

FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF RURAL WOMEN IN A VILLAGE OF TURKEY

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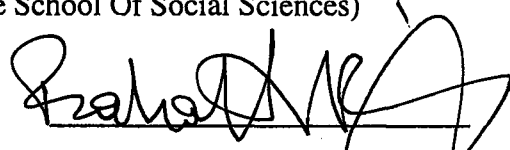
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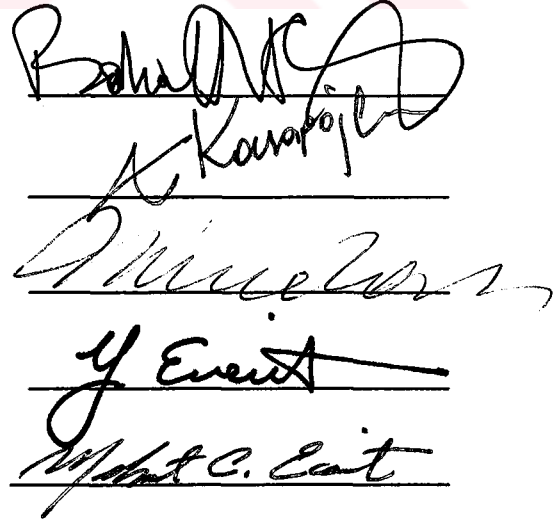
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ABSTRACT

FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF RURAL WOMEN IN A VILLAGE OF TURKEY

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In this thesis, it is examined the social, economic, ideological and political actions of rural women for to ascertain the origin of their attitudes to wage labour, unpaid family labour, the sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land. Social actions of the rural women involve their marriage, the division of labour among women in the household, their actions in the migration process, and factors concerning their own fertility. The economic actions of rural women involve their economic mobility in the village, ideas of rural women about income-generating activities and their evaluation of differences between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer. Economic actions are mostly related to sexual division of labour in the household. The ideological actions of rural women involve their ideas about the sexual division of labour. Moreover, the place of

rural women in the decision-making process in Alibeyli, their own evaluations about their ownership of and control over their own commodities and the role of rural women in the construction of marriage and their control on education. The political actions of rural women involve their ideas about their actions and attitudes in general elections and local elections. The unique aim of the processes above is seeking subject positions to women in a cotton and tobacco producer village. An attempt is made to analyse the woman as a subject who experiences society, economy, history and culture as a subject in itself. The sociological village study is conducted in Alibeyli village in the province of Izmir.

Keywords: Feminist theory, rural woman, subject situations, social, economic, ideological and political actions, sexual division of labour, wage labour, unpaid household labour, subsistence economy and land.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'NİN BİR KÖYÜNDE KIRSAL KADININ FEMİNİST ANALİZİ

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Bu tezde kırsal kadının ücretli emeğe, ücretsiz hane emeğine, cinsiyete dayalı işbölümüne, geçimlik ekonomiye ve toprağa olan tavrını ortaya çıkarmak için kadınların sosyal, ekonomik, ideolojik ve politik eylemleri analiz edildi. Kadınların sosyal eylemleri onların evliliklerini, hane de kadınlar arasındaki işbölümünü, göç sürecindeki eylemlerini ve kendi doğurganlıkları ile ilgili faktörleri içerir. Kadınların ekonomik eylemleri, onların köy içindeki ekonomik hareketliliklerini, kadınların gelir getiren faaliyetler ile ilgili görüşlerini, ücretli emek ile ücretsiz hane emeği arasındaki farklılıklarla ilgili değerlendirmelerini içerir. Kadınların ideolojik eylemleri onların cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü hakkındaki görüşlerini kadınların karar verme sürecindeki yerlerini, kendilerine ait metaların sahipliği ve kontrolü ile ilgili değerlendirmelerini ve kadının evliliğin

ilgili kendi görüşlerini içerir. Bu analizin amacı kadının özne konumlarını pamuk ve tütün üreticisi bir köy temelinde anlamaya çalışmaktır. Kadın, toplumu, ekonomiyi, tarihi ve kültürü kendi içinde yaşayan aktif bir özne olarak ele alınmıştır. Sosyolojik alan çalışması İzmir iline bağlı Alibeyli köyünde yapılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kırsal kadın, özne konumları, sosyal, ekonomik, ideolojik ve politik eylemler, cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü, ücretli emek, ücretsiz hane emeği, geçimlik ekonomi ve toprak.



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TO MY BELOVED MOTHER
AND
TO MY FATHER WHO HAS STILL CUT ROSES FOR HER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
OZ.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
CHAPTER I	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1.Introduction.....	1
1.2. Feminist Perspective and The Debates on the Concepts..... of Patriarchy, Reproduction and Ideology.....	3
1.3. The Situation of Rural Women in Agriculture.....	11
1.4. The Structure of Turkish Agriculture.....	18
1.5. The Situation of Rural Women in Turkish Agriculture.....	23
1.6. Organisation of the Study.....	27
2. FEMINIST THEORY AND RURAL WOMEN.....	31
2.1. Feminist Theoretical Approach to Rural Women.....	31
2.1.1. Rural Woman as a Subject.....	33
2.2. What Dialectical the Method Offers for Rural Woman as a Subject.....	40
2.2.1. Rural Woman as an Active Subject in Dialectic Feminism.....	50
2.2.2. How Does the Rural Woman Experiences Society, Economy, Culture and History as a “Subject in Itself?.....	55
2.3. Research Methodology.....	61

2.3.1. Fieldwork	69
2.3.2 Feminist Interview	75
2.3.3 Feminist Questionnaire	77
2.4. Conclusion.....	77
3. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ACTIONS OF RURAL WOMEN IN ALIBEYLI.....	81
3.1. Introduction	81
3.1.1. Alibeyli.....	83
3.1.1.1. Household Members in the Village.....	84
3.1.1.2. Education.....	84
3.1.1.3. Forms of Use of Labour	85
3.1.1.4. Land Allocation.....	86
3.2. Social Actions of Rural Women.....	86
3.2.1. Marriage of Women.....	88
3.2.1.1. The Bride Who Lives With both Her mother-in-law and father-in-law.....	89
3.2.1.2. The Bride Who Lives Only With Her mother-in-law.....	89
3.2.1.3. The Bride Who Lives Only with Her father-in-law.....	90
3.2.1.4. Autonomous Bride Without mother-in-law and father-in-law.....	90
3.2.2. Division of Labour in the Household.....	94
3.2.2.1. Internal Division of Labour Among Women in the Households	94
3.2.2.2. Workload of the Women Outside the Home.....	95
3.2.2.3. The Types of Outside Works.....	97
3.2.3. Migration	101
3.2.4. Fertility.....	104
3.3. Economic Actions of Rural Women.....	109
3.3.1. Economic Mobility of Rural Women in Alibeyli.....	111

3.3.2. Income Generating Ideas of Women.....	119
3.4. Ideological Actions of Rural Women.....	133
3.4.1. Sexual Division of Labour.....	134
3.4.2. The Place of Rural Women in Decision-Making Process in Alibeyli.....	145
3.4.3. Ownership and Control Over on Their on Own Commodities.....	152
3.4.4. Construction of Life in the Marriage.....	156
3.4.5. Control Over Education.....	162
3.5. Political Actions of Rural Women.....	156
3.6. Conclusion.....	166
4. THE ATTITUDE OF WOMEN TO BASIC ELEMENTS AND CONDITIONS OF RURAL LIFE.....	169
4.1. Introduction.....	169
4.2. Wage Labour.....	172
4.3. Unpaid Household Labour.....	187
4.4. Sexual Division of Labour.....	191
4.5. Subsistence Economy.....	200
4.6. Land.....	209
4.7. Conclusion.....	217
5. CONCLUSION.....	220
APPENDIX I.....	233
Questionnaire Form.....	233
APPENDIX II	243
Interview	243
REFERENCES.....	251

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

3.1 The Differentiation of Women in Accordance with Housework in theHousehold.....	95
3.2.The Differentiation of Women in Accordance with outside work in theHousehold.....	96
3.3. Types of Outside Work Women do in a Household.....	98
3.4.When Women’s Begin Doing Outside Work.....	99
3.5. The Periods of outside Work in Alibeyli	100
3.6. The Demands of Women about Migration	101
3.7. Why Women Want to Migrate or not	103
3.8. Fertility Statistics of Women in Alibeyli.....	106
3.9. Types of Jobs Women Want to Set Up in Alibeyli.....	113
3.10. How Women Invest Their Own Money.....	115
3.11. Reasons for Investments.....	117
3.12. The Solutions for Increasing the Incomes of a Household.....	120
3.13. The Solutions for Increasing the Incomes of Their Own Household...122	
3.13.a. Knowledge of Women About the Debts of Their Household.....	123
3.14. Their Knowledge about the Forms of Paying the Debts.....	124
3.15. The Property Lost form Households Because of Unpaid Debts.....	125
3.16. It is Impossible to Produce Cotton and Tobacco Without Women.....	126
3.17. Rural Women are Unpaid Household Labourers.....	128
3.18. Why Women are Unpaid Household Labourers.....	128
3.19. Working as a Wage Labourer and Unpaid Household Labourer is	

Different.....	130
3.20. Hiring Wage Labourers in the Household.....	131
3.21. Workload of Wage Labours in the Households.....	132
3.22. The Reasons for the Division of Work between Men and Women	135
3.23. The Reasons Given Why Men Deal with Tradesmen, Banks andCooperatives.....	137
3.24. Why Women Do not Carry Out Certain Tasks.....	139
3.25. A Woman Can Carry Out These Tasks.....	140
3.26. Work Forbidden for Women.....	142
3.27. Work Done by Women in Winter.....	144
3.28. Husbands Consult Their Wives.....	148
3.29. Husbands Consult About Financial Matters.....	149
3.30. Problems of Households in Alibeyli.....	151
3.31. Men Sell the Possessions of the Women	152
3.32. Why Husbands Sold the Commodities.....	153
3.33. Some Trousseaux Deserve Using.....	154
3.34. Important Trousseaux for Women.....	155
3.35. Type Marriage of Women in Alibeyli.....	157
3.36 They Do not Want Bride-price for Their Daughters.....	158
3.37. They Want to be educated More.....	159
3.38. Sons Have Priority.....	161
3.39. Boys are Preferred	162
3.40. Women in General Elections.....	163
3.41. Women in Local Elections.....	165

VITA

Nadide Kargıner was born in Gaziantep on January the 5th, 1966. She received her BS and MS in Sociology from the Middle East Technical University. She worked in an Anadolu Lisesi in Ankara from 1992 to 1994. Since June 1994, she has been an instructor in Department of Sociology in Anadolu University in Eskisehir. Her main areas of interest are feminist theory and methodology, rural sociology and women's studies.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.I Introduction

Rural women as one of the more oppressed and subordinated group of women producers have always been ignored in woman studies in Turkey. In addition, they are shown as housewives in formal statistics. Whereas, they performed social, economic, ideological and political actions by preventing the inclusion of wage labour in rural areas by their unpaid household labour. Having been involved in the production and reproduction processes in the village, which covers wage labour, unpaid family labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land, there occurs no change in their oppressed and subordinated situation.

The oppressed and suppressed situations of women are conceptualised as their object situations in contrast to subject situations, which are not valued in traditional theory, is analysed in this study.

In this respect, this study aims to analyse the actions of women as subjects. Specifying rural woman as a subject means to examine how they perceive their

positions at social, economic, historical and cultural levels in the village. Wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land are organised in production and reproduction processes by the social, economic, ideological and political actions of the rural woman who is positioned both as a subject and object. Those actions of women are derived from the life experiences of women firstly, in marriage, division of labour among women in the household and migration. Secondly, in the economic mobility of women and income generating activities. Thirdly, in sexual division of labour, decision making process, ownership and control of commodities and education. Lastly, in the political behaviour of women. In doing this, it is drawn heavily fieldwork upon conducted in Alibeyli village.

The premise of the study is that the consciousness of rural women, who challenge the integration and continuity of capitalist relations of production in the village life as "active subjects". This activity is an ideological activity, which prevents the introduction of wage labour into the village. This ideology can be referred to as household ideology and entails living without cash and always living in the village. Besides, the traditional explanation for petty commodity production is that unpaid household labour is for the continuity of capitalist relations of production for cheap labour and cheap commodity prices. As "active individuals", rural women own the domain of unpaid household labour. They see their unpaid family labour as the main weapon against capitalism and capitalist relations of production. In seeking

the subject situations for rural women, it is considered the characteristic of dialectic method, which subject and object are capable of losing themselves to each other. As a result, this study begins with a brief summary of the feminist perspectives and debates about patriarchy, reproduction and ideology and of the accounts relevant to the situation of rural woman in the sociological literature.

1.2. Feminist Perspectives and the Debate on the Concepts of Patriarchy, Reproduction and Ideology.

In feminist thinking, there are seven perspectives (Tong 1989) are prevalent as liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, psychoanalytic feminism, socialist feminism, existentialist feminism and postmodernist feminism. In liberal feminism, female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraint. Society has the false belief that women are, by nature, less intellectually and / or physically capable than men, it excludes women from the academy, the forum, and the marketplace. As a result of this policy of exclusion the true potential of many women goes unfulfilled.

Radical feminists argue that it is the patriarchal system that oppresses women, a system characterised by power, dominance, hierarchy, and competition. . It is not only patriarchy's legal and political structures must be overturned but also its social and cultural institutions must also go. They focus on gender and sexuality that used to subordinate women to men. Male power is at the root of the social

construction of gender. Men have controlled women's sexuality for pleasure through pornography, prostitution, sexual harassment, rape, and woman battering. For their liberation, women must escape the confines of heterosexuality by creating an exclusively female sexuality through celibacy, autoeroticism or lesbianism. (Tong 1989).

In psychoanalytic feminist theory, sexuality plays a crucial role. For them, the centrality of sexuality arises out of Freudian theory, and such theoretical concepts as the pre-Oedipal stage and the Oedipus complex. The root of women's oppression is embedded in her psyche. Oedipus complex is the root of male rule and patriarchy is the invention of men's imagination. (Tong 1989).

In the "The Second Sex", Simon de Beauvoir offered an existentialist explanation of women's situation (Existentialist Feminism). She argued that woman is oppressed by virtue of "otherness". Woman is the other because she is not-man. As a self, man is the free determining being who defines the meaning of his existence. As an Other, woman is the object whose meaning is determined for her. Being a subject means to transcend the definitions, labels, and essences that limit her existence. She has to make herself whatever she wants to be.

Post-modern feminists call the "male thinking" as "phallogocentric" thought by challenging contemporary feminism to reconcile the pressures for diversity & difference with those for integration and commonality (Tong 1989).

Lastly, Marxists feminists claim that the origin of the women's oppression is private property. Private ownership of means of production by male who is inaugurated a class system. Contemporary manifestations of this system are corporate capitalism and imperialism. The cause of women's oppression is the capitalism itself. If all women are ever to be liberated, the capitalist system must be replaced by a socialist system in which the means of production belong to one and all (Tong 1989).

In contrast to definition of Tong (1989) above, Barrett (1998: 20), gives another definition of Marxist-feminism. She equates the theoretical framework of Marxist-feminist approach with patriarchy, reproduction and ideology. For her, patriarchy is drawn from radical feminist writings. Reproduction and ideology take it the Althusser's emphasis on reproduction of the relations of production. Firstly, the independence of women's oppression from the general operation of the capitalist mode of production. Secondly, the oppression of women takes place at the level of ideology. Firstly, it will be taken into account the debates about patriarchy. Millett (1998: 11), takes patriarchy as an over-arching category of male dominance. It is a project of establishing a fundamental system of domination independent of the capitalist or any other mode of production. Like Millett, Firestone (1998: 16-17-18) also gives an analytic independence and primacy to male domination by grounding her account in biological reproduction. Her theoretical goal is to substitute sex for class as the prime motor in a materialist account of history. By

mentioning on the patriarchal relations of production, Delphy (1998: 14) argues the class position of women as the institution of marriage. In the marriage, husband appropriates labour from his wife and constitutes a domestic mode of production and a patriarchal mode of exploitation. For Delphy, material basis of women's oppression lies in the patriarchal relations of production. In addition to Delphy, Eisenstein (1988: 16) defines patriarchy as institutionalised in the nuclear family by preceding capitalism that rests on the power of the male through sexual roles. Capitalism uses patriarchy and patriarchy is defined by the needs of the capital.

In contrast to Eisenstein, McDonough and Harrison (1998: 17) use the concept of patriarchy in a materialist context. For them, patriarchy has a two-fold definition: first, the control of women's fertility and sexuality in monogamous marriage and second, the economic subordination of women through the sexual division of labour and property. In capitalism, capitalist relations of production dictate patriarchal relations. By taking the patriarchy on the basis of the family, Kuhn (1998: 17) defines the family as the crucial site of oppression.

In addition to patriarchy, reproduction is defined by Barrett (1998: 40-41) as a crucial mechanism that relates women's oppression to the organisation of production in different societies:

Starting point raises a difficulty with conflation of two very different processes - the biological reproduction of the species and the need of any social formation to reproduce its own conditions of production.

Women might occupy a specific role in the reproduction of the forces and relations of production. A problem in arguing that it is women's role in biological reproduction that underwrites their significance for social reproduction (Barrett 1998:19-20).

Edholm, Harris and Young (1998:20) put social reproduction, reproduction of the labour force and human and biological reproduction as analytically three distinct referents of the reproduction. In domestic labour debate, Seccombe (1998:21) argues the reproduction of the labour power of the worker by women's unpaid work in the home. It reproduces the relations of dominance and subordination that is required by capitalist production at ideological level. Paid labour of women is a cheap and flexible source of labour power that presents to capital. Patriarchal ideology is embedded in the sexual division of labour that consigns women to family (Beechey, 1993:25-26). There are criticisms of Beechey that she theorises women's work in capitalist production and insists on the connection between women as wage workers and the history and ideology of the family.

Mackintosh (1993: 27) takes patriarchy is the characteristic of relation of human reproduction that means the control of women, especially of their sexuality and fertility by men. Attempts to combine an analysis of social reproduction with an analysis of patriarchal human reproduction are seen as the fundamental problem of Marxist-feminism. How women should be located in an account of the class structure (Barrett 1998: 29).

For Barrett (1998: 29) feminist insistence that Marxism must take account of

women's oppression and develop arguments concerning its specific form under capitalism, has coincided historically with a revolution in the Marxist theory of ideology. Feminists taken the issue with the position of Engels that the entry of women into production itself end male dominance, and argued against the view that "the family as the site of women's oppression is merely a relic of the pre-capitalist era" (Barrett 1998: 29). For Marxist feminists, Marxism has to take into account of women's domestic labour, their poorly paid and insecure position as wage labourers and the familial ideology, which contributes their oppression. This is taken as a fundamental shift in Marxism's theoretical approach to the concept of ideology (Barrett 1998:29):

Althusser rejects equally the notion of ideology as a distortion or manipulation of reality by the ruling class, and the view that ideology is simply a mechanical reflection (in ideas) of a determining economic base. He locates ideology as a practice enjoying relative autonomy from the economic level (is determining in the last instance). He stresses ideology as 'lived experience', as representing 'the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence and emphasises that individual subjects are constructed and reproduced in ideology is a challenge to economism (Barrett 1998: 30).

Barrett (1993: 31) goes on to argue that popularity of subjectivist sociology's lies in their seeking to explain 'reality' in terms of the negotiation of inter-subjective social situations. There has been a tendency to locate the oppression of women principally at the level of ideology and easy to see how the autonomy of ideological processes have been seized on by feminists concerned to emphasise the

importance of gender division in the capitalist social formation. Rejection of economism led to a radical re-prioritising of ideology in which the question of gender division can be situated. It has become possible to accommodate the oppression of women as a relatively autonomous element of the social formation.

She goes on:

A legitimate discussion of the question of the construction of masculine and feminine subjects and the relation of the sexual division of labour to capitalist production. In recent Marxist feminist work to the ideological construction of gendered subjects and the attempt to rethink psychoanalytic theory from a Marxist feminist perspective. Two major directions of this work: the exploration of familial relations and the development of masculine and feminine subjectivity, and the analysis of representations of gender difference in cultural production (Barrett 1998: 31).

For Barrett (1998), Coward and Ellis (1998: 32), rejected economic determinism. Moreover, they favour an attempt to see the articulation of three practices (political, ideological and economic) as depending upon the specific historical conjuncture. They reject not only the strong form of economic determinism but also any determinate relationship between the economic and ideological (Barrett 1998: 33). She goes on to ask:

Is it possible to develop an analysis of women's oppression in contemporary capitalism that represents a genuine synthesis of Marxist and feminist perspectives? Any attempt to create a coherent 'Marxist feminist' analysis must confront serious theoretical and political issues (Barrett 1998: 37).

Although Barrett (1998) gives it as patriarchy, reproduction and ideology, this

study will discuss the possibility of a dialectic method in studying rural women in the light of three concepts above. For doing this, it is necessitated an argument of feminist methodology.

The possibility of developing dialectic method in the light of a Marxist feminist perspective will be discussed in chapter 2. It is determined in this study that women have a better knowledge about production and reproduction processes than we might expect. They have learned that they have never been sufficient in everything. In the studies about woman, there is the problem of creating the voice of women. There are two alternatives to this problem; the first one is to create it in the framework of a patriarchal theory, the second is to create it within a feminist conceptualisation. The critical point is not the construction of the voices of the feminists but the voices of the women whose interpretation of the processes is different from both feminists and men. However, feminist theory is marginalised and entrenched in academia (Hartsock 1998: 252). While the situation was same in Turkey by not talking about conducting a woman study, there occurred an increase after the 1980 coup. In this way, feminist movements have been one of the permanent and sounding social opposition movements after 1980 (Ecevit 1991: 15). Moreover, a similar argument is claimed by Berik (1990: 81) that:

The 1980's witnessed the rise of feminist and Islamic fundamentalist movements in Turkey. In diametrically opposing ways, both movements pushed the debate over women's issues and rights in Turkey into the spotlight of public discussion. The feminist movement made visible, and

condemned, acts of physical violence against women, problematised women's lack of substantive rights, and articles of the Criminal Code that discriminate against women (Berik1990:81).

This movement motivated most of the scholars and students in universities. Woman studies took a major step with the initiation of woman studies programmes in universities. In turn, those programmes leded the accumulation of vast amount of knowledge that has been provided as a result of so many studies and researches about woman. Dixon-Mueller (1985: 1) argues how the women as agricultural labourers contribute to the conceptualisation, collection and interpretation of the sexual division of labour in the agriculture of the third world.

In addition, this study intends to examine the subject situations of rural woman in a village of Turkey. It is taken the unpaid labour of rural woman as a reference point. It will begin a summary of the literature about rural women in different countries.

1.3 The Situation of Rural Women in Agriculture

The studies about rural women concern on wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land. The situation of rural woman has strong relations with agricultural structures and petty commodity production.

In her study about rural woman, Mies (1986) studied the working women in three villages that are located in the state of Andra Pradesh in India. She examines the

pattern of women's work, the level and sources of their income and expenditure, the process of economic change and of impoverishment and the emergence and role of women's organisations. Moreover, it is analysed the diverse economic roles of poor women as agricultural labourers, petty commodity producers and traders, subsistence farmers and household workers. It analysis the changing relationship with men in their households, and the impact of class, caste and sexual division of labour on their working lives. In addition, a detailed analysis of milk credit schemes is done and examines the impact of development projects on rural women. Further, it traces the interaction between the traditional cultural practices and the work patterns and conditions of poor rural women. Finally, the study looks at the growth of collective consciousness, the emergence of women's organisations and the impact it has on their working lives.

FAO has so many reports about rural women that they contribute more to food production and family earnings in skilled labour and entrepreneurship. According to report in 1985, as agricultural producers' women have not equal opportunities, rewards or decision-making privileges. In addition, they have more difficulty in gaining access to land, credit, technical services and commercial market outlets. Moreover, women are not sufficiently involved in the planning and implementation of development (FAO 1985: v-viii). Moreover, it is reported that women are traditionally responsible for producing food for the family on land in Africa. They gain access to land upon marriage (FAO 1985: 9). In Latin America,

there are marked differences in the size of land holdings. FAO report presented proposals for enhancing well being of women in agriculture. Firstly, by creating and funding large-scale agricultural training projects attuned especially to the needs of women: reducing women's workload: improving women's health and their children's attendance at school. (2) Fostering women's abilities to earn their own income as an important economic incentive in the context of agricultural modernisation. (3) Increasing access of women small-scale farmers to extension services like production credit, farming inputs membership in co-operatives, and produce markets. (4) Recognising women's involvement and/or interest in cash crops that can promote both women's autonomy and crop production. (5) The documentation and analysis of women's use of time and how new alternatives in food production, cash cropping and non-farm employment affect their opportunity costs. (6) The development and assessment of techniques and equipment especially suited for women's use and for saving their time in the home as well as agriculture. (7) The analysis and documentation on women's situations and activities in terms of differences in socio-economic status, as the basis for orienting programmes to each group. (8) The studies of households divide responsibilities, resources and income among family members. (9) How decisions are made; and the differential effects of new agricultural opportunities on men and women in the family. (10) Studies on how best to make contact with rural women and what forms of organisations aimed at facilitating such contact are the most acceptable in any

particular setting (FAO 1985: 86-87).

The proposals that are constructed for women in agriculture by FAO are mostly suitable for Turkey. However, this study could only identify and provide rural women to be aware of those problems to understand their unequal position in the village.

As a main activity of rural women, Dey (1984:6) discusses the food production and food security in Africa. For her, in many African countries, women were seen to be providing 60-80 percent of the labour in food production and a substantial contribution to cash production. Her article summarises women's responsibilities for cash and stable production, for secondary crops, and gathered food, for animal production, fisheries and food handling along with the constraints and possible remedies for each subsection (Dey 1984: 9-10). In another study in Africa, Tadesse (1984: 1) gives importance to women's roles for the conceptualisation of the significance of the sexual division of labour. Moreover, she asks questions about the tasks and responsibilities of women, men and children at the farm level, in the household and in the community and asks whether these tasks and responsibilities change over time. Moreover, she (Tadesse1984: 1) told about the persistent myths about African agriculture:

the concept farmer denotes only men and implies that at best women only assist in agricultural production; women do not participate in cash crop production, they participated both as

unremunerated familial labour force and seasonal workers on plantations; changes are both class and sex specific. They are mainly aimed at reaching “progressive farmers” who are often assumed to be only men with longer assets; modernisation programmes are based on a definition of the “household” that assumes convergent interests where benefits are shared equally by all members; lastly, housework is simply activity separate from production and concerned with immediate household consumption: yet much is aimed at the market. But women’s participation in production is not sufficient to improve women’s condition(Tadesse 1985: 1).

Tadesse (1985) continues that to understand the role of women depends on the determinants of agricultural production and the division of labour by sex.

Another important subject related to women in agriculture is land. In most rural areas in Africa, land is increasingly scarce for women relative to men (ILO 1984: 57) Women continue to have difficulty in gaining access to the main means of production-land or co-operatives. Moreover, they not only marginalised with respect to land, but also with respect to products they produce (Traore 1984: 26). Land deficiency causes mostly male-out migration that leaves women entirely responsible for their family’s subsistence needs, including their agricultural activities, income-generating activities, household maintenance, child care and food processing (ILO 1984: 55). Women are prevented to access income-generating activities because of taboos that exist and are only meant for women. For the development of women’s participation in rural industries, it is given necessity for developing an integrated approach to women’s access to education, technical innovation, vocational training, credit and institutional support (Dhamija

1984: 78).

In this study, it is given importance the underestimated nature of the women's labour in rural areas. Beneria (1982: 123) criticises the biases of available statistics about the labour of rural women as the problem of defining who is an unpaid family worker. The reason is that censuses classify workers according to their main occupation. They also show the tendency to underreport women as workers in agriculture or any other type of non domestic production some activities are performed by women at home even though they are clearly tied to the market (Beneria 1982: 123-124). For her, for evaluating the participation of women in production, conventional labour force statistics must be approached with great scepticism. Similarly, Agarwal (1985: A-155) seeks the data and conceptual biases about the work participation of rural women in third world. This brings the discussion of sexual division of labour that highly affects both production and reproduction in rural areas. Deere and Léon de Leal (1982: 66) try to demonstrate the significance of material conditions for analysing the sexual division of labour in productive activities by considering the process of in agriculture in three Andean regions. Sexual division of labour is taken account in peasant agricultural production and wage employment (1982: 66). In evaluating the role of women in agricultural production, it is important to access the productive resources. In his study, Longhurst (1982) examined the work of women and their access to productive resources in Nigeria. For him, the obligations between a man and his

wife are clearly defined:

She provides food, water, firewood, housekeeping money, and shelter for the family, and gifts of cloth and perfume at festival times: she provides labour for food preparation, child care and general domestic chores. Therefore, she is not expected to work on farms or fetch water (Longhurst 1982: 98).

Longhurst claims that the village women cannot earn living without relying on men, because she has no economic incentive for trying to live independently (1982: 100). Moreover, there are a considerable number of studies about the male migration in India (Jetley 1987: ws-47). There is another study about the participation of rural women in income-generating activities in India (Begum 1989: 519). Aslanbeigui and Summerfield (1989: 343) study the possible adverse effects of the responsibility system on women in rural China. In addition to them, Goetz & Sen Gupta (1996: 45) explore variations in the degree to which women borrowers control their loans directly. They report on recent research that finds a significant proportion of women's loans to be controlled by male relatives in Bangladesh. Lastly, there are studies about the processes of commercialisation and capitalisation in agriculture that affect women and agricultural change in Latin America.

Having briefly outlined the conceptualisations of the rural women and their relation with wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land, now the consideration can be given to limited

studies of rural women in Turkey. It will be briefly summarised the structure of Turkish agriculture to understand the role of rural woman.

1.4. The Structure of Turkish Agriculture

In Turkish agriculture, unpaid household labour would be an important form of labour depending on the patriarchal structure and the migration of male labour to cities. Beside social, economic, ideological and political factors, male migration play an important role. While male labour is evolving to wage labour, unpaid household labour of women reinforced its place in Turkish agriculture.

Dominant features of the history of the Republican agriculture are the intensification of commodity relations and the commoditisation of agricultural holdings (Ecevit 1999: 8). He also argues:

This feature manifested itself in the commercialisation and magnetization of agriculture (a) increases in agricultural output; (b) in the expansion of area under cultivation; (c) in increases in the productivity of land; (d) in the use of modern technology and inputs; and (e) in different forms of state intervention (Ecevit 1999: 8).

For Köymen (1999:1), economic and political changes or economic crises determine the crossroads of the changes in agricultural structure of Turkey. While the politics of 1920's is liberal, the politics of 1930's was etatist and gave priority to industrialisation. During the Second World War, it is observed the direct challenge of the state to prices and market. 1950's symbolises a period that returns

to liberal economic politics and give priority to agriculture. It is given priority to industrialisation in 1960's and continued politics that support agriculture. From 1970' to 1990's it is returned back to more liberal and free trader politics.

Till 1950's, small peasant production has been dominant in the rural structure of Anatolia. The sown land formed the small part of the arable land. The household members sow them, however, the ownership of land belong to male head of the family. Households are formed of nuclear families that consist of five members. This main structure is not change with commoditisation. The main form of production is family production and there is small production. In Turkey, commoditisation is not pave the way to proletarianisation and landlessness, however, this fact is only valid for some regions of Black Sea and Eastern Anatolia (KSSGM 2000: 15).

In this period, till 1950's, Keyder (1999: 163) pointed acceleration in the development of Turkish agriculture. Firstly by the process of land clearing. Secondly, the increasement in the amount of cultivated land and good weather conditions. Thirdly, the internal terms of trade operated in favour of agriculture. Fourthly, the war in Korea provided a price movement in the advantage of raw materials. For Keyder, there are two factors that provided the agricultural development. One is the increasing agricultural credit. Second is the construction of material conditions for providing the integration of national economic

conditions. The complicated process of national economic integration has two important factors: First one is the higher participation of the people to labour market who live in rural areas. Second is the formation of the physical conditions of mobility like the investments in highways and tractors. National economic integration brings a commoditisation process beside; either labour or produced and consumed commodities are commoditised. The importance of the development after the II World War is that it makes concrete the transformation to petty commodity production (Keyder 1999). For Keyder, petty commodity production is the activity of an enterprise that depends on family labour in an economic context in which commodity relations are widespread. Division of labour depends on the sexuality and age in the family. This is nuclear family. Petty commodity production is differentiated from peasant production at the rights of ownership. Petty commodity producers are the owners of all means of production. Their dependence on patriarchal relations is the right of ownership. The acceptance of the right of ownership homogenises all the peasants in their quantity. All of them are categorised as petty commodity producers. They try to sell the products they produced by using their own means of production. For preventing proletarianisation they do not want to sell means of production. For the continuity of simple market model, the individuals have to be small producers. Individuals enter market in equal conditions and the source of the economic power is market. In this ideology, ownership of property is fundamental and unpropertied is a

defeat. It is difficult to proletarianise the petty commodity producers without a challenge out of economy. Individuals might proletarianise, however, household is not permitted to proletarianise (Keyder 1999). In his study, Ecevit (1999: 4) considers petty commodity production as a simple reproduction structure or as a form of production that includes commodity and non-commodity relations

After the placement of petty commodity production in the agricultural structure, it has been a fault to await a transformation to capitalism in agriculture. In Turkey, both the law of making farmers' landowner and the developments in 1950's closed the way of capitalist transformation in agriculture. The state chooses the option against the capitalist agriculture and applied politics to preserve the petty commodity production (Keyder 1989).

After 1950's, agriculture has been an important sector in the politics of economy. It is created sources both by policies that support agriculture and by internal terms of trade operated in favour of agriculture. With the 1980, a significant change is lived. Internal terms of trade have been operated against agriculture for 12 years. There occurred a reel decrease in agricultural investments. Although, all economic signs of agriculture shows a regression, the usage of consumer durable goods is more prevalent in compare to previous period (Aksit & Sen 1996: 813-814). The second variable to understand 1980's is the activities out of agriculture. Those activities might be in the village like grocery, butchery and being seasonal labourer

in the city (Aksit & Sen 1996: 815).

Today, the characteristics of rural population is differentiated into eight as; “capitalist farmer”, “wealthy farmer”, “middle peasant”, “small peasant”, “poor peasantry”, “agricultural worker” and “renter”. This classification is done according to relation between land ownership and rural population that is constructed in Marxist perspective. Accordingly, capitalist farmer owns the highest amount of land although agricultural worker owns a small amount of land that is not sufficient for his subsistence or not owns land (Boratav 1995: 9).

For Boratav (1995: 8), the empirical differentiation of the structure of agriculture on the basis of class is possible with the conditions below. Firstly, by the ownership of the means of production. Second one is whether the household employ wage labourer / or export wage labourer outside the household and whether the owner of the land rent / shareholder his field (Boratav 1995: 8).

There are four types of workers in rural areas; “permanent workers”, “seasonal workers”, “temporary workers”, “workers who work for hoeing and picking cotton”. The Ministry of Agriculture and Village Affairs with having social security employs the first group. Other groups are out of registration without social security.

In the rural areas of Turkey, family production and small producers are dominant.

Household members cultivate agricultural lands not by big landowners or big enterprises. The most important characteristic of household production is the employment of women as “unpaid labourers” (KSSGM 2000: 17). In this study, it is aimed to understand the situation of those unpaid household labourers in Alibeyli village. It will be summarised the situation of rural women in agriculture in Turkey.

1.5. The Situation of Rural Women in Turkish Agriculture

The studies about rural women in Turkey generally concern on the labour, which is an important sign of their subordinated situations in social, economic, ideological and political structures. In conceptualising the position of rural women in rural Turkey, Ecevit (1993:1) made a classification of studies firstly on rural Turkey, secondly, on women in Turkey and rural women. For him, the third category had a more direct focus on rural women. In this group, Arık;1943, Berkes;1942, Boran;1945, Erdentuğ; 1963-1964 and Şahinkaya; 1983 described the position and social status rural women at village or regional level. For him, in Turkey, rural women is analysed within a framework that seeks to investigate the relation between the conditions of reproduction of PCP (petty commodity production) enterprises and the patriarchal content of their organisation under the developing tendencies of capitalist relations. Their subordination is indicated by the commodity and subsistence structures, content, property relations and household-

family labour. The following studies below diverged from the monographs above (Ecevit, 1993: 1-2-3-4).

As a pioneer, Özbay (1982) argues the participation of female labour outside the home and its effects on the status of women. Participation of rural women in the labour force affects the pattern of landholding. In family labour farms, the active participation of women changes according to the mechanisation and type of crop cultivated. As a result of land insufficiency men seeks seasonal work and women control the agricultural production and are involved in craft-production such as carpet weaving. Landless peasant women work as seasonal wagedworkers such as cotton pickers. Women of large landowners do not participate in productive activities. Also, participation in rural labour was an indicator of the legal status of women. Education has no effect on the participating labour force. The more educated women worked less in the fields. Participation women in labour force outside the home have effects on the status of women. Status is defined as the social and economic situation of women that differentiates according to land ownership. Her emphasis is the effects of landholding patterns and male migration on production and women who is left behind (Özbay, 1982).

Similarly, Kandiyoti (1985) argues that the objective consequence of the sexual division of labour in the households is low wages. She mentions on women in rural production systems and conceptual issues by asking the questions why and how

women are subordinated as women, as rural women, as poor women and third world women. Moreover, she analysis the effects of development on rural women. In Turkey, the proportion of economically active women in agriculture is equal that of men, because all members of the household contribute to production in the same way. In addition, she argues that the contribution of women to agricultural production is restricted to very minor tasks in the case of capital-intensive, mechanised cereal farming. But the labour of women is critical among smallholders who cultivate cash crops such as cotton.

With a different perspective, Berik (1989) examines women's labour in carpet workshops in rural Turkey (Berik 1989). In the workplace, social relations of work and practices is based on kinship relations. She argues that women become active participants in the processes that subordinate them. High and increasing volume of carpet weaving in the village that she studied is based on the subordinate position of women. Moreover, the social organisation of the work, which is shaped by the form of capital, organises production and the existing state of gender inequalities.

More than mentioning on labour, Sirman (1988) studied the position of households in peasant family farms in a cotton production village in Turkey. She related her own study to the general woman's movement in Turkey. In the study of rural woman, modernisation is claimed as the dominant paradigm, which conceives rural women as the most backward and underdeveloped representatives of a nation.

She did her fieldwork in a cotton-producing village of Western Turkey. She investigated the power of women seen in women's networks within the neighbourhood and women who are in a similar position in life. She exemplifies this in the friendship and nurture links of young unmarried women with other young married women within their neighbourhood. With this network, households help one another and this network gives an identity to women in the village whether they are respected or not in the village. By this network, women gain the information about other households. This knowledge then affects the status of women in the village. This identity which is taken from outside the household affects the power relations in the household. For Sirman, a woman giving birth to sons gains status and in her old age she has power over others by bringing in brides (Sirman, 1989).

In relation to rural women in agriculture, while Ertürk (1990) criticised the women perspectives of the development programs, Morvaridi (1990) concerns on gender relations in Turkish agriculture.

Lastly, Ecevit (1994) examined conceptual relations about the social situation of rural women in agriculture. Those conceptual relations include patriarchy, labour of woman and the unpropertied of woman. Firstly, the role of woman in production, reproduction and commoditisation process. Secondly, the changing characteristics of woman labour in different areas of use. Thirdly, the social

immobility of women labours. Fourthly, the patriarchal control of woman labours. Fifthly, the ideology that woman labour is worthless and invisible. Sixthly, the oppression of the intensification and the extension of the labour time of the woman labour. Seven one is the unequal workload of woman. Eight one is the role of woman in the sexual division of labour. Nine is the poverty and lower socio-economic status of woman and children. Ten, the conflicting situation that women is forced to live in the cycle of household. Eleven, woman meet challenges in the process of political structure and politicisation. Last one is the role of women in ideological and cultural structure. In his study, Ecevit (1994) has an important contribution to feminist analysis of rural women by conceptualisation them in main social and economic structures.

As a contribution to studies on rural women in Turkey, it is conducted a village study in Alibeyli. In this village, mainly, it is produced cotton and tobacco beside the wheat that is produced for subsistence.

1.6. Organisation of the Study

Chapter two examines the conceptualisation of the social, economic, ideological, political actions of rural woman who lives social, economy, ideology and culture as a subject in itself. This conceptualisation is structured in dialectics that focused on women's experiences (Farganis 1986) and the mutable relationship between

subjective human activity and the objective material world means that on every level in dialectical thought subjectivity and objectivity are capable of losing themselves to one another (Ring 1991). It is examined the subject and object situations of rural woman who experiences social, economy, ideology and politics as a subject in itself. Moreover, it is claimed the methodology of study in this chapter. -

Chapter III intends to discuss the social, economic, ideological and political actions of rural women in Alibeyli. It is aimed to see how rural women are capable of losing themselves as subjects and objects in the actions below in dialectics. The social actions of rural women involve their marriage, the division of labour between women in the household, their actions in migration, and factors concerning their fertility. The economic actions of rural women involve the economic mobility of rural women in the village. Their ideas of rural women about income-generating and the evaluation of their own situation as unpaid household labourers in Alibeyli as well as how they define the differences between working as wage labourers and unpaid household labourers. The ideological actions of rural women involve their ideas about the sexual division of labour in the household. The place of rural women in decision-making processes in Alibeyli, how they evaluate their ownership and control over their own commodities, how the life of rural women is constructed in marriage, and their control over education. The political actions of women are formed with their attitudes in elections. What

affects them most importantly stems from the power relations and patriarchal relations in the household.

Chapter IV discusses the attitudes of rural women to wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land in Alibeyli. Those attitudes are derived from their actions. Women prefer to work as unpaid household labourers for not hiring wage labourers. However, most of the fieldwork depends on women and the use of seasonal wage labour is restricted to picking cotton. Tobacco is harvested and threaded by using the reciprocal labour exchange method. Those are strictly related to the sexual division of labour in the village. It is organised by women who are blindly concerned not to destroy social and ideological relations in the village. According to FAO (1985: 1-10) reports on rural women, the agricultural tasks are partly or wholly gender specific. In a given culture they are defined as appropriate to one or the other sex. For example, in some cases work that has traditionally been done by women is taken over by men once it has been mechanised. On the one hand, rural women are responsible for the process of food and consumption in Alibeyli. On the other hand, they have less opportunity in accessing landownership because of the prohibition forced by their husbands.

In the conclusion, it will be re-examined this study's findings and proposed a general statement on the position of women in Alibeyli.

As a result, women who are marginalised in the feminist movement and theory have to be included by feminist studies, women such as rural women.



CHAPTER 2

FEMINIST THEORY AND RURAL WOMEN

2.1. Feminist Theoretical Approach to Rural Women

Currently, the definitions of the differences between privileged and disprivileged have become transformed. Despite the fact that rural women have experienced disprivileged positions, they have knowledge about their social, ideological, political and cultural positions in society. They are aware of class, gender and ethnic differentiation. This awareness brings variations in the attitudes of rural women in the village. These attitudes are the means that form the theoretical perspective of this study.

A re-evaluation has to be made of the political, ontological and epistemological commitments of patriarchal discourses by feminist perspectives (Gross 1987). Gross argues that the whole social, political, scientific and metaphysical underpinning of patriarchal theoretical systems needs to be shaken up. The attempts of feminist scholars to transform patriarchal theories necessitate an organised or unorganised struggle for women in society. Irigaray (1985) determines a form of the struggle herself:

If feminist theory lacks the means to directly confront a sophisticated patriarchal theoretical regime in creating alternatives, feminists have tool to resort to form of intellectual guerrilla warfare, striking out at the points of patriarchy's greatest weaknesses, its blindspots (Irigaray 1985:194).

The theoretical struggle that feminism requires must be in the direction of the

struggle towards women's autonomy. It is the result of a transformation from the politics of equality to the politics of autonomy that is presumed in feminism. For Gross (1987: 191), autonomy implies the right of a person to see him/herself in terms of what he/she chooses, which may or may not imply an integration or alliance with other groups and individuals. In contrast, equality implies a measurement according to a given standard. This standard takes the role of a normal model in unquestionable ways. Attempts for the right to reject such standards and create new ones imply a struggle for autonomy.

In this study, autonomy of women means their right to self-determination socially, economically, politically, and ideologically. A change from the struggle away from inequality to the struggle for autonomy is thus anticipated.

The struggle for autonomy necessitates a movement from the subject, which experience society, economy, history, ideology and culture in itself. The rural woman as a subject awaits a movement from society, economy, history, ideology and culture in a subject position in feminist theory. The subject position of rural women involves their actions notwithstanding patriarchal structures, which are wage labour, unpaid household labour, the sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land. They perform actions in those structures, which are independent from the patriarchal oscillation of men in relations that are constructed, by their actions. Wage labour is assumed as the domain of economic actions of rural women like income-generating activities both inside and outside of the household. In Alibeyli, women are against the wage labourers who come from other households and villages so as to prevent the household from incurring expenses. To counter the women thus work hard

as unpaid family labour. It includes both economic and ideological actions of rural women notwithstanding patriarchy. As a result of their unpaid position, their purchasing power is not effective, as they are not in a position to save any money whatsoever. Its ideological character enables their husbands to own the cash since women have no dealings with banks or co-operatives, which is important for owning the income of the products. The sexual division of labour is very much the domain of the social actions of the rural women, though it is differentiated according to the labour process in the household. In Alibeyli, women are prevented from to do ploughing, fertilising and disinfecting and from going to the bank, merchant or co-operative as well as getting money or buying something. Subsistence economy is an important part of the reproduction process and includes the ideological activities of women. In the context of economic and ideological relations, land is regarded by women like any other people's property though it belongs to their husbands. The subject positions of women are visible only in their actions in those structures above.

2.1.1. Rural Women as a Subject

In the search of subject positions, the important question is how rural women as a subject might be discussed in the context of production and reproduction processes in feminist social theory. It is important to review the different construction of women as a subject by different feminist theorists in contrast to their object positions in patriarchal discourses, which is summarised perfectly

by Hekman (1992).

Hekman clarifies that:

Throughout the history of western thought men have been defined as subjects, women as objects. Like the rational/irrational dualism, the dichotomy between subject and object is central to Enlightenment epistemology which defines knowledge in terms of absolute truths that are acquired by individual autonomous subjects. The two dualism are related not only because the privileged element is associated with the male, the disprivileged with the female. They are also linked because the definition of rationality posited by the Enlightenment is dependent on the acquisition of knowledge by an abstract subject of a distinct and separate object (Hekman 1992: 73).

For Hekman (1992:73), the dualism of subject/object is also central for contemporary epistemology, that is men being identified as subjects and women being identified as objects. This has great significance for contemporary feminist thought. The first analysis of subject/object dualism as a problem for feminist theory is done by Simon de Beauvoir (1992: 73-74) in *The Second Sex*(1972). The roots of this analysis liesroots of this analysis lie at the debate about women and subjectivity. Hekman (1992: 78) argues the critiques of the subject/object dualism in two categories: feminists in the first category attempted to turn women into subjects along with men by following de Beauvoir. These feminists have radical critiques of Enlightenment epistemology and view humanism as sexist. They attempted to reform this epistemology. Hekman (1980: 14) gives Eichler's remark as an example that she sees feminism as a form of humanism, but a sexist humanism is no humanism at all.

According to Hekman:

Eichler, like de Beauvoir, has no quarrel with the epistemology of humanism as embodying ideals that both men and women should strive to achieve. Although she believes that humanism must be purged of its sexism, she maintains that the ideals of humanism can nevertheless be preserved. Eichler's position is not unique. Following the discovery of the sexist basis of humanism the first inclination of feminists has been to attempt to redefine humanism. Rather than abandoning tradition these feminists attempt to create a non-sexist humanism in the same way that de Beauvoir tried to create a non-sexist essentialism (Hekman 1992: 78).

For Hekman, de Beauvoir moves from the analysis of women as object to the assertion that women must be admitted into the realm of the subject. De Beauvoir wants women, along with men, to be subjects and thereby to partake of the transcendence that has been the province only of men. The feminists in this first category follow de Beauvoir's lead by calling for the "new order of things". This invocation is not new when it comes to being a subject in the Cartesian sense of the word. The first of them is Barbara Sichtermann who argues that women must have confidence in themselves as subjects, particularly in the realm of sexual relations. In addition, they must be able to see men as desirable objects (Hekman 1992: 78-79). The second is Monica Wittig and argues:

ontologically, anyone who speaks must speak as a full subject. Gender works to annul this ontological fact. It attempts to strip women of "the most precious thing for a human being – subjectivity". Gender must be destroyed in order to allow women full subjectivity (Hekman 1992: 79).

Feminists in the second category agree that:

beginning with the ascendancy of the Cartesian subject women have been systematically excluded from the realm of subjectivity; this exclusion cannot be remedied by converting women into Cartesian subjects, but, rather, this definition of the subject must be rejected (Hekman 1992: 79).

They attempt to reconceptualise the Cartesian subject radically. Sonia Krusks (1988) attempts to articulate a subject that occupies a middle ground between the constituting Cartesian subject and the constituted post-modern subject. She is followed by a group of American feminists like Braidotti (1987) and Flax (1987) in relation to issues of the modernist/postmodernist dispute. They attempt to reconstitute the subject along anti-Enlightenment lines. For Hekman (1992: 80), they want to carve out a space between the Cartesian subject and the postmodernist 'death of man' (Hekman 1992: 80). For example, de Lauretis (1984) argues that each individual retains the capacity to constitute a particular subjective construction from the various ideological formations to which she is subject (de Lauretis 1992: 80). By following de Lauretis, Alcoff (1988) attacks the post-modern approach to the subject as nominalistic and claims that it presents woman as over-determined, as a purely social construct. She focuses on the concept of agency. Like de Lauretis, her aim is to retain elements of the Cartesian subject, agency and constitution, while acknowledging the determining role of social forces. In addition, French feminists attempt to reconceptualise the subject much in a more radical way than American feminists. Firstly, Luce Irigaray in the *'Speculum of the Other Women'*, claims that any epistemology that is rooted in the subject is inherently phallographic. She analyses women's status as a passive object, which implies that they have

no presence in history. She looks for the reason why women could not be subjects or active and autonomous agents for making history. She moves beyond de Beauvoir's analysis; firstly she asserts that all theories of subjectivity that women are denied all are phallographic (quasi-subjectivity). Secondly, she argues that the subject/object dualism must be rejected. With this argument she challenges de Beauvoir's position (Hekman 1992: 82-83). Irigaray (1985) tries to define a feminine writing which disrupts the phallographic order by rejecting its unitary character. She forgets that women have been active and autonomous agents of history. They have been theorised and called passive.

Rural women can be regarded as good examples for this theorisation. Although they are always theorised as disprivileged, their real position is privileged in any society if their subject positions are found and mentioned both empirically and theoretically. The "subject life" of women in patriarchal theoretical structures and the "in itself life" of rural women in society, economy, history, ideology and culture, cause the emergence of disprivileged positions for rural women in social, economic, political and ideological action contexts. In order to discuss the feminine talk of rural women in this study, the discussion of Helene Cixous (1986:166) can be taken into account, which deals with the creation of a feminine writing that is concerned with the question of the subject. She defines 'The Newly Born Woman' as the "birth of the feminine subject" (Cixous and Clement 1986: 166). Feminist researchers aim to enable rural women to talk about their own actions in their subject positions. The third

French feminist to explore the constitution of a non-Cartesian subject is Julia Kristeva. Her attempt is to deconstruct and decenter the Cartesian subject, by constructing an anti-Cartesian subject that transforms phallogocentric discourse from within (Hekman 1992: 83). For her, the Cartesian subject is a master who discovers truth through abstract rationality. She attacks the conception of subject as a master, for this conception is a product of a particular culture and a particular linguistic constellation. For her, subjects are products of discourse and they do not exist in a pre-given sense. In addition, they are not producers, but produced (Kristeva 1980:165). There exists the possibility for rural women to transform the patriarchal structures with their actions and to highlight the privileged positions of themselves independent of men.

As Frye has argued:

What we want to know is to speak of and to and from the circumstances, experiences and perception of those who are historically, materially, culturally constructed by or through the concept of woman. But the differences among women across cultures, locales and generations make it clear that although all female humans may live lives shaped by concepts of Woman, they are not all shaped by the same concept of Woman (Frye 1996: 36).

In order to specify “the rural women as a subject”, it is necessary to look at how women perceive their situations at social, economic, historical and cultural levels. It is important to see the differences between how they perceive and how they are perceived. It is now necessary to recreate their own perceptions about themselves. Related to this claim, Frye goes on to argue that:

Furthermore, woman is not the only concept or social category any of us live under. Each of us is a woman of some class, some colour, some occupation, some ethnic or religious group, and one is or is not someone's sister, wife, mother, daughter, aunt, teacher, student, boss or employee. One is, or is not, alcoholic, a survivor of cancer, a survivor of Holocaust. One is, or is not able-bodied. One is fat or thin. One is lesbian or heterosexual or bisexual or off-scale. A woman of colour moves in the ("weatern") world as both "a woman" and "of colour". A white woman also moves both as woman and as white, whether or not her experience forces upon her a clear consciousness of latter. Lesbians must reject the question: are you more fundamentally women, or lesbians? And we insist that heterosexual women recognise that everywhere they move as women they also move as heterosexual. No one encounters the world simply as a woman. Nobody observes and theorises simply as a woman. If there are in any locale perspective and meaning which can properly be called women's, there is nonetheless no such thing as a or the woman's story of what is going on (Frye 1996: 36-37).

For the realisation of the analysis of rural women, Marxist theory and dialectics is advantageous for conceiving the subject as a concept. Ellis and Coward (1977: 61) argue that Marxism conceives at once a subject who is produced by society, and a subject who acts to support and change this society:

We shall see several attempts to show how this human subject is constituted in ideology and by history, and at the same time acts to make history and change society, without having a full and self-sufficient knowledge of or control over the actions it undertakes. Marxism cannot conceive of a subject who remains outside the structure, manipulating it or acting as a mere support; if it did so, it would cease to be a revolutionary philosophy (Coward and Ellis 1977: 61)

As a first argument, the social process is determined by the production of the material conditions of human life. Material production and determinate practices constitute social formations. The existence and transformation of each

mode of production implies definite economic, political and ideological practices (Coward and Ellis: 63). The term “practice” designates a particular form of productive activity by which the social formation is produced and transformed.

Historical materialism, the science of history as the objective process of the class struggle, is not simply a mode of understanding and explaining the world, but a science whose philosophy posits a new subject. Only this conception of the subject can describe the true subject of materialism, stressing process rather than identity, a struggle rather than structure, seeing it as a part of a heterogeneous (contradictory) totality rather than logical development (Coward and Ellis 1977: 83).

As a result, the subject remains in the process, but remains as the problem of the contradictory movement between subjective and objective. The unilateral nature of the concepts of subject and object is no longer tenable. To separate them is a metaphysical operation. Suppressing either one or the other can only ever be either absolute idealism or its inverse, mechanical materialism (Coward and Ellis 1977:89).

As a result of the contradictory movement between subject and object, the capability of subjectivity and objectivity can be presumed to be “losing” themselves to one another. This is an important characteristic of the dialectic method, as it theorises women as subjects who change the conditions under which they live.

2.2. What the Dialectic Method Offers for Rural Woman as a Subject

An attempt is made to understand the social, economic, ideological and

political actions of rural women to infer their subject positions in accordance with the property of dialectic materialism in which subject and object are capable of losing themselves to each other. There has been an increasing debate on the issue of dialectics by dialectic and Marxist feminists.

The dialectic feminist, Sandra Farganis (1986) attempts to discuss dialectics by discussing the different world perceptions of men and women. The concreteness of women's experiences affects how they understand the world; how their experiences are socially produced, and how their experiences of subordination are explicable in terms of class, race and gender. For her, to be dialectical is to be critical. That means to see the given as a subject to change. For her, feminism is akin to Marxism, being both a mode of understanding and a call to action.

Nevertheless there occurs an action of rural women that is not valued. It is possible to make the actions of rural women valuable by interferring their own evaluations about sexual division of labour, wage labour, unpaid family labour, subsistence economy and land.

For the other dialectic feminist, Ring (1991), the promise of dialectics is the reintegration of history with consciousness. The first aspect of the dialectical method is its radical subjectivism. The second is the dialectician's recognition of history as an objective dimension that makes a one-sided idealism impossible. In dialectical thought, an objective world exists where events do occur. Even though knowledge depends upon acknowledged human

subjectivity as an agent of interpretation, this objective moment involves a role for subjectivity without reducing truth to subjectivism. Dialectics is a methodology for a theory of political and historical change that retains sufficiently traditional aspects of truth to permit the inclusion of feminist theory in the history of Western political thought. A feminist should care how traditional theory regards feminist theory (Ring 1991). She forms an objectivity that involves subjectivity by not ignoring it totally.

Rural society may be taken as an objective world, but it is necessary to find objective moments in order to find a role for subjectivity. I argue that the acknowledged human subjectivity as an agent of interpretation has to be focused on in order to reach the realm of rural women. This subjectivity lies in the actions and attitudes of rural women in their own action contexts.

More than discussing the subject-object relation, in her dialectic feminism, Jaggar (1991) argues that there are the gaps in Marxism, which takes economic history as the sole determinant of consciousness. The only significant conflict in the modern world is between the capitalist and proletariat classes. In Marxist theory, gender is a secondary element because it abolishes the gender distinctions in the market and points towards an androgynous future. The categories of Marxism are gender-blind and it values public life. For her, Marxists emphasise material history rather than the perspective of women. Jaggar's comparative theoretical analysis centred on the concept of human nature. Her socialist feminism describes the concept of human nature as

inseparable from the socialist conception of political economy. She claims that "only socialist feminism makes a serious attempt to explain how human beings continuously transform themselves into men and women" (Jaggar 1991). The last claim of Jaggar is true, but rather than emphasising the perspective of women, it should focus more on the perspective that enabled women to announce the patriarchal perspective.

In addition to dialectic feminists¹, there are Marxist feminists who have debated the conceptualisation of the question of gender and women in Marxism. These are Mary O'Brien (1982), Linda Nicholson (1987) and Catherine Mckinnon (1982).

For Mary O'Brien (1982), there is an absence of a solid theoretical perspective. For her, Marx's meta-theory cannot make sense of the oppression of women, which clearly transcends class, even though the theory does not appear to make sense within the historical boundaries within which Marx worked. For her, activity that defines women is speculative and ideological while activity that defines the living conditions of women has been political and legal. Likewise, the definition of nature and its conceptualisation are central to any understanding of male-stream thought. The nature of woman differs from the nature of man. Man has a dual nature and the second nature is the one he makes himself, the offspring of his fraternal historical praxis. There is a

¹ According to Ring (1991), in the dialectical method, materiality and consciousness are interrelated and inseparable by virtue of their differences. Nature involves the convergence of material experience and human consciousness. In Marxian dialectics both history and nature exist and are interrelated. However, Jaggar dismisses the conflict between history and nature as

separation between public and private life. The private realm is the realm of man's animality where women's lives are governed by necessity. The public reality is the realm in which man's first nature is transcended by his second. In the public realm, his humanity is created in freedom.

This study is in the centre of the private realm; from the beginning to end all actors are from the private realm. It has to be understood how subjects who are in the private realm see the public realm. This enables rural women to possess the knowledge of their attitudes in relation to their action contexts of wage labour, unpaid household labour, the sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land.

According to Nicholson (1982), Marx and production views on human life and social organisation as historical appear incompatible with Marxism as a cross-cultural theory. By eliminating cross-cultural theory and following the historical analysis, the progressive domination of state and the market over kinship as a historical process can be described. This enables Marxism to correct failures; one of its failures lies in the explanation given of gender and its history of relations. Nicholson (1982) focuses on kinship in structuring earlier societies and its interaction with other institutions such as the state and the market. This could thus provide a means by which an analysis of gender could be carried out.

Lastly, Mckinnon (1982) compares feminism and Marxism by collating them

a contradiction, while Marx sees conflict as a prerequisite to unity.

with the method of consciousness-raising. For her, feminism does not have an appropriate existing method. Consciousness-raising results in knowledge not only of different things such as politics, but also knowledge of them in a different way. Male power is real and the only reality that raises consciousness is a confrontation against male power. While the Marxist method represents dialectical materialism, the feminist method is consciousness-raising, which is the collective critical constitution of the meaning of women's social experience. The pursuit of consciousness becomes a form of political practice.

What is radical about dialectical epistemology and what does it presuppose for feminists? According to Ring (1991), the radical activity of dialectical epistemology is its incorporation of both idealism and materialism that takes the form of an interplay between subjectivity and objectivity.

The subject, therefore remains in the process, but remains as the problem of the contradictory movement between the subjective and objective. The unilaterality of the concepts subject and object is no longer tenable. To separate them is a metaphysical operation: to suppress either one or the other can only ever be either absolute idealism or its inverse, mechanical materialism (Coward & Ellis 1977: 89).

For her, feminists focused on Marx's materialism as the foundation of his radical potential. In Marx, the activities of everyday people are placed at the very foundation of history by Marx's materialism.

In dialectical thought, the relationship between subjective human activity and the objective material world is mutable. On every level in dialectical thought subjectivity and objectivity are capable of "losing" themselves to one another.

According to Ring (1991), there are two levels upon which Marx's argument is promising for feminist theory. The first level is the relationship between the natural world and the human body. The second level is defining nature in a dialectical sense as the interpretation of body and world, and as the understanding that nature is both a beginning and a historical product. For her, Marx eliminates the usual dichotomy between nature, history and culture.

For Ring (1991), Marx's concept of nature signified the convergence of the material and ideal. There are two dimensions to the Marxian concept of nature: physical and historical. The physical involves the convergence of the beginnings of history with historical destination. Natural human existence for Marx involves the recognition that people need one another. In Marx, the relationship between men and women is central because the necessity for both sexes to reproduce the species is an objective concrete manifestation of people's need for one another. For Ring, material need begets social organisation, which in turn reproduces what is regarded as natural. Marx was not concerned with women's reproductive role; he is concerned only with the production and reproduction of private property. She proposes conditions for the promise of dialectical theory: "dialectical theory offers promises for feminist theory only if feminist theory utilises its strength, its force as a radical epistemology" (Ring 1991: 30).

The aim of this thesis is to provide an insight into how the concrete experiences of women can be explained by their social, economic, ideological and political

actions in addition to class, ethnicity and gender.

Thus, the effect of the material world on human attitudes could not challenge the subjective attitudes of humans. The effect of the social, ideological and political world beside the material world has to be shown. Therefore, the subjective individualistic attitudes of humans do not serve objectivity. This chapter does not discuss the individualistic break made by women from patriarchal processes or their individualistic transformation resulting from their individualistic actions. Instead, it discusses them as socially, economically, politically and ideologically active individuals who serve their society. An objective process does not mean that both the theoretical and concrete attitude of individuals/subjects will be objective. As a result, the patriarchal capitalist system and processes related to it did not historically behave objectively to women or workers and other social classes in society.

The method, by which women refuse to continue their actions in patriarchal processes as “active subjects” of theoretical structures and “active individuals” of concrete processes, is a dialectic method. The following are fundamental to the field of this research: (i) the changing actions and practices of women and men; (ii) how women’s political life, wage labour and domestic labour change in the production and reproduction processes seen at the village level. Rural women form an integral part of family labour. In this study, the actions and practices of rural women are conceptualised as ideological, political, economic and social.

This research draws on fieldwork carried out in a village and evaluates the evidence relating to how rural women conceive and comprehend their situation. In this study, women are taken as individuals in these action areas. Moreover, both as an active subject and active individual, woman, with a political identity, refuses to accept the necessary object situation which patriarchal structures and systems insist on. The reason for how she refuses to accept this deserves attention. With the aid of these actions, women do not behave as an object, but as a subject in processes in which women are active agents taking part in historical changes. Pregnancy is a power sphere of women in which they behave subjectively. This means that they might give birth, abort and induce a miscarriage even although their husbands could challenge them. Women are on the way to changing the relationships that determine them. Before changing them, however, they have to recognise and define them. In the dialectical method of this study, rural women recognise and define their actions and practices. An attempt is made to use the feminist methods to analyse them.

In the radical subjectivity of the dialectical method, women want to be responsible for their relations, which they determine. Women have traditionally been regarded as passive agents of the production process. There are, however, cases where women play active roles in this process. Their passivity would be explicit in the categories of traditional social science. From the perspective of the dialectic method, it can be seen that the oppression and subordination experiences of women would be explicable from their own actions and experiences which originated as a result of their actions in addition to gender,

class and ethnicity.

Historically, it is thus necessary to have a methodological standpoint, which explains better how women refuse to continue their historical and continuous actions in patriarchal processes as the “active subjects” of theoretical structures and as the “active individuals” of concrete processes. Being an active individual means to have a subject position, both in theory and practice. This involves insisting on being an unpaid labourer as an active individual versus not being theorised as active subjects in theoretical structures. In this context, being an active subject means being a wage labourer like that in traditional patriarchal theory. This is firmly related to the relation between object and subject in the dialectic method. They are capable of losing themselves to one another. Is the epistemological validity or political function of these feminist perspective’s important, thus problematising what has been said above? If its political function is important, how then is it problematised? From the point of view of this study, this problematisation will benefit the view of that dialectic which sees the subject as the first actor of change. Do these active subjects and active individuals experience such abandonment in postmodernism, in dialectic feminism? While the possibility of an abandonment in traditional theory is not expected, it might be possible both in postmodernism and dialectic feminism. In this study, priority is given to the latter.

In order to conceptualise this abandonment, theories about the subject and subjectivity are examined above. In order not to fall into the delinquency of

liberalism, we will look at anti-humanist perspectives. These take psychoanalytic and ideological/materialist forms. The main subject of anti-humanist views is the social determination of the individual. These forms are interested in the roles that the unconscious plays in gender and sexual discrimination. In this study, abandonment means that rural women abandon some object situations to loose themselves to subject situations. This means that the displacement of rural women as a subject from being object to subject means both to abandon an object situation like an unpaid household labourer and begin to perform certain social, economic, ideological and political actions. The positions of Zehra and Ayse² are suitable in that, as heads of their households, they cannot avoid going to bank and dealing with tradesmen. Even though a certain amount of difficulty is involved when discussing women in dialectic feminism, an attempt is nevertheless made to debate the issue of rural woman as a subject.

2.2.1. Rural Woman as an Active Subject in Dialectic Feminism

Examining the rural woman as an active subject means investigating the possible subject situations for them. It is necessary to discuss the possibility of the transformation of woman from the object to the subject position in feminist theory. In traditional social theory, man is the subject, while woman is the object. However, feminist theorists argued that woman as a subject should be widely debated. Both the theoretical framework and fieldwork of this study

² Ayse and Zehra are head of their households in Alibeyli. While Zehra is a widow, Ayse's

will reveal how the rural woman will be able to take the subject position.

Dialectic feminist theory constructs “active” subjects not only for the continuity of continuity, but also in order to challenge this continuity by means of active individuals within society, economy, history, ideology and culture.

Thus, the critical thing here is the progress of woman in becoming an “active subject” and “active individual”. Moreover, the theoretical importance of this entails a dialectic feminist theory and methodology. This leads to the question: What does dialectics offer feminists? Marx did not explain this in his theory. However feminists have attempted to understand dialectics for feminism. In addition to economic, political and ideological practices Marx defined in Capital (Vol.3: 166,188,201,249), social practices which are included.

In order to conceptualise the rural women in the dialectic method, this study does not use psychoanalytic but rather ideological/materialist forms, by taking into account Althusser’s theory of ideology for constructing rural women as a subject in the production, reproduction and patriarchy. For Coward and Ellis (1977: 67), Althusser emphasised the term of subject within a theory of ideology. Although Althusser’s reconceptualisation of ideology has been fruitful for Marxist feminist theory, it has effectively challenged the mechanistic concept used by earlier Marxists and asserted the importance of gender in the construction of individual subjects (Barrett 1993: 30). A socialist feminist standpoint should involve subjectivity, social practices and social

husband is mentally ill.

structures. Barrett (1993: 37) studies the importance which feminists give to ideology while challenging Marxism. For her, ideology is understood as “the relatively autonomous member” in women’s oppression. This creates discussion concerning the construction of male and female subjects.

What is produced in ideology is the very basis of the subject’s activity, the conditions of its positions as subjects, and the coherency of that subject in the face of contradictions which make up society. Ideology produces the subject as the place where a specific meaning is realised in signification (Coward & Ellis 1977: 68)

The individual can occupy a plurality of sometimes conflicting subject positions, given in a plurality of representations. Each practice of representation, however, presupposes a perpetual retotalisation in a process of movement. It is this coherent subjectivity which is specifically emphasised in bourgeois ideology. The social relations of capitalism are only possible with this notion of the subject as ‘free’ and consistent (Coward & Ellis 1977: 68). For them, it is only psychoanalysis that has gone any way to analysing the formation of the subject which receives its specific subjectivity in the work of ideology (Coward & Ellis 1977: 70).

Althusser produced some of the most advanced formulations about the real historical role of ideology in two essays. The first is ‘Marxism and Humanism’, in ‘For Marx’ (1965: 231-6), and the second is ‘Ideological State Apparatuses’, in *Lenin and Philosophy* (1973: 121-73). He limits his account by using the category ‘subject’ to describe the possible ideological positions for the individual constructed in social relations. Ideology consists of a practice of

representation, and a subject constructed for that representation - this being a practice with a specific role and effectivity in the social formation, a practice that acts through and is invested in certain material conditions (Coward & Ellis 1977: 71-72).

Ideology is the practice in which individuals are produced and produce their orientation to social structures so that they can act within those structures in various ways. Individuals are set in positions as subjects so that they can act, which is the basis for their activity, and this development of Marxist theory is taken up by Althusser's work. Ideology is more than ideas; it is a material force in that it constructs subjects in specific relations to the social relations. The materiality of this force is affirmed by its investment in concrete institutions, because certain institutions appear to function to reproduce ideology, and therefore individuals as subjects for ideology. Althusser suggests that the materiality of ideology is the fact of concrete institutions and he refers to them as 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (Coward & Ellis 1977:73).

Ideological practice is then doubly material: it works to fix the subject in certain positions in relation to certain fixities of discourse, and it is concretised in certain apparatuses (Coward & Ellis 1977: 73).

Marxism cannot abolish ideology because any social system needs to represent itself through subjects in certain positions, thinking along certain lines. Ideology functions, then, by putting the individual at the centre of the structure, making the subject the place where ideological meanings are realised (Coward

& Ellis 1977: 74-75).

The product of the work of ideology at the level of the individual is precisely 'the continuity of ego'. It puts in place the contradictory subject, putting it in positions of coherence and responsibility for his own actions so that it is able to act. This acting is the 'initiation' of acts: the subject appears to be the origin of its own activity, responsible for it and for its consequences (Coward & Ellis 1977: 75). In this study, the aim is to put rural women in the position in which they are able to act.

M. Barrett (1993: 27) proposes three alternatives for a Marxist-feminist study of women:

- 1) A Marxist-feminist study for the ideological construction of subjects that depends on gender.
- 2) Rethinking the psychoanalytical theory according to a Marxist-feminist perspective.
- 3) Rethinking the discourse analysis according to a Marxist-feminist perspective.

As a result of the discussions above, this study is intended to be a dialectic-feminist study not only for revealing the ideological actions but also the social, economic, political actions of rural women who experience society, economy, history and culture as subjects in themselves. Importance is given to the real life experiences of women in Alibeyli, that is the village in which field study of

this thesis is conducted.

2.2.2. How Does the Rural Woman Experience Society, Economy, Culture and History as a “Subject in Itself”?

With the question above an attempt is made to reveal the subject positions of women in society. Those subject positions are their experiences and way of thinking about structures, which are society, economy, culture and history, while defining their own actions.

The term experience refers to the life of woman. Women occupy in their lives subject positions notwithstanding object positions. Their experiences of subject positions in society, economy, culture and history have been chosen. These four structures have relations to each other. While their experiences in society are directly related to their social actions, their economic actions to the economy, and their ideological and political actions to culture, these experiences are embraced by history. All of the rules that order the life in the village have a historical base and most of the women have stories like the woman whose mother committed suicide herself. The life experiences of a mother directly affected the life of her children and relations with the other members of the family.

Rural women perceive their social environment according to patriarchal rules, which are implemented by men in the village. Women lack power in the decision-making process. Social and economic conditions are constructed in

such a way that patriarchal rules direct their attitudes in the village. In Alibeyli³ in Bergama, women have to wear the "gorak", which is a type of "çarsaf" or veil which women have had to wear since Ottoman times. Women hesitate to take their "gorak" off. It is a black and shapeless garment that not only covers woman's head but also symbolises the subordination of women to men. At home and in the garden it does not have to be worn, but in the public sphere of the village women are expected to wear the "gorak". While they are working in the fields women may take off their "gorak". A further constraint on women concerning their society is that they are not expected to walk through the main square of the village. Instead they are required to use other ancillary paths to prevent men from seeing them.

This means that there are two kinds of social regulations that are defined for the women in the village: the first one provides rules on how to behave, what to wear and how to talk in the household, while second one is related to the women's own social life and activities. In contrast to the first one, women are more comfortable in the second, because unpaid household labour finds its place in this society by operating according to a different logic, which is determined by women themselves. In this society they organise the production and reproduction processes at home and in the field. The important place of women in tobacco production provides subject positions for them in the spheres of society, economy, culture and history where women execute their subject positions in contrast to the object positions patriarchy insists they

³ Alibeyli is a village in the province of Izmir where that the fieldwork of this study is

adhere to in cotton production. It is impossible to produce tobacco without women in the village. The societal experiences of women are mostly affected by their economic experiences.

Economic practice is the production and reproduction of the material means of subsistence, and of 'the specific historical and economic production relations'. This practice is constituted by the form of the productive forces, and the form of the relations of production (Coward and Ellis 1977: 63-63). In the economy of a village, the economic experience of women is based on their relations to the reproduction process beside the forms of productive forces and relations of production. The relationship of the economy to rural women is strictly correlated to the attitudes of rural women to wages. It seems that the most important factor in the village economy in relation to women, is wages. This is because rural women have a very limited access to wages, even though they have an important role in both the production and reproduction processes. It is important to look at the extent to which rural women refrain themselves from the control of wage labour. Since it is usually men who are in a position to own wage labour, rural women on the other hand tend to regard wages as their own if it is only generated from waged work done in other people's fields. In other words, the income that is generated from their own land is not considered as their own wage. That is why rural women work as unpaid family labourers for the household. It can also be attributed to the fact that wage income outside the household is not very prevalent in the village. The lack of income opportunities

conducted.

outside the household paves the way for a male domination over wage income generated from their own fields. In this social and economic culture, an unseen and unknown wage is earned by unpaid household labour and transmitted to the male head of the household. Womanhood is a culture in itself. In village conditions, rural women are able to create their own culture through unpaid family labour in terms of the reproduction and production processes.

In all processes of tobacco production, for instance, the main subject position they reveal is that of being unpaid household labourers. In addition to being unpaid household labourers, Ayse and Zehra fulfil more subject positions like owning the tobacco permit in contrast to other women in the village. During the harvesting time, they go to Bergama to get their income from the tobacco. While all men usually go drinking in a pub, they, however, return back to village. They have an important place as female heads of their households in the history of women of Alibeyli.

The aim of studies of the history of women is to write their past life experiences and roles in history. Primarily, women are able to be visible and develop their own history. Oral history is an important method for collecting knowledge about people (Çakir 1996: 225-226). The issue of women's knowledge of history must now be addressed. In the patriarchal history of the village, life experiences of rural women, not only in the production and reproduction process but also in their personal life histories, are able to emerge. This means that women experience their own history, both parallel to and

different from the patriarchal history. An example of this is the life history of Saduman's mother below. Land ownership has traditionally been submitted to men historically, rural women lacking the power to resist this. They find it very difficult to resist the existing status quo of land ownership. For example, the death of a husband is an important historical process in their life where they are able to inherit and own everything from husbands. In Alibeyli, I interviewed an old woman whose name is Ayse. The interview about the history of village contains mainstream questions, but her answers are related to her own life experiences. When she was asked for the date when artificial fertilisers were introduced in the village, she stated that artificial fertilisers had begun to be used by peasants when her daughter was 30 years old. She stated that the number of tractor owners in Alibeyli increased significantly after her husband's death. Mostly, women are illiterate and have no idea about their birth date in addition to their that of their children.

Women know that they will become mothers-in-law and pass through the same life stages that their mothers and mothers-in-law passed through before. This is strictly related to the life histories of women in the village that began with their marriage. All actions of women have a history and they behave according to those historically constructed and given actions. Their trousseaux are important in their life, because they are prepared by their mothers and grandmothers.

They are the most important signs of how the life of a woman is shaped through marriage. Women inherit the life experiences of other women. This is a historical and cultural heritage that finds no corresponding meaning in the life

of men. That is why a woman experiences history and culture as a subject in itself. Men have no chance of experiencing them like the life experiences of Şaduman:

From the first years of their marriage, my father had beat my mother. Although he didn't want to live with her, he had three children. When I was 11 years old, he sent away my mother. She had nowhere to go and took refuge with an old woman who lived alone. After she went he began to beat me and married again. After two years, the old women whom my mother was living with had to migrate to the city because of economic problems. My mother stayed alone. Her family didn't help her. She had no income, no field and a loaf of bread to eat. I and my brothers did nothing because my father prevented us from helping and seeing her. We were only powerless as children. She had no solution other than to get end her life completely. In the end, she committed suicide by hanging herself. Now, my husband beats me continuously. I live the fate of my mother.

This is the history of a woman who was oppressed by a man without any given reason. Şaduman has ended up inheriting the same type of cruel husband as her mother had done before. She had no story about trousseaux because her mother was sent away and there was nobody to give anything to her. Her husband also oppresses her and again there is nobody to protect her. In 1998, although she was 32 years old, she lost most of her teeth and had an unhealthy appearance. Şaduman's mother had destructive life experiences and she lived them as a subject in herself.

Motherhood, that is giving birth to children and having the responsibility of looking after them, could be conceptualised as the important part of womanhood and an important subject situation of women. Women themselves experience pregnancy, abortion and miscarriage individually. The advantages

and disadvantages of these actions directly affect the life of women both physically and psychologically. Consequently, in the culture of womanhood and motherhood, the experiences of man as subject cannot be expected.

In this study, an attempt is made to conduct a different methodology in accordance with the feminist perspective and the spheres discussed above so as to define the experiences of women. .

2.3. Research Methodology

In discussing the methodology of this study, there are questions to be asked; How is a feminist methodology formed?; What is the relation between feminist theory and feminist research?; Is it necessary to have a feminist research with its own method, theory and epistemology?

Sandra Harding (1987) usefully makes a distinction between discussions of method, of methodology and of epistemology. Whereas method refers to techniques of gathering research material, methodology provides both theory and analysis of research process. Epistemology is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate (Maynard 1994: 10).

These questions above are answered by different feminist scholars as follows.

Stanley and Wise (1996: 67), propose six aspects of method, methodology and epistemology. The first of these is feminist consciousness and feminist research, which means the necessity of having a “feminist research process” in the social sciences (Stanley and Wise 1996: 67) and a feminist critique of the existing methodology by Ward and Grant (1985) and Bernard (1973). This

approach sets out the following points:

Firstly, feminist research was defined as a focus on women, in research carried out by women who were feminist, for other women. Secondly, a perceived distinction between “male” quantitative methods and feminist qualitative ones. Thirdly, feminist research was political in its purpose and committed to changing women’s lives. feminist critique was a reaction against existing sex bias within the social sciences with the emphasis on existing male-dominated disciplines and research behaviours (Spender 1981), and little attention to problematising the research (Stanley & Wise 1996: 67-68)

For them, ‘woman’ is a necessary and valid category because all women share, by virtue of being women, a set of common experiences. Those shared experiences are derived from women’s common experience of oppression (Stanley & Wise 1996: 68-69). They outline the feminist research process in five related sites: research-researched relationship; research experience as an emotion; the intellectual biographies of researchers, the question of how to manage the differing realities and understandings of researcher and researched; power in research and writing.

These principles should be located in research behaviour but also in written research reports by explicating the analytical processes in understanding what is going on here (Stanley & Wise 1996:69)

The second aspect for Stanley and Wise (1996:72) centres on the feminist method, methodology and epistemology. In this aspect, Sandra Harding (1996) examines various materialist feminist writings and identifies three distinct epistemologies: She developed “feminist empiricism”, “feminist standpoint” and “feminist postmodernism” as feminist epistemologies, calling them justificatory strategies. For her, feminist empiricism as a theory of knowledge

meets an important range of justificatory needs by aiming for less biased and more objective claims. In empiricism, it is not possible to analyse the significance of, and assign different epistemological values to, the social identities of the inquirers. As a result, for her, this epistemology challenges the conceptualisation of knowledge-seeking as an activity of individuals (Harding 1996: 308). For feminist empiricism, sexism and androcentrism are social biases that deform the quest for objective knowledge. This view takes these biases as errors resulting from the incorrect implementation of empirical methods. As a second theory of knowledge, she argues for a feminist standpoint theory (Hillary Rose 1983, Nancy Hartsock 1983, Jane Flax 1987, Dorothy Smith 1990), which is problematic in relation to feminist empiricism. Brooks (1997:32) claims that the feminist standpoint epistemologist's assertion is that there is a need for a new feminist methodology that is closer to women's own experience.

In claiming that inquiry from the standpoint of women (or the feminist standpoint) can overcome the partiality and distortion of the dominant androcentric / bourgeois / western sciences, it directly undermines the point-of-viewlessness of objectivism while refusing the relativism of interpretationism. The advocates of this justificatory strategy explicitly call for women of colour, working-class women.....Moreover, the importance of political activism to the advance of understanding is conceptualised far more richly by the standpoint theorists (Harding 1996: 311).

To achieve a feminist standpoint one must engage in intellectual and political struggle. The feminist standpoint theory is essential for seeing the natural and social life from the standpoint of activity which produces women's social experiences (Harding 1996a: 72). Harding argues that there are in inner

tensions in the feminist standpoint, which has Marxist paternal discourse with emphasis on class and economy by excluding sex and patriarchy. She admitted that the feminist standpoint exists and that this causes the problematisation of the feminist standpoint as a successor science (Harding 1996a: 72). Thirdly, she claims that feminist postmodernism has important contributions to feminist theory and politics (Harding 1996: 314). It rejects all universal claims with feminist scepticism and derives from semiotics, deconstruction and psychoanalysis. Those all reject any notion of a “more authentic self” (Harding 1996a: 73). For Stanley & Wise (1996: 74), feminist postmodernism creates troubles by rejecting universalism and seeing science as a doomed project. It locates experience within the micro-politics that relativises it. Micro-politics is highly localised and organised through metanarratives and more grounded ideological discourses. Lastly, feminist postmodernism includes black women, working class women, lesbian women and other minority women who combine under oppression (74-75).

The fourth aspect proposed by Stanley & Wise (1996: 74) is silenced feminist standpoints. This is the silence of lesbians and black feminists (Sandra O’neal 1986, Patricia Hill Collins 1986b)

The final and fifth aspect is the revision of the feminist standpoint by Dorothy Smith (1987). For her, materialist feminist analysis operates at the level of ideology and identifies ideas embedded in material institutional practices. She analyses the sexual division of labour concerned with “social relations”, in

particular with all work women do. The focus is on the activities of the “work” of men such as obscene telephone callers, sexual murderers and sexual harassers in everyday life. She mentions experience, research and theory in academic feminism (Stanley & Wise 1996: 78-79-80).

According to Wolf (1996:4), “one of the major challenges of feminist epistemology to mainstream science and social science has been a powerful critique of positivism and its underlying assumptions” (Wolf 1996: 4). As mentioned before, on every level of dialectical thought, subjectivity and objectivity fail to capture the very nature of the reality, which is embedded in the subjective perception of the object by individuals.

Feminist critiques of positivism have been located in three main areas: (1) philosophical critiques of positivism and its presence of value-free science, (2) moral critiques of objectification and exploitation of subjects, and (3) practical critiques of the way positivism opposes the interest of the researcher and researched (Gorelick 1991: 460). Political critiques underlie all three of these areas (Wolf 1996: 4).

For Du Bois (1987), the positivist methodology has a patriarchal basis which rendered women unknown and virtually unknowable. Westcott (1979: 423) argues that traditional social science concentrates on the distortions and misinterpretations of women’s experience. In addition, Eichler (1977:418) remarks that women are isolated, marginal and dependent. It is inevitable that others will speak for them. In the case of social science, historically it has been men who attempted to do that speaking. S. Griffin (1988: 8) adds that:

Male bias in social science is reflected in multifarious ways: how

samples are selected; how questions are phrased the absence of categories and concepts that tap women's experience and inattention to variations in women's experience by time and place (Griffin 1988: 8).

Feminists criticised traditional social science methodology for creating and perpetuating myths that inhibit our understanding of women's experiences and position in society (Billson 1991). These myths are: the myth of a single society; the myth of objectivity; the myth of historical and cultural abstraction; the myth of non-interference; the myth of authority. Against the myth of a single society, Billson (1991) introduces and formalise a research approach. She includes gender as a major category and variable in all studies, which focus on women's concerns. Her research approach (the Progressive Verification Method) is designed to enhance the ability of women social scientists to relate to women as subjects rather than objects of research in a collaborative mode of inquiry, which enables us to carry out research with women rather than on men. PVM defines research "subjects" as equal participants in the research process. Against the myth of objectivity, Smith (1980) argues that the norm of objectivity mystifies rather than explains human relationships. It alienates the "object" of research through anonymous and impersonal methods. In contrast to objectivity, Westkott (1979) advocates "intersubjectivity" as an appropriate feminist research approach to acquire knowledge and understanding of social reality. Women are introduced as the subjects of knowledge. Klein (1983) advocates a "conscious subjectivity" for feminist (communal) research. For Mies (1983), the myth of a value-free research of neutrality and indifference toward subjects should be replaced by

“conscious partiality”.

Against the myth of historical and cultural abstraction, Du Bois (1987) argues that a feminist methodology implies “seeing in context”, contexts differing drastically for women in various places and times. For Cannon (1988), qualitative research is biased insofar as it ignores women of colour and working-class women.

In positivism, the research process is non-interfering. Against the myth of non-interfering, the feminist perspective asks “Knowledge for what?” According to Billson (1991), measuring is not the end of researcher’s job. It is impossible to measure a social phenomenon without affecting it. The oppression of women cuts across all societies.

Traditional social science establishes the researcher as authority and as an expert, who will be able to describe, predict and control social reality. Against this myth, Reinharzt (1983: 181) develops the view that feminist methodology implies a non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian, non-manipulative relation to the subject. Only women can serve as authorities in their own lives. For Smith (1987:142), the sociological inquirer herself is a member of the same world that she explores actively in the same relations as those for whom she writes.

The task of feminist methodology is to break out of the mould in which all women are oppressed everywhere and in all times. This study insists on the existence of a feminist methodology in studying women as women researchers.

There are counter arguments to the feminist methodology, such as those of Michele Barrett (1988) who accused the proponents of the feminist methodology of hijacking feminism in the name of separatism, stating they are responsible for the discipline of sociology, which fails to take gender seriously (Stanley and Wise 1996: 83). For Barrett, the “package” of essentialism, methodological separatism and relativism are the error of this mistaken feminism (83). For Sue Clegg (1985), a feminist methodology does not exist and proponents of it are completely misguided (Stanley and Wise 1996: 81).

Amongst the arguments and counter-arguments against feminist methodology, Cook and Fonow (1986) firstly propose five epistemological propositions of feminist methodology within the feminist research process: (i) a reflexive concern with gender as all-pervasive; (ii) conscious-raising, involving a “way of seeing” and methodological tool; (iii) challenging objectivity by refusing to see experience as “unscientific”; (iv) a concern with ethics by not treating women as research objects; (iv) seeing the research as a political activity (Stanley and Wise 1996: 81). Secondly, Margrit Eichler (1985) proposes four epistemological propositions for feminist research: (i) all knowledge is socially constructed; (ii) the ideology of the ruling group is dominant; (iii) the non-existence of a value-free science which serves and reflects men’s interests; (iv) differences in the perspectives of men and women (Stanley and Wise 1996: 82).

Maria Mies (1983: 117-139) asserted another account of feminist methodology

concerning the attempts of women to change their situations of exploitation and oppression. The methodological guidelines of Mies (1983) for feminist research are as follows:

1. Value-free research, neutrality and indifference towards research objects has to be replaced by “conscious partiality”. It is achieved through partial identification with the research objects. It creates the researcher & her “objects”;
2. Vertical relations between researcher and researched;
3. Growth of women’s studies from women’s movement;
4. Understanding patriarchal system and there must be begun a fight against women’s exploitation and oppression;
5. By using problem-formulating method, the research process must become a process of “conscientization” both for the so called “research subjects” (social scientists) & for the “research objects” (women as target groups). This must be accompanied by the study of women’s individual and social history (Mies 1983: 117-139).

In the light of the discussions about feminist theory, epistemology and methodology, a village study was conducted in 1998 in Alibeyli. This village produces tobacco and cotton. Cotton and tobacco are labour-intensive products.

2. 3.1. Fieldwork

Embarking on fieldwork and conducting a feminist research is a different kind of experience. Firstly, a pilot study was conducted. After this, the research team was brought to the village for conducting the questionnaires and interviews. In Alibeyli in particular, I had many problems with the mayor. During my first day in the village, he refused to talk with me and did not want to give me permission to carry out the fieldwork. An acquaintance in Izmir, who worked in TARİS, used his business networks to persuade the mayor to grant me permission to conduct the village study.

Wolfe (1996: 8) puts a supporting argument:

what happens to women, particularly feminist researchers, as they attempt to enter a culture and society. Entering the field is always difficult and may pose particular challenges for women because of their gender.

Access to the village and persuading women to accept the interview was very difficult. I did not interview men in the village. They were opposed to it from the outset and did not permit their wives to talk to us. They were concerned about what questions we were going to ask the women. After the mayor gave an announcement from the minaret, they were convinced to cooperate. In the village I developed close relations with the wife of mayor. She played an important role in initiating and establishing networks in the village. In Alibeyli, the wife of the mayor asked us to interview her first and then persuaded the other women that there was nothing to fear by telling them their own experiences. She informed both the women and the mayor. In Alibeyli, all of the women were present in the village during the study.

It seems very difficult to construct a feminist approach in a study of women. In relation to these difficulties, Sandra Harding (1991: 213) draws on Maxine Baca Zinn's observations to delineate three different feminist approaches. One approach views race and class as secondary to female subordination. Another views the inequality of gender, class, and race as having created different experiences, and believes that "women have a race-specific and a class-specific relation to the sex-gender system." A third focuses on describing the problems and lives of women in subordinated race and class groups.

In feminist research, a group of feminist women conduct research on women by using feminist methodology. In this study, a feminist methodology requires a careful consideration of women by using a wide range of questionnaire forms and interviews.

For Reinharz (1992: 240), feminist methodology is the sum of feminist research methods. She identified ten themes as feminist methodology: (i) feminism is a perspective, not a research method. (ii) feminists use a multiplicity of research methods. (iii) feminist research involves an ongoing criticism of non-feminist scholarship. (iv) feminist research is guided by feminist theory. (v) feminist research may be transdisciplinary. (vi) feminist research aims to create social change. (vii) feminist research strives to represent human diversity. (viii) feminist research includes the researcher as a person. (ix) feminist research frequently attempts to develop special relations with the people studied (in interactive research), and (x) feminist research frequently defines a special relation with the reader.

Reinharz (1992: 249) claimed that:

Feminist social research utilises feminist theory in part because other theoretical traditions ignore or downplay the interaction of gender and power. Some feminist researchers write that data in feminist research projects must be explained by feminist theory (Reinharz 1992: 249).

Two type methods are used in this study. One is interviewing women, the other is the use of a questionnaire form. The use of a questionnaire form provided quantitative data. The interviews, on the other hand, gave a more profound

insight into the world of rural women in the village, because interviewing gives women the opportunity to tell more about their own situation and conditions. During the questionnaire, they stated that they felt as if they would go through a difficult exam. They were initially afraid of what questions were going to be asked in the questionnaires and interviews. Eventually they began to learn the questions from the women who were interviewed prior to them.

In a similar vein, Reinharz states that:

Multiple methods enable feminist researchers to link past and present, “data gathering” and action, and individual behaviour with social frameworks. In addition, feminist researchers use multiple methods because of changes that occur to them and to others in a project of long duration. Feminists describe such long projects as “journeys”. Sometimes multiple methods reflect the desire to be responsive to the people studied. By combining methods, feminist researchers are particularly able to illuminate previously unexamined or misunderstood experiences. Multiple methods increase the likelihood of obtaining scientific credibility and research utility (Reinharz 1992: 197)

As Reinharz claims, interviews are the proof of the questionnaires to some extent. A questionnaire form was conducted for all of the women.

In this research, questionnaires were carried out by three research assistants. I then conducted the interviews. In the questionnaires, they told about social, economic, ideological and political actions but in interviews it was relatively difficult to gain knowledge about their attitudes towards wage labour, unpaid household family labour, the sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land.

As Wolf argues:

feminist dilemmas in field work have changed over time, reflecting shifts in feminist theory and epistemology. The most central dilemma for contemporary feminists in fieldwork, from which other contradictions are derived, is power and unequal hierarchies or levels of control that are often maintained, perpetuated, created, and re-created during and after field research. Power is discernible in three interrelated dimensions: 1) power differences stemming from different personalities of the researcher and the researched (race, class, nationality, life chances, urban-rural backgrounds), 2) power exerted during the research process, such as defining the research relationship, unequal exchange, and exploitation, and 3) power exerted during the post-fieldwork period-writing and presenting (Wolf 1996: 2).

During the fieldwork, the rural women were very reluctant to talk about their social life. In our previous days in the village, their husbands did not permit them to talk with us. Following this, I asked the mayor to make an announcement to the whole village from the minaret of the mosque. The headman of the village duly did this. It was necessary to utilise the patriarchal authority of the village to accomplish this feminist study. Otherwise, the study would have not been successfully carried out. Moreover, it was by no means easy to organise the power relations in the villages. After we were accepted in the village, those who were to be interviewed first could cause an unexpected problem. Wolf states the same thing, arguing that there is:

... the power differentials between the researcher and the researched. And the resultant possibilities for exploitation, reciprocity, and egalitarian ties cover the three dimensions of power delineated earlier: power in positionality, power during the research process, and power in the post-fieldwork stage; most of the attention has focused on the research process itself (Wolf 1996: 19).

I had the responsibility of persuading women to agree to the interview in this village study. I made an appointment with a young bride for the interview. Problems, however, occurred when the young bride refused to attend the interview. Instead, her father-in-law continuously tried to ask me to interview him. But this was not the aim of the research.

In another case, I tried to interview a woman whose mother had committed suicide because she was severely beaten and was thus suffering from loneliness. Her father divorced her mother without providing any financial help and this led her to commit suicide. The husband of the woman whom I wanted to interview also beat her. I did not know her story. When I encouraged to attend the interview she began crying.

According to Wolf:

There is now a great deal of research about women by women, but there is not much academic feminist research “with” and “for” women. I am not blaming feminist scholars, however. It is difficult to change power differences during and after fieldwork without radically changing the kind of research that is done and, therefore, without confronting and challenging the structure of academia: how products are judged acceptable and by whom, how progress is viewed, how “theory” is understood, how Ph.D.s are awarded, how tenure is granted, how women’s studies are regarded (Wolf 1996: 3).

Until the end of the research, most women in the villages placed me in the same status as that of the mayor. Since they began to rate me very highly, I found myself in a powerful position to direct their way of thinking, especially in interviews. There was a difference between the research assistants and

myself. The women in the village had closer relations with the research assistants than they did with me. As the research assistants were my final year students from the university, the women shared their problems with them more than they did with me. They evaluated me as a power figure like the mayor. The research assistants used the technique of gossiping about me with them in an effort to persuade them to accept the questionnaires.

As a result, in a feminist study, even the feminist researcher could find herself in a position perceived as patriarchal by the women interviewed. This shows the extent to which patriarchal relations dominate rural women's life in the village. As indicated before, the interview and questionnaire methods are used in the research in Alibeyli. The types of feminist interview and questionnaire will now be examined.

2.3.2. Feminist Interview

Interviewing rural women is an important part of the feminist methodology of this study. It is a qualitative data-gathering technique:

Feminist researchers find interviewing appealing for reason over and above the assets noted by social scientists who defend qualitative methods against positivist criticism. For one thing, interviewing offers researchers access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher. This asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women. Some feminist researchers have gone to great lengths in this regard by carefully recording and

analysing women's speech (Reinharz 1992:19).

Tape recorders were used in this study and the women were able to talk freely during the interviews. Most women had qualms about the use of the recorder in the interview. They were afraid of their husbands' reactions if their voices were recorded. After the questionnaires, they understood that talking into a recorder was easier than waiting for the interviewer to write the answers down.

Reinharz (1992: 20) argues that "interviewing is also consistent with many women's interest in avoiding control over others and developing a sense of connectedness with people". This approach based on connectedness was taken by the researcher, with the result that a good working relationship was established with the women being interviewed. Reinharz (1992: 23) also claims that "for a woman to be understood in a social research project, it may be necessary for her to be interviewed by a woman". All of the interviewers are women in this study.

Feminist researchers who interview women frequently discuss topics that are not part of typical public or academic discourse and therefore "have no name." This makes it all the more important to avoid naming the interviewee's experience. A woman listening with care and caution enables another woman to develop ideas, construct meaning, and use words that say what she means (Reinharz 1992: 24).

In this study, I advised the research assistants to concentrate on certain topics during the interview with the women.

In my interviews it was initially difficult to persuade them to talk, but by the

end of their interview it was difficult to stop them from talking.

2.3.3 Feminist Questionnaire

The other method was to deliver questionnaire forms to them. In the village study conducted, three female students were trained from Anadolu University in the Department of Sociology, research-related information being given to them before the research was actually carried out. The research assistants used the same questionnaire during the interview and wrote down the answers given by women.

While 25 women were interviewed, 100 questionnaire forms were given to women. Alibeyli consists of 220 households.

Women regarded all the questions as very important and were thus very responsive. The study made a distinction between men and women in the village. Rural women thought that such questions were specifically for women. They were about household and female activities.

2.4. CONCLUSION

According to Harding (1996: 304), the social, economic, ideological and political actions of women could have a radical potential. As she goes on to argue:

.... the theory of knowledge can provide a justifiable guide to

practical decisions that have effects on women's lives? Neither objectivism nor interpretationism serves women well. What could serve better? This question leads to another. Who are "ourselves"? Who are the women to whom feminist theory and politics should be accountable? As everyone knows, women are not homogenous-we differ most importantly by class, race, culture, and sexual orientation.....Feminist sciences and epistemologies should help to bring consciousness less mystified understandings of women's and men's situations so that these understandings can energise and direct women and men to struggle on behalf of eliminating the subordination of women in all of its race, class, and cultural forms (Harding 1996: 304-305).

The study has a feminist methodology that was developed initially and its own epistemology that was established during the course of the study. This is the dialectical/feminist epistemology, which conceptualises the attitudes of rural women through their social, economic, ideological and political actions by seeking subject positions for them.

Conducting feminist research in a village is quite different. Therefore, rural women as a social category have different characteristics. In the village where we conducted research there are 300 households. The educational level of the rural women is limited to that of the primary school. As to the level of education, rural women are different from urban women. Their definition of outside household activities are regarded as working in the field, or going to the market in the town. This means that they spend most of their time in the village.

The social life of the rural women is significantly confined by the seasonal cycle of the village. The annual cycle involves household activities, fieldwork,

production and reproduction processes. Therefore, the seasonal cycles controls the life of rural women in the village.

The question must now be asked: What are the advantages for rural women concerning wage labour outside the household? In the village researched, women give importance to paid-work in a factory. One of the main demands of women from politicians is to establish a factory. Working in a factory means having a regular job, which is considered as better than working in the field.

Rural women carry out housework and fieldwork intensively. The rural woman is a real subject in her life in the village. She is the organiser of all life within the household. Women are responsible for household duties such as cleaning, washing and cooking. They are also expected to carry out production activities in the field. In this respect, the women do not only take care of the family, but also act as indispensable economic and social members contributing to the survival of the family. They function as unpaid family labour carrying out labour intensive work in the field. This makes a great financial contribution to the family's income. It would otherwise be very difficult for the family to eke out a living if wage labour was hired in the production process.

The radical potential of the dialectic epistemology of this study comes from its Marxist roots. For Ring (1991), the radical activity of dialectical epistemology is its incorporation of both idealism and materialism, which takes the form of interplay between subjectivity and objectivity.

A historical-materialist analysis of society is constituted from three practices:

economic, political and finally ideological practices.

Economic practice is the production and reproduction of material means of subsistence, and of 'the specific historical and economic production relations. This practice is constituted by the form of the productive forces, and the form of relations of production. Second, political practice produces the "mutual relations" of social groups, the forms of social organisation, and the relations of dominance and subordination between these forms. This practice is constituted by the contradiction between classes, in capitalism that between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Third, ideological practice produces positions which enable subjects to act within the social totality (Coward and Ellis 1977: 63-64).

This study's radical potential of dialectical epistemology lies in proposing the pure form of social, economic, ideological and political actions of rural women in Alibeyli. Those actions enable us to both determine and analyse the subject positions of women, and consequently their attitudes to wage labour, unpaid family labour the sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land resulting from these subject positions.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ACTIONS OF RURAL WOMEN IN ALİBEYLİ VILLAGE

3.1 Introduction

Theoretically, being a subject and being subjective differ from each other. In a patriarchal society, whilst man is regarded as a subject and woman as an object, subjectivist behaviour belongs to woman. This study assesses the rural woman both as a subject and as an object through questionnaires and interviews. This leads to the question as to how the rural woman evaluates her position in the village both as a subject and object?

Hartsock (1998: 39) argues that

The role of theory is to articulate for us what we know from the practical activity, to bring out and make conscious the philosophy embedded in our lives. Feminists are in fact creating social theory through our political action. We need to conceptualise, to take up and specify what we have already done, in order to make next steps clear (Hartsock 1998:39).

Furthermore, a means must be found to establish the essential difference between the patriarchal knowledge of rural women and the feminist knowledge of rural women:

Feminism as a mode of analysis relies on the idea that we come to know the world, to change it and be changed by it, through our everyday activity (Hartsock 1998:35).

The actual form of social, economic, ideological and political actions of rural women in Alibeyli will be elaborated. These actions can be ascertained from the answers that they themselves give to the questionnaires, these responses being either patriarchal or feminist. This is firmly related to how women conceive themselves in their answers; i.e. as an object or a subject. The feminist base of this study claims that rural women actually possess a feminist knowledge.

In the feminist epistemology of this study, it will be seen how rural women are capable of 'losing' themselves as subject and object in the actions below. Firstly, the social actions of rural women involve their marriage, the division of labour between women in the household, their actions in the migration process, and factors concerning their own fertility. Secondly, the economic actions of rural women involve their economic mobility that is equated social and geographic mobility in the village, ideas of rural women about income-generating activities and their evaluation of the differences between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer. Thirdly, the ideological actions of rural women involve their ideas about the sexual division of labour,

the place of rural women in the decision-making process in Alibeyli, their own evaluations about their ownership of, and control over, their own commodities, and the role of rural women in marriage. Fourthly, it is important to look at how rural women take care of their children when they are working in the household and engaged in production activities. In order to gauge the degree to which rural women support their children's education, this study will elaborate rural women's views about educating their sons and daughters after primary school. This will point out the way in which they bring forth their aspiration and ambition for the next generation. Finally, the political actions of rural women involve their ideas about their actions and attitudes in general elections and local elections. Before ascertaining the actions of women, an attempt is made to outline the village of Alibeyli where the research is conducted. Alibeyli has been chosen for a number of reasons. Migration is not widespread and the production process is dynamic, while the income of most of the households comes from agriculture.

3.1.1. Alibeyli

Alibeyli is a village in the Aegean Region of Turkey. It is located in Bergama, which is an important sub-district within the administrative district of Izmir. The village consists of 220 households with houses that have large gardens. At every new marriage, a new house with high walls surrounding this garden is built for the son. Emigration away from the village is not widespread. Those villagers who have emigrated to Bergama or Izmir do not own their own field

or fields in the village. The main products are tobacco and cotton.

During the fieldwork, questionnaire surveys were conducted with 100 rural women. In addition to this, in-depth interviews were carried out with 50 rural women. In short, a total of 150 rural women in Alibeyli were questioned as part of the fieldwork for this study.

3.1.1.1 Household Members in the Village

In Alibeyli over half of the families (51 percent) are nuclear families, 14.0 percent of families are nuclear without children. One quarter (25 percent) of families are extended, while only 7.0 percent are an extended but separated family. This means that one or more member of the family goes somewhere to work or dies. Only 3.0 percent of women are widowed and live alone. Out of the 100 households interviewed: 27 percent have 3 members; 24 percent have 4 members; 20 percent have 2 members; 17 percent have 5 members; 9 percent have 6 members; and only 2 percent have 1 member. Out of the total number of people included in the research, 52 percent (184) are female and 48 (170) percent are male. Of the sample, 67.3 percent is married whilst 27.4 percent is single. Those who are widow are only stood at 5 percent in the sample. Nevertheless, only 3 percent of the sample are divorced.

3.1.1.2. Education

Alibeyli has a primary school. For secondary schooling students travel to Göçbeyli by bus. It is located a distance of 1.5 km from Alibeyli.

Out of the 322 persons in the village, 251 (78.0 percent) have completed primary school. 20 persons (6.2 percent) have completed secondary school. 18

(5.6 percent) of them are literate and 16 (5.0 percent) of them are illiterate. The number of persons who completed high school is 15 (4.7 percent). Only 2 of them have graduated from university (0.6 percent).

3.1.1.3. Forms of Use of Labour

In Alibeyli, work is divided according to the following categories: fieldwork related with tobacco, fieldwork related with cotton and fieldwork that involving both these products and fieldwork for to garden produce. Out of 504 answers given during the interview about the fieldwork done in the village by the members of the households, 210 (41.7 percent) of them concern fieldwork related with tobacco. Those types of work involve sowing, picking, threading and hanging the threaded tobaccos on lines for drying. 159 (31.5 percent) of them involve fieldwork related with cotton such as sowing, irrigation and picking. Other fieldwork, which formed 153 (26.8 percent) out of 504, involves ploughing by tractor, preparing the fields, hoeing, irrigating and fertilising both the tobacco and cotton, carrying the sacks of tobacco and cotton, picking olives and looking after livestock.

In Alibeyli, there are 30 persons who have jobs not related to agriculture. One person is retired from the SSK, one person is a barber, and three people are shepherds, 13 men work as cattle-traders, 2 men are ironworkers and 2 are construction foremen. There is also a repairmen and a water-carrier. In addition there are three grocers, an owner of a coffee-house, a trader (cotton) and a

charcoal merchant in the village.

In addition to people who have jobs out of agriculture, there are only six people who have fields outside the village. They cultivate these fields. Besides staying in the village, the 65 persons from the households interviewed are involved in a wide range of economic activities in the surrounding area. Two people work in Bergama, one is in the casino and the other works as an accountant. In addition to that, two of them work as machine traders in Aliaga and two works as charcoal merchant in Göçbeyli. A person works in TARIS in Izmir. Two people work as a chauffeur, two as foremen in the cotton gin, two as the mediators of the cotton merchant, while two people have livestock out of the village.

3.1.1.4. Land Allocation

By looking at land allocation, it is logical to evaluate Alibeyli as a petty commodity-producing village. There are approximately 30-40 households that have less than 10 decares of land. Again, approximately 30-40 households have 10-25 decares of land. More than 100 households have between 25 and 100 decares of land. There is only one household that has land between 100 and 200 decares of land. In this household there are two brothers living with their families.

3.2. Social Actions of Rural Women

The social construction of the rural woman both as a subject and an object through her actions depends on the sexual division of labour at the household

level. It thus determines the division of labour in the village. The household is taken as the main unit and the origin of all actions. The sexual division of labour is planned according to the social relations established in the household. If a bride lives with her mother-in-law and father-in-law in the same household, her place in the sexual division of labour will be different from that of the bride living with only her mother-in-law or father-in-law. Autonomous brides living without their mothers-in-law or fathers-in-law will be in a situation even more different than that of the brides mentioned above, both in terms of social relations and the sexual division of labour. Besides this, marriage is an important process in the lives of rural women in the village. The social actions of rural women involve their marriage, the division of labour between women in the household, their actions in the migration process, and factors relating to their fertility. The place in the sexual division of labour of the bride who lives with both her mother-in-law and father-in-law or in nuclear family differentiates her social actions. In Alibeyli, marriage is an important stage in the life of a girl. The first status she gains is that of being a bride. The second is being a mother. After having a child, it is possible to predict that she will be a mother-in-law in the future. Her place in the division of labour changes in comparison with her place in the father's home. In Alibeyli, young girls mostly do housework. After their marriage, they begin to work in the fields of their husbands. They thus take their place in the production process.

In becoming a bride, girls begin to work outside the house. To escape from the

fieldwork most of them want to migrate to the city by having good jobs both for them and their husbands. This is an important social action for women, which causes changes in their situation. For understanding the importance of fertility as a social action, it is important to consider the stigma of being an infertile woman in the village. Being infertile means not having the right to talk in the household. In the village, it is important for a woman to be a mother to gain a status.

3.2.1. Marriage of Women

Marriage is an important process in the life of rural women in which their role in the division of labour in the household is the cornerstone of their social life in the village. The place of woman as a bride in the division of labour in the household would take three forms: she lives only with her mother-in-law; she lives only with her father-in-law; and lastly, she is an autonomous bride without mother-in-law or father-in-law.

In her study, Aksit (1993:162) divides the life of rural women into stages according to their ages as “young gelin”, “middle aged”, “mature aged” and “old aged”. The mature aged woman has the highest status than the other women. In this study, the differentiating status of young bride is conceptualised in a household. It is given importance to their experiences. If they are conceptualised according to a pre-given categorisation, this will destroy the feminist structuration of the study.

3.2.1.1. The Bride Living with her Mother-in-law and Father-in-law

The place of this bride in the sexual division of labour depends on the place of the mother-in-law in the sexual division of labour, both in the household and in the village. For example, fieldwork belongs to bride, but housework, child caring and cooking usually belongs to the mother-in-law. In the village producing tobacco, women work picking tobacco from morning until lunch. In the afternoon, the same group of women thread tobacco at the home of the owner of the field. Four and five women would come together and cooperate when processing the tobacco. In these households, a group would be formed from individuals chosen by the mother-in-law, such a group usually thus consisting of relatives of the bride's husband and neighbour's of the mother-in-law. Having a father-in-law in the same household in addition to the mother-in-law prevents the bride's husband from becoming the head of the household. The father-in-law thus takes financial decisions. Father-in law and bride's husband in the family thus dominates the decision-making process. The social relations of the parents are dominant in these households, both in the production and reproduction processes.

3.2.1.2. The Bride Living with her Mother-in-law

In this situation, the head of the household is the bride's husband. He thus takes financial decisions. However, the sexual division of labour both in the production and reproduction process is determined according to the relations of

the mother-in-law if she is young. However, the bride may also form her group through her relations, which consist of her friends and neighbours. This group consists of women close to her who exchange their labour for fieldwork. In this situation the mother-in-law loses her authority both in the decision-making process in the family and in the production process.

3.2.1.3. The Bride Living with her Father-in-law

In this case the head of the household is the father-in-law. However, the bride is responsible for groups involving women, both in production and reproduction. Her relations are dominant and she is responsible for organising the division of labour in the household. Both the father-in-law and the bride's husband usually take financial decisions.

3.2.1.4. Autonomous Brides without Mother-in-law and Father-in-law

This situation involves a nuclear family in which all social relations are mostly established according to the bride and her husband. She usually establishes her group for fieldwork and performs the function of organising the sexual division of labour in the household. Work is differentiated in regard to the seasons in the village. The social relations of women are thus differentiated accordingly. In the summer, rural women are generally preoccupied with fieldwork and perform unpaid household labour. In the winter, women's economic activities continue to relate to production processes. But these economic activities differ

from that of the summer.

In Alibeyli, rural women define their differentiated activities in the winter as below:

First Woman: In winter, I do handicraft and sit in the house.

Second woman: I irrigate the tobacco plants, did housework and handicraft and visited my friends and neighbours.

Third woman: Firstly, I lit the stove, irrigated the plants and did lacework and knitting.

Fourth woman: The only work we did in winter is to care for the animals.

Fifth woman: We gathered wood and did handicraft.

In terms of the sexual division of labour, women do most activities. It seems unnecessary for men to work in the production of tobacco or cotton, since women also carry out all the work relating to cotton growing. Although cotton production can be carried out without women, tobacco production requires female labour. Because tobacco is a more labour-intensive product, this coincides well with patriarchal rules that traditionally assign women labour intensive work. This means that the work task is organised and then carried out by women. Men however, do heavy work, which necessitates physical strength. The cost of producing tobacco and cotton would otherwise be very high without women. For example, in cotton production, men would hire wage labourers in the absence of women. A decrease in the income of the household would be inevitable. Work involving labour intensive work is not carried out by men, as men leave these tasks to women. Evens in cases when women do

labour intensive work in the field men prefer sitting on the tractor. Most women think that men could manage to carry out all production activities through hiring wage labourers in the field. They also believe that women could not manage all the production activities without the presence of men. This extensively increases the social and economic dependence of women on men in the village.

Two important dramatic events occurred in Alibeyli. In the first event, a man who came from Siirt married a girl named Zehra from this village in the 1950's. This man built minarets for mosques. He bought land from the village. He had two sons and a daughter and died in 1980. After his death, the jewellery belonging to one of his neighbours went missing, and the head of the household, whose name is Veli, blamed and then punished Zehra who was the close friend of his wife. Zehra opposed the accusation. But he continued to blame her even though his wife, children and brothers would object to his accusation. In the village, women are forbidden from walking in the Village Square without wearing the veil or "gorak". A "gorak" is a type of "çarsaf" or headscarf. Meanwhile, Zehra had an engaged daughter. Veli organised other villagers to insult Zehra's daughter, taking off her "gorak" and "çalvar" in the village square. She was ashamed of this attack. After this incidence, the sons of Zehra murdered Veli. Her eldest son was put into prison and died from cancer. They then lost their land. Zehra is now living with her eldest son's wife and children. They have rented land for tobacco production. Zehra's second son is

married but has been put into prison for helping his friend while kidnapping a girl. They now have no land and only produce tobacco on land, which they have rented. The main characters involved in this event were the headman (local administrator) of the village and his relatives.

Moreover, a similar group was also involved in another dramatic event. This centres on a family, which only has a daughter. This girl married a man from Bergama. Her father had a large amount of land in the village. However, she divorced her husband and returned to the village with her young daughter. Events began after her return. As her father had become old, he could not therefore work on the land anymore. Consequently, the headman and other villagers wanted to use the land belonging to this family on the pretext that the family had no more male relatives to work on the land. Following the death of the old man, the family has been under intense pressure to give up working on the land. The headman and other villagers have continuously disturbed the family. This situation clearly reveals how patriarchal rules are being enacted by the so-called patriarchal structure of the village.

The social and economic activities of women are significantly structured according to patriarchal rules, although women are the main protagonists of the sexual division of labour in the production and reproduction processes, both inside and outside the household. Again, the type of marriage is the main determinant of the social actions of the rural women in the village. Women are generally married through seeing the bride in advance, i.e. through the approval

of the man and woman. In cases where elder members of families do not approve of the marriage, marriages through elopement¹ do occasionally occur in the village.

3.2.2. Division of Labour in the Household

The social construction of rural woman both as a subject and object through their actions largely depends on the division of labour between women both in the household and outside. This division of labour includes the internal division of labour between women in the household, the workload of women outside the home, the length of time spent doing outside work, and the length of time spent doing housework.

3.2.2.1. Internal Division of Labour among Women in the Households

In Alibeyli, rural women inform us about the division of labour between women in the households when doing housework. They inform us that there is a hierarchy between women, which is determined according to patriarchal rules. The young girls and brides do most of the housework.

The young girls that formed the 64.0 percent of the women who do housework are the elder and smaller daughters of the household who are sister-in-laws² at the same time. Only 18.0 percent of women who do housework are brides. This

¹ The marriage of girl and boy without the permission of the parents. Sometimes the boy forces girl to marry without her permission.

² Sister-in-law refers to the sister of husband.

means that brides do other work in the household.

Table 3.1

Percentage of Women who do Housework

The Differentiation of Women in Accordance with Housework in the Household

Women who do housework	N	%
Young girls	89	64.0
Brides	25	18.0
Mother-in-laws	14	10.1
Woman relatives	11	7.9
Total	139	100.0

Although young girls do most of the housework, they have no power in the household. However, brides work more than other women outside the home (in the field). They have power because their husbands work actively on the land and control the income of the households. They also organise the internal division of labour in the household. Other woman relatives and mothers-in-law therefore have to adapt themselves to this organisation. Woman relatives refer to the aunts and the mother of bride. Aunts are from the male side of the family.

3.2.2.2. Workload of Women outside the House

It is important for rural women to work outside the house. Outside work entails working in the field and garden, looking for livestock, shopping outside and working as a wage labourer on other people's fields. All of the brides and

mothers work in the fields in Alibeyli. Therefore, for most of the women in Alibeyli, outside work means to work in the fields.

In Alibeyli, 100 women were questioned, more than one answer being given about the workload of the women. Brides do most of the work outside the household (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2

The Differentiation of Women in Accordance with Outside Work in the Household

Women who do outside work	N	%
Brides	74	76.3
Women do not	8	8.2
Mother-in-laws	6	6.2
Young girls	6	6.2
Relatives	3	3.1
Total	97	100.0

In Alibeyli, 76.3 percent of responses claim that brides do outside work. While young girls do the housework, brides work in the fields and gardens, go to the market for shopping and work as wage labourers in the fields of other people. In Alibeyli, there is no tradition that the mother-in-law sits at home and does not work. In particular, there is a heavy work season owing to the diverse nature of the produce grown and because every woman tries to work as much as she can. Women are unpaid labourers, both in the household and in the

² Sister-in-law refers to the sister of husband.

fields. Only 8.2 percent of responses claim that women do not work outside the household. A woman defines the types of outside work in fields as follows:

In February, the tobacco seeds are sown. In May, these seeds are transferred to the field from the seedbed. Between July and September the cotton begins to be picked. In May, cotton is sown.

As a conclusion, it can be said that brides in the village have a heavy workload outside the home.

3.2.2.3. The Types of Outside Work

As a social action, outside work is important in understanding the rural women at the village level. As I have said before, women in the village evaluate shopping outside the household as outside work. This is because it entails an exchange of money with strangers who are men. This is an important action for women to transfer from the situation of object to subject. Shopping outside refers to going to market for shopping, buying gas containers for the oven, sewing clothes for other people, or selling and buying clothes. Although only one woman said that working as wage labourers on the fields of others is an outside work, in reality, an exchange system is operated with other women without paying any wages. Fieldwork means hoeing, irrigation, sowing tobacco and cotton, and picking cotton. When women work in the garden they collect olives or tomatoes. The work related to livestock involves shepherding and cattle-dealing. (Table 3.3).

The only work they can do outside the village is going to the market once a

week. The precondition for going to the market is to have cash. Otherwise, most of the women are not able to go to the market for weeks.

All of the actions carried out by the women occur outside the household and are seen as a means for the socialisation of the women. A local market for the village exists in nearby towns. These markets resemble the local neighbourhood markets in the big cities. In Alibeyli, it is possible to go the local market every Thursday by walking. All of the women have to receive permission from their husbands.

Table 3.3.

Types of Outside Work

Types of outside work	N	%
Fieldwork + livestock +garden work	66	50.0
Shopping outside	65	49.2
Work as daily labourer	1	0.8
Total	132	100

In Alibeyli, hoeing, picking cotton and tobacco, garden work and gathering tomatoes is done in the summer. Outside work is defined as outside the household. They do not think of any alternative such as working in the city or finding another job. The only outside work is going to the market in the town. In her study in a cotton producing village in Söke, Sirman (1988:209), analysed the commodity production conditions of small producers and forms of using family labour.

All of the work that women do is mostly related to agriculture (Table 3.4).

While more than half of the women have generally been working in agriculture after their marriage (66.1 percent), some others begin after they bear children (30.3 percent). The remaining women begin to work after loosing their husbands (3.7 percent), as can be seen in Table 3.4.

Marriage and finishing primary school are important times for women, because, as previously stated, these are times when they start to fully work in the fields.

Work is differentiated according to the date when women begin.

Table 3.4.

When Women's Begin doing outside work

How long the women do work outside the home	N	%
After their marriage	72	66.1
After childbirth	33	30.3
The loosing and death of husband	4	3.7
Total	109	100.0

A girl who finishes primary school can gather tobacco and cotton and thread tobacco. The heavy work begins after marriage. Marriage is an important time designating when women will begin to work full-time outside the household.

The periods above show that the entire life of women in agriculture centres around working in the fields. Women are sought after to work outside the household. Work exists outside, but it is limited to fieldwork that could not bring a direct income or wage to the women in the village. Women work nearly all their lives in the fields without getting any wage. Earning a wage is important because it effects the purchasing power of the women.

The periods in Table 3.5 are important insights into how rural women organise their life as subjects outside the household. They are not home-centred. Their life is field-centred during these periods. They can go to the local market during every season.

Table 3.5

The periods of outside work in Alibeyli

The periods of doing outside work	N	%
1-3 months	61	53.0
Whole year	28	24.3
3-6 months	21	18.3
6-9 months	5	4.3
Total	115	100.0

The whole year means that 24.3 percent of women work everyday of the year.

The period between 1-3 months (53.0 percent) indicates that they work 1 or 2 months in a year, once or twice in a month, 4 times in a month or once in two or three weeks. For more than half of the women (53.0 percent), the period of doing outside work is between 1-3 months.

The period between 3-6 months (18.3 percent) covers working from April to November in a year or 3 months for the production of cotton in a year.

For 4.3 percent of women the period of doing outside work is 6-9 months in a year. This period covers both working 9 months in Bergama and 8 months in field from September to June.

As a conclusion, the claim determined here is that women work intensively outside the household between 1-3 months in a year, which corresponds to the

season of fieldwork in Alibeyli.

3.2.3. Migration

Migration is an important social action, which encompasses whether rural women want to migrate to the city permanently or not.

Migration is an important social action of rural women in the village. In particular, young brides and girls do not want to live in the village. (Table 3.6) It can thus be interpreted that they want to increase their subject situations by migrating to the city and start working in a factory or setting up a job for themselves.

The choice made by rural women in relation to migrating to the city permanently is important, because it affects the general social and economic structure of the village. It has been ascertained that women in the village take the final decision concerning migration.

Table 3.6

The Demands of Women about Migration

Village	N of the women who do not want to migrate to the city permanently	N of the women who want to migrate to the city permanently	Total
Alibeyli	54	46	100

Migration means that all members of the household migrate to the city. More than half of the women in Alibeyli does not want to migrate to city

permanently. Women are aware that migration places firm demands on them, such as the need to find a job and a house in the city. These women do not want to leave their fields in the village. 54 percent of women do not want to create subject situations for themselves in the city. Only 46 percent of women want to migrate to city with their family.

Their social actions greatly determine the reasons given by women for wanting to migrate to the city. The logic of the reasons lies in the fact that they wish to escape from working in the fields and seek socialisation in the city.

In Alibeyli, 100 women were questioned, with more than one answer being given (Table 3.7). Women have different types of reasons explaining why they want to migrate fully to the city. The first reason for migration is to find a job in the city (6.7 percent) because they do not have a field and home and so do not want to be poor in the village. The second reason is relates to the family (13.3 percent) – they want education for their children, while some women have relatives in Bergama such as their children and so they want to migrate. Their third reason is the health problems (2.0 percent) because there is no hospital in the village. The fourth reason is a powerful one (57.8 percent) – the advantages of the city for them. Those advantages are living in comfortable and clean conditions or retiring and travelling easily. The final reason is the heavy workload and diverse nature of the products grown in the village (20 percent), which means that women are bored and frustrated from working in the field. They want to escape from farming and the production of cotton and tobacco. In

Alibeyli, women have economic reasons to migrate.

The reasons given by women for not wanting to migrate to the city are also economic beside social reasons, as seen in Table 3.7. In Alibeyli, women are against migration because their income and subsistence is from the field in the village (14 percent). This means that their property, work and job is in the village. They complain about life in the city by giving importance to land and property. Moreover, they have preconditions that in order to migrate to the city is necessary to have property.

Table 3.7

Why Women Want to Migrate or not

Reasons why women want to migrate to the city	N	%	Reasons why women do not want to migrate to the city	N	%
4. The advantages of the city	26	58	There is no job in the city	27	54
The heavy workload of the village	9	20	Life is easy in the village	11	22
For the family	6	13.3	Their income and subsistence is from the field in the village	7	14
For finding a job	3	6.7	For the family relations	5	10
For health problems	1	2.0	----		
Total	45	100.0	Total	50	100.0

Life is easy in Alibeyli (22 percent), and they would have to reconstruct their social, economic, political and ideological actions in the city. They claim that

comfortable life in the village. Therefore, life in the city is not as pleasant because it is crowded, expensive, polluted and bored. It is difficult for them to live in an apartment. Life in the city is alien to them. They do not want to upset the life order in the village. They are aware of the conditions experienced by those households that have migrated to the city. They can therefore gain a good impression of what life would be like for them in the city. However, they claim that there is no job in the city (54 percent) and do not have enough salary. It can be observed that women in the village want to socialise their life by migrating to city. In this case, however, according to the reasons they propose, they do not want to socialise their life in the city.

City life is far from them and socialisation there is impossible for them. Their preference is for the village life. The village is a place, in which borders are clearly defined, and they do not want to extend these borders to the city or narrow them in a place in the city like an apartment. Lastly, family relations play an important role (10 percent). The women claim that they and their husbands are old and some of the women do not want to live under the control of their husbands in the city. They think that they are relatively free in the village if they are not pregnant.

3.2.4. Fertility

Women's fertility has important effects on their social actions. Giving birth to a child is an important social action of rural women in the village that transforms

her from being an object to be a subject. Fertility includes social activities related to the number of pregnancies, abortions or miscarriages, infancy death, living children, the number of children they want to have, birth control methods they use, and the birth control methods their husbands use.

The number of pregnancies women have experienced is closely related to their relationship as women with their bodies. Their bodily awareness and their relation to other women in the village are important in a feminist study. Also, having more children means to have more labour and more networks, both in the village and in the city in the future. Moreover, these pregnancies reveal their control over their fertility.

Marriage ideology that includes marrying and giving birth to children to inherit land and other property of the family forces every woman and man to marry in the village. The aim of Table 3.8 is to understand their control over their bodies and fertility. This is firmly related to the birth control methods they use. They are aware of what matters their fertility concerns. Having children socialises and gives status to women in the village, while infertile women, on the other hand, encounter a number of problems in rural areas. Children are the inheritors of the property of the males in the village. They have to pass on their land to children. Women have to give birth to children in order to have status and to enable their marriage to be seen as powerful both in the household and in the village.

Table 3.8

Fertility Statistics of Women in Alibeyli

Number of pregnancies	N	%	Number of living children	N	%	Birth control methods they used	N	%
Two	25	26.0	One	20	21.1	Contraceptives	20	20.0
Three	22	22.9	Two	22	23.2	By washing herself	7	7.0
Four	22	22.9	Three	13	13.7	Coil	4	4.0
One	15	15.6	Four	39	41.1	Using their own methods	4	4.0
Five	4	4.2	Five	1	1.1	Sterilisation	4	4.0
Seven	4	4.2	Six	-	-	Coitus interruptus	2	2.0
Six	3	3.2	Seven	-	-	No respond	59	59.0
Eleven	1	1.0	Eight	-	-	--	--	
Eight	----- -					-	-	
Total	96	100.0	Total	95	100.0	Total	100	100.0

Children are the primary source of help for their parents both in the household and field³. Rural women do not want to talk about their pregnancies. However, pregnancy is a way of socialisation for them. In Alibeyli, 26.0 percent of women experience one pregnancy, 22.9 percent of women experience two pregnancies and another 22.9 percent of women experience three pregnancies.

While 4.2 percent of women experience five pregnancies, another 4.2 percent of women experience seven pregnancies. Having more children and pregnancies is not very widespread. Only, 1.0 percent of woman have 11 pregnancies. After these pregnancies, 39 women have two living children, 22

³ While talking about their birth control methods, women informed us about a method of their own (9.7 percent). It was impossible for us to gain a more detailed knowledge about this

women have one living child, 20 women have three living children and 13 women have four living children. Only one woman has five living children.

Abortion is not very acceptable in the village but it is one of the most important social actions that a woman can undertake, whether by she or by a medical operation. This is mostly related to the decisions taken by women concerning their sexuality and fertility. In Alibeyli, 16 women have experience of abortion. 9 of them have 1 aborted child. 4 of them have 2 aborted children. 1 woman has 8 aborted children. It is very dangerous but they do, however, use it as a birth control method. There is no need to form a table for these results.

A woman talks about the method she used to give birth to her daughter:

I am infertile and no need to use birth control. I have only a daughter whom born with the help of "Hoca".

She solves the problem of infertility with "Hoca". As it provides a cheap way of escaping from pregnancy, most of the women prefer to have a miscarriage. Abortion is one of the most expensive birth control methods in the village. It is one of the important social actions of the rural women, because it enables women to go to the city (Bergama and Izmir) and see a doctor, a chance that they may not have in the whole of their life. Most of the women travel to the city on account of the abortion. In the case of a normal illness, the money could not be found, but in the case of abortion they could easily find money. However, this is a rare situation that occurs in the village. It is difficult to gain

method in the village. They did not want to talk about the details of this birth control method.

information about abortions from the women.

Infancy death is one of the most important processes in the life of women. They give birth in unhealthy conditions without medical opportunities. In Alibeyli, 32 women experienced infancy death. While 29 of them experienced 1 infancy death, two of them have experienced 2, and 1 has experienced 3. There are 2 women who have experienced miscarriage by themselves. This means that they tried to abort themselves. However, there are 12 women who experienced miscarriage out of their control. 9 of them have experienced 1, 1 of them has experienced two, and 2 of them have had 3 miscarriages. Lastly, the children of six women died. 5 women have experienced the death of 1 child and 1 woman has experienced the death of 4 of her children⁴.

They did not give information about the birth control methods that men use. Only 2.0 percent of women claim that they use *coitus interruptus*. *Contraceptives* are used by 20.0 percent of women. 4.0 percent of women use the *coil* and 7.0 percent of women who answers this question protect themselves from pregnancy by *washing themselves*. The other 4.0 percent of women protect themselves from pregnancy by *sterilisation*. They learn some of these birth control methods from the village health centre. They go to hospital in the city only for serious operations, like abortion. Generally husbands do not

⁴ Most of the women had difficulty in answering the question about birth control methods and four of them told about special techniques such as using their own methods (4.0 percent).

prefer to use birth control methods. They leave this subject to women. Only 41 women inform us about the birth control methods they use. The other 59 women do not give enough information about the birth control methods that they use.

As has been said before, the social actions are firmly related to economic actions that are performed outside the household generally.

3.3. Economic Actions of Rural Women

Life is organised by women in the village. Outdoor activities mostly belong to men. Women are not permitted to go out of the village and establish a life for themselves outside the village. However, it is not easy for them to create urban lives for themselves. This means that patriarchal structures do not function objectively for rural men too. Both men and women in the village are aware of the subjective behaviour of society for them in general. The problem is not between men and women, but is strongly related to the historical and political changes occurring in society in general. Therefore, every action carried out by the women in the villages is related to the economic life that they wanted to realise in the village. This is equated with the productive activities that bring wages. Longhurst discusses the productive tasks of women:

Women's productive tasks tend to concentrate on activities that are: (a) non-compatible with reproduction, and, more concretely, the care of children; b) related to class; c) subordinate to men's work and subject also to age-oriented hierarchical relations; d) considered an extension of domestic activities; and e) concentrated in the last permanent and last paid activities

(Longhurst 1982: 113).

The activities of women outside the household are the economic actions of women which are determined by their relation to land, wage labour, unpaid household labour and the subsistence economy. Although women work on the land and in the household as the mainstay of the subsistence economy, they cannot earn money. In addition, men control the money.

The activities of rural women outside the home are defined by the rural women themselves as follows: going to the local market in town, working in the fields, irrigation, gathering vegetables, picking tobacco, sowing plants, picking olives, picking cotton, sowing tobacco, gardening, gathering tomatoes, buying bottled gas, shepherding, wage labouring, sewing clothes for others, buying and selling clothes and looking after livestock. Moreover, other activities that are classed as jobs which they would like to set up are: a grocery, supermarket, shop for selling trousers and clothes, confectionary shop, tailors, glassware shop, coffee-house, coiffeur, restaurant. They also would like to find a job related to dressmaking, knitting and tobacco processing. Besides this, they aim to establish a co-operative, and deposit money in the bank in order to purchase consumer goods. All these activities represent predicted subject situations of women in the village. All of them will earn wages and make them more mobiles than the stable position unpaid labour brought.

Sen argues in relation to economic activities that:

.... Any conceptualisation of economic activity should include

the production of use values as well as of exchange values, and that active labour should be defined in relation to its contribution to the production of goods and services for the satisfaction of human needs. Whether this production is channelled through the market and whether it contributes directly to the accumulation process are questions that can be taken up at a different level of analysis, and should not bias our understanding of what constitutes economic activity. That is, the argument is far from implying that there is no difference between commodity and non-commodity production, ... but that the latter is also part of the realm of economics, and must be analysed and valued accordingly (Sen 1982: 129).

The existence of economic actions carried out by rural women necessitates the economic mobility of rural women in the village by implementing their ideas about income-generating activities and the evaluation of their own situations as unpaid household labourers in Alibeyli. Another important factor is that their definition given about the differences between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer would be illustrated.

3.3.1. Economic Mobility of Rural Women in Alibeyli

Economic mobility involves the participation of women in work that brings income. They desire to be able to obtain credit easily from the bank. They also desire to carry out economic actions for themselves like working in the city in the future. Moreover, they informed us about the kinds of job that they wanted to establish if they had money. They explained the reasons for their choices while predicting work or related alternatives in the event of their having more money.

Rural women want to migrate to the city in order to obtain better job

opportunities. Their predictions about city life are independent of their discussions about urban life. They do not have much knowledge about job opportunities in the city. Women who do not want to migrate to the city do not predict any economic actions for themselves in the city.

If they can obtain the credit they need, they plan to buy a field or fields, a tractor, a garden, a new car, tools machines and irrigation equipment, a house in Bergama for renting, a shop and a house for their son, jewellery, visiting foreign countries and obtaining annual supplies such as fuel, fertilisers and medicine. Their secondary plans relate to existing practices such as cattle-dealing, sowing tobacco and tomatoes, repairing and changing the model of the car and tractor, renting more land for tobacco, paying debts and decorating the house (Table 3.9). They have limited money and could supply only basic needs. In the event of having more money, most of them use money for commercial investment. Agricultural investment is at the end of their agenda. They are aware that the conditions of production for agriculture are not sufficient to enable them to have more money. The most important reason for this is the deficiency of land. It is impossible to accumulate or buy a part of a field in the village. Nobody sells land except in extraordinary conditions. If a peasant is landless he/she is going to be landless in the future.

As can be seen from Table 3.9, some of the women plan to use money to buy the means of production for agriculture.

Women want to work in a factory in the city, to establish a grocery or to work in a hospital, to work as a baby-sitter, to knit and sew and to establish a bakery. Some jobs they plan for themselves relate to housework tasks, while others relate to working in a factory or a hospital.

Table 3.9.

Types of Jobs Women want to set up in Alibeyli

Types of job they want to set up	N	%
Commercial investment	74	77.1
Social investments	15	15.6
Agricultural investment	7	7.3
Total	96	100.0

In Table 3.9., women define what kind of job they plan for self-employment. In Table 3.10. they give their preferences of investing money which they are given by bank in the amount they want. The types of jobs they want to set up in the village are divided into three: Firstly, commercial investment (77.1 percent). As a commercial investment, they plan to establish a grocery shop, bakery, supermarket, ready-made cloth's shop, tailor's shop, glassware shop, restaurant, hairdresser for ladies and a snack shop, as well as selling embroidery at home and in the local market. Secondly, as an agricultural investment (7.3 percent), women want to buy a field for them, to produce tobacco and cotton and do cattle-dealing. Thirdly, they want to establish social investments (15.6 percent) like establishing a cooperative, knitting and doing crochet-work. They are social because knitting and crochet work could bring

income only from the women's own relations. They sell these commodities to each other. Again, with a co-operative, they plan to be secure as a kind of social security. Their plans for the city resemble their life in the village. Planning to establish a bakery, hairdresser for ladies or a tailor's shop entails establishing another petty commodity producer shop that uses unpaid household labour and is based on a subsistence economy. However, one woman tells the truth:

I don't think that I can find any job except the possibility of being a cleaner in the houses in the village or city.

Women in the village are serious about setting up a workplace and finding a job, both in the city and village. In Alibeyli, there were women in the past that established shops. However, these are now closed. Selling needles and threads means establishing a job, which has a low income by using unpaid family labour. The jobs women want to establish are patriarchal. Their prediction for the job lies at the boundaries of the middle-class like a grocer or tailor's shop, a hairdresser drinks shop, glassware shop or a supermarket. Selling needles and threads may be enough to satisfy some women. Some women want to buy a plot of land for themselves, because having more fields means an increased production of cotton and tobacco.

Women plan to establish small family enterprises that bring low income, which necessitates a subsistence economy in the city. All their demands concern their family and household. It can be seen that rural women could construct economic activity for themselves if they have money. For example, women

want to buy the annual needs such as fuel, fertilisers, machines, and tools and irrigation equipment. Alternatively, they wish to establish an accounting office, butchers or hairdressers and factory for making tomato puree. Women may predict concrete economic actions for themselves in Alibeyli.

Hartsock argues that the feminist restructuring of work requires creating a situation in which thinking and doing, planning and routine work are parts of the work each of us do. She goes on to claim that it requires creating a work situation in which we can both develop ourselves and transform the external world (Hartsock 1998: 51).

It is problematic whether we can talk about rural women who want both to develop themselves and transform the external world by creating a work situation for themselves. In this study, it is claimed that those found in Table 3.10 represent economic activities.

Table 3.10.

How Women Invest Their Own Money

If the bank gives the amount of credit they want, what will they do with this money?	N	%
Investment in agriculture and livestock	102	40.3
Works related to the family	77	30.4
Commercial investments	71	28.1
Spending for health problems	3	1.2
Total	253	100.0

In Alibeyli, women want to use the money in four spheres. The first of these is their desire to invest in agriculture and livestock (40.3 percent). These are

buying means for agricultural production like buying fields and gardens, tractors, agricultural vehicles, irrigation tanks, drilling equipment and expenses such as fuel, fertiliser and disinfectants. Moreover, they want to buy animals like sheep to sell milk and cheese. Some of them want to buy fields both for producing tobacco and sowing tomatoes. They are aware of market prices. The wishes of some women are collective, like establishing a factory making tomato puree, which provides work for women. They are classified as commercial investments of women. These are establishing a grocery shop, a hairdresser for ladies, a ready-made cloth's shop, a butchers, an accounting office, a fertiliser and disinfecting shop and a milking parlour. Moreover, they want to buy a car, bus, and jewellery for the bride and a knitting machine for women to work with as a commercial investment. Thirdly, women talk about solving their health problems (1.2- percent). Other wishes generally concern their families (30.4 percent). They want to buy a house in Bergama and rent it. Moreover, they want to buy a house for the sons, furniture, a summerhouse, a new model of car etc. Some of them want to travel abroad and make contributions to "little Mehmet soldier's foundation". Some women want to marry off their sons and daughters and establish a job for the son. As a concern for the family, some of them want to pay the debts of the household and build their own house separate from that of the mother-in-law.

As can be seen in Table 3.10, women gave 250 different responses to the question of how they invest the money. These responses are directly related to

the members of the household and the household it. Women do not want anything for themselves individually. This work aims to understand the reason given by women for their choices, which they can make if they have more money.

In Table 3.9, women told about their future plans about setting up a job in future. In Table 3.10, their plans about investment are more realistic like to invest in agriculture.

In Table 3.11, women gave their reasons for the investments in Table 3.10. These are as follows: agriculture and livestock (26.5 percent of responses given by women), solving the family problems (31.9 percent), commercial investment (27.4 percent), investment and donation (12.4 percent) and lastly, health problems (1.8 percent).

Table 3.11

Reasons for Investments

Option	N	%
For family problems	36	31.9
Commercial investments	31	27.4
For agriculture and livestock	30	26.5
For investment and donation	14	12.4
For health problems	2	1.8
Total	113	100.0

Their choices for agriculture and livestock are that they want to buy fields for sowing and harvesting more products like tobacco and for renting them out. Land is valuable and one field is not enough. Moreover, they want to buy a drill

for water to irrigate the fields. They want to buy livestock for eating and selling the products of animals to enable them to pay their debts. For solving family problems, they want to buy a comfortable, modern house to live in Bergama and want to organise marriage ceremonies for their sons. Some of them help their children because they need it. Some of them evaluate the car as an important necessity so therefore want to buy one. As commercial investments, some of them want to establish a shop, a supermarket, a grocery shop and any workplace to earn more money, and thus be able to pay debts and have a stable income for the future. Moreover, some of them want to establish a hairdresser's shop for their daughter and want to buy jewellery for the bride as a tradition. As an investment and donation, they want to put the money in the bank to gain interest to use in retirement. Also, they want to buy gold as an investment. One of the women's maths is good, so she wants to establish an accounting office. Lastly, one of them wants to donate it to "little Mehmet soldier's foundation". As most of the villagers have no social security, some of the women consequently want to use the money for going to a doctor or for a medical operation.

Out of all of the choices given by the women, it is the future of the children, which plays the key role. Their demands resemble the demands of middle class women in the city, like setting up a hairdresser shop or tailors. Although they want to escape from petty production in agriculture, they plan petty jobs again that will not bring high income. Their ideas for generating income will now be

investigated.

3.3.2. Income Generating Ideas of Women

Rural women are able to predict economic actions for themselves. They give information on how the incomes of a household can be increased. Moreover, we are informed about their ideas for relieving the debts of the household and their losses because of unpaid debts. A FAO report tells us that:

... There are poor market prospects for food production. The women spend many days per month on the cocoa crop, receiving a quantity of low-grade cocoa for sale or being paid in cash by their husbands. The returns for assisting their husbands are higher than the returns from producing a surplus from their own fields. When hired labourers arrive for the cocoa harvest, the women can increase their cash income by almost half by selling the labourers beer, cigarettes and cooked food. Of course women near the all-weather road have this option too, but they have found an expansion of food production more profitable and, they claim, less risky. Some of them, in fact, earn more money than their husbands (FAO 1985: 52).

The solutions given by the women to increase the income of the household are not logical if they are evaluated economically. The means by which to accumulate capital are not taken into account. Women in Alibeyli have prerequisites for the increase in the incomes of a household. Other reasons are given such as making investments in order to accumulate more money and making savings to increase the income of the household (Table 3.12). In Alibeyli, women claim to carry out concrete economic actions by cultivating more and different kinds of homegrown food products. This is very important in creating a subsistence economy in the village.

Table 3.12

The Solutions for Increasing the Incomes of a Household

How the incomes of a household can be increased	N	%
High amount of agricultural production	41	44.1
By being thrifty	38	40.9
By working hard	7	7.5
If wage labourers are not hired	6	6.5
If the product sells at a high price	1	1.1
Total	93	100.0

High agricultural production (44.1 percent of responses given by women) refers to the cultivation of more land and to sowing tobacco and cotton. The conditions of high income are the growth and greater variety of high quality products, and renting more land. Moreover, the weather has to be good, and one has to have his/her own land, tractor and equipment. Lastly, the field has to be irrigated for it to yield a high income.

Another important claim concerning the hiring of wage labourers is that the income of households increases without them (6.5 percent of responses given by women). With this claim they mean that men and women work hard together by not hiring wage labourers. Thirdly, if products like tobacco and cotton are sold at high prices, the income of the household will increase (1.1 percent of responses given by women).

Fourthly, the income of the household increases by being thrifty (40.9 percent of responses given by women). This means that one has to have more savings, men have to stop going to the coffee-house, food has to be produced at home

and large amounts of money should not be spent in the market. Women in Alibeyli know that more capital investments, gold, working hard and having a better quality of products causes an increase in the income of the households. The fifth condition, working hard (7.5 percent of responses given by women), involves having investments and no debt. Gold has to be bought and one has to have capital, while the bank has to give money with low interest for high incomes.

It is possible to see from Table 3.13 those women in Alibeyli claim economic actions for themselves in order to increase the income of their households. They give importance to the effects which working hard, the amount of land and the kinds of products produced have on the income of the household. In the village, women believe that selling butter, honey and cheese and doing handicraft in winter support the income of the household. Therefore, it is understood from the answers given that women are subjective. Every answer reflects their own experiences about their households. Rural women whose husbands do not work believe that income increases if their husbands work and do not spend all their time at the coffee-house.

Being thrifty (35.5 percent of responses given by women) has importance for increasing the income of a woman's household. By being thrifty, those 44 women refer to spending less money in the market, ie. buying less clothes. They also mean that their husbands have to stop drinking too much and going to the coffee house.

Table 3.13

The Solutions for Increasing the Incomes of their Own Households

How she has increased the income of the household	N	%
By being thrifty	44	35.5
By agricultural work	33	26.6
By working hard	24	19.4
By commercial and financial investment	20	16.1
By livestock	3	2.4
Total	124	100.0

Moreover, according to the women in Alibeyli, if a household has no debt, its income increases. Also if household members travel by bus instead of private car, the income of the household will increase. Their second solution to increase the household income is by agricultural work (26.6 percent of responses are given by women). By agricultural work women in Alibeyli mean working hard in the production of cotton and tobacco; increasing the amount of land; increasing the type of products and selling them at a high price; working as daily wage labourers. As a third solution to increase income they and their husbands have to work hard (19.4 percent of responses given by women). Women especially might do handicraft in the winter to increase the income of the households. Fourthly, having livestock (2.4 percent of responses given by women) is an important income opportunity for the women in Alibeyli, because one might sell more milk, cheese, butter and honey by having more sheep and cows. Lastly, they claim that they can make commercial and financial investments (16.0 percent of responses given by women) by investing money in bank and obtaining interest. And by investing money in gold; by speculating on

property in the city and by commercial activities like establishing a shop, which will bring an increase in the income of their households. Women give greater importance to working than having livestock. At this point, wages play an important role than earning an income from livestock, which is no different from the income gained from agriculture. Livestock management requires hard work and does not yield a significant income.

Although women know that households have debts, in Alibeyli they have no idea about the size of the debts or the annual income of the household. However, they know the areas in which they have debts. Women inform us about 104 debts. 44 of them are to TARIŦ (42.3 percent of responses given by women), that is a collective state institution of agriculture in the Aegean region.

Table 3.13

Knowledge of Women about the Debts of Their Households

Debts of the household	N	%
To Taris	44	42.3
To bank	38	36.5
To merchant	12	11.5
No debt	9	8.7
To relatives and friends	1	1.0
Total	104	100.0

38 of them are to the bank (36.5 percent of responses given by women), that is the Bank of Agriculture, which allows villagers to take out loans at low rates of interest. 12 of them are to tobacco or cotton merchants (11.5 percent of responses given by women), 1 household has debts to relatives and friends (1.0 percent of responses given by women), and 9 of them have no debt (8.7 percent of responses given by women). In Alibeyli, the livelihood of households depends

on debts that are taken from the Bank, Taris, and Merchant and especially to Tekel. They do not give any information about Tekel, because they do not evaluate credit they take every year as debt. They know that they have to pay this money, because without paying it the institution will not give the permit necessary for trading tobacco. Although they could delay their debts to the bank and Taris, they could not delay their debt to Tekel because of the reason above.

Table 3.14

Their Knowledge about the Forms of Paying the Debts

How they paid the debt of household	N	%
They paid it with interest	29	80.6
They could not pay	3	8.3
They do not get debt	2	5.6
Do not know	1	2.8
Her children help	1	2.8
Total	36	100.0

The way of paying these debts is important (Table 3.14). More than three quarters (80.6 percent of responses given by women) of these debts are paid with interest. Only three of the women (8.3 percent of responses given by women) could not pay their debts. A woman has no idea how the debt is paid.

The children of a woman help her to pay the debts of the household.

On a number of occasions, households in the village have lost some of their capital equipment on account of their unpaid debts that they have accumulated from co-operatives and banks.

Table 3.15 shows that a large number of the households in Alibeyli sold their

property, including fields, gardens, houses and jewellery (48.0 percent of responses given by women); vehicles including car, minibus, tractor, truck, house and irrigation equipment (32 percent of responses given by women).

Table 3.15

The Property Lost from Households Because of Unpaid Debts

What they have lost because of unpaid debts	N	%
Property	24	48
Vehicle	16	32
Animal	10	20
Total	50	100.

Lastly, animals like sheep and cows (20 percent of responses given by women), in order to for pay off their debts. Their husbands inform women about the debts of the households. However, men do not tell them about the expenditures that men spend themselves. Although women participate in the production process both as a subject and object, they could not be subjects while spending money.

Almost all of the women know that their real place in the production process is to carry out labour-intensive, heavy work in the production of tobacco and cotton in the fields. In Table 3.16, an attempt is made to understand the ideas of women about the sexual division of labour in the village. It is clear that men do not like to carry out manual work, and prefer to hire wage labour if there are no women available to carry out the same work.

All of the women are aware that they are substitutes for wage labourers by

informing us about the possibility of producing cotton, tobacco and vegetables without women.

Table 3.16

It is Impossible to Produce Cotton and Tobacco Without Women

Reasons given by women for claiming that without women it is impossible to produce cotton and tobacco	N	%
Labour-intensive work belongs to women	84	84
Hiring wage labourers decreases income	11	- 11
Male characteristics of men	5	5
Total	100	100.0

Women in the village divide the work into work for men and work for women. Women mostly do work involving labour-intensive products like tobacco. However, men do work involving capital intensive products such as cotton. Women themselves go on to claim that labour-intensive work belongs to women (according to 84 percent of responses given by women) because hoeing, picking cotton and threading tobacco is the work of women. For them, men might learn to produce but women have to control the process of production. If there are women, men do not want to work because the work that women do is done by hand. As the only work they carry baskets containing tobacco and cotton. They cannot pick cotton and organise work without women. Women do not evaluate their work as heavy because heavy work belongs to men for them. During the picking process of cotton, men only manage the labourers - it is the women who work. Women said that tobacco production is permanently impossible without women because it is a labour-

intensive product and men do not volunteer to do this.

According to 5.0 percent of responses given by women, men only do this type of work if their wife has died. Men do not want to abandon pleasure and they mostly like to drive the tractor. The resulting argument of women is interesting in that men and woman need each other. As a third alternative men might hire wage labourers but it decreases the income of the households by forcing them to make a higher expenditure (11 percent of responses given by women). When they have enough money men prefer to employ wage labourers, otherwise the work is done by the women regardless of whether it is difficult or not.

Women in Alibeyli complain about their heavy workload on their husband's land as unpaid household labourers. They have no wage. They claim that they have no wage but that the income, which is earned from their husband's land, is bread money so they have to work for it.

In Alibeyli, the fact that women give only one reason to explain why their husbands do not give money to them is very critical when taking into account patriarchy and the sexual division of labour. They claim that they have to work for bread money without getting any wage from their husbands. In the end, their husbands do not give any money to them by determining the attitude of women to their own purchasing power. As can be seen in Table 3.17, 59 percent of women in Alibeyli agree that they are unpaid family labourers on their husbands' land. The other 39 percent of women disagree.

Table 3.17

Rural Women are Unpaid Household Labourers

Rural women are unpaid family labourers	N	%
Agree	59	59
Disagree	39	39
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 3.18 reveals the reasons given by 57 women who claim that women are unpaid family labourers. A woman mentions the difference as follows:

In daily wage labour, she earns daily, however she earns yearly in her husband's field.

She shows a remarkable foresight in seeing that the income of the household is earned for the yearly livelihood of household. She thinks that the wage she gets is only for short-term expenditures.

Table 3.18

Why Women are Unpaid Household Labourers

Reasons given by the women who claim that rural women are unpaid household labourers	N	%
Everything is common in the family	47	82.5
The income of the family is low	8	14.0
This is the tradition	2	3.5
Total	57	100.0

For 8 (14.0 percent) of them, the income of the family is low and it is impossible to give money both to seasonal workers and wage labourers. A woman claims: "We have no money". Moreover, 47 (82.5 percent) of them

think that everything is common in the family like the labour of household members. They also propose that wife and husband cannot be differentiated from each other and that the needs of the children have to meet. The needs of women are met by men and for this reason women work on the same commodity with men to feed themselves.

In the end, it is difficult to demand wages from their husbands. Two women relate this situation to the tradition that the status of women is lower than that of men. Although they claim that they work as unpaid household labourers they are aware that they cannot give money to wage labourers so they have to find a solution by working in the fields instead of the labourers. However, they revealed that they would like to be employers. In this study, it is important for rural women to be able to determine the differences between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer. The answers given by the women mostly related to land and its ownership. Demanding money from their husbands as a wage is difficult for women. They claim that being a wage labourer is tiresome and women do not obtain any of the money that is earned from their own field (see Table 3.18).

They also know that there is a difference between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer. The amount paid to unpaid household labourers is not clear.

In Alibeyli, (Table 3.19) 97 women put the differences between working as a

wage labourer and unpaid household labourer again on the basis of the profit of the household.

Table 3.19

Working as a Wage Labourer and Unpaid Household Labourer is different

The Differences Between Working as a Wage Labourer and as an Unpaid Household Labourer	N	%
The wage of unpaid family labour belongs to the household	49	50.5
One earns a wage from daily labour	28	28.9
In both situations the household earns	20	20.6
Total	97	100.0

In accordance with their high expectations about the earnings of the household, 49 women (50.5 percent) claim that the wage of unpaid family labour belongs to the household, because a woman works more comfortably on her husband's field, and resulting wage is shared with the husband. They work on their own field for their own revenue. Only one woman claims that the end product that is produced in their field belongs to household. If a woman works in her husband's field, the husband will earn more money. They are all agreeing that it is not as easy to demand a wage from their husband as it is from a boss. According to 28.9 percent of women the wage that is earned from daily labour belongs to the woman herself and she thus has the freedom to spend it for herself. Working as a daily wage labourer means working on another person's field. They agree that working, as a wage labourer is tiresome. In addition, as wages are not paid to them in an orderly manner, it is therefore difficult to

accumulate a daily wage. Finally, 20.6 percent of women believe that the household earns in both of the situations in which the needs of the household are met.

Rural women indicate the differences between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer by predicting economic actions both for men and women.

The aim here is to enable women to remember that having money creates differences in purchasing. An employer has to pay her money but the husband is not obliged to pay this money. They also claim that women have no access to the money, which is earned, from their own field. As a result, women could not classify themselves as wage labourers.

In addition to the arguments above, it is necessary to know whether households hire wage labourers or not (Table 3.20).

Table 3.20

Hiring Wage Labours in the household

Do you hire wage labourers in your household?	N	%
1. Yes	58	70.7
2. No	22	26.8
3. We have rented	1	1.2
4. Sometimes	1	1.2
Total	82	100.0

Although 58 women (70.7 percent) claim that they hire wage labourers in their households, this is only valid for determined works like cotton picking. Less

than a quarter of women claim that they do not hire wage labourers (Table 4.20).

Wage labourers are hired for fieldwork, looking after livestock (98.2 percent) and construction (1.8 percent). Irrigation, hoeing, sowing, picking, and threading tobacco, picking cotton, collecting olives and cutting wood (Table 3.21) are all aspects of fieldwork that require wage labourers.

Table 3.21

Workload of Wage Labours in the Households

For which work do you hire wage labourers in your household	N	%
For fieldwork and animals	56	98.2
For construction	1	1.8
Total	57	100.0

Hiring wage labourers is not an ordinary economic action of women, because of the savings of the household. In particular, work related to tobacco production is done by exchanging labour between women. However, labour exchange is evaluated as hiring wage labourers even though a wage is rarely paid. Being a wage labourer means being paid orderly for a determined work. The fact that women cannot obtain wages for their labour also has ideological basis beside the economic the economic reasons proposed above. It seems that women are, as an exchange labour, tightly wedged between paid and unpaid labour because of their ideological actions that are in between the subject and object situations.

3.4. Ideological Actions of Rural Women

The work of women in the village may be differentiated into the following two categories: works those women do in the summer; works those women do in winter. In Alibeyli, most of the fieldwork is done in the winter. The women work in their husbands' fields without earning a wage. They state the differences between working in their husbands' fields as unpaid household labourers and working as a wage labourer in other people's fields. Likewise, the desire to be educated is more important than the fact that they wear trousers. This cannot be used to form their ideological actions alone.

There are two issues that are interrelated along these lines: One is ideological, and has to do with the tendency to regard women's work as secondary and subordinate to men's. An aspect of this tendency is the fact that an important proportion of women's work is unpaid. Both the ideological and monetary aspects are clearly symbolised by an expression such as "my mother doesn't work", even though she might be working longer hours than any other household member. "Work" in this case means participation in paid production, an income-earning activity. The ideological aspect is reinforced by the pervasive lack of a clear conceptualisation of the role played by women at different levels of economic life. For example, while an effort has been made to evaluate the contribution of subsistence agricultural production to national output, similar efforts to evaluate subsistence work carried out by women in the household have been the exception rather than the rule (Beneria 1982: 312).

The ideological actions of rural women involve their ideas about the sexual division of labour, the place of rural women in the decision-making process in Alibeyli, their evaluations about their ownership and control over their own commodities. In addition, there is a firm relation between the construction of

the life of rural women in marriage and their control over their own and their children's education.

3.4.1. Sexual Division of Labour

The sexual division of labour has an ideological character because work in the village is divided between men and women. Men do dealings with traders, banks and co-operatives. On this issue, women claim actions, which are ideological, like "it is the duty of men". Also, the reasons why women cannot carry out these dealings are ideological. Nevertheless, if rural women perform these dealings, the predicted actions of women will be ideological in character.

There are certain types of work that women must not do in the village. Those actions are ideological in character – for example, women are prohibited to do irrigation, to set up a coffee-house or to plough the field. Again the various types of work that women do in winter are ideological in character like "lacework", or "lighting the stove". In these expressions, "must not" expresses two claims: the first is that women must not do this kind of work. The second is that women have no ability or strength to do work of this nature.

In the village, work is differentiated according to gender. Accordingly, men can easily transfer the bulk of the workload to women. As FAO reports:

Many women are being left, for at a time at least, to carry on farming operations alone or to find work in addition to their usual domestic roles. Yet local customs often prohibit women from doing certain agricultural tasks (FAO 1985: ix).

If we are discussing the social, economic, ideological and political existence of

women, the evaluation of the sexual division of labour by women has ideological importance. They reveal the basic clues behind patriarchal ideology while they discuss the reasons for why some work is done only by women. Washing the dishes and cooking are the main types of housework done by women in the sexual division of labour. The following questions must now be asked: how is this work done and according to what criteria is it determined? If this is indeed the tradition, who established this tradition as part of the daily life of the village? Women in Alibeyli described the responsibilities that are learned during their childhood. It is questionable whether the problem lies in the socialisation process or not.

Why, then, do men transfer the workload to women and how do rural women conceptualise the differences between the physical abilities of men and women? They conceptualise the sexual division of labour, as has been seen for years.

Table 3.22

The Reasons for the Division of Work between Men and Women

Why some work is done only by women	N	%	Why some work is done only by men	N	%
Socialisation	69	70.4	Physical differences	46	47.9
Division of labour	29	29.6	Socialisation	26	27.1
-	-	-	Division of labour	24	25
Total	98	100	Total	96	100.0

The reasons given to explain why only men do some work are essential in

understanding the ideological basis of the sexual division of labour in Alibeyli.

There has been a rule of the world that men have been stronger than women have and therefore women are excluded from doing certain types of work.

What, though, determines the rule of the world: capitalism or patriarchy? Who put men at the top and who prevents them from doing certain types of work in the village? What has led to the evaluation that “the work of men is heavy”? If a machine is involved, the work will be difficult.

In Table 3.22, the reasons are divided between socialisation and the division of labour. Socialisation (70.4 percent of responses given by women) women mean that women do not know the work of men and those men transfer the workload to women, and as a result women are expected to do this work. They evaluate this division of labour as a tradition and recognise this work as their duty. Men do not wash the dishes and cook and they like to sit comfortably. In respect to the division of labour (29.6 percent of responses given by women) they state that everybody’s work is determined and that work that requires physical force and physical ability belongs to men. If women do all the work that men can withdraw from work. Because of the responsibilities learned during the childhood, women do what they have learned.

The claim that some types of work are done only by men is again generalised to socialisation, physical differences and the division of labour by women. Socialisation (27.1 percent of responses given by women) refers to the fact that women are forbidden to drive tractors and work outside. It is the rule of the

world that men are at the top. By Physical differences (47.9 percent of responses given by women) refers to the fact that men have powerful physical abilities and perform heavy work like the irrigation of cotton fields. The third reason is the division of labour (25 percent of responses given by women) and refers to the fact that some work is the duty of men, women being forbidden to do men's work like driving a tractor.

The tradition is that men can only do certain tasks. They have to be performed by men. Therefore, women have ideological responses, which correspond to an enterprising character like that of men. Women give the following reasons to explain why tasks such as dealing with tradesmen, banks and co-operatives are done by men, as can be seen below in Table 3.23:

Table 3.23

The Reasons Given Why Men Deal with Tradesmen, Banks and Co-operatives

Why do men deal with tradesmen, banks, co-operatives?	N	%
Socialisation	74	64.9
Education	22	19.3
Ownership of property	18	15.8
Total	114	100.0

In this table, 19.3 percent of responses give importance to education. As men are literate, they are better able to make proper evaluations and do more sophisticated types of work. Women lose out because of their low level of education.

The second important reason is the ownership of property (15.8 percent of responses given by women). The title deeds of the fields and the permit for growing tobacco belong to men. Moreover, men know the price of everything and they are the members of the farming cooperative (TARIS).

However, women give importance to socialisation (64.9 percent of responses are given by women) by mentioning that women are not expected to work outside the home and village. This type of work is the duty of men, as they are more enterprising and have higher status than women. Moreover, village society is a closed society and only men have opportunities to work outside more than women. In addition to being the head of the family, men are more conscious, alert, stronger and talkative than women. Women believe that they do not understand nor are accustomed to the types of work that are prohibited. If a woman does this type of work she will be reproached. It is necessary to have the permission of their husbands.

Successful relations with tradesmen, banks and co-operatives determine the future amount of the income the household. These are the main mechanisms for understanding the sexual division of labour and its ideological framework in the household. All of the answers depend on the subordinate positions of women. Men do these tasks because women occupy secondary positions in the household and village. These dealings are carried out man-to-man, who means that women have no opportunity to meet a man to discuss the cost of the cotton or tobacco. Another main reason is that men own the real estate, credit only

being giving to the owners of the land by banks or co-operatives. Consequently, women have no opportunity to participate in life outside the village. Another determinate factor is that “men know the price of everything”. The patriarchal system forms the basis of all the answers given by the women.

Women cannot carry out the tasks that are discussed above because they may be gossiped about in the village. Why, then, are they considered to be underdeveloped and unable to come together with men when carrying out such tasks?

Table 3.24
Why Women Do not Carry Out Certain Tasks

Why these tasks are not be carried out by women	N	%
They may do	64	64
Women do not do this	34	34
People will gossip	2	2
Total	100	100.0

According to 64 percent of the answers given by the women, women may carry out these kinds of tasks. For 34 percent of the answers, women do not carry out these tasks. The remaining 2.0 percent of answers reveal that women will not do these things because people will gossip about them. All responses are the product of patriarchal ideology. The ideological construction of women both in the village and in the household is very solid and they are prevented by an unseen power that has an important effect on village society, although all of the men do not form a circle at the entrance of the village to prevent women from

going to the city to carry out these tasks.

There are preconditions for women to perform the tasks that are prohibited for them (Table 3.25). They are allowed to do so in exceptional cases (15.9 percent of responses given by women), ie. when the woman needs to feed herself and her family by earning the money she requires.

Table 3.25

A Woman Can Carry Out These Tasks

Why women carry out these tasks	N	%
When there is no male	59	67.0
In exceptional cases	14	15.9
If she is powerful	11	12.5
If she has property	4	4.6
Total	88	100.0

The second generalisation is that when a male is absent (67.0 percent of responses given by women) women do these kinds of work. In this case, women have no male relatives and may be permitted to do these kinds of work. For example a woman whose husband is dead or ill will be alone and a widow. The husband of a woman may also not be clever enough to perform these tasks. He might only sit in the coffee house and do nothing. She tells that:

My husband only knows intercourse and sitting in the coffee-house. He does nothing to prevent pregnancy. My eldest son is 17 years old. I inform him about pregnancy and he takes me to the doctor to abort the child. I ask my sons for everything.

The third condition of women is being powerful (12.5 percent of responses given by women). Being powerful means being educated and literate. For this

she is to be allowed to go to school. If a woman is cleverer than her husband is she will be powerful. As a fourth condition, if a woman has property (4.6 percent of answers given by women), such as having the title deeds of the fields, she can easily carry out these tasks. The ideological actions of the women lie in the content of these answers. If a woman has no relatives or husband or any other male relative she then has to do these kinds of work. For example, having a mentally ill or dead husband provides a fundamental reason.

There are a limited number of women who believe that educated, clever and powerful women can perform these tasks. As can be seen from the answers, being alone is not a preferred situation in the village.

In Alibeyli, there is a dramatic story of a family that has no male relatives. The headman of the village and his relatives tried to own her property by the use of threats. There are other women whose husbands died but they have sons and nobody could challenge them. How to protect these women is an important problem. She told her story:

I have no brothers and sisters. My father cultivated our land. I married a man from the Bergama. He beat me several times and didn't work. He always forced me to demand money from my father. We divorced. My daughter is 8 years old. After my father died the headman of the village wanted me to give my fields to him to using. I didn't. Now, I couldn't cultivate the land inherited from my father, because he and other villagers prevent me from doing so by using force. I applied to court but all them were his friends so I couldn't solve the problem. My mother, my sister and I live in this house but we can't cultivate our land.

Women must not have any type of relation with the means of production such

as tractors. Also, they cannot take their scarves off. They are forbidden to do critical production work involving machines. Table 3.26 indicates the types of work that women must not do in the village. The works that women must not do may be divided into three categories: fieldwork, commercial work and social work.

Fieldwork forms 70.1 percent of 167 answers given by the women. These are: ploughing, irrigation, driving the tractor, digging small water canals in the field, emptying the sacks of cotton, going to the mill, winnowing, shepherding sheep at night, carrying the baskets of cotton in the field, fertilising and disinfecting the fields, and bringing wood.

Table 3.26

Work Forbidden for Women

Types of work that women must not do in the village	N	%
Fieldwork	117	70.1
Social work	27	16.2
Commercial work	23	13.8
Total	167	100.0

Commercial work that women must not do forms 13.8 percent of answers given by the women. These are establishing a coffee-house and blacksmith, working in a factory, marketing steel pots, going to Bergama alone, working outside the village, going to the bank, co-operative and tradesman, working in industrial districts of Bergama. Social types work that women must not do form 16.2 percent of answers given by the women. These are gambling, carrying the

coffin at a funeral, buying and selling, being the headman of the village, sitting at the coffee house and taking the veils off their heads. These are actions, which are ideologically forbidden for women.

Is it possible to persuade these women that they can actually do these types of work in the village? It is not believed that this study will cause them to change their minds on the issue, because there is a problem with patriarchal power. It is feminist but the transfer of consciousness is difficult in the social, economic and ideological structure of the village. As has been mentioned in the methodology of this study, men in the village did not permit their wives to undergo an interview with the researchers. Firstly, the headman is persuaded and he persuaded other men about the innocence of the study in the village. The headman defended us because of the network that exists between us and his wife and bride. These two women were assured that we were moral and educated enough not to destroy the social, economic and ideological structure of the village⁴ From an economic point of view, winter is not an attractive season for agricultural work, and women's work is consequently differentiated. They begin to watch T.V. and do handicraft They are away from fieldwork and engaged in housework. This means that they are a reserve army of seasonal labour in the summer in the village.

⁴ At the beginning, the wife of the headman behaved as a mediator between the headman, the grocer and myself. I called her "aunt Nazmiye" as if she was one of my intimate relatives. Aunt Nazmiye prohibited us from accepting Sükriye into our home who was a lovely woman, but identified her as thief and the mother of a murderer. Moreover, she has married twice. She worked as a daily labourer and was a very social and intimate woman. She could be very useful for our study but other women always observed us whether we were close to her or not.

The differentiated types of women’s work are divided into four (Table 3.27). The first group of work includes housework (5.8 percent of 190 responses given by women); cooking, washing the dishes and clothes and answering the telephone. During the working season in the summer telephones are answered only at night. During the day, everybody is at the fields and nobody answers the telephone. As a second type of work women spend time at home in winter (7.9 percent of 190 answers given by the women). They wake up late and sleep early. They light the stove as a primary work and sit in front of it reading the Kur’an or newspapers, watching T.V. and looking after the children. In the winter, as work done outside (35.8 percent of responses given by women) they clean cotton from the plants, seed the tobacco in February, and collect olives and wood. Moreover, they look after sheep and travel. They could only do more handicrafts including knitting and lacework. Handicraft forms the 50.5 percent of responses given by women in Alibeyli. They can find time to do work that belongs only to women.

Table 3.27

Work Done by Women in winter

The various types of work done by women in winter	N	%
Handicraft	96	50.5
Outside work	68	35.8
Spending time at home	15	7.9
Housework	11	5.8
Total	190	100.0

An interesting type of work in the winter is “lighting the stove”. It is important

in the condensed life of the women in both of the villages. How, however, can one find an ideological basis in lighting the stove? In feminist thinking, the question can be asked: what will happen if women stop lighting the stove. It will be cold in the house and the husband will get angry. Which, then, is the ideological action of the women: to light the stove, or not light the stove? Most of them started the day as follows:

I get up and light the stove first. Secondly, I prepare breakfast for the children and do housework and watch T.V. in the winter.

It is questionable whether their place in the decision-making process changes or not in the case of not lighting the stove.

3.4.2. The Place of Rural Women in the Decision-Making Process in Alibeyli

Having or not having a place in the decision-making process is ideological in character. Men decide everything in the village, but they ask women for advice in some subjects before reaching a decision, for example financial matters concerning the household. As reported in FAO:

Women in agriculture generally have not received equitable opportunities, rewards or decision-making privileges. Typically they have encountered more difficulty than men in gaining access to land, credit, technical services and commercial market outlets. This limits food production and family income. New ways to provide assistance to women directly as well as through families are therefore needed (FAO 1985:33).

Women can easily talk about the most important problems of the households. These problems have an ideological character like the trousseaux of their daughters, problems affecting the field, or infertility.

The aim is to learn the decision making process in the household by asking which subjects men ask women about the household. The answers again have a deep patriarchal basis. According to FAO reports about the rural women in agriculture:

Decisions by men or women on expenditure on basic needs varied widely by class and between the two villages. In all cases expenditure on food was predominantly in women's hands. Within each village women's authority over expenditure tended to be greatest in the poorest households and least in the middle socio-economic households. Women in this latter category were more involved in family production and least involved in wage employment and trading (FAO 1985:37).

It can be seen that there is a sexual division of labour and also that the owners of the means of production and forces of production are husbands. However, these subjects are hardly related to the decision-making process in the village. According to women in Alibeyli, husbands consult their wives on about 108 issues. These issues are divided into six categories: Firstly men consult on matters concerning fieldwork (10.2 percent of responses given by women). They consult with their wives to decide about whom will rent the field.

The husbands of some women (48.2 percent of responses given by women) consult their wives on whether they should buy or sell something. They consult what will be bought in the market, and about the needs and debts of the household. When they want to buy a car, house or a tractor, they consult their wives. Also, men consult about social issues (3.7 percent of responses given by women), such as deciding where to go for visiting or about the marriage of

their children. One of the women talks with her sons.

The husbands of some women do not consult and decide everything by themselves and do whatever they want (according to 25.9 percent of the answers given by the women). According to 2.9 percent of the answers given by women, the woman takes every decision. This is the case because there is no man to make decisions in the household. For the 11.1 percent of answers given by the women, husbands consult about everything and the couple decides everything together.

They consult their wives about the work that needs to be done in the fields when they go to work. Husbands want to know whether they can do the work they plan. Otherwise, they have to find a wage labourer. In Alibeyli, early in the morning, men take women from the home to the tobacco fields but do not work with them. Then they bring them at back 12:00 o'clock. Most of the men sit in the coffee-house between these hours if they have no work in the cotton fields.

In Peru:

In Peru, women from low income households perform field tasks requiring the use of agricultural tools such as a pick or a hoe or even a plough more often than women in better-off households. But also women among the poorer strata have greater responsibility for agricultural inputs and more often share decision-making power with their husbands than women in the higher strata (FAO 1985:8).

In reality, men decide what women must or must not do in the village. They consult about shopping because women will cook these materials in the house (Table 3.28). As has been said before, women organise the work in the villages,

because they have to make a division of labour between their housework and fieldwork. Men have to know the time of the lunch and dinner. Whatever the percentages of the answers, the important thing here is the claims made by the women about this problem.

Table 3.28

Husbands Consult Their Wives

Which subjects do men ask women for advice about in the household	N	%
For buying and selling something	52	48.2
Do not ask	28	25.9
Common decisions are taken	12	11.1
Fieldwork	11	10.2
Social issues	4	3.7
Decisions are taken by the woman	1	0.9
Total	108	100.0

There is no ideological difference between the claims:

Husbands consult with their wives about everything and husbands decide everything themselves about financial matters.

Generally, men do not consult about financial matters because it is in the area of their power. They can save or spend money however they want. FAO reports make wide claims about the subject:

It has been frequently observed that women in landless families have a strong voice in the way wages are spent. Their contributions to household income are self-evident and poverty forces a rationalisation of expenditure. There is some evidence that, where women contribute cash income from off-farm employment, their economic standing in the household is higher than if they do not. But it is less clear whether women have stronger decision-making roles in farm matters and the disposal of income on large holdings compared to small ones (FAO

1985: 37).

The only thing women do in Alibeyli is to work both in the household and in the fields. For 34.0 percent of women in Alibeyli husbands do not consult about financial matters. According to 60.8 percent of women, husbands consult about financial matters. 2.1 percent of women claim that they decide everything together about the financial matters of the household.

Table 3.29

Husbands Consult About Financial Matters

Whether men ask women about the financial matters of the household	N	%
Husbands consult about financial matters	59	60.8
Husbands do not consult about financial matters	33	34.0
They decide everything together	2	2.1
Husbands can consult if there is a deficit in the budget of the household	2	2.1
Husbands talk with their sons	1	1.0
Total	97	100.0

According to 2.1 percent of women, husbands consult if there is a deficit in the budget of the household. Men create this deficit generally because they gamble, in both of the villages. In Alibeyli, men go to Bergama to get the income generated by the tobacco every year and return home drunk with only half of the money. Women are tired of working the whole year in the tobacco fields, while their husbands spend a huge amount of this money in Bergama in one day. An important difference will occur if women get this money from TEKEL. Only 1.0 percent of women claims that husbands talk with their sons about the

financial matters of the household. Consulting men about financial matters has an ideological character.

There are four groups of problems affecting the households for the women in Alibeyli (Table 3.30). These are problems about the deficiency of the means of production and the roles played in the sexual division of labour that have to be changed. The problems faced by women that are seen in Table 3.30 that are real problems, which the women always want to solve. They have their source in their own experiences and are mostly related to the members of the household, like the husband and children. Some of the problems are seen as economic but beyond them there lie ideological reasons. Thus they can only be solved by the ideological actions of women. If we look at Table 3.26, we can see that women do not express their personal problems. They told about the low revenues earned from their produce, the high expense of education and the lack of a governmental health centre in the village.

The first group of problems is family problems, which comprise 33.9 percent of the answers⁵. The second group of problems is economic and forms 4.8 percent

⁵ Those problems are; the marriage of her son with a girl in the city; daughters' trousseaus; the marriage of the son; marriage ceremony of the daughter; the education problems and engagement of the grandchildren; circumcision of the son; the death of the father; her husband drinks too much; her daughter cannot give birth to a child; her children do not support her; she does not want her daughter to work; her sons have no future; her damaged relations with the bride and son; her neighbours do not behave well to her; the bad behaviour of her children; the jealousy and bad-temper of her husband; she has no husband and the headman prevents her from cultivating her field; troubles with her mother-in-law; her children live away from her; her husband does not tell her everything; her husband does not think of the family; she wants a separate house from her husband; the army problems of her son; conflict with the children; loneliness; her house is old; she cannot buy a house and car both for them and their sons; the higher education costs of the children; she has no washing machine; she wants to buy a house

of the answers. As problems, they mention the results when a household's sheep are stolen. Likewise defective sewer systems in the house also create problems

Table 3.30

Problems of Households in Alibeyli

The most important problems affecting the households for the women	N	%
Problems related to agriculture	95	37.8
Family problems	85	33.9
Health problems	59	23.5
Economic problems	12	4.8
Total	251	100.0

There are 251 problems and 95 of them are related to agriculture and comprising 37.8 percent of the answers. These problems are: the lack of land; drilling is not carried out because of economic problems; there is no field; the lack of income; they have debts with a high rate of interest; she wants to sell products at a high price; unemployment; the cheap price of cotton; she wants to buy a tractor; having to walk to the field. Finally, one woman has problems with the headman of the village.

Fourthly, health problems form 23.5 percent of all problems; Typical problems are: her husband is suffering from diabetes; the lack of a governmental health centre in the village; her son has died; the illness of her grandchild; some

for her daughter; she has no T.V. and refrigerator; there are no title deeds for her house; there is no water inside the home; housework; women have no idea about the value of money; she wants to live in Bergama in winter; the repair of her house; a good husband for her daughter; an infertile daughter.

women are suffering from rheumatism, heart disease, blindness and ulcers. Her daughter is deaf; her is suffering from colon cancer; and infertility.

3.4.3. Ownership and Control over Their Own Commodities

In the village, rural women own and control fewer commodities than men. This situation directly affects their place in the decision-making process. Because of their powerless position in decision-making their husbands sell the women's jewellery and fields after they have married. The only commodity women own are their trousseaux. They inform us about the trousseaux they used. The most important trousseaux of women are "kilims", "table cloths" and "laceworks". In particular, they give importance to trousseaux, which they have made for themselves. The primary materials that are sold after marriage are the woman's jewellery and her field, which is inherited from her father. In the village of Alibeyli, gold bracelets and the jewellery of the women were sold after their marriage (97.3 percent). A woman tells her experience:

My mother-in-law sold her ox to buy gold and jewellery for me before my marriage ceremony. After a month, she took them and sold them and bought her ox back again.

Table 4.31

Men Sell the Possessions of Women

Kind of personal possessions that were sold after their marriage	N	%
Jewelleries	73	97.3
Land	2	2.7
Total	75	100.0

Their husbands (2.7 percent) sell the fields of the women. All of the husbands have logical reasons for selling the possessions of women. Generally, men do not permit women to own their own field. Men try to sell fields that the household inherits from the women's family. This is an important ideological challenge to the subject situation of women by preventing them from being owners of any commodity.

Table 3.32

Why Husbands Sold the Commodities

Why they were sold	N	%
For land and livestock	35	52.2
Due to economic problems	15	22.4
Due to family problems	12	17.9
Due to health problems	5	7.5
Total	67	100.0

In patriarchal ideology, any part of the field that belongs to women disturbs the men. This is because being an owner of the field means being powerful in one's relations (Table 3.32). The jewellery and land of women are sold for land and livestock, because of economic, health and family problems. For 52.2 percent of women in Alibeyli, their jewellery and land are sold to buy land, animals, olive yards, drilling equipment, irrigation machines, cars, and tractors. For 22.2 percent of the women, their possessions are sold to pay debts. Because households are lacking money. According to 7.5 percent of women they are sold for the medical treatment of the husband of a woman, for the funeral of the husband, for a medical operation in her stomach and for going to the doctor. The possessions of 17.9 percent of women are sold to buy a car and house, to

build a house, for wedding ceremonies, for household needs such as TV and refrigerators, and for establishing a factory for her son.

In each case, the husband gives an important reason for selling these possessions, for example to buy a field, animals, or a tractor. In the village, families have no health insurance. Consequently, when they are ill, they will always go into debt to pay money to the doctor or hospital. In serious illnesses, any accumulated wealth of the household would be sold. They behave with the best interests of the family in mind and everything can be sold for the benefit of the household. The important factors here are jewellery, fields and the means of production. The only commodities possessed by women that men do not volunteer to sell are trousseaux.

As an ideology of womanhood, women do not use all of their trousseaux during their marriage in order to transfer them to their daughters. The importance of the answers in Table 3.33 lies in seeing what they use generally. Most of the women do not use some of their trousseaux and store them for their daughters. This is mostly related to womanhood.

Table 3.33
Some Trousseaux Deserve Using

The trousseaux they used	N	%
Covers	21	55.3
Glass and home utensils	15	39.5
Clothes and jewellery	1	2.6
Animals	1	2.6
Total	38	100.0

Trousseaux are the main parts of womanhood. Men have no right to or knowledge about the trousseaux of women. They store some of the trousseaux, and use others. Having trousseaux and inheriting them show their ideological character. The ideology of motherhood and womanhood is transformed from mother to daughter by means of the trousseaux. The quality of them is important. Women mostly use covers. They include bed cover, pillow, the cover-cloth for the bed, lacework, saddlebag and sacks, the end of the bedstead, carpets and kilims. They form 55.3 percent of the answers given by the women. Glass and home utensils form 39.5 percent of the answers and include the bedstead, mattress, quilt, kitchen utensils, pottery, table, vase and chest. Clothes, jewellery, traditional underclothes and fine muslin form 2.6 percent of the answers. The last trousseaux they used are animals like sheep and goats. These form 2.6 percent of the answers.

Table 3.34

Important Trousseaux for Women

The most important trousseaux	N	%
Covers	32	60.4
Clothes and jewellery	14	26.4
Glass and home utensils	7	13.2
Total	53	100.0

Trousseaux are the trager of the motherhood ideology, especially those, which are prepared, knitted and sewed by the mother. Women give more importance to some trousseaux than others. Lacework and crochet work is important because mothers for their daughters do most of them. The most important

trousseaux are generally inherited from their mothers or grandmothers.

Their most important trousseaux are covers (60.4 percent of answers given by women), which include embroideries, curtains, muslin scarves, crochet-work, cane work, cover cloths for the bedstead, pillow covers, cloths, felt shawls, kilims and carpets. Most of them are done by the women themselves when they are young girls. The second greatest importance is given to clothes and jewellery, which include baggy trousers, the wedding dress, clothes, earrings and shawls. They form 26.4 percent of the answers given by the women. The third most important trousseaux are the glass and home utensils, which include furniture, pottery, cups and lamps (13.2 percent of the answers given by the women). Their form of marriage is important for taking trousseau into account. The type of their marriage and their relations in respect to the bride price has ideological importance that affect the subject positions of women in the household.

3.4.4. Construction of Life in Marriage

Rural women propose ideological commitments and actions concerning the construction of life in marriage. These include the type of marriage and their ideas about bride price. They express the reasons for whether they want a bride price for their daughter or not. These are ideological in character and determine their place in power relations.

In the village, the type of marriage for women is important for understanding

both their views of marriage and their attitudes to their daughter's marriage. There is an inevitable marriage ideology that surrounds all females in the village from childhood to adulthood (Table 3.35).

Table 3.35

Type of Marriage of Women in Alibeyli

Type of marriage	N	%
Married to relatives	82	82.8
By "bride seeing"	12	12.1
Mutual agreement	4	4.0
By elopement	1	1.0
Total	99	100.0

Marriages between relatives are widespread in Alibeyli. 82 out of 99 women are married to relatives. 12.1 percent of women are married by the practice of "bride seeing". Their husbands are not their relatives. Four out of 99 women marry by mutual agreement. Only one woman in Alibeyli married by eloping with her partner.

Most of the women are against the tradition of bride price. For them, it is shameful to sell children and it creates trouble in married life. Furthermore, the bridegrooms' no need for this money.

Table 3.36 reveals the answers given by women for why they do not want a bride price for their daughters.

Table 3.36**They Do not Want Bride-price for Their Daughters**

Why they do not want a bride price for their daughters	N	%
This is not a tradition	49	50.6
It is shameful to sell children	19	19.6
It is a disgraceful practice	9	9.3
Eastern people do this	7	7.2
My daughter will have difficulties in marriage	7	7.2
It creates trouble in married life	2	2.1
The bridegroom's family has no need for this money	1	1.0
Another amount is taken for the property other than bride-price	1	1.0
The bridegroom's family have so many expenses	1	1.0
It is not contemporary	1	1.0
Total	97	100.0

More than half of the women (50.6 percent) think that bride price is not a tradition in Alibeyli. 7.2 percent of women in Alibeyli identify bride-price with the traditions of eastern people.

3.4.5. Control over Their Education

This now leads to the question: Do they have control over their education or not? Their control on the education of their children is significant. For example, all of the women in Alibeyli want to send their daughter to school "to prevent her from being dependent on others". Some of them prefer sons because sons will look after the parents. The predicted actions are ideological actions.

The education of the children is very important for women in both of the villages. A significant number of the women (75.5 percent) from Alibeyli

wanted to be educated more. Less than a quarter of the women (24.5) from Alibeyli did not want to be educated more.

All of the women know that the income of educated people is higher and that they do not have to work on the field as labourers if they are educated well. Therefore, they want to be educated more.

Table 3.37

They want to be educated more

The reasons given by all of the women for wanting to be educated more	N	%
To be comfortable in society	36	50.7
To have a job with salary	22	30.1
To become free from the family	10	14.9
To escape from agricultural work	3	4.3
Total	71	100.0

In every statement they gave, rural women stressed the importance of education and having a job. In reality, the main aim is to have a regular income. They know that only educated people have this kind of income. Otherwise, one has to work as a labourer in the field, a task that is tiring. Most of them understood the importance of religious education in being a good Muslim. More than half of the women want to be educated more to enable them to be comfortable in society (50.7 percent of the answers given by the women). To be comfortable in society means to have insurance and more knowledge about everything. They want to be educated more so that they can be fully literate, useful to the state, write their name, and not be boring in society. They know that educated people

have high incomes. They want to be literate and not to be ignorant. 30.1 percent of the answers prove that women want to be educated more so as to have a job with salary. The women plan to have better salary by becoming a “hoca” in Kur’an courses, a teacher, a civil servant, a doctor, a nurse and a midwife. 14.9 percent of the answers prove that women do want to take money from their husbands and earn their own money to free themselves from their family.

A small percentage of the women (4.3 percent) are disheartening by fieldwork and do not want to work in the field as a labourer. The determining reason is the demand made by women to do everything for themselves and by themselves. They claim that they are aware of the problems of education in Turkey, such as the high cost of education. Women who claim that there is a lack of educated people are from Alibeyli.

The most important difference between the boys and girls is going to school alone. Girls are forbidden to go alone, not only to school but also anywhere. This is again an ideological action that girls or women cannot do anything alone (Table 3.38).

69.4 percent of women prefer to send their sons to school. Girls always need to be protected in daily life - if there is no protection, there will be no school. However, 9.2 percent of women want to send their daughters to school. Others claim that they prefer to send the clever ones (6.1 percent of women) or both of them to school (8.2 percent).

Table 3.38**Sons Have Priority**

Which child do you prefer to send school, son or daughter?	N	%
Son	68	69.4
Daughter	9	9.2
Both son and daughter	8	8.2
The one really wants to	7	7.1
The clever one	6	6.1
Total	98	100.0

These evaluations are away from the patriarchal ideology that girls and women need protection. If there is a school in the village, girls will have the opportunity to go to school.

The reasons given by women why they prefer to send their sons to school can be seen in Table 3.39. According to 63.6 percent of the women, the son will have a job. Other important factors are: One of the women wants to send her son to school to prevent him from being poor; girls have to do housework; school is far from the village and girls should not go alone; girls will marry; boys look after their parents but girls go away; only boys might go outside the village; to enable him to earn more money; men are more useful for the state; it is necessary for boys to have a job; she does not believe that girls may go to school and finally, to enable the boy to become a civil servant. Girls will labour for other people, so there is no need to invest anything in them except trousseaux. More than half of the women in Alibeyli (63.6 percent) thinks that boys will look after their parents but girls will go to another household. They

will be the unpaid labourers of another family.

Table 3.39

Boys Are Preferred

Reasons given by women who prefer to send their sons to school	N	%
The son will have a job	42	63.6
The girl depends on her family	24	36.4
Total	66	100.0

They discuss a tradition in the village that is firmly related to patriarchy. Another important claim, which prevents them from letting their daughter go to school is that girl depends on her family (36.4 percent). They think that there is the possibility of their daughter marrying an educated man and that there is therefore no need to send them to school. Their lower education level affects their political behaviour both in general and local elections. They have been prevented from forming subject situations for themselves in the sphere of politics.

3.5. Political Actions of Rural Women

In this study the political actions of women are limited to their attitudes in both local and general elections. What they are affected by is important and this is mostly related to the power relations and patriarchal relations that exist in the household. Hartsock conceptualises the development of politics at home:

By beginning with everyday life and experience, feminism has developed a politics that incorporates an understanding of the processes and the importance of appropriating our past as an

essential element of political action. We find that we constantly confront new situations in which we act out of our changed awareness of the world and ourselves, and experience the changed reactions of others (Hartsock 1998:37).

Reasons have to be found to explain why men have more relations with other men and with the administrative staff of the village. They are engaged in the daily politics of the village. Everything about politics is discussed mostly in the village coffee-house which women are prohibited to sit in. In addition to the factors that have affected them in general and local elections, political actions are predicted by women, including strategies which are created by women themselves. Therefore, their reason for voting for the same party as their husbands forms an important part of their political actions. These involve their ideas about their actions and attitudes in general and local elections. They behave politically while determining their political actions and attitudes in general and local elections, both in the household and in politics in general.

Table 3.40

Women in General Elections

Factors That Affected Women in General Elections	N	%
Relatives, neighbours and friends	34	38.2
The characteristics of the political parties	26	29.2
Parties that promise benefits to agriculture	19	21.3
TV	8	9.0
The economic advantages of parties	2	2.2
Total	89	100.0

This is a general political question that aims to measure the attitudes of rural

women by asking questions about the factors that affect them in elections.

Relatives, neighbours and friends mostly influence them. These relatives are their husbands and grand relatives (38.2 percent). Rural women are not only influenced by their husbands or the patriarch of the household, but also by other factors such as the policies of governments and political parties (29.2 percent). The television is the best way to follow these policies, and women usually watch the news on the television (9.0 percent). One of the most important factors those affected women are the parties that promise benefits to agriculture. These parties promise to give rights to farmers by buying their products at high prices. The most important promise that a political party in Turkey can make is low inflation. Relatives who influence them are the mother-in-law, grand relatives, the son, and the husband. The characteristics of the political parties refers to the sale of consumer products, the speeches of the politicians; the past record of the political parties; the parties they are used to; Kemalist parties; the emblem of the parties; the female politicians; parties that help teachers and contend with terrorism.

The local elections are different from general elections, because the personality and identity of the candidate is very important in village conditions. Also, the status and the reliability of the candidate's family is significant (26.3 percent of women). Grand relatives, the reliability of the candidate and the political party he belongs to are important for rural women. The factors that influence women are both emotionally and logically based.

Table 3.41

Women in Local Elections

Factors that Affected Women in the Headman's Election in the Village	N	%
The services she/he will give and his/her party	42	44.2
Relatives, neighbours and friends	28	29.5
The family and the personality of the candidate	25	26.3
Total	95	100.0

All of the villagers know and recognise each other, so women can easily decide which candidate they will vote for, in accordance with the factors seen in Table 3.41. It is important to note that it is whether they vote for the same party as their husbands or not that determines the power of patriarchy.

In Alibeyli, 29.5 percent of the women are influenced by relatives, neighbours and friends (including their husbands and the preference of the village public) because they do not want to be in conflict with them. Conflicting discussions lead to quarrels in households. Sometimes their husbands show aggressive behaviour to them. Therefore, by avoiding inharmonious events in the household they accept the words of men as true. Men have strict relations in regard to political conduct in the village, and force their families and wives to vote for the same party as them. Finally, 44.2 percent of women are influenced by the services provided by the head of the village and the party he or she belongs to. Primary importance is given to a candidate whom they appreciate, who will bring water to village, and who promises improvements for the

village.

3.6. Conclusion

A feminist study has to ascertain the motives behind patriarchy and the capitalist relations of production. With the research conducted in Alibeyli, an attempt has been made to isolate the social, economic, ideological and political actions of the rural women as clues for understanding the situation of rural women in Turkish society. They are important because they have effects on the liberation of rural women in the village by informing them about their own situations. In reality, they have informed themselves by answering the questionnaires and discussing the relevant issues in interviews with me.

By these actions, this study aims to analyse the subject situations of women. The types of work done in the household are taken as social actions, because every woman has no opportunity to work outside. There is a division of labour between women according to their closeness to the male head of the household. A girl might work in the field full time when she becomes a bride. The subject positions of women determine their place in village society. The demands for migration made by a mother in law are rare in comparison with young brides and girls. Brides want to migrate and have a job in the city. Those unpaid household labourers in the village are candidates for cleaners in other women's houses in the city.

The relation of women with their fertility and the subject situations they fulfil

by having children are important. Being a mother in addition to being bride brings them a higher status and is important in determining their place in the division of labour, both in the household and village.

Women do physical work in the field and this enables them to develop income-generating ideas. These ideas are not related to fundamental economic concepts. However, the condition of not going to the coffee-house or gambling is a way to increase the income of the households. They want to be more economic in spite of demanding wages for their unpaid labour.

Their economic position affects their place in the decision making process. Mostly men take all members of the household work, but decisions for spending money. Although women work in every stage of tobacco production, men might spend the money earned from the tobacco crop in one night. A woman tells the story:

Men own the tobacco permits that are given by TEKEL to pay for the crop. Women work the whole year and men go to Bergama to receive the money. On the same day, most of the men spend this money in restaurants and come back home drunk. They regret doing this afterwards, however it does not solve the problem of debt.

This is an important example, which illustrates that being the owner of a field or fields enables men to have the tobacco permit and spend the money they gain from the crop. The fact that men own the property affects the political behaviour of women in the village. Their husbands influence them because they claim that men own everything. In the election of the village head, the

interpersonal relations in the village are important for all of the villagers as all are neighbours and thus have knowledge about each other.

What the rural women in the villages in which this study was carried out have claimed during the interviews will be discussed further in Chapter Four.



CHAPTER 4

ATTITUDES OF WOMEN TO BASIC ELEMENTS AND CONDITIONS OF RURAL LIFE

4.1. Introduction

Social, economic, ideological and political actions of women, which include the life experiences of women, determine their attitudes to wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land. In this study, the attitudes of women are derived from in-depth interviews.

As an important life experience and social action of woman, marriage caused a change in her attitudes to wage labour. When they are in family home, they might force them to hire wage labour. However, they prevent it in their husband's household. They understand that income is lacking to hire wage labour and the way to become unpaid is opened.

Firstly, the concept of rural women needs a definition. Rural women work on another person's land as unpaid household labourers. For Flora (1987), rural women have a heavier reproductive load than urban women and lack basic social infrastructure like ready access to potable water, electricity, transportation, and also their domestic technology is rudimentary.

The same formation applies to the case of rural women in Turkey. They lack most facilities (advantages) which are provided for urban women. Not only the basic infrastructure, such as electricity, transportation, education, health services, but also basic social, political, cultural and ideological opportunities transform their unpaid household labour to wage labour. Kandiyoti (1990) has assumptions about defining the rural women that they are de facto food producers and active participants in the agrarian sectors of the Third World. Secondly, there are constraints on their productivity related to the labour time that involved in their daily household maintenance tasks. Those tasks indicate adult woman's extremely long working day and documented in time budget studies like water fetching, fuel collection, food processing and preparation. Any reduction and freeing of labour time from these tasks diverted women to income generating activities (Kandiyoti 1990:7-9).

In Alibeyli, women do not have enough spare time due to heavy housework and fieldwork. However, the opportunity of creating income-generating activities is deficient. It is questionable for them having the possibility to involve in income generating activities in the case of having enough spare time. The reasons lie behind this is the sexual division of labour and ownership of property of women. FAO reports suggest similar argument below:

The extent of women's participation in agriculture depends on a number of macro- and micro-level factors such as price policies for different crops, the availability of credit for different enterprises and the stage of the family cycle and, therefore, the ages and needs of children. However, the main factors appear to

be cultural patterns for the male/female division of labour; socio-economic status; competing demands on women's time and hence their opportunity costs; and the amount of land and other productive resources available (FAO 1985:6).

In Alibeyli, cotton production is relatively mechanised but production of tobacco is still labour intensive. Does the mechanisation of production activities in rural areas bring forth an advantage for women in the labour market? In Alibeyli, it is very difficult for women to participate in the wage labour market. This is because men dominate the labour market.

The opportunity for women to participate in the wage-labour market ends when production of the dominant crop can be mechanised. Few women are hired for mechanised wheat production in India, for example. Moreover, women workers often receive lower pay than men (FAO 1985:14).

Cotton production is more mechanised in comparison to tobacco production. Then, women work more in the production of tobacco. Landless families produce tobacco by hiring land. The headman of the village informs us:

Landless families might create income opportunities for themselves by hiring the fields of other villagers for producing tobacco. They hire the land of old people who could not produce anything.

Beside the lack of participation, women have no chance to set up business in Alibeyli. For setting up a business, one needs a sufficient amount of capital. It is however very difficult to see how women accumulate a certain amount of capital to set up a business. The conditions under which rural women are engaged in production activities minimise the likelihood of saving money. It is the forms of unpaid family labour that considerably unable women to free

themselves from men's oppression. This is where patriarchy intersects with gender and the formation of unpaid family labour. Women have no opportunity to take credit from the bank or TARIS because they have no property of their own especially land. As FAO reports suggest:

What has to be worked out is how to cut down the transaction cost of credit by simplifying procedures; how to help women organise and train other women to form groups that qualify for credit available to all farmers rather than the limited credit available only to women; and how to help women enhance their productivity and income with the credit they receive and establish a good credit record which is helpful for future loans. Once existing institutions adopt new practices appropriate to women's situation, great progress will have been made (FAO 1985:77).

Then they have to create these opportunities in the village by being paid. In this way it is important to understand the attitudes of the women to wage labour in Alibeyli.

4.2. Wage Labour

The possibility of women being wage labourers is weak in Alibeyli. They are lacking the ownership of land and commodities, which affect their economic mobility and their place in income generating activities, determine their situations in marriage and in the sexual division of labour. It affects their place in decision making. Their lack of control on their education is another important challenge to be paid. Their unpaid situation prevents them to acquire an autonomous political behaviour.

Women (especially married) are against wage labourers coming from outside,

i.e. from other villages or from other households. They prefer working as unpaid household family workers and not to pay money to outsiders. This is determined according to division of labour among women in the household. According to sexual division of labour that is prevalent in the village, most women work at picking tobacco and cotton but men like driving tractors do most work related to machines. Seasonal wage labour is hired only for picking cotton. Most processes of fieldwork depend on women. By using reciprocal labour exchange methods, they pick tobacco and threading. The traditional sexual division of labour is prevalent in the village.

In Alibeyli, although the work of women is determined by tobacco, in cotton production, they are prohibited to do some works. It creates an important challenge to the economic mobility of women for getting wage. It also affects her place in the decision making process in the village. A woman said that:

Women do not irrigate of cotton, drive tractors, carry loads like the basket of tobacco and sacks of cotton in the field, fertilise and sow cotton and prepare the fields for production and sell the tobacco and cotton in the market.

In Alibeyli, in the production of tobacco, women except carrying the baskets and selling the tobacco in the market do all of the processes. In cotton production women can only pick cotton and clear wild plants from the fields. Income of some families comes from these works that can not done by machines.

They are too busy and have no time during the working season. They have no

possibility to control the land. A woman summarised the whole day:

We get up at four o'clock in the morning and go to the field to pick tobacco until 12:00 a.m. We return home and cook and eat the lunch and thread tobacco until 19:00 p.m. The women who help us for picking tobacco again help us in threading. Then, we cook the dinner and try to sleep until 4:00 o'clock in the morning.

In Alibeyli, women prefer to be wage earners in factories. For them wage can only be earned only by working in a factory. It indicates that rural women regard paid work better than the work they do in the village. They would like to rely on wage income to satisfy their needs but this seems quite difficult to see how this will emerge in the village economy.

Their answers to the possibility of increasing their incomes are not in line with the rules of market economy. For example, they do not try to get credit from the bank. A woman tells her experience below:

For getting credit from the bank, I have to own land. This is why they give to men. After the death of my husband, I began to take the money from the bank and TEKEL¹. I visited the head of the bank frequently to persuade him that I could pay the debts as a woman. The head of the bank believed me but the headman does not. This year he prevents me to take permit from Tekel for tobacco. Last year, because of the death of my son I did not pay the debt and the villagers did. But I beg him and try to persuade him. We have no income other than tobacco.

In the village, there are few men seeking wage labour outside the village. The attempts to increase income are sought for within the circle of the village.

Women are participated in agriculture as unpaid household family labourers.

Accessing to wage labour is related with capital accumulation in agriculture as

Sen argues:

Powerful forces connected with mechanisms of capital accumulation in agriculture tend to lessen the differences in the rates of women's participation in wage labour across regions with markedly different pre-existing gender relations. Second, there is also a tendency toward similarity in the gender-biased hierarchies among agricultural wage-labourers (Sen 1982:31).

In Alibeyli, products are sold after harvesting time and women are no need to fetch water because there is potable water in the households. The household is the main arena of labour of women. According to the sexual division of labour in the village, women have no possibility of accessing paid labour. They wanted to have but their husbands do not permit them. The only type of paid labour they could reach is in the village. Therefore, they have no possibility of having a work outside the village. The abolition of this form of sexual division of labour might be possible only by migrating to city. Deer and Le Deal (1982) discusses the changes in the form of sexual division of labour:

When production for the world market was introduced in this area, older forms of the sexual division of labour were not abolished but, rather, were used, reinforced, and reinterpreted. Thus, the female labour force was divided along the lines of (despised) agricultural workers and (respected) housewives. Similarly, the overall hierarchical division of labour along sex-specific lines, dating from earlier stages of history of these communities, was preserved in a transformative way. To understand the nature of this division and its transformation, it is necessary to look at the relationship between women and men within the family, partly because the basic division of labour between productive and reproductive work, which came about under the impact of capitalist production relations, made the family the main arena of women's work. But this work is not autonomous work (Deere and Leal 1982:16).

¹ an institution of government that orders the tobacco production in Turkey.

This is again true for rural women in Turkey. Some works are prohibited to women as mentioned above. If there are no woman, men might use wage labourers. There are a few women in the village who worked as wage labourers. Mostly they are widows. Other than widows' women exchange labour. Almost all women are unpaid household labourers in the village. In Deere and Leal's study, the situation is somewhat different:

In terms of the paid temporary labour force, the relations of production differ considerably between the two regions. Whereas majority of temporary workers in Garcia Rovira are contracted through the reciprocal labour exchange, the majority of temporary workers in El Espinal are wage labourers. Whereas few women appear among those who exchange labour in the noncapitalist region, relations of production in El Espinal have resulted in the employment of women. Women are an important component of the wage labour force in harvesting, processing, and cultivation (Deere and Leal 1982:76).

The alternative labour force to replace women's labour is seasonal wage labour. However, it is not widespread in the village except the times of harvesting cotton. Women were asked whether it is possible for men to produce cotton and tobacco by using wage labour other than women labour. In Alibeyli women mostly agree that the production of cotton and tobacco is impossible without women. Heavy work of women is necessitated in the tobacco production. Otherwise, men have to hire wage labour and they will not work. Women believe that men relieve producing tobacco instead of hiring labourer. Deere and Leal put the same in a different argument:

...The sexual division of labour varies by region, and within each region, and within each region, according to the form of labour

procurement. In terms of regional differences, the data show that women constitute a much more important component of the labour force employed in fieldwork in the regions with a higher proportion of wage labour than in the region where noncapitalist relations prevail. The variation in female participation by form of labour procurement indicates that women are much more important within the familial labour force than among the labour recruited from outside the household (Deere and Leal 1982:779).

Labour-market participation of men and women is not prevalent in the village.

Labour-intensive work for tobacco and cotton necessitates more labour and mostly provided by a high female labour participation as unpaid family labourers. There are seasonal wage labourers hired during the harvesting time of cotton but the women in the village do not work as wage labourers.

There is an important difference in female participation with respect to relations of production. In Garcia Rovira, where noncapitalist relations predominate, few women are found among the labour force recruited through reciprocal labour exchanges. In contrast, in regions where wage labour constitutes an important form of labour procurement, women are a significant component of the wage labour employed on peasant farms. This is particularly the case in the region of advanced capitalist development, lending weight to the proposition that the development of capitalist relations of production leads to a less rigid or delineated sexual division of labour in productive activities (Deere and Leal 1982:77).

In contrast to study by Deere and Leal below, in Alibeyli, inability to achieve the means of production does not lead to the rise of employment of wage labour. The same case applies to men. Neither men nor women seek work as wage labourers. If there is an unprecedented increase of labour demand, exchange their labour power with other women in the village to meet the labour requirement.

The starting point of wage labour/capital relations is unequal access to means of production. Insufficient access to the means of production of subsistence is what compels direct producers to sell their labour for a wage. And access ... farm spurs the use of wage labour and allows incipient accumulation. This process of social differentiation among direct producers can thus be characterised in terms of unequal access to means of production and the extent to which direct producers engage in wage labour (Deere and Leal 1982:79).

As Deere and Leal suggests below, in Alibeyli women from landless and smallholder households participate in agricultural production by exchanging their labour except widows as mentioned above. Woman 19:

Landless and smallholder households produce only tobacco and exchange labour with other women like them. Their husbands sit in the coffee house.

Those households hire land for tobacco production for having income. In Alibeyli, it is impossible to produce cotton by hiring land. It is necessitated to have tractor and other means of production. Landless and smallholder households do not exhibit a high participation of wage labour. However, the situation is different in the studies of Deere and Leal:

In all three regions women from landless and smallholder households exhibit much higher participation rates than women from the other strata. In fact the involvement of women from middle and rich peasant households in the labour market is negligible. In all three regions men's labour market participation rates exceed those for women, and in El Espial and Cajamarca, significantly so, the labour market participation data suggests that the development of capitalism in rural areas proletarianises both men and women, but that male participation in wage labour is quantitatively more significant (Deere and Leal 1982:84).

In their case studies, Deere and Leal (1982:86) argued that the development of rural industries has drawn women into activities that they performed in the

home; the tedious, repetitive, and labour-intensive tasks associated with tobacco processing and the textile industry. In Alibeyli women see the possibility of participating in the wage labour market is usually through factories.

In addition, the type of employment available to women is closely associated with low wages (Deere and Leal 1982:79). Mies added that although the social appearances of women are housewives, they are wage labourers and fully integrated into a system oriented to world labour market. Although she evaluates the agricultural labourers, small artisans, and subsistence peasants as semi-proletarianised, she situates the women who do lacework as semidomesticated (Mies 1982:15).

In Alibeyli, rural women make lacework both for themselves and for the market, but their production is not like the women whom Mies talked about. Handicraft is only possible in winter when they are not engaged in agricultural work.

In Alibeyli, women want to set up similar kinds of jobs like a grocer's shop, bakery, hairdresser for ladies, tailor's shop, shop selling ready made clothes, glassware shop, restaurant for themselves. Also, they want to buy land. In Alibeyli, women lack access to these income-generating activities. As ILO reports argue that women have repeatedly lost access to income-generating activities that are taken over by men or machines, and frequently a combination

of both (ILO 1984:52). The conditions of their access to income-generating activities are not good and are symbolised by low wages. Especially in rural areas Date-bah argues:

(In Africa) ... low wages presuppose keeping food prices relatively low in addition to non-wage supplements that are provided by non-wage members of the worker's household, i.e. mostly women and children (Date-bah 1984:2).

In Alibeyli, the wages of women are low and have not an important effect on the price of foods. They only substitute a huge amount of wage labourer in the fields. As FAO reports:

In many countries the percentage of women classified as 'unpaid family workers' predominates among economically active women, although their numbers may be significant in other categories as well (FAO 1985:2).

FAO reports go on to argue that the mechanisation of the production of dominant crop gives an end to the participation of rural women in the wage-labour market. In India few women are hired for mechanised wheat production and they receive lower pay than men (FAO 1985:14) do.

It is necessary to make a comparison between tobacco and cotton production: the production of cotton is highly mechanised whereas the production of tobacco still remains labour intensive. Women work only at harvesting weeding in the production of cotton. Cotton is relatively a capital-intensive product, but tobacco is a labour-intensive product, which means that rural women work in all processes of tobacco production. Tobacco production is clearly identified with rural women in Alibeyli.

Mies criticised the concept of labour as it is usually reserved for activity that produces surplus value. This definition tends to exclude a large proportion of women's activities (Mies 1982:2).

Women are either excluded from the economic activities that produce the surplus commodities or they are unpaid although they are included. Women in Alibeyli work on their husband's own field as unpaid household labourers.

They have numbers of reasons like below:

We are living under the same roof and working for the future of our children and sit around the same table for the lunch. We can not get wage but we are working on our own property for the cost of the bread.

Rural women have to work because of their lower position in respect to their husbands, both inside and outside of the household. They carry out their motherhood roles, as there are children whose needs have to be met. In the village, women point out that they would like to buy whatever they need but the problem is that do not have enough money to do that. A woman clarifies the situation below:

Our income is deficient. We begin with debt to each year. At the end of harvesting time we pay our debt but take again to spend it whole year for the needs of the household. How could we find the money to give wage labourers?

Women are against paying wage labourers. The necessity of women to work on their own land is a tradition. They make a distinction between working as a wage labourer and an unpaid household labourer. While the former demand money easily from their boss, the latter cannot because all products, which

belong to them, are from their fields. However, some women think that the situation is not equal:

We work on our husband's own fields and they take whole amount of money. We can not save money and we oblige to demand money from our husbands for purchasing something.

This means that they have a limited access to income generated from production activities. They define working as a wage labourer as working on one's own land, for the purpose of buying everything for their need and sharing their wages with their husbands. On the contrary, by working on their husbands' own land saving money seems difficult for them. In this way, rural women have limited access to cash income in comparison with men concerning the purchasing power. They have no dealings with cash income because they cannot own it. Those who own it are their husbands as the symbol of the patriarchal power. A woman define her agreement:

Our husbands sell the products and money is in their hands. Women are dependent to men. We work but we don't see even a little amount of this money. We excluded from the income of the household. We buy nothing without the permission of our husbands.

The exclusion of women from income means to have no purchasing power. Since their husband control the production and reproduction processes in the household and in the field, they cannot own cash due to the patriarchal relations, which favour men. Woman 12:

Women can not work and travel outside the village, then men own the cash income in the household. Purchasing the income is easy for men compare to women. They have no need taking permission

from anybody.

In report of FAO (1985), the use of cash income by women is generalised in developing countries:

The two main issues for women in cash cropping are: a) the competition it presents for labour and land they would otherwise use to produce food, and b) women's ability to ensure that returns from cash cropping are as committed to satisfying basic household needs as would be the returns from food crop production only: The new male/female division of control over cash income may not match the traditional obligations of household members to meet household maintenance requirements (FAO 1985:36).

In Alibeyli, a woman must not go alone to a bank, should not visit the merchant or cooperative by herself. She is also forbidden to work outside the village by her own decision. A woman in Alibeyli admitted that:

Although a few women take permit of tobacco, women are not permitted to go to bank and take credit. The title deeds of lands are belonging to men and they have to go to bank. Only Zehra and Ayse have title deeds.

Ayse and Zehra have title deeds because they have no men. Zehra is a widow.

Ayşe's husband is mentally ill. They told their own stories below.

Zehra:

My husband and elder son died and my other son is in prison because of elopement. I hire land and produce tobacco every year. I go to TEKEL to take money with other men in the village every year.

Ayse:

My husband has been mentally ill since the marriage. I could not

see him until the wedding night and I aware of his illness in the morning after the wedding night. My father-in-law was a rich man and had enough amounts of land and tractor. After his death, my husband could not manage the work and began to sell the land partly. After he lived an amount of land that is enough for tobacco production, I apply court for taking the title deeds of the land. We had all means of production. But now, I had to sell all of them. I have two sons and now they grow enough to help me. We sold the tractor last year. I decide everything with my sons now. If I know those things I would manage the work at the time.

As can be seen above, rural women have a very limited decision-making power for going to work both for inside and outside the village. All these allow them to have limited advantages to have a paid work. Rural women work in the field and household for the income, which they could not purchase. Women like in the situation of Ayse might redefine the work in Alibeyli. Ayse has to define her work in the household. Croll makes a similar argument:

The incorporation of women into social production or the waged labour force required a new definition of their work that fundamentally challenged the traditional division of labour (Croll 1982:223).

The transformation of rural women into wage labourers seems a remote possibility in Alibeyli. No matter whether the plot is small or the household has a large amount of land. The production of tobacco is the responsibility of women. Without female labour it is difficult to produce tobacco, as women do not work for a wage. They work to provide a higher income for the household. Their solutions for increasing the incomes of the household are mostly related to working very hard on the land. A woman answered that:

For higher productivity it has to be cultivated with a variety of

crops to give a higher yield. The combination of good weather and irrigation facilities has important effects on income level. Moreover, we work very hard, produce food at home and consume little money. These significantly increase the income of the household.

Another woman continues that:

If husbands do not hire wage labourers, the income of the household will increase.

They do not think about the opportunities to become wage labourers. Although most of the agricultural labour force consists of women in Turkey, as in Iraq below, they cannot emancipate themselves from the role of being unpaid household labourers:

In Iraq 41% of the agricultural labour force is officially estimated to be women. While most of this work is undertaken in small-scale family units, even in this region there may be class divisions with the poorest women working for wages. Throughout the Near East, whether or not women work very much in food or cash crop agriculture, they are almost everywhere heavily involved in dairy production. They are also skilled livestock breeders. Poultry, eggs and dairy products are also often sold by women (FAO 1985:15).

In another region in Mexico, the situation is differentiated according to the type of product, like the difference between the production of tobacco and cotton in Alibeyli. According to FAO reports in Fredonia in the Zapotec region of Mexico:

In areas where cash cropping is undertaken by families together with food production on small farms, women may work in both agricultural sectors. ... But in households with more land, of around 1 hectare, coffee production is the primary responsibility of male head; his wife and children help him, particularly

through seasonal employment. Yet even in these households the adult males are obliged to seek seasonal work locally or elsewhere on larger holdings. ... These two examples show that the moderate commercialisation of agriculture increases women's participation in agricultural production, especially as paid labour. In situations where men migrate, women are most likely to be employed on neighbouring farms. The seasonality of this work helps to explain why censuses and surveys record so few of them as participating in agriculture (FAO 1985:24-25).

It is true that large-scale production of cotton provides women paid employment. In Alibeyli, for example, during the harvesting season, seasonal wage labourers are hired beside the unpaid household labourers. They come from the Southeast and East Anatolian regions of Turkey for seasonal wage labour. Rural women from the village gain no advantage from being wage labourers, except if they are from poor households. The wages of these women are lower in comparison with men. FAO reports confirm this argument for both Africa and Asia:

The expansion of the large-scale production of crops such as tea, cotton and coffee usually provides women with preferential access to seasonal wage employment. Plucking leaves seems to be viewed as a particularly female skill, especially in Asia, possibly because women provide a cheaper labour force than men for this highly labour intensive task. Using women for the similarly labour intensive tasks of transplanting and weeding rice is usual on large commercial farms as well (FAO 1985:46).

In Alibeyli, wage labourers are hired only during the period of cotton harvesting, these being the lowest paid wage labourers. As a result, unpaid household labour is the main form of labour in agricultural production in Alibeyli.

4.3. Unpaid Household Family Labour

Women are lacking to become wage labourer and take place the production and reproduction processes as unpaid household labour. As unpaid household labourers they have no economic mobility and the possibility of generating income. They become unpaid according to sexual division of labour. However, there is a division of labour among unpaid women according to their place in the household by their age and status. Migration is an important social action of the unpaid women to be paid in the city. In the village, household labour consists of rural women. Women as a weapon against wage labour that come out of the village use their unpaid household labour. They work in all stages of production, which determines the sexual division of labour in the village. According to Beneria (1982:123), there is the problem of defining who is an unpaid family worker because censuses classify workers according to their “main occupation”. Then as a tendency women are underreported as workers in agriculture or any other type of nondomestic production. Although they are clearly tied to market women at home perform some activities. Beneria gives the examples of cloth making for non-family members or selling of handicrafts.

Unpaid household labourers are the bone fide members of the family: that is a woman. Their duty is to maximise profit by working on the land. In Alibeyli, women accept that they work on their husband’s own field without getting a pay. All women in Alibeyli work on their husband’s own fields as unpaid household labourers, because they think that they have to work for bread

money because the status of women is lower than that of men. Moreover, the children must be looked after. If women would work as wage labourers, they could have a control on money, which they earned. In Alibeyli, women think opposite the argument below:

If we were to work for pay, we would have no possibility to keep the money away from our husbands.

Beneria (1982) told about the biased statistics that do not evaluate women as labourers who work as unpaid household labourers. For her, conventional labour force statistics has to be approached with great scepticism for evaluating the women's participation in statistics (Beneria 1982:123-124).

Mies (1982) continues to make a similar argument that women are defined as housewives socially and this serves to obscure the true production relations and consolidates their exploitation both ideologically and politically (Mies 1982:15).

If it is looked at the Peruvian case in which Deere and Leal (1982) have made studies in two regions (Garcia Rovira and El Espinal). They evaluate the unpaid household labour as follows:

In both regions, women's participation is relatively more significant among unpaid family workers than among paid labour, which includes labour remunerated in cash, in kind, or by labour exchange. The data point to the much more important role of women within the familial labour force in the region of advanced capitalist development, and once again suggest that the sexual division of labour in agricultural production in the noncapitalist region is more rigid, with women's involvement in crop production quite restricted (Deere

and Leal 1982:76).

Date-Bah (1984) defines unpaid household chores:

Unpaid household chores are another major burden on women that improved technology could lighten considerably. The search for water can be long and the distance it is carried very far. It is often contaminated and many rural people suffer from diseases related to the impure water supplies. Firewood and other household fuels must be gathered from far-flung areas in order for the women to even begin some of their duties, such as cooking (Date-Bah ILO 1984:91).

In spite of doing housework, women prefer working in the fields because they think that they earn money from the fieldwork. A woman supports that:

The weather is very hot in the times of fieldwork. However, I prefer fieldwork. Not going to fieldwork means to stay at home and do housework like washing the clothes and dishes and cooking. Mostly, my mother-in-law stays at home for housework. When we return from field the lunch has to be ready.

Women put the differences between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer. Demanding money is difficult for a woman:

I cannot demand money from my husband as easily as I demand money from the boss. While I am working in our own field, my husbands take all the money. In contrast, working for a wage means a freedom of spending my own money.

According to FAO reports, in many countries the percentage of women classified as 'unpaid family workers' predominates among economically active women, although their numbers may be significant in other categories as well (FAO 1985:2).

The unpaid household labour of rural women does not appear in the official

statistics as they are defined as housewives: "the main source of omission of female labour from statistical returns is widely thought to be an adequate coverage of unpaid family labour" (FAO 1985:2).

FAO continue to report that there are three sources of enumeration problems of women's labour. Firstly, national census offices exclude much of the seasonal farm working which women are mainly engaged in. Secondly, the population census defines people's economic activity by their stated primary occupation. If the respondent records a woman's primary occupation as "housewife", she is excluded from the "economically active population" even though her agricultural activities may be economically significant. Thirdly, cultural attitudes to suitable roles for women can inhibit recognition of their economic activities. Tasks, which are performed by women, are defined as part of domestic work (FAO 1985:3).

In Alibeyli, women think that they must do all work together with their husbands. They make the arguments below:

I get no wage while working on my husbands' field. We are living in the same house and sit around the same table for lunch and dinner. I want to work together with him.

Another woman claims that:

If I construct a family, I have to work. I have children and their future is important for me. What will I do with the money that I took from my husband? I will spend the money for my children, then there is no difference.

FAO reports support this argument that the concept is important because the

individual fields come from family holdings. In this way, husbands and wives tend to assist each other with labour and loans before supporting the collective operations even they are based on an economic exchange (FAO 1985:19). This brings forth the importance of sexual division of labour in the household. Sexual division of labour is formed according to sex, age, crop and degree of mechanisation in relation to work, which could be done both in the field and house, determines the status of women in Alibeyli.

4.4. Sexual Division of Labour

Sexual division of labour is the determinant of so many structures and processes in the village. The unpaid situation of women, which comes from there lacking of ownership of land and commodities, resulted from the division of labour among women in the household. It also determines the place of women in decision making process and challenges the economic mobility and income generating activities of women. Also, the control of women on education and their political behaviour is affected from the sexual division of labour.

The sexual division of labour in the village is organised in such a way in which patriarchal structure is produced and reproduced in the production process. Capitalism and patriarchy rest on these social and economic relations. According to FAO reports, the agricultural tasks are partly or wholly gender specific. In a given culture they are defined as appropriate to one or the other

sex. For example, in some cases work that has traditionally been done by women is taken over by men once it has been mechanised. This report goes on to argue that rural women are not sufficiently involved in the planning and implementation of development. Even where women's groups are active in production, where women's production responsibilities differ sharply from men's, and where there are many female-headed households, officials and specialist often assume that consultation with women is not required (FAO 1985:6).

In addition, Flora (1987) argues that gender division of labour in agriculture is responsive to a number of technical variables. Those are specific crops and tasks, the labour intensity of the activity, the attendant degree of mechanisation - and the social characteristics of the peasant household and the women herself - such as class, the family cycle, kinship position and age (Flora 1987). In Alibeyli, the sexual division of labour is differentiated according to the type of crop, sex, age and degree of mechanisation. Fieldwork is divided as men's and women's work. As the main products, the work of tobacco and cotton differentiated according to the workload, sex and age. By degree of mechanisation it is meant a decrease in the use of unpaid household labour. A woman from the village argues that:

The responsibilities of fieldwork belong to women in the village. Mostly we work together according to a division of labour. But, women work more than men do for they work for others by exchanging their labours. Men do not.

For Longhurst (1982), in Gambia, Kenya, Ghana, Bangladesh, there is a seclusion of women. As a result of this, it is given very little chance to protect their skills and markets or to join with other women for economic power. According to him, forms of dependence of women on men vary between married and unmarried women and between families of different economic status. Married women do not do certain types of work such as on farm cultivation (Longhurst 1982:112).

In Alibeyli, married women do most of the work both in the household and the field. Work is divided according to sex and type of crop produced. For Deere and Leal, sexual division of labour varies by region and according to the form of labour procurement:

Women constitute a much more important component of the labour force employed in fieldwork in the regions with a higher proportion of wage labour than in the region where noncapitalist relations prevail. The variation in female participation by form of labour procurement indicates that women are much more important within the familial labour force than among the labour recruited from outside the household (Deere and Leal 1982:77).

In Alibeyli a women suggests that:

We do not irrigate and dig small water canals for the field, empty cotton from the sacks. We are not allowed to go to the mill for grinding and to winnow. We have little financial resources to set up coffee-house, blacksmith and market steel pots.

In the study of Longhurst, the obligations of men and women are clearly defined as in Alibeyli:

Among the Moslem Hausa, the obligations between a man and

his wife are clearly defined: he provides food, water, firewood, housekeeping money, and shelter for the family, and gifts of cloth and perfume at festival times: she provides labour for food preparation, childcare and general domestic chores. Therefore, she is not expected to work on farms or fetch water. If he does not provide food from his own farm, he must purchase it for the communal cooking-pot. As long as these obligations are met, each can pursue income-earning opportunities. The arrangement is not always as fixed as this, wives providing food for the cooking pot in some cases (Longhurst 1982:98).

In Alibeyli, there is a strict division of labour between men and women. Most housework is done by women but fieldwork is divided as women's work and men's work. Deere and Leal (1982) analyse the effects of uneven development across three Andean regions. Moreover, the process of social differentiation internal to the region on the sexual division of labour in peasant agricultural production and wage employment:

We argue that an analysis of economic factors must be taken into account to explain the variation in the sexual division of labour within productive activities and between productive and reproductive activities. While we do not analyse the basis of women's subordination, we illustrate the manner in which the sexual division of labour in production tends to built upon women's subordinated position in the sphere of reproduction (Deere and Leal 1982:66).

In Alibeyli, there is no seasonal migration of males. This has affected the sexual division of labour in the village. Only mechanisation can make some changes in the sexual division of labour. The traditional sexual division of labour is prevalent in the village. Work in the household and in the fields is divided into women's work and men's work. In Alibeyli, women are not involved in work that requires physical strength. In the case of India, in some

areas men work as migrant labourers and women do more agricultural work, even plowing. Generally, plowing was almost done by men. Those are the owner cultivators, his family members, permanent farm servants (Sen 1982:35-36).

Women, despite their low participation rates, performed a fairly wide range of tasks. They levelled the fields in some regions, and loaded, unloaded, and spread the farm manure. In irrigation, while men mainly banded and made water courses, women actually applied water except in the northern, prosperous region of Punjab. Planting and sowing were done by women, who followed the plow, dropping seeds, and transplanted rice seedlings where rice was grown. Women also hoed and weeded in all regions. The harvesting season involved a large number of women casual workers- the more prosperous, northern region of Punjab, men cut the wheat crop while women were more involved in picking cotton, plucking corn and millet, harvesting groundnuts, and stripping sugarcane before it was crushed. Thus, although women traditionally form a relatively small fraction of the agricultural labour force, and although there was a fairly rigid sexual division of labour in fieldwork, they performed a quite variety of tasks. This has been changed by the new technology. (Sen 1982:35-36)

In Alibeyli, men own land and the means of production for agriculture and they only dictate the work both in field and in the household. Rural women make it clear that rural women lay these criterions down themselves. Most of the women claimed as follows:

Man is the head of the family. Woman has no right to talk and stay at home. They determine the division of labour of work together. Mostly, men dictate works to other members of the household, because they are the owners of the means of production.

Mies (1982) argued that men mostly control the productive and reproductive work of rural women.

If social division of labour means that some men control the means of production, and thus the labour of other men and women, the sexual division of labour means of reproduction, that is, their women and their productive and reproductive work. Domestication or "housewifisation" is the main mechanism by which this control is achieved (Mies 1982:17).

Deere and Leal (1982) put a different argument that women's productive work is affected by changes in the relations of production which vary according to the class position of different groups of women. The variation in the sexual division of labour over time and across class groupings suggests that the division of labour by sex in productive activities is not just culturally determined, but it is also responsive to material conditions of production (Deere and Leal 1982:66).

In Alibeyli, the sexual division of labour in agriculture differs according to the type of product. A women argues that:

We, except carrying the baskets home from the fields and selling the final products at the market do all work relating to tobacco. In the production of cotton, men do the plowing, irrigation and the selling of the final products in the market.

In ILO reports, Tadesse argued about Africa that the sexual division of labour in food production is both task and crop specific. In Alibeyli, women are responsible for the activities of food production. In a similar vein, Tadesse (1984) argues that:

Men are primarily involved in land clearing, grow perennial crops, provide meat, raise larger animals, while women are responsible for hoeing, planting, thinning and weeding, caring for the small domestic animals. In addition, women are responsible for the time-consuming and numerous tasks

associated with the preservation and preparation of food. Given the nature of rural underdevelopment in Africa, these tasks can take up to four times as long as all the work hours spent on the cultivation of the crop. In almost all cases, women are responsible for providing most of the food consumption needs of the family (Tadesse ILO 1984:69).

In Alibeyli, women are only responsible for cooking of the food, not providing the materials of it. In contrast to Africa, women find food easily for the preparation of food. They can buy everything from the market beside producing them. Woman tells that:

We produce green bean, tomatoes, green pepper and apple. We buy eggplant, potatoes, onion and dried beans from the market. Oil, sugar, tea and other fundamental foods are bought from the grocery shops in the village.

In addition, the labour carried out by women and children does not appear in the official statistics. In the ILO reports, Tadesse argues about the exclusion of women and children in rural production:

The concept of rural development, on the other hand, encompasses a variety of planned agricultural changes ranging from large commercial farming which hire both permanent and seasonal labour and extension programmes for individual farm households. With the exception of the large highly mechanised farms, the implementation of these changes is premised on the availability of unremunerated family labour. Rural women and children participate in many aspects of the labour process but do not control the final product. They are not really 'integrated'. Not every member in the household benefits equally from the process. With the primary aim of producing for the international or urban market, the process entails varying degrees of changes in the cropping pattern, maximum use of land, use of purchased inputs, demand of more labour and the use of machinery, technical changes which maintain and intensify the hierarchisation of sex roles (ILO 1984:67).

On the other hand, Dhamija (1984) makes claims about the need to break out of

the concepts of masculine/ feminine tasks, and consider why certain activities, e.g. sewing and making pottery by hand, are for women and others, e.g. machine operation and using the potter's wheel, are for men. For her, it is true that one should recognise taboos, but one should also try to break taboos (Dhamija 1984:35). How and by which mechanisms are those taboos could be broken? Most women in Alibeyli think that women do some work because men refuse to do such work. Woman 3:

Men do not do housework like washing the dishes, clothes and cooking.

The reason is that men believe through tradition and upbringing that this is women's work and those women cannot know or understand men's work. The differences in physical power affect the division of labour both in the household and in the village. As can be seen from the answers given by women, this sexual division of labour depends on traditions, certain types of work belonging to men and others to women. In this way, Tadesse argues that:

... Particular importance to the debate on women's roles has been needed to conceptualise the significance of the sexual division of labour. This in turn has generated initial inquiries: what are the tasks and responsibilities of women, men and children at the farm level, in the household and in the community? Do these tasks and responsibilities change over time? How does the society value each task ... To understand the role of women, we have to first look at the determinants of agricultural production and the division of labour by sex. Similarly to understand the changes in agricultural production and household allocation of labour, we have to understand the changing demand of the world economy (Tadesse 1984:1).

In Alibeyli, there are no clear class distinctions. The village is a type of and

dominated by small commodity production. Therefore seasonal wage labourers are not hired in these villages because of the intense use of unpaid household labourers. FAO reports oppose these arguments especially for Asia:

Marked social stratification, a characteristic of Asia, can also lead to changes in the male/female division of labour in particular circumstances. Where there are strong class distinctions, much labour is hired. Since women are almost always paid less than men, they are hired for all tasks (except for the exacting work of land preparation) (FAO 1985:13).

FAO reports argue that generalisations on the division of labour in non-food cash crops or food crops in Asia should be avoided. Facts for each country are needed: In Thailand, for example, women work harder than men do in the production of kenaf. In tobacco production, women's work depends to a large extent on the vegetable production that depends on men. In Java, men are involved in more dryland (mostly maize and cassava) crops than women. In the production of garden crops women usually work more than men (FAO 1985:14). In this study, the type of product and work brings the differentiation. Thus, according to the women in Alibeyli, men do some works because the strength of women is by no means sufficient. In FAO reports, in central Nigeria, a study has been carried out on the Tiv people who reveal that the sexual division of labour varies according to various field tasks. While women are working more in the production of yams, cowpeas and maize, men work in the production of millet, sorghum and rice. Furthermore, women are responsible for the weeding and post-harvest work. Women and men work together in cassava production (FAO 1985:18). In Alibeyli, women evaluate

certain work as the duties of men. For them, the sexual division of labour is the rule of the world. It is the rule of the world but for FAO reports:

A man's absence means the loss to the family of an adult working member and fundamental changes in the male/female division of labour. His wife may undertake land preparation herself, decide to hire labour or use exchange labour. Where exchange networks are normally handled by men, a woman on her own can experience difficulty calling upon labour assistance from this source. Moreover, extended family systems may reduce their support in the absence of the husband. The result of these difficulties is nearly always a decline in output. Another result is to shift to less labour intensive crops, which may mean crops of less nutritional or monetary value (FAO 1985:31).

In Alibeyli, women think that the leader of the family is man. They cannot sell their products in the market, because women are dependent on men - women work on land and men sell the products in the market. Women cannot drive the tractor because they are not supposed to. The sexual division of labour is embedded in agricultural production on the one hand and in the household on the other hand. In the household the subsistence economy has a great importance as a result of the sexual division of labour which will be discussed below.

4.5 Subsistence Economy

Subsistence economy is a result of the unpaid situation of women. The factors that create this unpaid situation also become the reasons of the subsistence economy. Unpaid household labour is the form of labour that is used in subsistence economy. In the search of woman as a subject, subsistence economy occupies an important part of the household economy created by

women themselves. This is their own creation in their households. "In itself life" originates from these own creations of women which they point out during interviews.

In the context of unpaid household labour, the subsistence economy occupies an important place both for household economy and for the urban migrants who live in the city. Tadesse (1982) discusses the importance of the relation between rural subsistence sector and urban industrial sector:

... How migration is a mechanism linking the rural subsistence sector with the urban industrial sector, and make possible the transition from rural to urban life for certain groups of migrants. I began by giving a brief account of the background from which the rural workers migrate, and in so doing show some of the existing links between capital accumulation in the urban areas and subsistence production in rural sector. The chapter then focuses on the types of industries that employ the rural female migrants, and examines the impact of industrial employment on the migrant workers' income-earning opportunities and their differences in response to urban life (Tadesse 1982:179).

Migration is not widespread in Alibeyli. General discussions about the subsistence sector take place in feminist and Marxist literature centred on the significance of unpaid household production for understanding the economic role of women both in the household and the larger economy. These are necessary for understanding the reasons behind women's subordination. There is an emphasis on the role of women in the reproduction and daily maintenance of the labour force. If the goods and services produced domestically with unpaid labour are bought in the market there would be the possibility of comparing the costs. Therefore, household production reduces labour costs in

commodity production and has an indirect effect on the accumulation process (Beneria 1982:130). A woman from Alibeyli informs us about the vegetables they produced for household subsistence:

We produce green beans, tomatoes, green peppers, apples, lentils, potatoes and cabbages. We store them for the winter reducing the need to buy food from the market. We produce our own bread in the household.

Beneria comments that subsistence sector constitutes a source of cheap labour and wage labour can be drawn as capital accumulation process. The subsistence and capitalist sectors are highly interconnected to the extent that the latter feeds upon the farmer (Beneria 1982:131).

However, women in Alibeyli are still excluded to have the incomes generated by the products in the subsistence economy. As Beneria argues;

In addition to strictly domestic activities, women's work around the household consists of a great variety of subsistence activities-such as water carrying, wood gathering, and food transportation-that often require long hours of work. The burden of subsistence in this case falls on these types of activities together with agricultural work, in which women's participation is also high. Agriculture and household related tasks are highly integrated in time and space, and productive and reproductive activities are highly intertwined (Beneria 1982:133).

Mies conducted a study at three villages in India in the state of Andhra Pradesh. She made a survey of the socio-economic and historical background and evolution of the region and examined the pattern of women's work, the level and sources of their income and expenditure, the process of economic change and of impoverishment and the emergence and role of women's organisations.

She described and analysed the diverse economic roles of poor women as agricultural labourers, small producers, traders, subsistence farmers and household workers. In addition to these, she analysed their changing relationship with men in their households and the impact of class, caste and the sexual division of labour on their working lives. The study also examined through a detailed analysis of milk credit schemes, the impact of development projects on rural women. It further traced the interaction between the traditional cultural practices, work patterns and conditions of poor rural women. Finally, the study looked at the growth of collective consciousness, the emergence of women's organisations and the impact it has on their working lives (Mies ILO 1986:49).

In Alibeyli, rural women are household labourers, small producers, and subsistence farmers. There seems to be a little change in the class structure of village. Small commodity production also relies on women's heavy work in the subsistence economy. In Alibeyli, buying the commodities from the market depends on the income of the household. In Africa, for example:

Women all over Africa are responsible for the provisioning of certain basic household needs and the performance of a number of tasks necessary to their families' survival, including many highly labour-intensive forms of food processing, child care, cooking, some handicrafts, such as soap-making in Sierra Leone and often subsistence agriculture. ... Among the factors that contribute to these growing responsibilities is the trend toward male-out migration which leaves women entirely responsible for their family's subsistence needs, including their agricultural activities, income-generating activities, household maintenance, child care and food processing. Many south African women

have already found themselves in such a situation, and have been forced to make some dramatic changes in their lives in order to cope with their new responsibilities, as Nene describes in the case of the South African petty traders (ILO 1984:55).

Throughout Africa, women play a central role in food production, i.e. women contribute 70 percent of the labour in food production, while they are solely responsible for food processing (ILO 1984:68-69).

In Alibeyli, women perform a vital role in food production. This is where a subsistence economy emerges. Because, having produced a household's needs via women's effort substantially reduce the cost of living. That is why a subsistence economy is a survival strategy of each household, which heavily rests on unpaid family labour. The relationship between rural economy and market economy should be elaborated in the context of subsistence economy. Because this is where market economy is shaped by rural economy through the resilience of subsistence economy. The extent to which market economy benefits from rural economy depends on household's income, which may or may not be enough to meet their needs from the market. A woman argues the similar:

The condition of buying everything from the market depends on the income of the households.

Another woman says that:

The condition of buying everything from the market depends on the production of tobacco and cotton

The aim is to understand the underlying ideological reason for subsistence

production that marginalises women from specific works and provides to have low wage. Traore (1984) again discusses this issue for Africa that:

Women's ideological marginalisation tends to accompany commercialisation. Maintaining women in subsistence production permits payment of a lower wage to men. Dual exploitation should not be lost sight of. Much time is spent in looking for quick, simple solutions which do not exist, and very little evaluation is done. Government may say that food self-sufficiency is the target and introduce new 'high yielding varieties' of plants. Yet women are rejecting some of them, for very concrete reason -e.g. they can increase women's work in weeding and harvesting without the women receiving the benefit: they may be harder to process and the taste less acceptable (Traore 1984:28).

In Africa, women are neglected in a subsistence sector with extension programmes. Dhamija (1984) gives an example of a woman who walks 10 kilometres to sell a few eggs and a squash, so that she can buy basic necessities such as salt and oil (Dhamija 1984:34). The same case applies to women in Alibeyli - they walk 3-4 kilometres to buy and sell products every Thursday at the local market in the small town.

According to their place in the sexual division of labour, women typically are responsible for food processing both for home consumption and for the market. Women's labour in subsistence production and agricultural production in Alibeyli are unpaid. Steven Date-Bah (1984) talks about the daily activities of women as 'domestic' chores such as cooking, fetching water and fuel, household maintenance and childcare. Each task includes the sub-processes of other tasks. He defines these tasks as time-consuming and wasteful because of

the rudimentary tools they use. Since they are lacking in institutional support, they have to fetch water and fuel from long distances (Date-bah 1984:1-2). In Alibeyli, there is potable water in the garden of the households. A garden involves at least two households that are constructed for married sons other than fathers' home. Only very poor villagers bring wood from the mountains.

He continues to conceptualise the tasks in food processing are:

Food processing entails tasks such as threshing, drying, winnowing, peeling, grating, sieving, pounding, etc. Since these tasks are performed with traditional tools and techniques, they tend to be tedious and time-consuming in addition to raising the risk of contamination and other forms of wastage. And some 'improvements' or innovations involve an increase in that burden, for example, women rejected high yielding maize because it was difficult to process (Date-bah 1984:18).

The tasks of food processing are not more in Alibeyli like in Africa. According to FAO (1985) reports, in most rural areas, migration of men and other changes in farming systems are placing even greater burdens on women as mainstays of small-scale agriculture, the farm labour force and day-to-day family subsistence. It is estimated that 18% of the of the households in the developing world are headed by women, and that in some countries that figure is as high as 40% (FAO 1985).

In Alibeyli, women shared the tasks among them in the household. Bread making and fieldwork belongs to the bride and cooking belongs to the mother-in-law, while fieldwork and helping with other housework tasks belongs to the sister-in-law. A woman from Alibeyli argues that:

We prefer to work in the field instead of doing housework or cooking at home. Tobacco has to be harvested at the right time. If they are not harvested at the right time they may deteriorate and rot because of the hot weather or any other factors. Then we give importance to fieldwork more than housework.

From FAO reports in Peru: " women may choose to withhold their labour from cash crop production in favour of food production, especially at times of peak labour demands" (FAO 1985:10). The situation is different in Alibeyli, women give more importance to cash crop production instead of food production. However, there are gardens that women produce vegetables for the subsistence consumption of the households.

In Alibeyli, the title deeds to the fields belong to men and they are the members of the co-operative at the same time. Thus, to obtain credit from the bank or co-operative one has to have the title deeds to a field. Women do not have these kinds of positions. This situation makes men more enterprising. However, women explained that men were more talkative and enterprising than women. In addition, men know the price of each product in the market. A woman may get lost in the city if she goes there alone. Women are reproached for doing these types of work. They have to be alone or a widow to do these types of work. In just the same way, in Alibeyli, a widow has to do these tasks. FAO reports agree that these kind of relations are performed by the male head of the household:

How the intensification of food production affects economic authority over the household budget is an important issue since it can influence co-operation in production on the family farm.

Extension, credit and other agricultural services associated with the introduction of high-yielding farming practices are often directed at the male family head. This approach augments his authority in the household in deciding how family land and labour will be used (FAO 1985:45).

The possibility of women reaching cash income affects the purchasing power of them. They bought products that are not produced. With the modernisation of agriculture in the processes of drying, threshing, dehusking, winnowing, sorting out contaminated grains, and cleaning storage vessels in which women have had an exclusive role, much food loss is prevented:

Moreover, women's role in food preservation and storage, along with food preparation and cooking, is all-important in preventing nutritional loss before the final consumption of food. It is because of these factors that the approach of project planners to post-harvest processes needs to be particularly sensitive to women's capabilities and interests (FAO 1985:54).

In Alibeyli, there is storage problem of the by-products of milk. They accumulate milk for making cheese and butter. They have the difficulty of storing those products for the winter because refrigerators are deficient. The most important ceremony for women in the village is bread making. A date is determined and fieldwork and garden-work are cancelled on that day. A woman 12 tells us the bread day:

My bride and I get up very early for to light up the oven. I accumulated wood a day before. She kneads special dough for bread and other pastry. In that day, we cook our lunch and dinner in that oven with bread and pastry. We give permission our intimate neighbours to cook some vegetables and pastry. We eat these breads fifteen days. They are special breads of this region and lasting at least one month.

Those ovens are constructed from stone in the gardens. It is used wood as fuel. In Alibeyli, an oven gives clues to us about the network relations of a woman. The function of this network is not only providing help to each other but also a identity and respectfulness to women in the village (Sirman 1990:237). She invites her intimate friends and relatives to her garden on that day for offering pastry and permits them to cook their pastry and vegetables except bread. Everybody is trying to utilise from the heat of the oven. Our neighbours and the wife of the headman invited us and a woman permitted us to cook the pastry that we kneaded at home. As a rule we share it to other women and could bring a small portion to home for eating. We have kneaded dough only for six people. However, women knead huge amounts of pastry dough and might easily share. The prevalence of subsistence production is related with the income level, market conditions for buying consumer foods and the amount of land households own. Having field at least between 25-100 decare means to have garden for vegetable production and animals for milk. Because it easy for a household to separate a part for garden. Now, it is rational to look land allocation in the village below. There are approximately 30-40 households that have less than 10 decare of land. Again approximately 30-40 households have 10-25 decare of land. More than 100 households have lands between the 25 and 100 decare of land. There is only a household that has land between 100 and 200 decare of land

4.6 Land

The attitudes of women, which are derived from their social, economic, ideological and political actions, are affected from the land ownership in the last instance. It is the main reason of the unpaid situation of women, which is resulted from her situation in decision making, division of labour and marriage. All actions of women are directly affected from the land ownership of women. By lacking it, they are also lacking education, having autonomous political behaviour and income.

Although their husbands own land, women consider it as they. There occurs an ideological relation between women and land that preserves the untouched areas of power like patriarchy, which is unquestionable. It is an ideological problem that the sexual division of labour is organised by women makes men owners of land and cash. Then actions of women that provide land and cash to men means that women perform social, economic, ideological, political actions in their relations with wage labour, unpaid household labour, land and the subsistence economy. In discussing the importance of land ownership, Tadesse (1982) argues that:

In a society where land ownership was the primary determinant of political, social and economic power, it should come as no surprise that the lack of access to land ownership defined the lower-class status of all the landless peasantry, the prevailing sexual division of labour tended to place women in subordinate positions. Male dominance was reflected in the politico-juridical superstructure that reinforced women's subordination (Tadesse 1982:210).

Tadesse (1982) argues, land ownership brings political, social and economic

power. There is more than 100 household's own garden for food production. Rural women have less opportunity to access to land ownership in Alibeyli. In the village, women who inherited land from their parents are forced to sell their land and even their jewellery by their husbands. It is prohibited for women to own something which gives them power. In Alibeyli, women could not own land because their husbands prohibited them to do so.

Longhurst (1982) claims that:

The relationship of women to land is very complicated; it is probably true that for men the situation can not be analysed through simple categories of landholding status, such as land bought, inherited, rented, or pledged, and this is even more the case for women (Longhurst 1982:103).

In Alibeyli, non-of the women have opportunities for cultivating their own land. Only widowed women have this opportunity under the control of their sons, fathers or a male relative of the husband. If a woman has no male relative she cannot cultivate her land and so has to rent her land to someone. Longhurst (1982) makes the following claims about the control of women over their land:

The proportion of land that is controlled (owned or held in trust) by women is higher than the insignificant acreage cultivated directly by them; the rest is cultivated by a male. The complex inheritance of land by women is difficult to disentangle, partly because of preconceived Western-oriented notions of landholding on the part of this researcher. A daughter is legally entitled to inherit land from her father, but usually receives only half of what her brothers inherit (Longhurst 1982:105).

In Alibeyli, a daughter is legally entitled to inherit land from her father and receives equal what her brother inherits. However, she can not own it in the

long run. Her husband asked her to sell her property. Overtime, there is a valid reason to sell the land of woman. Woman 25 informs that her land is sold for buying a car.

According to Akande (1984), in South Nigeria the land tenure system depends on the communal ownership of land. The unalienable land is allocated with the overseeing of the village head. It is used patrilineally. If any disputes occur, the village head has the right to intervene. The village head does the regulation of land and everyone who needs land has to approach him (Akande ILO 1984:129). In Alibeyli, the land of a family who has no male relative made unalienable by the headman of the village. This family has only a daughter.

This girl married a man from Bergama. She tells us remaining story:

My father has a large amount of land in the village. However, I divorced my husband and returned to the village with my young daughter. After returning village, events began. On account of the fact that my father had become old he was no longer able to work on the land, and so the headman and other villagers wanted to use his land on the pretext that my family in question had no male relatives to plant the fields. After a time, my father died and I am prevented from sowing the land that I inherit from my father. The headman and the other villagers disturbed my family continuously to make the land unalienable and allocate it between them. We had been their neighbours for years. I applied the court but got no result because the headman prevented everything.

It can thus clearly be observed how the patriarchal authorities of the village have played out their patriarchal roles.

In Alibeyli, land is inherited equally between daughters and sons, but their husbands from owning this land forbid the women. In some cases, women may

leave their right to their brothers in order to prevent their husbands from selling the land. Most of the land of women that is inherited from their parents is in other villages. Men put this reason to sell. Life is difficult for a woman who owns land but has no male relatives.

Land reforms bring no change in the situation of women. According to ILO reports, women are not granted access to land under the reform. Despite the land reforms, the land is given neither to the poorest families nor to women. The only benefactors of the redistribution are men (Ndiaye ILO 1984:112). Although, women in Alibeyli heard about land reform and land allocation, they have no idea about their real meanings. Both of them are not widespread in the village.

The land ownership of rural women shows a similarity with other countries. In rural Africa, during agricultural modernisation programmes, women are dispossessed from their lands. Consequently, reinforcement occurs against women in the allocation of credit (Tadesse ILO 1984:70). Tadesse continues that the land reforms that were implemented by European administrators ignored the predominant role of women in African agriculture, and so women lost their right to land. In agricultural modernisation and other development projects, women are not direct beneficiaries and participants. She made an urgent call for the integration of women in development (Tadesse ILO 1984:70).

ILO reports defined the situation clearly that land is scarce for women relative to men. Rights to ownership are given to men in agricultural and land reforms, especially in the Ivory Coast and Senegal (ILO 1984:57).

In Alibeyli, there are no attempts to provide land ownership to women. On the contrary, land is inherited according to patrilineal lines. The fact those women have no land, which resulted in other disadvantages. Woman supports this argument that:

We cannot obtain credit from the bank and co-operative if we have no land owned.

In the region of Awa Thiongane in Africa (Traore 1984):

Women continue to have difficulty in gaining access to the main means of production –land-or to co-operatives which are the source of important inputs, e.g. seeds. Women cannot become direct members of the co-operative, and are allocated fewer inputs for their land. The process of research led to informing women about their rights-but only 12 villages were affected, and many more need to be reached (Traore 1984:26).

According to FAO reports, women generally are not recipients of the equitable opportunities, rewards or decision-making privileges. They have difficulty in gaining access land, credit, technical services and commercial market outlets, which thus limits food production and family income. This report warns us to find new ways to provide assistance to women directly through families (FAO 1985:15). As it said before women have no idea about the meaning of land allocation. They think that the government allocates land only to the migrants who came from other regions. They do not realise that there is an alternative –

i.e. allocating land to women in the villages. According to FAO reports, land is allocated to women in Africa, for household food requirements. They are given preference, whether working on their fields or helping with their husband's cash or other crops (FAO 1985:16).

The picture is different in Latin America to the extent that studies include the differences in the size of land holdings to see how the connection between the commercialisation of agriculture, the intensity of mechanisation, land distribution and the emergence of wage labour has occurred (FAO 1985:19).

In Alibeyli, there is no land distribution and the intensification of mechanisation causes no change in the advantage of occurrence of wage labour. In Alibeyli, landless households hire land for the production of tobacco. Households who have sufficient land and tractor for the production of cotton do not produce tobacco. In Alibeyli, it is a necessity to have a tractor for the production of cotton. One household may own sufficient land. If it has not tractor, the production of cotton is impossible and this household has to rent its land to other villagers. FAO reports continue that in landless families' women have strong voice about the ways wages are spent. They have important contributions to household income and the rationalisation of expenditure is forced by poverty (FAO 1985:37).

In addition to lacking of land allocation to women in Alibeyli, access to land, credit and co-operative membership is biased in favour of men. Here, women

have no effect in decision-making. Men only ask women when they have to decide whether to buy a field, a car or any other important tool or product. Their husbands can do everything without consulting women, which means that rural women have little control over land and or any of the means of production. According to FAO reports: there is a bias towards men in favour of gaining access to land, credit, co-operative membership and the extension services of settlement. This causes difficulties for the role of women in the decision-making process. However, at Mahaweli the longer established women settlers have greater authority in financial management (FAO 1985:60).

According to FAO reports women sometimes gain control over land by directly accessing three services: (1) extended information about land use, improved husbandry and the economics of alternative production and marketing possibilities. (2) Having credit for meeting seasonal production and longer-term investment needs. (3) Group institutions (marketing co-operatives) enabling women to make savings in costs and have adequate bargaining power while they are buying equipment or raw materials and selling produce (FAO 1985:73).

In Alibeyli, women from landless households may work as wage labourers. In Alibeyli, there are two women who work as wage labourers on other people's fields. There are no clear-cut distinctions like in Latin America: In Latin America rural women's participation in agriculture appears to be greatest among the poorer strata of the peasantry, smallholders and the near landless

(Flora 1987). In Alibeyli, landless households exchange labour for the production of tobacco. As an important source of agricultural production, land ownership is biased in the favour of men that directly affects the relation of women to wage labour, unpaid family labour, sexual division of labour and subsistence economy.

4.7 Conclusion

As in many other countries women in Alibeyli are subject a number of difficulties and limitations such as not to own land and unaccess wage labour. Those affect their place in the sexual division of labour, which provides them staying as unpaid family labourers and subsistence producers. Their subject situations in this sexual division of labour as unpaid family labourers and subsistence producers and not owning land are often treated in association with the failure in decision making in the household.

The decision of woman in bread-making day to decide the list of the visitors does not provide her to be paid. Therefore, in following days she has been going to be unpaid.

In this chapter, by attitude it is meant the evaluations of women about their relations with wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land by taking into account their subject positions. As unpaid household labourers they have knowledge about being wage labourer and the difference between them. Main determinants of all of them are sexual

division of labour in the household. It is organised according to ownership of the means of production like land. It is a primary source of agricultural production. Women have limited opportunities of owning land in the village. They might inherit from their parents but is sold by creating a cause personally by their husbands.

It is not expected a feminist attitude from women in the village. For they are aware of the relations of production and their place in it. The precondition of buying something from the market is having own wage. On the contrary, as active participants of agrarian sectors, they are going to be unpaid. There is no possibility of women to diverge income-generating activities by freeing from subsistence production (Kandiyoti, 1990:16).

It seems that only migration might provide opportunity to them working for a wage. However, migration is not widespread in Alibeyli. They would not to be paid unless they are provided to change their present attitudes to wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence production and land. For having wage they are expected to change their form of labour like freeing from subsistence production and household tasks and most important owning land in the conditions of village. It is expected to transform their place in the sexual division of labour in the production process.

Why their social economic, ideological and political actions are important for understanding their attitudes, they are expected to change their subject

positions in executing and viewing those actions.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the social, economic, ideological and political actions of rural women for to ascertain the origin of their attitudes to wage labour; unpaid family labour, the sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land. The unique aim of the processes above is seeking subject positions to them both in the village and in feminist theory. An attempt is made to analyse the woman as a subject who experiences society, economy, history and culture as a subject in itself. Hartsock informs us how the experiences of women are understood:

We examined our lives not only intellectually but with all our senses. We drew connections between our personal experiences and political generalities about the oppression of women; in fact, we used our personal experience to develop political generalities about the oppression of women; in fact, we used our personal experience to develop political generalities. We came to understand our experience, our past, in a way that transforms both our experiences and ourselves (Hartsock 1998:35).

It has shown that the actions of rural women in the village are derived from their life experiences. These experiences are ascertained from the social, economic, ideological and political actions of rural women. Those actions are derived from the questionnaires and in-depth interviews in which rural women give clues to us how they experience the subject positions in capitalist and patriarchal structures. As Hartsock claims, the question of the status of

“experience” and its interpretation are important, but the most important aspects are the political consequences of treating experience in different ways (Hartsock 1998:36). She claims that;

The feminist method of analysing experience is a way of appropriating reality. Appropriation (or constructive incorporation) means the incorporation of experience in such a way that our life experience become a part of our humanity itself. (Hartsock, 1998:38).

For Hartsock, activity is epistemology - women create their own realities through their different experiences and activities (Hekman 1997:343).

Theory, itself can be seen as an aspect of appropriation, a way of taking up and building on our experience. This is not to say that feminists reject all knowledge that is not firsthand, that we can learn nothing from books or from history (Hartsock 1998:39).

Firstly, the social actions of rural women involve their marriage, the division of labour between women in the household, their actions in the migration process, and factors concerning their own fertility. Marriage makes an important change in the situation of women in the village. Their status is changing totally both by marrying and by giving birth to a child. Their place in the sexual division of labour changes to a different dimension with marriage. The division of labour between women in the household depends on the types of work whether they are inside the household or not. With the increase of the age of women, their type of labour changes likes working in the field or doing housework. During their middle age, most of the women are at the top of their powerful situation. They are mother-in-law, however, enough young to do works in the field. During the first years of her marriage, it is difficult for a woman to form a

nuclear family and she could live with her mother-in-law, father-in-law and lastly with both of them. This situation directly affects her place in the sexual division of labour in the household. Naturally, elders take decisions. Though young girls of the household do most of the housework, outside work belongs to brides. Mother-in-laws do works according to own arrangement. However, the brides who live only with their father-in-laws could easily arrange the division of labour independent of the elders. This means that a power relation is occurred between women of the households. Males do not challenge the division of labour between women, because the works of women are determined socially and do not challenge the works of men. The out of the household works that mostly belong to brides are fieldwork, garden work, livestock, shopping outside and working as daily labour. By doing housework, young girls are protected from fieldwork that has very heavy conditions in comparison with housework. It has been seen that women in the village and mostly brides have been doing outside work till their marriage. The period of doing outside work is between one and six months. Migration is an important social action of women in the village and more than half of them want to migrate to city totally for the advantages of the city, for having job and especially for preventing the separation of the family between the city and the village. The last social actions of the women are formed by their fertility. Giving birth to a child necessitates a woman to go to city for hospital especially for abortion.

Secondly, the economic actions of rural women involve in the economic

mobility in the village, ideas of rural women about income-generating activities and their evaluation of differences between working as a wage labourer and as an unpaid household labourer. Economic actions are mostly related to sexual division of labour in the household. They are divided according to sex and necessitate an economic mobility of women that means to bring income to women. Most of the women want to invest in commercial jobs more than agriculture. They want to set up grocery's shop, bakery, supermarket, and hairdresser for ladies and e.t.a. As an agricultural investment they want to buy field for themselves. In contrast, if they can get amount of credit they want they prefer to invest it in agriculture and livestock in place of commerce. There is a difference in the ideas of women about increasing the incomes of the household. For them, the incomes of a household might be increased firstly by cultural production and high costs, secondly by being thrifty and thirdly by not hiring wage labour. When their own idea for their own households is the case, they try to increase the incomes of their households by being thrifty, by doing agricultural work and thirdly by working. Being thrifty is a choice that belongs to women themselves. They have knowledge about the debts of the households to TARIS, TEKEL, Ziraat Bank and merchant that are the three institution peasants getting credit. They find solutions like being thriftier. Debts are paid mostly with interest and they sometimes lost property like field, vehicle and animal because of the unpaid debts.

Women have an important role in the production process. Women prove this that is the impossibility of producing cotton and tobacco without women. It is impossible because labour-intensive works belong to women and hiring wage labour decreases the income of the household. In addition, women think that women are unpaid household labourers because the income of the families is low. It has been a tradition that everything is shared in the family. The difference between being wage labour and unpaid household labour lies that the wage belongs to household and it is only earned from daily labour. They conclude that the household wins in both of the situations. Most of the women claim that they hire wage labour for fieldwork especially for picking cotton. Poor households produce only tobacco and not hire wage labour.

Thirdly, the ideological actions of rural women involve their ideas about the sexual division of labour, the place of rural women in the decision-making process in Alibeyli, their own evaluations about their ownership of and control over their own commodities, the role of rural women in marriage. For most of the women in Alibeyli, some works are done only by women because of their socialisation. Contrary, some works are done only by men because of their physical difference from women. While the socialisation is in their first choice for women, physical difference is first for men. Men also deal with tradesmen, banks and co-operative because of their socialisation firstly, education and ownership of property is their last reason. For most of the women, they have abilities to carry out those tasks but they could only do when there is no male and in the case of need. Also, there are some fieldwork women must not do

like irrigation driving tractor, digging small water canals in the field, emptying the sack of cotton, going to the mill, winnowing, attending sheep at night, carrying the baskets of cotton in the field, fertilising and disinfecting the fields and bringing wood. Commercial works that women must not do are establishing a coffee-house and blacksmith, working in a factory, marketing steel pots, going to Bergama alone, working outside the village, going to the bank, co-operative and tradesman, working in industrial districts of the Bergama. Social activities that women must not do are gambling, carrying the coffin at a funeral and being a seller. Being the head of the village, sitting at the coffeehouse and taking the scarf's of their heads. Those are ideologically forbidden actions of women. In the winter, works of women are differentiated like handwork. During the work season, they have no enough time to do hand work and spend time at home.

For understanding the role of women in decision making process, it is asked women by their husbands when they decide to buy and sell something more than about fieldwork. Rarely women take some decisions or husband and wife take both common decisions. More than half of the husbands consults their wives about financial matters of the household. Sometimes they don't consult or they decide together. There are problems that affect the households like family problems, health problems and economic problems. As it is seen most important problems are related to family problems more than economic problems. But, they are related to each other like personal possessions of women that are sold after their marriage. They are sold for economic reasons

like for land and livestock, and lastly for family and health problems. The ownership of women includes their trousseaux that are mostly related to womanhood ideology. They use some of their trousseaux and preserve some others for their daughters. They mostly use covers and glass and home utensils. Their most important trousseaux are firstly covers, secondly wearing and jewellery and lastly, glass and home utensils.

Approximately all of the women married with their relatives in the village. A small group of women are married by bride seeing, mutual agreement and by elopement. It is important to look at how rural women take care of their children when they are on and off the duty in the household and in the production activities. In order to gauge the degree, to which rural women support their children's education, this study will elaborate views of women about education of sons and daughters after primary school. This will point out the way in which they bring forth their aspiration and ambition for the next generation. They are against bride price and don't want for their girls because it is not a tradition in the village for the reason it is shameful to sell children. Their control on their education is an important ideological action of women in the village. They want to be educated more for being comfortable in society, having a job with salary, freeing from the family and escaping from agriculture. In addition, they prefer to send their sons to school firstly because the son will have a job.

Finally, the political actions of rural women involve their ideas attitudes in general and local elections. Women are mostly affected from their relatives, neighbours and friends, secondly from the characteristics of political parties like giving subvention to agriculture. In the elections of the headman of the village, they are firstly and mostly affected from the services that the candidate will give and the characteristics of his/her party. Secondly, relatives, neighbours, friends and the family and personality of candidate is important.

It can be seen that there is an evaluation here of the standpoint theory on the axis of Nancy Hartsock that feminist theory is formulated in the context of Marxist politics (Hekman 1997:343). For Hartsock, the feminist standpoint expresses female experience at a particular time and place located within a particular set of relations and it allows us to go beneath the surface of appearances to reveal the real but concealed social relations (Hekman 1997:343).

It is mentioned the actions of women that is concealed in their experiences in the way of seeking subject situations for women. It is intended to examine the attitudes of women to structures of wage labour, unpaid family labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land that are inferred from the actions of women. Hartsock supports this argument of the study:

The power of feminist method grows out of the fact that it enables us to connect everyday life with an analysis of the social institutions which shape that life (Hartsock 1998:36).

In Alibeyli, traditional sexual division of labour according to the type of crop, sex, age and the degree of mechanisation are prevalent. Thus, the attitude of women to the structures above are determined according to division of labour. Women have no opportunity to behave against this structure like seeking to be paid while working on their husband's field. Being owner of the land and means of production is important for women to do works that are forbidden for them. They accept themselves as unpaid family labourers. The income of households is deficient because of the deficiency of land that makes them subsistence producers. There are few landless and smallholder households participate in agricultural production as wage labourers. Women have no opportunity of becoming wage labourers outside the family farm. In place of working as daily labourer in other's field, women exchange their labours. They think that the only way of becoming wage labourer is working in a factory. In the village, there are no women seeking wage labour outside the village. Large-scale production of cotton provides seasonal wage labourers a salaried employment beside the women as unpaid household labourers. Those labourers come from the Southeast and East Anatolian regions of Turkey only for harvesting season.

Women in Alibeyli define themselves as housewives although they work in the field as unpaid labourers. Both subsistence production and unpaid labour is evaluated as the part of domestic work that are for increasing the income of the household by decreasing the expenditures. Daily activities of women such as producing food, cooking, fetching water, household maintenance and childcare

are unpaid. Their unpaid labour is obscured in formal statistics and they are excluded from the economically active population. Women in Alibeyli prefer to work in the field instead of doing housework or cooking at home.

The title deeds of the fields belong to men and they are the members of the cooperative at the same time. Thus, women have no opportunity to obtain credit from TARIS, TEKEL and Ziraat Bankası and Taris. This situation prevents them to be enterprising. Land is inherited equally between men and women, however, women are challenged by their husbands by selling the land that is belong to men.

In this study, it is searched the subject situations of women according to dialectic feminism, in which subject and object are capable of losing themselves to each other. Beside, it is tried to reach a feminist standpoint by analysing the experiences of women that includes both object and subject situations of them. The reason of this attempt is that feminist standpoint is achieved, not given. The nature of their oppression is not obvious to all women; it is only through feminist analysis that the feminist standpoint can be articulated (Hekman 1997:346).

For supporting the methodological interpretation of this study, an attempt is made to construct Hartsock's method where she described the need for a revised and reconstructed theory, which owes a debt to Marx. Firstly, rather than getting rid of subjectivity, oppressed groups need to engage in the historical, political and theoretical process of constituting themselves not as

objects but as subjects of history. Secondly, it is the importance of thinking on an epistemological basis with the need of an epistemology that recognises that the practical daily activities carried out by women contain an understanding of the world-subjugated status quo and that this epistemology needs to recognise the difficulty of creating alternatives.

The ruling class, race, and gender actively structure the world in a way that forms the material-social relations in which all parties are forced to participate; their vision cannot be dismissed as simply false or misguided. Oppressed groups must struggle to attain their own, centred, understanding, recognising that this will require both theorising and education that can come only from political struggle (Hartsock 1998:241).

Lastly, the understanding of the oppressed exposes the relations among people as inhumane: Thus, there is a call to political action (Hartsock 1998:240-241).

It is clear that this study fails to call an action for women.

In this study, it is questionable whether subject situations is determined for rural women or not. However, they highlight their own situations by experiencing society, history, culture and economy as a subject in itself. Those are provided as object situations to them by experiencing them as objects. Their object situations could easily loose themselves to their subject situations. While being a wage labour is a subject situation, being an unpaid family labour and subsistence producer are both object and subject situations for women. In sexual division of labour, the subject and object situations of women are loosing themselves to each other continuously notwithstanding patriarchy and capitalist relations of production. On the one hand, they experience society,

economy, history and culture as objects and subjects on the other hand. The point of analysis in this study is the side of their subject situations.

Society, economy, culture and history are patriarchal and do not behave all classes or groups equally in society. In this study, it is studied the experiences of women in society, economy, culture and history other than objective situations insist on them. From their experiences that are shown in their social, economic, ideological and political actions, it is derived the attitudes of women to wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land.

While arguing the assumptions above, there are problems of defining the situations of subject and object from the actions of women. The application of interviews and questionnaire as feminist methods create some problems: (1) Interviewing with only women does not make research more feminists. (2) During the process of research and writing the power is in the hands of the researcher. (3) In academic studies, research experience could not be taken as an emotion no longer. (4) For analysing and relating the differing realities and understandings of researcher and researched, it has to be analysed not only the experiences of researched but also the research experiences of researcher has to increased. (5) It is difficult to demolish the authority relation between the researcher and the researched. Contrary, problems appear firstly, between researched and researcher¹ and secondly between the researcher and other

¹ in the fieldwork, I tried to establish myself as an authority that all women have to answer my questions. One day, I took an appointment from a young bride for interview. When I reached

males in the field. (6) Interview and questionnaire are not unique methods of feminist methodology because they have been also used in empirical studies that are not feminist. It is evident by this study that it is learned and experienced of making a feminist study in a village. Before conducting a study like this, one might live in the village without conducting any questionnaire. For demolishing the authority relation between researcher and researched the questions might be debated by women.

Further research is needed for the analysis of rural women in Turkey. The full involvement of women is vital for maintaining rural development. It has to be achieved a balance between men and women in making decisions for providing the active involvement of women in life and economy of village. There are constraints on women's participation in economic life. Those constraints have to be identified for the benefit of women to achieve financial independence and participate fully in decision-making. Finally, they need encouragement for their personal and professional development.

her home, there were her mother-in-law, father-in-law and two women sitting there and drinking tea. Although she was ashamed of them, I insist to begin interview. Before that, she refused to interview inside the home alone with me. I was asking questions but her father-in-law responded in place of her. Firstly, I got angry with him and made a request of him not to respond. Though he accepted, continued to answer. This time, I applied my method of preventing men by asking the questions about fertility. He ashamed and left the garden. Afterwards, the bride refused to interview by reasoning that she couldn't know the answers of the questions. This makes me red-hot and I began to shout her how she couldn't be able to answer those easy questions about her life. She excused me but I left the garden and did nothing the whole day. I behaved like a man or a teacher to her. I thought that I was powerful enough to make her to do whatever I want. Now, I am sorry.

APPENDIX 1
ALIBEYLI
RURAL WOMAN IN AGRICULTURE
1. QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

1. Who lives in your household?

1a-Who lives?	1b-Age	1c-Sex	1d-Marital status	1e-Age of marriage	1f-Date of marriage?	1g-When did they become nuclear family?	1h-Education Level	1i-Agricultural works in the village?	1i-Non-agricultural works in the village	1j-Agricultural works out of the village	1k-Non-agricultural works out of the village

2. Which persons do which works in your household?

Who does?			
2a-Fieldwork			
2b-Garden works			
2c-Livestock			

3. Sexual division of labour:

3a- What about the works inside the household?

3b- Which women work inside the household?

3c- How do works are divided between women inside the household? (Which work does which women do)

3d- Which men do housework in the household?

3e- Which work does which man in the household do?

3f- Which women do out of household works?

3g- How long those women work outside the household? (Which work does which women do)

3h- How long those women work outside the household in a year?

3g- Which men do outside works in your household?

3i- How long those men work outside the household? (Which work does which men do)

3j- How long those men work outside the household in a year?

3k- How do the works of women differentiated in winter?

3l- Why men and women were involved in different types of work?

3m- Why do only men involve the relations with merchant, bank and cooperative?

3n- Couldn't women involve those works?

3o-If she could, what are the reasons for involving those relations?

3p-Which works are forbidden for women in the village?

4.The possibility of having income out of agriculture:

4a-If you have possibilities, which jobs do you want to set up that bring permanent income to you? (For example: Grocery, coffeehouse or bakery).

4b-Were there any women in the village who want to set up a job?

5.Internal relations of household:

5a-Which subjects about the household are consulted to women by the head of the household?

5b-Does the head of the family consult women about the budget of the household?

5c-How does the income of a household increase?

5d-How do you increase the income of your household?

5e-What are the three main problems of this household?

6.The means of production and consumption:

6a-What kind of agricultural means, machines and equipment you own in this household?

6b-How much money did you pay the rent of the means of production last year?

6c-How many years have you own tractor?

6d-What kind of animals you have?

6e-In which amount you have been selling the by-products of these animals in the whole year?

7.Inputs of production +In debt for life:

7a-How much money you got in debt and credit last year? From whom you took this debt.

7b-Would you pay all your debts completely?

7c-If you couldn't pay, what did you do?

The last three years Last year

Paid with interest I paid

Ziraat Bankasi

Co-operative

Private bank

Merchant

Usurer

Relative

Friend

Other (make clear)

To mortgage land

7d- Why do you in debt to this institutions?

7e-Is there any increasement of your need to debt and credit?

7f- Why? Could you please tell us the reasons?

7g-If you get in the amount of credit you want, What will be the three important things you want to do?

7h-Why do you want to do?

7i-Did you loose anything because of the unpaid debts?

8.Products:

In this household,

Grain

vegetable

fruit

other

8.1-Which products are produced?

8.2-amount of sown field?

(How many trees do you have?)

8.3-how much products do you have?

8.4- Where do you sell them?

8.5-What is the conditions of selling products?

(Cash, term, while on trees or in the field..)

9.Relations of women with politics:

9a-In general elections; how do you decide to vote? What are you affected from and what do you take in to account for voting a political party?

9b-In the elections of headman; how do you decide to vote? What are you affected from and what factors do you take in to account for voting a political party?

9c-Do you vote the same party with your husband?

5d-Yes/No. Why?

10. Migration and reaching the wage labour:

10a-Without women it is possible to produce tobacco and cotton. What do you say?

10b- Do you agree those women works on their husband's land as unpaid household labourers?

11c-If agrees, Why?

11d-Women work on other's field as wage labourers. What is the difference between working on husband's land or on boss's land? Is there any difference?

11e- Do you want to migrate to city totally? Why?

11f-If you have been migrated to city, which jobs did you do?

12.The knowledge of inheritance:

12a-Do you inherit anything from your family?

12b-What have you been inherit in normal conditions?

12c- What did you inherit? Why?

12d-What kind of your possessions sold after your marriage)? (Jewellery)

12e-Why are they sold?

13. The knowledge of the relations of production:

Wage Labour:

13a-Do you hold wage labour/daily labour in your household?

13b-For, which works you, hold wage labour/daily labour?

13c-Since when have you been used wage labour or daily labour?

14.Knowledge of land:

14a-What about the amount of land having or not having title deed in your household?

14b- Do you cultivate the whole amount of lands you owned?

4c-If no, how do you evaluate the amount that is not cultivated?

14c-Rent out
Uncultivated

10e-Share out

10f-

14d-Do the amount of land you owned is sufficient for providing your livelihood?

14e-What amount of this land is inherited or bought?

14f-Have you sold land before?

14g-In addition to fields you owned, do you rent out or share out field?

15.Consumption:

15a- How much money did you spend for daily reproduction last year?

15b-What are the fundamental materials that are bought from the market by your household?

Your household:

The amount that is bought?	The amount that is produced in the Household.	The amount that is produced in a year
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Food

Clothes

School

Health

Transportation

Cleaning

Materials

Electricity

Water (urban
water)

Fuel

Entertainment

16- How much money have you been spent to consumer durable goods?

How much you spent?

Refrigerator

Washing machine

Owen

T.V.

Other

17- How much have you been spent to wedding ceremony in the last ten years?

18-How much money did you spent to inputs of production last year?

Inputs of production ----- How much money did you spend last
year??

Diesel fuel

Fertiliser

Seedling

Pesticide

Irrigation

The rent of machines

E.t.a.

E.t.a.

19- How much money did you spend to producer durable goods in the last ten years?

Producer durable goods

How much money did you spend in
the last ten years?

Machines

Land

Constructing house

Other

20-Where has this household procured the money that it spent the whole year?
(By selling, by getting debt, by getting rent...)

How much?

From the products that are sold

From the animals that are sold

From the by-products of animals

That are sold

From the gold that is sold

From the land that is sold

From the rent of the land

From the debts that they got

Wage labour

Agricultural activities

Out of agricultural activities

Other

21. Trousseau

21a- Which trousseau you have been used until now?

22b- What kind of trousseau you had from your mother's trousseaux?

22c- What will you do with resulting trousseau?

22d- What is the most important trousseau of you?

23. Marriage

23a- What is the marriage age of your husband?

23b- What is the form of your marriage?

23c- Did your father demand bride price for you?

23d- Will you demand bride price for your daughter? If yes, why? If no, why

24. Sexuality

24a- How many pregnancies have you had?

24b- How many of them have had miscarriage by you?

24c- How many of them have miscarriage by themselves?

24d- How many abortions have you had?

24e- Have you had infancy death?

24f- Have you had child death?

24g-How many living children do you have?

24h-How many children would like to have?

24g-What kind of birth control methods you used?

24i-Is your husband using any birth control method?

25.Education:

25a-Would like to be educated more? If yes, why? If no, why?

25b-If you have the possibility of educating only a child, which one do you prefer? (Girl or boy)



APPENDIX 2
RURAL WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE
ALIBEYLI

2. WOMAN INTERVIEW FORM

Could you please tell me your daily life? What do you do? From you take away bed till sleeping.

FAMILY

- 1a Can we say that all of the work in the village belong to woman?
- 1b Which kinds of fieldwork are prohibited for women in the village?
- 1c What happens if they will do?
- 1d Are there any women in the village that are the heads of their households?
- 1e Do fieldwork operates without women?
- 1f Do you work in any job in return for wage?
- 1g Do you want to work in any job in return for wage?
- 1h Can we evaluate you as a housewife?
- 1i What did you mostly buy and do when you get married?

2. LAND

- 2a Why it is impossible for women to own land in your village?
- 2b Land is divided by inheritance from father to son, What do you think about the resulting situation of this division?
- 2c Will occur any increase in the number of landless families?
- 2d How do the landless families survive?
- 2e How do women inherit land in this village?

2f How the land is allocated to whom?

3. HOUSEHOLD

3a What can you say about the situation of low-income households?

3b What can you say about the situation of high-income households?

3c What can you say about the situation of the households which has small amount of land?

3d Are there households that have small land that is similar to landlessness?

4. PRODUCTION

4a Why don't women take credit from the bank in your village?

4b Why don't women sell the products in the market?

4c Why don't women drive tractor in your village?

4d What about the works that are done by men before but is done by women now?

4e When do you earn your first wage from which job?

4f What is the advantage of the tobacco to you that is produced by you?

4g What is the advantage of the cotton to you that is produced by you?

4j Is there mechanisation in your village?

5. REPRODUCTION

5a Which foods are produced and bought by you?

5b What are the preconditions of buying all the food from the market?

5c Does housework bore you?

5d Which one do you prefer to do? Housework or fieldwork? Why?

5e Isn't it difficult to do both housework and fieldwork?

DIVISION OF LABOUR

6a If your family migrates to city, which member of the family will work firstly in the city?

6b Why do men go to city to work?

6c What about the conditions that provide men to work in the village by not going to city?

6d What about the agricultural production that provides the family to stay in the village by not migrating to city?

6e What kind of work girls do in the village? Is work preventing their school? Why don't they educate like males?

POLITICS

7a What does the state do with the taxes it took from the citizens?

7b Which problems of the citizens are interested the state? Which problems of the citizens are solved by the state?

7c Does a woman be a headman in the village?

7d If you were a president, what about the three works that you would for the women in the village?

7e What does the state have to do for providing income for women?

7f What is the function of the state and what does the state provide for its citizens?

7g What does the state provide for women?

7h In the last years, there has been constructed so many coalition governments, but there occurred no change about the situation of citizens, what do you say about this?

7i How do you react against the executions of the state when you don't confirm them?

7j Today, the state does not account your work on field, what do you think about this?

7k Nowadays, in our country, a person who has problems prefers to walk against executions of state, How do you evaluate those actions?

- 7l On what subjects people has to take collective action
- 7m What are the common characteristics of political parties in Turkey?
- 7n On what subjects women have to protest
- 7o Which of the political aims are supported by the people who have bad straits?
- 7p In Turkey, people interest in politics but they do not participate. What do you think about this?
- 7r Why does the power of trade unions and workers weak today?
- 7s What are the differences between the politics in the city and in the village?
- 7t Turkish army challenged the politics in Turkey more than one, What do you think about the positive and negative results of these challenges?
- 7u How do you define yourself in the politics of Turkey?
- 7v How do you decide to which party you vote?

POWER RELATIONS

- 8a Can you tell me the properties that belong to you in the household?
- 8b Can you tell me the properties that belong to you outside the household?
- 8c What kind of changes occur in your neighbourhood and friendship relations nowadays?
- 8d What is the frequency of coming together with other women?
- 8e-8f On what subjects you talk about?
- 8g Do you tell them to your husband?
- 8h Does your husband interests what you talk with other women?
- 8i What can women do for increasing the income of their households?
- 8j-8k Why are women powerless both in the family and society?
- 8l Why do men are powerful both in the family and society?

8m Where do men take this power from?

8o What can be done to prevent the continuity of inequality between men and women?

8p How do women increase their power both in the family and society?

INEQUALITY: IN SOCIETY, IN THE VILLAGE AND HOUSEHOLD

9b When the bad straits increase, What kind of solutions are found by people in the village?

9c In the last years, the situation of women has been discussed so much.

9d What do you think about the situation of women in society?

9e What do you think about woman's rights?

ROLES, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

10a in what situations, the dinner and lunch are ate separately (men and women)

10b Do you give any priority to males when you distribute the food among the household members? Why?

10c If males don't work, Does the livelihood of households is provided?

10d Is there any event you experienced but don't inform your husband?

10e There are some people who behave badly to you, Which of them are not complained by you to your husband.

10g During deciding what to do, Do you take any permission from anybody?

10h Who can challenge you except your husband? (Inside or outside the household, relatives and her own family)

10i Whom feeding do you give priority in the household?

10j Why do men dominant on important subjects in the family?

10k Why do men dominant on important subjects in the society?

10l How do women persuade their husbands on important subjects? What do they do?

10m How do husbands persuade their wives?

10n What will be the situation of men both in the household and society if they don't earn the money for the livelihood of the family?

10o Women perform pressure on their daughters that they are performed in their childhood. What can be the reasons of this?

VIOLENCE

11a What do men do when they get angry with their wives?

11b Some women deserve beating. What do you say?

11c Are you beaten that you thought you deserved it?

11d In what situations men deserve beating? What are the advantages of beating children?

IDENTITY

12a Can you define a modern woman?

12b Who is the honest woman?

12c Who is the religious woman?

12d What are the characteristics of a good bride for you?

12e What are the characteristics of a good mother-in-law for you?

12f What do women talk about when they come together?

12g Do they learn anything from these discussions?

12h What do you learn?

12i Which people are poor today?

12j Who are responsible from the poverty in the society?

12k Who is the landless woman? What kind of a woman she is?

EDUCATION

13a Do uneducated women have to stay at home?

13b Do you want to be educated more? Why?

13c If you have the possibility of educate only one child, do you prefer you daughter or son? Why?

13d On what subjects rural women have need to be educated

CULTURE

14a What do you think about the usefulness and harmfulness of T.V.?

14b What is your favourite T.V. programmes?

14c Where does society learn knowledge and good manners from?

14d Do people tell the subjects they learn to each other?

14e What do you think about the weakness in traditions and customs in society? What are the reasons of this weakness?

14f Why are the swindling is widespread in society?

RELIGION

16a What do you think about the importance of religion today? What has to be the importance of religion?

16b Can you define a good Muslim for today?

16c On what important subjects men are dominant in this village

16d Which works are not challenged in this village by men? Which works do men not ask in this village?

16e What is the biggest present of men for giving to women?

17 Which subjects are asked by men to women before deciding to do something?

18 Do women have the knowledge of their households about the subjects below in this village: which products are produced in their households; in which amount; about the amount of the income of the household; and to where this income is spent.

19 Why are men being happy in this village?

20 If women have problems, how do they solve these problems with whom?

21 What are the reasons of quarrel between women in the village?

22 How do women help to each other?

23 What are the intimate friends of women among women?

24 Who does look after the old women in the village?

25 What are the difficult sides of being woman in this village?

26 What are the most important difficulties of women in this village?

27 If a woman wins money from the lottery, what will she do with this money?



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