

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND NETWORKS OF FOUR
ISLAMIST/ISLAMIC WOMEN'S NGOS IN TURKEY: IN THE CONTEXT OF
NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

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The main purpose of this study is to understand the organizational structures of Islamist/Islamic women’s NGOs and explain the network mechanisms of them in the context of new social movements. This study is based on a social movement research; thus, both organizational structures and network mechanisms of Islamist/Islamic women’s NGOs are explained and analyzed in terms of the features of new social movements, to answer the question of ‘whether Islamist/Islamic women’s NGOs are potential and possible actors of a possible Islamist/Islamic women’s movement in Turkey’.

The fieldwork of the present study was conducted on Islamist/Islamic women’s NGOs, which were selected according to a purposive sampling. 4 NGOs were selected, of which founders and the active members are all Islamist/Islamic women, from 4 cities of Turkey, One NGO was selected from each city. The semi-structured interviews and deep interviews were the main data collection techniques used to get information about their organizational structures and network mechanisms.

The responses were analyzed through the issues of organizational diversities, three different levels of network mechanisms, and networking types in the context of formation a new social movement. As network mechanisms, the three levels of networks defined in the study: relations with the state and local governments, networks with the NGOs outside the sampling group and networks among the NGOs inside the sampling group, in the framework of the role and potential of Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs to form an Islamist/Islamic women's movement.

Keywords: Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs, Islamist/Islamic women's movement, organizational structure, network

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE DÖRT İSLAMCI/İSLAMİ KADIN STK’SININ ORGANİZASYON YAPILARI VE İLİŞKİ AĞLARI: YENİ SOSYAL HAREKETLER BAĞLAMINDA

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Bu çalışmanın temel amacı yeni sosyal hareketler bağlamında İslamcı/İslami kadın STK’larının organizasyon yapılarını anlamak ve bu STK’ların ağ mekanizmalarını açıklamaktır. Bu çalışma bir sosyal hareket araştırması olması dolayısıyla; İslamcı/İslami kadın STK’larının hem organizasyon yapıları hem de ağ mekanizmaları, ‘İslamcı/İslami kadın STK’ları Türkiye’de olası bir İslamcı/İslami kadın hareketinin potansiyel ve olası aktörleri olabilirler mi’ sorusunu cevaplamak amacıyla, yeni sosyal hareketlerin özellikleri ve unsurları açısından açıklanmış ve analiz edilmiştir.

Bu araştırma, çalışmanın amaçlarına uygun olarak, İslamcı/İslami kadın STK’larıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kurucuları ve aktif üyeleri İslamcı/İslami kadınlardan oluşan 4 STK, Türkiye’nin 4 farklı şehriden seçilmiştir. Bu STK’lar İstanbul, Ankara, Antalya ve Diyarbakır’da yer almaktadırlar. Kısmi-düzenli mülakatlar ve derinlemesine mülakatlar STK’ların organizasyon yapılarını ve ağ mekanizmalarının bilgisini toplamada kullanılan ana yöntemlerdir. STK’ların organizasyon yapıları hakkındaki bilgiler kısmi-düzenli mülakatlarla, ağ mekanizmaları ile ilgili bilgiler ise hem kısmi-düzenli mülakatlarla hem de derinlemesine mülakatlar yoluyla toplanmıştır.

Cevaplar örgütsel çeşitlilikler, üç seviyeli ağ mekanizmaları ve ağ oluşturma çeşitleri üzerinden, bir yeni sosyal hareket meydana getirebilmek bağlamında analiz edilmiştir. Ağ mekanizmaları olarak aştırmada üç farklı seviyede ağ oluşturma şekilleri tanımlanmıştır. Bunlardan ilki devlet ve yerel hükümetlerle ilişkiler, ikincisi araştırma kapsamında yer alan STK'larla kurulan ilişki ağları ve üçüncüsü ise araştırma kapsamında yer alan 4 İslamcı/İslami kadın STK'sının kendi aralarında kurdukları ilişki ağlarıdır. Bu ilişki ağı oluşturma mekanizmaları, İslamcı/İslami kadın STK'larının bir İslamcı/İslami kadın hareketi yaratmaktaki rolleri, yerleri ve potansiyelleri genel çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslamcı/İslami kadın STK'ları, İslamcı/İslami kadın hareketi, organizasyon yapıları, ilişki ağları

To My Parents and Friends

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and Scope of the Study

The 1980s and 1990s appeared in Turkey as a period of significant upsurge in women's movement, Islamist movement and civil society development. Especially in 1990s, women became more effective in public discourse of society. Women became more visible in streets, working life, politics and organizations.

In Turkey, the women's movement that emerged, after the 1980 military intervention, has played an important role as a social movement through its attempts for the democratization of society and its contribution to the establishment of the a civil sphere. The military regime after the intervention led to the coming out of 'alternative groups' such as Kurds, Islamists and feminists. After 1983, new social movements have arisen based on ethnic, gender, and religious differences and specific demands of these excluded groups criticized the secular homogenous groups, constituted by state elites mainly. The new social movements arisen on these bases have the emphasis of identity in the formation of movements. Islamist movements as one of these new movements also have influenced the establishment of women's organizations, which have a similar emphasis on Islamist/Islamic culture, as these movements (Keskin, 2002).

The 1990s is a period in which Islamist movements, as a new social movement based on the Islamic or Islamist identity, have gained power in economic, political, and social terms. Parallel to increasing visibility of Islamist movements' in the last decade, many Islamist organizations, and Islamist women's 'Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)' were founded after 1990.

Although these organizations do not to themselves as, women have been highly mobilized within and through these organizations. They emerged as potential areas for Islamist women's involvement in public life. Thus, veiled women went out of their houses to join meetings, seminars, workshops, and congresses, organized at local, regional, national, or international level, whereby social issues and women's issues were discussed. Subsequently, as Islamist or Islamic women became more actively involved in the public sphere, they have confronted several dualities created by 'Islamist/Islamic versus secularist' conflict.

In the last decade with the rise of Islamist movement in Turkey, the tension between the Islamist and secularist groups has increased. Islamist movement's ongoing debate with the secularist discourse is based on basic dualities, such as traditional/ modern, Islamist/ laic, reactionary/modernist. The Islamist/Islamic¹ women's NGOs have been established and matured gradually in this dualistic medium. However, Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs did not always take the side of Islamist view in discussions of social issues and women's issues, even though they were expected to do so. On the contrary, founders and members of these

¹ The concept of 'Islamist/Islamic' in this thesis is employed as being in a way of, Islam's principles and understandings in everyday activities and practices, in both private and public sphere. The 'Islamic' definition is not used instead of 'Islamist' or vice versa since each of these concepts is referring one side of the perception of these women and their organizations. The word Islamic indicates an insider view while of Islamist does an outsider view of labeling these women and these women's organizations. The word of Islamist is taken with a political reference and the word of Islamic is taken with social and cultural references. Hence, 'while Islamist women NGOs indicate NGOs defending and spreading the Islamist policies, 'Islamic women NGOs do indicate NGOs founded by women who have just Islamic sensitivity, understandings, and orientations. Although most of these women have obvious religious devotion and Islamic orientation in their lives, they generally do not have a political engagement. Furthermore, they do not claim and ask for a system fully organized by Islamic rules. Here, the term of Islamist/Islamic is preferred to indicate these women and their NGOs because there could not be found another alternative and due to the fact that there are some cases having the characteristics of both terms. Despite the difficulty of labeling these varied women and NGOs of them, it is still be stated that these women and their NGOs are sharing something in common, that is Islamic orientation. The Islamic orientation means at this point, the Islamic way/place of the mapping and looking at the social reality of these organizations by their activities they concern with. That is to say, the concept of Islamist/Islamic should be considered with Islamic orientation, understanding, and sensitivity concepts.

organizations began to question the position of women not only in Turkish society but also in the Islamist movements, raising severe critiques to both modernist and secular part and to traditional and Islamist part of the society.

These Islamist/Islamic women organizations range, on the extreme, from the activist and militant Islamist organizations with have strong political integration to pro-Islamic parties or obvious affiliation to religious orders, on the other extreme, service organizations founded by religious-oriented women with headscarves and with no politically religious activity at all.

Today, as agents of women's movement and Islamist movement, Islamist/Islamic women's organizations are striking figures of social reality in Turkey. Since these organizations are raising the voices of Islamist women everywhere, in various ways. They utilize media channels; join the national and international meetings, get organized under the umbrella of associations, groups, and platforms in order to express themselves. Moreover, they do several activities to examine, criticize, and improve the status of women in Turkish society. In brief, in their words: they really 'do something' actively, within and through well-organized and systematic structures, for the sake of the women and society.

In this scope, the present study aims to find out 'if there is an Islamist/Islamic women's movement in Turkey', through looking at the significant organizational figures, in this case Islamist/Islamic women's organizations in four cities of Turkey, of this possible movement and examining their 'network relations' among themselves. Via semi-structured interviews and deep interviews, the questions were asked about their informal and formal interaction networks, common and distinctive organizational features, and collective action practices. With the intention of knowing these organizations in detail, there are semi-structured questions to be asked to understand the constructions of these organizations, such as, foundation dates and procedures, their aims, visions, member profiles, communication means, activity/service areas, clientele, approaches to women's issues, cooperation with other national or international organizations, and relations with state and governmental institutions. The answers to these questions will also give us the varieties and similarities of Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs.

The main focus of this thesis is Islamist/Islamic women's movement, if there is one in Turkey, as a new social movement and Islamist/Islamic women's organizations as the main actors of this movement especially in the period of 1990s and later. In the examination of the significations and indications of such a movement, I will look at specific cooperative and collective meetings, named as *Kadın Buluşması* (Women's Meeting), which has been organized and held by Islamist women only, from all over Turkey. However prior to this specification, in order to frame the scope of the study, the social movement conceptualizing, women's movements, Islamist movements, Islamicization of women's movement, and the Islamist/Islamic women's organizations will be discussed theoretically.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The present study differs from most of the previous new social movement researches and studies about Islamist/Islamic women's organizations. Generally, new social movement researches emphasize the individuality of movements. The questions of such researches are posed at the individual level of analysis in order to figure out the individual features of a movement. These studies mainly questions who the participants or nonparticipants of a particular movement are, the reasons of an individual to participate in a movement as an active member or just as a sympathizer, the characteristics of members, social and informal or formal network ties between individuals in a given movement. In an attempt to understand the dynamics of participation into a movement and, if there exist, the specific characteristics typical for participants of a movement, various types of surveys have been conducted. The most frequent use of these survey researches in the study of social movements is for the purpose of description. The researches invoke the need of describing the members or participants, the potential participants, different types of participants and nonparticipants of a movement.

In short, for this kind of researches, for which the unit of analysis is individual, the main focus is the emergence of the given movement, in the question of the features of its participants and nonparticipants. Even in the researches, for which the unit of analysis is organization, the emergence of the given movement is questioned

mostly through the characteristics of the members and volunteers in the organizations.

From this perspective, it could be said that organizational survey researches that question about the organizational structures, aims, missions and visions, activities and services, resources, policies, and networks are much rarer than individual survey researches in the study of social movements. However, in this study, the unit of analysis is organization. Looking at the emergence of a possible movement, Islamist/Islamic women's movement, specific women's NGOs, from four different cities of Turkey, one from each city, are selected to answer the research question: 'Do the existing Islamist/Islamic women's organizations in Turkey form an Islamist/Islamic women's movement?'. The selected NGOs were Gökkuşuğu İstanbul Kadın Platformu (GIKAP) in Istanbul (Istanbul Rainbow Woman Platform), Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği in Ankara (Capital City Women's Platform Association), Akdeniz Hanımlar Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği in Antalya (AKHAK-DER) (Mediterranean Ladies Culture and Solidarity Association), Diyarbakır Hanımlar Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Kültür Vakfı (HAKYAD) in Diyarbakır (Diyarbakır Ladies Cooperation and Solidarity Culture Foundation).

In order to achieve the aim of knowing and understanding the general characteristics of these organizations semi-structured interviews are conducted with each organization. Besides, to trace the clues of a possible social movement, the network mechanisms of these four NGOs are studied at two levels: outside and inside. The outside level of networks mechanisms of these four NGOs are examined through their national or international cooperation with non-Islamist/Islamic NGOs and their relations with the state and other governmental institutions. The inside level of network mechanisms are investigated by looking at networks between all Islamist/Islamic women's organizations, in the cases of *Kadın Buluşmaları*, and networks among the NGOs of sampling group. Hence, the potentiality of these four NGOs and other Islamist/Islamic women's organizations to bring about a new social movement is examined.

Moreover, another significance of this study is related to recent developments in Turkey's mainly social and political realms. Turkey has for the last two years been ruled by an Islamist/Islamic party, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP- Justice and

Developmen Party). In most of the local governments, the same party is currently in power. In the December of 2004, there occurred a major change in the process of Turkey's EU candidacy. Turkey had a specific date, in 2005, which could be thought as a gate to negotiation for EU integration. In recent years, parallel to one of the criteria of EU to improve the civil society and its components such as NGOs, the state has begun to study on developing new strategies to enhance the civil society in Turkey. Within the scope of civil society, women's organizations that try to improve the status and empowerment of women are essential figures in EU integration process of Turkey. In this context, Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs, which represent themselves in the societal arena more comfortably and openly than they did during previous non-Islamist/Islamic governments, are getting more and more important in the entire picture of our country. Therefore, studying on these women's organizations is significant in the context of new social movements.

1.3 Organization of the Study

With the aforementioned scope of the study, the next chapter presents the theoretical framing of thesis, the very basis of the construction of new social movements and socially, culturally, and politically constructed position of women's organizations in the movements. The aim of this chapter is to draw a theoretical frame for the survey research in this study. The largest frame of the study is the concepts of social movements and the emergence of social movements in history. Then new social movements and their differences from the old ones are emphasized. Next, in response to international gender regimes in all over the world, the historical development of women's movement in Turkey, especially after the 1980s, is broadened through political and social changes of each period.

Later, the effects of Islamist movements in Turkey, on the women's movement are examined through the Islamist/Islamic women's organizations that were founded mainly after the second half of 1980s.

Hence, chapter 2 touches upon the issue of Islamist/Islamic women's organizations as agents of a possible Islamist/Islamic women's movement, within the framework of new social movements and contemporary rise of Islamist movements

and women's movements. Consequently, this chapter provides the theoretical and analytical basis of this study.

The third chapter explains the methodology of the study in detail. A qualitative social movement research is conducted to understand the reality of Islamist/Islamic women's movements. This chapter includes two subsections giving information about the details of the research: the logic and the designation of a survey research, the steps of the field research and the general profiles of selected NGOs. The steps of the survey research are, research subject definition, defining the unit of analysis, asking the research question, selecting the research site, entering the field, building relationships with NGOs, sampling, forming the interview structure and data gathering in the field. In the second subsection, the general features of each NGO are presented in brief so that it could be possible to make comparisons among them in the next chapter.

In the fourth chapter, the focus is on the structure of these four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs and their network mechanisms. This chapter aims to explore the varieties and similarities of these NGOs in terms of their organizational structure and networks. The organizational structures and the networks of these organizations, as samples in the research, are important because these issues clarify the potential of Islamist/Islamic women's organizations to form a new social movement. This chapter argues that these women's organizations were seen (by most of the social theoreticians) as agents of Islamist movement in Turkey up to now, are representing today at least a possibility of Islamist/Islamic women's movement, of which organizations are organized by and for women. Thus, the organizational diversities and network mechanisms of these selected NGOs are expected to give explanatory indicators of a possible Islamist/Islamic women's movement.

In this respect, the fourth chapter is an attempt to evaluate the four of all Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs with respect to new social movements. This chapter first presents the results of the research conducted in Istanbul, Ankara, Antalya, and Diyarbakır in terms of organizational structures of four NGOs and then of networks mechanisms. According to purposive sampling, 4 Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs were selected. Semi-structured and deep interviews were conducted with key

informants of the NGOs. The fourth chapter also includes the interpretation of these results of the research.

The last chapter discusses the findings of this research with respect to new social movement and Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs. In this final chapter, an attempt is made to create some models in order to understand the formation of a possible movement by these NGOs, through their foundation history, organizational structures, and networks outside and inside the sampling group.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORIZING ISLAMIST/ISLAMIC WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

2.1 Social Movement Conceptualization

The rise of social movements could be based historically to a pace of social changes in the world, as have realized through modernization, secularization, commercialization, urbanization, bureaucratization, industrialization, and then globalization processes. Until the second half of 1960s, old social movement theoreticians mostly deemed the social movements as direct consequences of the rapid shift to modernization and theorized the participants of these movements as disadvantaged, frustrated, isolated ones of the society. The scholars of 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s saw the social movements of those times were indications and results of the modernization period of the world.

Herbert Blumer defines social movements as 'collective enterprises to establish a new order of life' (in McLaughlin's ed). In 1969 Blumer saw general social movements as uncoordinated and unorganized entities with neither established leadership nor recognized membership and little control.

McLaughlin (1969) argues that the central idea of the social movements is 'group behavior aimed at bringing about social change'. Also, Gusfield said (1981) that, the field of 'social movement' can be seen as a phase of 'collective behavior'.

The term “social movement” connotes different meanings such as, ideologically nonviolent and democratic civil rights movement, party organizations, formally organized group of citizens that ask aid from the state and governmental institutions and also mainly unorganized, illegal, and episodic actions like riots, strikes, protest marches or boycotts (Zirakzadeh, 1997).

Craig Jenkins, here, makes a definition of social movement, in accordance with Zirakzadeh’s characterization of social movement. He claims that social movements are ‘a series of collective actions carried out in order to bring about change in the society’ and the movements are guided by ‘a vision of the alternative order imagined and the basic necessary measures to make it real’ (cited in Zirakzadeh, 1997: 4)

Clearly, not all participants of a social movement do not aim at practicing or building ‘new social worlds’, or transforming the existing order of the society radically, as Zirakzadeh (1997) points out. On contrary, social movements range widely in terms of proportion of its participants wishing for a radical change. It is also quite possible to say here, there may be some participants in a social movement who are looking for personal interests and benefits. Moreover, the participants may still desire changing the social order in some ways, and at the same time, want to maintain some significant features of the society.

Four general characteristic aspects of social movements are written down by Della Porta and Diani (1999):

1. Informal interaction networks
2. Shared beliefs and solidarity
3. Collective action focusing on conflicts
4. Use of protest

In the previous times, that is before 1960s, the studies of social movements have been dominated by theories ideology, organization and rationality. Sociologists have focused on the system of ideas such as capitalism, communism, fascism, socialism and conservatism which have been promoted by social movements. These social movements were economic or class based and called as old social movements. The movements of this understanding were seen as response to the idea of injustice and being disadvantaged. The mobilization motive of such movements was this sense of

injustice (Larana, Johnston and Gusfield, 1994: 3). Labor movements are good examples of the old social movements.

Then in the later half of the twentieth century an alternative view of social movements emerged in Europe and North America, Marangudakis (2002) argues that the first wave of this new social movement came out in 1960s as in the form of civil rights, anti-war and student movements.

This period is called by Zirakzadeh (1997) as ‘the second wave of social movement scholarship’, which is taken to account with three different traditions in it, ‘resource-mobilization theorizing’, ‘indigenous-community theorizing’, and ‘political-process theorizing’.

In Europe, culturally sensitive approaches to the study of social movements during the mid and the late 1960s and had attracted significant numbers of adherents by the end of the 1970s. A similar theoretical evolution occurred in North and South America during the late 70s and 80s. Afterwards in the 1970s the peace, anti-nuclear, environmental and women’s movements came.

Today in the picture of new social movements, we see the New Age, animal rights, gay and lesbian movements and Green movement (Dalton and Kuechler 1990, Scott 1990). The new social movements as they became known in the beginning of 1980s, share a few unique and original features (Johnston, Larana, Gusfield 1994). This period is called as third wave of social movement theorizing by Zirakzadeh, so-called ‘identity-formation period’ (Zirakzadeh, 1997: 15). The significant keywords of this theorizing of social movements are, culture and identity.

Larana, Johnston and Gusfield (1994) argues that, in the last three decades, ‘the emergence of new forms of collective action’ in all over the world stimulated a new conceptualization of the term of social movement. Peace movements, student movements, the anti- nuclear energy protests, minority nationalism, gay rights, women's rights, animal rights, alternative medicine, fundamentalist religious movements, and New Age and ecology movements are samples of the phenomena that have emerged by the new social reality.

2.2 New Social Movements (NSMs) and Main Features of NSMs

The new social movement approach is mainly developed in Europe. The **NSM** perspective emphasizes the cultural nature of the new movements and views them as struggles for control over the production of meaning and the constitution of new collective identities. It has been principally linked to works by Touraine (1985) and Melucci (1989) (Barry, Honour and Palnitkar, 2004) Touraine argues in his work that ‘sociology as a whole has moved from the area of social system and its principles of integration to the area of social action and social change’.

These NSMs theoreticians shifted their intellectual interest from western modernist thought to rather postmodernist and poststructuralist approaches. They are mostly concerned with the terms of ‘movement, action, and change’ (Barry, Honour and Palnitkar, 2004).

As Barry, Honour and Palnitkar (2004) claim, the new social movement approach focuses on the social relationships and conceptualizes the concept of identity as ‘field of freedoms and constraints’ in Melucci’s line. (Melucci, 1997, 1995). The concept of new social movement refers to an approach rather than a theory in Melucci’s view. In this approach the questions of values, the altering nature of ‘taken-for-granted assumptions’ of social life are considered, while the ‘how and why’ aspects of the social change are examined in order to recognize complementary characters of movements.

The specification of the fundamental characteristics of NSMs are like (Larana, Johnston and Gusfield, 1994: 6-8):

Firstly, NSMs do not have a specific relationship with structural roles of the participants. There is a shift of social base of the new social movements to go beyond the class structure. The participants of NSMs could be either from different classes, ages, sexes

Second, ideologically NSMs stand in a sharp contrast to former class based, traditional, and old movements and the leftist unifying and totalizing conception, with a rightist perspective. NSMs put on view of pluralism of ideas and values and they tend to have pragmatic relations in the society.

Third, NSMs tend to focus on the issues of identity rather than economic grievances (Melucci, 1985,). Here, Della Porta and Diani refers to a process by which social actors define and see themselves and are recognized by other actors, by identity concept. Identity plays an important role in the explanation of collective action, which is an essential component of social movements, from this perspective.

NSMs are generally “associated with a set of beliefs, symbols, values, and meanings related to sentiments of belonging to a differentiated social group; with the members' image of themselves; and with new, socially constructed attributions about the meaning of everyday life” (Larana, Johnston and Gusfield, 1994). The women's movement and the gay rights movement exemplify this trend.

As a fourth characteristic, in NSMs the link between the individual and collective is unclear and imprecise. That is why many contemporary movements are presented as individual actions rather than through or among mobilized groups. With this blurring relation between the individual and collective, the course of collective action is transformed. “Another way of thinking about the same phenomena is that in and through movements that have no clear class or structural base, the movement becomes the focus for the individual's definition of himself or herself, and action within the movement is a complex mix of the collective and individual confirmations of identity.” (Larana, Johnston and Gusfield, 1994: 8)

Fifth, NSMs generally include ‘personal and intimate’ facets and issues of human life, such as gay rights, abortion, alternative medicine and antismoking. That is to say, they expand towards the arena of daily life.

Another feature of NSMs is the use of mobilization tactics of disruption and resistance, such as nonviolent and civil disobedient tactics. This tendency differs from the ones practiced by working-class movement. NSMs utilize new mobilization patterns. Finally, the new social movement organizations are likely to be ‘segmented, decentralized, and diffused’.

On the other hand, these characteristics just mentioned do not eliminate all the links to the past and past movements. Nor is there an absence of continuity with the old social movements. Still it is possible to see the rotation of social movement action moved from large-scale societal relations to a narrower and more self-oriented ends and new individual and group identities.

Although the traditional theories of social movements did not emphasize the relation between grievances and identity as relevant to explaining movement formation, the new social movement perspective holds identity as a main aspect of movement formation. New social movements are believed to occur “in defense of identity”. Melucci deems NSMs growing around relationships that are envisioned to empower movement members to “name themselves”.

Melucci considers identity as the primary distinctive feature that distinguishes the new from the older social movement. Touraine, Klaus Elder, Offe emphasize the centrality of identity, as an emphasis on individual and group particularity in understanding new social movements. (Vahabzadeh, 2001)

Melucci’s theoretic thesis of new social movements is emphasizing:

1. a shift from industrial to post-industrial societies
2. the new middle class radicalism
3. identity as ‘latent and visible’ in relation to individual or group autonomy or particularity and the place of identity

Melucci not only views new social movements as the movements of the post-industrial era, he also perceives them as a certain response to the failure of modernization and an urge towards it at the same time.

He defines ‘newness’ of the social movements as concept which has the temporary function of indicating a number of comparative differences between the historical forms of class conflict and today’s emergent forms of collective action (Melucci, 1994 Larana). “Conflicts shift from the economic-industrial system to the cultural sphere and focus on personal identity, the time, and space of life, and the motivation and codes of daily behavior”.

As a basic component of the ‘newness’ of the world, the information society also comes into scene. The microelectronic revolution, making computers possible, parallel developments in communication technologies led the world to an information society. Reflexive, independent, artificial, and constructed features of the information society have affected the character of social life, as Melucci mentions.

Another aspect of information societies is the planetarization of the system in Melucci's terms. The circulation of information bounds the world systems, leads to new transnational society, and brings about new transnational problems such as controlling the flow of information. In addition, the processes of globalization through these social changes reactivate some nation-based forms of action and ethnic-based groups that look for a stable and easily recognizable identity form.

As Della Porta and Kriesi (1999) states in their article of 'Social movements in a globalizing world', that in the contemporary world social action and collective action in a given time and space is increasingly consisted of actions in very distant places in all over the world. As Giddens (1990: 64) suggests, globalization signifies the creation and rise of 'worldwide social relations which make connections between localities'. This process of growing interdependence in a global scale, has been increasingly transforming the world into a 'global village'. The revolution of communications is also a significant factor here, in transforming the social order of the world to a more globalized world with less visible national boundaries, through the messages rounding around the world instantly. Thus, with regard to social movements, globalization has changed the mobilization processes by these movements. That is, in Giddens' terms (cited in Della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht, 1999), globalization is affecting everyday life and by doing so, it mobilizes local movements of resistance against foreign ideas and global problems and at the same time makes these movements open to global agenda.

As Rucht (1999) argues, 'today the world is witnessing a gradual shift from national to transnational movements' and from national civil society to trans-national civil society. In this context, ideas referring to ideological objectives, action strategies and organizational structures travel around the world from one city to another, from one region to another region and even from one country to another one, through both indirect and direct ways. However these changes do not mean that national characteristics and policies are totally disappeared or replaced by global ones, rather a new language in global agenda has been created in which each nation flourish its own way of social order with regard to its national, regional, and local values.

Moreover, the mobilization structures through social movements go beyond the limits of nation-state, in a globalizing world. With the development of intergovernmental political institutions, such as European Union and United Nations a 'supranational layer' is added to social order, which opens up new ways and channels for social movements. Hence, supranational questions and matters issued by supranational authorities like EU and UN, affected, and defined the national targets of the countries. These supranational organizations provide new supranational arenas for 'the expression of claims and a newly referenced public- the European public or the global public-'for national and local authorities such as national, regional, or governments, governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations (Della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht, 1999: 17-18). The issues of development, human rights, gender policies, etc. which have been mentioned through various world conferences, summits and symposiums are examples of these supranational arenas.

In a globalizing world order, a wave of change swept through momentous gender politics and regimes ever the past 25 years. Although there were earlier forms of feminist mobilization structures in the 19th and 20th centuries, the 'modern' remobilization and spread of gender regimes and discourse can be started from the 1975 UN 'Decade for Women' declaration, and the following conferences in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), Beijing (1995) and Beijing +5 (2000). These conferences and platform for action refer to significant moments in the history of collective effort towards the advancement of woman and gender equality in global agenda. The true voice of women became more clearly heard, as Pietila and Vickers mentioned (1990), parallel to these international women's conferences. World conferences have also brought the adoption of the Convention of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and the ratification of CEDAW in 1981. These conferences created pressure on governments to make required changes in their legislation in order to ratify the Convention. Furthermore, international and national networks have been established to promote CEDAW by women in countries, which adopted CEDAW. The aim is obviously to prevent the decisions about women's empowerment remaining on paper only and to observe systematically the implementation of decisions via periodical government reports and shadow reports of NGOs. Pietila summarizes the international women's movement by stating that a gender perspective has enlarged in both qualitative and quantitative terms.

2.3 Women's Movement in Turkey

The basic elements of global movements are generally adapted by the particular form that the movement takes place in a given country. The institutional forces that realize policies of the society such as political parties and the movements' actors such as associations, foundations, or initiative groups shape the national discourse on the issues of global agenda (Ferree and Gamson, 1999). Discourse of supranational women's movement disperses in a country through national organizations and key actors, such as individual participants of the movement, members of the women's organizations or academicians as consultants, bringing global frames into national discourse (1999: 41).

The question of 'how international and global norms, recommendations, and rules could get translated into national discourse' is crucial at this point (Kardam, 1991). To answer this question, one should look at the interaction between international norms and rules on one side and the particular domestic and national conditions of the country on the other side.

Since the international process of the women's movement is mentioned in former sections, this section will point out the domestic settings in Turkey.

Kardam and Ertürk (1999) argue that the 1980s and 1990s can be defined as an 'era of expanded gender discourse'. The organizational changes such as the establishment of the Kadın Statüsü Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü (Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women), as the first governmental unit on women's affairs, within the government bodies have resulted in a great responsiveness to the gender issues. These changes opened up the way for a dialogue between women's organizations and the Turkish state. The developments mentioned are explained by Kardam and Ertürk in relation with the international women's rights regime and financial donors for gender issues and secondly with the increasing openness of the Turkish society for gender issues and women's organizations.

The International Women's Movement, which came up in the 1970s, clearly influenced the Turkish women and their status in the Turkish society (Kardam, 1991). Especially in the late 1970s and 1980s were the times when Turkish society increasingly witnessed a consciousness over women's issues. Particularly 1980s was

the times that women have begun to issue more and more strongly their gender status, their oppression throughout their history and their traditional feminine identity (Tekeli, 1991). However, as Tekeli argues (1991:11; Kandiyoti, 1987) 1980s was not the first time that feminism and women's movements came into the national agenda of Turkey.

The first stage feminist movement goes back to the date of Second Constitutional period (1908-1919) in the Ottoman times (Tekeli, 1991). This movement criticized the traditional role ascribed to women in Ottoman society and tried to strengthen the participation of women into public life.

In the second stage, with the state reforms such as the Civil Code reform in 1926, the suffrage reform of 1934, education, clothing and political rights given to women 'from above', women's status definitely progressed under the newly emerged Turkish Republic and all these social changes resulted in so-called state feminism (Tekeli, 1991). The republican women of this period unveiled themselves, perceive this as an indication their emancipation (Saktanber, 2002b). 'The unveiled women body turned out to be the symbol of emancipation.' (Saktanber; 2002b; Keskin, 2002; Çaha, 1996).

In the late 1940s and in the 1950s and 1960s, various women's organizations were found that gave priority to protect their ascribed rights and secular state. These women saw the secular state and its reforms as the only way to prevent going back to the Islamic tradition; so they concentrated on the defense of the reforms and ignored the patriarchal features of the reforms with the illusion of being 'emancipated' by these reforms and of being beyond the old patriarchal system (Kandiyoti, 1987).

In the 1970s women's movement were under the influence of leftist politics, alongside the debates on inequalities, injustices, and class exploitation etc. within this period the gender perspective of feminism was disappeared and replaced by a leftist approach of socialist feminism (Tekeli, 1991; Keskin, 2002).

In the 1980s, Turkish Women's Movement came out after the September 12 1980 Military Coup, as a first democratic movement and the fourth stage of women's movement in Turkey. For Tekeli (1991), a civil society has grown and matured within in the post 1980 period. This civilization wave was the outcome of the tremendous economical, political, social, and cultural changes that Turkey

experienced in 1980s vigorously such as urbanization, neo-liberalization politics of Ozal rule, westernization, and so forth (Kardam, 1991). Tekeli draws up the profile of this period with consciousness-raising groups of women, questioning women's situation and verbalize their problems, petition campaigns organized by Istanbul and Ankara feminist groups, Turkey's becoming signatory to the UN Convention CEDAW in 1985, increasing feminist demonstrations, first feminist congress which held in Ankara in 1989, questioning the forms of women's organizations and the structure of these organizations, opening of women's shelters and documentation centers for women.

Tekeli (1991: 15) summarizes that the outstanding organizational features of the period of 1980s as: the movement generally stayed out of the area of politics to remain independent of party politics and preferred to be above the class structures. In this conceptualizing, Tekeli deems the new feminist movement of this period as a democratic and autonomous movement. The movement was decentralized and loosely organized: different groups were free to choose the mode of their organizations and actions and ideological pluralism was accepted. In the late 1980s, leftist and liberal women were not the only ones actively involved the process of forming the new women's organizations. Some women of religious organizations also founded different forms of organizations. With these features, the main common point of the actors was being women; so it is not wrong to say that the identity concept was important in forming this movement, so-called new social movement. Additionally, Sallan-Gül and Aksu-Coşkun (1998) argues that, the women's organizations founded at this period had the consciousness of being women, which was created by the women's movement after 1980.

2.4 Islamist Movement and Women's Movement in Turkey

Islamization here appears to mean a pragmatic project of civilization, of which the basic elements are organized around setting moral standards of society according to Islamic precepts.

The rise of Islamic movements in the early 1960s, which radicalized and strengthened in the Iranian revolution in 1979, had immense effects on the Turkish society.

In 1980, when the Turkish Military intervened to get over the political control of the country banning all political activity and crushing the left-wing and ultranationalists, the military regime led to the coming out of 'alternative groups' such as Kurds, Islamists and feminists. After 1983, the new social movements has arisen based on ethnic, gender, and religious differences and specific demands of these excluded groups criticized the secular homogenous groups, constituted by state elites mainly. These movements also have influenced the foundation of women's organizations that have similar recognitions as these movements (Keskin, 2002).

Under these challenges, the military redefined the Kemalist principles with the name of Türk-İslam Sentezi (Turkish-Islamic Synthesis) to use the Islam for the interests of the state. However this synthesis failed to reconstruct the Kemalist hegemony and provided strenghtening the religious minority groups and ethnic groups, rather than kemalist groups. (Keskin, 2002: 249). Then, Islamic groups got a massive support from the urban persons and conflicts over the societal issues appeared. Veiling issue, which is thought as a political symbol rather than a necessity of Islamic rules, is one of the most striking issues in these conflictual issues, at this period. The conflict over veiling in Turkey began in the late 1960s, developed into a public debate in 1980s with the demand of veiled Islamist young girls to be accepted to the universities and in 1990s became a very hot topic in parallelism with the increasing public presentation of Islam in these years (Keskin, 2002; Göle, 1991, 1999).

Since the 1980s a cultural/political movement which based on the identity of Islamist, when came to 1990s, became a significant and controversial phenomena on the Turkish social and political agenda (Acar, 1991: 46; Berktaş, 2003: 117; Göle, 1991, 1999, 2000; Saktanber, 1997, 2002b; Kandiyoti, 1987, 1996.; Çakır, 1990, 2002; Heper, 1997).

Islamist movement is a new social movement since the identity and the culture of Islamists have played great role in formation of it. Islamist movement was defined as occurred among the urbanized and educated ones by Göle (1997). Furthermore the increasing visibility of Islam in Turkey, is seen largely as an urban phenomenon, and "...partly as a reflection of a politically determined social effort to attempt the actualization of middle class ethos for an Islamic social order, and partly as a reflection of new meanings attributed to the social sphere." by Saktanber (2002b: 18). That is to say the Islamist movement was flourished by the culture of urban and middle-class. The 'identity-formation politics' of the Islamist movement have proliferated through Islamic culture mostly in the private area of the society in view of the fact that religion practices in mosques, secondary schools, Koran courses and state universities has been 'regulated and controlled by the state' from the beginning of the Turkish Republic (Ayata, 1996; Saktanber, 2002b). Though, as Saktanber (2002b: xxi) argues this does not mean that religious has never been by people outside private sphere but practiced under strict state control.

At those times, religious organizations and various local communities, which were sustained by religious organizations were either banned or pushed into the state of illegality and hence deemed to be clandestine societies. Only religion as it is practiced in the private sphere managed to avoid that strict state control and surveillance and only this religious practice... since it has been left to the guidance of their cultural knowledge and habits. Hence, it is in this private sphere that the revitalization of Islam as a politicized cultural practice has proliferated in modern Turkish society while also expanding the meaning and the scope of the private sphere... Yet the importance of the private sphere in the formation of Islamic activism has been so remarkable that it cannot be ignored.

As Mardin (1989) observes, in Turkish society the private practices of Islam have grew to be more effective as the boundaries of what constitutes the private have expanded towards the public. This group of people as participants of the Islamist movement was trying to realize an Islamic way of life that is consistent with their Islamic beliefs.

This transformation of the social reality in this period is observable through religious education institutions such as theology departments in universities, Imam Hatip Schools, and Koran courses, Pro-Islamist radios, and television programmes as communication means of religious media, political parties oriented religiously, Islamist organizations, and religious economic enterprises. All of these elements are signifying a way of Islamic life that is aimed to achieve by the Islamist movement in Turkey. Once Turkish Republic's modernization project, which is a process consisted of westernization, nationalization, and secularization, aimed to control religion, it was limited to a private sphere, a restricted area of life with a small clientele, so that it could not constitute an obstacle for the modern Turkey. (Saktanber, 2002b). However, in the 1980s and 1990s religion has involved into public life by means of Islamist movement and Islamic revivalism and became visible again in the public sphere (Çakır, 2000).

In this period Islamism has risen various public voices through, what Göle (2000) and her workshop group call 'new public faces', via civil organizations and party politics and has gained social recognition by loosely or tightly organized religious orders (Saktanber, 2002b: xxii-xxiii).

...But no matter how this was achieved, as long as they were known by activities that were labeled Islamist, these activists were always deemed 'perverted' in some way. Thus, only those who gain social recognition on an individual basis, through perceived compliance with the system, can survive in public arena. Otherwise, the risk of prosecution and public ostracism is unavoidable. This applies to both political parties represented in the parliament, and the leaders of powerful religious orders, even though they may be greatly respected by large sections of society and influential political figures.

The '28 February Decree' of the National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Kurulu) in 1997, closing of pro-Islamic party of Refah Partisi (Welfare Party), ban on head-scarves in universities and public institutions in 1998, the extension of minimum period for compulsory education to eight years, strict state inspections for the investments of Islamist capital, religious orders, and religious organizations, then closing of Fazilet Partisi (Virtue Party), and the case of Merve Kavakçı were the striking events of the 1990s. These events are exemplifying the state, military, and Kemalist/secular policies that were trying hard to prevent Islamists participating in public sphere, especially in political arena (Saktanber, 2002b; Keskin, 2002; Göle 1999)

This applies to also the active or passive non-political figures, who are mostly Islamist women because they were wearing headscarves as obvious religious codes, as they got more actively involved into public sphere. Still, men if they had carried the identity of Islamist could not have been employed in high social and political status until the last general elections in 2002.

Through these societal developments, veiled women became more visible and militant in public sphere, organizing protest activities and participating in demonstrations, participating into pro-Islamic party politics. 'But each time they became too visible or raised their voices loudly, they confronted with strong opposition from both Kemalist state forces and secularist sections of the society.' (Saktanber, 2002b)

Saktanber, (2002b: 48) defines 'the status of Islamist women in Turkey today' as an 'unresolved puzzle' and states that

In recent social scientific, discourse the identity if Islamist women has been almost exclusively described with respect to different expressions of modernity.

However, Göle's study (1991: 135) extending the parameters of Islamic revivalism in Turkey in relation with modernism as, the 'veiled' bodies of Muslim women who form the 'dark side of modernity' have not only showed the protest of Islam against Western modernism but, through the new visibility that veiled women have got in the society, have also brought that dark side of modernity into the light of day. By stating this argument, Göle mentions that the visibility of this new Islamist women identity is linked to the modernization, politicization and getting educated of Islamist women especially in 1990s.

Under these circumstances, the creation and realization of a new 'modernized' way of Islamic life is got possible with the strong efforts of the Islamist women, who participated actively into public life, via home gatherings for the purpose of worship and *sohbet* among religious orders and religious organizations, pro-Islamic party propagandas mainly organized by ladies commissions of these parties to influence the masses, public demonstrations and protest activities, and Islamist/Islamic women's organizations founded by women (Saktanber, 2002b; Arat, 1999).

Throughout the first half of 2000, Turkish society witnessed a significant increasing influence of Islamist political parties with the worthy efforts of the Islamist women, who were also the ‘invisible hands’ behind the striking victory of the RP in 1994 elections (Keskin, 2002). After the election of the November 3 in 2002 Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party) became the party in power as the only party and the strongest party of Turkey.

Islamist movement has manifested itself, as all social movements manifest themselves, in part and through wide range of organizations. Islamist women organizations that established generally in 1990s and so, not only have become the representatives and organizational institutions of Islamist movement in political and social terms, but also became the voice of women who have religious orientation but do not have the goal of doing religiously oriented activities and services. These Islamist women organizations widely range from the activist and militant Islamist organization that have strong political integration to pro-Islamic parties or have obvious affiliation to religious orders, to service organizations that were founded by religious-oriented women with headscarves and that do not have any politically religious activity at all.

2.5 Islamist/Islamic Women's Organizations

As stated above, in the second half of the 1980s, Islamist women actively participated in public life mainly as the political actors of the Islamist movement. They gradually were more politicized through the rise of Islamic revivalism, and got organized around the demand for right to be veiled in both universities and governmental institutions. In the line of this aim, they got organized under associations, initiative groups, and umbrella-like organizations, such as platforms.

Islamist women, who are educated, urban, and generally middle-class women, took their place in the Islamist movement playing the role of critics of both traditional Islamism and the Western modernity. The activist, mainly, young Islamist women criticized the traditional Islamic ideologies that identify women as belonged to private sphere and the Western ideologies of secular/Kemalist elites that homogenize the public sphere as in the form of secular sphere (Göle, 1991, 2000; Çayır, 2000; Keskin 2002).

At this point, the politicization experiences, the Islamist women writers in Islamist newspapers and journals, the journals founded and led by Islamist women, the women's organizations founded by women in formal or informal level are the significations of a newly defined 'Islamist woman identity' in social and civil sphere of life beside the political sphere. The Islamist woman identity in these processes has formed as having oppositions to both the modernist and secular part and also to the traditional and Islamist part of the society. Cihan Aktaş (1988), suggests a new term for Islamist woman here, 'enlightened Muslim woman'. The new Islamist women are enlightened in opposition to the traditional Islamists and Muslim in opposition to modernist/secular/Kemalist view (Keskin, 2002; Aktaş, 1988 cited in Keskin)

These women demanded full participation in the social sphere despite the secularist and Kemalist restrictions at one side and the Islamic patriarchal limitations so they stayed between the two polarized part of the society. While the secularist/Kemalist part of the society labeled them as Islamist, religionist, backwardist, reactionist, dark veiled, turbaned, or obscurantism, the Islamist/traditional part accused them of being modern, marginalized, and even worse, as feminist. Confronted with a double-edged sword in their hands, these

women had to develop new survival strategies to form their identities and to get the acceptance of both parts, to a certain extent at least.

One of these survival strategies were to establish organizations of which the founders, the leaders, and the members were all Islamist/religious women. Hence, Islamist women founded various women's organizations in the 1990s, which signifies the changing profile of Islamist women. The Islamist women in that period who were highly educated by secular educational institutions in most cases, began to question the status of women in Turkish society in general and in the Islamist movement. Consequently, that period witnessed Islamist women who had the intention of redefine their position and status in both public and private sphere.

One of the first women's platforms established by Islamist women in Istanbul, in 1994, with the name of *Gökkuşığı İstanbul Kadın Platformu* (Istanbul Rainbow Women's Platform), as Çayır observes in his work (Çayır, 2000). Women's platforms were established, following the Istanbul model, in Ankara, Bursa, Kayseri, Konya, Antalya, Diyarbakir.

Islamist/Islamic women's are the organizations which are mostly getting interested with the gender needs in practical terms to improve the living conditions of women, such as providing free health services, food, and clothing for poor ones, and the educative seminars about the issues on family life and earthquake. However beside these social service-like activities, they organize panels and seminars on the issues of women's human rights and women's identity as consciousness-raising activities in feminist terms. These organizations held and participate local, regional, national, and even international activities in the civil society area. Even though these organizations are still maintaining the existing and predominant traditional and patriarchal understanding of women, which thinks women as a part of private sphere and some times as exactly the private sphere itself, they still represent a significant effort to raise the women's voice in the public sphere via their own opinions.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The study of this thesis is shaped around a qualitative social movement research to understand the reality of Islamist/Islamic women's movements. This chapter includes two subsections: the logic and the designation of a survey research, the steps of the field research and the general profiles of selected NGOs. These are research subject definition, defining the unit of analysis, asking the research question, selecting the research site, entering the field, building connections with NGOs, sampling, forming the interview structure and data gathering in the field.

3.1 Steps of the Field Research

In a field research, fixed steps are scarcely followed. The naturalistic approach and the direct involvement of the researcher in the field cause flexibility. A field researcher's attitude is often making necessary adjustments according to the conditions of the site involved in. Thus, there are not strictly controlled research settings. Control over the data exists after the researcher is been accepted and socialized within the field. This field research followed these steps:

3.1.1 Research Subject Definition

The personal experiences have played an important role in shaping this study. One of the projects of the Uçan Süpürge organization, named 'Database System for Women's Organizations in Turkey', was the base of this research, which gave me the data of organizations prior to survey. This project was conducted between 17 February and 3 April 2003 in 37 cities where women's organizations are concentrated. As being interviewer for this project, in the region of Mediterranean and Southeast of Turkey, the researcher gained a great field background about the structure of women NGOs. Having knowledge on the number of women's organizations in Turkey, on their aims, visions and activities by interviewing 40 organizations institutionally and lots of women individually during the project, clarified the picture of women's organizations.

Following this research, a meeting named 'CEDAW Civil Society Forum' was held in Ankara in 18-20 April 2003. Various women's organizations, having different ideological bases, attended this meeting from all over the country. There were also several Islamist/Islamic women's organizations in the meeting. These Islamist/Islamic women's organizations decided to hold a co-operational/collective activity as an outcome of the evening meetings and sohbet (conversations) which they organized in their rooms mainly. They named the activity as '*Kadın Buluşması*' (Women's Meeting). The idea of this '*Kadın Buluşması*' project were inspired from the CEDAW Civil Society Forum, which gathered various women's organizations. These meetings made several Islamist women in individual level and Islamist/Islamic women's organizations or ladies' commissions of Islamist organizations get together and introduced, discuss issues on their experiences and their problems.

These meetings are important in terms of gathering the possible actors (Islamist/Islamic women's organizations) of a possible movement (Islamist/Islamic women's movement) and in terms of being firstly held in May 2003, a date that is 5 months later the November 2002 general elections in Turkey. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party), which was known to be Islamist, was the first and strongest party of Turkey according to the results of 3 November general election. Today, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi is still the ruling part in Turkey.

Under these circumstances, I thought that, if there is one, an Islamist/Islamic women's movement was deserving an academic interest. Regard to this academic interest, this study looks at the network relations and organizational structures of Islamist/Islamic women's organizations, as actors of this possible movement .

3.1.2 Unit of Analysis

This study is concerned with answering the questions posed about organizations not individuals. By choosing the unit of analysis as organization, this study differs from most of the social movement researches that were based on individuals as the unit of analysis. On the organizational side, I am interested with Islamist/Islamic women's organizations and networks among them. Therefore, the 'network' concept here should be taken as organizational networks in the sense of relationships between organizations.

3.1.3 Research Question

The question of this research was mainly 'Do the existing Islamist/Islamic women's organizations in Turkey form an Islamist/Islamic women's movement?'. In order to be able to answer this question the *Kadın Buluşmaları*, issues, debates, participants, conflicts, organizations and future projection of these meetings, are examined through deep interviews, based on 14 guiding questions (Appendix B), with the active members of the NGOs involved to this study and through the published Meeting Bulletin. Besides, with the aim of knowing and understanding these NGOs' organizational structures, semi-structured interview of 55 questions (Appendix A) was formed and conducted. Via these semi-structured interviews, getting the organizational characteristics of these NGOs became possible.

3.1.4 Research Site

The selection of the field site was made on two bases: One was the results of the project, 'Directory of Database System for Women's Organizations in Turkey', held by Uçan Süpürge. The other base was individual experiences of the researcher.

It was seen from the Database project of Uçan Süpürge (www.ucansupurge.org) that, most of the women NGOs were placed in three metropolitan cities of Turkey, Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. Regionally, the Mediterranean part of the Turkey had the second degree in ranking, for placing NGOs. Afterwards, there came the Southeastern part of Turkey as third in ranking. According to the published results of this research, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir are the cities in which 54.7 % of all women's organizations are founded, in south and Mediterranean part of Turkey this percentage is 13.5 and in Southeast region of Turkey the percentage is 11.6. So, a simple search was made in the website of Uçan Süpürge to find the NGOs required. Those requirements were having activities and services in the benefit of women with an Islamic orientation and being led by women.

The number of the NGOs found was more than four, but it was seen necessary to limit the research with four NGOs. Selected four NGOs were the important figures in the whole picture. Two of the four, had already been known from my experiences in the project of Uçan Süpürge. These cities were Antalya and Diyarbakır. Antalya is one of the top-five developed cities in Turkey. Besides, it is known being an indication of the spread of the women's movements in the Mediterranean Region. Diyarbakır is one of the most significant cities in the Southeastern part with its geographical, economic, cultural, ethnic, and political conditions. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that it was a city under strict controls of the military until the recent times. From my participant observations, it could be stated that formation of organizations, as Non-Governmental Organizations, in that region, were one of the fundamental ways of expressing people's themselves. Rests of the cities, were two of the metropolitan cities of Turkey, as expected. These cities were Istanbul and Ankara, which are the heading cities of civil movement in Turkey.

At the beginning, it was intended to conduct the research including all women NGOs having an Islamic understanding in Istanbul and in Ankara. When it was noticed that there were high number of NGOs in these cities, especially in Istanbul, just one platform organization was selected from each metropolitan city. These four cities, with the feature of having different economic, political, social, and cultural structures, were seemingly to be able to give a general view of women NGOs having Islamic understandings.

3.1.5 Entering the Field and Getting Access to NGOs

A flexible strategy was chosen for the entrance to the field site in case of possible difficulties. A plan of action has taken. As a first step, the communication information of each organization was gathered from the website of Uçan Süpürge and my own field notes. After the introductory conversation, on the phone, with the secretariats of the organizations, the aim and the scope of the study were told to the presidents. The formal petitions for this study were sent to the organizations' offices as the next step. Then the negotiation process began.

At first look, all of the organizations' members, except the one in Ankara, acted reluctantly to the study. Just the women in Ankara accepted to join the research as they heard about it. Women in Diyarbakır, were willing to participate in such a research after talked over it face-to-face. Women in Antalya refused to participate in this research when they saw the interview form. When women in Ankara learned their refusal, they suggested me to interview a newly founded organization in Antalya. The new organization from Antalya accepted to participate in such a study due to the reference of Ankara. In Istanbul, things were not this much easy. There is a platform structure, in which the membership of the organization exists at the institutional level, in Istanbul. Therefore, it was needed to get the acceptance of each member, which means each organization under the umbrella of the platform in this case, on the objects and aims of the study.

3.1.6 Sampling

Selecting a purposive sampling, four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs were included in the study. These organizations are:

- Gökkuşığı İstanbul Kadın Platformu (GIKAP) in İstanbul (İstanbul Rainbow Woman Platform)
- Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği in Ankara (Capital City Women's Platform Association)
- Akdeniz Hanımlar Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği in Antalya (AKHAK-DER) (Mediterranean Ladies Culture and Solidarity Association)
- Diyarbakır Hanımlar Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Kültür Vakfı (HAKYAD) in Diyarbakır (Diyarbakır Ladies Cooperation and Solidarity Culture Foundation)

3.1.7 Forming Interview Structure

The semi-structured interview consisted of six different parts: status of the organization, member profiles, office equipments and communication means, activity and service areas, financial resources, relations with state and government.

There were 55 questions in the semi-structured interview. Most of the questions were open-ended. During the research, descriptive and informant question types were used to reveal the structures of the organizations.

During the research, 4 semi-structured interviews were conducted at the organizational level, with the leaders and the active members of these NGOs.

In addition to semi-structured interviews, deep interviews were conducted with the NGOs in the sampling group, except GIKAP. There were 14 questions in the deep interviews and all of them were designed as open-ended. Consequently, there were 3 deep interviews conducted at organizational level.

3.1.8 Data Gathering

The research was conducted during the summer and fall of 2004. It was required going to each city to collect data. All of the interviews were conducted in public spaces. One was in a patisserie in Antalya, and three (Istanbul, Antalya, and Diyarbakır) were in the work places of these organizations. The working places were apartments in the private buildings in all of the cases. The organization in Istanbul, GIKAP utilizes several different places of its member organizations. The conduct of this study in public spaces instead of private places, made the study more formal. In the Istanbul case, the any of the questions were responded in face-to-face meetings but all responded in written forms.

Semi-structured interviews were held not always with just the leader of the NGOs. The only case was HAKYAD, that the semi-structured interview questions were responded by the president of the foundation. In other cases, the semi-structured interview questions were responded by both the leaders and the active members of NGOs.

The most formal case was GIKAP in terms of answering the questions. All questions had first the acceptance of the Platform Assembly of GIKAP, which is the main decisive organ of it. After the demand for the research was accepted, the questions were responded by a group of members, and then the answers to the questions were sent to me in written forms.

In the rest cases, in Ankara and Antalya, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with focus groups. These groups were consisted of the leaders, some executive members, and some other participants of the NGOS. In Antalya, the focus group was consisted of all the executive members and the president of AKHAK-DER, but it is closed to other members of the association. In Ankara, the focus group participants were changing in number, since the interview was conducted in the biggest and common room of their place that is open to everyone, even to volunteers. On the other hand, the ones answering the questions were the president of the association and the most active members of it.

Deep interviews of the research were decided to conduct one for each NGO in the sampling group. However, GIKAP, due to its long bureaucratic procedures, have not

responded the questions yet. The questions, which are asking the organizational networks of NGOs, were responded by two active members of the Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği, the president of AKHAK-DER, and the president of HAKYAD on the issues of their networks with Islamist/Islamic organizations or non-Islamist/Islamic ones, their relationships inside the sampling group, and, *Kadın Buluşmaları*. These interviews were held on phone in the case of AKHAK-DER, with face-to face contact in the cases of HAKYAD and Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği.

3.1.9 Limitations of the Study

This research, by taking the organization as its unit of analysis, necessarily restricts itself to the explanation of organizational structures and collective actions. It cannot help us to understand the individuals' opinions attitudes, and behaviors. If we accept that, the Islamist/Islamic women are as participants of a possible movement, this research is not be able to tell us the individual and personal features of a possible movement. It can tell us how these four NGOs are structured, how different they are from each other, what kind of relations they have with each other, but it has little to say something about the individual motivations behind a possible movement of Islamist/Islamic women's movement, and the common individual characteristics of its participants.

A second limitation is the small size of the sampling group. Although the universe of Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs is not known exactly, the number of these NGOs is much more than four surely. These NGOs were selected according to their significance in their city and the four cities were selected in terms of their impact in the arena of civil society in Turkey. On the other hand, looking at the common features and characteristics of just four NGOs and saying that these are the same in all Islamist/Islamic women's organization will be over generalizing the results of the research.

The costs, transportation, and time may be thought as the third limitation of the study. All of them are related to each other in the field. As each NGO selected for this research is placed in different city of Turkey, it was hard to conduct face-to-face

interviews. In the progress of the research, sometimes there occurred the need in asking extra questions to understand the answers comprehensively and to get into the details of some answers that were responded very briefly. However, these extra questions were all asked and responded by phone conversations or mailing, except the case in Ankara. These conversations and mails decreased the transportation costs and made it possible save time and money. On the other hand, time, transportation, and cost limitations created restrictions in reaching the data via face-to-face contacts that are providing more reliable and valid data.

A fourth limitation concerns the bureaucratic and overcautious attitude of GIKAP. All of the questions of the research must have taken the acceptance of the Platform Assembly of GIKAP, which is the main decisive organ of it. This means if did not have the acceptance of the assembly then I could not have conducted the research. Later the questions were sent to the Planning Department of the platform to be answered and only then, they sent the answers to me in written form. This was because of a decision of their platform protocol that the participants of this platform had made about such kind of researches. They reject face-to-face interviews by which the data collected in a verbal way. Due to these formal and bureaucratic procedures of GIKAP, it took long time to gather the data. That is why I have not received the answers of GIKAP to the deep interview questions yet and I still wait for the positive decision of the Platform Assembly. Because of these problems, in order to get at least informal answers to the deep interview questions I talked to the General Secretary of GIKAP. Now, I have some answers but they cannot be taken as the platform's answers. The Secretary talked to me on the phone not as the General Secretary of GIKAP but just as Funda Ozan, with her personal identity.

However, it is still possible to make some inferences from the deep interviews of other three NGOs about GIKAP's networks, since their answers about network among themselves are giving the references for GIKAP. The other NGOs explained when they met GIKAP and whether they had/ or still have any cooperation with GIKAP. Hence, most of the network data of GIKAP was gathered from the other deep interviews.

Furthermore, there was a gatekeeper character, who was one of the founders of the platform, controlling the access to the organization using her informal authority. Beside the founder character, the other gatekeepers, general secretary, and some executive members of the platform claimed that, the thoughts of Islamist/Islamic people were quoted distortedly in the social science studies. They stated that they were tired of trying to correct the image of the platform. In their opinion, irresponsible researchers caused such cases and these cases resulted in obstruction, misunderstandings, and misuses of their activities. A renegotiation process was a necessity in such conditions. The study was reshaped through the demands of gatekeepers. The unit of analysis was shifted from individuals to organizations without destroying the integrity of the study. Subsequently, a stable relationship and trust developed to gain access.

Despite these limitations and the formal characteristic of the research, friendly and intimate relations were forged during the research. This was a step forward to obtain the understanding of the members of the selected organizations and to move beyond the prejudices against them.

3.2 General Profile of NGOs

In this chapter, the semi-structured interviews of four NGOs are analyzed. The analysis and interpretation of the data are made in two subsections. The first subsection is dealing with the data of organizational structure of each NGO. The four Islamic NGOs organizational structures are analyzed briefly. For the analysis the main factors leading them to found these organizations, the short profile of their members, their target aims, activities, services, problems, financial resources, and relations with the state and government are considered. In the second subsection, the varieties and similarities of four Islamic NGOs are presented with comparative tables and interpretations of these tables and their original quotations. The social, political, and historical factors that affected their establishing processes is considered. As they are most significant components of Islamic women's movement in Turkey, the network among these four NGOs, their interactions and relations with each other is described.

3.2.1 Gökkuşuğu İstanbul Kadın Platformu (GIKAP)

GIKAP is a platform, which is consisted of 40 organizations (App. C) and founded in 1995 to create a local, social and civil potential to discuss women's problems and find solution to them. 8 of its participants are women's associations, 6 are women's foundations, 1 is women commissions, and rests are groups. These participant organizations are not all Islamist/Islamic or women's organizations

The main factor that led them to found this platform was to communicate, to interact, and to make cooperation with formal or informal organizations, institutions, and individuals. GIKAP's aims, targets, and working principles are determined by a 'protocol text' and 'internal regulations'. The organizational structure of this platform is a highly structured one as it is seen from 'GIKAP structuring scheme'². The decision organ is consisted of two departments, which are 'Platform Assembly' and 'Consultant/Executive Council'.

² The scheme represented in Figure 3.1 is drawn by the members of GIKAP, so this figure is showing their own understanding of their platform's organizational structure.

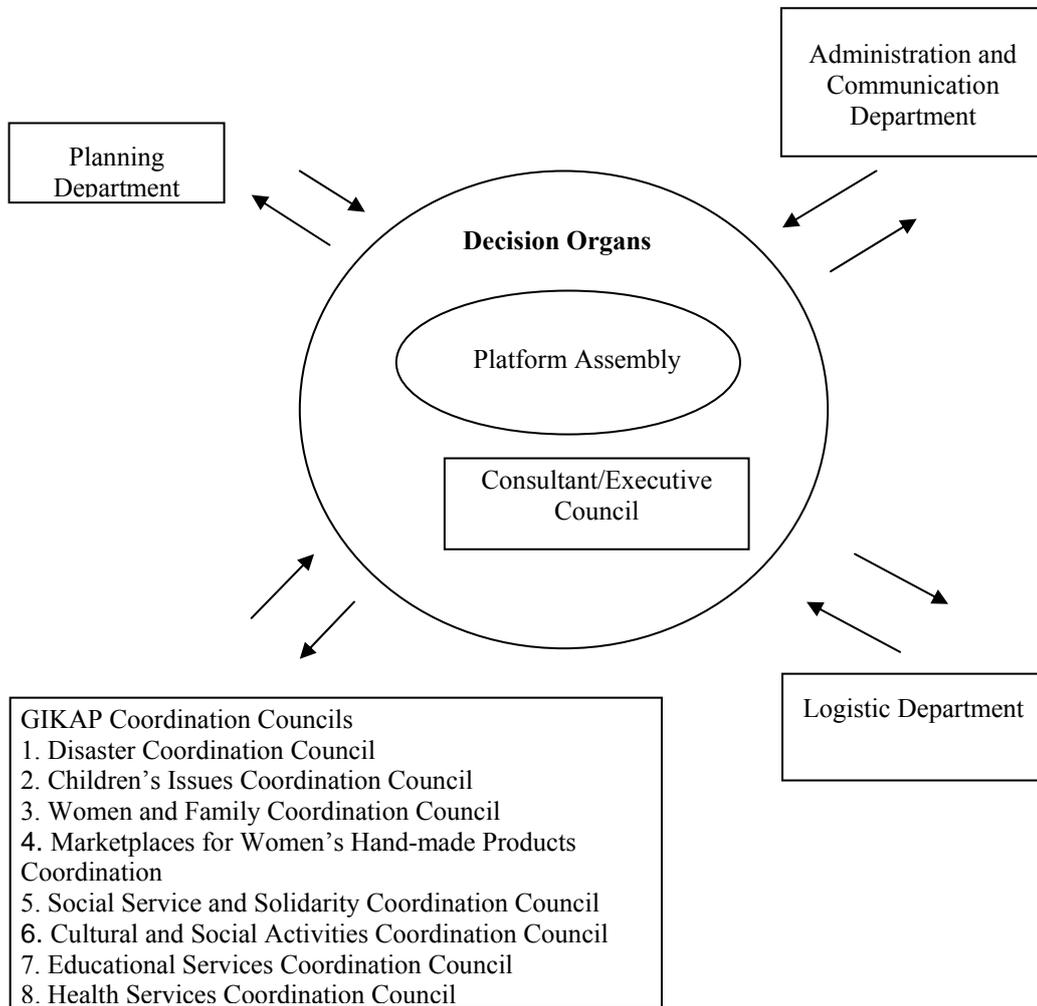


Figure 3.1 2003-2004 GIKAP's Organizational Structure Scheme

There are also four departments connected to decision organ. These are ‘Planning Department’, ‘Administration and Communication Department’, ‘Logistic Department’, and ‘Coordination Councils’.

Coordination Councils are:

- Disaster Coordination Council
- Children’s Issues Coordination Council
- Women and Family Coordination Council
- Marketplaces for Women’s Hand-made Products Coordination Council
- Social Service and Solidarity Coordination Council
- Cultural and Social Activities Coordination Council
- Educational Services Coordination Council
- Health Services Coordination Council

The platform gathers various women’s foundations, associations, initiative groups under its rainbow. Membership is accepted in institutional level. Each participant NGO is dealing with a different issue such as education, health, international, communication, art, sports, historical research etc. Their common point is they are all women’s organizations gathered under the platform protocol to do something for the society.

Its members are mostly 36-49 age-year old and university graduates. Members are generally from the health sector. Target people of the platform are mainly women. However, in general terms the participants target the whole society.

The problematized issues by the platform are institutionalization of NGOs, gathering of different organizations under the umbrella of one organization, financial resources acquisition, and communication with other NGOs.

GIKAP’s activity and service areas are education, health, income activities, entrepreneurship/vocational trainings, social aids and services, consultation services, law, communication/media, culture, and social activities.

The physical boundaries of its services and activities cover not only Istanbul, but also whole Turkey.

Table 3.1 The three most important activities of the GIKAP platform

	ACTIVITY 1	ACTIVITY 2	ACTIVITY 3
1. Name	The Project for 'Raising Consciousness of Preparation for Disaster'	'Supporting and Improving Women's NGOs'	'The Piggybank Festival'
2. Activity type	Educative activities such as trainings/ distributing documents	Consultation services for women's NGOS Educative activities	Social aids and services like stationery presents for children
3. Participant NGOs	-All of the GIKAP participants	-All of the GIKAP participants	-Related GIKAP participants
4. Aim	-Making consciousness for disaster widespread and making the society get ready for disasters	-To improve the quality and the effectiveness of women's NGOs' studies	-Building a bridge between the children Making those children feel themselves special Providing their basic needs
5. Date/ period	2002-2006	1995-2005	2003-2005
6. Clientele	Primarily women, all parts of the society in general	Women's NGOs	Children
7. People accessed by the activity	Almost 2.5 million people	Indefinite	5.000
8. Organizations and institutions sponsored	- Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kandilli Rasathanesi Deprem Araştırma Enstitüsü (B.Ü KRDAE) -Primarily Felakette Acil Yardım Derneği (FAY-DER) and other participants of GIKAP	-GIKAP participant organizations	-Özlenen Çocuk Derneği (Özlen-Der) -Hanımlar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı (HEKVA) -Institutions from private sector
9. Result of the activity/ Interpretations about the activity	The studies aiming to raise a consciousness for disaster are continuing successfully now. The effectiveness of the trainings is measured by means of questionnaires, before-training tests and, after-training tests. The project has the support of the NGOs outside GIKAP and academicians.	In result of studies at this subject, standardized forms are prepared and distributed to women's NGOS, the standardization of the studies of NGOs is provided, a culture of making collective actions is created, the observations and information are shared with the representatives of NGOs.	This project is going on. With the studies in Batman and Erzincan, it became possible to reach children in these regions. The results of these campaigns are told the sponsor institutions and the decision about the continuation of this project is made.

Table 3.2 The Projects that are planned by the platform to make in 2005

	PROJECT 1	PROJECT 2	PROJECT 3
1. Name	The Marketplace for Women's Hand-made Products (KÜP) (Kadın El Ürünleri Pazaryerleri Projesi)	Serial Meetings among Women's NGOs on Acquaintance and Collective Studies	The Organization Model of Standard Management System in Struggling Poverty
2. Activity type	Entrepreneurship training and studies	Serial meetings on the subject of women's NGOs	Meetings Social services
3. Aim	The aim of this project is to provide marketplaces for the women's hand-made products of a better quality. Thus, the objectives of giving these women a permanent job opportunity in this marketplace and making them to contribute in economic development of the country are held.	With the intention of being acquainted with each other and share our experiences in overall Turkey, this project aims at encouraging city/region/nation based women's platform organizations. These serial meetings will serve to these aims and institutionalization of women's NGOs.	The objectives aimed in this project are to form a standard management system, providing communication, cooperation, and coordination among social service institutions, NGOs, and private sector organizations, which serving poor families and people, in local districts or at city or nation scale. In addition, realization of the social aids and services effectively, healthy and in a fair way, and prevention of bad use of these services are objected.
4. Expected period	2005 - 2006	2005 – 2007	2005 - 2007
5. Clientele	Primarily women producing hand-made staffs of a good quality All women who participated in the project by being producers and supporters	Women's NGOs in Turkey	Poor families, poor people without a family Local and central administrative organizations, NGOs and private sector organization serving the poor ones
6. Sponsors thought to support the project	The EU and the World Bank are thought to be sponsors for this project.	GİKAP	-NGOs in the local administrative districts, -Municipalities - Greater Municipalities -Governor's offices, -Qaimakam's offices -Family Research Institution -Related Ministries

Table 3.3 Local and national cooperation that GIKAP has organized, with the organizations outside the platform

	Cooperated organization(s)	Activity object/ Clientele	Date/Period
1.	-The Organizations in the Habitat II Organization Committee GIKAP was one of the organizers in the committee	The objective is: -Collective studies on the issues of women and family The clientele is consisted of women and families.	1996
2.	-Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kandilli Rasathanesi Deprem Araştırma Enstitüsü (B.Ü KRDAE) -AKUT - Arama Kurtarma Acil Yardım Derneği (AKAY) -Afete Karşı Sivil Koordinasyon -Diş Hekimleri Odası - Kadıköy Sağlık ve Sosyal Dayanışma Vakfı (KASDAV)	The objectives are: -The trainings for ‘Preparations for Disaster’ -Raise a consciousness of disaster in the society The clientele of this project is the whole Turkish society	The project was organized in the period of 2001-2003. The disaster-subjected studies are still goes on with the name of the ‘Training Program of Preparations for Disaster’.
3.	- Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kandilli Rasathanesi Deprem Araştırma Enstitüsü (B.Ü KRDAE) -Istanbul Technical University -The Marmara University -Istanbul University - Istanbul Greater Municipality	A Science Committee was founded to make scientific researches and projects about disaster. The object of these collective actions was disaster and preparations for disaster. The clientele is the Turkish society.	2003- until today
4.	- Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakfı (KEDV) - Deniz Feneri Derneği - Istanbul Greater Municipality -Fatih and Üsküdar Municipalities -Institutions for Public Education	In the scope of the project of The Marketplace for Women’s Hand-made Products (KÜP), the objectives of this project are: -Providing raw material, required equipments, and micro-credit for poor woman producers -Trainings for related skills, marketing strategies, designation of a product and general culture	2003- until today

The platform has also had much international cooperation until 2005 at the level of participation. It has participated in many³ (more than 10) international conferences, and attended several meetings in Istanbul, in Ankara, and in abroad.

Table 3.4 In the years of 2003-2004, the frequency of the activities that the platform has chosen to take as actions, in order to realize the basic aims of the platform

	Never	Sometimes	Often
1. Advocacy/submitting legal applications to courts		*	
2. Organizing protest marches, strikes, boycotts or joining to such actions	*		
3. Sign campaigns, visiting politicians and people working for the government, lobbying		*	

Financial resources of the platform are member contributions, bazaars, dinner organizations, and donations from private sector.

Table 3.5 The platform's relations with the present state and local governments

	State		Local government	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. We are invited to formal meetings	*		*	
2. They demand consulting from us	*		*	
3. They support us/ cooperate with us for our activities		*	*	

³ None of these four selected NGOs can give the exact number of their international or national cooperation since they do not have proper documentation units that are systematically registering everything they do and have done until today.

3.2.2 Bařkent Kadın Platformu Derneęi

Bařkent Kadın Platformu Derneęi is a platform association, which has 100 registered individual members. The organization was founded as a platform, named Capital City Women’s Platform, in 1995. Then in 2002, the platform was transformed into a platform association. The association still has the features of a platform’s organizational structure with its different participant groups. These groups are: Jewellery-making Group, Manti Group, Group of Second-hand Clothes, Group of Language and Music Lessons, Project Group, Archive Group, Solidarity and Enterprise Group of Women Civil Servants.

The main factors that led them to found this organization were the absence of women’s organizations in the religious part of the society and ineffectiveness of women in existing religious and non-religious organizations.

The organizational structure of Bařkent Kadın Platformu Derneęi is consisted of three councils:

- Executive Committee
- Supervisor Council
- Consultation Council

Bařkent Kadın Platformu Derneęi’s members are mostly 36-49 age-year old, most the 80 of them are university graduates. Members are generally from the education sector.

The clientele of Bařkent Kadın Platformu Derneęi is mainly women. The association organizes some activities directed towards religious women but its clientele is not only religious women. The association is generally interested in human issues too.

The problematized issues by the association are financial issues, ineffective division of labor, institutionalization of the association, and finding suitable places for the activities.

Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği's activity and service areas are education, health, income activities, social aids and services, child caring, consultation services, law, communication/media, and social activities.

The physical boundaries of its services and activities cover whole Turkey.

Table 3.6 The most important activities of the association

	ACTIVITY 1	ACTIVITY 2
1. Name	'Solidarity and Enterprise Group of Women Civil Servants'	'Kadın Buluşmaları'
2. Activity type	Informative meetings, seminars, preparing reports for concerned national and international institutions, national and international lobbying activities	Seminars, panels and discussion sessions
3. Participants	-The members of this group	-Individual participations from various organizations -Representatives of women's NGOs
4. Aim	-Providing legal consultation for women civil servants -Creating a database of news about the veil problem -Collecting special and personal stories about the issue and then publishing them	-Gathering Religious women's organizations and women commissions of religious organizations in order to make them communicate each other and make cooperation -Knowing each other's activities, ideas and understandings
5. Date/ period	1999- until today	Since 2003
6. Clientele	All civil servants having the veil problem	Mainly religious Women's NGOs and religious women
7. People accessed by the activity	Almost 1000 people	Nearly 250 women with the participation of 50 NGOs
8. Organizations and institutions sponsored	None	None
9. Result of the activity/ Interpretations about the activity	The working women were got conscious about their legal rights. The meetings held to discuss these issues had a rehabilitative effect on women. The pursuits of trials are provided.	These meetings create a communication network. Since, participant NGOS have shared their knowledge and experiences, they learned about their different point of views, and arguments and, different experiences.

Table 3.7 The Projects of the association that are planned to make in 2005

	PROJECT 1	PROJECT 2	PROJECT 3
1. Name	The 5 th <i>Kadın Buluşması</i>	Trip to Germany	Woman Institution
2. Activity type	Seminars, panels and discussion sessions	Panels, visiting governmental and non-governmental NGOs, TV programs	Founding an institution of women's issues
3. Aim	The aim of this project is to transform these national meetings into an international festival. Moreover, it is objected to give material and moral support to the meeting organizer NGO in Afyon in organization of the meeting.	-As a platform working in cooperation with different groups, telling BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ's studies, and activities and status of women's organizations in Turkey in general -Getting informed about German NGOs, women's movement, and religious institutions -Visiting parliamentarians, woman politicians, journalists	-Improving the status of women -Raising a consciousness among women for women's issues and problems
4. Expected period	May 2005	2005 (10 days)	Indefinite
5. Clientele	Religious women Religious women NGOs	People who live in Berlin and Bonn and who are interested in Turkish women NGOs and religious women and their thoughts about democracy, laicism, human rights and women's human rights	All women in Turkey
6. Sponsors thought to support the project	None	-Germany Ministry of International Affairs -Or Henrich Böll Foundation Henrich Böll Foundation will be the partner of the association. It will organize meetings and visits in Germany. It will be the sponsor if the ministry will not accept to be sponsor.	A German woman organization

Table 3.8 Local and national cooperation and collective activities, that Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has organized with other NGOs

	Cooperated organization(s)	Activity object/ Clientele	Date/Period
1.	The Participant NGOs of CEDAW Preparation and Executive Council	An alternative report study in the frame of Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women	April 2003- the report preparations are still continuing
2.	<i>Kadın Buluşmaları</i>	-Gathering Religious women's organizations and women commissions of religious organizations -Knowing each other's activities, ideas and understandings	Since 2003, four ' <i>Kadın Buluşmaları</i> ' were held.

The association has also had much international cooperation until 2004. It has joined in lots of international conferences and meetings in Istanbul, and about 10 out of the country.

Table 3.9 In the years of 2003-2004, the frequency of the activities that Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has chosen to take as actions, in order to realize the basic aims of the platform

	Never	Sometimes	Often
1. Advocacy/submitting legal applications to courts			*
2. Organizing protest marches, strikes, boycotts or joining to such actions			*
3. Sign campaigns, visiting politicians and people working for the government, lobbying			*

Financial resources of the association are member subscriptions and social activities.

Table 3.10 The association's relations with the state and local governments

	State		Local government	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. We are invited to formal meetings		*	*	
2. They demand consulting from us	*			*
3. They support us/ cooperate with us for our activities		*		*

3.2.3 Akdeniz Hanımlar Kültür Ve Yardımlaşma Derneği (AKHAK-DER)

AKHAK-DER is an association of 26 registered members. The association was first founded as Mediterranean Ladies Science and Culture Association in 1992 and closed in 1999. In 2003, the association was re-established with the name of Mediterranean Ladies Culture and Solidarity Association.

AKHAK-DER was founded to be ‘an alternative to radical, extreme, and fanatic groups in the society by being an organization at which human relations are essential’ in their wordings. By being not radical, they express that they do not want radical/great changes in the society but reformative ones.

The organizational structure of AKHAK-DER is consisted of two councils:

- Executive Committee
- Supervisor Council

AKHAK-DER’s members are mostly 36-49 age-year old, most of them are primary school graduates. Members are generally housewives and retired women.

The clientele of AKHAK-DER is women.

The problems of the association are finding suitable places for the activities and taking care of the children of the women participating in the seminars.

AKHAK-DER’s activity and service areas are education, health, income activities, entrepreneurship/vocational trainings, social aids and services, child caring, law, and communication/media.

The services and activities of AKHAK-DER are limited within its neighborhood in Antalya.

Table 3.11 The most important activities of the association

	ACTIVITY 1	ACTIVITY 2
1. Name	Family and Self-improvement seminars	Vocational courses
2. Activity type	Seminars	Workshops and trainings
3. Participants	-members of AKHAK-DER	-AKHAK-DER
4. Aim	-Making investments on human -Improvement of future generations -Create peaceful and believer individuals for the society	-Revealing the potential of the women -Creating an interest area for women - Returning of these interests and hobbies in to economic surplus
5. Date/ period	Since December 2003 seminar programs were organized twice -First in December-January 2004 -Second in March-April 2004	Since December 2003
6. Clientele	Women	Women's NGOs
7. People accessed by the activity	60	20
8. Organizations and institutions sponsored	-The participants give 20 million for seminars of two months	-The public education centers send trainers for these trainings
9. Result of the activity/ Interpretations about the activity	Seminar studies are successful but there is need in trainers that are more professional. The participants require the seminars to be longer than 2 months. The members of AKHAK-DER state that these seminars effect positively these women's relation with their husbands, relatives, and friends.	As a result, women have learned to produce something. These trainings have created an interest area for women who are bored at houses.

Table 3.12 The only Project of the association that is planned in 2005

PROJECT 1	
1. Name	A project taking the projects of 'The Marketplace for Women's Hand-made Products' (KÜP)
2. Activity type	Entrepreneurship training and studies Such as courses and workshops
3. Aim	-To provide marketplaces for the women's hand-made products -Giving these women a permanent job opportunity in this marketplace and making them to contribute in economic development
4. Expected period	Unknown
5. Clientele	Women
6. Sponsors thought to support the project	Local Municipalities or special firms will be asked to be sponsor.

Table 3.13 The national collective activities that AKHAK-DER has joined in

	Cooperated organization(s)	Activity subject/ Clientele	Date/Period
1.	-All participants of <i>Kadın Buluşmaları</i>	Religious women are targeted in these meetings. The subject of each meeting is different, such as, family issues, status and problems of religious civil servants.	Since 2003, four meetings were held.

The association has not participated in an international organization or meeting up until now.

Table 3.14 In the years of 2003-2004, the frequency of the activities that AKHAK-DER has chosen to take as actions, in order to realize the basic aims of the association

	Never	Sometimes	Often
1. Advocacy/submitting legal applications to courts	*		
2. Organizing protest marches, strikes, boycotts or joining to such actions	*		
3. Sign campaigns, visiting politicians and people working for the government, lobbying		*	

Financial resources of AKHAK-DER are member subscriptions, social activities, and donations from private sector.

Table 3.15 The relationships of AKHAK-DER with the state and local governments today

	State		Local government	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. We are invited to formal meetings		*		*
2. They demand consulting from us		*		*
3. They support us/ cooperate with us for our activities	*		*	

3.2.4 Diyarbakır Hanımlar Dayanışma Ve Yardımlaşma Kültür Vakfı (HAKYAD)

HAKYAD is a foundation of 35 registered members. The foundation was established in 1998.

The main factors led women of Diyarbakır to found HAKYAD are the political, cultural, and economic sensitivity of the Southeast Region and its emergent needs for improvement and development, the underdevelopment of women in working life and in education.

Organizational structure of the foundation is consisted by four boards:

- Board of Founders
- Board of Trustees
- Executive Committee
- Supervisor Council

The foundation has two branch offices in Diyarbakır. The main office is the foundation's health polyclinic. The other office is for vocational trainings.

The foundation is a group largely composed of women who are mostly 36-49 year old, high school graduates, and housewives.

The clientele of HAKYAD is women.

The problems of HAKYAD are cultural, economic, and social diversity of the region, compatibility of the vocational trainers with the aims and targets of the foundation, and long bureaucratic procedures.

HAKYAD's activity and service areas are health, income activities, entrepreneurship/vocational trainings, social aids and services, consultation services, and communication/media.

The activities and facilities of HAKYAD are held only within the boundaries of Diyarbakır.

Table 3.16 The most important activities of HAKYAD

	ACTIVITY 1	ACTIVITY 2
1. Name	Vocational Trainings	Health Center Project
2. Activity type	Workshops and trainings	Health services and seminars on health
3. Participants	-HAKYAD	-HAKYAD
4. Aim	-To create self-confident women -To improve the status of uneducated and poor women	-To provide health service for poor people
5. Date/ period	Since 1998 the training program starts in September every year	Since 2001
6. Clientele	Women	All people in Diyarbakır
7. People accessed by the activity	30	30.000
8. Organizations and institutions sponsored	-CORDAYD Foundation from Holland (non-monetary help)	- CORDAYD Foundation from Holland (non-monetary help) -The small amount of donations given by the patients of the clinic and donations from private sector
9. Result of the activity/ Interpretations about the activity	Trainings are very successful. The women began to earn their own money. These trainings make participants gain self-improvement and self-reliance. The participants showed good examples of women's solidarity.	This clinic is very essential for its neighborhood. It meets most of medical needs of people in the neighborhood.

Table 3.17 The only Project that is planned to 2005

	PROJECT 1
1. Name	'The Marketplace for Women's Hand-made Products'
2. Activity type	Entrepreneurship training Courses and workshops
3. Aim	-To provide marketplaces for women to sell their products, handiworks
4. Expected period	Unknown
5. Clientele	Primarily women who had vocational training of the foundation and other poor women
6. Sponsors thought to support the project	A foreign NGO The name of it is not declared

Table 3.18 The local and national collective activities that HAKYAD has organized or joined in, with other NGOs

	Cooperated organization(s)	Activity subject/ Clientele	Date/Period
1.	-All participants of <i>Kadın Buluşmaları</i>	Religious women are targeted in these meetings. The subject of each meeting is different, such as, family issues, status, and problems of religious civil servants.	Since 2003, four meetings were held.
2.	Family Planning Association Willows Foundation KA-MER	All kinds of health services have been held, for all people, but primarily for women	Since 2001

As an international cooperation, the two projects of the foundation are funded by CORDAYD Foundation, which is an organization in Holland.

The foundation has participated in one international organization. This is:

- 2000 UN International V Women's Congress - in New York

Table 3.19 In the years of 2003-2004, the frequency of the activities that HAKYAD has chosen to take as actions, in order to realize the fundamental targets and aims of the foundation

	Never	Sometimes	Often
1. Advocacy/submitting legal applications to courts		*	
2. Organizing protest marches, strikes, boycotts or joining to such actions	*		
3. Sign campaigns, visiting politicians and people working for the government, lobbying	*		

The financial resources of the foundation are member subscriptions, local government's sponsorship, donations from private sector, international organizations' fund for projects, and social activities.

Table 3.20 The present relationships of HAKYAD with the state and local governments

	State		Local government	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. We are invited to formal meetings		*	*	
2. They demand consulting from us	*			*
3. They support us/ cooperate with us for our activities		*		*

3.2.5 Kadın Buluşmaları (Women's Meetings) in Detail

The idea of this project first came into these women's minds in April 2003, at CEDAW Meetings. 2003 CEDAW Meetings were organized by Uçan Süpürge to prepare the CEDAW NGO reports. At these meetings, 50 women were representatives of religious NGOs. This was the first time that such a big group of religious women gathered. Özsoy says in her article in Bulletin, April 2004:

“At CEDAW Meetings held in Dedeman Hotel, during 3 days, we had close relations and long conversations with other ‘religious women’. We were 50. We have more common points, as being religious, than we have with other groups. By these meetings, we noticed that we need to come together in order to know each other well and create our own agenda. Then we decided to organize systematical and continual meetings for religious women. This is how *Kadın Buluşmaları* Project emerged.”

There is a Coordination Council, which is formed to organize the project of ‘*Kadın Buluşması*’. It is planned to transform this project into a platform of women's organizations at national level. These meetings are held in different cities in each time. The duty of this council is to give support the hosting organizations to hold and evaluate of these meetings. The council also helps the hosting organizations define the major theme, date, accommodation, and place of meetings. There are two Coordination Teams, one is in Ankara, and the other one is in Istanbul. Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği is an important member of the Coordination Council in Ankara.

Kadın Buluşmaları are organized in order to form a resource pool, which could be utilized in doing their activities/services and actions and for sharing information and experiences, for Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs. The participants of these meetings are all women and are mainly representatives of Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs, or of commissions of Islamist organizations.

These women get together via these meetings in personal and institutional level, share their experiences and information, discuss their problems as being Islamist women and Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs, such as veiling issue and the problems of women in governmental religious offices, and try to find common solutions to their problems. Moreover, a long-term goal is aimed at these meetings, or at least

heve been discussed about, to form an umbrella-like superstructure institution at the national level, for all these Islamist women and for their NGOs mainly.

Five *Kadın Buluşmaları* have been held up till present time. The first meeting was an introductory one and held in Kızılcahamam, Ankara. It was on the evaluation of CEDAW Meetings. The second meeting was in Çorum. At this meeting, a discussion subject was defined for the next meeting and an e-mail group is formed to communicate. In addition, a decision was made to protest the government, sending soldiers to Iraq. The third meeting was organized in Antalya. The subject was the status and problems of women who are religious civil servants. The approach of the Directory of Religious Affaires to women and women's issues is discussed. The fourth meeting was held in Istanbul. The subject of this meeting was family. The factors having influence on family such as economy, domestic violence, media, civil law, education, and religion and traditional norms were discussed in this meeting through various workshops. The last meeting was in Batman. The slogan of this last meeting was 'Uzaklar yakın olsun'. It was not on a specific issue; rather it had more to be acquainted and share experiences of participant NGOs with the local NGOs of that region. The difference of this meeting from the previous four ones was the participation of non-Islamist NGOs such as Amnesty International, Uçan Süpürge, KA-MER, Mazlum-Der, and IHD. The participation of such NGOs is against the collective decision, which was made in CEDAW Civil Society Forum meetings by Islamist/Islamic women's organizations, to make *Kadın Buluşması* project consisted of just Islamist/Islamic women's organizations. The next meeting will be held in Afyon, in May 2005. Its agenda is not determined yet.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STRUCTURE OF FOUR ISLAMIST/ISLAMIC WOMEN'S NGOS AND THE NETWORKS MECHANISMS OF THEM

These organizations vary in terms of their organizational structures despite they are generally seen as homogeneous organizations of a possible Islamist/Islamic women's movement. This chapter will firstly mention the organizational diversities of these four NGOs in terms of their similarities and varieties. These diversities are considering their technical, institutional, and structural differences, such as their establishment histories, institutional transformations, technological infrastructures, leadership types, member and clientele profiles, organizational structures, financial resources, and so on. Secondly, it will be explained the three different levels of network mechanisms of these four NGOs. Based on the division between Islamist/Islamic and non-Islamist/Islamic, three levels of networks mechanisms will be defined: the relationships of four selected NGOs with the present state and local governmental institutions and with the previous ones, national and international cooperation with NGOs outside of the sampling group, and as the last one, networks inside the sampling group.

4.1 Technical, Institutional, and Structural Diversities

This section of the chapter includes technical institutional and structural similarities and varieties of four NGOs selected. These diversities look upon the establishments and institutional formations and transformations, technological infrastructures, types of leadership, member and clientele profiles, organizational structures, classifications, specific problems, financial resources, clientele definitions and self-definition of themselves. Searching for the diversities of these NGOs, this section aims to find out how they resemble each other in what ways and how they are different from each other in what aspects. Hence, the ultimate goal in searching for these diversities is to figure out the places of each NGO, the ones selected for sampling group, in the picture of a possible movement of Islamist/Islamic women's movement. These NGOs are regarded as the possible actors of this possible movement. Therefore, it is essential to know which is more active or passive, which is more formal or informal, which is doing what, what is the most common activity types, which one is leadership based and which not, if their member and clientele profiles are similar or not, which could be the possible key organization for the movement, in what ways they influence each other, and how they effect each other and so on. Subsequently, the main focus of the section is to see the diversities of these NGOs in order to respond these questions just mentioned above.

Table 4.1 Short CV of Each NGO

	GIKAP	BAŞKENT⁴	AKHAK- DER	HAKYAD
Type of Organization	Platform	Association	Association	Foundation
Foundation Date	1995	2002	2003	1998
Branch Office	-	-	-	2

⁴ The word 'Başkent' will be used as a replace for 'Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği' in the tables and the figure of the fourth chapter.

4.1.1 Establishment Histories, Institutional Formations, and Transformations

If the today's organizational types of the four NGOs are regarded, it is seen that they were all founded after 1995. However, the institutional origin of each NGO is platform organization. All of them were founded as platforms in 1995 and after, following the social changes in Turkey in terms of global agenda of women's issues. Turkey's becoming signatory to CEDAW in 1985, establishing of first research centers on women, establishing of KSSGM in 1990, the KSSGM technical cooperation program of 'Gender and Development' project which was started with UNDP support, Turkey's participation in the international conferences on women and on development, and Turkey's acceptance of the Beijing Platform for Action were the most outstanding events of those times.

In 1990's, the Women's Issues, of women's rights and advancement, were made into an individual and separate sector within the national development plans and programs in Turkey. In 1993, the 'Congress and Fair of Turkish Women's NGOs and Voluntary Organizations' was held in Ankara by KSSGM in order to encourage platform organizations. The women's organization, which were met in this congress or the ones already had known each other, were informed about the structures, importance and necessity of Non-Governmental Organizations, of platforms especially, and learned how to establish platforms. The first platform founded by Islamic women was GIKAP, then; Ankara, Bursa, Kayseri, Konya, Antalya, and Diyarbakır came. GIKAP was a model for other platforms.

Within my sample group, the only platform is GIKAP because the rest of them were transformed into other organizational types. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ and HAKYAD are the ones returned from platforms into other organizational types. AKHAK-DER had been founded as Mediterranean Ladies Science and Culture Association before the platform in Antalya was founded. Indeed Akdeniz Hanımlar İlim Kültür Derneği founded the platform of Akdeniz Kadın Platformu with 4 initiative groups in Antalya. Later in 1999, the Akdeniz Kadın Platformu was closed due to the results of the 28 February Crisis and more of the closing of Akdeniz Hanımlar İlim Kültür Derneği. After this association, which was the only active participant of the platform, was closed because its leader moved

to Istanbul, the platform had to be closed down as well. Akdeniz Hanımlar Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği was founded then as a continuity of Akdeniz Hanımlar İlim Kültür Derneği, in December 2003, when its last leader returned to Antalya. In this sense, ‘Akdeniz Kadın Platformu’s reason of closing is different from the ‘Capital City Women’s Platform’s reason of closing, by being much more personal. While Akdeniz Kadın Platformu was closed mainly because of the personal changes in its leader’s life and a political change, Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği was closed because it turned into an association due to the indefinite legal position of platforms. In another side, the platform in Diyarbakır is still surviving but it is not very much active in the present day. The only active participant of Güneydoğu Kadın ve Kültür Platformu is HAKYAD today. As the leader of HAKYAD states, the platform name is used when HAKYAD attends to a national and international event, but when doing local routinized activities in Diyarbakır, the name of HAKYAD is used.

As Diani said, (Della Porta and Diani, 1999:148, 163),

... [T]he organizations, which do survive, do not always develop in the same directions... the various organizations have different degrees of structuration, centralization of power, and grassroots participation... [S]ome become institutionalized, others become more radical... some turn commercial... yet others turn inward, becoming similar to religious sects.

Within the sample group, GIKAP has become highly *bureaucratized* and institutionalized and crystallized itself into a professional structure in Diani’s terms (1999). They developed internal organization with their protocol and Platform Assembly, became more moderate, adopted a more institutional repertoire of action, and integrated into the system of interest representation.

Some other social movement organizations could become *more radical*. Like Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği, the aims of such organizations are more ambitious and the forms of action they adopt are *less* conventional and they may be isolated from the outside world. Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği have adopted less conventional forms of actions such as protest marches, sit-ins, sign a petition campaigns and their discourse is perceived as marginal, radical and highly feminist.

On the other hand AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD are neither bureaucratized nor radical and commercialized. They rather turn inward to some extent, in terms of being mostly local organizations and servicing to a small community in the society.

These four Islamist/Islamic women's organizations are having relatively different ideologies, geographical or structural areas of activity and different tasks from each other so they should be coordinated to become a mobilization resource for an Islamist/Islamic women's movement. The four NGOs as differed models of organization are adopting and adapting the general societal context of Turkey and in specific terms the local context of their organizations. They try to meet needs of their environment tend to adapt their structure to their objectives and the characteristics of the groups they seek to reach and sometimes mobilize. However, these choices of each organization are affected by the resources and constraints both 'within the possible Islamist/Islamic women's movements', and 'in their own environments', that is the different cities and regions of Turkey.

4.1.2 Technological Infrastructures

GIKAP has the highest technology with 3 computers and other office equipments and its communication means. AKHAK-DER has the lowest technology.

Table 4.2 Office Equipments and Communication Means

	GIKAP	BAŞKENT	AKHAK-DER	HAKYAD
Computer	+	+	+	+
Computer network	+	-	-	-
Internet access	+	+	-	+
Photocopy machine	+	+	-	+
Fax machine	+	+	-	+
Web site	+	+	-	-
Periodical/ brochure	+	+	+	+

Compatible with the technological development of organizations, GIKAP uses media channels most efficiently to present its activities. CCPWA is second in the ranking. However, HAKYAD is not the third in presenting its activities. Although HAKYAD has a higher technology than AKHAK-DER has, AKHAK-DER uses more media channels to present its activities. In terms of network connections, AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD have the same connection the ‘*Kadın Buluşmaları*’ e-mail group. On the other side, GIKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ are similar to each other by being members to several different e-mail groups.

4.1.3 Types of Leadership

According to McCarthy and Zald’s conceptualization, the leaders of all these four NGOs are *nonprofessional leaders* since they are not paid staffs who make careers out of movement work. There are two types of nonprofessional leaders: *volunteer leaders* and *nonprofessional staff leaders* (McCarthy and Zald, 1973 cited in McAdam and Snow, 1997). All leaders of four Islamist/Islamic women’s NGOs make their nonprofessional careers out of movement work, but they do not earn significant money. Leaders and secretariats in Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği and HAKYAD are only compensated, for some or all of their time having a small amount of money but they are not professional career activists. These compensated ones called as nonprofessional staff leaders. In AKHAK-DER AND GIKAP, there are no paid members, so their leaders are volunteer ones. Although there are no leaders, who are professional and educated in the area of civil society and civil organizations, in any of four Islamist/Islamic women’s NGOs, these leaders are behave like professional managers and they periodically have trainings about the civil society and organizational issues.

The founders and present directors have considerable effects on the direction of these NGOs. The founders and the present director is same person in the case of Antalya and Diyarbakır. In Istanbul, the General Secretary of the platform is a young woman who is not one of the founders of GIKAP, yet she has strong and close relations with the founders of it. At this moment, one of the GIKAP’s founders is the

head of a department. For these three NGOs, the leadership position is very important for the organizations. The leaders of these organizations have the authority to make decisions. HAKYAD and AKHAK-DER are one-leader-oriented organizations. The leader is the founder of the organization. GIKAP, being a platform organization, do not have one leader, but leaders for each council, department, or project. GIKAP is a multi-leader-based organization. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ has more than one leader for each activity or project of the association, as GIKAP has, since, BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ has still platform features. Nevertheless, BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ favors temporary leadership and flat organizational structure on contrast of others. It is not as hierarchical as others are.

4.1.4 Member Profile

BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ is ranked as the first in terms of its member number. The second is GIKAP, the third is HAKYAD, and the last one is AKHAK-DER. Only GIKAP has institutional memberships, being a platform. The rest of them have individual memberships. All of these four NGOs have more volunteers than their registered members. The ages of the members of each organization, vary in the same ranges. As expected, the highest educational status and qualified occupational status are recorded for the cities of Istanbul and Ankara. At the other cities, the members of AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD are mostly housewives. The educational levels of the members are lower in Antalya and Diyarbakır organisations than in the other cities. The lowest educational level is in Antalya.

Table 4.3 Member Profiles

	GIKAP	BAŞKENT	AKHAK- DER	HAKYAD
Member sexual status	Women	Women	Women	Women
Registered member number	41	100	26	35
Volunteer number	-	500	200	250
Member age	36-49	36-49	36-49	36-49
Member educational status	University	University	Primary	High school
Member occupation sector	Health	Education	Housewives	Housewives

Voluntary activities are high in these women's organizations. Except HAKYAD, these organizations do not have highly paid members. GIKAP does not have a paid person in the platform. AKHAK-DER and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ pay small amount to their secretaries. In contrast, HAKYAD pays 20 people for the activities of foundation; however, the amounts of the payments are not high. In these three NGOs, except HAKYAD, voluntary works and activities are basic of these organizations' works. The regular or irregular works such as project and office works are meant by the voluntary activity and work. Even though volunteering is fundamental for the formation of NGOs, it could be problematic. Since volunteering structure is a flexible and loose one, it makes problems like unorganized or badly organized activities, incomplete projects, or failure of activities.

In fact, all members of these NGOs are volunteers in a way with the exception of HAKYAD. Some of these volunteers are permanent and have essential roles in the administration of organizations and some are temporary ones generally project-based. Temporary members are labeled as volunteer members in the member classification. They are usually defined and changed by the members of the organizations, according to the needs of the projects held. These people may be academicians, experts such as doctors, lawyers, and psychologists.

The membership types of these organizations are generally rely on a mixture of active and paper membership. However, while GIKAP and Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği have more active members, AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD have more paper members and a few active members. (Oliver, 1983 cited in McAdam and Snow, 1997).

4.1.5 Clientele

Clientele group is selected as women in all NGOs. AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD define their target population specifically as women and young girls but GIKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ define their target as primarily women and the whole society in general. Age is generally not a major determinant in defining the clientele's features. By GIKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ, the income group and educational status are not defined as significant determinants of the clientele, neither. However, AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD make preferences for the educational and income status of their clientele. Especially HAKYAD has chosen the most disadvantaged women, illiterate and poor women, as its clientele.

Table 4.4 Clientele Profiles

	GIKAP	BAŞKENT	AKHAK-DER	HAKYAD
Clientele sex	Women	Women	Women	Women
Clientele age	All groups	21-50	All groups	All groups
Clientele educational status	All status	All status	High school	Illiterates
Clientele income group	All groups	All groups	Mid and low	Low

4.1.6 Organizational structures

Another characterization of structural differences in social movement organizations is based on differences in operating procedures (McAdam and Snow, 1997). ‘*Formalized* organizations contain established procedures and structures that allow them to perform certain tasks regularly and to continue to function properly with changes in leadership. These organizations have bureaucratic features for decision-making procedures, a developed division of labor, with positions defined clearly for various functions, explicit criteria for membership, and rules of governing subunits such as committees and commissions’. For example, GIKAP is an NGO that has a board of directors, named as Platform Assembly, set routinely to form the organizational policy and to make decisions about actions of GIKAP. In addition, it has the Consultant/Executive Council having the role of realization the decisions made by the assembly and four other departments to organize the activities of the Platform. Being highly formalized, GIKAP is compensating having a legally defined but informal organizational structure in Turkey, a platform.

In contrast, *informal* organizations “have few established procedures, loose membership requirements, and minimal division of labor... the organizational structure of an informal social movement organization is frequently adjusted; assignments among personnel and procedures are developed to meet immediate needs...” (McAdam and Snow, 1997: 426). Since informal organizations generally lack established procedures, individual leaders can exercise a quite important influence on the organization and major changes in the organization structure tend to occur with changes in leadership. AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD are good examples of informal organization types with ‘few established procedures, loose membership requirements, and minimal division of labor’.

Moreover, the subunits, if there are some, are usually autonomous and loosely connected to each other in informal organizations. AKHAK-DER has the fewest subunits, it has only two, and HAKYAD has four. The subunits of these two organizations are loosely connected to each other.

Informal organizations are generally led by nonprofessional leaders and largely by volunteer ones. The leader of AKHAK-DER is a volunteer one and of HAKYAD is a nonprofessional staff leader.

Some share elements of each type (formalized and informal), could co-exist in some organizations, often because they are in the process of changing their structures from informal to formal. Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği is the only organization within my sample group which is in the transformation period from an informal type of organization to a formalized one. It has more established procedures and structures, than AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD, allowing them to perform certain tasks routinely and to continue to function properly with changes in leadership, but has few bureaucratic features for decision-making procedures, loose membership requirements, and minimal division of labor, and few rules of governing subunits such as committees and commissions generally remaining on paper.

The general organizational structure, except GIKAP, is formed by legal requirements for associations and foundations. It is defined by the Law of Associations that, every association has to form three organizational organs. These are General Council, Administration Council, and Supervisor Council. AKHAK-DER, as the least structured NGO, has only these three organizational parts. HAKYAD, being a foundation, is legally obliged to form an Administration Council. It has three more optional organs. They are Board of Founders, Board of Trustees, and Supervisor Council. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ has three must councils and in addition, it is a member of Coordination Council for '*Kadın Buluşması*'. GIKAP has the highest organizational structure with its two decisive organ and four additional departments (look at GIKAP's organizational scheme at page 38). The only NGO, among these four NGOs, that has a branch office is HAKYAD.

The participation of local people to decision-making process is limited, except BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ. The members of BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ, in consistent with their aims and objectives, strongly believe in the necessity of transparency, free speech, and discussion. That is why; they try to be as flat as possible to encourage the free sharing of ideas. They accept everyone as listeners and commentators to their general council and

administration council meetings, even the ones that are not members of the association. When their open attitude brings more democracy to the organization, this open and loose structure has some disadvantages like inefficient studies, failure of tasks, bad division of labor and low institutionalization.

GİKAP do not accept local participation but it requires full consensus for its participants to make a decision. Otherwise, the decision made cannot have the signature of GİKAP. AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD, are making decisions depended more on the ideas of their leaders, since they are one-leader-based organizations. They do not accept the participation of members, who are not the members of Administration Councils. Only BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ considers both all members of the organization and local participation to decision-making processes.

The activities and services of these NGOs are informally operated usually. Local or personal knowledge and trust of target people, which are built by face-to-face relations and interactions with them, are very crucial for these NGOs' activities. Informal relations and close interactions are intensely used in the field, especially in AKHAK-DER's and HAKYAD's studies.

All of the organizations gather information on mostly the needs of target people and integrate what they have found in the field to their decision. The needs of the target people are determined by questionnaires, standardized forms, and face-to-face interactions or hearsays. Standardized forms are used only by GİKAP. In the light of the local and personal knowledge, the basics of the projects are determined by the organizations, considering the features and constraints of the organizations. The implementation processes of the activities and services are not followed firmly, especially by AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD. The sustainability and the effectiveness of the activities are not followed systematically except for GİKAP.

All the NGOs are interested in sustainability of the projects' results. They try to measure the sustainability. GİKAP has measurement mechanisms like observer teams, reports, and face-to-face interviews but the rest of the organizations do not have a proper measurement mechanism for sustainability and effectiveness of their activities. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ, AKHAK-DER, and HAKYAD have generally face-to-face relations with their target people in order to

follow the results of their activities. This could be problematic for producing sustainable works in long-term.

The results of the projects are used in annual and periodical reports of the organizations, published in their journals or bulletins, and utilized for making re-arrangement of activities and the following projects and new strategies.

The division of labor is defined most clearly and equally in the case of Istanbul. The task definitions are very clear in the platform's organizational structure. Although it is not necessary, the platform's structuring scheme is projected that each participant organization takes place in one or more departments. In the other organizations' cases, most of the tasks and duties are handled with the director groups of the organizations. The bad and unequal division of labor brings generally the early collapse of the directory group and inefficient works in these three NGOs.

The most structured directives are formed by GIKAP. The platform has written protocol text and internal regulations as directives for the operations of the organization. Others have only legal directives, defined by the association and foundation laws, about the operations of the organizations.

4.1.7 Classification According to the Activities and Service Areas

In Moghadam's categorization of women's NGOs, they are falling into seven categories (Moghadam, 1997:166).

‘1. *Service organizations*, the oldest type, include charitable organizations, and have largely “welfare” approach.

2. *Professional associations* seek equity for their members within the profession and the society.

3. *Development-research centers and women's-studies institutes* are usually national-based but increasingly conduct transitional research activities.

4. *Human-rights/ women's rights organizations* are perhaps the ones the most transformative potential and the one most likely to experience state harassment.

5. *Development and women-in-development NGOs* provide technical assistance and expertise on issues related to sustainable development and implement projects on income generation and micro enterprises for poverty alleviation, literacy, and education, health, family planning, and community development.

6. There are *women's organizations affiliated with political parties*, whether left wing, or Islamist or other.

7. *Worker-based and grass-roots women's organizations* are concerned with the welfare of women workers.'

All of these four NGOs are classified, according to Moghadam's NGO grouping (1997), as 'service organizations' and 'development and women-in-development NGOs', with regard to their activities and services. Only Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği is a 'professional association' seeking equity for their veiled members within the profession and the society, in addition to being a 'service organizations' and a 'development and women-in-development NGO'.

As being women's organizations, they aim at achieving social change and development in the society, in the areas of economics, health, politics, social life, everyday life, and working life.

When their aims are considered it is noticed that each of them tries to serve the society for its survival, maintenance, and improvement. Nevertheless, the focal points and methods of each NGO are different. HAKYAD is dealing with the most significant and visible problems of the society such as education and health. The 'orientation', within the context of Moghadam's NGO classification, of HAKYAD is development and development education. This attitude of HAKYAD is linked with the economic and educational underdevelopment of the Southeast region. It is a service organization, which provides service to other people. This foundation has mainly free health services, charity work, and vocational trainings. AKHAK-DER has mainly educational services and vocational trainings. The orientation of AKHAK-DER is mostly development education. AKHAK-DER's most vital activities are family and self-improvement seminars. AKHAK-DER was not a service organization in its first activities, when it was first founded in 2003. Beneficiaries of the activities were just the members of the association. However, today AKHAK-DER has become a 'service organization'.

According to operational level of two, both HAKYAD and AKHAK-DER are local NGOs and they are aiming at raising consciousness of local people. HAKYAD has one international activity but it is still local. They are both dealing with mostly local problems of their region and neighborhood. On the other hand, GIKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ have very many international expansions. It could also be seen in their high level of international cooperation. They operate on an international level.

GIKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ, placing at the biggest metropolitan cities of Turkey, are both closely interested in women's issues and problems, in the way these issues are discussed in global agenda. GIKAP's and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ's orientations in their activities are welfare, development, development education, advocacy, and networking. Even though, their orientation areas are same, the density of orientations diversified. While GIKAP deals more with developmental and development educational activities, like disaster relief services, welfare activities, and charity work BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ prefers not to carry out much charity work or welfare activities. Instead, BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ is holding much more advocacy activities, campaigns, and protests.

Moreover, both GIKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ are holding actively network studies today, but GIKAP is making these studies with a formal project at institutional level, BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ is making with less formal meetings. GIKAP is dealing with a project of 'Serial Meetings among Women's NGOs on Acquaintance and Collective Studies' that is intending institutionalization of women's organizations and interaction of each other. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ's network studies of women's organizations are '*Kadın Buluşmaları*'. These meetings are held with the idea of coming together as 'religious (in their saying) women's NGOs' and with the idea of discussing problems of these women. These meetings are also gatherings of women's NGOs, yet, the participation level is accepted at individual level too, and the aim is not to improve or develop the institutional structure of these NGOs. Even the name of the meetings is not 'Women's NGOs' Meeting' but '*Kadın Buluşması*'.

Table 4.5 The Activity and Service Areas

	GİKAP	BAŞKENT	AKHAK-DER	HAKYAD
Education	+	+	+	-
Health	+	+	+	+
Income activities	+	+	+	+
Entrepreneurship/ Vocational Training	+	-	+	+
Social aids and services	+	+	+	+
Child caring	-	+	+	-
Consultation services	+	+	-	+
Legal rights & Civil law and rights	+	+	+	-
Communication/Media	+	+	+	+
Cultural studies	+	-	-	-
Political integration	-	-	-	-
Social and cultural activities	+	+	-	-

The common activity and services areas of four NGOs are health, income activities, social aids and services, and communication/media. In the education, vocational training, consultation services, law areas are also the areas, at which three of the NGOs have activities. Only BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ and AKHAK-DER have child-caring services. Both of them organize summer schools for children. Social activities such as trips are done by GİKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ. Another important analysis is none of these organizations has political integration institutionally.

GİKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ have defined new targets as long-term projects however; AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD are mostly dealing with short-term projects and activities.

The future imaginations of these NGOs are making emphasize on especially family institution for the healthy maintenance of the society in three cases. These three NGOs assign women a major role in forming proper family institutions and thus in creating a ‘healthy’ society. They draw a linear line from individual to family and then to society. In this sense, the way of the formation of a ‘good’ (Here, with ‘healthy’ and ‘good’ concepts, a society of justice, freedom, happiness, honesty, and

strength is meant by them.) society goes through the formation of good individuals and families. Only NGO that is not defining its future objectives on individuals and families is, Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği. It defines its future objectives with more institutional concepts such as democracy, human right, and transparency.

4.1.8 Specific Problems

The major problems of these NGOs are lack of financial resources, low institutionalization, finding suitable places for the activities, providing interaction, and communication of NGOs, and division of labor. Some of these problems are unsolved today, and for others the NGOs try to develop solution mechanisms. GIKAP created new projects, new organizational models, and required the financial contributions of members to solve its problems. It chose more formal ways than others did. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ aims at developing an assistantship model for providing institutional development of the association. It has developed a message chain for communicating properly. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ used also informal ways for other problems such as, organizing tea parties. The problems of AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD are mainly unsolved today.

4.1.9 Financial Resources

Table 4.6 Financial Resources

	GIKAP	BAŞKENT	AKHAK-DER	HAKYAD
Member subscriptions	-	+	+	+
Local government's sponsorship	-	-	-	+
State sponsorship	-	-	-	-
Donations from private sector	+	-	+	+
Donation from foreign private sector	-	-	-	-
National fund for projects	-	-	-	-
International organizations' fund for projects	-	-	-	+
Foreign governmental fund for projects	-	-	-	-
Organizing social/ cultural activities/ services	+	+	+	+
Support of other NGOs	+	+	-	-

The financial resources of these NGOs are mostly organizing social activities and services, member subscription, sponsorships as donations from national private sector. GIKAP and BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ have supports of other NGOs in their activities sine their national cooperation is stronger as compared to other two. It is expected to be the GIKAP or BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ to have international funds as they have many international expansions but the only NGO that has local government's sponsorship and international organization's fund for its projects is HAKYAD. These four NGOs do not have big percent administrative expenses. These expenses are paid with the member subscriptions. Nevertheless, these NGOs are still financially dependent on donors, sponsorships, and projects, when they plan an activity since they do not have a permanent financial resource except for subscription fees. Only one NGO seems financially stronger as opposed to others, HAKYAD, which has international donors and employs 20 paid people.

4.1.10 Clientele Definitions and Self-Definitions

Clientele definitions and self-definitions of these NGOs are essential because these definitions give us the clues of in what place and position these NGOs see themselves as compared to other NGOs, and from this point of view, how they relate themselves to their target people. In order to make them compare themselves with other NGOs the question of, 'With which characteristic features is this organization different from other NGOs?' is asked in the semi-structured interview. The information of cooperation that these NGOs make with other NGOs and with which organizations they make cooperation is also vital in understanding their self-positioning.

The participants of GIKAP see very much important to make cooperation with other NGOs as consistent with their organizational structure. However when making cooperative works they emphasize their platform's own values and norms. They define themselves as:

We know well our responsibilities as well as our rights. Being conscious of our duties and responsibilities in the society, we are open to cooperate with other NGOs in every activity for the good of the society. We are motivated by our common history, our own culture, and values. That is how we got different from some other women's NGOs.⁵

By saying these, they are actually defining themselves. On the other hand, they are neither claiming that the other women's NGOs do not have these features, nor stating that all participant organizations in GIKAP are having the same features.

The reasons of women being primarily target people in their activities are related to the women's main role of motherhood. With the claim of that serving women is serving the whole society, they serve women for the sake of the society.

The head of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği, Özsoy explained the differences between Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği and other NGOs as:

We are different from laic and feminist women's NGOs since we are religious women having this feature we are closer to the majority of public. We are also different from religious women's NGOs, because we can have collective activities and studies with every group in the society. We believe in the necessity of collective activities and in the idea that it is possible to have common problems and to develop common suggestions to these problems within cooperation. Furthermore, the association is consisted of different women's groups having different understandings and views. We can stay together in spite of our diversities. Besides these, we have a democratic structure. Being the Head or an Administration Council member of the association, does not bring any privileges to that person. We are all equal. The other difference of our association is having a critical and questioning position in our society.⁶

⁵ Diğer kadın STKlarından farklı olan özelliklerimiz şunlar:

-Kadın Kuruluşları olarak haklarımız kadar sorumluluklarımızın bilincinde olarak ülke yararına yürütülecek tüm faaliyetlerde her türlü iletişim, işbirliği ne açık olduğumuzu ifade ediyoruz.

-Motivasyonda ortak kaynaklarımız: tarihimiz, kültürümüz, özdeğerlerimiz.

⁶ Laiklerden dindar kadınlar olmakla ayrılıyor. Din bizim için hayatımızda bir referans unsuru. Ama bu özelliğimizle toplumun ciddi bir çoğunluğuna geneline daha yakınız. Bu anlamda halkla içiçe yaptığımız projelerde halktan daha çok destek görebiliriz. O insanlar sizi dindar olduğunuz için önemseyebilir. Yaptığımız projeler karşılık bulabilir.

Dindar STK'lardan ise her grupta çalışma yapabildiğimiz için ayrılıyor. Her grupta çalışılması gerektiğine inanıyoruz. Bu gruplarla ortak problemlerimiz ve bu sorunlara ortak çözümler bulabileceğimize olan inancımızla farklıyız. Diğer gruplarda buna inanan çok az. Ortak hareket etse de bunu içselleştirmiş STK'lar neredeyse yok. Ekip olarak da farklı kesimlerden oluşan bir grup bu.

Daha demokratik bir yapımız var. Yapılanmamızın demokratikliği hemen hiçbir STKda bu şekilde yok. Başkan burda temizlik de servis de yapar. Başkanın hiçbir üstünlüğü yoktur burada. Hemen hemen her STK'da başkan olmanın veya YK'da olmanın çok özel bir konumu var. Farklı görüşleri barındırabiliyoruz platformda tartışsak da. Platformun içinde çok farklı görüşler var. Ama tartışsalar da aynı çalışmanın içinde yer alabiliyorlar. Dini yorumlamada, lezbiyenlere bakışta, AKPy'e olan tavırda farklılıklarımız var. Ama yine de birarada kalabiliyorlar.

GIKAP has also collective activities with many NGOs that are not religious or Islamic, but they do not define themselves as a bridge between religious and laic or feminist women's organizations.

Özsoy defined their clientele people as:

We are not targeting only religious women. We are sensitive to all problems in the frame of human rights. Human rights issue is a problematic topic in our country. In specific terms, women's human rights issue is more crucial in the scope of the human rights issue, since women are exposed to more violations of their human rights than men are. That is why our target people are women. Moreover, besides being a woman, being a religious woman causes extra problems in Turkey. Now, religious women are excluded from schools, political and working life. Religious women are suppressed in a small area of the society. More to the point, the traditional definition of both religious and non-religious women is a serious problem. Yet, being a religious woman makes the problems greater; we have activities and services for these religious women also in order to get improvements of their status in the society. On the other hand, saying that, our studies are only for religious women would be an incomplete determination.⁷

Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has an obvious tendency to define themselves as religious women, while the women of GIKAP are specially define themselves only through their institutional identity. GIKAP women tell just about their own values and norms in the quotation above when explaining their differences from other NGOs. They accept that they have an Islamic understanding but they do not connect their religious understandings directly to the features of the platform. In addition, they claim that GIKAP does not have an Islamic orientation in its activities so it is not an Islamic NGO. In contrast, Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği women define the association through their personal religious identities. It also has activities directed towards religious women, whereas GIKAP does not have activities organized for only religious women. The platform gets the woman category as a whole.

⁷ Sadece dindar kadınlar yararına çalışmıyoruz. Bir kısım çalışmalarımız dindar kadınlara yönelik olsa da genel olarak kadın üzerine çalışıyoruz.

Hedef kitlemiz insan ve kadın aslında. İnsan hakları çerçevesi içinde yer alan bütün sorunlara duyarlıyız. Neden kadın özellikle? İnsan hakları ülkemizde bir problem. Özelde de insan hakları ülkemizde ciddi bir problem alanı. Ayrıca geleneksel kadının rolü de ciddi bir problem. Ekstradan dindar kadın olmak ek olarak sorun yaşıyor ve sorunların boyutunu daha da büyütüyor. Her eğitim hem çalışma alanından dışlanmış durumda şu anda dindar kadın. Hatta siyasette eşinin yanında olmaktan bile men edilmiş durumda kadın. Küçük bir alana kapatılmış kadının bu sorununu halletmek için çalışıyoruz ama tek çalışma alanımız bu demek eksik bir anlatım olur. Bu sorunu halletmeden dindar kadını toplum içinde bir yere getirmemiz mümkün değil. Ama yine de hedef kitlemizin sadece dindar kadınlar olduğunu söylemek eksik bir tanımlama olur.

The head of AKHAK-DER, Arabalı, acknowledged that AKHAK-DER is different from other women's NGOs, except the ones mentioned as 'like us', GIKAP, Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği, and HAKYAD, and she said:

We are different because we do works in line with divine inspirations and Koran. We are sure of what we do. We can explain everything we do. Moreover, we do not get the problems as problems. That is, we emphasize on the solution of a problem, rather than emphasize on the problem itself. In the contrary, the women in Women's Assembly, in Antalya, were doing temporary things and provoking women against their husbands. At those times, when we were participating in the assembly as representatives of our previous association, we noticed that we were not like other women in the assembly. They targeted just women for their activities but we actually targeted human in general. We saw and still see woman and man as complementary parts of 'one'. Women and men are equal but dissimilar. Their visions, missions, and souls are different. Men are strong and brave and women are affectionate. The power and affection should be gathered.⁸

AKHAK-DER's self-placing according to other NGOs, is determined by its members personal religious values and norms.

AKHAK-DER defines poor and illiterate women and girls as target people, who are assumed to have the potential to change the society, being mothers and wives. Therefore, the association organizes family and self-improvement seminars for mainly women and young girls so that they may transform their potential in to goodness of the society.

The primary differences between HAKYAD and other NGOs are pointed out by the head of the foundation as:

The aims are roughly same but HAKYAD is putting into practice health and education services and it is a service organization in this way. Even if we do the same work, we are different from some NGOS with our norms and values. We try caring for human and universal values. We try to get along well with people. Actually, my difference is my ethic, my culture and my values. I am trying to make services compatible with them. I am a believer Muslim but I respect for all believing. Main concern of my believing is to believe in Allah and to make services in/for his

⁸ Biz vahyin ışığında kur'an bağlantılı iş yaparız. Her yaptığımızın her zerrenin hesabını verebiliriz. Biz soruna sorun diye bakmayız. Sonuçtur önemli olan.

Derneğin ilk döneminde Kadın Meclisi toplantılarına katılıyorduk Antalya'da. Ama şimdi kopuğuz Meclisten. Geçici tedbirler oluştuyorlardı. Kadını kocasına karşı kıskırtıyorlardı. Eski dönemimizde meclisin toplantılarına katıldığımız zamanlar, o grupta çok marjinal ve etkisizdik. Sadece dinleyici olurduk. Verimli olamadığımızı anladık. Sonra da dernek kapanınca 99 civarında silindi üyelik.

Bizim hedefimiz insan kadın değil aslında. Ayakkabı çifti gibi birbirini tamamlayanlar. Kadın erkek eşit ama tümüyle eşit değil. Misyonları, yapısı ve ruhu farklı. Ama adalet olmalı. Kadında şefkat var erkekte güç şecaat var. Şecaati şefkatle birleştirmek lazım.

way. Worship for Allah requires ‘loving the created ones because of the creator’. The way for loving the created ones is helping them and meeting their needs. I believe that to do that is my sense of duty and worship to Allah. I also believe in the necessity to share my abilities and skills, given by Allah, with my family and the society. My organizational skills are gifts from Allah to me.⁹

The differences between HAKYAD and other NGOs are explained through the personal values and norms of the head person. These personal values and norms are shaped by Islamic understanding.

The primary target of the activities is defined as uneducated girls by HAKYAD. When the reason of this preference is asked, Hattapoğlu told that:

A woman gives birth to both women and men. I see woman as the milestone of the society. As our ancestors said, ‘The woman cradling children cradles the world’. Educated, cultured, self-confident, and self-reliant woman is the fundamental assurance of a good society.¹⁰

In this sense HAKYAD, AKHAK-DER, and GIKAP have similar clientele definition. Three of all are thinking the women important because of the role of motherhood. It is believed that the women raise the children, raise the futures of the society in a way. On the other hand, BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ defines women as target people from a different perspective. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ women strongly emphasize the point that women should

⁹ Amaç hepimizi aynı ama.. Bizim gibiler de vardır mutlaka. İnsanlara eğitim ve sağlıkta direk hizmet veren kuruluşların başında yer alıyoruz. Fikir ve düşünce, kültür hizmetlerinin dışında eğitim ve sağlık hizmetlerini pratiğe geçirip direk halka sunuyoruz. Farkımız bu.

Hizmet alanımız farklıdır. Bütün hizmetleri verirken değer yargılarımız bizim için çok önemli. İnsana ve topluma değer vermek ve evrensel değerlere saygılı olmak. İnsan ilişkilerinde güzelliği yakalamaya çalışıyoruz. Farklılığım benim adabım, kültürüm, birtakım değerlerim. Asla onları yozlaştırmadan bu hizmetleri sunma çabasındayım. Ben inançlı bir insanım. Bütün inançlara saygılıyım. Kimseye asla zorla bir şey yaptırمام. Ama yaptığım hizmetleri önce varoluşumun gayesi olarak inancımın temel unsuru olan Allah inancı ve O’nun yolunda hizmet. Allaha kulluğun gereği ‘yaradılanı yaradandan ötürü sevmek’ tir. Yaradılan ihtiyaçlarına yardımcı olmakla sevilir. Kimsenin dili, dini ve ırkı beni ilgilendirmiyor. Esirgeyen ve bağışlayan Allahın adıyla diye , besmeleyle başlıyoruz. O esirgiyor ve bağışlıyor. Ben yaradılanı yaradandan ötürü sevmeliyim. Bir ibadet olduğuna ve bunun benim üzerimde bir görev olduğuna inanıyorum. Bana verilen özelliklerin ve güzelliklerin şahsıma, aileme ve bütün topluma yansması gerektiğine inanıyorum. Ben buyum; onlarda bu var mı yok mu, bilmiyorum.

Değerlerime çok önem vererek iş yapıyorum. Ama kendi değerlerimi başkasına kabul ettirmek gibi bir niyetim de yok. Ama örnek olabiliyorsam, faydalı olabiliyorsam ne ala.

¹⁰ Neden kadın? Çünkü doğuran kadındır. Erkeği de doğuran kadındır. Kadını ben toplumun mihenk taşı olarak görüyorum. Anavatan. Anaparak, anadil... Ana kelimesi insanlığın gelişmesinin esas ögesidir. O toplumun erkeklerini de kadın doğurur ve yetiştirir.

Cinsiyet ayrımcılığı değil bu kesinlikle. Dediğim gibi. Eş anne. Aslında bir atasözü var hani: Beşiği sallayan kadın aslında dünyayı sallar. Elinde o güven unsurunu oluşturan, huzurlu bir ortama zemin hazırlayan kadın topluma da örnek olacaktır. Ezilmiş kadından bahsetmiyorum burda. Kendine güvenen, ayakları üzerinde durabilen, fikir ve düşüncesini sağlıklı bir yapıya oturtan bir kadından bahsediyorum bu o toplumun esas teminidir diye algılıyorum.

be empowered because the women are more suppressed, oppressed, and violated in the societies, as compared to men or the children. Perhaps this is because of the fact that BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ is a group largely composed of women, who lost their jobs in the period of 1998-2000, due to the veil problem. That is why they have more advocacy, campaigning, lobbying, and protest activities than other three NGOs.

4.2 Network Mechanisms of Four NGOs

In this section, the network mechanisms of four selected NGOs are examined at three levels. These three levels are based on the difference of Islamist/Islamic between non- Islamist/Islamic. Non-Islamist/Islamic term here signifies the opposite of Islamist/Islamic, but non- Islamist/Islamic term does not refer necessarily to laic or secular, it is employed as a term in this thesis in the meaning of not having Islamic orientation publicly.

The first level is referring to the relationships of four NGOs with the present Islamist/Islamic state and present local Islamist/Islamic governmental institutions and with the previous non- Islamist/Islamic ones. The second level is including national and international cooperation with either Islamist/Islamic or non-Islamist/Islamic NGOs outside the sampling group. Third level of network mechanism of these NGOs is indicating networks inside the sampling group in order to understand networking mechanisms among these four NGOs. The second and the third level networks will be clarified in more details than the first networking mechanisms, since networks among these four NGOs and with other Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs are more related to the question of 'Do these NGOs form a new social movement?'.

4.2.1 Relations with the State and Local Governments

Alliances or conflicts with the governmental institutions are the first level of network mechanism of these four NGOs.

The relations of the NGO with the state and government institutions vary. GIKAP has better relations with present local governments but not have strong relations with the present government of AKP. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ does not have much relation and cooperation with either present the state or the local governments, although it has members actively involved in politics. Local governments invite BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ to their formal meetings and AKP government demand consulting from them. AKHAK-DER has the supports of the state and local governments for its activities. The present

government also demands consulting from HAKYAD and the local governments in Diyarbakır invite the head of the foundation to formal meetings.

None of these NGOs stated that there were problems or conflicts with previous states and local governments. They all said that the states and local governments provide no significant cooperation or support of neither for their projects, in past, or in the present time. Subsequently they mention that, neither Islamist/Islamic states/ local governments nor non- Islamist/Islamic ones are cooperative and supportive in an adequate way for their activities and services.

4.2.2 National and International Cooperation with NGOs

Outside the Sampling Group

The NGO that has had national cooperation and has participated in international organizations at most is, GIKAP. BAŞKENT KADIN PLATFORMU DERNEĞİ is the second in ranking. HAKYAD is the third and AKHAK-DER is the last. AKHAK-DER has least national and international cooperation.

The collective activities that GIKAP has organized or joined in, with the NGOs outside the platform are mostly related to its activity areas such as disaster training and they are mostly non-Islamist/Islamic. The national and international organizations and meetings that GIKAP has participated in are all about women and women's problems. The NGOs, outside the platform, the participants of GIKAP have cooperated are again related to their activities like disaster training and the women's market projects.

As another important network, GIKAP has a project, in the preparation process, of 'Serial Meetings among Women's NGOs on Acquaintance and Collective Studies' (look at page 41). This project has the intention to organize several meetings on the subjects related with women's NGOs. It aims at encouraging city/region/or nation based women's platform organizations in Turkey. This project targets all women's NGOs in Turkey.

GIKAP, as the only platform organization in this research, is referring an organizational form of networking in itself. It has strong cooperation with its 40 participants. ‘Supporting and Improving Women’s NGOs’ project of GIKAP, which is counted as one of three most important projects of GIKAP throughout its history, is a good example of their network among its participants NGOs. As it is seen from their organizational form, GIKAP gives the highest importance to cooperation and in accordance with this attitude; it has the highest national cooperation with NGOs outside the group in number. In addition, GIKAP do not have the defining criteria of being led or founded by women or being Islamist/Islamic for NGOs, in its cooperation. Actually, none of the four NGOs has such criteria in their national or international cooperation, but GIKAP has the most national and international cooperation with non- Islamist/Islamic NGOs and with the NGOs that are not led or founded by women.

Moreover, it is stated by the GIKAP participants that, making cooperation and organizing collective activities with other women’s NGOs or NGOs in general, provide NGOs to do services and activities, which they cannot do alone. It is claimed by GIKAP that, cooperative studies prevent the waste of time and resources, by gathering organizations that work at the same fields. As Doctor Gulsen Ataseven, who is the founder of the platform, claims, “There is no need to discover the fire again and again.” In cooperative studies, NGOs share their experiences, successions, and wrongs. GIKAP participants mention that, education and poverty issues should be given priority since, the two subjects; are vital for a society’s well-being.

In result of GIKAP’s studies at this subject of cooperation, standardized forms are prepared and distributed to women’s NGOS, the standardization of the studies of NGOs is developed, a culture of making collective actions is created, the observations and information are shared with the representatives of NGOs.

Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has not much national and local cooperation, but *Kadın Buluşması* project. As being the main organizer of this project, it cooperated the participant NGOs of these meetings which are mostly Islamist/Islamic ones. Another cooperation with NGOs in the national level of the association, is mainly with Uçan Süprürge, which is a highly active non-Islamist/Islamic women’s NGO. At international level, the association has participated to several international

conferences and meetings about Islamism, feminism, and women's issues. It has also international cooperation with generally German NGOs and governmental institutions. Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has cooperation with both Islamist/Islamic and non-Islamist/Islamic NGOs, but mainly they are Islamist/Islamic or non-Islamist/Islamic women's organizations.

It is acknowledged that, making cooperation and organizing collective activities with other woman NGOs or NGOs in general, is essential. Especially when NGOs working in the same areas cooperates, activities are held more efficiently and with less energy. It is also getting easier to finish activities successfully. Moreover, cooperation makes possible to reach documentation and experiences of different NGOs. Another gain of making cooperation is, as stated by Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği's members, to construct bridges between the feminist women's organizations and religious women's organizations. These bridges are paving the way of communication and more cooperation.

The members of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği claims that the area of politics is to be given priority since women are behind men in Turkish Society. They believe that the representations women from each part of the society are crucial in developing of Turkey and in improving the status of women.

HAKYAD has its national cooperation mostly via *Kadın Buluşmaları*, with Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs. HAKYAD also has some cooperative activities with the non-Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs in Diyarbakır, which have the common interests, health issues, as it has.

The two activities of the foundation are projects that funded by an international non-Islamist/Islamic NGO. Moreover, the foundation has also participated into one international women conference as an international cooperation.

It is indicated that to make cooperation with other NGOs is important in the senses of joining, meeting each other, and putting an end to prejudices. The main concern area when making cooperation is defined by the leader of the foundation as, education, and cultural values taught by education.

As the NGO having the least national and international cooperation in the sampling group, AKHAK-DER, has cooperated with other NGOs in *Kadın*

Buluşmaları as a national cooperation. Thus, the only cooperation outside the sampling group that AKHAK-DER has is the cooperation with the participants of *Kadın Buluşmaları*, that is to say, Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs.

The association of AKHAK-DER does not have any international cooperation with any international organizations, international social aid institutions, foreign governments, international woman groups, woman activists, or other voluntary organizations.

The members of AKHAK-DER want to make cooperation and organizing collective activities with other woman NGOs or NGOs in general, for they intend to know women's organizations from different regions of Turkey, and take their activities as models for themselves. The members of it give priority to the area of education in cooperation.

4.2.3 Networks inside the Sampling Group

In this section, firstly the network theory of the social movement theorist, Diani, will be stated briefly. Then the networks among the four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs will be explained through two important cases in their organizational history. The first case is about first foundation processes of each as platforms and their later organizational transformations. The second case is telling us the story of *Kadın Buluşmaları*, the formation of these meetings, participants, conflicts, cooperation of them. Later, the networks types developed, developing, or not developed yet, among the four selected Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs up today will be clarified.

4.2.3.1 Conceptualizing Organizational Networks

Since the unit of analysis is organizations in this study, the term of network is taken as networks between organizations. Diani (1999: 124) conceptualizes 'interorganizational networks'

It is rare for an organization to be able to monopolize the representation of a certain complex of interests and values. Normally, it is essential to coordinate action and joint campaigns in order to achieve widespread protest, place certain themes on the political agenda, and disseminate new interpretations of political and social conflict. Movement organizations need systematic forms of coordination in order to respond the problems or emergencies, which they face from time to time. The existence of a significant number of allies increases the chances of success for groups promoting protest.

According to Diani (1999), interorganizational relationships can vary widely. They can involve the share and exchange of information, and the pooling of resources for specific projects. They can maintain their continual relationships at a high level over time, until eventually; they provide stable relationships and information exchange mechanisms such as e-mail groups, and establish a permanent level of cooperation on joint projects, or even the promotion of permanent joint organizations such as umbrella-like organizations.

In reality, cooperation is relatively rare and limited by the quantity of resources that organizations have. These resources may defined by Diani (1999: 125) as, time, personal energy, willingness to mediate.

Furthermore, interaction between movement organizations tends to vary according to whether or not they are in competition for the acknowledgement and support of the same social base; if, that is, they are trying to acquire essential resources for action by tapping the same (limited) mobilization potential. By combining these two criteria (presence/absence of cooperation and presence/absence of competition), we can elaborate a typology of forms of interorganizational relationships, which recognizes their plurality.

Where cooperation and competition co-exist, situations, which we will define as *competitive cooperation*, occur. In such cases, two (or more) movement organizations concerned with the same issues are trying to develop joint initiatives, based on similar definitions of the issues and some degree of identity; however at the other side find themselves facing mutual competition for the same support base. The situations, in which the absence of cooperation occurs with an absence of competition is defined as *neutrality*. There are also situations, in which high levels of competition and low levels of cooperation existing at the same time among movement organizations, those are called as *factional relationships*. Finally, in Diani's (1999: 126) categorization, a high degree of cooperation and a low degree of competition is defined as non-competitive cooperation movement organizations. These movement organizations are 'not in competition for the same political market

but have, at the same time, sufficient interests, and motives for convergence to active joint mobilizations’.

Relationships between the Islamist/Islamic women’s organizations with diverse concerns in Turkey in the 1990s and later are close to this model. Without coming into competition, inasmuch as the areas of their interests, they could develop cooperative relationships among them. The relationship between the selected four Islamist women’ NGOs provide fitting examples to this model of non-competitive cooperative movement organizations.

Diani argues in his network analysis theory that, ties between persons or organization within a movement can be defined as interpersonal linkages and interorganizational linkages. It is also possible to make a distinction between direct and indirect linkages (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002: 178). Within the scope of this study, the related part of his theory is direct or indirect interorganizational linkages between the Islamist/Islamic women’s organizations, and specifically between four selected ones.

Direct Linkages between Organizations

Organizations of a movement are connected in a variety of ways. “Ties may include alliances and joint promotion of mobilization events or campaigns, circulation of information and sharing of expertise and other member’s skills, and provisions of practical support, from financial help to shared offices.” (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002: 178). A shared understanding of their activities and actions may be developed by both core and grassroots members of different organizations. Emotional ties and shared identity to some extent may then be constituted and result in some kind of shared organizational culture and thus further interaction in later stages.

Indirect Linkages Based on Shared Activities

In these examples of linkages, the existence of the linkage is not directly assessed but may be inferred from the joint participation of two or more organizations in the same set of events or activities. This kind of linkage, on the contrary to direct ties, does not require face-to-face interactions. The attendance at the same protest rally, their comembership in umbrella organizations, or ties to same public agencies could

be defined as indirect linkages between organizations. Yet these organizations do not necessarily imply concrete relations, as in direct linkages implied.

In this case, of thesis, the four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs have all direct linkages with each other at the organizational level. Additionally there are direct linkages between their actors, members, and sympathizers. Especially between their leaders and active members of each, there exist friendship or acquaintanceship and exchanges of information or joint participation in possible movement activities, such as *Kadın Buluşması*.

4.2.3.2 Networks through the Establishment Story of Four NGOs

There are strong network relations among these NGOs, mainly in terms of sharing information and experiences of each and joint campaigns and joint participation to events. These network relations started nearly in 1990s, at personal levels, even before none of these organizations was founded.

In 1990s, as consequences of the efforts of KSSGM to combine international regimes with national practices and implement the decisions of the government to support NGOs, KSSGM mobilized women's NGOs to work on the issue of women's advancement in Turkey and encouraged the platform-like organizations. These developments were resulted in a *pebble* fell into the water of Turkish civil society. This *pebble* made waves on the surface that moved out from the place where the *pebble* entered the water. This period may also be called as of a waving of civilization in Turkey.

The first Islamist wave is formed in Istanbul. The first Islamist/Islamic women's platform was founded in May 1995 and got the name of *Gökkuşığı İstanbul Kadın Platformu (GIKAP)*. As the leaders of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği said, having GIKAP as model organization, the Islamist women in Ankara founded the Başkent Kadın Platformu, in October 1995. Başkent Kadın Platformu was the second wave, which the same *pebble* resulted in. Then in May 1996, Güneydoğu Kadın ve Kültür Platformu was founded with the helps of GIKAP as the third wave, in Diyarbakır. At last, the fourth Islamist/Islamic women's NGO of this study came into the scene. Akdeniz Kadın Platformu was established in Antalya with the special helps of

GIKAP and its participant organizations in specific, after May 1996. The founding date of this platform is indefinite, since no one can remember properly the date. Akdeniz Kadın Platformu forms the fourth and the last wave of this *concentric waves model*.

According to this model waves around the *pebble*, which is taken as a social change in the societal structure, are generated by some source in the center and spreading out in all directions, but not necessarily with equal distances. In 1993, the ‘Congress and Fair of Turkish Women’s NGOs and Voluntary Organizations’ was held in Ankara by KSSGM was the *pebble* here in this model. As the waves spread out, they become fainter and fainter. The waves are formed as strongest as more they are close to the center and gradually get weaker as they move away. The *pebble* creates concentric rings of waves that radiate outward from the center, and these rings will eventually die out some distance away.

In this case, of formation of Islamist/Islamic women’s platforms, Istanbul makes the strongest wave of ring and Antalya makes the weakest wave of ring in the concentric waves model. Concentric term is used in this model with the meaning of having a common center. The sequence of the waves is following the formalization degrees of these platforms. From Istanbul to Ankara, from Ankara to Diyarbakır, and from Diyarbakır to Antalya, from highly formalized one to the least formalized one, more or less, this model is explaining the structure of these NGOS. The information and experiences have been shared via these rings from center to the periphery of the model.

When it is looked at the closing dates of these platforms, Antalya Kadın Platformu was the first wave began to disappear gradually in 1998. Then towards the end of 1998, the works of Güneydoğu Kadın ve Kültür Platformu were transferred to HAKYAD foundation, which is the main active member of the platform. Today the

AKDENİZ KADIN KÜLTÜR PLATFORMU- 1996

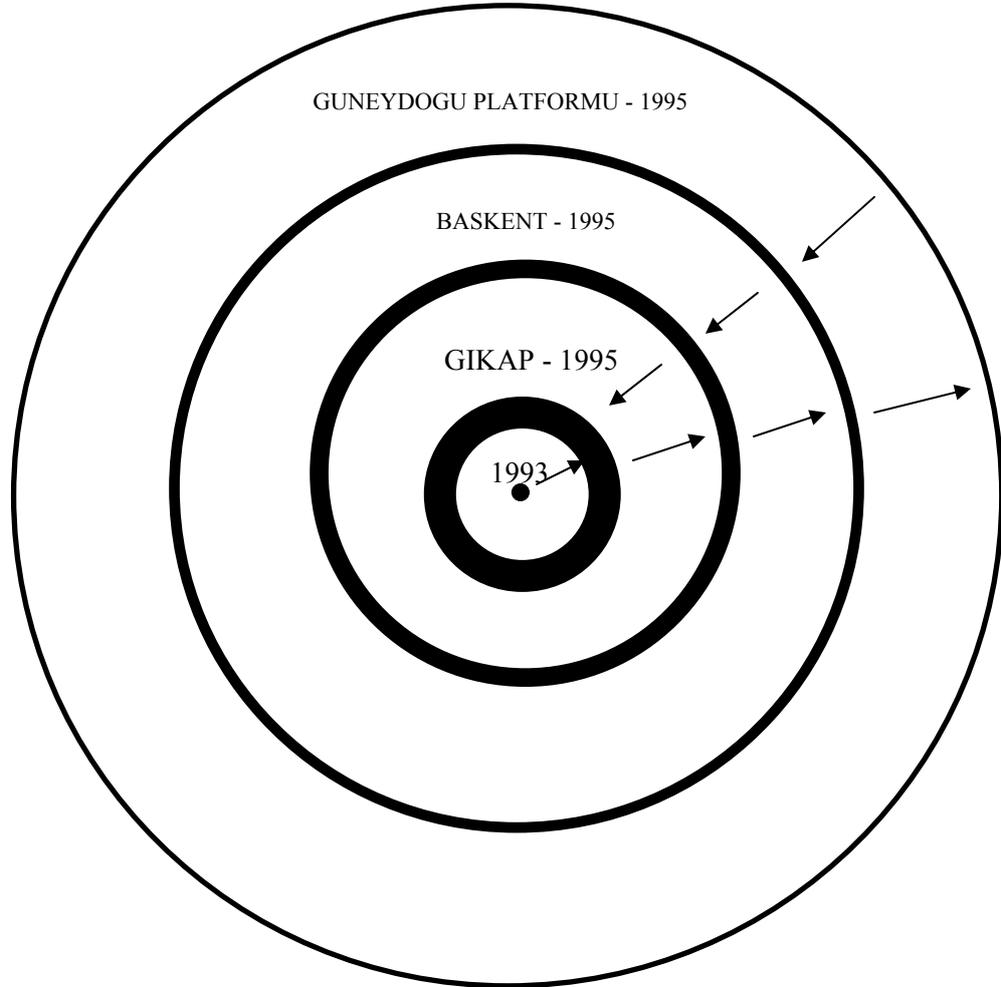


Figure 4.1 Concentric Wave Model Showing the Platform Origins and the Institutional Transformations of NGOs in the Research

Güneydoğu Kadın ve Kültür Platformu is still open but inactive. As the last disappearing wave ring, Başkent Kadın Platformu were transformed into Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği. The only existing wave ring is the strongest one, GIKAP in Istanbul still very active as platform in civil area of the society. Maybe this could be related to its highest formalization, bureaucratization, and institutionalization degree among others, or maybe it became formalized, bureaucratized, and institutionalized in order not to disappear.

As it is seen above, the formation of these platforms began in the center of Istanbul and, expanded to the periphery of Antalya, then began to disappear from the periphery to center, in the same order of formation, but this time in a reversed order. All three of the platforms, which were closed down or inactivated, are continuing their activities under different organizational types and names at the same cities. This model explains us the roots of four selected Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs in this study, and how they formed the first networks among them through these concentric wave rings, for information and experience sharing, especially in the issue of establishing a platform.

4.2.3.3 Networks through *Kadın Buluşmaları* and Thoughts about These Meetings

In 2003, Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has become another first and strongest wave ring of coming from another *pebble*, CEDAW Meetings, and formed another concentric waves model in Ankara, after the model in Istanbul. Since May 2003, there held five *Kadın Buluşmaları* of Islamist/Islamic women's organizations in different cities of Turkey, but all in intersectional coordination of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği. The *pebble* of this *second concentric wave rings model* in Ankara, was the first *Kadın Buluşması* which was organized in Kızılcahamam, Ankara. Now the information and experiences of Islamist/Islamic women's organizations are expanding through Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği mainly.

The second concentric waves model has not formed the other stable wave rings yet, after the first one in Ankara. There is a significant difference between the first and second concentric waves model in terms of their wave rings. In the first one the

center and the wave rings around the center were stable. In opposition to the first one, in the second model, the center and the first wave ring of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği are not stable, rather they are mobile. That is Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği carries the center of the model wherever the *Kadın Buluşması* goes, it forms the first wave ring there and gives support to local NGOs for coordination of meeting, places the local coordinator as the second wave ring and then other participants as the other wave rings of the model. So the wave rings, except the first one only, are temporary and changing according to the city where the meeting is held. Hence, this second concentric waves model is better to be defined as *decentered/recentered concentric waves model* with temporary waves.

Kadın Buluşmaları are deemed as examples of direct interorganizational linkages between Islamist/Islamic women's organizations so the selected for NGOs' attendances to these meetings and the thoughts of them are explored in order to analyze the network among them through these meetings.

GİKAP has never attended to these meetings with the name of the platform however; it is observed that there were participations from its members to these meetings. Probably it is because not all the participant members of the platform accepted to attend to the meetings. This is a rule from the platform's protocol text, if there is even one member rejecting the decision of an activity, the platform can not participate or join in the activity; even if it does, the platform name can not be used.

On contrast to GİKAP, Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has participated at all the meetings as one of the main organizer institutions and the essential member of Coordination Council of the meetings. The future projection of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği for these meetings could be summarized in the words of 'let it be a platform like organization'. This association gives a relatively high importance to these meetings and the institutionalization of them that is why it is consistently insisting on forming a superstructure out of these meetings.

AKHAK-DER and HAKYAD have attended all of the five meetings like Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği but they do not have that much strong desire to form a superstructure organization out of these meetings. Contrarily these NGOs have some worries about the changes of the structure of these meetings. They do not want non-Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs to participate or even observe the meetings. To

expand these meetings to other women's NGOs is mainly the idea of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği and get some support from some participant NGOs of the meetings. However there is a general worry about this issue among other Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs. They have the fear of being misunderstood or misused by others. So they want these meetings kept closed to participations of other women's organizations which may cause some conflicts between the Islamist and non-Islamist NGOs and may effect badly the positive development of the meetings.

They mostly think that these meetings should be different from other national NGO meetings at which such conflicts are involved in the discussions. It is claimed that, the very first idea to have these meetings was to get together with the women's NGOs who had the common understanding and common features of Islamic culture and Islamic beliefs. This demand is also consistent with the secret list of participants of these meetings. The participant NGOs tend to accept the other non-Islamist NGOs only if they do not attempt to change and intervene the basic structure of the meetings.

Another thought of the meetings is mentioned by GIKAP that, these meetings are, loosely structured ones, obviously and so there is a little chance for them to be a platform-like organization at the national level. It also should be also considered that there is no platform organization structured at the national level in Turkey at all.

Furthermore, HAKYAD has some complaints of the dominant features of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği in the organization and coordination of the meetings. The leader of the foundation mentioned that, there is not much possibility of these meetings to be transformed into a joint organizational structure, if the dominancy of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği goes on in this way. She added that the power and the responsibility should be distributed among all participant organizations so that the meetings could bring about a platform like organization.

4.2.4 Networks' Types among Four NGOs

The networks among these NGOs could be defined in three categories:

1. *Joint organizations* category indicates the highest degree of network among these NGOs. It means the NGOs, two or more than two, having this kind of networks have or had in the past, organized activities together, as both organizers.

2. In *one (or more) organizer-one (or more) participant* category of network there exist the network type at which one or more of the four NGOs are organizing an activity and one or more are participating into activity.

3. *Joint participation* type of networks are the ones at which none of these four Islamist/Islamic women's organizations are the organizer of the activity, but two or more of them are participants at the same time, at the same event.

Among four selected Islamist/Islamic women's organizations, the most frequent network type, which is observed, is joint participation type. The network category of one (or more) organizer-one (or more) participant is also observable although it is rare. However, the network type of joint organizations does not exist at all, except the cases of *Kadın Buluşmaları*. In these meetings Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği, since it is the main organizer and coordinator of them, were the intersection organization of all meetings. Yet one of these meetings was held in Istanbul with the coordination of GIKAP and one in Antalya with the coordination of AKHAK-DER, it could be said that in these meetings Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği had a joint organization type of networks with GIKAP and AKHAK-DER.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Turkish society, subsequently, has discovered Islamism and Islamist movement through close-up photographs of Islamist movement organizations and their actions. In the last two-decades or so, Islamic groups in Turkey have learned how to organize themselves publicly around civil organizations (Saktanber, 2002b). They have developed strategies to cope with the criticism directed against them, and invented their own resistant ‘ways of operating’ in the course of everyday life. Emphasizing on the issues of identity and culture in terms of Islamism, these groups found out a new way of acting and founded various organizations on the basis of Islamic culture and the Islamist identity. Islamist/Islamic women’s organizations, which were defined as types of Islamic groups, also took their place in this new social movement configuration. They have seen religion as an important regulator of everyday life and a source of identity.

However, not all Islamist/Islamic women’s organizations bowed to traditional interpretations of Islam, (Singerman, 1997) which place women in the private sphere of life, and some have participated in the public sphere more and more actively. Islamist women have gained knowledge and professional expertise in the civil arena of society through social movement organizations and tried to enhance the empowerment of women’s status and improve the existing status of women. Achieving justice requires legal and procedural reforms in several areas including personal status, employment, citizenship, the penal system, and social security have defined as organizational goals of these Islamist/Islamic women’s organizations mostly founded after 1990.

As Diane Singerman (Singerman, 1997: 157) states, “it is extremely important to understand the ways in which women are dominated that differ from the ways in which men are dominated.”. Women generally use informal means to achieve their ends- highlighting informal politics as an arena of political organizing, as in the cases they changed the political structure in the good of RP and AKP, which are known to be Islamist political parties. Informal networks have historically provided an institutional channel for political life in Turkey, within these practices of RP’s and AKP’s electoral victories.

‘Informal type of association, including urban-centered networks, is based on reciprocity and trust rather than contractual and formalized ties that characterize formal associations’ as Norton argues (1997). These types of associations and networks introduced the Turkish society to a new form of power, having its origins in the informal mechanisms of life.

Within this context, the Islamist/Islamic women’s organizations, mostly utilizing informal means in their organizational structures, struggle for justice and equal rights for women in the society. Home gatherings, sohbet/conversations, personal contacts are the instances of informal means they make use of in their activities.

The resources and constraints within the possible Islamist/Islamic women’s movement could be either technological infrastructure, increasing level of education, economic development, and human resource of the movement organizations, or coordination and cooperation among them through informal or formal networks, or the strong opposition of secular/Kemalist groups of the society and also, ironically, of traditional and conservative Islamist groups. There maybe conflictual relationships within this possible movement, since the possible movement organizations of it have various ideological bases within the same movement. Some organizations are more radical, some are feminist, and some are more traditional than others.

The Islamist/Islamic women’s organizations have both similar and diversified features in terms of their organizational structures, formalization, and institutionalization degrees, aims and goals, their activities, national or international cooperation levels with other NGOs and governmental institutions, financial resources, defining their identities and of networking mechanisms.

Throughout this study, it has been tried to find the clues for an Islamist/Islamic women's movement as a social movement, via theoretical framing of the issue and a social movement research conducted. Related to the research question of, 'Do the existing Islamist/Islamic women's organizations in Turkey form an Islamist/Islamic women's movement?', four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs were selected to constitute the sampling group, and, through semi-structured and deep interviews with the leaders and some active members of these NGOs, the organizational structures of them, and the networking mechanism they have utilized were examined.

Similarly, all of the four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs are rooted in platform organizational structures after 1995; but presently, except GIKAP, all three have changed their organizational types. All of them are placed in urban areas and in big cities of Turkey, are 'service' and 'development and women-in-development' NGOs. They all targeted women as clientele, have women members only, they are led by generally middle-aged and middle-class urban women. In addition, they all have an Islamic understanding way of life.

Although they all have Islamic understanding way of life and are Islamic-oriented, and the NGOs of such kind are labeled as Islamist in the academic literature, it is not that appropriate for them to be titled as Islamists, since the word of Islamist is taken with a political reference. None of these NGOs has political affiliation or integration. Furthermore, because Islamist women NGOs indicate NGOs defending and spreading Islamist policies, they see the word Islamist as a negative word in society and reject being labeled as Islamists. Başkent Kadın Platformu and AKHAK-DER use the term 'dindar kadın örgütleri' (religious women organizations) for their organizations and for themselves 'dindar kadınlar' (religious women), and HAKYAD prefers the term 'modern muhafazakar kadın' (modern conservative women). GIKAP defines itself as a non-Islamist organization; it rejects severely the label of Islamist, since it states there is no religious activity of platform at all. Surely, the term of Islamist has a political connotation and implies a perception of a thing, which is, defined so. However, there is not a term to replace the word of Islamist or Islamic so the Islamist/Islamic term was used as a categorical term for these selected four NGOs during the study, but with the awareness of non-political characteristics of all four.

The differences among these four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs become most visible in their organizational structures. As mentioned in previous chapters, the institutionalization, formalization, and bureaucratization features are decreasing from GIKAP to Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği, to HAKYAD, and at last to AKHAK-DER, in the same order.

As the essential network relations to form a social movement, outside networks and inside-group networks, that is networks among selected four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs, are investigated. The outside-group networks are observed in terms of relation with other NGOs and governmental institutions.

With respect to their outside-group networking mechanisms, GIKAP and Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği have the most national and international cooperation with other NGOs and governmental institutions in number. HAKYAD and AKHAK-DER have less national and international cooperation than these two.

These inside-group networking mechanisms among them are examined through their establishment stories in relation to each other, in a concentric waves modeling, their attendance to *Kadın Buluşmaları*, and their networking types among them, through the activities they participate or organize.

As an inside-group network mechanism, these NGOs have varying degrees of networks among themselves. The previous forms of these organization or the existing ones show how the network among the Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs were formed. On the other hand, this networking has changed today. GIKAP still has a place of being closest to the center, in the first concentric waves model (page 90) , of where the pebble fell into the water in 1990s and it is the only wave which stayed around the center with its highly formalized organizational structure, as platform. Nevertheless, GIKAP has still influences on AKHAK-DER (page 51) and HAKYAD (page 55), as it is understood in the women's marketplace projects planned for the future, which are small models of GIKAP's KÜP Project (page 41).

Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has not been much affected by GIKAP's policies or strategies in recent times, probably because it has become another first and strongest wave ring of coming from another pebble in another concentric waves model in Ankara, in 2003 (page 92). Now the Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği has the role of main coordinator of *Kadın Buluşmaları* and it placed as the first ring of

the second model that is the closest one to the center. Hence, it has the major controlling power on the flow of information and experiences of Islamist/Islamic women's organizations, since it has the major role in determining the place of later meetings, to the issue to be held, the organization of the meetings, and, so on.

The two concentric waves models, explained above and in the previous chapter, are the major networking relations among Islamist/Islamic women's organizations through their history. Although the influences of the first one on the Islamist/Islamic women's organizations have disappeared largely, undoubtedly this first model had opened the way to the second one in Ankara.

As it is seen from the deep interview results, the most frequent network type, which is observed among the four selected Islamist/Islamic women's organizations, is joint participation type. This type of networks are the ones in which none of these four Islamist/Islamic women's organizations are the organizer of the activity, but two or more of them are participants at the same time, at the same event.

These networks among these NGOs and outside the sampling group consisted of both informal and formal interactions. They have formal networks with the NGOs, which are placed outside the sampling group and governmental institutions, rather than informal networks. On the other side, they have informal networks rather than formal ones, with the NGOs inside the sampling group. However, here, the inside group should be expanded to all Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs and Islamist/Islamic women's at the individual level, in order to understand their informal networks.

As Saktanber argues (2002a) that, these informal networking mechanisms are closely related to the concept of 'women culture'. Women utilize experiences and talents through women's culture, informal politics, and informal way of interactions, through face-to-face contacts, sharing their problems about their marriages, families, children, jobs, and finding practical solutions to their immediate problems. All these skills are essential to women's movements in general, and in specific for a possible Islamist/Islamic women's movement, since they generally provide the potential of raising their voices in the society and of entry into the public sphere. Although the existing Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs are also utilizing formal types of

interactions, parallel to their formalization degree, the informal kinds of interactions and networks are still important in their organizational structure.

According to the outcomes of the study stated above and in previous chapters (page 10), these four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs, have the potential to form a social movement, by: (a) having both informal and formal interaction networks, (b) stating they are more or less sharing Islamic culture, (c) organizing collective actions focusing on societal conflicts, even of these actions are small in quantity, (d) and using protest by just one in Ankara,.

Moreover, it is possible to say that this Islamist/Islamic women's movement is a new social movement (page 12-14), since: (a) this movement goes beyond the class structure, (b) has a rightist perspective, puts on view of pluralistic ideas and values, (c) focuses on the identity shaped by an Islamic culture, (d) naturally is associated with an Islamic set of beliefs, symbols, values, and meanings, (e) the link between the individual and collective is unclear and imprecise in it, (f) includes 'personal and intimate' facets and issues of human life, (g) makes use of mobilization tactics of disruption and resistance, such as nonviolent and civil disobedient tactics, and (h) since it is 'segmented, decentralized, and diffused'.

Even though Keskin said (2002:248) "There is no one Islamist/Islamic women's movement in Turkey." She simply sees the Islamist/Islamic women's movement as a network of groups and organizations mobilized for protest actions and to promote social change, and, adds that this movement also includes free of organizations individuals attending the protest actions. However, this article was written by her in 2002, that is, before the first *Kadın Buluşması* was held in May 2003. Through these meetings, it is observed that a potential for a possible movement has emerged.

At these meetings, of which the fifth was held in previous October, Islamist women did something obviously different from their previous collective actions. In previous times especially by the secular part of the society, the Islamist/Islamic women's organizations were deemed as generally under the patronage or sponsorship of pro-Islamic parties and having varying degrees of contact with pro-Islamist parties. These interpretations have been mostly true and they are still partly true.

On the other hand, today, these Islamist/Islamic women's organizations developed a new strategy to structure daily life according to Islamic precepts, the model of

Islamic society, not in just the understanding of pro-Islamic parties but now also with their women-like understandings. This could indeed be an expression of their created women's culture through their NGOs.

Kadın Buluşmaları are very good examples of the efforts of these women to create a new language in the public sphere, through their Islamic and women vision. Although, there is also a great degree of divergence among the Islamist women and Islamist/Islamic women's organizations, on crucial social issues such as the elements and musts of a proper Islamic life or their relationships with secular groups, and there have been some conflicts about the organization of the meetings, *Kadın Buluşmaları* are still providing an extremely important medium for coming into shared beliefs and a kind of solidarity among Islamist women and their NGOs. Islamic women's diverged identity claims are represented in these meetings swinging between conservative, fundamentalist assertions and modernized, feminist like, marginal statements. So as some theorists argue, all Islamist/Islamic women's organizations are not agree on the point of the necessity to change the political system in line with Islamic principles of governance, on the contrary there are some Islamist women severely criticize the Islamic principles and show effort to gain equal footing in educational, economic, and political spheres with men.

Before the organization of first *Kadın Buluşması* in Kızılcahamam, Ankara, existing Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs could be stated as agents of just the Islamist movement in Turkey. However, the first meeting made it possible to seek for a movement by Islamist women. These meetings were making religious women's organizations; Islamist/Islamic women's organizations; women's commissions of religious organizations; such as pro-Islamic political parties; and also the individual Islamist or religious women coming together in these meetings. Actually it is difficult to say that all of these organizations are Islamist ones but they have at least consisted of women who have Islamic sensitivity and live according to the Islamic norms, values, rules and culture. But still these meetings can be named as collective actions of a Islamist/Islamic women's movement.

Because of the feature of new social movements, emphasizing the link between the individual and collective is unclear and imprecise in NSMs, the Islamist/Islamic women's movement in the cases of *Kadın Buluşmaları*, have been represented as

individual actions, taking the unit of analysis as organization here, of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği rather than through or among mobilized groups. This centralization of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği may create an obstacle in the future, as some respondents underlined, since it is thought that such centralization and dominance of one organization may prevent other organizations participating actively in coordination and organization of the meetings.

In spite of the conflicts experienced during these meetings about the organization and coordination of them: the dominant character of Başkent Kadın Platformu Derneği; the secrecy of the participant list; their being limited with only Islamist/Islamic women and their NGOs; the places they were held; and of the debates on the formation of a superstructure organization out of these meetings; and of the different ideological bases (under the umbrella of being Islamist/Islamic, with the question of which Islamist/Islamic) of the participants; *Kadın Buluşmaları* are representing the significant collective actions of an Islamist/Islamic women's movement.

However the recent structure is not definite of these meetings. At these meetings, until now, an umbrella-like superstructure institution, such as a platform, could not be formed yet. Debates on this issue are continuing. Additionally, the discussions on the issue of whether these meetings should open to other non-Islamist NGOs, or not, are going on. Some respondents state that if non-Islamist NGOs will be allowed to the meetings even only to observe, not for an active participation, may cause the meetings lose their originality of being just for Islamist women and their NGOs. Some think these meetings are so loosely structured ones that, it is not that much possible them to transform into a platform like organization. Some insistingly claim that these meetings are creating a very good potential for an organization structured at the national level, and in order to be organized at the national level, these meetings should be open to every women and women's organization, at least to the ones not too radical or marginal, such as lesbians.

To sum, it may be said that these four Islamist/Islamic women's NGOs are strengthening their shared Islamic culture through their networks. On the other hand, despite the success of these issue-oriented meetings (*Kadın Buluşmaları*), in gathering many Islamist/Islamic women and their organizations from all over the

country, and creating a medium for discussing their specific problems such as veiling problem, it is clear that participant women's organizations will need more than introductory meetings, planning future structures at the national level, lobbying, and negotiating skills, organizing collective actions out of these meetings with limited number of NGOs, to be more effective in national politics and to solve their inside conflicts. Otherwise, it will be hard to state that this Islamist/Islamic women's movement, which has been shaped around mainly *Kadın Buluşmaları*, will carry on being a movement.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORM

STATUS AND FORMATION OF THE ORGANIZATION

Organization/Association/Foundation

Name and surname of the person in charge:

1. When this organization was founded?
2. What are the reasons of choosing this specific organization model?
3. What are the reasons of your organization's name?
4. What are the **main factors** that led you to found this organization?

5. Did you confront with any difficulties when you were dealing with the establishing procedures? **If Yes,** what kind of difficulties? Please explain. (If your answer is 'No', please skip to the seventh question)
6. How did you handle with the problems you met?
7. What are the **most important aims** of this organization?
8. Do you have **new targets or aims** you have adopted in recent times? If your answer is **Yes** what are these new targets or aims?
9. In the frame of your organization's aims what are your **future objects**?
(What kind of a society do you imagine for the future?)
10. What kind of an organizational type and structure do you have for the management of the organization? Please explain.
11. How often do your executive members make meetings?
12. How the decisions about the activities/services are made in this organization?

MEMBER PROFILE

13. How many participants gather under this organization?

14. How is it decided which organizations could have a part in the structure and which not? / What are the membership criteria in the organization?

15. Are there any independent/unregistered/volunteer members working for this NGO? If there is, how many?

16. Are there any paid persons in the organization?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. A. If Yes, what are the number and the position of these members?

17. In which age range, do you place your members mostly?

18-35	<input type="checkbox"/>
36-49	<input type="checkbox"/>
50 +	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. What is the educational status of your members mostly?

Illiterates and Primary school graduates	<input type="checkbox"/>
High school graduates	<input type="checkbox"/>
University graduates	<input type="checkbox"/>
From all status	

19. In which occupational groups, do you have more members than in others? Explain please.

OFFICE EQUIPMENTS AND COMMUNICATION MEANS

20. At the office of the organization, do you have?

a.	Any computers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes How many _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
b.	Computer network?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
c.	Access to internet?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
d.	A photocopy machine?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
e.	A fax machine?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No

ACTIVITY AND SERVICE AREAS

21. What activities or services written below, do you have lastingly and periodically?

• Web site	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Address
• Day-center/Rest home	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Name
• Meeting/festival	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Name and date
• Periodical/journal/ brochure etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Name How often published _____

22. Do you make any presentations of the activities and services organized and fulfilled?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	By which ways and channels?

23. Do you have any local, national, or international communication networks in which the organization included? If you have, what are these networks?

24. Towards whom, are your activities and services directed? (**How do you define your target people?**)

a. What is the average education status of your target people?

Illiterates and Primary school graduates	<input type="checkbox"/>
High school graduates	<input type="checkbox"/>
University graduates	<input type="checkbox"/>
From all status	<input type="checkbox"/>

b. What is the average income status of your target people?

Low-income group	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle-income group	<input type="checkbox"/>
High-income group	<input type="checkbox"/>
From all groups	<input type="checkbox"/>

c. What is the average age range of your target people?

12 and lower	<input type="checkbox"/>
13-20	<input type="checkbox"/>
21-35	<input type="checkbox"/>
36-49	<input type="checkbox"/>
50 and over	<input type="checkbox"/>
From all age groups	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Could you give reason(s) for your direction of activities and services towards these people?

26. How and with whom in the organization, are new activities and service areas found?

27. When you make plans and organizations about an activity or a service, what are defining criteria of the organization?

28. When you make plans and organizations about an activity or a service, do you examine and consider the needs of your target people?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	How/ Using which methods?

29. Do you follow the applications of your activities and services?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	How/ Using which methods?

30. When you are putting into practices the activities and services, do you make re-arrangements with respect to demands and commends of your target people?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	How/ Using which methods?

31. How do you evaluate the results of the activities and services?

32. Do you observe the sustainability and the effectiveness of the activities and services on the target mass?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	How/ Using which methods?

33. What are the most essential problem(s) that you have confronted with in the application of your activities and services, and what you have suggested for solving this/these problem(s)?

Problem (time/subject/person)	Solution (method)

34. In which areas have you practiced activities and services mainly directed towards women?

1.	Education (clarify its types)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
2.	Health (Education and service)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
3.	Income activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
4.	Entrepreneurship/ Vocational Training	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
5.	Social aids and services	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
6.	Child caring (Day-center, etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
7.	Consultation services	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
8.	Legal rights & Civil law and rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
9.	Communication/Media	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
10.	Cultural studies	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
11.	Political integration	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
12.	Other (Clarify please)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:

35. Are your activities and facilities limited within your own neighborhood, in your city?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	At which districts and parts of the city have you worked/ are you working?

36. Does the organization have studies outside its city?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	In which cities have you worked/ are you working?

37. Could you please give information about the **MOST IMPORTANT** Activit(ies)y in the history of the organization?

	ACTIVITY 1	ACTIVITY 2	ACTIVITY 3
1. Name			
2. Activity type			
3. Participant NGOs in the organization			
4. Aim			
5. Date/ time length			
6. Target mass			
7. People accessed by the project			
8. Organizations/ institutions sponsored			
9. Result of the activity/ Interpretations about the activity			

38. Could you please give information about the Project(s) are you **planning to make** in the year of 2004? (Conference/ seminar/ education or health workshops etc)

	PROJECT 1	PROJECT 2	PROJECT 3
1. Name			
2. Activity type			
3. Aim			
4. Expected period			
5. Target mass			
6. Sponsors			

39. Since the foundation date of the organization, have you organized or joined collective actions, with the NGOs outside the organization? (About the woman issues or social issues in general)

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Why?
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Will you please fill the table below?

	Cooperated organization(s)	Activity subject/ Target mass	Date/Period
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

40. Since the foundation date of the organization, have you made any project sponsored by international organizations, international social aid institutions, or foreign governments.

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Please skip to the 41st question
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Please explain Name(s) of the project(s): Name(s) of the sponsor(s): Date(s) and length of the project(s):

41. Since the foundation date of the organization, have you organized any collective activity within the cooperation of international woman groups, woman activists, or other voluntary organizations?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Please skip to the 42nd question
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Please explain Name(s) and subject(s) of the activity(ies): Name(s) of the organization(s): Date(s) and length of the activity(ies):

42. What is the importance of making cooperation and organizing collective activities with other woman NGOs or NGOs in general?

43. Which areas should be given priority when making collective activities with other NGOs? Why?

44. With which characteristic features is this organization different from other NGOs?

45. With which characteristic features is this organization different from other woman NGOs?

46. In the years of 2003-2004, how often have you chosen to take the actions below, in order to realize the basic aims of the organization?

	Never	Sometimes	Often
1. Advocacy/submitting legal applications to courts			
2. Organizing protest marches, strikes, boycotts or joining to such actions			
3. Sign campaigns, visiting politicians and people working for the government, lobbying			

FINANCIAL RESOURCES

47. What are the financial resources of the organization?

1.	Member subscriptions	<input type="checkbox"/>	Subscription amount:
2.	Local government's sponsorship	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
3.	State sponsorship	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
4.	Donations from private sector	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
5.	Donation from foreign private sector	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
6.	National fund for projects	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
7.	International organizations' fund for projects	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
8.	Foreign governmental fund for projects	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
9.	Organizing social and cultural activities and services	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explanation:
10.	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Clarify please:

48. Do you have any difficulties in finding and getting financial resources for the organization?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Please skip to the 50th question
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	→	Please explain the difficulties

49. If you had/ had had problems in financing the organization, what would you do/ could you have done to solve the problems? Please write in details.

50. Do you have any future resources or projects, which you are planning to use for coming or continuing activities? If Yes, please explain.

RELATIONS WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

51. How are your relations with the state and the local government briefly today?

	State		Local government	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. We are invited to formal meetings				
2. They demand consulting from us				
3. They support us/ cooperate with us for our activities				

52. How were your relations with the past government(s)? Please explain...

53. How were your relations with the past local government(s)? Please explain...

54. Could you please clarify your relations with today's government?

55. Could you please explain your relations with the present local governments in detail?

APPENDIX B

NETWORK QUESTIONS

1. During the establishing procedures of your organization, did you cooperate with or get consultation from any other NGO, which is not included in the sampling group of this research, or any governmental institution? (If Yes, explain in detail please)
2. When establishing the organization, did you know any of the four NGOs, which is involved in this study? (If your answer is No, skip to the 5th question please)
3. Did you cooperate with or get consultation from these four NGOs in terms of establishment issues of your organization, such as preparing governing regulations?
4. If yes, in which areas and about what?
5. At the present, do you know any of these four NGOs, which are concerned in the research as sampling group? (If No, skip to the 11th question please)
6. How close you know these NGOs?
7. When did you first meet these NGOs and where, at which activity?
8. With the NGOs that you stated you know, have you ever organized an activity together? (If Yes, explain in detail please)

9. Have you ever participated into an activity, which was organized by one or two of these four NGOs in the sampling group? (If Yes, explain in detail please)

10. Have you ever participated into the same activity with one or two of these four NGOs that organized by any other NGO, which is not involved in this research? (If Yes, explain in detail please)

11. What do you think about the Kadın Buluşmaları that began after the CEDAW Meeting in 2003 in Ankara and have been held five times in different cities of Turkey?

12. Have you participated with your organizational identity in any of these five meetings?

13. According to you, do these meetings create a medium for a potential of a women's movement in Turkey?

14. From your perspective, do these meetings have the potential for forming a women's platform at the national level?

APPENDIX C

GIKAP'S PARTICIPANT ORGANIZATIONS

1. Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Hakları Derneği
2. Aileyi Korumada Medya Denetimi Girişim Grubu
3. Afetzedelere Yardımsever Gönüllü Girişimciler
4. Başarı Grubu
5. Bilgiden İletişime Kadın Grubu
6. Birlik Vakfı
7. Bir Umut Kültür ve Sosyal Dayanışma Girişim Grubu
8. Diyalog Grubu
9. Dayanışma Vakfı
10. Dost Hanımlar Derneği
11. Ev Kadınları Girişim Grubu
12. Eczacılar Dostluk ve Dayanışma Derneği
13. Felakette Acil Yardım Derneği
14. Floryalı Kadınlar Grubu
15. Genç İletişim Grubu
16. Genç Organizasyon Girişim Grubu
17. Hanımlar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı
18. Hanımlar İlim ve Kültür Derneği
19. Hayat Sağlık ve Sosyal Hizmetler Vakfı
20. Hazar Grubu
21. Hobi Grubu
22. Hukukçu Hanımlar Derneği
23. Kadın Sağlıkçılar Dayanışma Grubu
24. Kadın Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarını Destekleme ve Geliştirme Grubu

25. Kadın El Ürünleri Pazaryerleri Projesi Girişim Grubu
26. Küçükyaılı Kadınlar Grubu
27. Merhamet Girişim Grubu
28. Müstakil Hanımlar Komisyonu
29. Özlenen Çocuk Derneđi
30. Ruh Sađlıđı ve Eđitimde Psikologlar/Pedagoglar Grubu
31. Sanatçı Kadınlar Girişim Grubu
32. Sevgi Eđitim ve Kùltür Derneđi
33. Sonbahar Girişim Grubu
34. Sporcu Kadınlar Girişim Grubu
35. STK'lar Arası Koordinasyon Grubu
36. Şefkat Vakfi
37. Tarih Araştırma Vakfi
38. Uluslararası İletişimde Kadın Grubu
39. Yaşam Sevinci Grubu
40. Yoksul Aileye Destek Girişim Grubu