalci köylüler Vali Muavinine "Açız," diye bağırды**

Özden ALPDAĞ, Göllüce Köyünden yazıyor

Bir kısım politikacılar, «Türkiye'de toprak reformu yapılsın mı, yapılmamasın mı?» münakaşasını sürdürdürsunlar. Ege'de iki köy halkı hafta içinde toprak reformunu fiilen yaptılar. Hazineye ait arazileri ağaların elinden alıp parsellediler, işgal ettiler.

Toprak reformunu ilk tahakkuk ettiren Torbalı'nın Atalan köyü halkı işgali halen devam ettirmekte. Anayol üzerinde bulunan Atalan köyünden geçenleri «Bu köyde toprak mücadelesi vardır» yazılı büyük bir pankart karşılıyor

Önceki gün Mesude Evliyazade'nin tapusuz olarak zilyedine geçirdiği iddia olunan arazide işgal başlayınca Menderes'in halası İzmir Valiliğine «Köylüler topraklarımızı işgal ediyorlar» diye

(Devamı Sa. 7. Sü. 6. da)

Figure 2.4. Özden Alpdag, "İşgalci köylüler vali muavinine 'açız' diye bağırды." *Aksam*, 04.02.1969, p.1.

sitesi Merkez binasında dün sa-  
cilerle komandolar arasında ta-  
teylli ve sopalı bir çatışma olmuş  
tunan bir çocuk ile iki öğrenci ya-

Komandalardan bir grup Rek-  
tör Ekrem Serif Egeli ile Tıp  
Fakültesi Dekanı Tarık Zafer  
Tunaya'yı tartaklamış, devrim-  
ci öğrenciler de yaptığı konu-  
mayı beğenmedikleri Egeli'yi  
yuhalamışlardır.

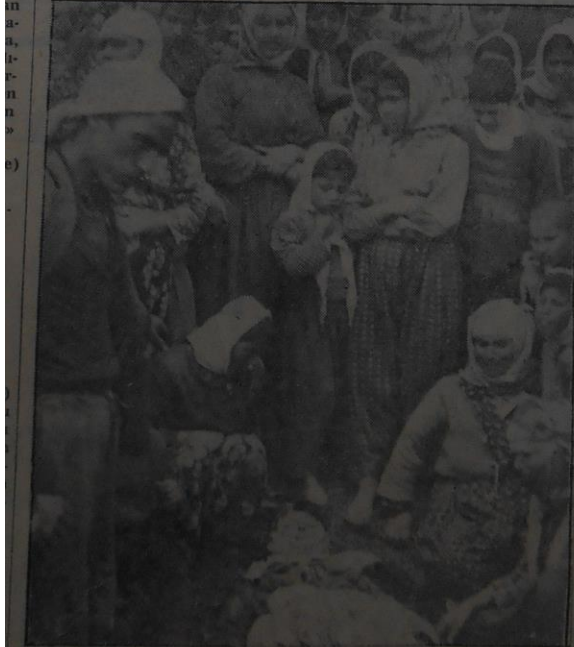
Sabahın erken saatlerinde, Üni-  
versite Merkez binasında topla-  
nan devrimci öğrenci grubu, «Ko-  
mandoların saldırı yapacakları»  
ihbarını aldıklarını bildirerek,  
kapıları tutmuş, dersaneleri do-  
laşarak, sınıfları boşaltmaya baş-  
lamışlardır.

Öğrencilerin bu hareketi üye-  
rine Merkez binaya giden Rek-  
tör Egeli kendilerine hitaben  
bir konuşma yapmış, özete  
«Duyduklarına çok üzüldüm.  
Siz derslerinize girin. Üniversi-  
te burasını korur. Dışarıdan ge-  
lecek harekete karşı her tedbi-  
ri aldık. Onlar gelmeyecekler,  
gelemeyeceklerdir» demiştir.

Ancak Rektörün konuşmasını  
tatminkar bulmayan devrimci  
öğrencilerin bir kısmı yangın  
merdivenlerinden çatıya çıkmış-  
lardır. Bu sırada öğrencilerin  
ellerinde sopalar ve taşlar oldu-  
ğu görülmüştür.

Saat 10'a doğru 150 kadar ko-  
mando, Üniversite bahçesine  
girmişler ve dış kapıları tutmuş-  
lardır.

(Arkası Sa. 7. Sü. 1 de)



**YARALI HAMİLE KADIN** — Jandarma hücumu sırasında dipçik-  
le yaralananlardan Hanım Göbeği, köylü kadınlar arasında çaresiz  
yazıyor. Hamile olan 36 yaşındaki kadın, İzmir'de tedavi edilmiştir.

## İkisi ağır, 4 yaralı var Göllüce'de Jandarma, kadınlara hücum etti

İZMİR, (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) — Göllüce'de tapu fazlası ara-  
zinin ağalar tarafından traktörle sürülmesi sırasında arazide ot  
toplayan 200 kadar köylü kadına, Torbalı Kaymakamına vekâlet  
eden Kırız Kaymakamı Tamer Ersoy ile Torbalı Jandarma Komu-  
tanı Assubay Ömer Dönmez'in emri üzerine jandarmalar hücum  
etmiş, ikisi ağır olmak üzere 4 kadın, dipçik darbeleriyle yaralan-  
mıştır.

Rahatsızlığı sebebiyle rapor  
alan eski kaymakamın, «Bu ara-  
zi, ağalar tarafından kullanıl-  
mayacak» diye teminat vermesi-  
ne rağmen, Mesude Evliyazade'  
ye ait traktörlerin merakı sür-  
meye başlaması üzerine Göllü-  
celi kadınlar, arazide ot top-  
lamaya başlamışlardır. Kadınların  
araziden çıkmamaları karşısın-  
da, çiftlikte mevzilenmiş 30 ka-  
dar jandarma, başlarında taban-  
calarını çeken Kaymakam ve  
Jandarma Komutanı olduğu hal-  
de, kadın ve çocuklara hücumu-  
da, kadın ve çocuklara hücumu  
kalkmışlardır. Hücum sırasında  
yaralanan Göllüce Muhtarının ka-  
rısı Cennet Yılmaz ile Hanım Gö-  
beği (Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 7 de)

## İsrail-Ürdün çarpışmasına Irak da katıldı

[DIŞ HABERLER SERVİSİ]

AMMAN — İsrail uçaklarının  
hücumu, dün de devam etmiş,  
Ürdün'ün Addasiye kasabası bom-  
balanmıştır. Yetkili bir İsrail as-  
keri sözcüsünün Telaviv'de yap-  
tığı açıklamaya göre, önceki ak-  
şam Ürdün vâdisinde İsrail ve  
Ürdün topçusu arasındaki ateş  
teatisine, Irak topçusu da katıl-  
mıştır.

Ürdün sözcülerinin bildirdiği-  
ne göre, saat 24.15'de Çineh ve  
Meşruh bölgelerine açılan İsrail  
topçu ateşi, sonra Far Esad Böl-  
gesine doğru yayılmış, Ürdün top-  
çusunun karşılık vermesi üzerine  
de atışlar, 01'e kadar sürmüştür.  
Bu arada, Ürdün Nehrinin Doğu  
yakasında saldırıya girişen İsrail  
uçaklarından 6'sının düşürüldüğü  
öne sürülmüştür. Haberi veren  
Kahire Radyosu, uçakların hava-  
(Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 2 de)

## "a a,, grevini halk da destekliyor

Yedi gündenberi yurt ça-  
pında başarı ile uygulanan  
(a a) grevi halkta intikal et-  
miştir. Bunun bir sonucu o-  
larak Kapalıçarşı esnafından  
Murat Ali Atmaca dün Ana-  
dolu Ajansı grevçileri ile  
Türkiye Gazeteciler Sendika-  
sı yöneticilerine bir öğle  
yemeği vermiş, yılın sempo-  
luk grevini desteklediğini ve  
fikri işçilerinin yanında oldu-  
ğunu açıklamıştır.

(Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 2 de)



■ Sınır boyu

SOVYET

MOSKOVA, (Dış Haberler  
servisi, dün Budapeşte)  
(Toplantı, 2 saat sürmüştür) U-  
rindeki Rus - Çin sınır çarpışm-

## İki k üze

Yurdun çeşitli yerlerinde mu-  
halefet liderleri iktidara karşı  
hücumlarını sertleştirirken A.P.  
henüz suçlamalara karşı hareke-  
te geçmiyor. Gazetelerde kısa  
kısaca, kesik kesik yayınlanmakta  
beraber Ecevit olsun, Bölükbaşı  
olsun, koalisyon hayaliyle yaşı-  
yan Güven Partisi, Y.T.P., T.I.  
P., B.P., M.H.P. sözcüleri olsun  
hepsi A.P. ye veyahutun etmek-  
tedirler. A.P. liderleri ise bir tak-  
lim toplantılar yapmakta, ve ko-  
misyonlardan geçmesi dahi muh-  
temel olmayan tasarıları üstüste  
Meclise göndermekle meşgul.

Savunmayı bile bırakarak hü-  
cumları sineye çekmek yeni bir  
taktik midir? Yoksa Adalet Par-  
tisi yüksek kademesi kendi için-  
de, bir takım meseleler yüzün-  
den pek meşguldür de ondan mı  
ses çıkarmamaktadır? bilmiyo-  
ruz. Yalnız bilinen ve görünen  
şudur ki Parliamantoda gruplar  
olarak, milletvekillerinin devam  
sözleşimden, yönetim görevliğinin  
den, etkili davranamayan muha-  
lefet sesini Parliamento dışı top-

Figure 2.5. Anon., "Göllüce'de jandarma, kadınlara hücum etti: İkisi ağır, 4 yaralı var." Cumhuriyet, 18.03.1969, p.1. The picture shows us the fatally injured pregnant woman.



# KÖYLÜ

Tüstay Arşivi  
Orhan SİLİER  
Bağış

Sayı: 3

Sahibi, Sorumlu Md. Doğan Tarkan

11.6.1969

## Köylüler.. Birleşin

Çoğumuz gazetelerde okumuş, radyolarla dinlemişizdir. Geçenlerde İzmir'in Atalan ve Göllüce köylerinde köylüler, ağaların kullandığı toprakları işgal ettiler. «İşgal» dememiz sözün gelışı. «Bu topraklar zaten Hazine'nin malıdır. Hazine de ağaların değil ya, milletin hazinesi. Bizimse toprağımız yok. Öyleyse buraları ekip biçmek bizim hakkımızdır.» dediler. Köylü böyle dedi ya, ağalar boş durur mu? Bir yandan kendi yaşamlarını köylünün üstüne sürüp, öte yandan candarmaya haber etseler. Köylüler çıkmadı. Genç ihtiyar, çocuk çocuk kadın-erkek direndiler. «Bu toprakları eleme ve de bilmek, hem de ürünü bölüşmek bizim hakkımızdır.» dediler. Aganın yaşamlarını dövmüş, candarmayla çalıştırdılar.

### HÜKÜMET

#### AGALARDAN YANA ÇIKTI

Ya hükümet ne yaptı? Ne yapacak? Hükümetin Tarım Bakanı ağalardan yana çıktı, köylüyü haksız buldu. «Tapu Devletin namusudur.» dedi.

toprak verilmesini. Niyet vermiyorsunuz?» Hükümet eder, susar. Oysa Anayasa açık Hazine toprakları biz topraksız ve toprağı yetmeyen köylülere tapulanancaz. Hazine toprakları da yetmezse, büyük toprak sahibi ağalardan parası verilersek fazla toprakları alıncaz. Bunlar da topraksız ve az topraklı köylüye bedava dağılacak, tapulanancaz. Eğer tapu devletin namusuna, bu iş böyle olur.

Yalnız toprak işinde mi, her neye el atsak bozuk. Sözelimi krediler, ağaya, tüccara bolcana verilirken, köylüye bir çift öküz parası bile verilmez. Zengin, ağayı, tüccarı, patronu, faizcivi kavırır da; işçi, köylü, zanaatkar, küçük esnaf ezilir.

### KÖYLÜLER!

#### TEK ÇIKAR YOL BİRLEŞMEKTİR

Birlik olmalı. Tek çare bu. Ne şimdiki, ne de daha önceki iktidarlar Anayasa'nın emri olan toprak dağıtımını yapmamışlardır. Neden? Çünkü bu iktidarlar bizden yana değil, ağa-

Hazine arazısını ağalar kullanırsa, beylerin namusuna dokunmaz da, köylüler kullanırsa «namus» diye ayağa kalkarlar. Bu ne biçim namustur, anlayamadık gitti?.. Be adam, tapu devletin namusudur da, neden hep ağaların elinde bu topraklar? Yoksa sadece onlar mı bu vatanın sahibi? Bilelim, eğer böyleyse, varsın askere yalnız onlar gitsin, tarla-tapan onlar çalışsın, düşmana karşı yalnız onlar döğüşsün...

### TOPRAK ONU İŞLEYENİNDİR

Adama sorarsın: «Bey, bu topraklarda çalışan ölen biziz. İşleyen biziz, neden dışleyen onlar?» Cevap hazır: «Bunlar komünistlikler, dinsizlikler.» Sen, «Yahu bey, dersin, bırak bunları, bu sözler sana düşmez. Biz «dini» biliriz. Dinimiz, HERKES İŞLEDİĞİ TOPRAĞIN SAHİBİDİR, buyurmuştur. Hangi ağa kendi toprağını işler? Hem Anayasamız da yazıyor, topraksız ve az topraklı köylüye

dan, büyük tüccardan, bankacıdan faizciden, yani bizi sömüren zengin sınıflardan yanadır. Gözlerimizi açalım gayrı. Anayasaya sahip çıkarak toprak isteyelim. Toplantılar yapalım. Yürüyüşler yapalım. Şehirlerde mitingler düzenleyelim. Bizden yana olmayanlardan hesap soralım. Köylülerin toplantılar, yürüyüşler, mitingler yapması kamuna uygundur. Buna vali, kaymakam, bakan, hiçkimse engel olamaz!

Ama bütün bunlar da yetmez elbette. Şimdi zengin sınıfının partileri iktidardadır. Dertler, ancak işçi-köylü ve de tek mil emekçilerin partisi iktidara gelirse biter. Mecliste 10-15 kişiyle olmaz bu işler. Kendi partimizi bilelim, o partiye girip çalışalım, kendi partimizi iktidara getirelim. Kurtuluşun yolu birlik olmaktadır.

Unutmayalım kardeşler, ağalar - beyler - fefeciler - bankacılar - büyük tüccarlar başka bir sınıf; biz başka bir sınıfız.

### TOPRAKSIZLIK SUÇUNDAN 24 YIL HÜKÜM GİYDİ.

Kozaklı cezaevinde yatan Sadettin Karalar adındaki bir köylü mektubunda şunları yazıyor:

İlca köyündemim. Köyümüzün 20 bin dönüm arazisi beş zengin ağa tarafından bölüşülmüştür. Ankara'dan gelen Toprak Komisyonu'na hallimizi arz edip çare diledik. Bu komisyon ağalara hiç ses çıkarmadı. Ve de bu yüzden toprak kavgası patlak verdi. Dört kişi öldü. Ben de işte bu yüzden mapusa düştüm, tam yirmi dört yıl giydim. Bizim suçumuz açlık sebebiyle toprak kavgası çıkarmak. Bu toprak kavgası kimbilir benim gibi kaç insanın başını yaktı. Kaç insanı evinden, eşinden ayırmıştır.

Memleketin toprakları, o toprağı işleyen köylünün elinde değil de zengin ağaların elinde durducaz Sadettin Karalar gibi daha çok köylünün başı yanar, öcağı söner.



### KÖYLÜLER BİRLEŞİMİ

Ankara'da Odunpazarı, Söğüt, Maltepe, Döğüş, Kırda, Hakkari'de olduğu gibi Mitingler yürüyüşler yapalım.

### HAKKIMIZI ARAYALIM.

### TARIM BAKANI KONUŞTU

20 Mart 1969 günü zengin çiftçilere ait Ziraat Odaları Birliğinin Ankara'da yapılan toplantısında bir konuşma yapan Tarım Bakanı şunları söylemiştir:

«Zenginlerden alıp fakara ya vereceğiz diyenler, bu emellerine kavuşamayacaklardır. Mülk sahiplerinin topraklarına göz dikerek üç-beş vatandaşın aklını şaşırıp zengin çiftçinin topraklarını köylülere işgal ettirmek isteyenler bu işi başaramayacaklardır. Devlet, kanunlar ve Türk Halkı buna karşı koyacaktır.»

İşte zenginlerin hükümetinde bakan olan kişi böyle konuşur. Mecburi böyle konuşcaz, çünkü onu fakara seçti ama zenginler bakan yaptı.

Figure 3.2. Anon., «Köylüler Birleşin.» *Köylü*, Number: 3, 11.06.1969, p.1.

## MAKINAYA VERILIRKEN

# Akhisar olayları ile ilgili A.P gençlik teşkilatı bildiri yayınladı

Egede son günlerde solcuların meydana getirdikleri olaylar dolayısıyla AP Gençlik teşkilatı bugün bir bildiri yayınlamıştır...

Bildirinin metni şöyledir:

Son günlerde cereyan eden olaylar karşısında görüşlerimizi açıklamak zaruretini duymuş bulunuyoruz.

Atalan köyünde toprak işgali Akhisarda ise tütün için uyarma mitingleri yapılmaktadır...

Yapılan bu müdahale aslında son on yıldır yüzi gülme yen müstahsile yüzünün güldüğü bir zamanda faydalı ol

(Yazısı 6. sayfede)

Figure 3.3.1. Anon., "Akhisar olayları ile ilgili AP bildiri yayımlandı." *Ege Telgraf*, 08.02.1969, p.1.

# Makinaya Verilirken

(Bastarafı 1 Sahifede)

mak değil bilâkis bunu istis mara yeltenerek kendi emel ve gayelerine hizmetten başka bir şey değildir... Bu gibi hareketlerin öncülüğünü yapan birkaç satılmışın FKF adı altında toplanarak bu milletin kaderi huzur ve güveni ile oynamaya hakları ol

**Gürçeşme Mehtap Mahallesi Çimen Camii Yapırma ve Onarma Yaşatma Derneği Başkanlığından ilân olunur.**

Derneğimizin senelik muttat toplantısı 16.2.1969 Pazar günü saat 13.00 de aşağıdaki gündem gereğince 3647 Sokak No, 22 de kurulu kahvede yapılacaktır.

Sayın üyelerimizin bu toplantıya katılmaları ilân olunur.

**Gürçeşme Mehtap Mahallesi Çimen Camii Yapırma ve Onarma Yaşatma Derneği Başkanı**

**GÜNDEM:**

- 1 — Açılış ve yoklama.
- 2 — Divan seçimi,
- 3 — Faaliyet raporunun okunması,
- 4 — Hesap tetkik komisyonunun seçimi,
- 5 — Raporların müzakeresi,
- 6 — İdare heyeti ve murakıpların ibrası,
- 7 — Dilek ve temenniler,
- 8 — İdare heyeti ve murakıpların seçimi.

(Telgraf: 347)

madığını demokratik hukuk devletinin icaplarına uymalarına bir daha hatırlatırız...

Aslında tütünün resimlerde ve içtikleri sigarada gören bu sokak soytarıları anarşist ve ihtilâlcî komünistler, Tütün müstahsilinin menfaatlerini savunmak perdesi altında kendi davranışlarını meşru göstermek için bunu bir kalkan bir istismar vasıtası olarak kullanmak istemeleri bir gerçektir...

Her sahada hızla ilerleyen güzel yurdumuzda sudan sebepler göstererek ihtilâlcî metodlarla anarşi yaratıp kurmak istedikleri proleter diktatoryaya zemin hazırlamak sevdalarında olanlarla milletinde bir sabır ve tahammül derecesi olduğunu bilmeleri vatandaşın huzur ve güveni ile alay etmekten vaz geçmelerini ve bu ümitsiz gayretlerine derhal son vermelerini milliyetçi gençlik olarak ihtar ederiz...

Türk Gençliğini temsil etmekten yoksun FKF ismi altında komünist taktiği ile çalışan bu grubun Akhisarda yaptıkları mitingi asla tasvip etmiyor ve bu gibi hareketlere tevessül eden ve edeceklerin taşıyacakları ağır mesuliyetlerin hesabını derhal kendilerinden soracağımızı efkârı umumiyeye duyururuz.

**AP GENÇLİK TEŞKİLATI  
İL BAŞKANI ZAFER  
KÖK ÖZ**

Figure 3.3.2. Anon., "Akhisar olayları ile ilgili AP bildiri yayımlandı." *Ege Telgraf*, 08.02.1969, p.6.



Figure 4.1. Müjgan Dericioğlu, "Köy Kadınının Eğitimi ve Gezici Kadın Kursları," *Köylü: Günlük Siyasal Akşam Gazetesi*, Year: 15 No: 4433, 01.05.1969, p.1.





Figure 4.2. Necdet Başarır, "Cahil Vatandaş' Sözü Toplumdan Silinmelidir: Yetişmiş Kişilerin Eğitimi," *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, Year: 10 No: 513, 10.08.1967, p.1.



Bacım;

Kadın köyde olsun, şehirde olsun, kadına lazım olan bazı şeyleri bilmesi gerekir. Bunlar arasında dikiş de önemlidir. Köyde terzi her zaman bulunmaz. Bulunsa da bazı anlar terzi parası ödemek güç gelir, kazancına, geliri ne göre fazla gelir. Çocuğunun giyim eşyasını, küçük çamaşırlarını terziye diktirmek çok masraflı olur. Bir terzi kadar değerli, kendi ihtiyacına yetecek kadar dikiş öğrenmen lüzumludur.

«Köy yerinde, tarla işi, den dikiş dikmeğe vakit mi kalır ki» demiyecaksin. Çıplak gezemeyeceğine göre, kendi şalvarını, işliğini çocuğun elbisesini, kızının entarisini, oğlunun tulumunu dikmen lüzumludur. Aldığın ucuz bir kumaş parçasını kendin dikip değerlendirirsen, senin de, çocuğunun da üstü başı daha temiz, daha derli toplu daha yeni olur. Az masrafla, biraz emekle temiz giyinmek imkânını bulursun.

## Köylü Bacıma diyeceklerim

Kirli, pis, yırtık şeyler giymek ayıptır. Yamalı da olsa temiz giyecekler ayıplanmaz. Ama dikiş bilmeyen kadın, doğru dürist yama yapmasını da bilmez elbiselerine. Çocuklarını da yırtık, pırtık gezdirir. Oysa kirli olmak, pasaklı olmak, eski şeylerle gezmek ayıptır.

Ucuz kumaşlardan giysiler yapmak, ucuz basmalar giymek insanı küçültmez. Yakıştırmasını bilince o basma parçası ipekliden çok değer kazanır. Temiz giyimli, üstü başı temiz olan insanı herkes sever. Köyde, iş içinde bile olsa temiz olmak, temiz giyinmek gerekir. Kendini temiz tuttuğun gibi çocuklarını da sık sık yıkaman lüzumludur.

Bugüne kadar, dikişini dikmesini öğrenmeye vakit bulamadıysan, bundan sonra da öğrenebilirsin. Öğrenmenin yaşı yoktur. Dikiş öyle zor bir iş de değildir. Eğer kızın varsa, ona mutlaka dikiş öğretmek imkânını vermelisin. Köy kadınları için köylerde açılan biçki — dikiş kurslarında çok güzel şeyler öğretilir. Köyünün kadınları birleşerek, bu kur-

sun köyünüzde de açılması için önayak olmalısın.

Elinle diktiğin, şalvarını, işliğini daha büyük bir zevkle giyersin. Çocukların kendi diktiğin elbiselerle süslersen, bezersen daha çok mutlu olursun. Ana olarak daha çok güğüpta ile şeyyreden gur duyarsın. Çevren de güğüpta ile seyrederek senin bu davranışını.

Üstü başı tertemiz, çiçekli, basma şalvarı tiritiril köy kadınlarını herkes sever. Şehirli kadın da onların yanına gidip konuşmayı ister. Ama kirli, yırtık giysiler içinde bulunanlardan herkes uzak durmak ister.

Temizlenmeğe yıkanmağa, suyu sevmeye çocuklarını da alıştırdı bacım. Üstlerini başlarını temiz tutmayı onlara küçük yaştan bellet. Kızının eline küçük yaştan iğne iplik ver. Oğlun bile sırasında bir söküğünü, kopuk bir düğmesini dikmeyi öğrensin.

Temizlik, yalnız güzel görünmenin değil, sıhhatin, sağlığın da şartıdır. İşte bahar, çocukların da tabiat ananın kucagında. Onun gibi temiz, güzel ve renkli olsunlar.

Figure 4.3. Anon., “Köylü Bacıma Diyeceklerim,” *Kadın Sesi: Haftalık Fikir Gazetesi*, 07.05.1970, p.3.



# Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim

SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL

**T**eknik eğitim ve öğretim meseleleri bugün bütün dünyayı meşgul eden bir numaralı mesele olarak görülmektedir. Eğitim, öğretim meselelerinin en zor taraflarından birisi bunların mazide, neticesinin istikbalde olmasıdır. Şunu ifade etmek istiyordum ki, bugün bitirilemeyen bir mesele arıyorsanız bu eğitim meselesidir. Bu itibarla çözümü zor, çözüm bulunması zor, hattâ çözüm bulduk denilmesiy zor bir mesele ile karşı karşıya bulunduğumuzu kabul etmek mecburiyetindeyiz. Bu takdride belki sabırsızlığın sebep olabileceği olgunlaşmamış bir takım neticelere ve hükümlere varmaktan kurtuluruz.

Türkiye şartlarında bulunan bir memlekette eğitim meseleleri, modern memleketlerinkinden çok daha güçleşir: Modern memleketler okuma - yazma meselesini bitirmiştir. Sanayileşmesinde ileri kültür davasında değerli merhaleleri katetmiştir. Bütün bunların doğurduğu meseleler vardır elbet. Ama, bu meseleler Türkiye'nin bugün içinde bulunduğu şartların meydana getirdiği meselelerden tabiiyle farklıdır.

## EĞİTİM DAVAMIZ

Türkiye'nin eğitim ve kültür davası (ki, her türlü gelişmemizin medeni seviyeye ulaşmamızın içerisinde refahtan önce gelen, refahı doğuran bu kültür ve eğitim davası mutlak manâda yer alır.) herhalde halli kolay bir mesele değildir. Ne yapabiliriz? Bir çıkmazla mı karşı karşıyayız? Böyle ümitsizlik dinamik Türk milletine yakışmaz. Onun değerli eğitimcilerine eğitim meselesinde bir çıkmazda olduğumuz şeklindeki beyanlar, iddialar yakışmaz. Meselenin zorluğu bizi o noktaya götürmemelidir. Eğitim meselesi dediğimiz zaman öğretim ve kültür meselemizin çeşitli yönleri içerisinde ihtiyaçlarımızı iyi tesbit etmek, temel felsefemizi iyi tesbit etmek, hedeflerimizi iyi tesbit etmek, buna göre de imkânlarımızı kullanmak geliyor.

**TÜRK KADINI MİLLETİMİZİN TEMELİNİ TEŞKİL EDER. BU TEMELE NE KADAR İYİ BAKARSANIZ, BU TEMELİ NE KADAR SAĞLAMLAŞTIRIR, VE NE KADAR BİLGİLENECEK HALİ GETİRİRSENİZ; TÜRKİYE, KALKINMASINI O KADAR ÇABUK YAPAR.**

## ÜÇ MİLYAR LİRA

Memleketimiz maddî kaynaklarından büyük kısmını eğitime veriyor, bugün irfan ordumuz mevcudu 125.000 kişidir. Türkiye için büyük bir zinedir. 125.000 kişinin Türk eğitim davasına kesini vermiş olması Cumhuriyetin kurulduğu günü düşünürseniz, onunla mukayese ederseniz, çok büyük bir merhaleyi katetmişizdir. Bugün Türkiye Cumhuriyeti bütçesi üç milyar liranın üzerinde bir miktarda eğitim sahasına severek veriyor. Üç milyar ra savunma masraflarımızın % 75'i kadardır. Türkiye savunmasına dört milyar lira veriyor, eğitime üç milyar lira veriyor.

Her meselede olduğu gibi, eğitim meselesinde sadece şikâyet edip oturmak değil, memleketin bu gayretlerle yetiştirdiği değerli çocuklarını, değerli evlâtlarını en iyi şekilde hedefe yöneltmek ve onlardan azamî şekilde istifade etmek, memleketin şindin turnağından arttırdığı üç milyar lira gibi meblâğı en iyi şekilde kullanmak lazımdır. Bu yaparken de 20 sene sonraki Türkiye nasıl olacak, on sene sonraki Türkiye nasıl olacaktır, bunu düşünmek, tahayyül edebilmek lazımdır. 20 sene sonraki Türkiye'yi tahayyül edebilecek hiç bir şey yoktur. Ama hiç olmazsa ana hatlarını ana çerçeveyi tahayyül edebilmeliyiz. Eğitimci, memleketin

Figure 4.4.1. Süleyman Demirel, "Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim," *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, Year: 3 No:22, year? p.6 It is the full speech of the Prime Minister.



## Dileklerin

Dileklerini neden attın  
denizlerin okyanusların ötesine  
Sen bu ülkenin kan damarısın  
Köyünün kentinin can damarısın.  
Dileklerini neden attın  
denizlerin okyanusların ötesine?  
Birgün senin ülkende de gün doğacak  
Belki isteğinden beklediğinden de yakın  
Belli olmaz  
Gün doğmadan neler doğar...

Neriman SARYAL

ünkü durumundan daha çok yarımından mesuldür. İra bugünkü durumundan dün mes'uldür. Binaenaleyh bugünkü durumundan dün mesul ise iş işten geçmiştir. Ellimizi kolumuzu sıvayıp, yarınki durumundan bugünkü mesuliyetimiz göğüs kabartıcı bir şekle getirmeye mecburuz.

### EĞİTİM VE TEFEKKÜR

Eğitim meselemiz bitmeyen, akıp giden, daima apraşık, can sıkıcı, üzücü bir takım hususları içine alabilecek olan bir meseledir. Eğitim meselemizi hal ettik, hiç bir işimiz kalmadı diyebilecek hiç bir memleket ve millet yoktur. Bugün batı memleketleri bizim ulaşmış bulunduğu refah seviyesindeki kültür seviyesinde, okuma - yazma seviyesinde, ilim seviyesinde dahi büyük buhranların içersindedirler. Tefekkürü olmayan bir eğitim sistemi olmaz.

Tefekkürü kim yaratacak?

Tefekkürü politikacılar yaratmaz; tefekkürü Türk eğitimcisi yaratacaktır. Politikacı onu icra eder, onun içindir ki, memleketin her meselesinden sorumlu bir avuç insan aramak yerine memleketin her meselesinden hepimiz sorumlu olabildiğimiz anlar meselelerin çözümüne yaklaşıyoruz.

Değerli Türk eğitimcisi bu zamana kadar Türk eğitimine büyük hizmetlerde bulunmuştur. Ama, Türkiye bugün 33 milyonluk, 15 sene sonra 50 milyonluk Türkiye olacaktır. Türkiye'nin şartları bundan 15 sene evvelki Türkiye değildir. Muhabere, münaka-

le imkânları, eğitimin daha yaygın hale getirilmiş olması, sağlık hizmetleri, dünya konjonktürü Türkiye'nin bizatili kaydetmiş bulunduğu mesafe Türkiye'de yeni şartlar meydana getirmiştir.

### DAHA MÜHİM MESELELER

Önümüzdeki on sene zarfında daha mühim meselelerle Türkiye karşı karşıya kalacaktır. Şehirleşme hareketleri çok daha büyüyecektir. Tarımla uğraşan nüfus, bugünkü seviyede bile olsa, artan nüfusun büyük bir kısmı endüstriye nakledilecektir. Endüstrileşen memleketlerin meseleleri, daha da karışıktır. Binaenaleyh sosyal strüktür, sosyal bünye değiştikçe, eğitim meselelerimizin de prensipleri değişebilir, metodlarımızda bazı gelişmeler olacaktır. İkinci Beş Yıllık Plan eğitimin ama politikasını içine almıştır. Ama ikinci beş yıllık plan devletin bütün faaliyetlerini tüm olarak içine alan bir plandır. Binaenaleyh sadece ana hedefleri, sadece doğru bir ana çerçeve içinde ele alınabilecek hususları içine alır. Bundan sonra her sahada, plânları geliştirmek, bunları koordine etmek, bunların birbiri ile olan irtibatını iyi tanzim etmek meselesi yine Türk eğitimcisinin görevleri arasında bulunuyor.

Söylediklerim mesleki ve teknik öğretimi tüm eğitim ve öğretimden ayırdetmek güçlülüğünü belirtmek içindir. Binaenaleyh, mesleki ve teknik öğretim tüm eğitimimizin bir parçası olacaktır. Onun için de iyi oturmalıdır. İyi uymalıdır, eğitimin maksadına,

Figure 4.4.2. Süleyman Demirel, "Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim," *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, Year: 3 No:22, year? p.7.

ana maksadına, temel maksadına uygun olmalıdır. Yani, Türk çocuğuna aklın bütün imkânlarını kullanarak gerçekleri peşin hükümlere, hislere, hususmetlere bağı olmadan doğru karar verebilme ve sağlam hüküm verebilmeyi iyi öğretebilmek gerekir. Hangi eğitim şubesinde olursanız olun, bir numaralı meselemiz budur. İyi öğretilemediği takdirde verecek maharetin kullanılması ezberden ileriye gitmez. Binaenaleyh kabiliyeti dünyaca müsellemlenmiş Türk kafası evvelâ doğru hüküm verme ve doğru karar vermeyi başarabilmelidir. Diğer işlerimiz bundan sonra başlayacaktır. Mesleki ve teknik öğretim memleketimizin topyekûn kalkınmasında çok değerli yeri işgal eder. Doğru hüküm verme, sağlam karar verme ve ilâveten Türk çocuğuna içinde yaşayacağı cemiyete iyi uyabilmesini, onun iyi bir ferdi olabilmesini sağlayacak bilgileri de vermeye mecburuz.

### TÜRK OLMANIN GURURU

Bütün bunların yanında Türk çocuğuna nereden geldiğini ve nereye gitmekte olduğunu da iyi öğretmeye mecburuz. Yani sadece maddî vasıtalar için yaşayan, yaşamak isteyen bir vatandaş değil, mefahiri bulunan, mazisi bulunan, şanlarla şereflerle dolu tarihi bulunan büyük bir milletin çocuğu olduğunu öğretmeye mecburuz. Bunu öğretmediğimiz takdirde ilâbet yaşama, payidar olma şeklindeki milletimizin bizatihi yaratılışında mevcut olan büyük değer zedelenir. Bizim için bir ve bütün olarak yaşama, refah içinde yaşamadan evvel gelir. Bir ve bütün olarak yaşamadığımız takdirde refahı aşılmanın zaten imkânı yoktur. Aslında aklın yollarını öğrettiğimiz takdirde o akıl, o zihin birşeyler arıyacaktır, kendisini arıyacaktır. Ben neyim, nereden geliyorum, nereye gidiyorum? Yani Türk çocuğuna bilgiyi öğretirken milli gururu, Türk olmanın gururunu, Türk olmanın büyük değerini de beraber öğretmeye mecburuz. Mesleki ve teknik öğretim dediğimiz zaman bunları bir kenara atamayız, evvelâ bunları öğreteceğiz, ondan sonra da bunun üzerinde hem meslek öğretimi hem de teknik öğretimi vereceğiz.

### GERÇEKLERDEN KORKMAYALIM

Mesleki ve teknik öğretim müesseselerimizin yetiştireceği çocuklarımız, mesleki ve teknik eğitimin ana hedefine uygun olarak yetiştirilmelidir. Bürokrat mı olacaklardır, teknisyen mi olacaklardır? Eğer yetiştirdiğiniz çocuklarımız bürokrat olacak ise, yol yanlış, ben yüzdeyüz bürokrat olmasın demiyorum, çünkü herkesin istediği işi seçebilme hürriyetinin bulunduğu bir memlekette tabiidir ki, herkes istediği işi tutabilecektir. Ama, o isteği öyle verilmedir ki, kendi sahasını terkedip teknisyen olma, meslek icra etme, sahasını terkedip devlete memur olmak devletin muayyen kademelerinde kâtip olma onun üstünde çeşitli kademelerde memur olma hevesi olmasın. Öyle olacak ise, o zaman mesleki ve teknik öğretim fonksiyonunu görememekte, o işler için kurulmuş bulunan müesseselerimize bir ek vazifesi görmemektedir. Heves verelim, kendi mesleğini icra etme, kendi öğrendiğini kullanma hevesini verelim.

Bugün hepimizin bildiği bir hususa daha temas etmek isterim. Gerçeklerden yılmayın, gerçekleri biz de yılmayız. Gerçekler acı ise bizim kusurumuz ise, biz bu kusurları göğüsleyecek insanlarız. Demek ki, kusur sahibini aramaktan çok onun tedbirlerini alırız.

### VE TÜRK KADINI

Memleketimizde mesleki ve teknik eğitimin çeşitli kademelerinde bugün heves azalmaktadır. fevkalâde kötü bir tezahürdür. Ümit kırıcı bir hürdür. Sanat Enstitüleri, Kız Enstitüleri talebinde güçlü çökmektedir. Bunu önleyici tedbirler düşünülmesi gerekir. Bu, acaba okullarımızın bulunduğu günden bu yana müfredat programları, memleketimizin ortamının istediği elemanları yetiştirmekten mi ileri geliyor? Yoksa başka sebeplerden mi ileri geliyor? Bunun üzerinde hassasiyetle durulmalıdır. Kızlarımıza bu zamana kadar mesleki okullarımız çok değerli bilgiler vermişlerdir. Türk cemiyetinin bünyesinin muasır medeniyet seviyesine uygun bir şekilde gelişmesinde büyük rol Türk kadınıdır. Türk kadını milletimizin temelini teşkil eder. Temele ne kadar iyi bakarsanız, bu temeli ne kadar sağlam hale getirirseniz, ne kadar çok bilgilere getirirseniz, Türkiye kalkınmasını o kadar çok yapar.

Öğretmenler, Türk kadını köyde, kentte, şehirde, kasabada, gecekondu, kenar mahallede arayın bulunuz. Şayet Türk kızını bulamadı iseniz, Türk kadını mutlaka arayın bulunuz. Ona, evvelâ ailesi, sonra topyekûn cemiyetin daha iyi şartları içinde yaşamasını icap ettirecek bilgileri vermektir çekim yapınız. Türk kadını çok kabiliyetlidir. Çabuk öğrenir. Öğrendiğini çok iyi şekilde tatbik eder. Onu, hiçbir şekilde ihmal etmeyin. Herşey onunla başlar. Memleketin bütün cefasını o çeker, onu cefadan kurtarmanın yollarını bir taraftan ararken, ailenin zancını daha iyi kullanmanın yollarını öğretiniz. Onları bilgili hale getirmek memleketimizde iktisadiden büyük tasarruflar, sosyal yönden de büyük rahatlak yaratır.

### KÖYLÜ KIZINA EĞİLİNİZ

Köylü kızına eğiliniz, köylü kızına eğilmediğiniz takdirde, yirmi iki milyon nüfusa inememiş bir Türk köylü kızına hepimiz görmüşsünüzdür. Bugün verdiğiniz zaman üç ay içerisinde şeklini değiştireceğiniz evinin şeklini değiştirir, binaenaleyh sizin tabii olarak yaygın eğitim dediğiniz şeyi bütün gücünüzle fiilî olarak yaygın hale getirmenin yollarını arayınız.

Bugün, hızla gelişen dünyada hızla gelişen Türkiye vardır. Yani, sadece Türkiye gelişiyor da değil, dünya uyuyor değil, bütün dünya gelişiyor. Türkiye hızla gelişiyor ve gelişmeye mecburdur. Bir zamanlar buhranlar tasavvur etmek : «— Olmuyor, bitmiyor yapamıyoruz, edemiyoruz, bu işin içinden çıkamıyoruz» şeklinde günlük hayatımızı dolduran şikâyet yerine) oluyor, bitiyor, yapıyoruz, yapabiliyoruz.

Figure 4.4.3. Süleyman Demirel, "Teknik Eğitim ve Öğretim," *Türk Kadını: Dünyada Her Şey Kadının Eseridir*, Year: 3 No:22, year? p.8.

Ecevit,  
jandarma  
kordonu  
altındaki  
Göllüce'de  
konuştu:

«Anayasa,  
mücadelenizi  
durdurmak  
isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır»



BÜLENT ECEVİT

Hikmet ÇETİNKAYA  
Torbalı'dan bildiriyor

C.H.P. Genel Sekreteri Bülent Ecevit dün sabah, beraberinde milletvekilleri ve gazeteciler olduğu halde Göllüce köyüne gelmiş, burada yaptığı konuşmada, «Sizler, hak mücadelesi, insanlık mücadelesi yapıyorsunuz. Sizin, kanuna karşı geldiğinizi iddia edenlerin kendileri kanunlarımızın üstünde olan Anayasamıza karşı geliyorlar, çiğniyorlar» demiştir.

48 saatten beri jandarma kordonu altında bulunan ve dün sabah köyün giriş kısmındaki yol üzerinde araçlara bindirilen jandarmaların kadınlara küfür ettiklerini, yerlerde sürüklediklerini Bülent Ecevit'e söyleyen Göllüceliler, «Bizi, denize mi dönecekler?... Bizi kurşuna mı dizecekler?... Ne yapacaklarsa yapsınlar, ama işkence yapmasınlar» demişlerdir.

Bülent Ecevit, Göllücelilerin isteklerini teker teker dinledikten sonra köylülere şunları söylemiştir:

«Bu Anayasa, sizin Anayasa mücadelenizi durdurmak isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır. Sizlerin oylarınızla size bu işkenceyi yapanlar, yıkılıp gideceklerdir. Kendi köylüsünün kadınına düşman yerine koyup, onu yaralıysınlar ve yaraladıktan sonra 3 saat tariada bırakanlar, insan değillerdir.

Arkadaşlarım, kendinize hâkim olacaksınız. Kanunları çiğnemeyeceksiniz. Size eziyet edenler, kanunları çiğnemektedirler. Yasaları çiğnemektedirler. Bütün millet sizinle beraberdir. Onlara dersini verecektir...»

### Köylüler ağladı

Köylülerin hiçkırta hiçkırta ağlamaları karşısında konuşmasını zaman zaman kesen Bülent Ecevit, daha sonra şöyle devam etmiştir:

«Savaş gelir. Önce cepheye köylüler sürülür. Burada yaşayanlarımızın şehit düşmüş yakınları vardır. Niçin şehit düşmüşlerdir. En yaşınız 95 yaşında olsa bile, köye ne zaman yerleştiğinizi bilmiyor. Demek ki, bu toprakların hakiki sahibi sizsiniz. Ama çok sonradan gelmiş 3 insan, sırtını işbaşındaki- lere dayıyarak topraklarınıza el koymuşlar. Bu topraklar (Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 2 de)

## CHP Ortak Grup, ön seçim konusunu ele aldı

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)

CHP Ortak Grupunda dün ön seçimler konusu, Cevdet Aykan'ın verdiği bir önerge üzerine görüşülmüş, bir konuşma yapan Genel Başkan İnönü, «Önseçim usulünün demokratik olmayan yanlış yollardan yürütülmesinden yıllardan beri çok şikâyet topladık. Ama nasıl bir yeni usul getireceğiz bu meçhulümüzdür» demiştir.

İnönü, kısa konuşmasında ayrıca şunları söylemiştir:

«Bildiginiz gibi, günün başlıca meselesi, seçim kanunu üzerinde nasıl bir karar vereceğimize dir. Adalet Bakanı, geçen yıl bu konuda siyasi partilerin görüşünü istediğinde verdiğimiz cevabı uzun zaman tartışarak bulmuştuk. Bu mesele üzerinde usul olarak ve esas olarak bir vaziyet olacak mıyız, almayacak mıyız? Parti Meclisinde bunu görüşeceğiz. Biz Adalet Bakanına geçen yıl taslak üzerinde partilerle birlikte tecrübeli hâkimler ve ilim adamlarının da katkıları (Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 1 de)

Figure 5.1. Hikmet Çetinkaya, "Ecevit jandarma kordonu altındaki Göllüce'de konuştu: "Anayasa mücadelenizi durdurmak isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır," Cumhuriyet, 19.03.1969, p.1.

# Ecevit

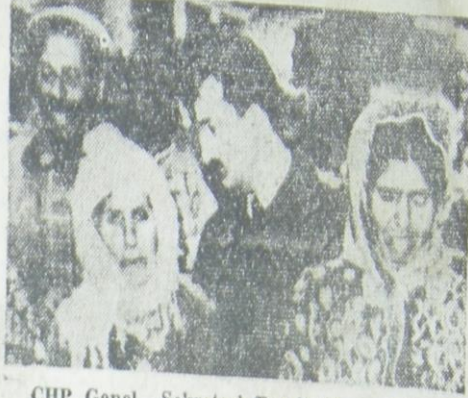
(Bastarafı I. sahifede)

Tanrınıdır. Bu toprakları Tanrı insanlara ekip biçsin diye vermiştir. Bu topraklar üzerinde kulların yaptığı adaletsizliğe kanun diye boyun eğemeyiz. Bu kanunları değiştireceğiz. Değiştirmemekte ısrar edenleri de değiştireceğiz. Çocuklarınızla kurtulacaksınız. Çocuklarınız sizin çektiğiniz acıyı çekmeyeceklerdir...»

Bülent Ecevit, konuşmasını bitirdikten sonra, Göllüce köyünde bulunan İzmir İl Jandarma Komutanı Albay Orhan Tunçal'la görüşmüştü ve kendisine, «Jandarma, niçin Göllüce köyünde bulunuyor?» demistir. Albay Tunçal, bu soruya, «Köylüler ile arazi sahiplerinin çatışmasını önlemek için, arada tampon durumundadır. Valinin emri ile dün gece yarısı buraya geldik» cevabını vermiştir.

Ecevit, 13.30 da uçakla Ankara'ya gitmiştir.

Figure 5.1.2. Hikmet Çetinkaya, “Ecevit jandarma kordonu altındaki Göllüce’de konuştu: “Anayasa mücadelenizi durdurmak isteyenlerin başına yıkılacaktır,” *Cumhuriyet*, 19.03.1969, p.7.



CHP Genel Sekreteri Ecevit Turgutlu'da jandarmalardan dayak yiyen kadınlar ve köylüleri dinliyor.

## Jandarmalar arasında konuşan Ecevit "Köylü haklıdır" dedi

Özden ALPDAĞ bildiriyor, TORBALI

CHP GENEL Sekreteri Bülent Ecevit dün Ege'de toprak kavgasını başlatan Torbalı'nın Göllüce ve Atalan köylerini ziyaret etmiş, köylülerle yaptığı konuşmada: «Sizler hak mücadelesi, Anayasa mücadelesi yapıyor-

sunuz» demiştir.

**GÖLLÜCE'DE  
ÜÇYÜZ JANDARMA**

CHP Genel Sekreteri Bülent Ecevit ve beraberindeki milletvekillerini Hanımağa Mesude Evliyazâde'nin sahip çıktığı Göllüce Köyünde gözleri yaşlı yüzlerce kadın karşıladı. «Seni buraya Allah gönderdi. Biz Hanımağa'nın zulmünden kurtar. Biz gâvur değiliz» (Devamı Sa. 7, Sü. 4 de)

açıkladı

nlü

Figure 5.2. Özden Alpdağ, "Jandarmalar arasında konuşan Ecevit "Köylü Haklıdır" dedi," *Aksam*, 19.03.1969, p.1.



# Demirel: «Türk halkının kendi malı olmayan hiç bir şeyde gözü yok»

Kanunsuz, nizamsız, istediğiniz gibi elinizi kolunuzu sallayarak, kendi hakkınızı kendiniz takdir edemezsiniz. Hak aramanın bütün yollarının açık olduğu bir

memlekette, herkes kendi hakkını kendisi takdir edemez. Zira

kanunlarda hakları tesis eden maddeler vardır.

Hak ve hukuku korumakla mükellef kişiler olarak, bu beyanları yapmağa devam ederken, memleketi anarşiye sürüklersiniz.

Kanunsuzluğu teşvik etmeniz, kanunlar Cumhuriyetin kanunlarıdır. Ne bekliyorsunuz emarsiden? Milleti birbirine bozduktursunuz. 50 sene, 100 sene, 200 sene unutulmayacak hatalar açarsınız.

HALKA, KANUNLARA KARŞI GELMELERİNİ SÖYLÜYORSUNUZ. AKLİSELİM BU SÖZLERE BAKMAYACAKTIR. TÜRK HALKI HAKKI, HUKUKU BİLİR. FAKİRDİR, MUSTARİPTİR, İHTİYAÇ İÇİNDEDİR AMA, BUNLARIN HEPSİNDEN ÇOK DAHA ÜSTÜN DEĞERİ OLAN BİR HAK MEFHUMUNA BAĞLIDIR

## CHP kanunsuzluğu

ANKARA, (Son Havadis)

Başbakan Süleyman Demirel, geceki bütçe müzakerelerinde, CHP. Genel Sekreteri Bülent Ecevit'in amme nizamını ihlâl edici mahiyetteki konuşmasını cevaplandırmış ve «Bir memlekette nizam, kişi emniyetini korumakla başlar, Türk Anayasası mülkiyet hakkını tanıyor. Hukukun üstünlüğünün kabul edildiği yerde zor yoktur, zorbalık yoktur» demistir.

Başbakan bu konuşmasında özetle sunları söylemiştir:

«İktidar olmanın mesuliyeti de bizi birçok yönlerden bağlamaktadır. Muhalefet olsak da mesuliyetsiz olmayız. Ben huzurunuzda, memleketin amme nizamını ilgilendiren bir hususta seki lamada bulunmak için geldim.

Siyasi iktidar olarak, memlekette pek çok şeylerden sorumlu olduğumuzu, bu arada da demokratik hayatın gelişmesi, ve kökleşmesinden de kendimizi sorumlu tuttuğumuzu huzurunuzda ifade etmek isterim. Gayet tabiidir ki, bu sorumlulukları (Devamı sa. 7. s. 1'de)

# teşvik ediyor



Başbakan Demirel

## İnfial devam ediyor

Figure 5.3.1. Anon., “CHP kanunsuzluğu teşvik ediyor,” *Son Havadis*, 14.02.1969, p.1.

# CHP kanunsuzluğu teşvik ediyor

(Bağtarafı Yüce sayıdadı)

Juluk sadece bize ait değildir. Ama herkes sorumsuz olsa dahi bir sorumlu olmağa devam edeceğiz. Ümit ediyorum ki, gerek yüce Meclis içinde, gerek yüce Meclis dışında, söyleyeceğim hususlar bir akli selim ölüsü içinde değerlendirilecektir.

## DOĞAL YASALAR

Ana muhalefet sözcüsü konuşmasında «devletten, hükümetten ümidi kesen halk, anayasamızın izin verdiği, hatta emrettiği toprak reformunu yer yer kendisi gerçekleştirmeye başlamıştır. Bu hareket ne jandarma ile, ne teknolojik buluşlarla, ne de vasalarla önlenemez.»

Bütün yasaların üstünde anayasa vardır, diyor sayın sözcü. «Bunun da ötesinde doğal yasalar, tabiat kanunları vardır. İnsanca yasama hakkının bilincine varan bir halk, o hakkı elde etmesini bilir. Bu, bütün yasaların üstünde bir doğal yasadır.»

Sayın sözcü ellerine topraksız köylü olmaz diye levha alıp cikanları kimse durduramaz, diyor. Onu söyle de temsil edebilirsiniz. Evsiz insan olmaz diyenleri de kimse durduramaz, dükkansız insan olmaz diyenleri de kimse durduramaz, iste ben bunu anlatmağa geldim.

Kamu yararı mefhumu içinde ferdin yararı vardır. Kamu, cansız birşey değildir. İçinde fertler vardır. Hattizatında kamu yararı, fert yararlarıdır. Onun içindir ki, ferdin dokunulmaz haklarına, kamu yararı için dahi olsa müdahale olunmaz. Aksi takdirde bu kapı açık olursa, totaliter devlete gidersiniz, adına demokratik devlet dersiniz ama, totaliter devlete gidersiniz iste bu kapıyı kaamak için Türk anayasası, ferdin haklarını özüne dokunulamıyacağını da yine bir diğer maddesiyle tedvin etmiştir. Binaenaleyh Türk anayasasını herkes istediği gibi anlamağa mezun değildir. Türk anayasasında haklar vardır. Veciheler vardır. Bunun yanında, devletin umumi kuruluşu vardır.

## HUKUKUN ÜSTÜNLÜĞÜ

Şu hususu bilhassa belirtmek isterim ki, Türk anayasası hukukun üstünlüğü prensibini kabul etmiştir. Hukukun üstünlüğü prensibini kabul ettiğiniz takdirde, kanunları kabul edeceksiniz, zira, hukukun üstünlüğü kabul edilen yerde, zor yoktur. Zorbalık yoktur, bizzat ihkaki hak yoktur. Hakkınız dahi olsa, zorla bunu almak yok. Mercilerine gideceksiniz bütün bunlar bir hukuk nizamını korumak tesis etme içindir.

Diyorsunuz ki, gidiniz su toprağı işgal ediniz, etti, peki, ondan daha kuvvetlisi geldi, çık buradan dedi, ne diyecek ve kime şikâyet edecek? Bu kaideyi bütün memlekete tatbik ederseniz, bu memleketin hali nice olur? Bunları buradan beher ettikten sonra, çıkan hadiseler karşısında ki-

me, ne hesabı soracaksınız? Memlekette anarşi istidadı var diye, evet. Anarşiyi teşvik ettikten sonra, zısmı teşvik ettikten sonra, şikâyet teşvik ettikten sonra, kime hesabı soracaksınız?

## MÜLKİYET HAKKI

Bir memlekette nizam, kişi emniyetini korumakla huslar. Türk anayasası mülkiyet hakkını tanıyor mülkiyet hakkına müdahale ettiğiniz zaman, bununla beraber, kişi emniyetine de müdahale edersiniz, kanunsuz, nizamsız, istediğiniz gibi elinizi kolunuzu sallıyarak, kendi hakkınızı kendiniz takdir edemezsiniz. Her halükarda hak aramanın bütün yollarının açık olduğu bir memlekette herkes kendi hakkını kendisi takdir etmevecektir. Zira Türk anayasasının hakları tesis eden maddeleri vardır.

## TENAKUZA DÜŞERSİNİZ

Bazı hususları buradan söyledikleriniz takdirde bir tenakuzun içinde olursunuz. O da sudur: Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin yasama organı olarak kanun yapıyorsunuz. Bu kanunları tatbik görevini bize veriyorsunuz, ondan sonra da bu kürsüye çıkıyor, halka, bu kanunlara karşı gelmelerini söylüyorsunuz, bu kanunlara karşı gelmelerini teşvik ediyorsunuz. Bir takım akliselim, bu sözlerle bakılmıyacaktır. Türk halkı, hakkı, hukuku bilir. Kendi hakkı olmayan hiçbir şeyde gözü yoktur. Fakirdir, müstarıptır, ihtiyacı içindedir ama, bunların hepsinden çok daha üstün değeri olan bir hak mefhumuna bağlıdır.

Bu kürsüden halkı, kanunları tanımamaya teşvik edemezsiniz. Bu olmaz, bu aklın alacağı iş değildir, kanun getirebilirsiniz, kanunlar üzerinde durabilirsiniz ama, devletin jandarmasını, devletin polisini tanımayacak, kanun tathikatçısını tanımayacak. Bu olmaz. Bu, otoritenin sıfıra indirilmesidir.

Acaba niçin Türk Anayasası aheni açık ve vazih bir şekilde mülkiyetin Türk vatandaşının hakkı olduğunu yazdığı halde, bu hakkın ihlâlini haklı olduğunu yazmamıştır? Acaba ana muhalefetin sayın sözcüsü, kendi söylediğinin Anayasa tadili mânâsına geleceğini mi zannediyor?

## KORUMA MESELESİ

Hiç düşündünüz mü, topraksız vatandaş toprak sahibi yaptığınız zaman, onu nasıl koruyacaksınız? Yine yarı varya topraksızlar çıkacak, onlara karşı nasıl koruyacaksınız? Evsiz vatandaş ev sahibi yaptığınız zaman, yeni yeni evsiz vatandaşlar çıkacak, onları nasıl koruyacaksınız? Bu, oraya gider, onun içindir ki, herkesin söylediğini bilerek, konuşması lazımdır.

Anayasada kanunlar da suçu himaye etmez. Türk vatandaşına suç işleteceksiniz, canını yaktıracaksınız, mahkeme mahkeme süründüreceksiniz, masum Türk vatandaşını bu yollara itmeye hakkınız yok.

Figure 5.3.-Anon., "CHP kanunsuzluğu teşvik ediyor," *Son Havadis*, 14.02.1969, p.7

**Demirel, toprak işgali**

**konusunda demeç verdi:**

# «Tapu devletin namusudur !..»

**BAŞBAKAN, «ANARŞİ HEVESLİLERİ HALKI TAHRİK EDİYOR» DEDİ.**

**İZMİR, (A.A.)** — Başbakan Süleyman Demirel, İzmir'de yayınlanan «Yeni Asır» gazetesi Genel Yayın Müdürü Cemal Devrim'e Ankara'da verdiği özel demeçte, son Torbalı olayları ile ilgili olarak «Tapu, devletin namusu demektir» demistir.

Başbakan Demirel, demeçinde şunları söylemiştir:

«— Toprak işgali hâdiseleri, tahrik neticesinde olmaktadır. Daha evvel diğer bazı yerlerde de buna benzer işgal teşebbüsleri olmuştur. Türkiye'de bir haklar manzumesi bulunduğu unutulmamalıdır. Toprağı halka intikal ettirmek keyfiyeti, mülkiyet hakkını zedelememek suretiyle mümkündür.»

## **TOPRAK SPEKÜLASYONU**

Devlet elindeki toprakların halka peyderpey intikal ettirilmekte olduğunu kaydeden Başbakan, «ancak burada da devlet hakiki ihtiyaç sahibini bulma vazifesi ile karşı karşıyadır» demiş, bu yoldan dağıtılan topraklardan bir kısmının «satılamaz» kaydına rağmen sonradan el de

(Devamı sa. 7, sü. 1'de)

**6. FILO  
GELDi**

Figure 5.4. Anon., Demirel toprak işgali konusunda demeç verdi: «Tapu devletin namusudur!» *Son Havadis*, 11.02.1969, p.1.



Figure 5.5.1. Özden Alpdag, "İşgalci köylüler Demirel'e mektup yazdı: "Bu işgal değil toprak reformudur,"" 22.02.1969, *Aksam*, p.1.

## “Bu işgal değil toprak reformudur;”

(Başarafa 1 inci sayfada)  
ağaların elinde bulunan hasane arazilerini traktörlerle sürdüler, buğday ektiler ve sessizce beklemeğe başladılar. Ne olacaktı. Yaptıkları harekete çeşitli grupların tepkisi ne olacaktı?

Köylünün bekleyişi pek fazla sürmedi. İlk konuşan OHP Genel Sekreteri Bülent Ecevit oldu ve konuşmasıyla köylülerin yüreğini ferahlattı. Ecevit, Atalan köylülerinin bu hareketine «Köylünün toprak reformu» demiş, Başbakan ise Meclis Kürsüsünden CHP Genel Sekreteri Ecevit'i tahrikçilikle suçlayıp, köylülerin tapusuz aza arazisini ekip biçmelerini işgal olarak vasıflandırıp, kendi cephesinde yerini almıştı.

### TOPRAK REFORMU YAPTIK

Atalan Köylüleri işgal değil, toprak reformu yaptıklarını söylüyorlardı.

CHP Genel Sekreteri Bülent Ecevit Meclis kürsüsünden köylülerin bu davranışından toprak reformu olarak vafıflandırıp «Hükümetten ve devletten umudunu kesen köylü, toprak reformunu yer yer geliştirmeye başlamıştır.» derken, Başbakan Süleyman Demirel köylüyü çileden çıkarıp şu konuşmayı yapıyordu:

«— Bu kürsüden vatandaşları kanunsuzluğa, suç işlemeye zorlamayın. Gasb ve yağmayı teşvik ettikten sonra kimi kimine şikâyet edeceksiniz. Sizin bu sözünüze uyar ve halk arazi işgaline başlarsa bize bunu niye önlemiyorsunuz diyeceksiniz.» «Sizin bu sözü-

nüze uyar ve halk arazi işgaline başlarsa.» cümlesi üzerine şaşkına dönen Atalan köylü sakinleri «Biz kimsenin teşvikine kanmayız. İşgal edilmiş toprak yoktur. Sahipli araziler işgal edilir. Bu arazilerin sahipleri yoktur.» demişlerdir. Köylün eski ve yeni muhtarları Sabri Güleç ve Süleyman Ceylan, köylülerin toprak reformunu tahakkuk ettirdiklerini söylüyorlar.

Köylüler Başbakan Süleyman Demirel'in radyo konuşmasını dinledikten sonra bir bildiri kaleme alıyorlar. Atalan köylülerinin Başbakana cevap mahiyetindeki bildirimlerinde şöyle deniliyor:

«— Sayın Başbakanın radyo konuşmasında biz Atalan köylülerini, şahısların tapulu arazilerine tecavüz etmiş gibi nitelenmekte olduğumuzu dinlemiş bulunmaktayız. Biz Atalan köylüleri şahısların tapulu arazilerini değil, kadastro tesbitleri sonunda tapu dairelerinden aldığımız tapu suretleri ile tapuda gösterilen arazi miktarları haricindeki hazineye (Maliyeye) ait olan ve köyümüz sınırları içindeki arazileri işgal etmiş bulunuyoruz. İşgale başladığımız günden beri bu arazinin hazineye ait olduğunu izah etmiş bulunmaktayız.

Men kararının kadastro ölçümlerine kadar hazine yerlerini, hazineye haber vermeden işleten 6 ağaya mı, yoksa hazine arazisini eken köylülere mi uygulanması gerekir? Hakikatler böyleyken kişi haklarını koruyoruz diye men kararı olarak ve jandarma ile

biz Atalan köylülerine neden baskı yapılmaktadır.

Sayın Başbakanın açık izahatında belirttiği gibi tapu devletin namusudur. Tapuya hiç kimsenin tecavüzüne göz yumulamaz. Biz Atalan köylüleri şahısların tapulu arazilerini işgal etmedik.»

### KÖYLÜ BEKLİYOR

Yok işgalci, yok komünistlikti, yok toprak reformuydu, köylünün hakkıydı gibi çeşitli tefsirlere yol açan Atalan ve Göllüce köylerindeki olaylardan sonra köylü neticeyi sabırsızlıkla beklemektedir. Ağaların tapusuz arazileri sürülmüş, tohum ekilmiştir. Köylü sessizdir. Şimdilik girdiği topraklardan çıkmamıştır.

## ismet Uluğ

(Başarafa 8 inci sayfada)

kişinin yönetimine bırakma yalım. Fenerbahçe'yi Fenerbahçe yapan kıymetli arkadaşlarımızı terkederek, sonradan türeyenlerin bu camiyi yönetmesine gönülümüz razı olamaz. Bu zümrenin reisi olarak birliği sağlamaya çalıştım, kriz geçirdim, maalesef birleşmeyi göremedim. Ölümümüz bu yolda da olsa Fenerbahçe'yi birleştirecek ona hizmet edeceğiz.»

İdealistlerin toplantısına Zeki Rıza Sporel, Tefik Taşcı, Sait Selahattin Cihanoglu, Hasan Kâmil Sporel ve Osman Kavrakoglu'da telgraflar göndererek kendilerini le beraber olduklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Figure 5.5.2. Özden Alpağ, “İşgalci köylüler Demirel’e mektup yazdı: “Bu işgal değil toprak reformudur,”” 22.02.1969, *Aksam*, p.7.



55 YAŞINDAKİ SABAHAT GÜLEÇ, KÖY KAHVESİNDE  
GAZETECİLERE JANDARMA BASKISINI ANLATIYOR

«Jandarma bizi yerlerde sürükledi»  
diyen 7 Atalanlı tevkif edildi

**“Biz, yalnız Devlete ait  
toprakları işgal ettik,,**

TORBALI, (Hikmet ÇETİNKAYA yazıyor) — Sabahat Güleç, 55 yaşındadır, evlidir ve bir çocuk anasıdır. Kocası köy köy dolaşır «ekmek parası» için. İşi tulumbacılıktır...

Sabahat Güleç, Torbalı'nın Atalan köyü sakinlerindedir. Hayatta, kocası, çocuğu ve iki gözlü evceğizinden başka, bir şeyi yoktur. Oğlunu okutup devlet memuru yaparsa gözleri açık gitmeyecektir. Şu yıllardır çektiği rezilliği unutacaktır...

(Arkası Sa. 1, Sü. 3 de)

Figure 5.6. Hikmet Cetinkaya, “Jandarma bizi yerlerde sürükledi diyen yedi Atalan’lı tevkif edildi.” *Cumhuriyet*, 25.02.1969, p.1.

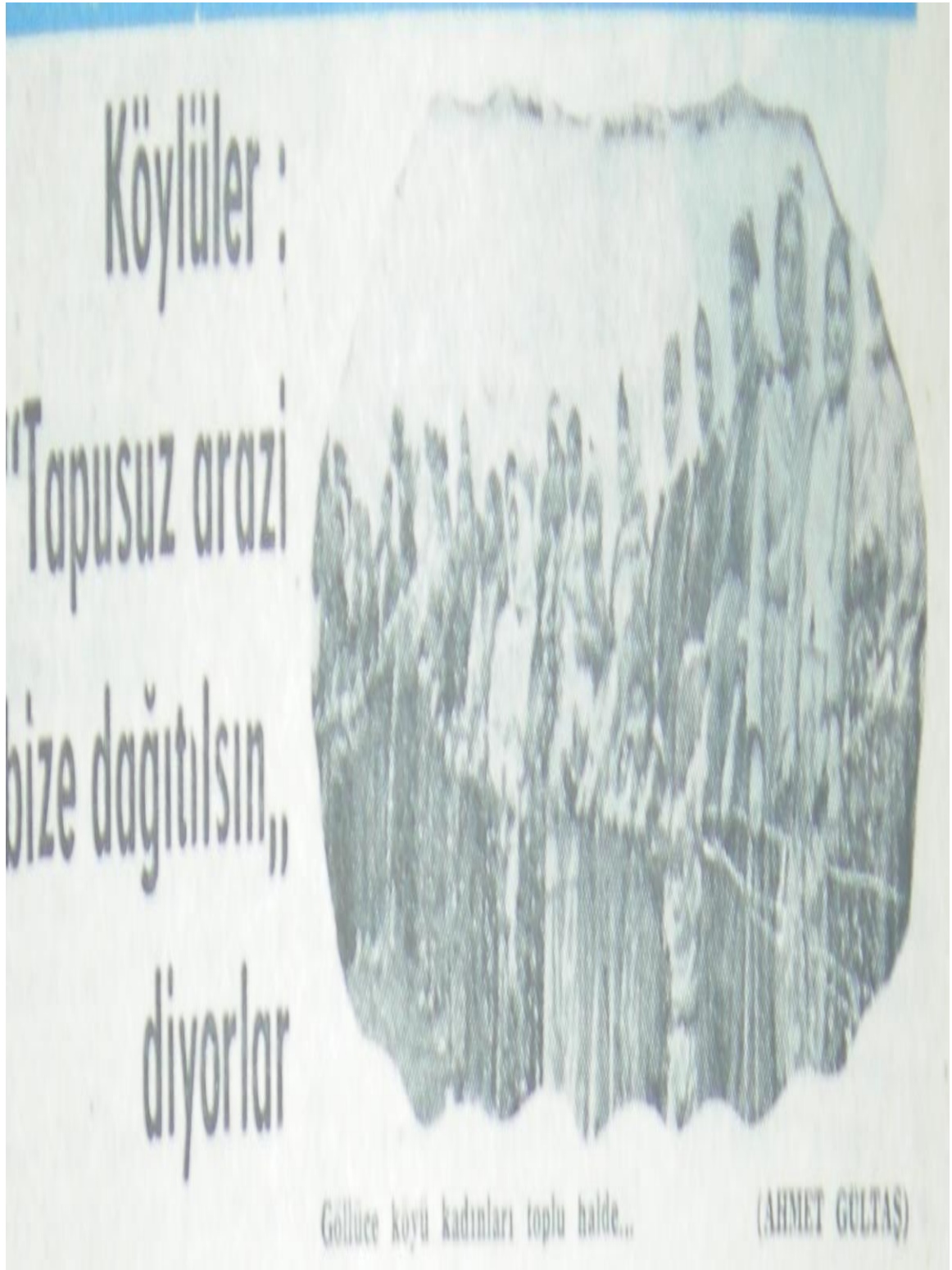


Figure 5.7. Ahmet Gültaş. "Köylüler tapusuz arazi bize dağıtılsın diyorlar." *Milliyet*, 04.02.1969, p.1.

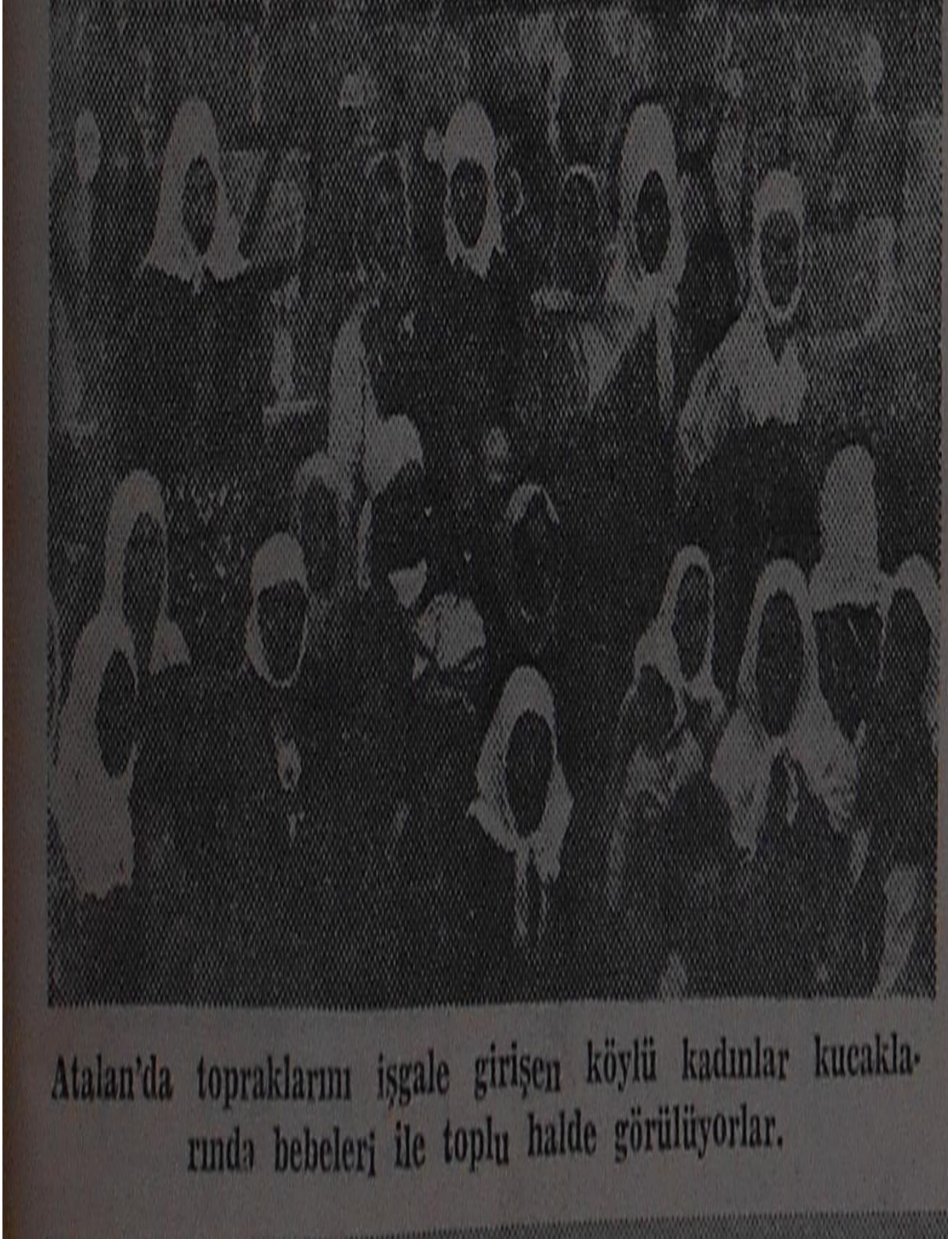


Figure 5.8. Gürel Seydialioğlu, "Atalan Köyü Dramı: Devletten umudu kesen köylü toprak reformunu bizzat yapıyor." *Ulus*, 20.03.1969, p.3.





Figure 5.9. Gürel Seydialioğlu, “Atalan köyü dramı: Anayasayı duvara asmak suç olmuş.” *Ulus*, 23.03.1969, p.3.

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