

**LOCAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN  
WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS:  
Influence of external versus internal financing on NGOs in Turkey**

A Master's Thesis

By

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DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS:  
Influence of external versus internal financing on NGOs in Turkey**

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In

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ANKARA, TURKEY

February, 2008

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **LOCAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: Influence of external versus internal financing on NGOs in Turkey**

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Sustainable development has been a great challenge for a number of experts. The social dimension of development studies has gained significance in recent decades. Civil society and social capital are, therefore, increasingly more examined as these concepts are widely discussed; and there are not many empirical country specific studies of them. Accordingly, this thesis focuses on local participation and social capital in women's development projects in Turkey. The research question in this study is: how does internal versus external financing influence local participation in women's development projects of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Turkey?

In order to examine the role of financing in local participation in women's development projects, the theoretical arguments focusing on development, civil society, women's development and social capital are assessed to demonstrate the importance of local participation for sustainable development and women's development projects for empowerment of women. Furthermore, an overview of Turkey's history from the angle of civil society and women's movement is presented to provide a background for the evolution of women's NGOs and their work in Turkey. A sample of donor organizations and externally and internally funded women's development projects is selected as cases.

The assumption of this study is that local participation can facilitate social capital. Women should be perceived as able and active participants in all phases of the NGOs' projects, including implementation and monitoring. Thus, NGOs and local donors are expected to use more participatory approaches because of the grounded knowledge potentially stemming from 'internal' resources that are embedded in these organizations. However, the research findings demonstrated that this argument cannot be sufficiently supported. Despite the participatory requirement in the

applications, managers/administration of both externally and internally funded projects perceive no such requirement. Neither the externally nor the internally financed projects were undertaken with considerable local participation.

Overall, the findings have shown that the participatory approach is often part of the rhetoric of the donors and the NGOs; however, it rarely appears in practice. Since local participation is not facilitated to a full extent in the sample projects, social capital is not used to allow empowerment of women as active owners of their choice of development programs. Therefore, bonding and bridging social capital among women in Turkey requires further research. Consequently, it is puzzling that development practitioners in Turkey dealing with women/gender in development would not fully utilize this invaluable resource.

**Keywords: Civil Society, Social Capital, NGOs, Women's Development Organizations, Turkey, Donors, Local Participation, Women's Empowerment**

## ÖZET

### **KADINLARIN KALKINMA PROJELERİNDE YEREL KATILIM VE SOSYAL SERMAYE: Yurtiçi ve Yurtdışı Finansman Kaynaklarının Türkiye’deki Sivil Toplum Örgütleri üzerindeki Etkileri**

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Sürdürebilir kalkınma bir çok uzman için çözümü zor bir sorun olmuştur. Kalkınma çalışmalarının sosyal boyutu son yıllarda önem kazanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, sivil toplum ve sosyal sermaye kavramları yoğun bir biçimde tartışılıp daha fazla incelenirken ülkelere özel veriye dayalı çalışma sayısı azdır. Bu nedenle, bu tez Türkiye’de kadınların kalkınma projelerinde yerel katılım ve sosyal sermaye üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu çalışmadaki araştırma sorusu: Türkiye’deki sivil toplum örgütlerinin (STÖ) kadınların kalkınma projelerinin yurtiçi ya da yurtdışı kaynaklardan finanse edilmesi yerel katılımı nasıl etkilemektedir?

Kadınların kalkınma projelerinde finans kaynaklarının yerel katılımdaki rolünü incelemek amacıyla kalkınma, sivil toplum, kadınlar-kalkınma ile sosyal sermaye üzerine teorik tartışmalarda, yerel katılımın sürdürülebilir kalkınma ve ilgili projelerin kadınların güçlendirilmesi için önemi değerlendirilmiştir. Ayrıca, Türkiye’deki kadın STÖ’lerinin çalışmaları ve gelişimini açıklamak amacıyla sivil toplum ve kadın hareketlerinin Türkiye’deki tarihi genel olarak verilmiştir. Örnekleme, yurtiçi ve yurtdışı kaynaklardan finans edilen kadınların kalkınma projeleri ile finans sağlayan kuruluşlardan seçilmiştir.

Bu çalışmadaki temel varsayım, yerel katılımın sosyal sermayeyi kullanılabilir kıldığıdır. Kadınlar, STÖ’lerin projelerinin uygulama ve denetleme dahil tüm safhalarında yapabilir ve aktif katılımcılar olarak algılanmalıdır. Bu bağlamda STÖ’lerin ve finans sağlayan yerel kuruluşların, bunların yapısına özgü yerel kaynaklardan ortaya çıkan özgün bilgiden dolayı yerel katılımı daha çok kullanmaları beklenmektedir. Fakat, araştırma sonuçları bu öngörüğü yeterli biçimde

desteklememektedir. Projenin finansı başvurularındaki katılım şartına rağmen, hem yurtiçi hem de yurtdışından finans sağlayan projelerin yöneticilerinin/idarecilerinin katılımı bir şart olarak algılamadıkları gözlenmiştir. Yurtiçi ve yurtdışı kaynaklardan finanse edilen projelerin hiç biri önemli ölçüde yerel katılımı gerçekleştirilmemiştir. Araştırmanın sonuçlarına göre katılıma yer veren yaklaşım, STÖ'ler ve finans sağlayan kuruluşların söylemlerinin bir parçası olmakla beraber, uygulamada yerel katılıma nadiren yer verilmiştir. Örnekteki projelerde yerel katılım yeterince kullanılmadığı için sosyal sermaye, kadınların kendi tercih ettikleri kalkınma programlarının aktif sahipleri olarak güçlenmelerine olanak vermemiştir. Bu nedenle, Türkiye'de kadınları birbirine bağlayan ve köprü kuran sosyal sermaye üzerine daha çok araştırma yapılması gerekmektedir. Sonuç olarak, Türkiye'de kalkınmada kadının/cinsiyetin yeri kapsamında çalışan uygulayıcıların bu benzersiz kaynağı etkin kullanmalarını oldukça şaşırtıcıdır.

**Ankahtar kelimeler: Sivil Toplum, Sosyal Sermaye, Sivil Toplum Örgütleri, Kadınların Kalkınma Organizasyonları, Türkiye, Finans Sağlayan Kuruluş, Yerel Katılım, Kadınların Güçlendirilmesi**

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Sustainable development of poor communities and countries has been a great challenge for a number of experts. Development scholars attempt to design theories that development practitioners strive to implement in their projects/programs, however; these attempts have not been able to alleviate the poverty of many. Therefore, the field of development must be researched further.

In recent decades the significance of the social dimension of development has been gaining in importance. It is no longer the market or the state that are viewed as the only agents of development, many now believe that civil society and social capital are the essential forces in development projects/programs. Accordingly, the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) targeting women has been highlighted as a means of local participation facilitating social capital by putting women as active and able participants in the development projects. However, given the debate on how to engage civil society in development, there have been not many empirical studies on the influence of financing and conditionality, if any, in the grants for local participation in the programs of the NGOs. Therefore, the goal of this

research is to answer the question: how does internal vs. external financing influence local participation in women's development projects of NGOs in Turkey?

The social capital literature in general allows policy makers, and development scholars and practitioners to consider the importance of communities and institutions when facing the challenges of development. It also allows those designing development theories to take into account one asset the poor possess when negotiating their wellbeing, namely their social relations between each other - their social capital. Projects, which are executed in communities that are able to achieve direct participation to and ownership of the design, implementation, management and evaluation of those projects, show more sustainable results.<sup>1</sup>

Locally funded projects are expected to be implemented with a more participatory approach as they have better understanding and grounded knowledge of the local communities. In this work participatory approach is understood as involvement of the beneficiaries in all stages of development projects affecting them. According to the empirical findings in the literature local participation in the projects of NGOs should result in better outcomes in terms of sustainability and level of development. In this study, therefore, the assumption is that local participation can facilitate social capital. Furthermore, the conceptual discussion of development, civil society, gender and development and social capital emphasizes the importance of local participation.

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Woolcock, 'The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes,' Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Documents, March 19, 2000, 20. <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/5/13/1824913.pdf> (accessed June 13, 2007).

The research findings demonstrate that the internally financed projects have a stronger participatory requirement than the externally financed in the applications for grants. Despite this requirement, however, most of the NGOs in the sample used here do not perceive local participation in their projects as essential and the participatory approach is not significant in the practices of any of the projects in the sample. Overall, the research findings show that though participatory approach is often part of the rhetoric of the donors and the NGOs, it rarely appears in practice.

Women in Turkey from varying backgrounds face a handful of similar issues. There seems to be abundance of social capital. It is, therefore, puzzling that development practitioners in Turkey dealing with women/gender and development would not fully utilize this invaluable resource.

The study focuses on a sample of projects targeting women in Turkey. The plan of this study is divided into six chapters. After this introduction, chapter 2 provides a general historical overview of development theory and a discussion on civil society and the evolution of the term. Thereafter, feminist theories that have influenced development, and the particular approaches that have been used in theorizing about and in designing programs for women/gender and development are described. In the next section, chapter 2 examines the concept of social capital, which was brought into wider scholarly debate mainly starting in the 1980s. Lastly, the term of women's development as applied in this study is defined.

In order to provide a background about women's issues and development in Turkey, Chapter 3 describes civil society and women's movement through a historical overview. Later the chapter presents the current status of women's organizations and women's issues.

Chapter 4 describes the organizations included in the sample. It commences by providing information about the two donors included in the study and proceeds by detailing the NGOs that are included either as a manager of an internally or externally financed project. The two donor organizations chosen are Women's Fund (internal) and the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey (external). Women's Fund was chosen because it is an organization created based on the wishes and criteria of a wide range of representatives from the Turkish women's movement. It distributes funds only inside of Turkey and only for causes related to women's development.

The Delegation has a wider scope of support than the Women's Fund but it is an international body distributing funds in Turkey. One of its main goals is gender equality; therefore, a number of the projects it supports are aimed at development of women. It was therefore chosen as an external donor.

These two donor organizations provided lists of NGOs they supported/are supporting within women/gender and development. All of these NGOs were contacted and those that decided to take part in this research are included in the

research sample. Given gender equality as a base for the NGOs work, the variety of projects included in the sample is not selected according to issues they work on.

Finally, chapter 5 provides information about the specific projects included in the sample. The chapter proceeds by describing the research findings. In the conclusion chapter, the implications of the research findings for local participation and social capital in empowering women in Turkey are discussed.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In order to shed light on the question of the influence of financing on local participation in women's development projects of NGOs in Turkey, theoretical background about women/gender and development as well as background theory for civil society and possible causes for NGOs success must be provided. This chapter therefore lies out the relevant theories. It commences by providing a general historical overview of development theory. Later, the chapter turns to defining civil society. Thereafter, feminist theories that have influenced development, and the particular approaches that have been used in theorizing about and in designing programs for women/gender and development are described.

Due to the turn of development theory and practice towards civil society and social capital in the last decades in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the second section in this chapter concentrates on the concept of civil society. It provides the reader with an historical overview of the evolution of the term of civil society.

Scholars specify two, in some literature three, approaches to women/gender and development. The earliest is Women in Development (WID), which concentrates on women and the promotion of their inferior status. Secondly, there is Women and

Development (WAD). This approach, by some authors not included, points out that patriarchy is a part of society and should be eliminated. The latest acknowledged, Gender and Development (GAD), criticizes WID for trying to promote women in existing 'men's world.' It concentrates on the study of structures that give rise to women's disadvantages. This section concludes by discussing the latest trends in women/gender and development.

In the last decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century development theory and practice have begun to explore the concept of social capital. The fourth section of the chapter examines this concept. It provides an historical overview of the evolution and the contemporary debates surrounding social capital.

The final section of this chapter then combines the theoretical debates outlined in the chapter to define the term of women's development as used in this research.

### **2.1. Development theory: an historical overview**

Over time development theory has been constantly changing and evolving. Since its beginnings in the last century and perhaps even earlier, scholars in social sciences have recognized the need for a theory inquiring into development and increasingly became aware of the differences in the level of development in different regions. They, therefore, began to try to theoretically approach the processes of development and growth by prescribing how to achieve development goals, whose

attainment they saw as essential. This section now turns to a brief description of this evolution of development theories.

Drawing on many social sciences, development theories originally evolved from two main sources into two main bodies of knowledge, namely development economics and socio-political development theories. Development economics emerged on the basis of classical political economy, which arose in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Classical political economy represented for example by Adam Smith or David Ricardo, saw development only in terms of economic growth and emphasized economic trends such as trade, accumulation of wealth or technical innovation as preconditions to economic growth and therefore development.<sup>2</sup>

Socio-political development theories are, on the other hand, based on classical social theory, which dates back to 19<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars of the classical social theory, like Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, or Karl Marx studied society and dealt with societal phenomena such as structure vs. agency, individualism, urbanization, organization of societies, or change in society based on technological progress.<sup>3</sup> Unlike others Marx worked on the basis of classical political economy trying to study society as a whole, including not only economic processes but also social classes.<sup>4</sup> This body of theory equated development with economic growth as well in these early stages.

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<sup>2</sup> John Martinussen, *Society, State and Market* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1997), 19.

<sup>3</sup> Martinussen, 25-27.

<sup>4</sup> Martinussen, 22.

After WWII, scholars generally continued to view development as no more than economic growth.<sup>5</sup> Many believed that to achieve development, GDP (or GNP) per capita had to be increased. While realizing that increase in output per capita might not increase the wealth of everyone, Lewis, for example, believed that as output per capita rises, development for the whole society would take place.<sup>6</sup> Modernization/industrialization process had to be promoted for this growth. Rostow, among others, promoted such a capitalist model of development. He believed that there are five stages of development through which every country will go. His model expected universal, irreversible and linear growth. The goal was to identify variables, which would create the necessary conditions for a country to enter the next stage of development.<sup>7</sup> Although some scholars pointed out that growth might lead to inequality initially, the gains were expected to trickle down in the society eventually.<sup>8</sup>

Modernization (or economic growth) theories were built on these liberal assumptions and models. Scholars supporting these views believed in basic dualism of the traditional and undeveloped versus the modern and developed. Countries or sectors, institutions or practices within countries, which had traditional cultural values and customs or 'undeveloped' social and economic infrastructures had to become modern and Western-like in order for growth and development to occur. The

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<sup>5</sup> Martinussen, 36.

<sup>6</sup> W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (London: Unwin University Books, 1963), 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> Walt Whitman Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth, a non-communist manifesto*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

<sup>8</sup> Martinussen, 60.

less developed societies were to become "...images of the industrialized, high mass-consumption, democratic societies of the Western world."<sup>9</sup>

Later (between 1960s and 80s) the modernization theory became less Western-centric and developed into dialectical modernization theory. The theorists of this school realized that often tradition will not necessarily impede development. Tradition and traditional institutions in developing countries can, therefore, not be ignored because they will heavily impact modernization and development processes.<sup>10</sup> Despite this change, modernization theory generally retains the idea that development is a linear process leading toward a Western-style economic and political system.

Joseph Schumpeter was first to make a distinction between economic growth, in the form of gradual extension of capital apparatus and increase in production, and development. Development, he believed, was possible only with technical, managerial, and production innovation. Such innovation would bring about fundamental changes in economic life.<sup>11</sup> Although Schumpeter made this distinction as early as 1912, many realized that economic growth alone is not necessarily improving living conditions of populations in developing world only as late as

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<sup>9</sup> M. Patricia Connelly et.al., "Feminism and Development: Theoretical Perspectives," in *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*, ed. Jane L. Parpart, M. Patricia Connelly and V. Eudine Barriteau, 51-159 (Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre, 2000), 106.

<sup>10</sup> Martinussen, 40-41.

<sup>11</sup> Martinussen, 23-24

1960s.<sup>12</sup> Questions about distribution and equality began to be raised. Due to these developments, the historical/structuralist/dependency (Marxist) school came into forefront. This school believed that less developed countries (LDCs) need more independence from developed countries (DCs). Some scholars within this line of theories even promoted breaking away from the existing international capitalist system.<sup>13</sup>

Many authors within the structuralist school realized that LDCs are undergoing a different process of development than DCs; they are not just few steps behind DCs in the same development process. For example Prebisch, a proponent of the dependency theory, wrote that countries in the world have developed into a periphery-center relationship. Third world, the periphery, is becoming only a raw material producer for the First world, the center. The Third world is a dependent periphery, which will not develop. Because of deteriorating terms of trade for the raw materials produced by the periphery, the position of the Third world will only further worsen.<sup>14</sup>

Later theories in this line of thought were the neo-structuralist theories. Scholars within this paradigm generally continued to support the belief that trade cannot function as an engine for development of LDCs. Increase in capital will lead

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<sup>12</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, "The Goals of Development," in *Understanding Political Development*, ed. Myron Weiner and Samuel P. Huntington, 3-32 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987).

<sup>13</sup> See for example: Samir Amin, *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World* (London: Zed Books, 1990), 52-53.

<sup>14</sup> Raul Prebisch, 'Five Stages in my Thinking on Development,' in *Pioneers in Development*, ed. Gerald M. Meier and Dudley Seers, 175-191 (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1984).

to growth but increase in capital is not enough; institutions, societal conditions etc. are also important.<sup>15</sup> In order to prevent dependency, many developing countries began to apply the policy of import-substituting industrialization (ISI) in the 1960s and 1970s. The main actor fueling development was the state under this policy.

Many countries, such as post-war Germany or the ‘Asian Tigers’<sup>16</sup> managed to industrialize and develop, with the state as the main development driver pursuing ISI or other policies. However, in the 1980s the reality of the international economy began to change. Countries pursuing ISI began to encounter major financial problems, the world entered international recession and debt crisis. These circumstances brought development theory to “an impasse.”<sup>17</sup> In the light of these developments, neo-liberal development strategy, which emphasized the role of the market, once again came to the forefront. The pre-dominant development theory was once more based on market as a means to development, not on the state.

Next to the focus on state as a means to development from the left and market from the right, some scholars focused on civil society as a force behind development. These alternative development approaches began to take their contemporary form in the 1960s and 70s, historically a time when in the mainstream thinking the state as a

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<sup>15</sup> See for example: Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama. An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

<sup>16</sup> South-East Asian newly industrialized countries such as South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan or Singapore.

<sup>17</sup> More discussion for example in Frans J. Schuurman, ed., *Beyond the Impasse. New Directions in Development* (London: Zed Press, 1996).

driver of development became generally more important than the market<sup>18</sup> Some of the scholars within these rather varied alternative approaches retained a certain amount of belief in the power of the state. Others emphasized that development should be driven by local communities based on their needs,<sup>19</sup> i.e. people and/or communities affected by development projects should have the decision power over these projects. Most proponents<sup>20</sup> of the alternative theories realized that development is a process (not a goal), which should lead to increased welfare and human development with improved choices and income, while eliminating inequality and poverty.<sup>21</sup> Such people-managed development strategies emphasize that development projects should be based on “...people as both an end and a means of societal development.”<sup>22</sup> Although these approaches are useful, Martinussen points out that to be effective they must be part of macro-economic/-political strategies.<sup>23</sup> It is also questionable how widely used can these approaches be considering the financial and power structure in the creation of development policy.

The reality of global economy continued to change and had very different character in the 1990s than previously. These changes included, for example,

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<sup>18</sup> Historically beginnings of import-substituting industrialization (ISI). ISI refers to a policy pursued by some Third World states, in which the state attempts to replace industrial imports with domestically produced industrial goods. This is done through trade protectionism or government assistance to domestic producers.

<sup>19</sup> Martinussen, 291-2.

<sup>20</sup> One of the main proponents was Mahbub ul Haq who, with a team of other development scholars, proposed in the UNDP Human Development Report (1990) that development should mean increasing the quantity as well as the quality and distribution of economic growth.

<sup>21</sup> Martinussen, 291.

<sup>22</sup> Martinussen, 332.

<sup>23</sup> Martinussen, 341.

deregulation of many markets in the South, which resulted in greater migration to the North, loss of low-paying jobs in the North, ‘feminization’ of labor all over the world etc. As the markets in the South opened, many large transnational corporations (TNCs) began to move their production to the South accessing workers willing to work for lower pay.<sup>24</sup> This has not only been causing a loss of blue collar jobs in the North but also increases in jobs in the South that are low paying, insecure and more monotonous – ‘feminized.’ As there was an increase in lower quality jobs in the South, real wages continued to decrease there.<sup>25</sup> Overall, these and other developments, referred to often as results of globalization, generally caused increase in poverty and its feminization.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the negative effects, some countries in the global South grew rapidly.<sup>27</sup> This led many concerned with development on the market side to continue to believe in the power of market and to promote neoclassical economic policies. However, it was apparent to most that capitalism alone cannot lead to equal development. In the 1990s a large body of writing on the importance and role of civil

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<sup>24</sup> Connelly et.al., 66.

<sup>25</sup> Connelly et.al., 66.

<sup>26</sup> Feminization of poverty is the result of the fact that the amount of female-led households has been growing in majority of countries. “This increase [in female led households] has been a result of many factors, including, significantly, male migration to seek employment. Migration of men leaves female-headed households relying on insufficient and unstable remittances. Surveys on poverty always show that female-headed households are disproportionately represented ... women earn, on average, less than men and have fewer assets and less access to employment and production resources, such as land, capital, and technology. Women also retain responsibility for domestic activities and child care.” Connelly et.al., 67. This observation was also made earlier based on studies conducted during the UN Decade for the Advancement of Women (1975-1985), Gita Sen, and Caren Grown, *Development Crises, and Alternative Visions, Third World Women’s Perspectives* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1987)16.

<sup>27</sup> Including countries such as Argentina or Brazil in South America or South Korea, Taiwan or Singapore in Asia.

society in development emerged. Development scholars and practitioners from diverse backgrounds began to work within “socially responsible capitalism.”<sup>28</sup> Connelly et.al. point out that this approach, while in support of capital and free-market; saw civil society and social capital (“the realization of community resources via individual and collective activity and entrepreneurship aimed at improving the local quality of life by drawing on and pooling local talents”<sup>29</sup>) as another force behind development.<sup>30</sup>

State-oriented scholars continued to reject the free-market policy and believed in the importance of the state both in the global South and in the North.<sup>31</sup> Many of these experts however also began to support the view that civil society is important in development policy.

Other approaches, that challenge the very essence of this mainstream thinking, emerged in recent decades. Post-Marxist scholars, for example, question the assumption that the goal of development should be a modern ideal, emphasizing the significance of human element, they propose that social transformation is very complex.<sup>32</sup> However, even post-Marxists accept the significance of civil society in development.<sup>33</sup> An even more challenging approach to development comes from

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<sup>28</sup> Jude Howell and Jenny Pearce, *Civil Society and Development: A Critical Exploration* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001) 17.

<sup>29</sup> Philip D. McMichael, *Development and Social Change, A Global Perspective*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 2004) 353.

<sup>30</sup> Connelly et. al., 70.

<sup>31</sup> Connelly et.al., 71.

<sup>32</sup> Connelly et.al., 72-73.

<sup>33</sup> Goran Hyden, ‘Civil Society, Social Capital, and Development: Dissection of a Complex Discourse,’ *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 32:1 (Spring 1997): 12.

postmodernism. This perspective doubts the assumption that innovation in technology and rational thought assure human progress. Pointing out the mistake of the traditional mainstream Western-centric paradigms, it questions the ability of Western scholars to understand problems in the whole world and prescribe solutions for them. “The struggle for universalist knowledge has been abandoned. A search has begun for previously silenced voices, for the specificity and power of language(s) and their relation to knowledge, context and locality.”<sup>34</sup>

Overall, by the end of the 1980s, development theory and especially development policy needed a new tool outside of the ‘old’ state vs. market debate.<sup>35</sup> As described above, civil society fulfilled this need. By adding civil society into the picture, development writing and policy could continue utilizing neoliberal tools making them more socially friendly. The civil society argument began to be used by experts from many different backgrounds; therefore it is very diverse and will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

## **2.2. Civil Society**

The range of definitions of civil society put forth by scholars is rather broad. The descriptions are often incompatible and contested. In an attempt to do justice to the varied definitions, a textbook chapter, for example mentions two inconsistent

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<sup>34</sup> Marianne H. Marchand and Jane L. Parpart, ‘Exploding the Canon: An Introduction / Conclusion,’ in *Feminism, Postmodernism, Development*, ed. Marianne H. Marchand and Jane L. Parpart, 1-22 (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996) 2.

<sup>35</sup> Howell and Pearce, 16.

explanations. It claims that “[c]ivil society is (1) the totality of all individuals and groups in society who are not acting as participants in any government institutions, or (2) all individuals and groups who are neither participants in government nor acting in the interests of commercial companies.”<sup>36</sup> Others however might want to include additional groups in their definition, such as political parties, lobby groups and others. The London School of Economics attempts to broaden the definition of civil society to include all possible groups. Its working description is:

“Civil society refers to the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group.”<sup>37</sup>

Some might however object to this definition as being too broad and vague.

Civil society scholars themselves admit that “...civil society means different things to different people.”<sup>38</sup> In the light of this obfuscation, many questions invite themselves. Why is civil society so difficult to define? Where does this wide range of

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<sup>36</sup> Peter Willetts, ‘Transnational actors and international organizations in global politics,’ in *The Globalization of World Politics*, ed. John Baylis and Steve Smith, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, 425-447 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 426.

<sup>37</sup> LSE, ‘What is Civil Society?’ [http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/what\\_is\\_civil\\_society.htm](http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/what_is_civil_society.htm) (accessed April 12, 2007)

<sup>38</sup> Hyden, 13.

descriptions originate? In order to shed some light onto this vagueness, a look into the history and development of the term is required. The following section will therefore describe this history briefly before discussing the definition of the term in contemporary literature.

Scholars in many social science disciplines have been using the term ‘civil society’ for a considerable amount of time. The term originated in Aristotle’s utilization of it to describe the difference between those who are governed and those who govern; in other words, between society and state. However, civil society today means more than just society. It represents a connection between individual citizens and the government. As Hyden puts it: “civil society [as understood today] is the political side of society.”<sup>39</sup>

This contemporary concept evolved along with changes in European societies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century connected with the development of the modern state and the rise of capitalism. In light of these changes in the political and economic realms, scholars attempted to find social space in which associations, the intermediaries between the state and the citizens, could pursue their own goals as freely as possible.<sup>40</sup>

However, even as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the debate was diverse. Hyden summarizes this debate along two principal parameters (indicated in figure 1):

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<sup>39</sup> Hyden, 5.

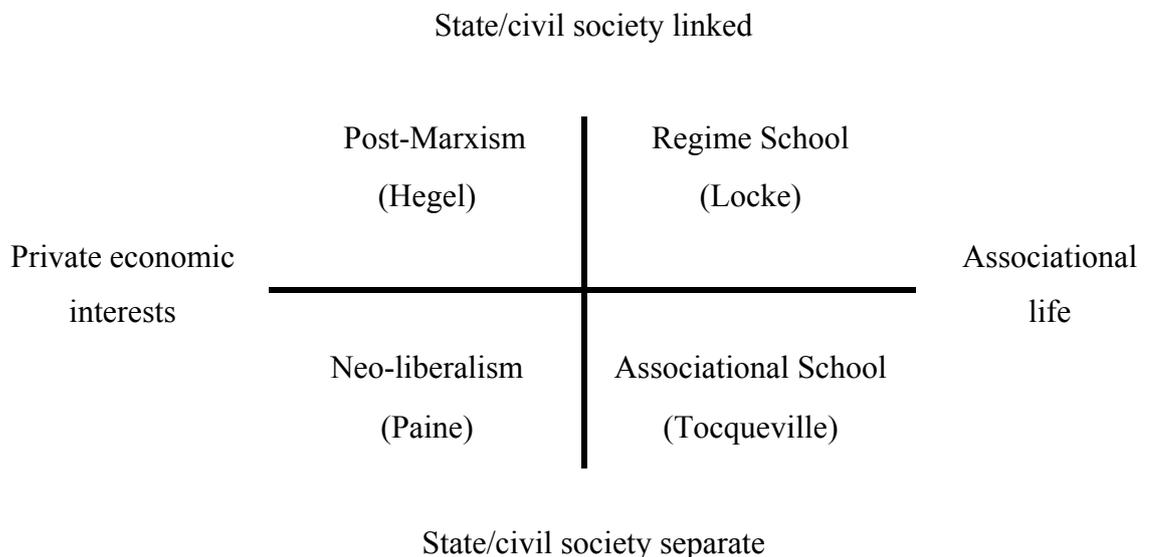
<sup>40</sup> Michael W. Foley and Bob Edwards, ‘Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and Social Capital in Comparative Perspective: Editors’ Introduction,’ *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42:1 (September 1998): 6.

1) Private economic interests vs. associational life. Is the focus of civil society debate on “...the extent to which economic activity is privately controlled or the role associations play as intermediaries between individual and state[?]”<sup>41</sup>

2) Strength of the link between civil society and state. Are the two linked or is civil society in essence separate from the state as not to be limited by the state?

Hyden is then able to indicate a main proponent of each of the indicated philosophical positions indicated in Figure 1. Each of these philosophers attains a different solution to the problems arising in describing a way of how to let civil society prosper.

**Figure 1: Civil society debate: contributing schools and perspectives**



Source: Hyden, 6 and 9.

<sup>41</sup> Hyden, 5.

Locke along with others with a similar view believes in associational life rather than the market. He however sees both the state and the civil society as conflictual; therefore their power must be limited. Civil society alone is filled with conflicting interests of groups and individuals. The state exists to protect the civil society from destroying itself due to these clashes. Its power must, however, be limited in order to preserve individual freedoms. Locke's solution to the problem is a need for social contract between the ruled and the rulers, which respects the rights of individuals but gives sufficient sovereignty to the state to ensure that the state is able to balance differing interests in society.<sup>42</sup>

Paine, and others of his line of thinking, had more faith in the power of relationships between individuals in civil society. These scholars generally believed that individuals act together united by "...affections of kindness and friendship."<sup>43</sup> Seemingly naïve, there was a rational explanation for this position. These writers believed that the development of market makes society a civil one. Such civil society has to however extricate itself from the power of the state, since the state could threaten its liberties. The market has enough power to resolve conflict and support the growth of civil society. However, this approach can be problematic as powerful groups in the society could use the state to their advantage.<sup>44</sup>

Tocqueville and others saw both Locke's relatively strong state and Paine's possible misuse of power by a strong majority as damaging. They believed that

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<sup>42</sup> Hyden, 6.

<sup>43</sup> Adam B. Seligman, *The Idea of Civil Society* (New York: Free Press, 1992) 27.

<sup>44</sup> Hyden, 6.

associations in civil society are the ones to have the most power if society is to move beyond aristocratic order. Only “free human associations”<sup>45</sup> can create democracy in a society “not only in theory, but also in practice.”<sup>46</sup> These associations socialize individuals as citizens, while keeping distribution of power among them in check. They also balance the state by carefully examining its actions.<sup>47</sup>

Lastly, Hegel and his followers occupy themselves greatly with a conflict created in the civil society between private interests and public benefits and the conflict between various strata in the civil society. The state should contain these conflicts. Civil society is in this view then used as a mediator between the state and individuals’ interests. “In Hegel’s “organic” perspective, the state exists to protect common interests as the state defines them by intervening in the activities of civil society.”<sup>48</sup> Hegel was one of the few analysts to highlight and analyze the deep conflicts and contradictions present in the civil society.<sup>49</sup>

In order to discuss the contemporary views on civil society, it is important to sum up these older influences. Firstly, Paine and Hegel and their followers did not see civil society as separate from economic factors. Those writing in Locke’s and Tocqueville’s traditions, on the other hand, believe that non-economic forces are

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<sup>45</sup> Howell and Pearce, 43.

<sup>46</sup> Howell and Pearce, 43.

<sup>47</sup> Hyden, 7.

<sup>48</sup> Hyden, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Foley and Edwards, ‘Beyond Tocqueville’ 7.

important in civil society, which is independent from economic forces such as capital or technology.<sup>50</sup>

Secondly, there is a difference in the traditions' views of the relationship between the state and civil society. Lockean and Hegelian traditions generally do not question an essential relationship between state and civil society. These schools influenced mainly European contemporary debate, which sees civil society as an instrument for the reform of the state. On the contrary, those following Paine and Tocqueville emphasize more the importance of the role of associations and that of the market. This view is more accepted in the US where civil society is viewed as the place where democratic values are embedded.<sup>51</sup>

As described in the upcoming section three, the theories of civil society in development reemerged around the 1980s. Four approaches to the civil society discourse appeared reflecting the earlier philosophical debates, namely: the Regime School, the Neo-liberal School, the post-Marxist School and the Associational School (indicated in Figure 1).

The proponents of Regime school concentrate on the features of the particular regime and try to describe a way for it to be more democratic. Like Locke earlier, this school believes that both the state and civil society are conflictful, therefore, they attempt to find ways to contain state power but only to the extent as to allow it to control civil society enough, so that it would flourish in a democratic manner. Such

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<sup>50</sup> Hyden, 7.

<sup>51</sup> Hyden, 7-8.

civil society could then promote democracy. Many scholars within this school are therefore interested in regime transitions.<sup>52</sup>

The Neo-liberal school relies heavily on the power of market, rather than on civil society. Followers of this school believe that “...economic freedoms are good for economic growth and, therefore, ... for development.”<sup>53</sup> Civil society free from the power of the state can flourish in the conditions created by liberal economy, which this school believes in.

The post-Marxist school emerged from Hegel’s tradition. In Marxism, Marx himself, however, was not particularly concerned with civil society. He was more interested in Hegel’s suggestion to create a strong state for the good of all. Later, Antonio Gramsci analyzed civil society from this perspective. He wrote that the dominant class controls society through associations in civil society.<sup>54</sup> More contemporary post-Marxist writers continue to view civil society as a tool of power and domination used only by specific social classes. This is the case unless strong social movements emerge within civil society that could create a more fundamental change in the unequal order.<sup>55</sup>

The school, in which social capital is most discussed, is the Associational school. Most dominant in the US, this school emphasizes the significance of independent and active associations. Standing between individuals and political

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<sup>52</sup> Hyden, 9-10.

<sup>53</sup> Hyden, 11.

<sup>54</sup> Hyden, 7.

<sup>55</sup> Hyden, 12.

institutions, civil society constitutes a realm of social life, which can work to promote development and strengthen democracy. Robert Putnam<sup>56</sup>, for example, is one of the main advocates of the power of social capital, which, when invested in associational life, contributes to civic culture. Many developmental NGOs operate on this assumption as well.<sup>57</sup>

Beside the above described schools, the civil society debate is also complemented by (an) “alternative way(s) of thinking”<sup>58</sup> originating from a distinct group of intellectual foundations. Although diverse, the values of the proponents of this way of thinking are generally anti-capitalist and united in their criticism of the current world system led by narrow elite of countries/groups in societies. Represented by grassroots organizations, NGOs or other activists, these voices work to “...preserve a concern for common humanity, undo the negative aspects of capitalist development, and promote forms of economic organization that are environmentally sustainable and socially just.”<sup>59</sup>

According to the debate, civil society should have several positive functions for individuals. Firstly, it has a “*socialization function*.”<sup>60</sup> Civil society socializes individuals towards democracy. It helps to build/builds citizenship skills in people

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<sup>56</sup> Putnam will be more thoroughly discussed later in the chapter. See for example: Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>57</sup> Hyden, 8.

<sup>58</sup> Howell and Pearce, 31.

<sup>59</sup> Howell and Pearce, 37.

<sup>60</sup> Foley and Edwards, ‘Beyond Tocqueville,’ 11.

and motivates their use. Secondly, there is the related '*representative function*.'<sup>61</sup> Owing to this function, distinct private interests can be voiced through civil society. Due to these two functions, "[a] vibrant civil society is a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for democracy."<sup>62</sup>

In this debate, many emphasize a third group of important functions of civil society, namely a variety of '*public and quasi-public functions*.'<sup>63</sup> These functions are particularly relevant to the topic discussed here, because they enclose civil society's direct role in economic development. Organizations within civil society pursue or aid grass-roots initiatives such as taking care of the poor, the disadvantaged, the uneducated and other efforts. Hyden even believes that in such endeavors civil society associations are able to "mobilize resources in ways that the state is unable to do."<sup>64</sup>

This description suggests how theoretically convoluted is the civil society debate today. Not only are origins of the notion different for different scholars, also the ideas about who is considered a part of civil society vary considerably. In order to proceed with the discussion of the topic at hand, women's development NGOs must be defined and their exact theoretical location must be determined.

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<sup>61</sup> Foley and Edwards, 'Beyond Tocqueville,' 12.

<sup>62</sup> Hyden, 12.

<sup>63</sup> Foley and Edwards, 'Beyond Tocqueville,' 12.

<sup>64</sup> Hyden, 12.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) refer to a broad spectrum of organizations. Therefore, an NGO can be defined in the broadest sense as an organization, which is not specifically a part of governmental structures. It is created by private individuals or organizations that are not represented and/or do not participate in any government. It can exist to further the social or political goals of its members or of a disadvantaged group it focalizes. Women's development NGOs, therefore, concentrate on the betterment in economic, personal and/or political status of women. For the purposes of this study specifically, women's development NGO is defined as an NGO that works towards gender equality, regardless of the nature of the issue the NGO is concerned with.

Are women's development NGOs a part of civil society? Foley and Edwards shed some light onto this question. Most contemporary writers distinguish three realms in a society, namely the state, the market and civil society. In this definition the location of NGOs within civil society is not necessarily certain. Foley and Edwards quote Uphoff who believes the NGOs in the 'Third world' to be a part of the market because they are not of voluntary character but rather driven by competition for funding and clients.<sup>65</sup> Some writers also add a fourth realm to the division of society, that of political society. Political society, however, only includes actors in direct competition with the state, which women's development NGOs would generally not be.

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<sup>65</sup> Foley and Edwards, 'Beyond Tocqueville,' 18.

Most scholars and practitioners place NGOs inside of civil society. Hyden claims that generally civil society is defined as the sphere of “organized social life standing between the individual and the state.”<sup>66</sup> Women’s development NGOs, as organized associations voicing the needs of the individuals to authorities, should then be defined as a part of civil society. In her “minimal definition”<sup>67</sup> of civil society, another scholar, Rudolph, includes ideas such as “non-state autonomous sphere, empowerment of citizens, trust-building associational life and interaction with rather than subordination to the state.”<sup>68</sup> Women’s development NGOs are likely to possess at least some if not all of these characteristics.

Finally, major actors involved with NGOs and civil society would generally include women’s development NGOs inside of civil society. For example, earlier mentioned definition of civil society by LSE includes “...development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organizations...”<sup>69</sup> Others such as the World Bank or the UNDP include NGOs under Civil Society on their internet pages automatically.<sup>70</sup> Women’s development NGOs will here therefore be treated as a part of civil society.

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<sup>66</sup> Hyden, 13.

<sup>67</sup> Susanne H. Rudolph, ‘Is Civil Society the Answer?’ in *Investigating Social Capital: Comparative Perspectives on Civil Society, Participation and Governance*, ed. Sanjeev Prahash and Per Selle, 64-87 (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: SAGE Publications, 2004) 65.

<sup>68</sup> Rudolph, 65.

<sup>69</sup> LSE, ‘What is Civil Society?’

<sup>70</sup> See for example: The World Bank, ‘Turkey: NGOs and Civil Society.’  
<http://www.worldbank.org.tr/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/ECAEXT/TURKEYEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20169259~menuPK:372556~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:361712,00.html>  
(accessed May 15, 2007)

### **2.3. Feminism and Development: WID, WAD and GAD**

The approaches to women's development have been changing over time as well. Appearing later than development theories, they evolved generally along with ideas emerging in development and feminist theories. From these two backgrounds arose three main feminist approaches to development: women in development (WID), women and development (WAD)<sup>71</sup> and gender and development (GAD). This section will now describe these approaches as well as related feminist perspectives.

The above mentioned modernization theory applied to development projects in Third World countries after WWII assumed that the development it triggered would spread equally across genders and classes. Because of the realities in these countries, some development experts began to question this assumption in the 1970s. In her book *Women's Role in Economic Development* Ester Boserup, for example, finds that both in rural and in urban settings in Third World countries, development projects generally did not pay attention to women and their needs.<sup>72</sup> These projects, especially if aimed at increases in technology and modernization, often led to a decrease in women's opportunities and wellbeing.<sup>73</sup>

Around this time, liberal feminism began to evolve along the lines of liberal thinking. Liberal feminists argue that units of society are individuals, who are only

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<sup>71</sup> Some scholars believe this line of thought not to be as important as the other two; it is however often thought necessary to be mentioned.

<sup>72</sup> Esther Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1970).

<sup>73</sup> Boserup, 80 and 139.

biologically divided into two groups; they are therefore equal and possess same rights.<sup>74</sup> Women are equal to men intellectually and therefore there is no need for their unequal treatment. This school's primary goal is to ensure equal opportunities for women in all aspects of public life.

Some experts, especially women involved in development, began to lobby for inclusion of aspects of liberal feminism, especially its call for equal opportunity for women, in development projects then based on modernization theory.<sup>75</sup> This approach came to be known as 'women in development.' While this approach correctly recognized that development does not automatically trickle down across genders as modernization theorists believed and worked to correct this problem, it continued to operate within other limitations of modernization theory. Firstly, WID ignored contributions to its projects from affected communities; it generally relied on Western institutions for the design for these projects. Secondly, WID involved projects done on intergovernmental basis ignoring mistakes of governments in the affected countries.<sup>76</sup> Thirdly, because liberal feminism concentrated on women's roles in public not private life, WID was preoccupied with the role of women as producers and not with their domestic labor. And lastly, also ignored class and race as important aspects in women's lives.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, 'Alternative Approaches to International Theory,' in *The Globalization of World Politics*, ed. John Baylis and Steve Smith, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, 271-293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 281.

<sup>75</sup> Connelly et.al., 57.

<sup>76</sup> Connelly et.al., 57.

<sup>77</sup> Connelly et.al., 59.

These problems had to be addressed by other schools of thought. Marxist feminism was one of the approaches trying to solve the failures of liberal feminism and WID. In classical Marxism Friedrich Engels argued that as private property came into existence, subordination of women as well as class structure emerged. He believed that as few men owned property, they needed to subordinate women in order to ensure inheritance of this property on to their own children, and therefore maintain the existing class structure.<sup>78</sup> However, as mentioned in the previous section, Marxism in general was primarily concerned with the disadvantages of certain classes or regions not with the disadvantages faced by women. The implicit belief was that if classes were abolished people would become equal and gender equality would occur as well.

Feminist scholars within the Marxist tradition tried to resolve this lack of focus on gender by putting emphasis on the issues encountered by women. Like Marxists they maintained that the problem is the existing capitalist system. Unlike classical Marxists they emphasized that this system is the cause for women's inequality.<sup>79</sup> Gender inequality as well as the inequality of classes, has to be dealt with.

Other scholars – Radical feminists – were more critical of Marxist theory; they saw gender inequality as independent from class inequality and pointed out that

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<sup>78</sup> Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975) 79-81.

<sup>79</sup> Smith and Owens, 282.

patriarchy and gender inequality exist in all societies, even those without class.<sup>80</sup> Therefore patriarchy and gender inequality should be of primary concern in development. Radical feminists also criticized liberal feminism and WID for dealing only with issues that are considered a part of the public sphere. They maintained that issues that are considered a part of the private sphere like procreation or sexuality are actually the ones that must be dealt with as they are dominated by male power.<sup>81</sup> They believed that the personal must become political<sup>82</sup> in order to eliminate patriarchy. To achieve their goals they saw the setting up of institutions that are created entirely for women and exclude men as essential.<sup>83</sup>

Another feminist approach to development that emerged from Radical feminism is ‘women and development.’ As foreshadowed by the discussion of Radical feminism, WAD emphasized the special role of women in many areas of life. Some followers of this school, who saw the mainstream development programs and organizations as too patriarchal, believed that there should be separate institutions and organizing for women. Others, however, worried that such separation might further marginalize women. Although WAD had relatively small influence on development policy making, according to Connelly et.al., it made decision makers

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<sup>80</sup> Connelly et.al., 123.

<sup>81</sup> Connelly et.al., 124.

<sup>82</sup> Carol Hanisch, ‘The Personal is Political,’ 1969.

<http://scholar.alexanderstreet.com/download/attachments/2259/Personal+Is+Pol.pdf?version=1>  
(accessed May20, 2007).

<sup>83</sup> Connelly et.al., 60.

more responsive to women's needs as well as strengthened connections between women themselves.<sup>84</sup>

Although this approach contributed to the discussion by challenging the assumption of WID that male dominated state bureaucracies focusing on development would automatically improve gender inequalities, WAD had important drawbacks as well. It generally disregarded race or ethnicity. It also never reached sufficiently large scale to be too influential.<sup>85</sup> The danger of creating institutions only for women and, in that way, further marginalizing women remained as well.

All the above-mentioned developments had an influence on the advancement of the WID approach. WID experts recognized the growing poverty among women in LDC's and promoted gender specific programs focusing on women's basic human needs by attempting to increase their access to income.<sup>86</sup> Due to these changes in the WID approach, Connely et. al. conclude that in the 1970s both the radical as well as the orthodox feminist development planners agreed that women's poverty reduction should be the main goal of their efforts.<sup>87</sup>

Another feminist approach emerging in later 1970s from the Marxist historical/materialist tradition was Socialist feminism. Unlike Marxist feminists who gave importance to capitalism as an oppressor of women, the followers of this

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<sup>84</sup> Connely et.al., 60.

<sup>85</sup> Connely et.al., 61.

<sup>86</sup> Caroline O.N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) 3.

<sup>87</sup> Connely et.al., 61.

tradition believed that the ever-present “patriarchal system of male dominance”<sup>88</sup> is another important source of the inequality of women. They however did not go as far as radical feminists in completely ignoring class and its cause, capitalism, and focusing only on challenging patriarchy. Social feminists, therefore, attempted to improve Marxist feminism by incorporating some Radical feminist points in the Marxist feminist framework. Social feminists tried to challenge both capitalism and patriarchy in the development programs for women.<sup>89</sup> Around mid-1980s Socialist feminists started to emphasize the need for analyzing gender construction. They believed that examining ways in which gender characteristics and relations are constructed would allow them to abate the inequality of women.<sup>90</sup> The inequality of women is especially affected by “[women’s] position in national, regional and global economies.”<sup>91</sup>

At about the same time grass-roots organizations and feminist scholars in LDCs began to turn in a similar direction. The strongest representative of these voices from the South was a group called ‘Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era’ (DAWN). Launched at the 1985 Nairobi international NGO forum, this group along with others articulated their demand for an approach to development that would deal with global as well as local inequalities.<sup>92</sup> These activists wanted to

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<sup>88</sup> Smith and Owens, 282

<sup>89</sup> Connelly et.al., 126-127.

<sup>90</sup> Connelly et.al, 127.

<sup>91</sup> Connelly et.al., 62.

<sup>92</sup> Nilufer Cagatay et.al., ‘The Nairobi Women’s Conference: Toward a global Feminism?’ *Feminist Studies*, 12: 2 (Summer, 1986): 404.

incorporate national, class, and racial oppression in their struggle for women's equality.<sup>93</sup>

Influenced by Socialist feminism and the voices coming from the global South, 'Gender and Development'<sup>94</sup> approach to development emerged in the 1980s. As foreshadowed, supporters of the GAD approach argue that women's lives are affected by their material position in national, regional and global economies. Women are also affected by the dynamics of patriarchy in their environment – on national, community and household levels. Both the patriarchal power and the economic position influencing women are "...defined and maintained by the accepted norms and values that define women's and men's roles and duties in a particular society."<sup>95</sup>

In their attempt to promote women's development, supporters of the GAD approach investigate women's material and class positions as well as patriarchal structures subordinating women. GAD advocates concentrate on the relationship between women and men rather than on women alone, like the previous approaches did. According to the GAD approach the relationship between genders is socially constructed and must be changed if the oppression of women is to be eliminated. This approach is further conscious of the fact that inequality is experienced differently by women of different race, class, history and position in the global economic order because the construction of the roles of men and women varies at

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<sup>93</sup> Cagatay, 403.

<sup>94</sup> Also referred to as "empowerment approach" or "gender-aware planning."

<sup>95</sup> Connelly et.al., 62.

different times, situations, and societies.<sup>96</sup> Unlike the WID or WAD that saw women's development as an "add-on"<sup>97</sup> to development in general, the GAD approach focuses on gender relations with a goal to emancipate women. GAD is also an approach that began to more clearly emphasize that women should be the agents of their development not simply the receivers of it. As a part of alternative approaches to development GAD emphasized the role of those affected in the articulation of their needs. With this approach; therefore, the concept of development process as well as that of gender relations changes.<sup>98</sup>

Although many scholars believe that GAD represents a step forward from WID (and WAD), the older approaches have continued to be on the agenda of many development organizations. Some scholars believe that this is because the older approaches are "...less threatening..."<sup>99</sup> as they are not attempting to change the power structures of the societies. Others point out that although many development organizations began to use the term 'gender,' they continue to work within the WID approach.<sup>100</sup>

With the latest developments taking place in the global economy and in theoretical approaches to development, theory on women/gender and development continues to evolve. With emergence of feminisms such as Postmodern, post-colonial, Third World feminism and others, theory about development focusing on

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<sup>96</sup> Moser, 3.

<sup>97</sup> Moser, 4.

<sup>98</sup> Connelly et.al., 63.

<sup>99</sup> Moser, 4.

<sup>100</sup> Connelly et.al., 64.

women/gender is becoming more diverse and sophisticated. Post-modern feminism, for example, expands development thinking by studying the construction of masculinity and femininity in society.<sup>101</sup> Post-colonial feminism, on the other hand, works to give women in the South a voice to articulate their interests and opinions.<sup>102</sup> Third World feminism supports this view and adds focus on women's race, class and other differences.<sup>103</sup> These changes point in the direction of development strategies for women, which are increasingly oriented towards understanding what particular groups/individuals require. Many of the latest approaches prescribe taking the specific circumstances and wishes of the women affected by development projects progressively more into account.

#### **2.4. Social Capital**

The concept of social capital is another idea that has been spurring considerable controversy among scholars and practitioners in the field of development. The following are a few examples of varying definitions<sup>104</sup> by prominent supporters of the idea of social capital:

**Bourdieu:** "Social capital is the 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.'"<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Smith and Owens, 284.

<sup>102</sup> Smith and Owens, 284.

<sup>103</sup> Connelly et.al., 105.

<sup>104</sup> For more definitions see Appendix 1

<sup>105</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, 'Forms of capital' in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G.. Richards (New York: Greenwood Press, 1983) 249.

**Coleman:** “Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure.”<sup>106</sup>

**Putnam:** “Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called “civic virtue.” The difference is that “social capital” calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital.”<sup>107</sup>

**The World Bank<sup>108</sup>:** “Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a

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<sup>106</sup> James S. Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990) 302.

<sup>107</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000) 19.

<sup>108</sup> While the World Bank web page provides a short summary of what social capital is, the World Bank Development Report 2000/2001 gives a longer overview of the various views of social capital: “There are at least four views on the relationship between social capital and development. The narrowest holds social capital to be the social skills of individuals—one’s propensity for cooperative behavior, conflict resolution, tolerance, and the like. A more expansive meso view associates social capital with families and local community associations and the underlying norms (trust, reciprocity) that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. This view highlights the positive aspects of social capital for members of these associations but remains largely silent on the possibility that social capital may not impart benefits to society at large and that group membership itself may entail significant costs. A more nuanced meso view of social capital recognizes that group membership can have both positive and negative effects. This approach broadens the concept of social capital to include associations in which relationships among members may be hierarchical and power sharing unequal. These forms of associations and networks address a wider range of objectives: some of them serve only the private interests of members, while others are motivated by a commitment to serve broader public objectives. This view emphasizes that groups, in addition to providing benefits to members, can make significant noneconomic claims on them. A macro view of social capital focuses on the social and political environment that shapes social structures and enables norms to develop. This environment includes formalized institutional relationships and structures, such as government, political regime, rule of law, the court system, and civil and political liberties. Institutions have an important effect on the rate and pattern of economic development. An integrating view of social capital recognizes that micro, meso, and macro institutions coexist and have the potential to complement one another. Macro institutions can provide an enabling environment in which micro institutions develop and flourish. In turn, local associations help sustain regional and national

society's social interactions... Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together.”<sup>109</sup>

Despite nuances in these definitions, the term ‘social capital’ is undeniably related to relationships rather than to individuals alone like other kinds of capital are. It is also less concrete than other kinds of capital.

Social capital can be viewed as a factor of production. Classical economists included land, labor and physical capital among the basic factors influencing economic growth. Later neo-classical economists added human capital. However, even a person with a very valuable amount of human capital can achieve little unless they have access to others who would correct, improve or receive their work. In short, while human capital is the asset of individuals, social capital is the asset of relationships. Human and social capital complement each other.<sup>110</sup>

Broadly defined, social capital describes social relationships between individuals that result in outcomes. In order to clarify this rather vague definition for the purposes of this work, the history of the term is provided. Later some criticisms of the term are discussed. Thereafter, description of the role of social capital, and to some extent civil society, in development is mentioned. The chapter proceeds by describing possible measurements associated with the concept.

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institutions by giving them a measure of stability and legitimacy—and by holding them accountable for their actions.” The World Bank, World Bank Development Report, 2000/20001: Attacking Poverty, (World Bank: Oxford University Press, 2000) 129.

<sup>109</sup> The World Bank, 'What is Social Capital?', 1999.

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/whatsc.htm> (accessed June 13, 2007).

<sup>110</sup> Woolcock, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ 2000: 6.

Before the 1990s, the role of social relations in development was downplayed or downright rejected. Modernization theory in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, perceived existing social relations as an impediment to development. Later, around 1970s, dependency theorists saw “...social relations among corporate and political elites [as] a primary mechanism of capitalist exploitation.”<sup>111</sup> Theories influential in the 1980s and early 1990s, for example the neo-classical theory, did not assign an influential role to social relations either.<sup>112</sup>

Majority of development scholars and practitioners began to reevaluate their views in recent years and wide interest in social and institutional dimensions of development emerged. This change in attitude towards the inclusion of social relations in the field appeared particularly due to a number of geo-political changes in the 1990s.<sup>113</sup> Among these Woolcock includes the fall of communism, problems with creating market institutions in transitional economies, financial crises in several places in the world, persisting poverty in even the most developed countries, and widespread corruption preventing recovery of weak institutions.<sup>114</sup> Social capital literature, as the works of scholars writing about different aspects of social relations would come to be collectively called, represents the closest step so far in dealing with these challenges.

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<sup>111</sup> Woolcock, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ 18.

<sup>112</sup> Woolcock, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ 18-19. For more detailed discussion of the theories mentioned here see section 2.1. *Development Discourse: an historical overview*.

<sup>113</sup> Woolcock, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ 1.

<sup>114</sup> Woolcock, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ 1.

Though appearing in earlier works, the term social capital was brought into wider scholarly debate mainly thanks to its two recent key proponents, namely James S. Coleman and Robert D. Putnam. Writing since the 1980s, Coleman claims that social capital appears in many forms such as ‘obligations and expectations,’ ‘authority relations,’ ‘appropriable social organizations,’ or ‘international organization.’<sup>115</sup> Coleman highlights the productive property of social capital, pointing out that due to this quality, social capital can function similarly to other kinds of capital. In some instances, it can even be more powerful than other kinds of capital; particular social relationships can provide an individual with important resources, which would otherwise be unavailable regardless of the individuals’ human or financial capital. Simultaneously, however, this social capital can be useless (or even harmful) in another kind of situation.<sup>116</sup>

Social relations, through which social capital is created, are based on individual attributes such as trust, expectations and norms.<sup>117</sup> Although social capital, as described by Coleman, seems to be an invaluable resource, it is based on rather abstract (even immeasurable) variables. In one of his major works, Coleman himself questioned the future quantitative value of the concept. He claimed that its value comes mainly from its “...usefulness for qualitative analyses of social systems...”<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> More detailed description is not needed for present purposes, shall it be required, it can be found in Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory*, 304-313.

<sup>116</sup> Coleman, 302.

<sup>117</sup> Michael W. Foley and Bob Edwards, ‘Is it Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?’ *Journal of Public Policy*, 19:2 (May 1999): 144.

<sup>118</sup> Coleman, 305-306.

Robert D. Putnam took the concept of social capital from mostly sociological use into political science. He popularized the term further bringing it into mainstream academic and public debate. Like Coleman, Putnam believed that social capital emerges from interactions among individuals brought about by their memberships in social networks and voluntary organizations.<sup>119</sup> Such memberships, according to Putnam, facilitate trust, norms and networks among individuals, which can enhance efficiency in society that brings about the society's ability to involve in coordinated actions.<sup>120</sup>

According to many scholars, Putnam was the most important author who connected social capital and civil society and therefore promoted social capital in development studies. Unlike Coleman and other sociologists, Putnam concentrated on the benefits that social capital brings to communities, nations or other units of collectivity, therefore, researching what effects social capital can have on their development.<sup>121</sup> He supported the idea that without social capital (coming from strong associational life) "... citizens would lack the skills and inclinations necessary to work together on economic and political projects."<sup>122</sup> For Putnam the strong associations meant face-to-face associations that are characteristic of functional democracies. Although these face-to-face associations do not play role in the

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<sup>119</sup> Sanjeev Prahash and Per Selle, 'Introduction,' in *Investigating Social Capital: Comparative Perspectives on Civil Society, Participation and Governance*, ed. Sanjeev Prahash and Per Selle, 64-87 (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: SAGE Publications, 2004) 21.

<sup>120</sup> Robert D. Putnam, 'The Prosperous Community,' *The American Prospect*, 4:13 (March 1993).

<sup>121</sup> Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt, 'Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of its Role in Development,' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 32:2 (May 2000): 535.

<sup>122</sup> Foley, M.W./Edwards, B., 'Is it Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?' p. 144.

economy or the polity, membership in them strengthens political and economic effectiveness.<sup>123</sup>

Despite its wide use, Putnam's arguments have been criticized by many. Foley and Edwards, for example, cite criticisms such as Putnam's neglect of the 'dark side' of social capital; his avoidance of politics and political structure; his under-emphasis on "...the role of large-scale economic changes in undermining civic engagement; or the fact that his conceptual framework is thought to be incoherent.<sup>124</sup>

Social capital does not only have the positive results highlighted by Putnam and his followers, but also a 'dark side.' Ostrom, for example, mentions cartels or networks of organized crime as associations, which, while providing great benefits to their members, are harmful to the society.<sup>125</sup> Putnam mentions problematic groups in civil society, such as the Ku Klux Klan or the Nazi Party.<sup>126</sup> His referral is only very brief in his first influential work *Making Democracy Work*; however, he discusses this side of social capital more thoroughly in other works.<sup>127</sup> In the same line of criticism, Putzel claims, that Putnam is not able to describe such groups by the indicators he uses in his study.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Arrow, K.J., 'Observations on social capital,' in Dasgupta, P./Serageldin, I. (eds.), *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective*, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2000, pp. 3-5, at p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> Foley and Edwards, 'Is it Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?' 145.

<sup>125</sup> Elinor Ostrom, 'Investigating in Capital, Institutions, and Incentives,' in *Institutions and Economic Development: Growth and Governance in Less-Developed and Post-Socialist Countries*, ed. Christopher Clague (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 162.

<sup>126</sup> Putnam, *Making Democracy*, 221.

<sup>127</sup> See for example Robert D. Putnam, 'Tuning in, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America,' *Political Science and Politics*, 28:4 (1995): 665.

<sup>128</sup> Putzel, James, 'Accounting for the 'Dark Side' of Social Capital: Reading Robert Putnam on Democracy,' *Journal of International Development*, 9:7 (1997): 944.

With the development of the concept, differing types of social capital have evolved. Woolcock clearly identifies three types of social capital, namely bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding social capital refers to ties built among individuals in similar situations such as neighbors or family members. Bridging social capital includes ties between more distant individuals or even associations. Finally, linking social capital<sup>129</sup> connects people in differing situations, for example outside of one's community or group.<sup>130</sup> Due to the existence of different kinds of social capital, the criticism that social capital literature omits negative outcomes of the phenomena cannot be valid for this literature as a whole. The presence of social capital has a range of outcomes – positive as well as negative. This is, however, due to the range of sources of social capital. Such "... multidimensional approach allows us to argue that it is different combinations of bonding, bridging and linking social capital that are responsible for the range of outcomes we observe in the literature..."<sup>131</sup>

Another criticism worth more elaborate comment is Putnam's said incoherence. Foley and Edwards highlight Putnam's failure to specify under which conditions the face-to-face interaction creates the desirable results. Since social

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<sup>129</sup> Linking social capital is by many authors not mentioned and the ties indicated here as belonging into linking social capital are often included in bridging social capital.

<sup>130</sup> Michael Woolcock, 'The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes,' *Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, 2:1 (2001): 13.

<sup>131</sup> Woolcock, Michael, 'The Place of Social Capital,' (2001): 11.

capital is embedded in human relations and is specific to a context, it cannot be measured by surveys as Putnam attempted, claim Edwards and Foley.<sup>132</sup>

Portes and Landolt add to these criticisms by pointing out that Putnam's (and others') argument relating development and social capital can in fact be considered illogical. The authors' summary of the argument is the following:

“For every political system (city, nation, etc....) if authorities and the populations are imbued with a sense of collective responsibility and altruism; then, the system will be better governed and its policies will be more effective.”<sup>133</sup>

Although appealing to development policy makers, the logical flaw in this argument is clearly the fact that social capital, which should lead to better governance and increased development, is, according to this argument, at the same time the outcome of these processes.

Woolcock discusses such problems and maintains that while discussing social capital, the aim should be focus on what it is rather than on what it does. It also must also be understood as a relational variable.<sup>134</sup> If both of these conditions are fulfilled, ‘trust’, which was for example measured by Putnam, is not itself seen as social capital but rather as a measure of it. It can only be measured with regard to the relationships in which it exists. In order to create this measurable trust, investment is made in the networks and social institutions, which lead to ‘trust.’ The emphasis here

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<sup>132</sup> Bob Edwards and Michael W. Foley, ‘Civil Society and Social Capital Beyond Putnam,’ *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42:1 (September 1998): 131.

<sup>133</sup> Portes and Landolt, 536.

<sup>134</sup> Woolcock, Michael, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ (2001): 11.

is on institutions. Social capital cannot lead to positive results without being embedded within strong, friendly and democratic institutions.<sup>135</sup>

It is therefore obvious that the simplification that the only way to increase social capital is to have more social capital which will lead to better institutions and therefore to even more social capital is misleading. Sometimes weak formal institutions can spark increase in informal institutions. However, development projects will fare very differently in places with differing kind of institutional background. It is therefore important to take both the micro as well as the macro variables into account when designing development policy.

Despite many criticisms aimed at Putnam's work as well as the social capital theory, these ideas have been widely used in recent years. Political scientists and economists (including scholars interested in development from these disciplines) have been exploring and adding to Putnam's ideas by focusing on relationships between civil society, trust and other attitudes and norms on the one hand and social, economic and political outcomes on the other hand.<sup>136</sup> Despite the number of differences of the meaning of social capital to scholars, it is accepted by many as an "...explanation for the differential achievement of countries in institutionalizing society, democratic governance and economic development."<sup>137</sup> For many, it is this

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<sup>135</sup> Woolcock, Michael, 'The Place of Social Capital,' (2001): 11-12.

<sup>136</sup> Foley and Edwards, 'Is it Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?' 145.

<sup>137</sup> Prahash and Selle, 18.

one single idea that explains both economic and political outcomes. It has therefore been called the “missing link in development.”<sup>138</sup>

The social capital literature in general allows policy makers, and development scholars and practitioners to consider the importance of communities and institutions when facing the challenges of development. It allows for more dialogue between various disciplines, such as economics, political science, sociology and others concerned with development. It also allows those designing development theories to take into account one asset the poor possess when negotiating their wellbeing, namely their social relations between each other - their social capital.<sup>139</sup>

As foreshadowed previously, social capital, because of its varying definitions, poses difficulties when measured. Though Coleman questioned the need for, or the value of quantifying this concept, many scholars have attempted to do so.<sup>140</sup> Fukuyama points out that “one of the greatest weaknesses of the social capital concept is the absence of consensus on how to measure it.”<sup>141</sup> Putnam’s study of social capital in southern and northern Italy in his book *Making Democracy Work* is a significant example of attempts to measure it. However, many scholars point out problems this study contained such as the disregard for the multi-dimensional nature of social capital. This study like many others encountered problems as social capital cannot be directly measured; what can be measured to a certain extent are some

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<sup>138</sup> Howell and Pearce, 25.

<sup>139</sup> Woolcock, Michael, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ (2000): 20.

<sup>140</sup> Coleman, 305-306.

<sup>141</sup> Francis Fukuyama, 'Social capital, civil society and development,' *Third World Quarterly*, 22 (2001): 12.

outcomes of social capital (such as trust or networks) or other assumed side effects of it. These outcomes or side-effects are however often determined subjectively or impossible to find.<sup>142</sup>

Woolcock simplifies the measurement problem into two points. Firstly, he stresses that universal measures cannot be used when attempting to capture local differing realities. Secondly, he emphasizes that while previous research should be taken into consideration, a work measuring social capital needs to include its own field research. “Social capital stresses “processes” (means) as much as it does “products” (ends), and qualitative methods provide especially fruitful techniques for unpacking the mechanisms behind these processes. Clean models and dirty hands are both required.”<sup>143</sup>

To simplify this debate for the purposes required here, evidence from daily experiences can be used. Most would likely agree that social ties to others can enable them access to key resources, while the lack of such ties could deny them this access. In short, “social capital refers to the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively.”<sup>144</sup> This definition not only incorporates different kinds of social capital (bridging vs. bonding), but also focuses on sources of social capital. In addition, this

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<sup>142</sup> Fukuyama, Francis, 12.

<sup>143</sup> Woolcock, Michael, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ (2000): 22.

<sup>144</sup> Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan, ‘Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy,’ *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15:2 (August, 2000): 226.

simplified image of social capital is based on community and interpersonal relationships as the primary units of analysis.<sup>145</sup>

Social capital should, however, not be understood as ‘panacea.’ The ways, in which people associate with each other has implications for their well-being. Their well-being also depends on the institutions among which their relations are embedded. “... [E]conomic growth ..., and the ability to manage [economic] shocks ..., is the twin product of coherent public institutions and societies able to generate what Easterly calls a “middle class consensus.”<sup>146</sup>

This is the case because generalized trust, an important aspect of social capital, stems also from the quality of local institutions and government and their effects on citizens’ political trust.<sup>147</sup> If citizens trust their local politicians and institutions, that are both sufficiently close to have influence on their every-day life and at the same time remote enough to be generalized, individuals can transmit such experiences to their relationships with other people and groups.<sup>148</sup> Therefore, “contemporary political and institutional arrangements at the regional level are important determinants of social capital.”<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Woolcock and Narayan, 226-227.

<sup>146</sup> Woolcock, Michael, ‘The Place of Social Capital,’ (2000): 23, quoting William Easterly, The Middle Class Consensus and Economic Development,’ *Policy Research Working Paper 2346*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2000).

<sup>147</sup> Stolle, Dietlind, ‘Communities, Social Capital and Local Government: Generalized Trust in Regional Settings,’ in *Investigating Social Capital: Comparative Perspectives on Civil Society, Participation and Governance*, ed. Sanjeev Prahash and Per Selle (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: SAGE Publications, 2004) 185.

<sup>148</sup> Stolle, 201.

<sup>149</sup> Stolle, 185.

If viewed from this angle, social capital has undeniable implications for development. Traditional development theories have largely ignored the role of social relations; however, development challenges of today seem to demand increased attention to the social dimension of development. Literature on social capital represents an attempt to overcome this challenge.<sup>150</sup> Woolcock and others believe that “[w]here poor communities have direct input into the design, implementation, management, and evaluation of projects, returns on investments and the sustainability of the project are enhanced.”<sup>151</sup>

## **2.5. Conclusion**

Given the theoretical debates described in this chapter, the definition of women’s development in this study is based on the alternative approaches to development and on the latest approaches to women’s development. According to the *Human Development Report* of 1990,<sup>152</sup> development should mean increasing the quantity as well as the quality and distribution of economic growth. Development should lead to increased welfare, improved choices and income, while simultaneously eliminating inequality and poverty. Thus, building on the human development perspective, the latest approaches to women’s development advocate taking specific circumstances and wishes of women affected by development projects into account. In addition, the new debate in the social capital literature also

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<sup>150</sup> Woolcock and Narayan, 228.

<sup>151</sup> Woolcock and Narayan, 243.

<sup>152</sup> Mahbub ul Haq et.al.

calls for participatory approach to development programs. Because without local participation the social capital embedded in specific context of the communities cannot be utilized by the beneficiaries of these projects or programs, which in turn will undermine the sustainability of the NGOs' projects.

Consequently, to achieve sustainable development of women, the programs affecting these women should be designed to empower them by providing them with equality in terms of choices, economic distribution, welfare and well-being overall. However, the women should be perceived as able and active participants, rather than just as beneficiaries accessing services of the NGOs' projects. Thus, the affected women and their circumstances should be in the heart of the design of these programs. The beneficiaries should be active participants in designing, implementing and monitoring of the projects to achieve sustainable emancipation and empowerment. All projects, that are designed to lead to gender equality, are therefore considered women's development projects in this thesis. Within this framework, the research design of this study is based on the women's development projects, because all projects that are designed to lead to gender equality ultimately will pave the way towards empowerment of women.

According to the different definitions of civil society elaborated in the literature review in the present chapter, in this study women's development NGOs are defined as a core part of civil society. Likewise, women's development NGOs within civil society pursue or aid grass-roots initiatives such as taking care of the

poor, the disadvantaged, the uneducated and other efforts. Women's NGOs exist to further the social and political goals of women as a disadvantaged group. Therefore, NGOs dealing with women's development, as organized associations voicing the needs of women to authorities are defined as a part of civil society. Similarly, given the "minimal definition"<sup>153</sup> of civil society, women's development NGOs act also in non-state autonomous sphere, empower women, and build trust among different actors within civil society by promoting gender equality.

Given the wide scope of women's NGOs, there are no empirical studies investigating the influence of donors' financing on women's development projects. In this study, therefore, the influence of donors via financing of women's development projects is questioned. Given the definition of women's development projects in this section, the importance of local participation is highlighted. Therefore, this study further looks into differences, if any, in terms of the influence of financing on local participation in women's development projects.

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<sup>153</sup> Rudolph, 65.

## CHAPTER 3

### CIVIL SOCIETY AND WOMEN’S MOVEMENT IN TURKEY: HISTORY AND PRESENT

#### 3.1. Civil Society in Turkey

The authors of the *CIVICUS Civil Society Index Country Report for Turkey* believe that the date of emergence of civil society in Turkey depends on the definition one uses to define the concept. They propose that if civil society is described only as “...an associational life outside of the state...,”<sup>154</sup> the history of civil society in Turkey is a relatively long one, dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman era. If, however, civil society is defined as “...a sphere that contributes to public participation and democratization on a voluntary basis...”<sup>155</sup> then its history in Turkey is rather short. This kind of a civil society became important in Turkey only in the 1980s.

Several definitions of civil society in the literature are discussed in the previous chapter; therefore, the history of civil society in Turkey since the 19<sup>th</sup> century is described here. The first subsection describes the history of civil society

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<sup>154</sup> Filiz Bikment and Zeynep Meydanoglu ed., *Civil Society in Turkey: an Era of Transition*, *CIVICUS Civil Society Index Country Report for Turkey* (Istanbul: Sena Ofset Ambalaj, Matbaacilik Sanayi ve Ticaret Ltd. Sti., 2006) 35.

<sup>155</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 35.

until the 1980s. The next subsection then recounts the history of civil society after the 1980s as well as the present situation of civil society in Turkey.

### 3.1.1. Civil society until the 1980s

Scholars generally agree that Turkish civil society, in the sense of associations outside of the state, began emerging in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the late Ottoman Empire era with the Tanzimat<sup>156</sup> reforms.<sup>157</sup> Modernizing intellectuals of the time were able to achieve some liberties for the Ottoman subjects. However, the then existing relationship between the state and the society, which consisted of a direct relationship between citizens and the supreme authority without the “missing link we call ‘civil society,’”<sup>158</sup> was preserved. As an example of the associations emerging at this time, the *CIVICUS Report* describes foundations (“philanthropic institutions,”<sup>159</sup>) which, though outside of the state, could not be considered drivers of democracy.

The legacy of this “patrimonial structure”<sup>160</sup> of the Ottoman state was inherited by the Turkish Republic. Building on such basis, the founders and leaders

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<sup>156</sup> Tanzimat (in Ottoman Turkish “Reorganization”) was a “...series of reforms promulgated in the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876 under the reigns of the sultans Abdulmecid I and Abdulaziz. These reforms, heavily influenced by European ideas, were intended to effectuate a fundamental change of the empire from the old system based on theocratic principles to that of a modern [Western] state.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2007, s.v. “Tanzimat,” <http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9380246/Tanzimat> (accessed September 25, 2007).

<sup>157</sup> See for example: Lutfullah Karaman and Bulent Aras, “The Crisis of Civil Society in Turkey,” *Journal of Economic and Social Research* 2, no. 2 (2000): 39-58.

<sup>158</sup> Karaman and Aras, 49.

<sup>159</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 35.

<sup>160</sup> Karaman and Aras, 48.

of the Turkish Republic pursued a state-centered modernization process. In this process, organizations that were part of the existing civil society operated outside of the state but in a very close relation with it. Civil society was at this time promoted by the state. The emerging civil society organizations (CSOs) were in reality a part of the state-driven modernization process. Karaman and Aras argue that especially under the one-party rule (lasting until around 1946<sup>161</sup>) “civil society has continued to exist primarily in name only.”<sup>162</sup>

The establishment of multi-party politics in the second half of 1940s created an opportunity for civil society to develop. The change produced increased political freedom, brought more power to middle classes and greater respect for individual rights. Though it was an insufficient change to significantly alter the position of the state at this time,<sup>163</sup> the Republic was undergoing a slow process towards greater democracy.

However, from around the mid-1950s the DP government began to take measures to consolidate power for itself and disable the opposition necessary for democracy. The government took steps such as tightening the already strict penal code, banning one of the opposition parties, confiscating of the opposition’s assets,

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<sup>161</sup> In 1946 an opposition party (the Democratic Party) entered the parliament for the first time. It was not until the elections in May 1950 that the Democratic Party won a significant number of votes and took over the government. This was the first time when a party, other than the Republican People’s Party (founded by Ataturk), was to govern Turkey.

<sup>162</sup> Karaman and Aras, 48.

<sup>163</sup> Zurcher, Erik J., *Turkey, A Modern History* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris&Co Ltd Publishers, 1998) 226-227.

and others.<sup>164</sup> These steps resulted in curbing the citizens' democratic freedoms rather than in furthering them, which in turn had negative effects on the development of civil society.<sup>165</sup>

Although greeted with joy by crowds in Istanbul and Ankara, the military coup of 1960 interrupted the process of amplifying individual rights and democracy. The coup brought to the function of the head of state, prime minister and minister of defense Cemal Gursel, a general chosen by the army.<sup>166</sup> However, the Constitution, accepted by the public after this coup in May 1961, was seen as more democratic than the one in place before the coup.<sup>167</sup> It was "thought to have created a legal framework that guaranteed greater levels of freedom."<sup>168</sup> Though Karaman and Aras point out that this change did not have significant influence on promoting the "flowering of civil society"<sup>169</sup> and the following military intervention of 1971 did very little for the emergence of independent civil society as well, the 1960s and 1970s were marked by emergence of independent civil society. At this time some trade unions and parties began to turn against the state ideology creating a Marxist/leftist movement.

However, despite expectations, the Turkish state remained the "primal, sovereign and most powerful actor in political, economic and cultural spheres, as

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<sup>164</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1996) 112.

<sup>165</sup> Ahmad, 112.

<sup>166</sup> Erik Zürcher, *Turkey – A Modern History* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2004) 241-242.

<sup>167</sup> Zürcher (2004) 246.

<sup>168</sup> Karaman and Aras, 51.

<sup>169</sup> Karaman and Aras, 51.

well as in social life”<sup>170</sup> in the multi-party period until the 1980s. Turkish citizens were there to serve the modernization project of the state rather than to receive rights from it. The state protected this power not only because of its leading role in the modernization process, but also because of ‘state security’ reasons. By suppressing independent civil society, the state attempted to subdue the ethnic (primarily Kurdish) and religious (primarily Islamic) identity claims. The Turkish state saw these claims as very dangerous to the integrity of the country.<sup>171</sup> Overall, Civil society organizations (CSOs), a link between the state and the society that would contribute to democracy, were lacking in the Turkish Republic until the 1980s.

### 3.1.2 Civil society in Turkey: 1980s – present

A new kind of civil society – one that could contribute to the democratization process in Turkey – began to emerge in the 1980s. In order to shed light on this change, this subsection describes the history of the Turkish Republic since the 1980s, highlighting events that contributed to the emergence of this kind of civil society. Later the current state of civil society in Turkey is discussed.

A major change in the civil society sector occurred after the 1980 military coup. It was the third military intervention of this kind in the history of the Republic.<sup>172</sup> This coup, like the previous ones, severely disrupted “...the democratic

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<sup>170</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 36.

<sup>171</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 36.

<sup>172</sup> The previous military interventions occurred in 1960 and 1971.

fabric of the country.”<sup>173</sup> The coup resulted in a new constitution, which was designed to “...destroy the institutions of civil society”<sup>174</sup> in order to ensure “...the protection of the state and the survival of the regime.”<sup>175</sup> In fact, before the September 12 coup 38,354 NGOs were operating in Turkey, of those the new military regime closed 20,000.<sup>176</sup> However, according to Toprak, the change paradoxically resulted in a strengthening of the “commitment to civilian politics, consensus-building, civil rights, and issue-oriented associational activities.”<sup>177</sup> In other words, this change unwittingly caused civil society – in the current sense of the word – to begin to develop.

Scholars state several reasons for this positive development. According to the *CIVICUS Report* the development of civil society and its increasing independence vis-à-vis the state was caused by “Turkey’s transition to free market based economy, political and cultural conflicts, [and] ...globalization.”<sup>178</sup> As the Turkish economy began to open to the outside<sup>179</sup> criticisms of state intervention in the economy grew

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<sup>173</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 36.

<sup>174</sup> Binnaz Toprak, “Civil Society in Turkey,” in *Civil Society in the Middle East*, ed. A.R. Norton, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996) 95.

<sup>175</sup> Karaman and Aras, 51.

<sup>176</sup> Sefa Simsek, “The Transformation of Civil Society in Turkey: From Quantity to Quality,” *Turkish Studies*, 5:3 (Autumn 2004): 48.

<sup>177</sup> Toprak, 95.

<sup>178</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 36.

<sup>179</sup> Until the 1980s the Turkish economy was generally run under the idea of import-substituting industrialization (ISI). This strategy “...emphasizes infant industry protection, aiming to replace imports with domestic products by building one’s own industrial capacity.” (Zhu Tianbiao, “Rethinking Import-substituting Industrialization, Development Strategies and Institutions in Taiwan and China,” *World Institute for Development Economics Research*, Research Paper No. 2006/76 (July 2006): 1.) After the coup the economy began to open to the outside and run under the principles of a free market economy.

louder. These changes also led the public to question the lack of private entrepreneurship and individual rights and freedoms as well as individualism.<sup>180</sup>

Political and cultural conflicts emerged after 1980. Intellectuals in Turkey began to question the meaning of modernization pursued by the state. Keyman and Icduygu observe that since the 1980s the Turkish modernization project “involved new actors, new mentalities of development and new identity claims.”<sup>181</sup> As examples of these changes, they point to the entry of the Islamic discourse into politics and the public’s questioning of the state’s secular ideology as the only road towards modernization.<sup>182</sup> Along these lines the Turkish society also began to question the ‘strong-state tradition’<sup>183</sup> in the 1980s. Before the 1980s the Turkish state pursued its goal of modernization and development almost independently from civil society. As the ideas about individualism, rights and freedoms and free market developed in the society, however, the legitimacy of the strong state came under scrutiny and has been eroding ever since.<sup>184</sup>

The above described internal changes were associated with external changes that also helped the growth of civil society in Turkey. The process of globalization and Turkey’s increasing integration with other states and entities are the other factors that have been influencing the development of civil society since the 1980s.

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<sup>180</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 36.

<sup>181</sup> E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet Icduygu, “Globalization, Civil Society and Citizenship in Turkey: Actors, Boundaries and Discourses,” *Citizenship Studies*, 7:2 (2003): 222.

<sup>182</sup> Keyman and Icduygu, 222.

<sup>183</sup> Keyman and Icduygu, 223.

<sup>184</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 36.

According to Keyman and Icduygu, globalization affects issues such as multiculturalism or poverty, limiting political solutions of the state to these serious problems. Other actors, such as CSOs must fill the created vacuum.<sup>185</sup>

Another process affecting the rise of civil society in Turkey is Turkey's growing integration with the European Union (EU). This integration process became however especially significant after the 1980s and therefore will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

Despite all the positive changes in the 1980s, however, the new constitution was overall more restrictive than the previous one. According to Karaman and Aras, the constitution actually added prohibitive clauses to nearly every article touching upon individual rights and freedoms.<sup>186</sup> Turkey and its civil society progressed into the coming decades with such ambivalent legacy.

Despite the state's oppressive legal framework and tradition towards civil society, the Turkish state decided to abandon, if only partially, this policy in the 1990s.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, several events that occurred in the 1990s significantly strengthened the civil society in Turkey. In 1996 a UN Habitat Forum was held in Istanbul. This meeting resulted in an increase in the quantity and quality of CSOs in Turkey as well as their greater importance in the society. This was achieved by a mobilization of a large number of the CSOs and by bringing civil society's role in pursuing social justice and sustainable development in Turkey to the public's

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<sup>185</sup> Keyman and Icduygu, 225.

<sup>186</sup> Karaman and Aras, 51f.

<sup>187</sup> Simsek, 68.

attention.<sup>188</sup> Then, in 1999, a major and destructive earthquake struck Turkey's Northwest (Marmara region). The government did not have the capacity to deal with the tragic consequences of the disaster. It was the CSOs that were able to mobilize volunteers and donations to help the affected people. This event also added to the strengthening of the civil society by increasing the citizens' trust and interest in the sector. The Turkish society was forced to realize that the state alone cannot deal with social problems.<sup>189</sup>

Simsek, however, claims that the above-mentioned and other developments in the 1990s did not have major influence on the increase in the quality of civil society.<sup>190</sup> He believes that at this time there was a great number of CSOs, however they did not have the power to influence the state or participate in the state's decision making in terms of forcing it to pass reforms for democratization, greater human rights, etc.<sup>191</sup> Civil society in Turkey existed "...more as a slogan than as a reality."<sup>192</sup>

This began to change as the clarification and deepening of Turkey's integration into the EU started. In December 1999 the European Council Meeting in Helsinki declared Turkey an official candidate for membership in the Union. This decision led to the beginning of Turkey's pre-accession process. For every candidate, this process consists of harmonizing their policies and legislation with the EU's.

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<sup>188</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 14.

<sup>189</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 36.

<sup>190</sup> Simsek, 49.

<sup>191</sup> Simsek, 49.

<sup>192</sup> Paul Kubicek, "The Earthquake, Europe and Prospects for Political Change in Turkey," *Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal*, 5:2 (June 2001): 38.

Among these changes the adoption of the Union's *acquis communautaire* is of major importance since it affects the candidate's domestic policies dealing with citizenship and civil society.<sup>193</sup> To this end the EU issued the 'Accession Partnership Document' in 2000, which defined the goals Turkey must reach. In response Turkey issued its 'National Programme' in 2001. The program was designed to:

“...strengthen, on the basis of Turkey's international commitments and EU standards, the provisions of the Constitution and other legislation to promote freedom; provide for a more participatory democracy with additional safeguards; reinforce the balance of powers and competences between State organs; and enhance the rule of law. In the context of the reform process regarding democracy and human rights, the review of the Constitution will have priority. The constitutional amendments will also establish the framework for the review of other legislation... In addition, legal and administrative measures will be introduced in the short or medium term regarding individual rights and freedoms, the freedom of thought and expression, the freedom of association and peaceful assembly, civil society, the Judiciary, pre trial detention and detention conditions in prisons, the fight against torture, human rights violations, training of law-enforcement personnel and other civil servants on human rights issues, regional disparities.”<sup>194</sup>

According to Keyman and Icduygu, the changes made in accordance with this program had a positive impact on democratization in Turkey and on the expansion of the space available to civil society.<sup>195</sup>

Civil society as a concept and civil society's practice in Turkey continue today to undergo “drastic and rapid changes.”<sup>196</sup> Among the strengths of the Turkish

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<sup>193</sup> Keyman and Icduygu, 224.

<sup>194</sup> European Commission, “Executive Summary of the Turkish National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis,” [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/turkey/summary\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/turkey/summary_en.pdf) (accessed October 1, 2007).

<sup>195</sup> Keyman and Icduygu, 225.

civil society, the *CIVICUS Report* lists for example the wide diversity of CSOs' activities, its dedication to voluntarism and giving, CSOs' role in social service provision or civil society's rapidly improving relations with the Turkish government.<sup>197</sup>

Since the 1980s civil society has flowered greatly, it, however, still has many weaknesses and continues to encounter numerous obstacles in its development. There were about 61,000 NGOs in 2004 in Turkey.<sup>198</sup> Most of them were however located in the three biggest cities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir).<sup>199</sup> The more recent number in the 2006 *CIVICUS Report* states that the amount of CSOs is "relatively low"<sup>200</sup> with only 77,000 foundations and associations in the entire country.<sup>201</sup> This number translates to 108 associations and 6 foundations per 100,000 citizens in Turkey.<sup>202</sup> This means that only about 5% of the population reports membership in a CSO.<sup>203</sup> Although the Turkish population demonstrates inclination to cooperation within the community and family, it remains generally disconnected from the formal associational life in the country.<sup>204</sup> The geographic locations of the CSOs continue to be unevenly distributed with much denser population of CSOs in urban areas.

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<sup>196</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 15.

<sup>197</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 115f.

<sup>198</sup> Simsek, 48.

<sup>199</sup> In the three cities the ratio of participation in NGOs was 1/830 people while in the rest of the country the ration was 1/1054.

<sup>200</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 15.

<sup>201</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 116.

<sup>202</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 15.

<sup>203</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 45.

<sup>204</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 116.

Furthermore, the organizational capacity of CSOs in Turkey is often less than adequate. Though some programs and resources are available for CSOs, they are not sufficient. Therefore, the organizations have problems in building skills, raising resources, recruiting and compensating professional staff and fulfilling goals in their programs.<sup>205</sup>

Although the relations between the state and civil society have improved, a lack of trust, unfavorable state regulations and a concern about how much will the positive reforms that go hand in hand with Turkey's integration process into the EU be implemented in reality remain. These problems have long roots in the history of the country but must be abandoned in order for civil society to successfully develop.

According to most authors, civil society in Turkey has come a long way since the founding of the Turkish Republic and continues to overall develop in an improving trend. Although it is developing, however, civil society in Turkey still has a long path ahead before it is sufficiently independent and able to contribute as a significant pro-democratization factor.<sup>206</sup>

### **3.2. Women in Turkey: Their Movement, Their Situation and Women's NGOs**

A specific group of CSOs in Turkey are women's NGOs. The issue of women/gender and development has come to the forth in the area of development studies in recent decades. As discussed in previous chapter, in development studies

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<sup>205</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 116.

<sup>206</sup> See Simsek.

theories separate from the main body of knowledge have been developed. Today scholars generally agree that without policies/programs specifically aimed at women's development, sustainable development cannot be achieved. Therefore, the issue of women/gender and therefore of women's NGOs in Turkey that claim to represent Turkish women and implement programs/projects to support them is a fundamental one. This section, therefore, concentrates on this issue and proceeds by describing the history and current situation of the women's movement in Turkey.

Some scholars believe that the history of women's movement and feminism in Anatolia dates back as far as the pre-historic times. Though this area was inhabited by noteworthy civilizations (such as the Hattis or Hittites) throughout history that worshipped female goddesses, or were even ruled by women,<sup>207</sup> for the purposes of this work, it will be sufficient to describe the situation of women in this area starting in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

19<sup>th</sup> century was a time when women in the Ottoman Empire began to acquire more rights and some even started to organize themselves into a women's movement.<sup>208</sup> It was not until the 1980s, however, that the women's movement gained significant strength. Only then was there substantial growth in the membership and fortitude of women's NGOs.

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<sup>207</sup> See Nilgun Anadolu-Okur, "The Demise of the Great Mother: Islam, Reform, and Women's Emancipation in Turkey," *Gender Issues*, 22:4 (Fall2005): 6-28.

<sup>208</sup> Pinar Ilkkaracan, 'A Brief Overview of Women's Movement(s) in Turkey (and the Influence of Political Discourses),' *Women for Women's Human Rights Reports No.2* (September 1997): 4. [http://www.wwhr.org/files/2\\_10.pdf](http://www.wwhr.org/files/2_10.pdf) (accessed October 2, 2007).

Following these historical developments, the first subsection here will discuss women's movement and feminism in the late Ottoman Empire and in the Republic until the 1970s. The following subsection will then describe the history of women's movement and NGOs in Turkey from the 1980s till today. It will focus on the contemporary situation in particular.

### 3.2.1 Women until the 1980s

The "... woman question, let alone feminism, did not emerge as an important point of focus before the 1980s."<sup>209</sup> However, women and their rights and freedoms have been used for political purposes by the state as well as its opponents since the beginning of the Tanzimat reforms. Several women's movements have emerged before the 1980s but they involved only a handful of women and were generally built into the state's (male-dominated) discourse. This subsection will proceed by describing the developments that influenced the status of women and the rise of women's NGOs between the Tanzimat reforms and the 1980s.

Women in the Ottoman Empire had essentially no rights. Laws in the Empire were applied differently in different areas, classes, religious sects etc.<sup>210</sup> Beginning in

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<sup>209</sup> Nuket Sirman, 'Turkish feminism: A Short History,' *WLUML (Women living under Muslim laws) Dossier 5-6* (December 1988-May 1989): 7. <http://www.wluml.org/english/pubs/rtf/dossiers/dossier5-6/D5-6-09-turk-feminism.rtf> (accessed October 2, 2007).

<sup>210</sup> The following are examples of the status of Ottoman women in front of the law: There was no civil marriage, a religious cleric could but did not need to be present at a marriage ceremony. There was no age limit for marriage. Although the woman had to agree to the marriage, she did not even have to be present at the ceremony. Men were able to divorce their wives or take on another wife whenever they pleased while common women had no rights for divorce or custody of their children

1839, the Tanzimat reforms addressed women's issues introducing changes that were influenced by Europe. These reforms were aimed at modernization of the Empire, which was steadily declining. Two opposing opinions emerged at this time. There was the Western-looking democratic elite and thinkers educated in Europe,<sup>211</sup> the modernization movement, in opposition to Islamic conservatives. The supporters of the modernization movement believed that the only way to save the Empire was to modernize it bringing it closer to the Western way of life. The Conservatives on the other hand felt threatened by these developments and argued that "... the decline experienced by the Ottoman Empire was caused by the materialistic values of the West and the abandonment of the Islamic way of life."<sup>212</sup>

Both of the sides used the position of women in the Ottoman society as the point over which they fought their ideological conflicts. The progressivists believed that civilization can only be achieved if the society's women are emancipated and educated. They thought that women must be liberated from Islamic tradition. One author even argued that the "... economic, social, educational and cultural problems of Ottoman society are based on the exclusion of women from social life and their reduction to mere sexual objects."<sup>213</sup> However, this movement was not concerned with the well-being of the women or in their liberation; it was rather interested in the

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thereafter. According to the Sharia women could inherit and use property, but in practice they inherited much less than men and the decision making about their property was left to their husbands. In a court women's testimony was worth only half of that of men. From Ilkcaracan, 3.

<sup>211</sup> Sirman, 3.

<sup>212</sup> Sirman, 3.

<sup>213</sup> Ilkcaracan, 3, paraphrasing Salahaddin Asim, *Osmanlı'da Kadınlığın Durumu (The Situation of Women in the Ottoman Empire)* (Istanbul: Türk Yurdu Kütüphanesi, 1910).

progress of the nation. Even in the eyes of the progressivists women were viewed only as mothers and as wives. Their role in the society was to provide comfort for the men and to create and educate future generations.<sup>214</sup> Only women, which were free from old traditions and superstitions, which were educated and modern citizens, could fulfill such role.

The conservative movement saw these ideas as disruptive to the well-being of the society. Its supporters argued that Islam substituted the best guide for social life. Any deviation from the Koran and the Sharia would lead to moral deprivation and corruption of the society and the state.<sup>215</sup> Such deviation would threaten the Ottoman cultural identity. For these reasons the Ottoman women were to stay in their inferior traditional position.<sup>216</sup>

At this more liberal time in the Ottoman Empire some women's movements emerged as well. There were several women's associations and groups and a number of women's magazines were published. The common demands of this handful of women included women's right for divorce, the prohibition of polygamy and arranged marriages, women's right to education, and their right to work.<sup>217</sup>

The discourse within which these progressive women led their debates remained closely linked to progress of the state and education<sup>218</sup> of women. These women discussed the problems in the same way the progressive men of the time did.

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<sup>214</sup> Sirman, 3.

<sup>215</sup> Sirman, 3.

<sup>216</sup> Ilkkaracan, 4.

<sup>217</sup> Ilkkaracan, 4.

<sup>218</sup> Sirman, 4.

Although some women diverged to some extent from these general ideas and began to question “patriarchal interpretations of Islam,”<sup>219</sup> like men, most women perceived themselves in general in the role of the mother and the wife. They argued that the woman must be sufficiently free and educated, in order for the family and the country to thrive and develop.<sup>220</sup>

The reforms in the direction of the improvement of women’s status deepened with the founding of the Republic in 1923. In a short time (1920s and 1930s) the civil code was changed from Sharia to a secular civil code; polygamy was prohibited; women gained the right to be treated equally in matters of divorce, property ownership, custody of children; they gained the right to vote; etc.<sup>221</sup> The changes provided women with the rumination of their unequal treatment.

These major reforms instituted under Ataturk were aimed largely at the progress of the newly rising Republic. Women, the wives and the mothers, gained another role, that of a patriotic citizen.<sup>222</sup> The “modern” professional woman became a symbol of the secular democracy of the new Republic.<sup>223</sup> She was once again instrumentalized by the men in power as a symbol of their goals.

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<sup>219</sup> European Stability Initiative, “A Century of Feminism in Turkey: Overview,” <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=203> (accessed September 20, 2007).

<sup>220</sup> European Stability Initiative, “The Ottoman Women’s Movement,” <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=203> (accessed September 20, 2007).

<sup>221</sup> Cigdem Kagitcibasi, “Status of Women in Turkey: Cross-Cultural Perspectives,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 18:4 (November 1986): 485.

<sup>222</sup> Sirman, 4.

<sup>223</sup> Ilkcaracan, 5.

The new woman was to be an “educated social woman,”<sup>224</sup> equal to the men in the eyes of the state. However, issues of “maleness and femaleness”<sup>225</sup> were to remain in the private sphere and would not be dealt with by the state. This new Turkish woman

“...would continue to have children and to be a wife because it was her duty to the nation. The new woman was a thrifty, enlightened, professionally trained housewife who experienced heterosexual friendship only with her husband... Moreover, the new woman was not to be in the ‘over-Westernized *mondaine*’, but would be honorable and chaste like her predecessor...”<sup>226</sup>

Whatever the aim of the Republican reforms, only a small minority of women (mostly from higher urban class) was actually able to benefit from them.<sup>227</sup> The lifestyle of most women in Turkey remained the same, in accordance with the previous customs and traditions of the people living in the country.<sup>228</sup>

At the time of these major changes there was a small women’s movement. Concentrating around the fight for women’s enfranchisement, these women established the Turkish Women’s Federation<sup>229</sup> and attempted to put forth their own candidates in the 1931 municipal elections.<sup>230</sup> These attempts were met with great

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<sup>224</sup> Sirman, 5.

<sup>225</sup> Sirman, 5.

<sup>226</sup> Sirman, 5.

<sup>227</sup> Ilkkaracan, 5.

<sup>228</sup> Kagıtcıbası, 485-486.

<sup>229</sup> Turkish Women’s federation used by: Sirman, 6.

<sup>230</sup> Burcak Keskin ‘Political Participation Patterns of Turkish Women,’ *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 1:4 (December 1997).

criticism from the Republic's leaders<sup>231</sup> and the press. The Union dissolved in 1935,<sup>232</sup> the year after Turkish women were granted the right to vote.

Officially, however, the "feminism" of the one-party Republican period was included in Kemalist ideology, the official state ideology of the one-party regime.<sup>233</sup> This "state-supported feminism" was secondary to the larger issues pursued by the state, namely modernization and nationalism.<sup>234</sup> Nevertheless, many professional women benefited from this state feminism and did not see the need to question the patriarchal order of the Turkish society. Therefore a "real" women's movement led by women failed to develop.<sup>235</sup>

If the "emancipated" women were organized in associations, their ideals generally went along with the values of the Republic, education and motherhood.<sup>236</sup> They viewed Islam, not the patriarchal structure of the society, as their main threat.<sup>237</sup> The gap between the modernists and conservatives, that used women as the focal point of their ideological debates, was perpetuated by women themselves.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a multiparty period, Turkey's youth as well as some trade unions and parties began to turn against the state ideology within the context of a Marxist/leftist movement. Women were offered space within these movements,

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<sup>231</sup> The Republic was led by a one party regime at the time.

<sup>232</sup> Turkish Women's Union used by: European Stability Initiative, "A Century of Feminism in Turkey: Overview."

<sup>233</sup> Zuhul Yesilyurt Gunduz, "The Women's Movement in Turkey: From Tanzimat towards European Union Membership," *Perceptions*, 9:3 (Autumn 2004): 117.

<sup>234</sup> Yesilyurt Gunduz, 117.

<sup>235</sup> Yesilyurt Gunduz, 117.

<sup>236</sup> Sirman, 6.

<sup>237</sup> Sirman, 6.

which viewed the oppression of women as an ill of a backward country.<sup>238</sup> However, these movements fought against the class system and the issues of women had to be second to this goal.<sup>239</sup> Although women, once again, did not have their own movement led by women, their participation in these leftist movements provided them with the experience of standing up to the state.<sup>240</sup> This experience would later, when women do establish their own movement, become useful.

### 3.2.2. Women in Turkey 1980s – present: women’s organizations, women’s issues

Turkey underwent a military intervention in 1980. In the 1970s Turkey was torn by terrorism and militant political polarization resulting in violence. The intervention was aimed at ending this ongoing violence. Though the September 12 coup successfully put an end to these problems, it also suppressed democracy. This was done by prohibiting political activity of parties, associations and unions.<sup>241</sup> It was at this difficult time, however, that an independent women’s movement emerged. This subsection describes the demands and achievements of the women’s movement since the 1980s. It also mentions the significant influence the women’s

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<sup>238</sup> Meltem Muftuler-Bac, “Turkish Women’s Predicament,” *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 22:3 (1999): 308.

<sup>239</sup> Sirman, 7.

<sup>240</sup> Sirman, 7.

<sup>241</sup> Simel Esim and Dilek Cindoglu, “Women’s Organizations in 1990s Turkey: Predicaments and Prospects,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 35:1 (1999): 181.

movement had on Turkish democracy. The subsection concludes by discussing the situation of women, women's NGOs and women's issues in the country today.<sup>242</sup>

As mentioned above, the government prohibited independent political activity in Turkey starting in 1980. This applied especially to the leftist movements, which were viewed as most disruptive to the state ideology. By disabling the leftists, the government unwittingly created an opportunity for a "democratic and pluralistic"<sup>243</sup> women's movement to emerge. Women were unable to participate in the other movements and were, for the first time, forced to really stand on their own.

According to Yesilyurt Gunduz, the government did not strongly oppose the emerging women's movement since it viewed its goals and attitudes as something already included in the principles and laws of the Republic.<sup>244</sup> The women's movements, however, challenged the state and the patriarchal tradition it protected, while staying faithful to the Republic's Kemalist principles and the process of westernization.<sup>245</sup>

Authors generally agree that the women's movement was very important in the re-democratization process in Turkey after the 1980 coup. As no other serious opposition was allowed, women's movement was the only force able to challenge the concepts of the Republic. Because it was organized independently and in opposition to the state, it was able to expand the space available to civil society. Yesilyurt

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<sup>242</sup> When reading about the current situation the reader must keep in mind that this situation is rapidly changing and evolving in Turkey, therefore, some facts may be outdated.

<sup>243</sup> Yesilyurt Gunduz, 117.

<sup>244</sup> Yesilyurt Gunduz, 117.

<sup>245</sup> Yesilyurt Gunduz, 118.

Gunduz points out that owing to the activities of the women's movement in the 1980s, "... a civil society of interest groups with diverse interests and ideologies emerged."<sup>246</sup>

In its beginning in the 1980s, the women's movement consisted primarily of groups organizing around several feminist magazines.<sup>247</sup> In these magazines women discussed issues such as women's individual autonomy (women's right to work), and women's sexual and domestic rights (for example issues of domestic violence, sexual harassment etc.).<sup>248</sup> These magazines sparked discussion among women on these issues, resulting in the organization of several campaigns and demonstrations in support of the goals.<sup>249</sup>

The women's efforts had several successful outcomes. They were, for example, able to force the government to change two articles of laws,<sup>250</sup> which discriminated against them. They were also able to change, to some extent, the society's view on domestic violence, establishing several women's shelters.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Yesilyurt Gunduz, 118.

<sup>247</sup> For example the socialist feminist "Kaktus" or the radical feminist "Feminist."

<sup>248</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, 'Women's and Children's Rights in Turkey: Background Information,' 1. (Provided during interview at the Delegation on August 9, 2007).

<sup>249</sup> Ilkkaracan, 8.

<sup>250</sup> Article 438 of the Turkish Penal Code was repealed so that it no longer provided for reduced sentences for rape if the victim was a sex worker. Furthermore, Article 159 of the Turkish Civil Code was declared unconstitutional. This article stated that a married woman must have her husband's consent if she is to work.

<sup>251</sup> Ilkkaracan, 8.

In the 1990s the women's movement in Turkey became increasingly diversified and institutionalized.<sup>252</sup> This development, according to some authors, weakened the movement's influence on changes in the Turkish society and politics.<sup>253</sup> Kurdish women, for example, started to express their separate concerns, Islamist women also began to organize and campaign about their own issues.<sup>254</sup> Women's organizations also began to gain more specific legal forms.

In Turkey women's organizations are set up as associations or as foundations. Under the Turkish Civil Code both kinds must have state approval and submit financial reviews in order to operate. Associations are based predominantly on human resources and membership, supporting themselves through member dues. Foundations, on the other hand, are social institutions of good will focusing on distribution of resources. For their operating costs, they generally rely on private donations. As neither kind of organizations can support their programs fully from the above sources, they rely on resources from other institutions (such as INGOs or other NGOs), Turkish or other (national or local) governments and other bodies for support in their programs and projects. According to Esim and Cindoglu, this dependence creates major problems. The flow of these funds is often unpredictable therefore they have little continuity and often limited reach.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, 'Women's and Children's Rights in Turkey,' 1.

<sup>253</sup> See for example: Ilkkaracan, 8.

<sup>254</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, 'Women's and Children's Rights in Turkey,' 2.

<sup>255</sup> Esim and Cindoglu, 181-182.

It appears, overall, that the women's movement in the 1990s began to be divided into three conflicting sides, namely radical feminists, Kemalist/secular feminists, and Islamic feminists. The radical feminists are most willing to criticize the state's Kemalist agenda and the patriarchal system the state and society perpetuate. They deal with issues such as domestic violence, legal reforms, sexual harassment, women's empowerment and feminist consciousness raising.<sup>256</sup> They, however, remain a relatively small group.<sup>257</sup> The Kemalist/secular feminists are very skeptical towards the Islamic feminists, and, therefore, willing to cooperate with and support the existing state system.<sup>258</sup> Their programs generally include educating women about their legal rights, skills training courses for income-generating activities and such with the goal of securing the secular nature of the state.<sup>259</sup> The Islamic feminists are relative newcomers into the movement. Generally viewed negatively by the other two "wings" of the movement, they are women of Muslim persuasion who begin to debate women's issues with the male members of their own movement.<sup>260</sup> Their main focus is the headscarf<sup>261</sup> and their right to education and work.<sup>262</sup> The latter two "wings of the movement lack the critical perspective of the radical feminists.

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<sup>256</sup> Esim and Cindoglu, 185.

<sup>257</sup> Ilkcaracan, 8.

<sup>258</sup> Ilkcaracan, 9.

<sup>259</sup> Esim and Cindoglu, 182.

<sup>260</sup> Ilkcaracan, 9.

<sup>261</sup> Women in Turkey are not allowed to wear the headscarf inside of public buildings including all education institutions (as of January 2008).

<sup>262</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, 'Women's and Children's Rights in Turkey,' 1.

Overall, the divisions in the movement resemble the poles in an ongoing political debate in Turkey. Because women generally continued to remain within the “established hegemonies”<sup>263</sup> of the political discourse, they were unable to form their own discourse, which would allow them to fully criticize the existing situation. According to Ilkkaracan, this is why the women’s movement in the 1990s lost the influence it had in the 1980s.<sup>264</sup>

This is not to imply, however, that women stopped fighting for their causes and influencing some changes. In the 1990s, women’s organizations continued to focus on gender equitable changes in the Turkish Civil and Penal Codes.<sup>265</sup> They also took up issues such as women’s economic and political empowerment and abuse prevention,<sup>266</sup> family planning, child care centers, skills and income generating activities training, and consulting services. They continued to establish battered women’s shelters and libraries, organize cultural events, seminars and conferences, and print publications.<sup>267</sup>

Among the successes of the women’s efforts in the 90s is, for example, the establishment of a Women’s Library and Information Center (1990) in Istanbul, the founding of a Ministry of Women’s Affairs (1991),<sup>268</sup> or the establishment of

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<sup>263</sup> Ilkkaracan, 8.

<sup>264</sup> Ilkkaracan, 8.

<sup>265</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 89.

<sup>266</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 89.

<sup>267</sup> Esim and Cindoglu, 182.

<sup>268</sup> Muftuler-Bac, 311.

women's research centers and additional shelters.<sup>269</sup> Some legal changes in issues of marriage or violence were also achieved.<sup>270</sup> In the 1990s women continued to campaign for their issues receiving more media attention.

Turkey's accession process to the EU can be considered also as a driving force not only for CSOs in general but also for women's organizations in particular. The situation of women in Turkey has been monitored by the European Commission's *Regular Reports on Turkey's Progress towards Accession* since 1998. The 2000 *Regular Report* stated that "gender disparity [in Turkey] is still high."<sup>271</sup> The *Report* emphasized the need for more education of women, which is still unequal to that of men. It further pointed the continuing discrimination of women by some Turkish laws,<sup>272</sup> and criticized persisting domestic violence.<sup>273</sup> Despite the fact that the Turkish Constitution guarantees gender equality and non-discrimination, these principles are not fully enforced in Turkey. Lastly, the *Report* acknowledges the successes of women's NGOs in the area of legal changes.<sup>274</sup>

Thus, the women's movement has grown and strengthened, especially as it has found a powerful supporter of its causes in the EU promoted changes since 2000.

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<sup>269</sup> Bikment and Meydanoglu, 89.

<sup>270</sup> Muftuler-Bac, 311.

<sup>271</sup> European Commission, '2000 Regular Report from the Commission on Turkey's Progress towards Accession,' (8 November 2000) 18. [http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/ab\\_turkiye\\_reports/2000.pdf](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Files/File/ab_turkiye_reports/2000.pdf) (accessed October 30, 2007).

<sup>272</sup> "...certain legal discrimination between men and women (notably concerning the family and working life of women) persist. The current regime foresees for example that the husband is the head of the family and alone represents the union produced by marriage. The husband, as head of the family, is then the one that holds the right to legal custody of minors." European Commission, '2000 Regular Report,' 8-9.

<sup>273</sup> European Commission, '2000 Regular Report,' 8-9.

<sup>274</sup> European Commission, '2000 Regular Report,' 9.

However, despite positive developments, problems persist. Women's organizations continue to be dominated by a small group of intellectual women of "richer" classes, who are generally trying to serve "poor" women of Turkey.<sup>275</sup> Geographical distribution of women's organizations also continues to be a problem as 48% of all organizations are located in the three biggest cities.<sup>276</sup> In general women's organizations also continue to suffer from lack of organizational capacity and resources for networking. This tends to negatively affect their effectiveness.

The EU Delegation *Background Information* paper outlines specific issues women face today.<sup>277</sup>

- Persisting violence against women (including honor killings and domestic violence).

There continues to be lack of shelters, lack of proper investigation and persecution of perpetrators, and a lack of education of the general public about these issues. Women's NGOs also demand the establishment of a gender equality committee in the Parliament to deal with these issues.

- Civil Code.

The new Civil Code, which came into effect in January 2002, solved many of the inequality issues women's organizations were up to then campaigning against. However, several issues, such as the inability of women to use only their maiden name after marriage remained.

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<sup>275</sup> Esim and Cindoglu, 182.

<sup>276</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, Women's and Children's Rights in Turkey 1.

<sup>277</sup> The following list is a summary of Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, 2-10.

- Penal Code

The Turkish Penal Code continues to treat women unequally in several ways. It for example requires virginity testing for women who were subject to rape. This, according to women's NGOs is unacceptable.

- Political Representation of Women

Women's representation in the Parliament, in political parties as well as in local politics remains very low. However, strong women's organizations, which organize a range of programs to correct the situation, are active in this field.

- Administrative and Institutional Capacity of the Women's Movement

The state institution Directorate General for Status of Women affiliated with the Ministry for Women and Family Affairs is an institution aiming at improving this capacity as well as ensuring the equality of women in general. However, this public body continues to greatly suffer from lack of funds.

- Education of Women

Women remain far less educated in Turkey than men, especially in the eastern regions and on the lower education levels.

According to the EU Parliament, women's problems in Turkey stem from the substantive flawed implementation of Turkey's generally satisfactory legal

framework on women's rights.<sup>278</sup> The new Constitution, agreed on by general referendum on October 21, 2007, does not improve matters according to women activists. One activist, for example, complains that quota regulations on women's participation in public life are not included. Without these quotas, women can never be equal to men.<sup>279</sup>

In conclusion, women continue to face problems in Turkey. Some issues of inequality of women in the country persist; problems in the organization of the women's movement such as its geographical and class distribution are still present as well. However, the situation of women since the 1980s has improved greatly and the organization of the women's movement and the number of women's NGOs has increased tremendously. In addition to its achievements in the area of gender issues, the women's movement also played an important role in the democratization process in Turkey.

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<sup>278</sup> *European Parliament Press Service*, 'Women's rights in Turkey: MEPs say improvements still needed,' (February 13, 2007). [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/expert/infopress\\_page/014-3006-043-02-07-902-20070208IPR02887-12-02-2007-2007-false/default\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/expert/infopress_page/014-3006-043-02-07-902-20070208IPR02887-12-02-2007-2007-false/default_en.htm) (accessed September 30, 2007).

<sup>279</sup> *Turkish Daily News*, 'Women demand 'de facto' equality,' (October 8, 2007). <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=85448> (accessed October 8, 2007).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SAMPLE: DONORS AND NGOS**

This study aims to explore the influence of financing on women's development projects. Given the importance of local participation discussed in the conclusion of chapter 2, the role of donors in facilitating local participation is taken into consideration by looking at the influence of financing, if any. Accordingly, in this chapter, the selection of the donors and the NGOs is explained. Then two donor organizations (one internal, one external) providing funds for women's organizations in Turkey and NGOs used in this study are described.

The organizations included in this study (the universe, N) are listed below in Table 1. The Women's Fund (WF) is considered as the internal funder. The Delegation of the European Union Commission to Turkey was used in this study as an example of an external donor. Although WF receives finances from both external and internal supporters, it was chosen as an internal funder for the purposes of this research, because of the nature of its founding and the goals stemming from that. WF is an organization based on the wishes of a wide selection of representatives of the Turkish women's movement. In other words, WF itself was created by a participatory approach; its creation was the result of a debate among professionals

from the Turkish women's movement. A representative of WF has provided a list of NGOs the Fund has supported/is supporting.<sup>280</sup>

Since the EC Delegation is such a visible supporter of CSOs in Turkey and one of its goals is the support of gender equality, it was chosen for this study as an example of a source of external financing. A representative of the EC Delegation provided a list of NGOs that undertook/are undertaking projects supported within the efforts of the Delegation to promote gender equality in Turkey.<sup>281</sup>

This chapter provides information about all the organizations that took part in the research and provided data through interview questions and their websites. This information is shown in Table 2 and Table 3. The third column in these tables indicates whether the organization provided further information for this research, for example by sharing internal information about the organization of its projects. The chapter describes the history, mission and aims and the project/program areas of all the organizations that participated in this research.

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<sup>280</sup> This list was provided by the director of Women Fund, Ms. Aysun Sayin, after the interview in July 2007.

<sup>281</sup> This list was provided by e-mail by Ms. Nalan Ozdemir, expert on women and civil society from the EC Delegation to Turkey.

Table 1: Organizations included in this study

Int. donor	Kadin Fonu (Women's Fund) <Istanbul>
Ext. donor	Avrupa Komisyonu Turkiye Delegasyonu (Delegation of the EU Commission to Turkey) <Ankara>
Internally financed women's NGOs	Kadin Merkezi Vakfi, Mardin [Mardin KA-MER] (Women's Center Foundation, Mardin) <Mardin>
	Tum Kadinlar Dernegi (All Women Association) <Trabzon>
	Yasam Evi Kadin Dayanisma Dernegi (Women Solidarity Foundation Boardinghouse) <Sanliurfa>
	Kadinlarla Dayanisma Vakfi – Yeni Adim [KADAV – Yeni Adim] (Solidarity with Women Foundation – New Step) <Kocaeli>
	Yasam Kadin Cevre Kultur ve Isletme Kooperatifi [Yaka-koop] (Life, Women, Environment, Culture and Entrepreneurship Cooperative) <Van>
	Kadin Adaylari Destekleme ve Egitme Dernegi [KA-DER] (Association for Women Candidate Support and Education) <headquartered in Istanbul, offices throughout Turkey>
	Filmmor Kadin Kooperatifi [Filmmor] (Filmmor Women's Cooperative) <Istanbul>
	Kadin Yurttas Agi [KAYA] (Women Citizens Network) <undisclosed>
	Kadin emegi ve istihdami platform/grubu [KEIG] (Women's Labor and Employment Platform/Group) <Istanbul>
Externally financed women's NGOs	Amargi Kadin Kooperatifi (Amargi Women's Cooperative) <Istanbul>
	Kadin Merkezi Vakfi [KA-MER] (Women's Center Foundation) <headquartered in Yenisehir, offices throughout Southeastern Turkey>
	Turkiye Kadin Giriшимciler Dernegi [KAGIDER] (Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey) <Istanbul>
	Kadin Da(ya)nisma Vakfi (Foundation for Women's Solidarity) <Ankara>
	Ucan Supurge (Flying Broom) <Ankara>
	Yasam Kadin Cevre Kultur ve Isletme Kooperatifi [Yaka-koop] (Life, Women, Environment, Culture and Entrepreneurship Cooperative) <Van>
	Van Kadin Dernegi [VAKAD] (Van Women's Association) <Van>
	Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi [MocCati] (Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation) <Istanbul>
	Cagdas Kadin ve Genclik Vakfi (Contemporary Women and Youth Foundation) <Ankara>
	Kadin Emegini Degerlendirme Vakfi [KEDV] (Foundation for the Support of Women's Work) <Istanbul>
	Kadin Insan Haklari Yeni Cozumler [WWHR] (Women for Women's Human Rights – New Ways) <Istanbul>
	Anne Cocuk Egitimi Vakfi [ACEV] (Mother Child Education Foundation) <Ankara>
	Helsinki Yurttaslar Dernegi [HYD] (Helsinki Citizen's Assembly) <Istanbul>
	Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfi [SODEV] (Social Democracy Foundation) <Istanbul>
Filmmor Kadin Kooperatifi [Filmmor] (Filmmor Women's Cooperative) <Istanbul>	

#### **4.1. Donors: History and Mission**

In this subsection two donor organizations used in this study are described in detail. To gain better understanding of the organizations, the reader needs to be acquainted with the history, mission and aims, and brief information on their financial resources.

##### **4.1.1. Internal donor: Women's Fund**

Women's Fund (WF) was established as a project of KAGIDER in 2004. Unlike projects in general, the WF project has no time limit for its completion. Before its founding, a meeting of representatives of women's organizations and institutions, academics and activists from all over Turkey was organized. During this meeting, the participants agreed that many women's NGOs are unable "to reach the international level [funding] or EU projects [because] [t]hey don't know how they can write a project proposal, they don't know how to apply according to their rules and it is difficult to use English. Many of them aren't good in English."<sup>282</sup> Further, the participants agreed that Turkey is "...now dependent on international organizations, for example EU, but [they] don't know 10 years later or 15 years later [what will happen, they] should do something in here before the time comes that [international donors] don't want to work with [them] - like the EU or the other international foundations. [Turkey] ... need[s] a social responsibility culture and the

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<sup>282</sup> Women's Fund, interview, 26.7. 2007.

habit of individual donations.”<sup>283</sup> Therefore, the participants of the meeting felt that a local source of financing to support their causes is urgently needed in Turkey. They discussed the objectives, fields and principles of such organization.<sup>284</sup> On these bases KAGIDER created the WF.

WF aims at contributing to gender equality and women’s empowerment in the economic, social and political spheres. More specifically, it attempts to reach the following goals:

- “Women, who currently only constitute 4.4% of the parliament, will be represented at a higher proportion in the political realm
- The rate of women entrepreneurs (6.8%) in Turkey will increase
- Articles of law, that stand against gender equality, will be changed
- Existing laws/rights/resources will be more accessible to a higher number of women
- The rate of women in the workforce (26%) is going to rise
- For women, whose lives are threatened by “honor” and family violence, safe places are going to be formed
- Women’s representation at local governments should rise over the current 1%
- Opportunities are going to be created for women who choose to assert their right to make choices for themselves
- The rate of illiterate women which is 1/5<sup>th</sup> of women population is going to decrease
- The number [of] women who own assets should increase from the current low number of merely 8.5%
- The condition of women in absolute poverty and their families will get better

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<sup>283</sup> Women’s Fund, interview.

<sup>284</sup> KAGIDER, What is the Women’s Fund?

<http://www.kagider.org/?intPageStructureNo=11&sintLanguageID=0&bytContentType=2&intPageNo=223&strHitCountParam=2|11|0|184|741><http://www.kagider.org/?intPageStructureNo=11&sintLanguageID=0&bytContentType=2&intPageNo=223&strHitCountParam=2|11|0|184|741> (accessed November 15, 2007).

- Solidarity networks between public institutions and women's NGOs will be created. In addition, such collaborations will create one avenue for discussing policy changes and reforms.
- Women's living conditions and their self-confidence will rise.”<sup>285</sup>

WF's resources come from KAGIDER and its members, Open Society Institute,<sup>286</sup> commercial and occupational chambers, firms, and individuals, various international funds and donation campaigns,<sup>287</sup> i.e. from Turkey as well as from abroad. It then distributes these funds according to the principles agreed on at the founding meeting of WF. Its mission is to be a reliable and transparent channel for funders as well as easily attainable resource for all women's NGOs in Turkey.<sup>288</sup>

WF selects projects to be funded after NGOs apply for resources in response to WF's project calls. The Fund has not provided the information of the exact amount of funds it has distributed for projects; it has, however, provided other financial information. In its first project call in September 2004, it has supported 48 projects in 18 cities in Turkey giving € 30.000 maximum per project. In its second project call in April 2006, WF has distributed funds to 58 projects in 15 cities providing again a maximum of € 30.000 per project. The range of the subjects of these projects was wide and included art, culture, empowerment of local initiatives, economic and social empowerment of women, protection against violence, women's entrepreneurship, sharing experiences, social strengthening of women, honour

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<sup>285</sup> KAGIDER, What is the Women's Fund?

<sup>286</sup> For more information see <http://www.osiaf.org/tr>.

<sup>287</sup> KAGIDER, What is the Women's Fund?

<sup>288</sup> KAGIDER, What is the Women's Fund?

crimes, counselling, women's representation in politics, policies on women's labour and employment, and others.<sup>289</sup> Table 2 shows the list of organizations that took part in the research.

Table 2: The sample of internally financed women's NGOs

	NGO is taking part in the research (participated in an interview)	Information about the NGO provided on a web site/other generally accessible resource	Additional written information provided by the NGO
Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı – Yeni Adım [KADAV] (Solidarity with Women Foundation – New Step)	γ	γ	
Filmmor Kadın Kooperatifi [Filmmor] (Filmmor Women's Cooperative)	γ	γ	
Kadın emegi ve istihdami platform/grubu [KEIG] (Women's Labor and Employment Platform/Group)	γ	γ	γ

#### 4.1.2. External donor: Delegation of the European Commission in Turkey

Turkey has a long history of cooperation with the European Community and later the European Union (EU). In this section several historical milestones are

<sup>289</sup> KAGIDER, Grantees.

<http://www.kagider.org/?intPageStructureNo=11&intLanguageID=0&bytContentType=2&intPageNo=221&strHitCountParam=2|11|0|184|922> (accessed November 15, 2007).

briefly mentioned to frame the cooperation as well as the background for the role of the EU. In 1959 Turkey began cooperating with the predecessor of today's EU, the European Economic Community. In 1963 Turkey and the European Community (EC) signed an association agreement (also known as Ankara Agreement) that would among other things lead to the establishment of a customs union between Turkey and the EC. The overall goal of the association agreement was the "continuous and balanced strengthening of trade and economic relations between [Turkey and the EC], while taking full account of the need to ensure an accelerated development of the Turkish economy and to improve the level of employment and living conditions of the Turkish people".<sup>290</sup> Later, in 1987, Turkey applied for full membership in the EU. Thereafter, the customs union between the two was established in 1996; in 1999 Turkey received the status of a candidate country; in 2000 the EU adopts the EU-Turkey Accession Partnership providing Turkey with a roadmap for its accession process; in response the Turkish government adopts the National Program for the Adoption of the EU acquis (EU law) the same year; in 2004 the EU decides to start membership talks with Turkey; these accession negotiations begin in 2005.<sup>291</sup>

The Delegation of the European Commission in Turkey office had several functions before it gained its current form. It was founded as a 'Press and Information Centre' in 1974. This Center was then, in 1987, converted into an office

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<sup>290</sup> Ankara Agreement, Article 2, signed in Ankara on September 1, 1963, at [http://www.turkishembassy.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=654&Itemid=512](http://www.turkishembassy.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=654&Itemid=512) (accessed November 20, 2007).

<sup>291</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, 'EU and Turkey: history.' [http://www.avrupa.info.tr/AB\\_ve\\_Turkiye/Tarihcesi.html](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/AB_ve_Turkiye/Tarihcesi.html) (accessed November 20, 2007).

called the ‘Representation of the European Commission to Turkey.’ In 2004, the year when the European Council decided to open accession negotiations with Turkey, the Representation was changed into the ‘Delegation of the European Commission in Turkey’ bringing it into line with other EC Delegations in the world.<sup>292</sup> The Delegation in Ankara, Turkey is at the moment the biggest single country delegation in the world.<sup>293</sup>

The goals of the EC Delegation in Ankara include monitoring and supporting Turkey’s reform process as the country continues to adopt the *acquis* in its preparation for membership. It does this by helping with the distribution of the EU pre-accession funding,<sup>294</sup> and by overall supporting the development of the Turkish economy and the Turkish people in accordance with the Ankara Agreement.

The pre-accession funds distributed in Turkey have been increasing over time. In 2006, Turkey received €500.000 million (see Figure 1). EU member countries as well as countries in the process of accession contribute to these funds. The budget for Turkey is made in Brussels therefore these funds are considered

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<sup>292</sup> The Delegations of the European Commission exist in many countries and serve the external interests of the EU throughout the world. The EU currently has EC Delegations in 118 third countries and 5 in centers of international organizations (such as the UN or the OECD). The goals of these Delegations are:

- “presenting, explaining and implementing EU policy;
- analysing and reporting on the policies and developments of the countries to which they are accredited ; and
- conducting negotiations in accordance with a given mandate.”

European Commission, ‘The Role of the Delegations.’

[http://ec.europa.eu/external\\_relations/delegations/intro/role.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/delegations/intro/role.htm) (accessed November 20, 2007).

<sup>293</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, ‘EC Delegation: history.’

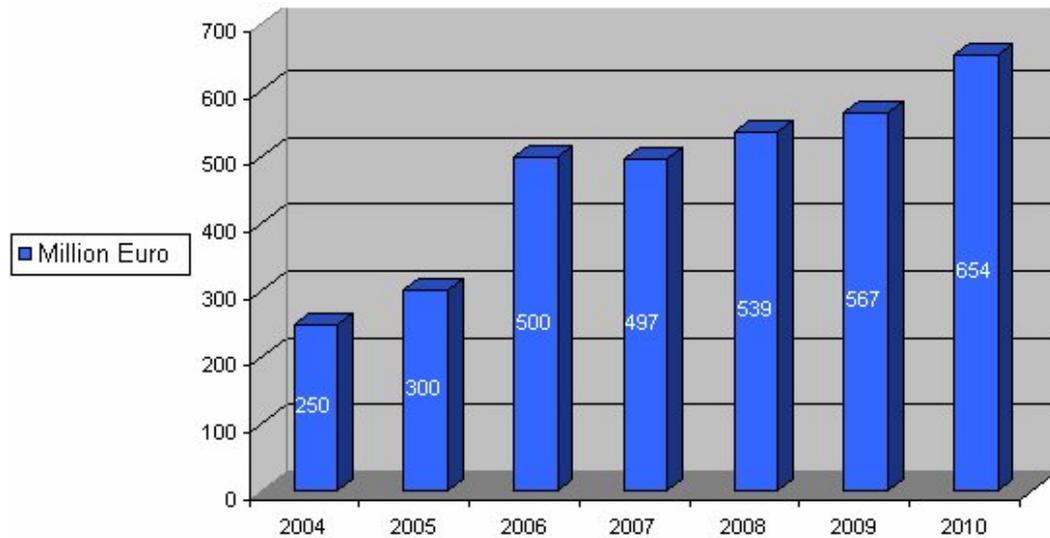
<http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Delegasyonumuz/Tarihcemiz.html> (accessed November 20, 2007).

<sup>294</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, ‘EC Delegation: mission.’

<http://www.avrupa.info.tr/Delegasyonumuz/Gorev.html> (accessed November 25, 2007).

external in this study. These funds are distributed by the EC Delegation often with the help of Turkish institutions.<sup>295</sup> Turkey has established a ‘Central Finance and Contracts Unit’ (CFCU) for this purpose. When institutions or organizations try to acquire EU funds distributed by the Delegation, they apply either directly to the EC Delegation’s or to the CFCU’s calls for proposal. They can also apply to appropriate ministries that have acquired funds from the EU in order to distribute them for projects. Finally, EU funds can be acquired by applying directly to Brussels.

**Figure 2: EU financial support for Turkey (million of Euro)**



Source: Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, ‘EU Funding in Turkey: What is EU funding for?’

[http://www.avrupa.info.tr/AB\\_Mali\\_Destegi/Neden\\_Ab\\_Mali\\_Destegi.html](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/AB_Mali_Destegi/Neden_Ab_Mali_Destegi.html) (accessed November 25, 2007).

<sup>295</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, EU Funding in Turkey: Which are the priorities? At [http://www.avrupa.info.tr/AB\\_Mali\\_Destegi/Oncelikleri\\_Nelerdir.html](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/AB_Mali_Destegi/Oncelikleri_Nelerdir.html) (accessed November 25, 2007).

The support and promotion of gender equality in Turkey is among the principal efforts of the Delegation. According to the EC's *Regular Report on Turkey's Progress towards Accession* this is one of the areas that needs further improvement.<sup>296</sup> Among other means the Delegation's goals can be reached by supporting and developing civil society in Turkey. For this reason, the EC Delegation is a major supporter of civil society development and its projects and programs in Turkey. Furthermore, it promotes cooperation between the Turkish civil society organizations (CSOs) and CSOs in the EU member countries. Thus, the Delegation's civil society support is, among other goals, aimed at gender equality.

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<sup>296</sup> The process of bringing Turkey's legislation into line with the *acquis* has started in a positive manner but is still incomplete. Further substantial efforts are still required on both the legislative and administrative sides. Turkey should further pursue its efforts, particularly in areas related to labour law, gender equality, anti-discrimination, social dialogue and social protection. Commission of the European Communities, *2004 Regular Report on Turkey's progress towards accession*, doc nr. SEC 2004 1201 (Brussels, 6.10. 2004) 113, available at [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2004/rr\\_tr\\_2004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2004/rr_tr_2004_en.pdf). (accessed January 9, 2007)

Table 3: The sample of externally financed women’s NGOs

	NGO is taking part in the research (participated in an interview)	Information about the NGO provided on a web site/other generally accessible resource	Additional written information provided by the NGO
Turkiye Kadin Girismciler Dernegi [KAGIDER] (Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey)	γ	γ	γ
Kadin Da(ya)nisma Vakfi (Foundation for Women’s Solidarity)	γ		γ
Ucan Supurge (Flying Broom)	γ	γ	γ
Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi [MocCati] (Purple Roof Women’s Shelter Foundation)	γ	γ	
Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfi [SODEV] (Social Democracy Foundation)	γ	γ	γ

#### **4.2. Women’s Organizations: History and Projects**

This section provides information about the organizations that undertook projects financed by the external and internal funders. The first subsection describes all the NGOs financed internally, by the Women’s Fund. The second subsection proceeds by providing information about all the NGOs financed externally, by the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey.

#### 4.2.1. Internally financed NGOs

This subsection provides information about the women's organizations that received funding for their project(s) by the WF. Accordingly, the NGOs in the sample are Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, Filmmor Kadın Kooperatifi and Kadın Emegi ve Istihdami Grubu. Following subsections briefly summarize the history of each NGO in the sample, its mission and aims and its project/program areas.

##### *4.2.1.1. Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım (KADAV) / Foundation for Solidarity with Women – New Step*

The New Step Facility (Yeni Adım Sitesi) of Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı (KADAV) was founded in the village of Kosekoy of the Kocaeli province (located in the Marmara region of Turkey) in August 2002. This facility was established to put the ideas of KADAV into practice ultimately leading the Foundation to reach its mission and aims.<sup>297</sup> The fundamental goal of the organization was to reduce gender inequality caused by gender roles.<sup>298</sup> KADAV was founded by a group of feminist and Marxist feminist women in Istanbul<sup>299</sup> after the Marmara earthquake of August

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<sup>297</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, 'Kurulus' (27.4. 2006).  
[http://www.kadav.org/php/index.php?YonetimX=GenelListe&TabloX=aa\\_Liste&KategoriX=YENI\\_ADIM](http://www.kadav.org/php/index.php?YonetimX=GenelListe&TabloX=aa_Liste&KategoriX=YENI_ADIM) (accessed December 21, 2007).

<sup>298</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, 'Projeler' (2.10. 2006).  
[http://www.kadav.org/php/index.php?YonetimX=GenelListe&TabloX=aa\\_Liste&KategoriX=PROJELER&Kategori\\_Alt\\_SecimX=GERÇEKLEŞTİRİLM](http://www.kadav.org/php/index.php?YonetimX=GenelListe&TabloX=aa_Liste&KategoriX=PROJELER&Kategori_Alt_SecimX=GERÇEKLEŞTİRİLM) (accessed December 21, 2007).

<sup>299</sup> KADAV, interview, 19.11. 2007.

17, 1999. The idea behind the organization was to support the women that lost their husbands or their closest male relatives during the earthquake and were left helpless in economic and social terms. After the earthquake KADAV observed many problems in the Kocaeli region because of which the organization decided to establish the Yeni Adim facility.

Before the earthquake many women depended economically on their husbands or other close male relatives. If they lost this support due to the earthquake, they lost the ability to take care of themselves and their children. These women often lacked any kind of vocational training and those who possessed these skills were often not able to find work because of the destruction the earthquake left behind. After the tragedy many of these women had to seek support of their relatives and often, as a result, many, especially the younger women, suffered from sexual harassment, incest or domestic violence. These women lacked any knowledge about their legal rights, about how to use their rights; they had no place to share their problems, to seek counselling.<sup>300</sup> Thus the New Step facility was founded.

The building was officially opened in 2003. It was aimed to help the women in the region who:

- lost husbands or closest male relatives in the earthquake
- have no source of income
- have many children but no husband

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<sup>300</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adim, ‘Projeler.’

- suffered/suffer from sexual harassment or rape<sup>301</sup>

This facility was to provide these women with vocational training and course, psychological and legal counselling, and shelter. The facilities of the center include education classrooms and studios, day care for children, cafeteria and a kitchen, administration offices, library, information and documentation center, counselling rooms, guest rooms, hair dresser and sports and cultural activities spaces.<sup>302</sup> The courses given at this facility include:

- training for specific occupation including theoretical training and practical training
- educational support courses including literacy courses, sexual education and sexual health courses and women rights courses
- women's solidarity groups to share problems and find solutions to the problems together<sup>303</sup>

The budget planned for the facility at the time of its founding was € 575.632.<sup>304</sup> For the future the facility was to become sustainable. This was to be done by turning the cafeteria, kitchen and its multipurpose rooms into own sustainable income sources; giving priority to volunteer experts rather than paid professionals; and seeking new sources of financial contribution.<sup>305</sup> However, these plans are yet to be realized. The center is currently in serious financial difficulties; KADAV is

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<sup>301</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, 'Projeler.'

<sup>302</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, 'Kurulus.'

<sup>303</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, 'Projeler.'

<sup>304</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, 'Projeler.'

<sup>305</sup> Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfı – Yeni Adım, 'Projeler.'

considering renting its current building out and moving into the center of the city of Kocaeli to a smaller space.<sup>306</sup>

#### 4.2.1.2. *Filmmor Kadın Kooperatifi (Filmmor) / Filmmor Women's Cooperative*

Filmmor Kadın Kooperatifi (Filmmor) was founded in 2003 in Istanbul. Its purpose is to make films for women and it is open to women's participation only. Filmmor makes films by "... resisting, producing, dreaming and acting together."<sup>307</sup>

The aims of the Cooperative are:

- "To increase women's visibility in cinema based on their life experiences and, also, through expanding women's cinema products.
- To increase women's participation in cinema/media, their means of expression, activity and power in these areas.
- To reach democratic conditions which do not contain gender inequalities."<sup>308</sup>

Filmmor undertakes three main activities to reach its goals, namely: 'Atolyemor: Cinema Workshop for Women,' film productions, and annual 'International Filmmor Women's Festival on Wheel.' Women's participation in cinema is only 5%, therefore, in its film workshop, Filmmor allows the participation of only women. In this workshop women learn about film production, while creating films that relate to the viewer women's real-life experiences; their histories, problems, knowledge,

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<sup>306</sup> KADAV, interview

<sup>307</sup> Filmmor, 'Filmmor Women's Cooperative.' <http://www.filmmor.org/?sayfa=10> (accessed December 21, 2007).

<sup>308</sup> Filmmor, 'Filmmor Women's Cooperative.'

achievements etc. In this way, the workshops also increase socio-cultural and democratic participation and empower women.<sup>309</sup>

In order to support women's cinematographic projects, Filmmor undertakes film productions. The organization has made 12 films since its founding. Women have been present in all stages of the films' productions. The films are about gender issues, women's problems and accomplishments.<sup>310</sup> Among the films made are for example: 'Journey Beyond Violence,' 'Invisible Labour,' 'Reduced to Drawers,' and others.<sup>311</sup>

The film festival of Filmmor is screened in Istanbul and then travels to several other cities, especially in eastern Turkey. The festival is organized around defined themes and the events also include panels, exhibitions and workshops. In 2007, for example, the festival's main theme was honor and the main agents of patriarchy in Turkey.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> Filmmor, 'Atolyemor: Women's Cinema Workshop.' <http://www.filmmor.org/default.asp?sayfa=12> (accessed December 22, 2007).

<sup>310</sup> Filmmor, 'Filmmor Women's Cooperative.'

<sup>311</sup> Filmmor, 'Filmmor Productions.' <http://www.filmmor.org/default.asp?sayfa=13> (accessed December 22, 2007).

<sup>312</sup> Filmmor, '5<sup>th</sup> International Filmmor Women's Film Festival.' <http://www.filmmor.org/default.asp?sayfa=11> (accessed December 23, 2007).

#### *4.2.1.3. Kadın Emegi ve Istihdami Platformu (KEIG) / Women's Labor and Employment Platform*

Kadın Emegi ve Istihdami Platformu (KEIG) is not an organization like the other organizations included in the study. It is rather a platform of various organizations. Founded by a group of women activists and academicians from the field of women's employment in April 2006, it was founded as a platform that would join groups that work within women's labor and employment, including women's organizations, municipalities, labor unions, semi-public organizations, and others.<sup>313</sup> However, according to their web site, the members of the platform are currently only women's NGOs from around Turkey.<sup>314</sup>

The aim of the platform is to ensure a better working environment for women. KEIG works to make labor of women, both at home and outside, visible and to ensure that women work in conditions equal to men. The member organizations of KEIG work together and try to design common policies to realize their ends.<sup>315</sup>

#### 4.2.2. Externally financed NGOs

This subsection provides information about the women's organizations that received funding for their project(s) from the EC Delegation and took part in the study. Accordingly, the NGOs in the sample are Türkiye Kadın Girişimciler

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<sup>313</sup> KEIG, 'Ana Sayfa.' <http://www.keig.org/> (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>314</sup> KEIG, 'Uye Organizasyonlar.' <http://www.keig.org/UyeOrganizasyon.aspx> (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>315</sup> KEIG, 'Ana Sayfa.'

Derneği, Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı, Ucan Supurge, Mor Cati Kadın Siginagi Vakfı, Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfı, and Filmmor Kadın Kooperatifi. Following subsections briefly summarize the history of each NGO in the sample, its mission and aims and its project/program areas.

#### *4.2.2.1. Türkiye Kadın Girişimciler Derneği (KAGIDER) / Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey*

Türkiye Kadın Girişimciler Derneği (KAGIDER) was founded in September 2002 in Istanbul by 37 successful Turkish business women as a non-profit, non-governmental organization. With time more women entrepreneurs began to join the organization and according to the latest information on the KAGIDER's website, the association currently has 142 members from numerous industrial sectors.<sup>316</sup>

KAGIDER's aim is to "create women entrepreneurs who are effective in shaping the business world of the future"<sup>317</sup> in order to contribute to overall economic and social progress in Turkey. KAGIDER attempts to reach this aim by supporting the increase of women entrepreneurs in Turkey, by empowering existing women entrepreneurs, and by attempting to integrate women entrepreneurs from Turkey into the global community.

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<sup>316</sup> KAGIDER, 'About KAGIDER.'  
<http://www.kagider.org/?intPageStructureNo=11&intLanguageID=0&bytContentType=4&strHitCountParam=2|16|0|261|656> (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>317</sup> KAGIDER, 'About KAGIDER.'

The Association engages in several on-going programs to reach its goals and aims. Namely:

- Women Entrepreneurs Development Program – as a part of this program KAGIDER supports individual women to start-up private enterprises. It organizes training and seminars to reach this end and provides internship opportunities.
- Women’s Fund<sup>318</sup> – through this program KAGIDER financially supports projects of women’s NGOs in order to promote women’s economic, social and political empowerment.
- Women’s Way to Europe – in this project KAGIDER engages in a group on international level within the European Union in order to learn from the experiences of other countries on their way towards gender equality.
- Various lobbying activities – to advance towards its goals KAGIDER engages in various activities such as publishing statements, providing policy recommendations to the government as well as to other institutions within Turkey. On the international level KAGIDER represents Turkish women in international seminars, conferences etc.
- Networking with Turkish NGOs and several international associations – KAGIDER cooperates with Turkish NGOs as well as with international organizations.<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> More information about Women’s Fund is provided in Section 4.1.1.

#### 4.2.2.2. *Kadin Da(ya)nisma Vakfi /Foundation for Women's Solidarity*

The Kadin Dayanisma Vakfi was formally established in 1993 in Ankara. However, the first step towards its establishment was taken in 1987 when a group of women's activists formed the 'Women's Debate Group.'<sup>320</sup> Later in 1991 a Counseling Center for women victims of domestic violence was established in cooperation with a municipality in Ankara. The Foundation then opened the first independent women's shelter in 1993. Later in 2005 a shelter for victims of women's trafficking was opened.<sup>321</sup>

Kadin Dayanisma Vakfi was established to fight against violence in general and domestic violence and human trafficking in particular. The NGO wants to reach this goal while working according to its principles, namely:

- All activities and methods used in the activities are designed from a feminist perspective
- All active members of the NGO take part in decision making as the organization uses the method of consensus making when deciding.
- Although the organization officially has differing positions and councils, the members believe in horizontal organizational structure and behave accordingly internally and externally.

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<sup>319</sup> KAGIDER, 'Main Programs.'

<http://www.kagider.org/?intPageStructureNo=11&sintLanguageID=0&bytContentType=2&intPageNo=38&strHitCountParam=2|11|0|184|706> (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>320</sup> Brochure of Shelter for Victims of Human Trafficking (brochure provided to women upon their arrival in the shelter by the Foundation for Women's Solidarity).

<sup>321</sup> The Foundation for Women's Solidarity, information brochure.

- All the methods used by the Foundation are violence-free
- The support of women's development with the use of the resources of the Foundation is a priority.
- The Foundation believes in "... the importance of maintaining face-to-face and intimate relationships on the development of awareness about the common women-ness situation."<sup>322</sup>

In order to reach its goals, the NGO has undertaken a number of projects and activities and published a number of brochures and books. Besides the above mentioned independent shelter (operated 1993-1999 and 2003-2004), shelter for victims of human trafficking (since 2005) and Counseling Center, the NGO managed training programs on women's human rights (1994-1996), opened a restaurant to generate sustainable income, ran an information campaign for the public about domestic violence, took part in a workshop about domestic violence and other projects. Currently (2007), Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı is undertaking a project for 'Creating Sensitivity and Establishment of Local Mechanisms for Combating Violence against Women in the Central Anatolia Region' in several cities of the region. The projects have been generally supported by external sources, including the European Commission, several agencies of the UN, foreign embassies etc.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> The Foundation for Women's Solidarity, information brochure.

<sup>323</sup> The Foundation for Women's Solidarity, information brochure.

#### 4.2.2.3. *Ucan Supurge / Flying Broom*

This NGO was founded in 1996 in Ankara. The original goals of the organization were to build a network among women's NGOs in Turkey and to act as an information and documentation center for women. Ucan Supurge has since widened its scope of activities and has become one of the major women's NGOs in Turkey. Currently its vision is to promote and institutionalize overall gender equality in the country. It tries to implement gender equality norms and principles as formulated by various international conferences and conventions and supports the empowerment of smaller women's organizations in Turkey to help empower Turkish women.

The aims of Ucan Supurge, as defined by the organization in 2004, are:

- "To improve and empower civil society in Turkey and to contribute to the democratization process
- To create and increase public awareness of women's issues and to empower women
- To raise sensitivity in terms of gender equality in public
- To increase the communication, collaboration and cooperation by developing networks among;
  - Non-organized women and women's organizations
  - Women's organizations
  - Civil society organizations working on women's issues
  - National and international women's organizations
- To improve the dialogue and cooperation between women's organizations and public institutions (Local administrations, central administration, Bars, General Directorate of Women's Status, etc)
- To monitor the development of women's organizations, their structures, field of work and to share these information with women's organizations, other NGOs working on women and people dealing with women's issues
- To run studies about media and women

- To make news about women's issues and to inform public through mainstream media
- To encourage women to take active part in media and provide proper representation of women in media
- To increase the importance and visibility of women's efforts in culture and art
- To constitute a women's memory through web page, publications and written and visual materials of Ucan Supurge
- To give consultancy services to national and international entities about women's organizations in Turkey.<sup>324</sup>

Since its founding Ucan Supurge has undertaken a number of projects and activities to reach its aims. On its website the NGO names: 'Local Women Reporters Network' project, database project, annual women's film festival, 'Building Bridges,' 'From Paths to Roads,' a radio program, a number of publications on women's issues.<sup>325</sup> In order to support local women organizations, provide local information about women from local alternative media group and in order to transfer the local demands of women to the national level, Ucan Supurge has been running its Local Women Reporters Network project. The project started in 2004 and now is under way in 12 provinces. The organization has chosen one woman reporter in every province, this journalist then provides local news to Ucan Supurge. The NGO

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<sup>324</sup> Flying Broom, 'The Aims of Flying Broom.'  
[http://en.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=57](http://en.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=57) (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>325</sup> Flying Broom, 'Projelerimiz.'  
[http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=blogsection&id=21&Itemid=61](http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=21&Itemid=61) (accessed December 23, 2007).

then publishes these news through its radio program, its 'Flying News' bulletin and on its web site.<sup>326</sup>

The database has been created in order to fulfill one of Ucan Supurge's main goals, that of improving communication, collaboration and dialogue among women's NGOs in Turkey. In order to create the database Ucan Supurge has visited women's organizations in 41 cities in Turkey and then published the resulting information in the form of a book and on its web web page.<sup>327</sup>

Ucan Supurge organizes a women's film festival every spring in Ankara since 1998. The festival is designed to support and encourage women film makers. During this week-long event, a collection of films made by women directors from all over the world is shown.<sup>328</sup>

The 'Building Bridges' project aimed at raising awareness of women about gender issues and at improving communication between women and local women's NGOs. Furthermore, visual materials created in this project were to be used in other projects and programs. During the project, which was conducted for 2 years starting in 2003 in 81 provinces, seminars and meetings with local women were conducted. The women were shown relevant films and were to discuss their own problems thereafter. Ucan Supurge believes that "...this project is one of the most concrete

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<sup>326</sup> Flying Broom, 'Local Women Reporters Network – project,' (30 December 2005).  
<http://en.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=95> (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>327</sup> Flying Broom, 'Directory of Women's Organizations in Turkey, About the study,' (April 2003).  
<http://supurge.dincsa.com/index.php?lang=eng> (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>328</sup> Flying Broom, '11<sup>th</sup> Flying Broom International Women's Festival.'  
<http://en.ucansupurge.org/festival/> (accessed December 23, 2007).

examples of participatory democracy. Because the meetings were held with the participation of grassroots women, local administrations, public officials, organized women and so on.”<sup>329</sup>

The project called From Paths to Roads began in 2004 in 7 provinces in Turkey. Its goal was to increase cooperation between local women’s journalists and local administrations. The activities conducted under this project included training sessions of local women in Ankara and in the provinces, workshops, round-table discussions etc. Funded by the EC Delegation, the project was to end by gathering all the information and distributing it to women’s organizations and local administrations. The project should serve especially in terms of capacity building of local women’s organizations.<sup>330</sup>

The women’s radio program produced by Ucan Supurge was broadcasted on the Turkish national radio (TRT) once a week for 26 weeks. It featured over a hundred speakers from NGOs, academia, business etc. The topics included women’s rights, local administrations and women, women and the civil code, women and media. The content of the programs was later transcribed and put on Ucan Supurge’s web site. This project was also funded by the EC Delegation.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Flying Broom, ‘Building Bridges Project’ (27 December, 2005).  
[http://en.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=92&Itemid=1](http://en.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=92&Itemid=1) (accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>330</sup> Flying Broom, ‘Patikalardan Yollara’ (9 December, 2004).  
[http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1162&Itemid=234](http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1162&Itemid=234)  
(accessed December 23, 2007).

<sup>331</sup> Flying Broom, ‘Kadin 2004 Radyo Programi’ (11 November, 2004).  
[http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=216&Itemid=89](http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=216&Itemid=89)  
(accessed December 23, 2007).

#### *4.2.2.4. Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi (MorCati) / Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation*

Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi (MorCati) was founded in Beyoglu, Istanbul in 1990 as a counseling center for women. It was aimed at pursuing solidarity among women who suffer from violence within their family. The shelter's founding was the result of the developments in the women's movement of the time. As discussed in the previous chapter, women's movement was strengthening throughout the 1980s. Among other causes women campaigned against the discrimination they faced due to the male-dominated judicial system and due to domestic violence perpetrated against women. Women fought these causes within campaigns such as 'Dayağa Karşı Kadın Dayanışması' (Women's solidarity against violence) or 'Mor İğne Kampanyası' (Purple Pin Campaign).<sup>332</sup> A part of the letter campaign was a public house for women who suffer from domestic violence founded in 1989. Also in 1989 a telecommunication web for women was established. Later, the women's movement realized that these outfits were not sufficient.<sup>333</sup> Thus MorCati was founded in 1990.

Due to insufficient funds, however, MorCati was merely a counseling center when founded, not a shelter. It did have some guest rooms affiliated with social and child services though that could provide security to women. The Foundation began running a shelter in 1995. It was one of the first independent shelters in Turkey. Established to provide physical security for battered women and their children, the

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<sup>332</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Tanisalim: Bizim Oykumuz.' [http://www.morcati.org.tr/tanisalim\\_bizimoykumuz.html](http://www.morcati.org.tr/tanisalim_bizimoykumuz.html) (accessed December 15, 2007).

<sup>333</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Tanisalim: Bizim Oykumuz.'

shelter offered social, legal and psychological help. This was necessary in order for the women to be able to decide about their and their children's future in a physically safe environment.<sup>334</sup> The shelter had to be closed in 1998 for financial reasons, though the Foundation continued to operate as a counseling center. In its three years of operation, the shelter serviced 350 women and 250 children. It was reopened again in 2005 with the financial support of the Beyoglu Municipality but based on principles of MorCati.<sup>335</sup>

The Foundation is based on the idea that it is impossible to simply help women. In order to help battered women, MorCati has to show them solidarity in their fight against violence. The Foundation exists in order to create solidarity among women; to fight together against gender inequality and violence.<sup>336</sup> The Foundation is not there to make choices for women facing violence; it can only guide them, provide them with available options and then support them in their decisions. Every woman's life is hers alone; her decisions are hers alone.<sup>337</sup>

The organization of the Foundation itself is based on similar principle – collectivism. There is no hierarchy or specialization within the organization. When decisions are made in MorCati there is no voting. The members openly talk about all

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<sup>334</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Neler Yapiyoruz? Siginak.'

<http://www.morcati.org.tr/neleryapiyoruz02.html> (accessed December 15, 2007).

<sup>335</sup> MorCati's principles are in accordance with the international feminist principles. (Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Neler Yapiyoruz? Siginak.')

<sup>336</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Neler Yapiyoruz? Danisma Merkezinin Calismalari.'

<http://www.morcati.org.tr/neleryapiyoruz01.html> (accessed December 15, 2007).

<sup>337</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Nasil Calisiyoruz?'

<http://www.morcati.org.tr/nasilcalisiyoruz.html> (accessed December 15, 2007).

their ideas, if anyone has a contradictory opinion it is re-discussed. If there is still not a complete consensus, the discussion among the members continues until everyone agrees.<sup>338</sup>

Throughout its operation MorCati has engaged in numerous projects and campaigns. The Foundation:

- offers psychological and legal counseling;
- runs a shelter;
- takes part in campaigns;
- organizes open door meetings;
- offers vocational training to women;
- organizes March 8 (international women's day) celebrations; and
- serves as a communication center.<sup>339</sup>

The two main programs MorCati engages in are counseling and shelter work. Approximately 10 battered women call the Foundation every day, demanding either psychological/legal help or shelter. They are given help based on the principles and ideas of the Foundation.

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<sup>338</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Nasil Calisiyoruz?'

<sup>339</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, 'Neler Yapiyoruz?' <http://www.morcati.org.tr/neleryapiyoruz.html> (accessed December 15, 2007).

#### 4.2.2.5. *Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfı (SODEV) / Social Democracy Foundation*

Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfı (SODEV) was established in Istanbul in 1994. It was founded by more than a hundred people who felt the need for an organization that would aim at development and the propagation of their social democratic ideal.<sup>340</sup>

In order to work towards its ideal, the Foundation organizes various activities, such as meetings, conferences or workshops. It has published a number of books and booklets and provides the public with an access to its ‘social democracy library.’ SODEV, furthermore, lays emphasis on working with and educating young people. In order to accentuate this principle, the Foundation has established a youth-group open to all young citizens oriented towards social democracy. This group participates in and organizes its own meetings, and when financially possible provides young people with scholarships.<sup>341</sup>

In order to promote its aims, SODEV believes that cooperation with other bodies is essential. The Foundation therefore cooperates with similarly oriented NGOs, local government bodies, national government bodies, and international institutions including the EC Delegation in Turkey.<sup>342</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> SODEV, ‘Social Democracy Foundation.’ <http://www.sodev.org.tr/sodef.htm> (accessed December 20, 2007).

<sup>341</sup> SODEV, ‘Social Democracy Foundation.’

<sup>342</sup> SODEV, ‘Social Democracy Foundation.’

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH FINDINGS**

The previous chapter described the history, mission, aims and project/program areas of the NGOs included in the sample. These NGOs were part of this work because one or more of their projects were financed by the Women's Fund (internal donor) and/or the Delegation of the European Commission (external donor). The NGOs in the sample took part in the research and were interviewed about their internally or externally funded project(s) (see Appendix 4 for interview questions). Given gender equality as a criterion for NGOs' work, the variety of projects included in this study is not selected according to issues but according to their major goal as promoting gender equality in their work. The following sections provide a brief summary of these projects.

#### **5.1. Internally Financed Projects**

The following subsections describe (i) projects funded by the WF, (ii) the results of the projects, and (iii) the difficulties faced during the implementation of the projects. The information about the latter two is generally based on the observations of the interviewees.

### 5.1.1. Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfi: ‘New Steps against Violence’ project

During its 12 month implementation period (summer 2006 – summer 2007) the ‘New Steps Against Violence’ project aimed at:

- supporting women who apply to more than 40 women’s information/solidarity centers currently in operation throughout Turkey, or to KADAV center in Kosekoy;
- developing the third floor of the center into a “1<sup>st</sup> station shelter;”
- accommodating women directed to the center temporarily and supporting them in necessary official procedures;
- accommodating them in the First Step Rehabilitation Center connected to Kocaeli Governorship with a capacity of 150 persons and at the Gölcük SHÇEK Woman Guest-House with capacity of 15 persons;
- providing them with required psychological, legal, health, and employment counseling,
- providing them with various vocational courses

It was expected that 30 women per month (approximately 400 women per year) would benefit from this project. KADAV believed that the activities of this project would be necessary because the women’s movement in Turkey has been observing increasing need for more counseling centers and women’s shelters for a number of years.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> KADAV, Application for Funding.

The project was based on a new model. The model was designed to combine the efforts of the state with the efforts of civil society, which has not been done in such a project before. The women would then be able to benefit from the services of both the state and the independent shelters and insitutions.<sup>344</sup>

Given the objectives, the results of the project were not entirely what the organization expected. Although most of the activities planned for the project have been undertaken, it was not possible to provide accommodation for women in the organization's building as envisaged, since the building has been serving also as a women's counselling and education center. KADAV realized that the women who use the building on daily basis would be put in danger if the building also became a shelter.<sup>345</sup>

Furthermore, there were external influences that posed difficulties on the implementation of the project. Firstly, if any place is to be a shelter, such place must be advertised. However, advertising a shelter can also put the women staying there into danger; therefore, such activity requires a long time, which the organization, due to the project plan, did not have.<sup>346</sup>

#### 5.1.2. Filmmor Kadin Kooperatifi: 'Stop Violence against Women' project

This project consists of preparing a half an hour documentary film (with supporting lighting, preview and visual materials). This documentary narrates

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<sup>344</sup> KADAV, interview.

<sup>345</sup> KADAV, interview.

<sup>346</sup> KADAV, interview.

violence that women encounter from witnesses' points of view; it includes women's experiences, information and strategies to cope with the violence and provides information about foundations, which work on this topic and to which women can apply. Overall, the project's focus is on sharing and increasing legal rights and strategies of the struggle which are used and should be used. The project also includes the projections of this film with discussion panels; publishing of the film on a DVD; disseminating the film to Turkish women through women's foundations, local or central organizations, TV and newspapers; and projection of the film in Istanbul and ten other cities in Turkey. Later the film is to be shown abroad.<sup>347</sup>

These activities have several goals. Through the film women should learn about others' experiences, relevant events, information centers, shelters and other similar establishments. They should find out about support available to them and about their legal rights. The project should also deepen cooperation among involved organizations and participants. Women groups and foundations, which work to stop violence, have participated in the project throughout all these steps. These organizations have participated/will participate in creating content of the film, the projections and discussion panels. In addition, the participating women were given a chance to express themselves, and communicate both in the film and during the discussion panels.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Filmmor, interview, 13.11. 2007.

<sup>348</sup> Filmmor, interview.

According to the interviewee, Filmmor was successful in assisting more women to overcome their feeling of loneliness, helplessness and powerlessness by informing them about existing foundations, strategies, experiences and struggles against violence; increasing awareness about violence itself; and in clarifying and defining specific types of violence such as physical, economic, emotional, sexual and other kinds of violence through the film. Another result that Filmmor aimed to achieve with the film is allowing women's foundations that work on relevant issues use the film to increase the effect of their efforts. The film should inform women, whose possibility to enter the public sphere is limited, about the foundations fighting against violence and the steps they can take to apply for them. It should further serve to increase the amount of events/campaigns/work that confront violence against women. According to Filmmor, "...fulfilling these aims has started and will continue as many women's organizations have been demanding to show the film after it was completed."<sup>349</sup>

According to the interviewee there were two kinds of difficulties encountered during the implementation of the project. Firstly, violence is too wide of a topic and there are too many women facing it. Therefore, not all women and problems could be included in the film. The film had to be selective in this area. This was done by including only a part of the material collected in the final version of the movie. The

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<sup>349</sup> Filmmor, interview.

material that was to be included was chosen “...after long discussions...”<sup>350</sup> among the members of Filmmor involved in the project. The second difficulty was that Filmmor had problems selecting an appropriate media agency to distribute the film.

### 5.1.3. Kadin Emegi ve Istihdami Platform/Grubu: ‘Women’s Labor and Employment’ project

This project was implemented between October 2006 and April 2007 by the representatives of several organizations<sup>351</sup> working together and resulted in the creation of a platform consisting of these and other women’s organizations and groups, the Kadin Emegi ve Istihdami Platform (Women’s Labor and Employment Platform). The goal of the project and of the platform is to contribute to the socio-economic development of Turkey by increasing gender equality in the labor market.<sup>352</sup> According to the application for funding for this project, it was planned that during the project the representatives of the above mentioned organizations would evaluate legal arrangements on gender equality in the labor market in Turkey, conduct research on policy suggestions from a gender perspective, and evaluate existing initiatives to increase women’s employment in Turkey from a gender perspective. The results of these activities would then be presented and discussed at a

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<sup>350</sup> Filmmor, interview.

<sup>351</sup> Including: Ankara University, Turkish statistical institute, Marmara University, Bogazici University, International Labour Organization, Istanbul University, Isik University, Istanbul Technical University, Home-based Working Group, KADER, Diyarbakir Development Center, European Women’s Lobby, KADAV, Middle East Technical University, Turkish Penal Code Women’s Platform, Istanbul Technical University. (KEIG, Application for Funding, 2006, 10)

<sup>352</sup> KEIG, Application for Funding (2006) 6.

conference to which academics, women MPs, and representatives of international organizations (including representatives from Turkish governmental institutions, NGOs, unions and others) would be invited.<sup>353</sup> This knowledge would also be published on a website of the project and in a book printed after the conference.

According to the manager, the results of the project were “...really very good.”<sup>354</sup> This is the case because the goals of the project were reached and even exceeded by the creation of the platform. Currently the platform meets regularly and is working on increasing its strength and visibility so that its demands and views on women’s labor and employment would be heard.<sup>355</sup>

The manager of the project does not believe that there were any difficulties in the implementation of the project. Both the management of the project and the research conducted was “...really very easy...”<sup>356</sup>

## **5.2. Externally Financed Projects**

The following subsections describe (i) projects funded by the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey; (ii) the results of the projects; and (iii) the difficulties with the implementation of the projects.

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<sup>353</sup> KEIG, Application for Funding (2006) 7.

<sup>354</sup> KEIG, interview, 21.11. 2007.

<sup>355</sup> KEIG, interview.

<sup>356</sup> KEIG, interview.

### 5.2.1. Türkiye Kadın Girişimciler Derneği: 'Women's Way to Europe' project

The main objectives of the project were:

- “To engage with and contribute to the negotiation process with the EU, specifically focusing on directives related to women in the work force, through effective participation and advocacy programs.
- Bringing all the stakeholders, which include NGOs, the Turkish government, and various EU member countries, together to learn, to act, and change.
- Creating a network that ensures a strong voice in gender equality issues within the EU and its wider region.”<sup>357</sup>

KAGIDER cooperated with NGO partners from Bulgaria, Romania and Spain and through this cooperation attempted to learn about the problems during the countries' accession process and their practices, ultimately to improve KAGIDER's lobbying in Turkey and at the EU level. In order to reach its goals KAGIDER took part in several meetings in Turkey and in the other countries. In addition to representatives of the participating NGOs from the three countries, it was ensured that Turkish MPs, journalists and representatives of the Ministry for women's affairs would take part in these meetings.<sup>358</sup> These meetings in addition aimed at creating ties between the four countries and between the relevant departments in the countries.

The interviewee observed two main difficulties with the implementation of the project. Firstly, there was the lack of funds and resulting limited opportunities to meet with partners from other countries/to travel to the partner countries. Secondly,

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<sup>357</sup> KAGIDER, 'Women's Way to Europe Project Report' (2007) 2.

<sup>358</sup> KAGIDER, interview, 20.11. 2007.

there was lack of interest to follow up on the information learned by the representatives of the government involved in the project. The interviewee believed that KAGIDER was successful in the implementation of the project. However, though the representatives of the government involved in the project saw the advantages of learning some practices from the other countries; they failed to follow up on these experiences.<sup>359</sup>

#### 5.2.2. Kadin Da(ya)nisma Vakfi: ‘Creating Network of Women’s Counseling Centers and a Database of Violence Against Women’ project

The goal of this project was to create a database of all women’s organizations dealing with the problem of violence against women. This database was to contain all the information these organizations collect about their work and shared through a webpage so that all organizations and other stakeholders would be able to benefit from this data. The organizations taking part in the project would agree on a standard form/questionnaire that would then be given to every woman seeking help from one of these organizations. These responses to the questionnaire would then provide data to be submitted to the online network (webpage). The webpage would enable the NGOs operating in the field to work more effectively. The network would not only

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<sup>359</sup> KAGIDER, interview.

benefit the stakeholders, but also the women's movement as it would make the problems of intra-family violence visible to the state and to the public.<sup>360</sup>

The project was successful due to the publication of collected data; the problem of domestic violence in Turkey was made more visible. The additional (and unexpected) success of the project was increased capacity of many NGOs. A number of the organizations involved in the project were provided with computer technology and computer skills that they lacked before.<sup>361</sup>

The Foundation expected that all NGOs working in this field would take part in the project but out of 45 women's counseling centers and shelters existing in Turkey,<sup>362</sup> only 9 took part in the project. The information provided by the website is therefore far from complete. The interviewees however believed that other organizations will join the project once they realize its benefits and functionality.<sup>363</sup>

### 5.2.3. Ucan Supurge: 'From Paths to Roads' project

Among other projects since its founding in 1996, Ucan Supurge has undertaken a number of projects with the support of the EC Delegation in the last four years. Namely 'Women 2004,' 'From Paths to Roads' (ended in 2005), 'Young Women are Building Bridges for EU' (implemented in 2006), 'Junctions: Meeting in

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<sup>360</sup> Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı, interview, 10.8. 2007.

<sup>361</sup> Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı, interview.

<sup>362</sup> CFCU, 'Application for Funding: Strengthening Civil Society in Turkey and Supporting Civil Networking, Capacity Building and Local Participatory Projects, BL 22 02 04 01 – TR 0401.04.

<sup>363</sup> Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı, interview.

Women's Denominator' (ended in 2007), 'Women 2007: TV programs project,' 'Baby Brides' (currently under consideration in the Delegation).

'Women 2004' was a radio program project undertaken in cooperation with TRT, state radio and television institution. It was the first project that TRT undertook with an independent women's NGO like Ucan Supurge. The program was about issues of women in Turkey. The program was broadcast for an hour each week over a period of 26 weeks. Ucan Supurge also recorded all the programs to cassettes, transcribed and published them. The summary of these programs was given to local radio channels for broadcasting. The source of the funds was the democracy and human rights project program of the EC Delegation.<sup>364</sup>

The second project of Ucan Supurge was the "From Paths to Roads" project.

The goals of this project were:

- promoting communication among local women's NGOs, local women reporters and local governments in order to ensure future cooperation;
- increasing dialogue among these bodies;
- and developing women's CSOs in Turkey by increasing their capacity.<sup>365</sup>

The project involved local women's NGOs in seven provinces chosen as symbol provinces in every region. Ucan Supurge provided financial support to the local NGOs during this project. They received two trainings, one was communication and

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<sup>364</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview, 24.11. 2007.

<sup>365</sup> Ucan Supurge, Some important points on the evaluation of the Flying Brooms Previous Projects, Flying Broom's internal document (Obtained during interview 24.11.2007).

conflict resolution training and the other was project cycle management training. The two trainings were the main base of this project and reached approx 350 women's NGOs. The chosen local partners helped Ucan Supurge in contacting these local women's NGOs.<sup>366</sup>

Furthermore, Ucan Supurge attaches great importance to working with the local authorities, municipalities, governorships, social services departments, security departments, local media representatives etc. These are important players for the dynamics of the local provinces since they know the local problems. Ucan Supurge can analyze the problems thanks to meetings with the participation of all local players. After the analysis of the local problems seven sub/micro projects were developed in the provinces.<sup>367</sup>

The third project was called "Young women are building bridges for EU." It was a program of civil society dialogue of EU project program. The project was organized with two NGO partners from France and Bulgaria and with partner universities from each country. The aim of this project was to discuss the influence of the EU integration process on gender equality with EU countries. In the three universities meetings were organized, questionnaires for students from the same departments were implemented, and interviews were conducted and recorded. With this data, a short film about the students' opinions on the EU and gender equality was

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<sup>366</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

<sup>367</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

created and screened before panels organized in these three countries. Ucan Supurge also shared the results of this project with the EU through reports.<sup>368</sup>

The fourth project, supported by the EU through CFCU, was called “Junctions: Meeting in Women’s Denominator.” This project was a TV program; its main purpose was to disseminate information about women’s issues and women’s rights to women living in Turkey speaking other languages. 13 different programs were created and translated into five different languages (including Zazaca, Arabic, Circassian, Bosnian.) Ucan Supurge visited seven provinces where these women live and recorded some interviews on the issues discussed in the programs. The subject of the program was different each week, for example, one of the subjects was women and immigration. Each day of the week the program was broadcast in a different language but with the same content. The finances come from supporting cultural rights project program of the EC Delegation in Turkey.<sup>369</sup>

The final project supported by the EU and currently being implemented is called “Women 2007: TV programs project.” It will be implemented in 12 provinces with cooperation with local TV channels. The first step of the project is visiting these provinces in order to organize meetings with the local TV channels and the women’s NGOs. During these visits local problems are discussed and networks and dialogue between the local TV channels and local NGOs are created. Local TV channels are also creating visual materials about women in their provinces. Ucan Supurge will

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<sup>368</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

<sup>369</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

then include all these materials and information in programs about 13 different issues and send these programs back to the local TV channels. In the end of the project Ucan Supurge will organize a meeting in Ankara with the participation of all related institutions, such as TRT, local TV channel representatives, businessmen and women, Radio and Television Supreme Council and others in order to discuss and evaluate the results of the project at the local level.<sup>370</sup>

The interview focused on Ucan Supurge's 'From Paths to Roads' project. The interviewee believes that dialogue between the three players (local NGOs, local governments, and local women reporters) was developed and the capacity of the NGOs was increased through this project. This was done for example by increasing the NGOs ability to unite on important issues.

The interviewee perceived two kinds of difficulties during the implementation of the project. Firstly, local NGOs often compete for power rather than collaborate. They are therefore unwilling to work on issues together. This problem was to some extent eliminated thanks to this project. Secondly, communication with local governments often proved to be an obstacle. Many municipalities are more conservative and do not believe in discussing issues such as feminism or gender equality.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

<sup>371</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

#### 5.2.4. Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi: ‘Strengthening Women against Domestic Violence through Solidarity Organizations’ project

This project is actually a continuation of earlier efforts of MorCati. It started recently, in June 2007, and its activities include providing legal and psychological counseling to women facing violence and training other women’s organizations dealing with the issue of violence against women. MorCati has been undertaking these activities for many years. In addition, during this project, women applying for help to MorCati will complete two surveys, one of them about their legal rights and one to give feedback about MorCati’s work.<sup>372</sup> The project is to involve training women’s groups in five different cities<sup>373</sup> in Turkey. When MorCati completes the project in 18 months, it is planning to publish a book with the knowledge gained during the project.<sup>374</sup>

Although the project is relatively new, the interviewee seemed to be able to assess some of the results of the project given its objectives. She believed that the applicants seeking help from MorCati are provided with much better services now than they were before the project began. This is due to the fact that before the project, the workers admitting the applicants worked on voluntary basis and therefore

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<sup>372</sup> MorCati, interview

<sup>373</sup> Including cities in the West and in the East of the country.

<sup>374</sup> Mor Cati Kadin Siginagi Vakfi, ‘Proje’ (September 2007). <http://www.morcatti.org.tr/proje.html> (accessed December 22, 2007).

were not able to spend as much time on this task. Now they have a professional position in MorCati and can work there full time.<sup>375</sup>

The interviewee was also able to identify problems occurring during the implementation of the project. She saw the expectations the Delegation attaches to granting MorCati funds for this project as the biggest problem. First of all, the Delegation expects to be informed continuously about all the activities of the project. This should be done through reports submitted by MorCati. The interviewee believed this expectation to be very time-consuming; she suggested that other ways of monitoring, for example, observation could be more effective. Secondly, the Delegation is not open to changes in the project plan. This can become a problem because the reality in Turkey can change very fast and with that the project activities should change.<sup>376</sup>

#### 5.2.5. Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfi: ‘Supporting Women for Their Legal Rights’ project

This project, which was scheduled for September 2007 - August 2008, aims to inform women about their newly acquired legal rights resulting from the EU accession process of Turkey, and, in case these rights are violated, at informing them about bodies that can provide help in the “... circumstances for which these rights are used in act in judicial process, [and] prevention of their secondary

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<sup>375</sup> Mor Cati, interview, 21.11. 2007.

<sup>376</sup> Mor Cati, interview.

victimization...<sup>377</sup> This project was to be implemented in one part of Istanbul in cooperation with the municipality and in cooperation with a trade union from the textile sector. This sector was chosen because many women work in it and their working conditions are “... not so good.”<sup>378</sup> The women union members will receive information through seminars and women from the one chosen part of Istanbul will receive information through brochures SODEV is planning to publish. It is expected that these women will then disseminate the information throughout their workplaces.

Because the project was only beginning at the time of the interview, the interviewee could not provide much information about the results. He said that so far the educators for the project were chosen. He also mentioned a problem that SODEV has encountered: the administration of the trade union has changed because of elections in the very beginning of the project. Though this event slowed the project, the new administration welcomed the new project.<sup>379</sup>

### **5.3. Research Findings**

According to the different definitions of civil society given in the literature review in Chapter 2 and the importance of women’s development projects discussed in the conclusion of Chapter 2, the research undertaken in this study ultimately aimed to explore the influence of financing and the donors’ role in local participation in the

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<sup>377</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, Grant Application form for European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, Turkey 2006 Micro Project Programme, EuropeAid/124-989/L/G, (March 2007) (obtained during SODEV interview.)

<sup>378</sup> SODEV, interview, 20.11. 2007.

<sup>379</sup> SODEV, interview.

women's development projects. Since the women should be perceived as able and active participants in all phases of the NGOs' projects including implementation and monitoring, the grounded knowledge potentially stemming from 'internal' resources, which are embedded both in NGOs and in local donors are expected to use more participatory approach. Locally funded NGOs may have better understanding of local contexts as well as more access to communities, because since the donor is internal, it aims to build on grounded knowledge and as a consequence to use more participatory approach. Thus, an internal donor is more likely to possess better grounded knowledge than an external donor and require organizations it funds to utilize such knowledge. On the other hand, externally financed NGOs might not be compelled by the external donor to use participatory approaches.

Social relations and the institutions among which these relations are embedded matter for the successful implementation of development strategies. Accordingly, the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively, i.e. social capital, are crucial. Chapter 2 argued that projects, undertaken in communities that are able to achieve direct participation to and ownership of them at all stages, show more sustainable results. The assumption made in this context is that local participation can facilitate social capital. However, it should be noted that this study was not aimed at measuring social capital. Therefore, no questions with this aim were asked and no conclusions were made about social capital. In fact, the research

design was not aimed to include participants of the selected projects to assess how social capital is facilitated via local participation.

Within this framework, the interview questions and other data collected are aimed at understanding the extent and ways of local participation in the projects of the NGO sample. Although the interview questions invite the interviewees to discuss participation of local organizations such as municipalities, teachers and others (Appendix 4, question 16-19), local participation in this study is defined as participation of the beneficiaries of the projects (as asked in Appendix 4, question 24-26). This strategy was chosen in order to avoid any manipulation of the interviewees.

The research question put forth by this thesis is: how does internal vs. external financing influence local participation in women's development projects of NGOs in Turkey? In order to seek a plausible answer for this research question, the operation of the NGOs in the sample and their attitudes regarding local participation is examined. First, participation requirement in project applications is examined to assess whether there is difference between the externally and internally financed projects. Second, the perceptions of the NGOs about participatory approaches and participation requirements by donors are examined. Lastly, the practices of the NGOs in the projects are examined with regard to the participatory approach.

### 5.3.1. Participation requirement in the project applications

According to the project application requirement by the donors, the internal donor, Women’s Fund, puts more emphasis on the participatory approach than the European Commission Delegation does. This finding is evidenced by the differences appearing in their project call applications.<sup>380</sup> Among the questions in the application for the WF’s grant, there is a question specifically asking the applicant NGO to indicate if the participants will be part of the project and how.<sup>381</sup> On the other hand, there is no such question in the Delegation’s application form.<sup>382</sup> In addition, one evaluation criterion for the WF’s project call proposals is “[t]he extent of participation of the project’s beneficiaries in the planning, implementation and evaluation stages of the project...”<sup>383</sup> This criterion carries 5% weight in the evaluation of the project.

There is, however, a question about the participants’ role in the grant application form of the Delegation.<sup>384</sup> The question asks for the “[d]escription of the role and participation in the action of the various actors (local partners, target groups, local authorities, etc.), and the reasons for which these goals have been assigned to

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<sup>380</sup> Project call application provided by several NGOs in the sample.

<sup>381</sup> Kadin Fonu, Kadin Fonu Proje Teklifi Cagrisi 04/06, 3.

<sup>382</sup> This is the case for an application form for EC funds to be received through the Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU), specifically for a project ‘Strengthening Civil Society in Turkey and Supporting Civil Networking, Capacity Building and Local Participatory Projects, BL 22 02 04 01 – TR 040104

<sup>383</sup> Kadin Fonu, ‘Project Evaluation Criteria’ (information obtained during WF interview).

<sup>384</sup> The application form including this question was provided directly by the Delegation.

them.”<sup>385</sup> Although this question is not as direct as the WF’s question, it does indicate interest on the part of the Delegation in the participatory approach. However, when asked about the requirement of participation of local people and administrators during all stages of the project, the interviewee from the Delegation admitted that there are no such strict criteria especially during the design phase of the projects.<sup>386</sup> On the other hand, the interviewee from the WF did not comment on the requirement of including local participants through any of the stages of the project.<sup>387</sup>

These findings indicate that, to some extent, the WF and therefore internally financed projects do require more local participation. However, the Delegation also shows concern about the participatory approaches, though perhaps not as requirement for their projects.

Before discussing local participation further, it is important to examine donors’ accessibility for NGOs. This is done by considering the perceptions of the interviewees on the donors’ requirements. The following paragraphs assess the perceptions of the interviewees on the donors’ accessibility.

The NGO managers/administration staff often discussed the problems with funding from the Delegation during the interviews. Many of the interviewees were quick to mention that receiving funds from the EC is more complicated and that the

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<sup>385</sup> European Commission, Grant Application Form for ‘Combating Violence Against Women,’ BL 22 02 04 01 – TR 050102, 6, question 1.8.5.

<sup>386</sup> Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, interview.

<sup>387</sup> Women’s Fund, interview.

EC funds are for various reasons less accessible to smaller/local/less experienced NGOs.

In the past the Delegation distributed its funds in Turkey by itself. Several years ago the CFCU was created; this state agency distributes many of the funds now. The interviewees criticized the EC funding for the following reasons:

- “It is really hard to apply [for EU funding], maybe not for me [KAGIDER], I’ve done it lots of times, but many small NGOs don’t have a chance just to apply.”<sup>388</sup>
- The Delegation requires the applications to be submitted in English. This can become a problem especially for smaller NGOs that have insufficient knowledge of English. If these NGOs want to apply for funds, they must employ someone to help them, which can be problematic because of lack of funds.<sup>389</sup>
- The EC reporting process is too bureaucratic. The Delegation requires to be informed about every detail in the activities of the projects.<sup>390</sup> Such requirement can be a great challenge for NGOs that are run on voluntary basis or that are understaffed, which is the case especially for smaller local NGOs
- It is a great challenge to make changes in the project plan while the project is running. Months or even years pass between the time a project plan is written

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<sup>388</sup> KAGIDER, interview.

<sup>389</sup> KADAV, interview.

<sup>390</sup> Mor Cati, interview.

and the time when it is implemented. The reality in the field, especially on the less organized local level, however often changes. The EC does not allow space for changes to be made in accordance with the changing realities.<sup>391</sup>

- Larger NGOs that receive funds from the Delegation tend to be afraid to implement the project with a smaller local partner(s) because of the strict requirements the EC puts forth. This is the case because smaller, local NGOs are less experienced and stable and might for many reasons not be able to keep commitments made at the design stage of the project.<sup>392</sup>
- According to one interviewee, the EC consciously chooses to give funds to large NGOs because they “...want to get guarantee of their [success] ... they don’t want any problem.”<sup>393</sup>

These problems have been somewhat remedied by the creation of the CFCU. For example, the CFCU does not require an application in English. However, some other problems have arisen or deepened. According to one interviewee, the CFCU adds additional requirements to the EC requirements.<sup>394</sup> This creates even more bureaucratic work and the funds are, therefore, more inaccessible especially for less experienced NGOs.<sup>395</sup> The CFCU is also equally unwilling and slow (if not slower) in approving any changes in the project plan. Furthermore, the CFCU requires the

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<sup>391</sup> SODEV, interview.

<sup>392</sup> KAGIDER, interview.

<sup>393</sup> KEIG, interview.

<sup>394</sup> Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı, interview.

<sup>395</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

NGO to hire a financial expert for the time of the project. Such a requirement increases the administrative costs of the NGO.<sup>396</sup>

No such complaints were expressed about the WF's financing. On the contrary, one interviewee, for example, mentioned that an NGO receiving money from the WF is freer in making changes in the project plan according to changing realities as long as the WF is informed about the reasons.<sup>397</sup> Furthermore, the reporting process required by the WF is less bureaucratic. The applications for funds are also made in Turkish.<sup>398</sup> Next to distributing grants, the goal of the WF is empowering women's NGOs.<sup>399</sup>

Based on the perceptions of the interviewees, the European Commission's funds are less accessible to smaller, local, less experienced NGOs. Given the argument that smaller local NGOs generally understand the local problems better due to their grounded knowledge about these problems first hand, their participation in planning and implementation of the projects is important. Thus, since the locals/participants are more likely to be a part of the local community than larger NGOs from bigger cities, it is plausible to conclude that the Delegation is limited in facilitating the participatory approach.

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<sup>396</sup> Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı, interview.

<sup>397</sup> KEIG, interview.

<sup>398</sup> KADAV, interview.

<sup>399</sup> KEIG, interview.

### 5.3.2. Perceptions of the NGOs about the participation requirement and participatory approaches

Given the requirements (or the lack thereof) for the participatory approach in the project call applications, some interviewees further elaborated on the donors' conditions for the NGOs to involve local actors in the design, implementation or evaluation of projects. The following paragraphs outline the perceptions about these requirements based on the interviews with the managers/administrators from the NGOs in the sample.

#### *5.3.2.1. Internally financed projects*

The interviewee from KADAV does not perceive that the WF formulates strict criteria on including local resources or participants. When asked if any criteria to include local resources or participants were present when applying for funding, the interviewee answered: "No, for example they didn't ask that this activity should be done by municipality or this one should be done by governorship... they don't say that local resources have to be involved."<sup>400</sup> Despite this, KADAV cooperated with many local institutions and other NGOs. It announced the intention to cooperate with these organizations in the project call application, which actually asked how participants will be part of this project and how will they benefit.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> KADAV, interview.

<sup>401</sup> Kadin Fonu, Kadin Fonu Proje Teklifi Cagrisi 04/06, 3.

According to Filmmor, there were no criteria to include local resources, participants or local institutions were determined by the WF. However, Filmmor did work with local NGOs and media organizations when screening the film in cities all over Turkey.<sup>402</sup>

According to the interviewee from KEIG, the WF did not ask the organization to include any local resources or participants in any stage of the project. She emphasized that the WF was created by Turkish women's NGOs together and therefore does not impose many requirements on them, rather looks to empower them. Aside from the organizations implementing the project, representatives from Turkish government, unions etc. were included.<sup>403</sup>

Despite the participation requirement in the project application, the research findings indicate that the managers of the projects funded by the WF, the local donor, perceive no such requirement. One plausible interpretation of this finding can be that despite the requirement for local participation, the criteria does not weight considerably in the evaluation of the NGOs' applications. In addition, the project managers might not be aware of the requirement or do not consider such a requirement given the low weight attributed to it for the evaluation of the application. Since local participants were involved in the locally financed projects at least to some extent where appropriate, it is also plausible to conclude that the NGOs

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<sup>402</sup> Filmmor, interview.

<sup>403</sup> KEIG, interview.

consider local participation important where convenient for them without regarding it as officially required.

#### *5.3.2.2. Externally financed projects*

Though KAGIDER's project was implemented on the international level, there was room for involvement of some local institutions such as local NGOs. While the interviewee listed many requirements the EC puts forward at the time of application, she did not mention any requirement to involve local resources or participants. She only said she would be afraid to work with a local partner because of the difficult requirements the EC attaches to its funds.<sup>404</sup>

Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı also did not perceive that there were any criteria to include local resources or participants in the project put forth by the Delegation. However, some parts of its project were based on the participatory approach by including the local NGOs involved in the project in the decision making. For example, the forms distributed to the applicants in the shelters/counselling centers were designed by all the involved NGOs together.<sup>405</sup>

In its project, Ucan Supurge worked with local participants, namely local NGOs, local women's reporters and local municipalities; these three represented the target group of the project. The interviewee asserted that the EU puts forward some criteria to include local resources and participants. "They are telling us that if you

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<sup>404</sup> KAGIDER, interview.

<sup>405</sup> Kadin Dayanisma Vakfı, interview.

can work with the municipalities, if you can work with the local NGOs, your project will be more preferred than the other projects... They want to encourage this partnership according to the project proposal. Each program has different criteria.”<sup>406</sup> In the project under consideration Ucan Supurge chose to work with the local partners.

The interviewee from MorCati said that for this program, no criteria to include local resources or participants were prescribed. However, in other cases there might be such requirements. She did not mention if the other cases would be from the same donor or not. MorCati did not work with any partners on the implementation of this project either.<sup>407</sup>

SODEV is planning to involve other local institutions such as the municipality, the trade union or other NGOs in its project. The cooperation has not started yet because the project was at its beginnings at the time of the interview. The administrator of this project said that it is never required by the donor to include local resources or participants in the project; however, it is advised. He believes that when writing a project proposal application, the NGO must know the field. It can only know the field from experience and contact with local participants or institutions. The interviewee believes that the donor organization takes these facts into account when evaluating the project.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> Ucan Supurge, interview.

<sup>407</sup> MorCati, interview.

<sup>408</sup> SODEV, interview.

Though most of the externally financed projects in this sample involved some kind of local participation, the NGOs in the sample expressed that this was not a requirement of the EC. The interviewees from SODEV and Ucan Supurge noted that despite local participation not being a requirement, it is recommended, since the EC gives priority to projects that involve local participation.

Participation is required to varying extent in project applications of both donors.<sup>409</sup> Despite this requirement, the research findings indicate that the managers of both internally and externally funded projects perceive no such requirement. Among all the interviewed managers, only two indicated that local participation is recommended by the donor; both of these managers were involved with externally financed projects. Other project managers did not seem to be aware of any such requirement. The perceptions of project managers about the participation requirement and participatory approaches expressed by the donors indicate that the Delegation emphasizes this requirement more than the WF does, though indirectly.

### 5.3.3. Practices of participatory approaches in the projects

In order to reach conclusions to the research question, more detailed inquiries about the actual practices of participatory approaches in the sample projects must be investigated. Given the donors' participation requirements and

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<sup>409</sup> Concluding from findings in section 5.3.1. WF always requires participation in its project applications, while the Delegation only requires participation in some of its applications, depending on the nature of the project.

managers'/administration's perceptions of them, the following subsections evaluate the practice of local participation in all stages of the projects.

#### *5.3.3.1. Internally financed projects*

KADAV undertook a grassroots project dealing with violence against women. Though local actors such as local governments and other NGOs were involved during the implementation of the project, there is no mention of these bodies' involvement in other stages of the project. Furthermore, there is no mention of the participant women becoming actively involved in the project. Their only active involvement planned for these women was to work as the hairdressers or at the restaurant in the center as part of their vocational training. Participant women were not actively engaged in the project planning or implementation; participatory approach was not used in this project.

Filmmor claims to make films for women by women. It attempts to increase women's visibility in cinema based on their life experiences and, also, through expanding women's cinema products. Furthermore, Filmmor tries to increase women's participation in the media, their means of expression, activity and power in these areas. Thus, the description of its aims implies that Filmmor is very interested in the participatory approach and that it involves all women. If Filmmor's approach is, in fact, participatory, local women must be engaged in the filmmaking process and their way of telling their own stories and experiences must be utilized.

According to the research findings, local women participate in the filmmaking process only by taking part in the film. They narrate their experiences but they are not part of the decision-making about which experiences will be included in the film, and where will the film be screened. As one of the main obstacles in the implementation of the project, Filmmor described the large amount of material filmed, from which members of Filmmor had to choose sections to be included in the film. Such strategy limits the participation of the local women. It is also only Filmmor and local NGOs that decide where the film will be screened. The local women then do not take a decisive part in the planning or implementation of the project. When the film is screened local women participate in discussion the panels about the issues. Thus, the discussion panels are a way for women to share experiences, learn from each other and have some influence on the evaluation of the project. Filmmor did not perceive there to be a requirement by the donor to include local participants actively in the project and local women predominantly constituted sole participants in this project. However, according to the interviewee the women and women's foundations taking part in this project have taken active part in other projects. Filmmor has "...used the suggestions and experiences of women and women's foundations"<sup>410</sup> for its other films.

A number of NGOs were involved in the implementation stage of KEIG's project. Academics, parliamentarians, and representatives from Turkish government

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<sup>410</sup> Filmmor, interview.

institutions, unions etc. were involved in the evaluation stage of the project, as they took part at the concluding conference. By its nature, this project was not the kind that could involve local women in any way. Participatory approach can, therefore, not be discussed in the case of this project.

Consequently, given the projects of the NGOs in the sample, there are two internally financed projects, which can be evaluated in terms of their practices of participatory approaches in projects. One of them has not used participatory approach. The other organization involved local participants in its project only to a very limited extent. The interviewee from this organization, however, emphasized that local participants have been involved in other projects of this NGO. Thus, the empirical evidence demonstrates that the projects supported by the WF do not facilitate local participation.

#### *5.3.3.2. Externally financed projects*

The project of KAGIDER was implemented on international level. Rather than local participants, it involved NGOs in other countries and government representatives in Turkey and in other countries. Local participation was therefore irrelevant for this project.

The interviewees from Kadin Dayanisma Vakfi argued that the project at hand was not the kind of project in which participants could take an active part. The local participants were the NGOs involved in the project. Overall, however, Kadin

Dayanisma Vakfi claims to be using participatory approach. It supports this claim by arguing that all the active members of Kadin Dayanisma Vakfi take part in any decision making. Such policy seems to indicate a participatory approach to decision making. However, while including all members in decision-making supports participation, it can be considered a participatory approach only if local people as managers or participants would be included in the decision making process. No such strategy was mentioned by the Foundation. On the contrary, the interviewees did not seem to understand when asked about such participation.

Ucan Supurge's project was described on the NGO's website as including training sessions of local women in Ankara and in the provinces, workshops, round-table discussions etc. Such activities are likely to increase awareness, disseminate information, and promote solidarity among local women and local administrations. These activities could then contribute to participation of these women in future projects. However, as ascertained during the interview, 'local women' correspond to women from local NGOs. Though, according to the interview, this project contributed to deepening the dialogue and cooperation between local NGOs and local administrations, it is not given that these achievements would automatically trickle down to local women who are not members of the NGOs.

All the active members of MorCati take part in any decision making. They discuss a problem until they reach a consensus. Such policy seems to indicate a participatory approach to decision making. However, while including all members

when making decisions supports participation, it can be considered a participatory approach only if local people as managers or participants would be included in this decision-making process. No such strategy was mentioned. On the contrary, the interviewee did not seem to understand when asked about such participation. She only mentioned psychologists and members of other organizations as others helping with the project. Thus, she did not seem interested in local people taking part in the design or implementation stages of the project. Participants are involved to some extent in the evaluation stage of the project. MorCati elicits the participants' opinions about the services provided by the project and about their knowledge on their legal rights in order to improve the services.

The project of SODEV was only at its beginnings; therefore, the practices of participatory approaches in the project cannot be evaluated.

In two of the externally financed projects, local participation could be facilitated given the content of the project. Only one of these projects, however, involved local women. Nevertheless, this involvement was limited as the local women were only partially involved in the evaluation stage of the project. Local participation was a requirement for some of the Delegation's projects. Despite this participation requirement of the external donor, these research findings suggest that, even when given, the requirement remains rhetorical.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

After highlighting the research limitations of this thesis, this chapter discusses the conclusions. Section 6.2. describes the implications of the research findings for local participation and social capital in empowering women.

#### **6.1. Research Limitations**

There are limitations to the interpretation of the research findings that need to be considered when trying to generalize these findings to broader issues of interest. First, the sample of projects is limited. The donor organizations provided a list of nine (WF) and fifteen (EC Delegation) NGOs. Of these some chose not to take part in the research for reasons such as lack of time, hesitation to share inside information, and insufficient information available because the project in question was starting at the time. Therefore, three organizations from the WF's list and five NGOs from the Delegation's list are included in the sample. Because of the small size of the sample, the discussion on research findings and implications for local participation and social capital should be interpreted cautiously.

Secondly, there is the problem of the scope of information obtained. Although the interview questions were designed to obtain as much information about local participation and other relevant issues as possible, it was infeasible in a study of this size to obtain all needed information from all participating organizations. Thus, where omitted, the required information is simply missing. It must however be emphasized that this study was not aimed at measuring social capital. Therefore, no questions with this aim were asked and no conclusions were made. Furthermore, no participants of projects were included in the research.

## **6.2. What Do the Research Findings Mean? Implications for Local Participation and Social Capital in Empowering Women**

The previous chapter described requirements for, perceptions of, and practices of local participation in NGOs' projects. With the questions of "How does internal vs. external financing influence local participation in women's development projects of NGOs in Turkey?" and "What implications do the research findings have for local participation and social capital in empowering women?" in mind, the section first briefly summarizes the conceptual arguments of the literature on feminism and development. Later, it recapitulates social capital and its implications for development via local participation in light of these research findings.

Three main feminist approaches to development have evolved over time, namely: women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) and gender and development (GAD). The first to appear, WID, was based on modernization theory and liberal feminism. It views all individuals as equal and calls for equal opportunities for women in development projects. This approach is criticized because it generally ignores the need for local participation in development projects. Furthermore, it considers only women's role in public life and ignores varying needs of women based on class and race. WAD developed later with the contribution of radical feminists and Marxists/Marxist feminists. It emphasized the special role of women in many areas of life and called for separate development institutions/programs for women. This approach is criticized because by creating separate institutions for women, it can further marginalize women. The latest of the most influential approaches to women and their development, GAD, evolved on the basis of socialist feminism and women's voices from the global South. Rather than on women's development as an add-on to development programs, the GAD approach focuses on gender relations and the constructed roles of the genders with the goal of emancipating women. Furthermore, this approach emphasizes that women should be the agents of their development, not simply the receivers of it.

Feminist approaches to development continue to evolve with time. Many of the latest alternative approaches such as the GAD approach prescribe taking the specific circumstances and wishes of the women affected by development projects

progressively more into account. In other words, the latest theories of women/gender and development are more conscious of the need for participatory approaches. However, many writers point out that although development organizations have changed their language to fit the latest approaches, many continue to work within the WID approach.

The use of the language of GAD and other alternative approaches seems to be the case especially on the donor side. As shown in section 5.3.1. the donor organizations in their applications support the idea that participant women's voices and their circumstances are important in the development projects. This language however does not seem to translate into actions as shown in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.

Neither the donors nor the NGOs seem to fully operate within the WID approach. In the WID approach women's development is viewed as an add-on to development projects but the only focus of most of these organizations is the development of women. This is not the case for the Delegation and for SODEV but even these two organizations consider women's development as a separate issue in the field of development.

It was indicated in section 3.2.2. that women's movement in Turkey continues to be dominated by a small group of intellectual women from higher classes who are generally trying to serve the 'poor' women. Such a character of the group of development practitioners in connection with the lack of their interest in the participatory approach indicated by the research findings points to the overwhelming

practice of development programs within the WID approach. If the GAD approach was truly utilized, development programs in Turkey would be the joint work of those served and those serving.

The empirical evidence overall suggests that the donors and NGOs in the sample projects under consideration work to some extent within all three approaches, despite conceptual argument that the GAD approach would lead to best results.

In order to evaluate the implications of the research findings about local participation for social capital in empowering women social capital literature must be reviewed. Scholars note that social capital, because of its varying definitions, possesses difficulties when measured. Woolcock stresses that in order to evaluate social capital both theoretical research and field work must be used. By drawing on the theoretical arguments summarized below and empirical data collected through field research, this work has attempted to utilize this approach.

The concept of social capital was brought into wider scholarly debate mainly thanks to its two recent key proponents, James S. Coleman and Robert D. Putnam starting in the 1980s. According to Coleman, social capital is defined by its function. It is a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who exist within this structure. Social capital can be both productive and harmful but particular social relationships can provide an individual with important

resources. Social capital, as described by Coleman, seems to be an invaluable resource, it is however based on rather abstract (even immeasurable) variables such as individual trust, expectations and norms.

Putnam believed that social capital emerges from interactions among individuals brought about by their membership in social networks and voluntary organizations. Such memberships facilitate trust, norms and networks among individuals. Putnam attempted to show what effects social capital can have on development of various units of collectivity. He believed that social capital stemming from strong associational life encourages citizens' skills and inclinations necessary to work together on economic and political projects. Though many have since criticized Putnam's arguments, he is considered the most important author who promoted social capital in development studies.

With the development of the concept three differing types of social capital have evolved, namely bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding social capital refers to ties built among individuals in similar situations such as neighbors. Bridging social capital includes ties between more distant individuals or associations. Linking social capital connects people in differing situations. According to Woolcock, it is the differing combinations of bonding, bridging and linking social capital that cause a range of different outcomes, which can be positive as well as negative.

Despite the number of differences of the meaning of social capital to scholars, it is accepted by many as a way to clarify variance in the achievement of countries in

development, institutionalization and democratic governance.<sup>411</sup> It is this one single idea that explains both economic and political outcomes. It has therefore been called the “missing link in development.”<sup>412</sup> According to social capital literature the importance of communities and institutions must be considered by development scholars and practitioners when designing development strategies. It also allows those facing development challenges to take into account an important asset that the poor have to offer when negotiating their wellbeing, namely their social capital. Accordingly, projects, which are executed in communities that are able to achieve direct participation to and ownership of the design, implementation, management and evaluation of those projects, show more sustainable results given the chances to facilitate social capital embedded in local level.

Within this framework, locally funded projects are expected to be implemented with a more participatory approach, as the NGOs that implement them and the donor organization that funds them are expected to have better understanding and knowledge of the local communities. According to the conceptual discussion of social capital and women/gender and development, such participatory approach should result in better outcomes in terms of sustainability and level of development.

However, the research findings in sections 5.3.1., 5.3.2., and 5.3.3. demonstrated that this argument cannot be sufficiently supported. Section 5.3.1. shows that the participation requirement is more clearly defined in project calls of the

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<sup>411</sup> Prahash and Selle, 18.

<sup>412</sup> Howell and Pearce, 25.

local donor, the WF. The WF is also more accessible to smaller local NGOs that are likely to be more connected to their local participants. When the participatory requirement was discussed with managers/administration staff of the projects, as described in section 5.3.2., the findings demonstrated that despite the participatory requirement in the applications, managers/administration of both the externally and the internally funded projects perceive no such requirement. In section 5.3.3. the practices of participatory approaches in projects were assessed. This section showed that neither the internally nor the externally financed projects were undertaken with considerable local participation. Overall, the interviews have shown that though participatory approach is often part of the rhetoric of the donors and the NGOs, it rarely appears in practice.

The theoretical discussion showed that practices of civil society and development should take social capital into account. Social capital is an important asset that local people and institutions in development programs could facilitate in designing and implementing these programs. Thus, rather than merely being ‘recipients,’ social capital embedded in local participation allows empowerment of women as active owners of their choice of development programs. The research findings indicate that development practitioners in Turkey do not facilitate local participation in empowering women. Although bonding and bridging social capital among women in Turkey requires further research, there seems to be at least abundant bridging social capital among women. Although only about 5% of

Turkey's population reports membership in a CSO, people in Turkey demonstrate inclination to cooperation with each other.<sup>413</sup> Furthermore, women in Turkey face a handful of similar issues targeted by the NGOs, despite wide range of variance in their income level, level of religious beliefs, pressure of traditional forces, education level and other differences. These facts indicate abundance of social capital among Turkish women. It is, therefore, puzzling that development practitioners in Turkey dealing with women/gender and development would not fully utilize this invaluable resource.

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<sup>413</sup> See section 3.1.2.

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## APPENDIX 1

### DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Authors	Definitions of Social Capital
Baker	'a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests; it is created by changes in the relationship among actors'; (Baker 1990, p. 619).
Belliveau, O'Reilly, Wade	'an individual's personal network and elite institutional affiliations' (Belliveau et al. 1996, p. 1572).
Bourdieu	'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 248).  'made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243).
Bourdieu Wacquant	'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 119).
Boxman, De Graai. Flap	'the number of people who can be expected to provide support and the resources those people have at their disposal' (Boxman et al. 1991, p. 52).
Burt	'friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital' (Burt 1992, p. 9).  'the brokerage opportunities in a network' (Burt 1997, p. 355).
Knoke	'the process by which social actors create and mobilize their network connections within and between organizations to gain access to other social actors' resources' (Knoke 1999, p. 18).

Portes	'the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures' (Portes 1998, p. 6).
Brehm Rahn	'the web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitate resolution of collective action problems' (Brehm and Rahn 1997, p. 999).
Coleman	'Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure' (Coleman 1990, p. 302).
Fukuyama	'the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organizations' (Fukuyama 1995, p. 10).  'Social capital can be defined simply as the existence of a certain set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permit cooperation among them' (Fukuyama 1997).
Inglehart	'a culture of trust and tolerance, in which extensive networks of voluntary associations emerge' (Inglehart 1997, p. 188).
Portes Sensenbrenner	'those expectations for action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal' seeking behavior of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented toward the economic sphere' (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993, p. 1323).
Putnam	'features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (Putnam 1995, p. 67).
Thomas	'those voluntary means and processes developed within civil society which promote development for the collective whole' (Thomas 1996, p. 11).
Loury	'naturally occurring social relationships among persons which promote or assist the acquisition of skills and traits valued in the marketplace. . . an asset which may be as significant as financial bequests in accounting for the maintenance of inequality in our society' (Loury 1992, p. 100).

Nahapiet Ghoshal	'the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network' (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, p. 243).
Pennar	'the web of social relationships that influences individual behavior and thereby affects economic growth' (Pennar 1997, p. 154).
Schiff	'the set of elements of the social structure that affects relations among people and are inputs or arguments of the production and/or utility function' (Schiff 1992, p. 160)
Woolcock	'the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one's social networks' (Woolcock 1998, p. 153).

Source: Adler, P.S., and Seok-Woo Kwon, 'Social Capital: Prospects For a New Concept.' *Academy of Management. The Academy of Management Review* 27: 2002, pp.17-40.  
<http://www.uky.edu/~skwon2/Social%20capital.pdf> (accessed March 5, 2007).

## APPENDIX 2

### LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Interviewee	Date	Place	Category	Name of Organization
<b>Aysun Sayin</b> (director, Women's Fund)	26.7. 2007	Ortakoy, Istanbul	donor	Kadin Fonu (WF) / Women's Fund
<b>Aycan Akdeniz</b> (Sector manager, civil society and democratization)	9.8. 2007	Gaziosmanpa sa, Ankara	donor	Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey
<b>Ebru Hanbay</b> (Project Coordinator) <b>Ayca Kurtoglu</b> (volunteer and translator) <b>Gulsen Ulker</b> (Chair of Executive Board)	10.8. 2007	Sihhiye, Ankara	Externally financed NGO	Kadin Dayanisma Vakfi / Foundation for Women's Solidarity
<b>Yasemin Temizarabaci</b> (Project Coordinator)	13.11. 2007	Interview conducted via e-mail	Internally financed NGO	Filmmor Kadin Kooperatifi (Filmmor) / Filmmor Women's Foundation
<b>Melek Gundogan</b> (Member of the Executive Board)	19.11. 2007	Kosekoy, Kocaeli	Internally financed NGO	Kadınlarla Dayanisma Vakfi – Yeni Adim (KADAV) / Solidarity with Women Foundation – New Step
<b>Aysun Sayin</b> (Project Consultant)	20.11. 2007	Ortakoy, Istanbul	Externally financed NGO	Türkiye Kadın Girişimciler Derneği (KAGIDER) / Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey
<b>Levent Sensever</b> (Project Coordinator)	20.11. 2007	Beyoglu, Istanbul	Externally financed NGO	Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfi (SODEV) / Social Democracy Foundation
<b>Sarap Gure</b> (Coordinator of KEIG)	21.11. 2007	Beyoglu, Istanbul	Internally financed NGO	Kadin Emegi ve Istihdami Platform/Grubu (KEIG) / Women's Labor and Employment Platform/Group
<b>Gulsun Kanat Dinc</b> (Social worker and volunteer of MorCati)	21.11. 2007	Beyoglu, Istanbul	Externally financed NGO	Mor Cati Kadın Siginagi Vakfi (MocCati) / Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation
<b>Urun Guner</b> (Project Coordinator)	24.11. 2007	Kavaklıdere, Ankara	Externally financed NGO	Ucan Supurge / Flying Broom

Note: all personal details are provided with permission of the interviewees.

## **APPENDIX 3**

### **INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR DONORS**

- 1) How do you distribute funds to civil society?
- 2) Could you describe some projects that you granted funds to and that concerned women?
- 3) How can NGOs apply for your grants? How do they receive information about the calls for proposal?
- 4) Could you name specific organizations that received funding from you for projects specifically related to women?
- 5) In order to complete my thesis I need to speak to the NGOs that you granted funds to, would it be possible for you to provide me with contact information of these NGOs?
- 6) When NGOs apply for funding, do they follow some format or perhaps some criteria?
- 7) Do you put forth any criteria so that the projects would have to include local resources (i.e. participants/local funds/local institutions or other)?
- 8) Do you perhaps require that the NGOs (whose project you grant funds to) to involve participants of the projects in the design/ implementation/ management/ evaluation of the projects?

- 9) If there is no such initial criteria in the time of application, are there any criteria put forth by you when the NGO receives the funding?
- 10) Are there perhaps any conditions asking the NGOs to involve local participants somehow in design or implementation, in ways such as accessing people, facilitating field work etc.?

## APPENDIX 4

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MANAGERS/ADMINISTRATION STAFF OF PROJECTS

#### Design / Participation / Facilitating SC

- 11) Please tell me what your project is about.
- 12) Could you describe the objectives of the project? *If not mentioned*
- 13) How would you assess the results of your project given your objectives?
- 14) In your opinion, what were the major difficulties in the implementation of the project?
- 15) *Given answer*, were you involved since the beginning of the project, if not who was involved?
- 16) *Given answer*, in your opinion who else should or could have been involved in the planning and implementing of the project?
- 17) Did you get any help or other means of participation in your project by for example: *municipality, other local organizations, muhtarlik, local leaders, teachers in neighborhood schools, midwives etc.?*
- 18) In what ways do you think these people facilitated your project?
- 19) *If no help received*, why do you think these people weren't involved?
- 20) *Bonding SC comparison*: do you or did you have other projects, or same project in different area/neighborhood, in which you used the help or other means of participation by these people?

**Financing / Conditionality** (If conditionality requires facilitating CS participation (SC))

How's conditionality reflected in the project design and implementation?

- 21) How do you finance your project?
- 22) Which source has more contribution? (local vs. external)
- 23) When you apply for funding, do you follow some format or perhaps some criteria?
- 24) *Given answer*, are there any criteria to include local resources? How about participants?
- 25) *If there was no initial criteria to apply*, were there any criteria put forth when you received the funding?
- 26) *Given answer*, was there any condition asking to involve local participants somehow in design or implementation, in ways such as accessing people, facilitating field work etc.?

**Difficulties in project areas / Social Capital** (trust expectations, norms)

- 27) How did the people learn about the NGO / project?
- 28) Did you feel / observe any bias against the project objectives or perhaps field workers?
- 29) Was there any other type of resistance to participation you observed in the project area?
- 30) How did you overcome this?
- 31) Who were the participants?
- 32) *Given answer*, do you think you access all targeted people?
- 33) *Given answer*, was there a common profile of participants?