

CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL:
THE OBSERVED FEATURES OF NEW RURALITY IN RURAL AREAS

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THE OBSERVED FEATURES OF NEW RURALITY IN RURAL AREAS.**

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ABSTRACT

CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL: THE OBSERVED FEATURES OF NEW RURALITY IN RURAL AREAS:

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The new changes such as developments in transportation and communication technology, globalization of markets, intensification of flow of information, ideas and innovations since the 1980s have helped to increase the interaction between urban and rural and this process have had very important impact on the resemblance process of rural areas to urban areas with some characteristics, vice versa. Therefore the process have had an effect on the blurring strict distinction between urban and rural in worldwide.

The new rurality approach has been main approach in the thesis that has tried to explain the new features of rural areas. It has focused on what has been happening in rural areas and drawn attention to changes in rural areas which was previously ignored or overemphasized. The approach took five main changing features of rural areas as central focus which were non-farm activities, role of women, entrepreneurship, in-migration, division of labour and also urban-rural interaction. Therefore, the observed changes caused to draw attention to the question of is rural still the opposite of urban? In this respect, the effects of the increased relationships between urban and rural on rural areas in terms of getting new characteristics that new rurality approach explained were investigated by handling two case studies; Gedelek and Kuşçuali Villages in Turkey.

Key Words: new rurality, relationship between urban and rural, urban –rural features

ÖZ

KENT VE KIR ARASINDAKİ DEĞİŞEN İLİŞKİLER: KIRSAL ALANLARDA YENİ KIRSALLIĞIN GÖZLEMLENEN ÖZELLİKLERİ

ÖZDİREK, Sibel

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1980 den bu yana, özellikle ulaşım ve iletişim teknolojilerindeki gelişmeler, pazarların küreselleşmesi, bilgi, fikir akışının kolaylaşması gibi yenilikler, kent ve kır arasındaki etkileşimin artmasına yardımcı olarak, kırın kente bazı özellikleri ile benzeme sürecinde önemli bir role sahip olmuştur. Sonuç olarak da, kır-kent arasındaki keskin farklılıklar dünya genelinde azalmaya yüz tutmuştur.

Tezde, Yeni Kırsallık yaklaşımı ana teori olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu yaklaşım, kırsal alanların yeni özelliklerini açıklamaya çalışarak daha önce göz ardı edilmiş veya yeterli önem verilmemiş olan kırdaki meydana gelen değişimlere ilgiyi yöneltmiştir. Yeni Kırsallık, kırdaki değişmeye başlayan özellikleri; tarım-dışı aktiviteler, kadınların rolü, girişimcilik, iş bölümü, nüfus artışı olmak üzere beş ana başlık altında incelemiştir.

Bu bağlamda, kır- kent arasında artan ilişkilerin, kırdaki değişen özellikler (Yeni Kırsallık yaklaşımının ele aldığı beş ana başlık altında değerlendirilmiştir.) üzerindeki etkisi Türkiye’de Gedelek ve Kuşçuali Köyleri bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: yeni kırsallık, kır ve kent arasındaki ilişki, kent-kır özellikleri

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DAP	: Doğu Anadolu Projesi Ana Planı
DOKAD	: Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesel Gelişme Planı
EGM	: Expert Group Meeting
EU	: European Union
GAP	: Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GHM	: Headman of Gedelek
GNCB	: Native boy children in Gedelek
GNCG	: Native girl children in Gedelek
GNE	: Native entrepreneur in Gedelek
GNL	: Native man truck loader in Gedelek
GNNCB	: Non-native boy children in Gedelek
GNNCG	: Non-native girl children in Gedelek
GNNE	: Non-native entrepreneur in Gedelek
GNMW	: Native male worker in Gedelek
GNNMW	: Non-native male worker in Gedelek
GNNTP	: Non-native tin package producer in Gedelek
GNNWW	: Non-native women worker in Gedelek
GNWH	: Native housewife villager in Gedelek
GNWW	: Native women worker in Gedelek
GP	: General population census
IFRD	: International Research Foundation for Development
KHM	: Headman of Kuşçuali
KVM	: Man villager in Kuşçuali
KVW	: Woman villager in Kuşçuali
OECD	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RNFA	: Rural non-farm activities
RNFE	: Rural non-farm employment
SME	: Small-medium sized enterprises

SPO	: State Planning Organization
SWOT	: Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, Threats
TMO	: Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi
TÜİK	: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu
UFRD	: Urban Functions in Rural Development

CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

In traditional way of thinking, rural areas have been seen as the opposite units of the urban areas. They have been generally delineated as hopeless cases, stationary, inefficient and emigrant areas. However, it is not that simple any more. The rapid improvements in communication, transportation and information sector, growing interdependence of markets and economies, changes in consumer demand have obviously changed some of the rules of the game between rural and urban in social, cultural and economic contexts. Especially in developed countries, the traditional urban-rural distinction has gradually vanished, the economic, ecologic and social relationships of urban areas has reached into rural areas whereas rural areas increasingly capture activities that were traditionally found in an urban economy (Noronha Vaz et al, 2006:3).

Especially in the last three decades (after the 1980s), dimming of the strict differences between the rural and urban and assimilating urban characteristics by rural with their existent pastoral specialties (also urban get some characteristics of rural too but we will not examine it in this study) has been observed more obviously. So, the observed changed relations caused to the rethinking of rural areas as not hopeless cases, stationary, inefficient and emigrant areas.

In mentioned process, rural areas have new characteristics as urban has usually had; they can not be only seen as the natural home of traditional activities such as agriculture, husbandry, fishing etc. they include more than non-farm activities, become place of interest for SMEs and so entrepreneurs, attract population from some other rural areas, districts, urban areas and also export their produced goods. In

short, sometimes rurality has referred to extended urbanity (Noronha Vaz et al, 2006:3).

This turn that corresponds to the appearance of unique characteristics and a new direction of activities in a rural system has led to the emergence of a “new rurality” approach in literature. The approach of new rurality’s fundamental defining dimensions (the above declared new characteristics in rural) contribute to understand the changes in rural and relationship between urban and rural more clearly.

In Turkey, studies in rural areas and urban areas have been focused on migration from rural to urban and focused on which spatial units in urban areas have been preferred by the migrants from rural and also what kind of a social and economic structure they live in. In Turkey there has not been any intention to grab the transformation process in rural and the alternate relation between rural/urban in the light of occurring changes. Usually, urban areas and their problems are dealt with by different kinds of disciplines.

City and Regional Planning as a discipline that try to foresee spatial future of a country, should not only deal with urban areas of country but also it must concern all settlements of country (rural-urban) to give more rationalized planning decisions for spaces both rural and urban. As Ecevit (1999) mentioned, for understanding cities more clearly, it is better to give importance of the problems of rural areas are facing and the changes in rural areas. It is also beyond the changes only taking place in rural but also diversified complex relation between rural and urban has become important issue. At this point, the new rurality theory will be an instrument to explain resembling process of some rural features to urban features.

So, when looked at this respect, one of the aims of the thesis is; trying to understand the transformation process by highlighting some issues which were not emphasized or ignored in rural areas in the past. This thesis will try to explore what kind of new changes have been taking place in rural areas of world countries and less affected but also occurring in Turkey?

Also, making a contribution with the case studies to the literature which is limited in Turkey about the analysis of the new shift in rural areas in terms of “new rurality” is another aim of the thesis.

Due to the new changes have been taking place in rural areas since the last three decades, this study will try to disclose whether rural areas can be defined as their traditional perception or not and also whether there is a really resemblance process to urban areas or not. The study at the same time in the view of winners, aims at exploring the rural areas which take some features of urban areas (as new rurality approach also highlights) have more chances to survive in better living conditions in terms of income earning, employment, opportunities to access of health and education services, etc.

For better comprehending the answer of above mentioned questions, case studies one of which is Gedelek village in Bursa and Kuşçuali village in Ankara will be handled. Case studies will be examined in terms of what kind of differences observed between them to search whether a village with more urbanized characters has got more chance to survive?

However, there is no intention of generalizing the results of the study for all over the Turkey’s villages. It is also known that, the new developments caused to increase linkage between urban-rural has not always positive effects on rural areas especially in terms of environmental perspective that waste and pollution increases also cultural and regional of rural areas face to disappear. As, this side of the coin needs another extensive search, we will not explore side effects of linkages in the study.

1.2. Justification of the Study

There is a growing movement of people, goods, capital, ideas, innovation and information between urban and rural areas with the improvement in communication, transportation and information sector. These movements and other radical changes

(worldwide economical, political, cultural and demographical change) termed as globalization (an umbrella term) as a whole which have been on agenda since the 1980's, made urban-rural relation as highly differentiated and complex which were lineal and concentric before the 1980s. With the help of globalization which is one of the main reasons of increased linkage between urban and rural, these two units have become closer.

It is evident that there are both negative and positive features of urban/rural relation in the sense that for some rural areas; the some characteristics of urban areas can not be seized, on the other hand some other ones are successful to adopt this process. (In here we will not argue the effects of increased linkages on natural assets of rural areas) Therefore, the rural which has not kept up with the changes is called as very rural (Braun, 2007:5) and major rural-urban disparities continue at a very high speed so they can lose population and can become inefficient spaces while others successful to get some features that urban has already got them have a chance to survive as a dynamic living units. Also, as the Report on Urban-Rural Linkages (2007) explained that the strength of the linkages between urban and rural will decide the living conditions of people in both urban and rural areas and the rural areas' destiny.

In this study, we should search what kind of characteristics rural areas have started to capture from urban areas since mainly the 1980s with the help of increases linkages. We can conclude that there is a bidirectional way that, when the linkages between urban and rural rise with advantageous contribution of globalization (communication, transportation, etc...), rural takes the some features of urban and face a resemblance process to urban by having more chances to survive. Rural areas resemble to urban areas in terms of independence from agriculture, economic diversification, density of population, importance of entrepreneurship, role of women and heterogeneity. On the other hand the more rural resemble to urban, the more linkages between both rise. In here also it is argued that the resemblance process make a contribution to rural for survival in terms of income generation and employment opportunities. In general, loss of employment opportunities and so not

adequate income earning are seen as the main factors for not surviving¹ of rural areas.

As touched upon above, rural scenario has started to change. Hence, the nature of what constitutes rural and urban have been rethought. In this atmosphere rural scientist searched new concepts (new rurality) as a framework to analyze the transformations in rural by highlighting certain issues which other approaches have not emphasized obviously.

The term of new rurality is a very new concept that started to take its place in literature after the mid-1990s as 'Nueva Ruralidad'² (Kay, 2008:918). While this term is identified with home grown of Latin America, the studies such as "part-time farming", pluriactivity", "multifunctionality", "post-rural" in Europe can be seen as influential role in improvement of the term of new rurality. However, as Kay (2008:920) specified this term is an umbrella concept involving all other terms in Europe, used to refer to any changes in rural areas or any issues that had been insufficiently emphasized by previous studies.

The new rurality argued that the era reflects a significant departure from the past trend. These new trends caused to a shift in the quality of the relationship among fundamental defining dimensions in rural: dependence on agriculture, diversification of economy, division of labour, rural in-migration, role of women and importance given to entrepreneurship. The shift in rural is eased with the growing connectedness (and so relationship) between urban and rural.

In short, Kay (2008:937) explained new rurality made people open their eyes and minds to changes that had previously been overemphasized in rural areas. These all mentioned changing aspects in rural are important to be learnt for comprehending what is happening in rural areas .

¹ The term of survival is used as the population loss and inaccessible facilities such as health care, education. When a settlement lost its population mainly economically active populaion, it is nearly impossible to survive as a living units.

² Norma Giarracca is among the first to use the term new rurality.

1.3. Methodology of the Study:

As the starting point of the study is to search the changes taking place in rural, which have been ignored or have been insufficiently emphasized in previous works and to search the whether rural areas adapt to these changes (in a sense by increased linkages between urban/rural with the help of benefactions of globalization) have a chance for not encountering deterioration process and not having population loss (out-migration) but also in-migration or not, we examined firstly the rural areas in Turkey which have not lost population but also attract people to migrate there and its reasons.

Firstly, we tried to discover a rural area which reflects the some urban characteristics such as employment in non-farm activities, attracting population, less dependence on agriculture and having entrepreneurship spirit, the non-traditional role of women. Almost, all villages in Turkey which have increased their population, quality of life, employment rate, and social-cultural atmosphere, have achieved it by the help of investments performed by private companies. For example, establishment of textile factory in Beyşehir-Konya changed the structure of Durak village which famous with its high employment rate and attracting population in Konya. However, our aim was to find some rural areas which achieved the succes with its endogenous resources..

We made investigation on internet about successful villages that we can name them as winner villages not losers so we made some phone calls to the village's head men for learning what kind of changes occurring in their settled area. In our search, we found an internet news that titled "This village is defying to big companies" (<http://www.kigem.com/content.asp?bodyID=3799>) encouraged us to get detailed information about this village. We made a phone call to village's headman Osman Trak. He explained why this village was announced as the news title declared. This will be explained in Chapter 4 in detail. During our phone conservation, he was assertive that Gedelek village has never been lost population since 1950 and this gathered of speed especially after the mid-1980s. There are always job opportunities for people not concerning their age and gender. According to him, this had been

possible by having villagers that have entrepreneurship spirit and chance to be founded on fertile land. So, we got first impression that, this village was not loser but winner by discovering village's own potential. He declared also, Gedelek village has not only attracted people to work there but also industrialist from urban areas and this village can not be differentiated from an urban area. On the phone, Mr Trak concluded that he could help us to obtain information we need. This phone conversation made us feel great interest in this village and the friendly speech by Mr Trak encouraged us to make a research in there in a hospitality environment. We wondered this village absolutely carrying or not the features that the term of new rurality had brought

We thought that we should search a rural area that was not as lucky as Gedelek. For searching rural settlements which are not seen as a living formation any more, we made a site examination at Akburun and Bayındır village at Beyşehir Districts-Konya. It was observed that population is decreasing and rest of villagers tend to migrate the center of Beyşehir because of the increasing unemployment and decreasing income earning. The main reason was the environmental problem due to the drought of Beyşehir Lake and consequently the decrease of wet-lands. We did not choose these two villages as case studies because the main force behind the tendency was from the natural reasons.

While making a search we encountered by chance with Kuşçuali Village about that two studies performed in 1967 by Bahattin Akşit and in 1988 by Nurdan Atalay Ilgaz. We examined this village and found that there has been a decrease in its young active population since the 1980s. The previous surveys carried on Kuşçuali encouraged us to compare our current findings with the previous study on this village. The Kuşçuali being a typical village of Central Anatolia Region (This region is one of that faced a decrease in the ratio of rural households dealing with agriculture) , also attracted us to choose this village as another field study to search whether it is really a village tends to disappear or not and why? We also made a phone conversation with village's head man Erol Aslan, he was also so helpful as Osman Trak which is another reason to encourage us to choose Kuşçuali.

Therefore we decided to search on two villages; first Gedelek in Marmara Region and then Kuşçuali in Central Anatolia Region.

For Gedelek, before the visit to research sites, we got the census information from Turkish Statistic Institution since 1935 and information about small factories that established in and near Gedelek from Orhangazi Industrial and Trade Chambers. The data gave us the date of establishment of firms, its current situation, registered date and their addresses. Two visits have been made to Gedelek and also First visit was about five days in May 2010. The second was in October 2010 lasted two days. In these visits, we interviewed with headmen of Gedelek village (Osman Trak), pickle producers, workers, producer of packing, women, children and the Agricultural Cooperative to see the changes through his/her eyes by understanding his or her interpretations, perceptions, feelings and the motives underlying his/her actions.

As we did in Gedelek, before going to Kuşçuali we got the census information from Turkish Statistic Institution since 1935 and made a search from internet and also from the two previous studies One of the study with its comprehensive information which was a master thesis, submitted to METU in 1988 was the most important source for us to imagine the village in our mind before visiting there. Two daily visits were realized to Kuşçuali because it is about 60 km away from Ankara.

Yin (2003) classifies sources of data under six categories: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts. He concludes that since these sources all have their weaknesses and strengths, they should be combined in the most efficient and complementary way including as many types as possible.

During this research, we carried out two site visits for each village which played significant roles in framing of the questions of this study. Therefore, Gedelek village which shows the transformation process with that some new rurality concepts are monitored and other village which name is Kuşçuali the definitely opposite of Gedelek.

In the primary data collection process, we used the in-depth interviewing technique³ ranging from structured to semi-structured conversational interviews. In-depth interview was determined to be used in this study which is different than quantitative method in terms of qualitative method does not test a hypothesis but used in cases that are wanted to observe in their own language and on their own terms (Kirk and Miller, 1986:9) or no prior knowledge of mathematics or statistics can not be used or are not wanted to be used in the studies. The features of qualitative method are thought as meaningful for this study.

We also followed participant observation and taking of field notes techniques, reviews and analysis of existing and collected literature. In the data collection process first, the abstract research questions were converted the forms of in-depth interview questions which will be displayed in Chapter 4 in detail as a table illustrating some of the interview questions used in this thesis according to which research objectives and questions they addressed.

First contact in Gedelek village was realized in coffee house in the centre of village. The villagers and the owner of coffee house were very friendly and warm that gave some basic information about village, after first contact we met head man of village- Osman Trak who helped us our entire visit. He guided us that who could give us information in terms of our different area of research questions. He introduced us native and non-native villagers, the owners of firms, workers and the head man of other villages. In Kuşçuali, we first met headman of village, Erol Aslan. Kuşçuali as a first impression was the opposite of Gedelek with showing; out-migration, elderly population, unemployment problem, traditional lifestyle, less rural-urban interaction etc...

In total, twenty-three native villagers of Gedelek; (except headman of village) two of them are pickle producers (all male) the owner of registered firm, six workers at pickle firms (four female and two male), one employee in Agricultural Development Cooperative, three villagers (male) working at truck loading, four housewives, seven

³ In depth interviewing is a qualitative method for collecting data by asking questions in a semi-structured or formal conversation (İlhan,2009:22)

children (three female), also eighteen non-native people; one (male) of them the producer of tin package for pickle, nine workers at pickle firms (two male, seven female), three of them are pickle producers (all male) the owner of registered firm, five children (three male) were interviewed during the primary data collection process.

Table 1.1. Profile of interviewed native villagers.

	Adult	Children
Female	8 (37)*	3 (13)*
Male	8 (47)*	4 (14)*

* Average age of native interviewees

Table 1.2. Profile of interviewed non-native villagers.

	Adult	Children
Female	7(33)*	2(11)*
Male	6(42)*	3(12)*

* Average age of non- native interviewees

In the in-depth interviews, we tried to hold different age, gender and employee group as key actors, we took notes and also recorded the conversations on tape during the interviews.

In Kuşçuali, because of no-out migration the all population is locally-born people. We interviewed twenty-three people in Kuşçuali. Except headman of village, nine of them were adult male, six of them were adult female, four of them were female children, four were male children as seen Table 1.3.

Table 1.3. Profile of interviewed villagers.

	Adult	Children
Female	6(52)*	4(11)*
Male	9(58)*	4(11)*

* Average age of interviewees

By using participant observation technique, I also talked to several inhabitants and take notes to understand the changes occurring in village from their view point. I observed the environment and took photographs of Gedelek and Kuşçuali Village to see the different and common features than/with traditional villages where basic economic activity based on agriculture.

For gathering secondary data, archives (electronic or printed documents), newspapers, technical and official reports, books, documentaries and other materials were examined about the villages.

1.4. Content of the Study:

This thesis has been organized around three extensive chapters apart from Introduction and Conclusion (derived from linking new rurality concept with the findings in Gedelek and Kuşçuali Village). So the thesis is structured in five chapters. By the Introduction part of thesis, it is formulated the core of the thesis by clarifying points of departure in terms of aim, justification and methodology.

In the Conclusion and Further Remarks, a general evaluation on the findings of the local survey and global, national evidences will be realized.

Chapter 2 aims to define the new trends occurring in rural areas in terms of new rurality and its general features as a rural transformation process to identify its key

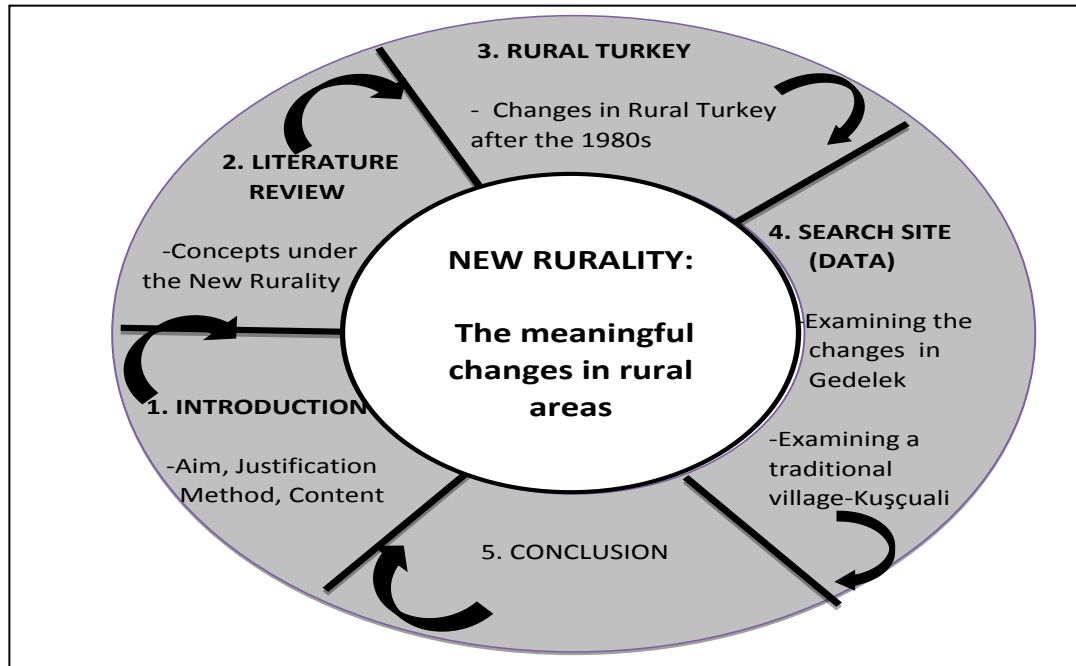


Figure 1.1. The content of the Thesis

Source: Personal rendering

principles and to explain the evolution of rural transformation strategies over the last three decades. That is, a brief literature review will be realized.

In Chapter 3, the focus will be on the changes occurring in Rural Turkey especially since the 1980s.

In Chapter 4, we will try to see, the new relations between rural and urban, role of women, the importance given to entrepreneurship, diversified economy, in-migration, decreasing role of agriculture, in a case study of Gedelek Village which are the concepts that new rurality has brought. Also another village-Kuşçuali which reflects the opposite features of Gedelek will be examined and also the attempt will be realized to show the villages which keep up with the changes are luckier than the other ones.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A review of literature pertinent to the main focuses of the present study is attempted with a view of enriching our own perception of the theme. Seeing the theme of the study is structured on the changing relationship in relation (with the advantageous of globalization process has brought) between urban- rural, and the changing characteristics (lots of them are available in urban) in rural that brought by the new rurality concept, this chapter will be divided into two section. The first will introduce literature about changing urban-rural relation that globalization process has assisted. The second one will try to review the related literature with particular attention to the main elements of the new rurality, as a concept. These two will become a preparing base for the next chapter that will focus on the customized picture of the concept for Turkey.

2.1. Changing relationship between urban-rural with help of advantageous of Globalization process:

With the recent observations performed in urban and rural areas; “The air of the cities makes people free” a medieval saying has transformed to “the rural world is more associated with freedom than the cities” (Favareto, 2006:1). The changes in the meaning of sayings in a way reflect the changed perception of rural and urban characteristics in peoples’ mind.

Urban and rural both have had distinctive characteristics (in demography, employment, education, political views, service-information accessibility), although the high interdependence of urban and rural as they have presented peculiar

specializations which complement each other as the countryside produced agricultural goods, wood, etc. while city served as the marketplace for these produced goods and also offered services due to its centrality.

Although, urban areas and the surrounding rural areas have always been interrelated in many ways, the type of this relationship between them is changing both in developing and developed countries all over the world. Nearly three decades ago, the rural-urban linkage was weak. One of the main reasons was that transportation and communication network were not neatly established and most of the rural inhabitants were living in isolated conditions closed to any influence coming from urban areas particularly in developing countries. However, the situation has changed over time which is mostly with the help of advantageous of globalization process. In the globalization process, it can be experienced on a level of everyday life that, there are rural users of urban services, or consumers of urban products, and there are urban consumers of rural produce and services. In other words, greater access to information technology, better roads, improved education and changing economic conditions help the linkage between urban-rural to increase. That is; not affecting all localities in the same way, globalisation, has tended to reinforce linkage between urban and rural more transparent, powerful, tight. Eventually because of the changing type of linkages, distinctions between them has tended to decrease.

With the works performed by Rondinelli, relatively complete classification of linkages (Table 2.1.), is produced. Table 2.1. shows seven types of rural-urban linkages, with a large number of 'elements'. This classification was used in the 'Urban Functions in Rural Development' (UFRD) approach. Some of these types and elements are straightforward, such as physical and economic linkages as well as service delivery linkages. However, transport links and transport services, production linkages, and service delivery facilities are not very clearly defined in terms of causality, (Report of Workshop on Poverty Alleviation Through Rural-Urban Linkages, 2002: 17).

The elements that Table 2.1. summarizes, increasing the movement of people, goods and services, waste and pollution also of course ideas, information, innovation, -i.e. seven linkages that Table 2.1. displays- the linkages helping to the blurring the boundaries between urban and rural areas. Boundaries tend to disappear means for some that the traditional urban-rural divide is gradually vanishing, the economic, ecologic and social relationships of urban areas reaches into rural areas whereas rural areas increasingly feature activities that were traditionally found in an urban economy (Noronha Vaz et al, 2006:3). Therefore, the idea that there is a huge gap between rural and urban is being challenged by the increasing interaction

In Western countries, it is possible to find a literature about the integration between urban-rural and its reflection on both spatial and social. This integration is shaped around the view of “The World is Flat” by Friedman (2005) explaining the globalization which shows no spatial advantage and distinction has taken place in world anymore due to development of communication technologies such as internet, cellular phone. Apart from communication technologies; developments in transportation technologies have also the diminishing effect in terms of reducing the distinctions among spatial units

Also, some authors -apart from those figured that the more distinction among spatial units is reduced and at last, strong linkages appear between urban-rural, the more the living conditions and employment opportunities can be improved for both some rural and urban populations (Tacoli, 1998, 2003; Rosenthal, 2000)- have thought that depending on the nature and intensity of the relationship between urban and rural areas, the livelihoods of the some rural areas can be also negatively affected. According to Dávila (2002:44), some rural residents may find it hard to adapt to rapid change and will encounter some problems, whilst others may be quicker to take advantage of opportunities arising. At this point the question of the main aim of the study asks, emerges that; are the ones, take advantage of opportunities quickly because of stronger linkages to urban areas, better off than those that are not well linked?

As the Report of Workshop on Poverty Alleviation Through Rural-Urban Linkages (2002) stated, the answer to this question is not so clear, as every type of rural-urban linkage can have positive and negative impacts and may create both opportunities and also the problems, affecting the urban or rural in different ways. The studies, such as performed in Nigeria (Oluwasola, Idowu, and Osuntogun, 2008), in Mekong Region (Kammeirer, 2004), in Mozambique (Kyrou, Nuñez and Sumich, 2008), generally focus on the positive effect of improved urban-rural linkages to accelerate inclusive growth to expand employment, and to serve both the poor in rural areas and in urban areas.

Some studies and projects such as Dávila (2002), RURBAN Project (2002-2005) stressed also negative impacts (besides positive impacts) of intensive rural-urban linkage on rural poor who have not been able to adapt this process. According to Dávila, urban growth is inevitable especially for the developing world under the changes of globalization. Urban sprawl (referring to a complex pattern of land use, transportation, and social and economic development associated with extension of cities into rural areas) due to urban growth has created a visible effect on land at countryside. People in Europe or in some developing part of the world since globalization, living in urban areas started to own cheaper and roomier houses in rural areas for their accommodation needs, or for the holidays which has degraded the rural character. Project of Rurban showed this type of urban pressure on the countryside in Europe in some case studies such as; France, Finland, Spain, Hungary and the Netherlands. As, the urban extended to rural and so flow between rural and urban appeared, Report explained the negative impacts of this pressure on rural settlements by pointing groundwater pollution, air pollution, ecological degradation and also the effect on farmers who searched to expand their holdings but they faced economically difficulties to find suitable land as a result of inflated land prices and so they are exposed not to expand their holdings as they intended so they are deprived from more earnings and they may disappear under the pressure of urban. Also, as Davila expressed, this processes involved a conversion from traditionally rural to urban uses (or at least increased pressure to convert), and increased commercialisation of land and departure of customary uses of land. Another example

given by Davila is Kumasi, Ghana's second largest city in which changes of land use

Table 2.1. Major urban-rural linkages

Type of linkage	Elements
1. Physical Linkages (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Roads ▪ Railways ▪ Airways ▪ Waterways
2. Economic Linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Market Patterns ▪ Flows of Raw Materials and Intermediate Goods ▪ Production Linkages ▪ Consumption and Shopping Patterns ▪ Income and Capital Flows ▪ Sectoral and Interregional Commodity Flows ▪ "Cross Linkages"
3. Population Movement Linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Migration Patterns ▪ Commuting to Work
4. Technological Linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Technology Interdependencies ▪ Irrigation Systems ▪ Telecom Systems
5. Social Interaction Linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting Patterns ▪ Kinship Patterns ▪ Rites, Rituals and Religious Activities ▪ Social Group Interaction
6. Service Delivery Linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Energy Flows and Networks ▪ Credit and Financial Networks ▪ Education, Training and Extension Linkages ▪ Health Service Delivery Systems ▪ Professional, Commercial and Technical Service Patterns ▪ Transport Service Systems
7. Political, Administrative, and Organizational Linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Structural Relationships ▪ Government Budgetary Flows ▪ Organizational Interdependencies ▪ Authority-Approval-Supervision Patterns ▪ Inter-jurisdictional Transaction Patterns ▪ Informal Political Decision Chains

Source: Rondinelli, 1985

have been particularly destructive to older women who find it harder to adapt to them. Also Maxwell (1998) and Gough (1999) showed that in Accra the capital city of Ghana, 2,600 hectares per year in the late 1990s were converted to urban uses. Land was owned by relatively well-to-do, middle-aged men for residential use, while the people who sold their lands were elderly household heads with lower educational and wealth status, a third of whom were women. These women were neither compensated for the loss of usufruct rights nor for the loss of livelihoods in farming. So, some displaced farmers moved out to ever distant locations to cultivate, while others worked locally as casual labourers, informal traders, in construction or migrated to other cities. They are obviously loser side of the great linkage of rural and urban.

The other negative impact -stated by Dávila- of high rural-urban linkage is depletion of natural resources. Globalization by making distances die, threatens the natural resources of rural. Growing urban area needs an increasing supply of natural resources for their production and consumption, which are more easily brought in from rural areas, compared to past. They deplete natural resources such as forests, agriculture land, water, air, recreation areas etc...As known, rural is more heavily dependent on access to natural resources for their livelihoods than urban. So, the rural people are often worse affected when such resources are lost or degraded.

Therefore, the linkages between urban-rural have had stronger than past. Despite this closer relationship, the rural and urban divide did not disappear completely and this is marked obviously in terms of income, quality of life, poverty line.

As the rural areas take the some characteristics of urban areas, the urban areas also take some features of rural areas with the increased linkages. In literature the increased attention also has been paid to concept of re-urbanity (urbanising the rural and ruralising the urban). This new concept is not a part of our thesis involved, so the next part will explain the new rurality in detail.

2.2. New Rurality:

Tighter linkages between urban and rural areas as one result of rapid changes that globalization brought, as stated, have confronted rural areas with some obvious threats but also with significant opportunities. In the rural areas which are able to take opportunities because of having more adaptation capacity of this process, some characteristics of urban areas can be observed more easily in rural areas and this makes people force to think rural areas in different view than traditional one.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, we will try to examine new characteristics of rural- which started to be used as a framework to analyse the transformations of globalization clearly. A new umbrella concept, for referring any new improvements in rural areas or any situations that had previously been neglected or inadequately declared in previous works, would capture the changes more obviously, emerged. This was named as “New Rurality”

However, the literature on new rurality is very limited. It is known that, it has been used in literature for last two decades. Its home grown is Latin America. As Kay (2008:917) mentioned, new rurality emerged in Latin America as a new approach to rural development studies that Latin American Governments used this term as a tool for their rural development projects by hoping to get financial resources from international community. Also, as Janvry and Sadoulet (2007) mentioned, persistence of rural poverty and rising inequality in the distribution of incomes, called upon exploring alternative approach -named as new rurality- to rural development that may give greater chances to rural areas for success.

As Kay (2004:918) defined, from the mid-1990s, studies focused on Nueva Ruralidad” or “New Rurality” in Latin America. When the literature reviewed, it was observed that some European studies before Latin America, used some terms but not definitely “new rurality” to describe transformations occurred in rural areas. However the studies that used these terms such as; farm diversification, part-time farming,

pluriactivity and multifunctionality were not able to describe the changes occurred in rural areas as the new rurality does (Kay, 2004)

Below, these old perspectives are explained shortly;

i) Farm diversification: The decreased incomes in agriculture due to the significant challenges that agriculture faced, made rural scientist to find a new approach. Farm diversification was frequently recommended as one approach to business survival which was defined in detail by Damianos and Skuras (1996) as it was development of different economic activities using the all resources of farm (land, capital, labour, buildings, etc.). These alternative activities may be agriculturally based (related diversification), or non-agriculturally based (unrelated diversification) (Garnevskas, Edwards, Vaughan, 2006: 2). According to Hake (1971) the aim of farm diversifications as to reduce the dependence of the farm on a single market, product or customer; achieve higher returns on investment; ensure future growth and to avoid strong competition (Garnevskas, Edwards, Vaughan, 2006: 3).

ii) Part-time farming : As Kay (2008:919) mentioned the term of part-time farming (in the 1960s-1970s) in Europe was referred farmers getting the additional income from other non-agricultural activities. Its principal conclusion is that multiple job holding farm families are an important positive factor in many aspects of the rural development. For Gasson, part time farming meant that, the combination of farming with other paid works and with the help of it, farm family household can raise additional income and survive in business. Farms on which the activity occurs were called as part-time farms, the peasants involved as part-time farmers, families or households. In short, the term has been used to refer to the practice of working less than the standard time (i.e. hours per week) associated with a particular job or occupation (Lund,2007). This definition can be seen as an influence on the concept of new rurality.

iii) Pluriactivity: The term pluriactivity started to be used in Europe in the 1980s for describing the increasing diversification of farmers' activities, specially the non-agricultural such as handicrafts, rural tourism. The interrelationships between farm

diversification (capital and land) and part time farming (labour) led to a need for more integrated approach in which alternative sources of income for farm family households were searched. According to MacKinnon (1991), this term emerged for describing the phenomenon of farming integration with another gainful activity whether on/off farm (Evans and Ilbery 1993:949). The old two terms part-time farming and farm diversification are included by wider term of pluriactivity. This concept has been more advantageous that it included a view that agriculture is not necessarily basic activity for employing household labour or generating business income and so it paid more attention to the ways in which different policies apart from agricultural policies had to be implemented.

iv) Multifunctionality: Multifunctionality of agriculture is based on that agriculture is not only food and fibre production but its ecological and social dimensions must be considered in details. This concept is firstly came into agenda in Rio Conference in 1992. The multifunctionality differed from other approaches in that it takes interrelations between several functions. As agricultural systems analysis had previously partly considered the links between functions, multifunctionality places these interrelations centre-stage (Cairol, Coudel, Knickel, Caron, Kröger, 2009:275)

While these above mentioned four approaches emerged to find some ways for increasing income of peasants, new rurality is a richer and broader term that include some phenomena not covered by the other terms.

Also, Favareto (2006:10) declared that there are three fundamental theoretical implications emerging from the new rurality. Firstly, it includes some changes and the ways in which they are connected. Here the most important feature is the change in agricultural processes. Favareto describes this as there is a shift from the structuring role of agrarian processes to territorial processes. This shift according to him is a new environmental rooting of rurality for demographic profile, local social stratification. Secondly, this process is not homogenous with a multifaceted character that there is a try to integrate with dynamic markets, new social practices and forms on the one side and there is an economic stagnation and social degradation on the other. This multifaceted character declares so the multiple ways in which rurality can

be constructed. Third implication for Favareto is that both the new ways assumed by rural phenomena and their heterogenic features can only be understood adequately by adopting an approach that relates these processes to concrete agents – in other words, social practices.

Shortly, the term of new rurality has been seen as the source of a new approach to rural development since the mid 1990s by trying to look at the neglected topics by previous works taking place in rural areas. One of contributions of new rurality is to search a framework going beyond the sole agricultural activities in rural economy. New ruralists showed obviously that peasants can involve in different activities such as agricultural also non-agricultural and on/off farm. Therefore, this causes peasants to integrate into a variety of markets and becoming linkages between rural and urban tighter and tighter (Kay,2008:922). Secondly, new rurality is thought as a tool for rural development in terms of some normative goals such as decreasing the rural-urban divide, gender equity, achievement of poverty reduction

We can conclude that there is a vicious circle around urban and rural from globalization process to new rurality approach. Figure 2.1. shows this situation.

Some characteristics that usually all urban areas have started to be observed in rural areas. These characteristics which are the aspects of major transformations within the context of new rurality can be summarized in the next parts as non-farm activities, role of women, division of labour, rural in-migration and rural entrepreneurship.

2.2.1. Rural Non-Farm Activities:

There has been a shift from the structuring role of agrarian processes (dependence of agriculture) to intersectorial and regional processes since the 1980s (Favareto, 2006:2). Regional specialists on the new 'rurality' agree that there are growing levels of heterogeneity in rural areas and there are accelerated dynamics found in agrarian processes (Giarraca, 2001:11). Agricultural production has been seen as the engine

and the main element of development in the rural areas for long periods while in new rurality concept, growing idea is that rural does not only mean agriculture and agriculture is more dependent on rural than the rural economy's dependence on agriculture. For example when examined U.S of today, it is observed that only 1 percent of the total U.S. population resides on farms and less than 2 percent of employment is in farming. The majority of farms rely heavily on off-farm income (89.2 percent of household income) (Fluharty, 2008: 13).

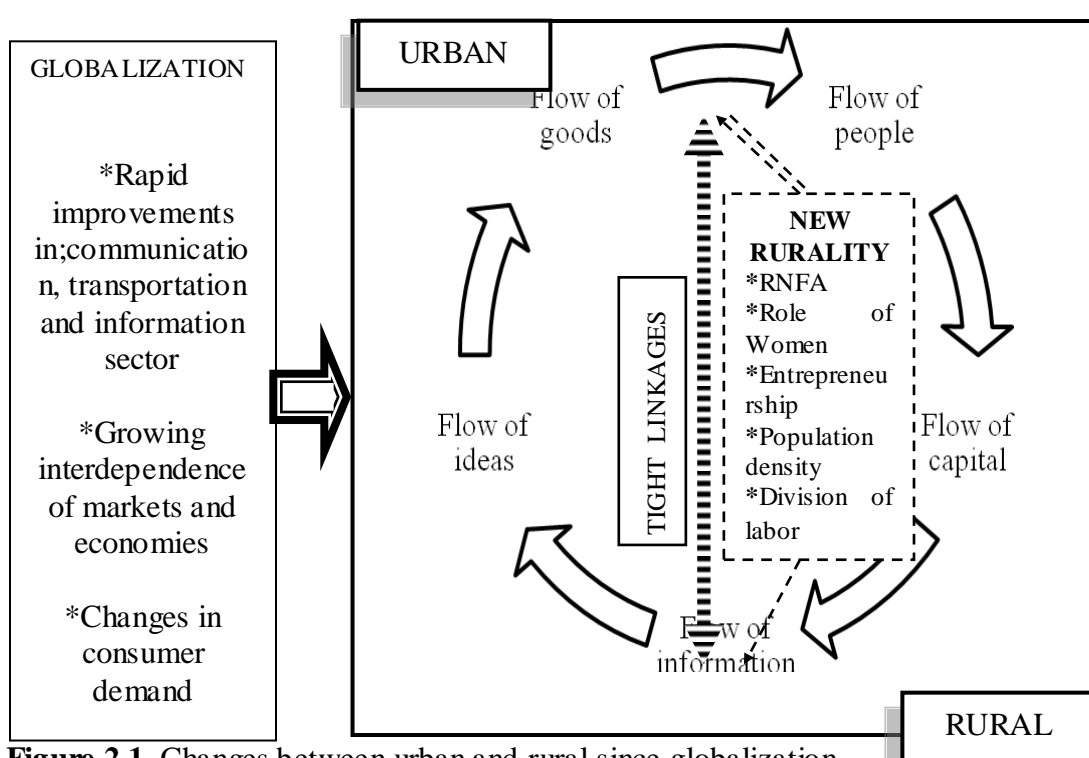


Figure 2.1. Changes between urban and rural since globalization.

Source: Personal rendering

In the new rurality approach as Kay contented new ruralists⁴ especially in Latin America also have focused the importance of non-agricultural employment and non-agricultural incomes in the livelihood strategies of peasants and agricultural workers and also increasing multiplicity of livelihood activities and part-time activities. With the globalization, neo-liberal policies and their consequences of increased market

⁴ This term is referred by Cristobal Kay in his article named "Reflections on Latin American Studies in the Neoliberal Globalization Period: A New Rurality"

integration, most rural households started not to support themselves exclusively on land based activities (EGM, 2001:15).

Therefore, rural non-farm activities (RNFA) have become increasingly crucial in terms of employment and income for rural dwellers in the world especially in developing world. RNFA is meant that activities out of agriculture or forestry or fisheries. These activities are usually confused with off-farm activities. The distinction is; off-farm activities refer to activities performed away from the household's own farm and according to some authors it is used to refer agricultural labouring on someone else's land (Gordon, Craig, 2001: 4)

Before the 1990s the common view was that rural non farm employment (RNFE) emerged from RNFA had been nonproductive and goods-services produced by it had been also low quality. However after the 1990s, ideas have started to change as RNFA is an important source of both growth and welfare and is now thought to be more dynamic and important than previously believed. According to Kay (2008:924), some of rural non-farm activities have a greater dynamism, are more productive and generate higher incomes than agricultural activities, so their crucial role continues to grow in terms of employment and incomes compared to agricultural activities.

Available studies have showed that agricultural growth and distress diversification play a major role in increasing RNFE. That is, the literature reveals that the RNFE has been depending on two factors. First is the growth-related factors. For growth-related factors, agricultural development is important. According this factor, when a demand occurs for non-farm goods and services in rural areas, it depends on the backward and forward linkages. For backward linkage, the RNF Sector has with the processing sector and for forward linkage; creation a demand for inputs such as fertilisers, rapid agricultural growth would have a direct impact on RNFA.

Second one for the shift to non-agricultural activities can also be attributed to poverty-related factors (unemployment, low agricultural wages).Unable to obtain

productive employment in agriculture all the year, the rural poor seem to be engaged in RNFA. This phenomenon is called 'distress diversification. This occurs especially when underemployment in agriculture is high and the NFS acts as a sponge for the excess labour. Therefore, these two factors have a significant role in generating RNFE (*Gopalappa, 2004:744*)

Creating RNFA and RNFE has been also on agenda of government policies. The truth is that, in many rural areas, because agriculture alone cannot provide sufficient livelihood opportunities, migration can be seen as an option for some rural dwellers but it is not an option for everyone so policy makers have started to take some precautions to limit the worst excesses of urbanization with its associated social and environmental problems. Generally, keeping people down on the rural areas is widely regarded less costly when compared with creating job opportunities and providing convenient facilities and services in urban areas (*Ayalp, 2007:65*). At this point, RNFA and so employment is used to lower unemployment and slow rural-urban migration.

According to Gordon and Craig (2001:7) RNFA may:

- absorb surplus labour in rural areas;
- help farm-based households spread risks;
- offer more remunerative activities to supplement or replace agricultural income;
- offer income potential during the agricultural off-season;
- provide a means to cope or survive when farming fails.

In conclusion, RNFAs are very important for generating income for rural areas. The importance has not occurred suddenly and a transformation process has taken time. Three distinct stages of RNFA sector transformation is argued by Reardon (Gordon, Craig, 2001: 9) The first stage is characterized as, RNFA is still tightly linked to agriculture and agriculture employs large amount of population. During the second stage, rural-urban linkages becomes stronger, some tendencies occurs towards commuting, some rapid growth in agro-industrialization is realized and still encompasses all scales of activity; in the third stage the tendencies occurred in

second stages becomes stronger, much greater emphasis on rural-urban linkages, substantial employment in sectors completely unrelated to agriculture. This process resembles the cycle between city and country side from globalization to new rurality.

Ellis argues that opportunities for diversification (farm/non-farm activities) are desirable overall policy objectives for giving individuals and households more capabilities to improve livelihood security and to raise living standards. This review has focused on individual or household capacity to engage in RNFE (Gordon, Craig, 2001: 42).

2.2.2. Role of women:

The situation of rural women were argued in so many documents and conferences such as Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (1985), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) and General Assembly. In these documents, the emphasis was centered on the need for their equal access to land, capital, technology, education, health services and employment (EGM, 2001:4). Really, these documents were right to put emphasis on these subjects because the most crucial problems facing rural women in general are: unemployment, low incomes, the heavy workload both in paid employment and at home, lack of free time and inequality in free time compared to men, low level of education, low accessibility to health services (Fidanska, 2009:7).

Changes in wide range of areas (trade liberalization, greater mobility of capital and increased financial flows, changes in labour demand, changes in labour markets-flexibilization, diffusion of information and technology, rapid diffusion of products and consumption pattern, commercialization of agriculture) attracted attention to the studies of the critical role of women in agricultural activities and other non-farm activities in rural. In some of the studies, the impact of changes come after the 1980s are thought as affecting women's lives especially in economic context.

With the globalization, rural women have encountered new opportunities as well as new limitations and negative impacts. Creation of different types of non-farm activities with the changes in rural transformation process, have been an opportunity for rural women for their employment. Also, employing female labour has become more attractive, within the process of economic environment in the era of globalization (flexibilization of work and market liberalization), because they can be hired for low pay and work under less desirable working conditions compared with men. This is both an opportunity and also a negative impact. So, more poor rural women can find temporary and sometimes more permanent jobs. This means female share of employment (feminization) increases worldwide due to movement of female labour from subsistence sector in rural areas to paid economy (EGM Report, 2001: 24).

The women, who have had to work to earn money, have usually worked in informal sector as the globalizing economies moved to more advanced forms of specialization requiring skilled labour, this has appeared as a threat for women due to low level of education level (EGM Report, 2001).

Also, except from economic development of women as the report of European Commission (2000) indicated, characteristics of women in rural areas are changing today; the unskilled, uneducated, old characteristics of women in many European countries have a tendency to totally disappear like in some of developing countries. With the involving in more paid economy, women started to gain greater decision making power. This means that, women from their passive role in male dominated households are embarking to gain more speech in decision-making process.

Also, how household is vulnerable to changes, determines whether it is necessary for a woman to work or not for earning money in rural of developing word . In other words, with the rapid changes especially in economic conditions, majority of rural households have diversified their sources of livelihood as a survival or an accumulation strategy. In this situation, the rural housholds who have more chances to survive have been the ones with diverse sources of livelihood and so the ones who

have had predictable and regular cash earnings. The women of such household often do not have to work outside the home. However, the women in a household which may face economic downturn, due to not adopting the rapid changes, perform various tasks in domestic works, household production as well as generate income cash through employment mainly in the informal sector (EGM, 2001: 15).

Therefore, globalisation can be seen as a double edged process as far as rural women are concerned.

2.2.3. Rural entrepreneurship

The meaning of entrepreneurship have been tried to be defined in a significant amount of researches. This term is found as an elusive concept that is easy to discuss, difficult to describe, and even harder to define.

In the evolution of the concept can be traced back to Richard Cantillon. During the 18th century, Cantillon defined three classes of economic agents: a) landowners (capitalists) who are financially independent b) entrepreneurs who engage in market exchanges at their own risk in order to make a profit and c) wage workers who take part actively in the decision making process. After the publication of Cantillon's work (1755), there has been so many works in literature exploring the function and attributes of the entrepreneurship. Hebert and Link (1988) give an impressive review of the different roles the entrepreneur was given during the last 200 years. They identified 12 main roles (Table 2.2.) that incorporate the majority of the mentioned definitions.

Hoy also (1983) made a general definition of entrepreneur⁵ which is more acceptable as "someone who is independent, risk-taking, achievement-oriented, self-confident, optimistic, hard working and innovative" (Stathopoulou, Psaltopoulos, Skuras, 2004:412). While defining this term, he also stressed the fact that entrepreneurship in

⁵ We will use, the term of **entrepreneur** in this thesis as Hoy described in 1983.

a rural context is focused on creating new employment opportunities in rural areas, via the generation of new ventures.

Especially before the 1980s, there was a general thought that rural communities were the units to supply goods and services for farmers and to collect farm surplus for export to other communities. However in recent years, because agriculture in rural areas has started not to be concerned as main economic activity for generating employment and income, it is increasingly believed that most of the new jobs in rural areas are going to be generated from new and existing small firms so entrepreneurs. North and Smallbone (1996) demonstrated rural firms showed a superior employment performance than urban firms. They have also a significant effect on rural economy in terms of diversification and multifunctionality of agriculture as well as their employment performance (Gülümser, Baycan, Nijkamp, 2007: 4).

Entrepreneurs in rural environment especially in European Union and the USA, in response to today's global economy, are focused by economists and rural policy makers as rural development strategies. They suggested that the establishment of more entrepreneurship-centered economic development can make economically disadvantaged communities reverse stagnant economic conditions by creating wealth and jobs through locally owned businesses (Thomas, 2004: 7).

Today, economic development policies generally tend to encourage employment growth and this in rural areas is related to entrepreneurship dynamism in many countries especially in Europe (Gülümser, Baycan, Nijkamp, 2007: 3) Therefore, there is growing importance attached to rural entrepreneurship as a policy concept in European Union. In other words, entrepreneurship in rural has increasingly been held out as an alternative to traditional economic development strategies and policies. As Gülümser, Baycan and Nijkamp (2007:4) cited that current studies depend on more modern and vague views of rurality which is seen as an innovative and dynamic entrepreneurial resource which rural enterprises may flourish and prosper, or become inhibited.

While defining entrepreneurship especially rural form, the and medium size enterprises (SMEs) should not be overemphasized. As Wennekers and Thurik(1999) declare: ‘Small firms are the vehicle in which entrepreneurship thrives’, special importance are being paid to SMEs in transition countries for a number of reasons. Firstly, they can provide economic benefits beyond the boundary of the individual enterprise in terms of experimentation, learning and adaptability characteristics which are especially crucial in economies undergoing radical transformation. Secondly, in most transition countries, the SME sector was largely neglected in the early transition period and emphasis was put on the rapid privatization of large scale enterprises and not the development of the SME sector. This has resulted in less attention being paid to the needs of SME development. Additionally, research in transition countries demonstrate, that even if SMEs do not generate net new jobs, they reduce the erosion of human capital by providing alternative employment opportunities for relatively skilled yet unemployed workers. Although it is often argued that SME development is especially important for the early phases of transition, it is, in fact, as important for the advanced stages of post-transition. So, governments especially in transition countries, introduced some policies aiming to foster entrepreneurship through SME development in rural areas. (Welter, 2005:5)

As mentioned, entrepreneurship is perceived income and employment generator for rural areas. However we can see some barriers in front of entrepreneurship trying to be created in rural as;

- Declining agricultural income
- A culture not supportive of entrepreneurship
- Difficulty in obtaining sufficient capital
- Lack of other entrepreneurs and networks
- Absence of industry clusters
- Difficulty in obtaining skilled labor (Drewitz, 2009:2)

Table 2.2. The Different Roles of the Entrepreneur

Roles of entrepreneur	Economists
1. The entrepreneur is the person who assumes the risk associated with uncertainty	Cantillon, Thunen, Mill, Hawley, Knight, Mises, Cole, Shackle).
2. The entrepreneur is an innovator	Baudeau, Bentham, Thunen, Schmoller, Sombart, Weber, Schumpeter
3. The entrepreneur is an industrial leader	Say, Sain-Simon, Amasa Walker, Francis Walker, Marshall, Wieser,, Sombart, Weber, Schumpeter
4. The entrepreneur is an organiser and coordinator of economic resources	Say, Walras, Wieser, Schmoller, Sombart, Weber, Clark, Davenport, Schumpeter, Coase)
5. The entrepreneur is an employer of factors of production	Amasa Walker, Francis Walker, Wieser, Keynes
6. The entrepreneur is an arbitrageur	Cantillon, Walras, Kirzner
7. The entrepreneur is the person who supplies financial capital	Smith, Turgot, Pigou, Mises
8. The entrepreneur is a decision-maker	Cantillon, Menger, Marshall, Wieser, Amasa Walker, Francis Walker, Keynes, Mises, Shackle, Cole, Shultz
9. The entrepreneur is a manager or super-intendent	Say, Mill, Marshall, Menger
10. The entrepreneur is the owner of the enterprise	Quesnay, Wieser, Pigou, Hawley
11. The entrepreneur is a contractor	Bentham
12. The entrepreneur is an allocator of resources among alternative uses	Cantillon, Kirzner, Schultz

Source: Skuras and Stathopoulou (2000:13)

Besides the above mentioned barriers, according to Kalantaridis and Bikab (2006:113), the most important impacts of rural on entrepreneurship, -which can be concluded as barriers for some regions or chance for other- are size of the markets and distance as Figure 2.2. identifies.

In rural areas, as far as markets for factors of production are concerned, the subtitle of labour appears. Supplying of labour is relatively modest and on the other hand,

labours' educational level is also lower than the national average levels of educational attainment which provides entrepreneur to have workers as relatively cheaper. The other subtitle under market conditions is the availability of lower cost of land than in the main agglomerations. Another consequence of rural setting regarding factor markets depends on how the market is small to create a local knowledge infrastructure. If the market is small, low level of knowledge infrastructure is usually realized. Therefore, the situation can make entrepreneurial economic agents face difficulties because it is not easy for them to be articulated to the process of technological innovation. Also, regarding rural areas, market potential, which denotes the volume of goods sold per unit of landmass, is very low that some ventures having more dynamic and entrepreneurial spirit may soon cross the local market borders and may expand nationally or internationally (Kalantaridis, Bikab, 2006:114).

When distance is concerned, its direct effect is an increase in the cost of transportation and a reduction in the frequency of supply deliveries. Other outcome of distance is slow and more expensive communications. Also, the spread of information may be more difficult between urban and rural settlements than within urban settlements. While information flows between the city and the rural may be costly, internal communication may be achieved through informal personalized relationships (Kalantaridis, Bikab, 2006:114).

The studies about the impact of entrepreneurship activities in rural areas in terms of economic improvements is very limited. The main reason is the lack of data on entrepreneurial activity especially in developing world.

2.2.4. Rural in-migration

Rapid change in the international economy, changed trade patterns for commodities, after the 1980s have encountered rural areas with a threat that some rural areas which can not accord with these rapid changes can be either in a position that they can not also supply their own food production for existence. Therefore they (poor rural

people) who are unable to survive on subsistence production, will opt to leave the rural areas and migrate to urban areas. These will be called as loser (Rauch, 2009:10).

During the last several decades, there has been a significant increase in rural outmigration to urban areas and to other countries. Wide disparities in terms of job and income opportunities, and access to services and infrastructure in urban areas are the obvious factors explaining the rapid increase in migration. And unfortunately, outmigration is seen by most households in rural areas as a survival strategy rather than an accumulation strategy. In other words, migration has been occurring as a response to economic as well as social, cultural, environmental and political factors and effects on origin and destination areas.

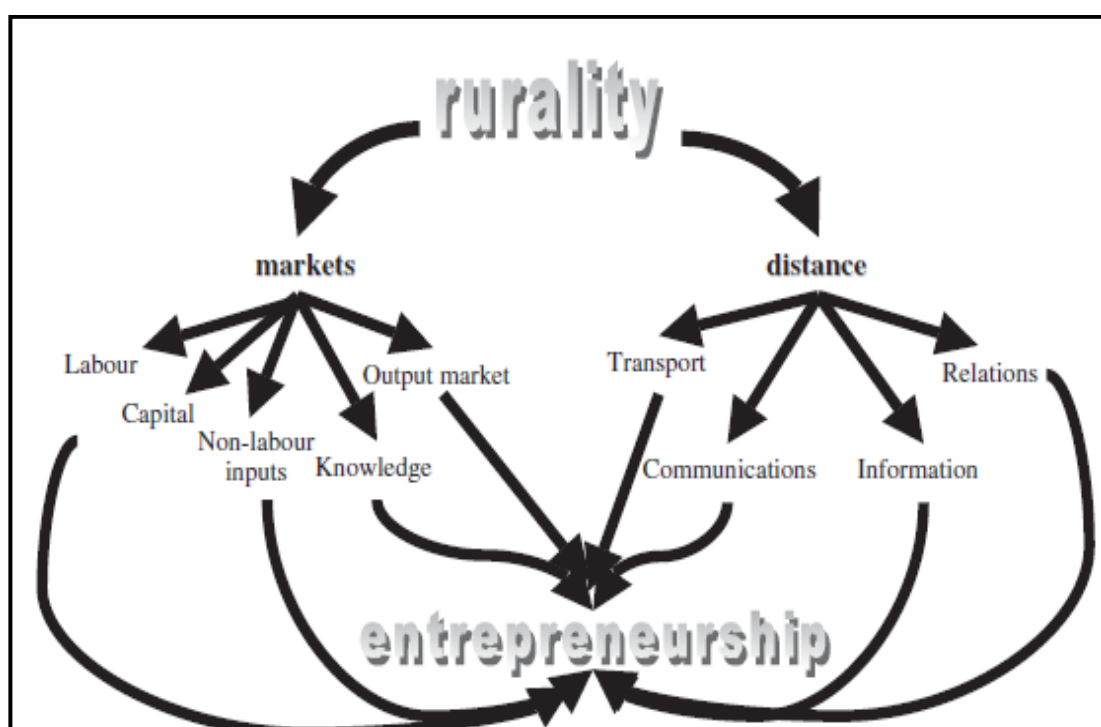


Figure 2.2. The impact of rurality on entrepreneurship

Source: Kalantaridis and Bikab, 2006:113

There were some speech by authors such as “Cities of Peasants” and ‘the Countryside in the City’ because of migration from rural areas to urban areas. However, in recent years situation has differed than in the past and there has been a mutual migration between rural and urban. Today, not only do peasants move to

cities, but urban inhabitants move to successful rural areas which adopt the changes more easily (Kay, 2008:926).

This means, in-migration⁶ can be observed in the last decades and has become one of the most important modes of migration to which researchers have not paid much attention until recently. Migration from urban to rural areas has become an area of emerging interest for researchers. With the transportation and communication improvements which made rural areas feel closer to urban areas, entrepreneurship activities oriented, non-farm activities and diversified activities in rural areas started to attract population. As the attraction of population to rural areas, new divide within rural localities has been realized such as old and new inhabitants.

These new inhabitants can make a positive contribution in the creation of new ventures in rural areas which was demonstrated by a large-scale search that nearly twice as many entrepreneurs in remote and accessible areas are not born locally compared to urban areas. Another search by Westhead and Moyes also showed that there is an obvious relationship between in-migration in rural areas and the creation of new entrepreneurial ventures and the new arrivals counterbalance the long established out-migratory move of young and dynamic individuals from the rural area (Kalantaridis, Bikab, 2006:109). The study performed in Western countries such as England showed that the job creation potential of self-employed migrants was found to be particularly important; on average, for every self-employed migrant some 2.4 additional full-time jobs were created (Stockdale, 2005: 129). Also, new arrivals to rural areas bring knowledge, norms and values of urban areas.

The subject of in-migration to rural has appeared since the 1980 chiefly the 1990s. Taking the characteristics of urban -that new rurality approach also emphasized- as a result of increased interaction after 1990s with urban, have increased the attraction to countrysides by causing in-migration to there. Population gain of rural settings have been still holding with acceleration.

⁶ Immigration is defined as a movement within a bounded locality. This thesis focuses on immigration to rural areas.

2.2.5. Division of Labour:

For several decades there has been a discussion about in which ways household divisions of labour are organised and controlled, and what kind of rights some household members have over others' labour. There has not been an agreement on this matter however there has been an agreement about the existence of unequal distribution of household labour in literature.

In the household, men and women are involved in different activities to ensure the availability of goods and services for family consumption and well-being. As Punch stated (2001:11), in general, in developing world the adult division of household labour in rural areas is very gender-specific. Men take most of the agricultural work while women carry out the majority of the domestic work (Punch 1998). The activities such as cooking, cleaning, fetching wood, water and child care are attributed to women that are gender-biased. These are usually the result of socio-cultural norms of societies. Besides gender-biased factor, gender-neutral is another factor responsible for the gender division of labour. However, it is very different than gender-biased that thinks the maximisation of household welfare and comparative advantage so these determine which partner does what (Sikod, 2007:60).

Generally in most rural areas, women have an important role in the production, processing, preservation, preparation and sale of staple crops whilst men tend to focus on market-oriented or cash crop production. However, with the increase number of educated women have started to break down barriers in terms of the division of household labour. The more educated woman has taken part in some activities which are traditionally considered male activities. Besides education; age, status and marriage situation of women are other factors responsible for the division of labour especially in most rural societies. These factors have important implications for women's empowerment and their ability to contribute to the overall development of not only the household, but also the nation (Sikod, 2007:61-62).

The occurring changes -mainly result of globalization- in women's economic status impact their decision-making power within the household. The changes also make

intra-household relationships reshaped and gender roles within the household redefined. However, men are still the heads of households and the major decision makers in most of rural areas.

Also, especially in developing world children take part in household tasks when they have ability and their responsibility soon increases as they grow older. The level of responsibility of children for tasks in developing world is earlier than children in the developed world (Punch, 2001:6). The important point is that unfortunately whether in developed world or developing worlds, due to some different reasons lots of children worldwide contribute to household labour. The role of children on household work unsurprisingly is varied by gender which is the main determinant of labour allocation. In studies, it has been observed that female children help their mothers in the domestic works while male children help their fathers with household maintenance (McHale *et al* 1990) or with agricultural work (Garcia Ramon *et al.* 1993; Robson 1996; Stølen 1996).

Additionally, birth order and sibling composition which have been overlooked in studies for searching children contribution to household work, are other determinant. The few studies which tried to search the impact of birth order and sibling composition on children's allocation of household tasks. One of them was Shamgar-Handelman and Belkin's work (1986: 71) in Jerusalem found that firstborn children participate more and at an earlier age than their younger siblings.

Division of labour in rural world varies by region and farming system. It can also change over time or in response to market conditions. For example, women in some rural areas may not be allowed to do heavy works but it may be opposite in some other. Therefore we tried to give basic framework of division.

It is clear that changes occurring in rural have had an impact on some characteristics of rural. However, the situation is very complex and varies across countries. For instance, diversification in rural activities may cause some peasants to climb the top of ladder as a means of achieving higher incomes and capital accumulation, but

some other peasants in different country or region may achieve this with land, human resources, social capital and a comprehensive integration to market (Kay, 2008:935).

However as Kay explained, New Rural approach has been usefull to open the eyes and minds of many people to changes that had been previously ignored or not emphasized. This approach also has been trying to seek to find new ways of sustainable livelihoods for rural dwellers within the changing process since globalization in terms of equity, quality of life and also can be used as a tool for rural development.

CHAPTER 3.

CHANGES IN RURAL TURKEY:

A number of scholars in different fields along with both national institutions (TÜİK, DPT) and international institutions (FAO, AB, BM, OECD) have improved different criteria in defining rural areas (Yörür, 2008:9). However, there is no consensus yet on the definition of rural area in Turkey as well as in international literature. While there is no such definition on rural areas with full agreement, it has been seen that, rural areas are generally defined as less developed areas compared to urban areas and they undoubtedly need special treatment as they face problems dealing with their distance from an urban centre and their broader physical environment especially after 1980 with the rapid changes (Gülümser, Baycan, Nijkamp, 2007: 4).

Since the cultural, social, demographic, economic, environmental and spatial diversity inherent in rural areas have gained new meanings with changing circumstances after the 1980s, studies in Turkey have not concentrated on these changes enough. As Ecevit (1999) mentioned, rural in Turkey after 1980, in a sense, has been forgotten and given up to its destiny in the frame of its own change and development dynamics. As, rural areas are living units which has been changing, transforming and being transformed like all other formations, the next parts will describe some basic changes in rural Turkey.

3.1. Current Situation and Problems of Rural Turkey:

Rural areas in Turkey include both some barriers and opportunities . For discovering it, the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Planning Organization (SPO) published the National Development Strategy in that a comprehensive SWOT

analysis ⁷ was executed to understand the current situation of rural more easily (Table 3.1.)

Table 3.1. SWOT Analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive agricultural land (dry, wet and irrigable) and irrigation opportunities, • Abundance of agricultural production potential (crop production, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery) and potential for product diversity, • Diversity of inputs and raw materials for agricultural industry, • Rural labour force potential, • Diversity of local products which can be converted to trademark, • Completion of transport, communication and electricity infrastructure to a large extent, • Diversity of flora and fauna, low environmental pollution and existence of potential for organic agriculture, • Richness of culture and tourism assets, and their high potential in respect of tourism, • Diversity of traditional crafts and handicrafts, • The experience obtained in rural development projects, • Increasing number of non-governmental organizations engaged in rural development, • Prevalence of public institutions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High dependency of rural employment and income sources on agricultural activities, prevalence of hidden unemployment and informal employment in agriculture sector, • Structural problems of agriculture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small scale and fragmented agricultural holdings, - Inadequacy of agricultural training and extension services, and cooperation, - Difficulties in conformance with standards and quality, - Problems regarding agriculture-industry integration and in efficiency of marketing activities, - Insufficiency of capital and financial resources, - Dependency of production on natural conditions and low productivity. • Prevalence of poverty in rural settlements, especially in forest villages, • Low education level and low schooling ratio of female students, • Necessity of improving efficiency of education, health and social security services, • Small, scattered, unplanned settlement units and high number of settlements, • Insufficiency of rural infrastructure and modernization requirements of the existing infrastructure, • Problems regarding balance of conservation-utilisation of natural resources (land, water, forest, pasture and grassland, fishery resources etc.), • Low soil quality, widespread erosion due to rough terrain, inappropriate utilization of land resources due to ignoring of soil capability, • Inadequate coordination between public institutions providing services to rural population, • Inadequacy of data required analyzing economic and social structures of rural areas.
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development trends of non-agriculture sectors, • Increasing consumer consciousness and demand for healthy, quality and organic products, • Development of food industry on the basis of domestic and foreign demand, • Increasing tendency for demand of rural tourism , • Increasing interest in protection and improvement of environment, • EU Accession process and harmonization, • Accessibility to international resources-funds, • Enhanced opportunities to access foreign markets, • Progress in production, communication and information technologies, • Development in urban economies, stronger functional relations between urban and rural areas, • Increasing concern for the empowerment of local governments and improvement of public administration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deterioration in macroeconomic stability, • Changing trend in agricultural support policies and further liberalization of international trade, • Increasing of adverse socio-economic problems in the restructuring process of agriculture, such as unemployment and poverty, • Migration of young and qualified labor force from rural areas, loss of productive factors and ageing population, • Increasing pressure of rapid urbanization, industrialization, and developing tourism activities on natural resources, • Global environmental problems • Rising oil and other input prices in the world, • Growing intra and inter-regional development disparities.

Source: SPO, 2006

⁷ “The SWOT analysis for the rural areas was derived from the results of SWOT workshop conducted with the participation of representatives of the relevant public institutions, private sector and non-governmental organizations under SPO coordination which was performed in pNDP, the Rural Development Ad-Hoc Committee Report produced during the preparations for the Eight Five Year Development Plan” (SPO, 2006: 6)

SWOT analysis was realized to analyze the strong and weak points, opportunities and dangers of the rural areas. The table summarizing the current situation can be a useful tool to determine rural development policies and strategies in terms of priorities.

Young and dynamic population, ecological diversity, existence of water resources, trade potential with close countries set the power side of rural structure of Turkey.

This table obviously reveals that there is a need to improve the rural infrastructure, the living standards of the rural population, education and health facilities, enterprises activities, rural tourism activities; (for creating alternative income and employment opportunities), marketing opportunities; the protection of natural resources.

The four main headlines will help us to comprehend the general problems and current situation of Rural Turkey such as;

3.1.1. Demographic Structure:

Data about the demographic changes in a time of a country can be used as a short and decisive methodology for determining the socio-economic changing line of a country. Population is an important factor of workforce characteristics and production. On the other hand the consumption of the produced goods depends on the population and its some features (Günaydın, 2010: 256)

In Turkey in the foundation years of Republic, 75 % of the population inhabited in villages areas while after the 1950s with the effect of agricultural mechanization and changes in economic structure have pushed the population from rural to urban areas. As a result of migration, the share of rural population in total population has had a tendency to decrease (Table 3.2.). Although the share of rural population has been decreasing, its share in total population is mucher than developed countries.

According to data, the increasing rate of urban population is more than total Turkey population increase rate. The main reason is the migration from rural to urban. In the period of 1995-2000, though the impetus of migration from villages to cities decreased compared to the period of 1980-1990, it was observed that individuals in the working age group preserved their tendency to leave villages (SPO, 2006:7). However, between 1995 and 2000 the most exciting figure is about the trend of migration from cities to villages as accounted for 20 percent of the total. The situation is explained by Özbay and Yücel (2001) as “shuttle migration” a result of an increase in rural population who have moved to nearer cities or towns for temporary and seasonal works. Furthermore, it was due to the expansion of non-farm employment opportunities in the rural areas. This type of migration was widely observed at western and southern parts of Turkey where there have been comperative dynamism (Keyder, Yenal, 2004).

In our country, becuse migration data is garnered from General Population Census, the most current data about migration is obtained from years between 1995-2000 period. Also there is a survey about migration carried by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies in 2006. However the survey is only about the displaced population in East and South East Anatolian Regions because of some reasons such as security problems, economic problems.

While there is not a current data about the migration from rural to urban or urban to rural, the migration process especially from rural to urban has still been occurring since the 2000s (Rural Development Plan, 2011: 43). According to data obtained from Based Population Registration System including 2009-2010 period, about 2.4 million people migrated (it can be from cities to cities or cities to villages or villages to cities, its form has not been revealed in data). This means that about 3.2 of 100 people migrated between 2009-2010, while this was about 2.2 of 100 people between 1995 and 2000.

Marmara Region has the the lowest level of rural population with %21 share while Karadeniz has the most share of rural population with %51 share among the other regions according to 2000 population census (www.tuik.gov.tr).

In short, the share of rural population in total population has had a tendency to decrease. For preventing rural population from migration to urban areas, the income level of rural population should be increased and some production areas (entrepreneurship ventures, non-farm activities) should be created in rural (Çelik, 2006: 136)

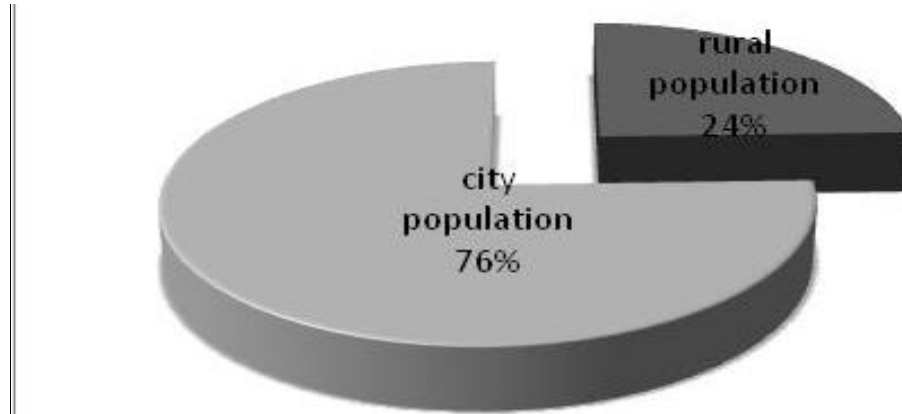


Figure 3.1. Share of population in 2009

Source: www. tuik.gov.tr

Table 3.2. Turkey's population distribution

Census Year	Village Population (million)	Share of Village Population (%)	City Population (million)	Share of City Population (%)	Total Population (million)
1927	10,3	75,7	3,3	24,3	13,6
1935	12,4	76,5	3,8	23,5	16,2
1940	13,5	75,6	4,3	24,4	17,8
1945	14,1	75,1	4,7	24,9	18,8
1950	15,7	75,0	5,2	25,0	20,9
1955	17,1	71,2	6,9	28,8	24,0
1960	18,9	68,1	8,9	31,9	27,8
1965	20,6	65,6	10,8	34,4	31,4
1970	21,9	61,5	13,7	38,5	35,6
1975	23,5	58,2	16,9	41,8	40,4
1980	25,1	56,1	19,6	43,9	44,7
1985	23,8	47,0	26,9	53,0	50,7
1990	23,1	41,0	33,3	59,0	56,4
2000	23,7	35,0	44,1	65,0	67,8
2009	17,8	24,5	54,8	75,5	72,6

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

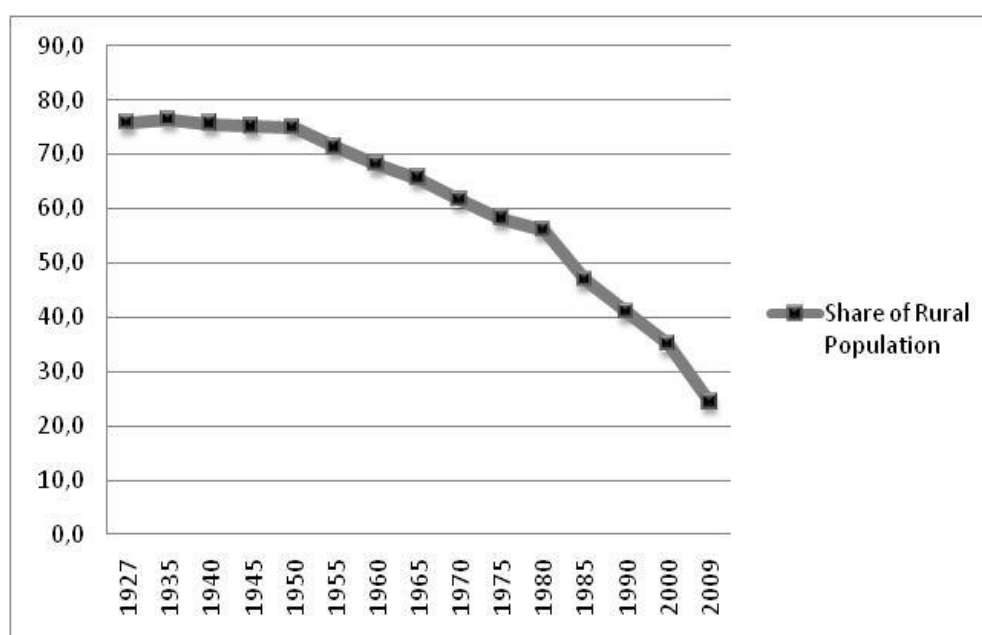


Figure 3.2. Share of rural population in total population (%)

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

3.1.2. Economic structure:

The most important income provider in rural settlements is agriculture. The share of agriculture in total GDP was about %43 in the first years of Turkish Republic, this has had a tendency to decrease in years. After 1980, agricultural GDP grew at a slower rate than the overall economy, resulting in a declining share of agriculture in GDP from %42.7 in 1923 to %9,4 in 2010. Table 3.3. displays the shares of GDP for each main sector (agriculture, industry and service) since the 1923.

Table 3.3. Sectoral Shares in GDP (current prices, %)

Sector	1923	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Agriculture	42,7	46,5	44,7	45	40	37,1	25,8	17,0	13,6	9,4
Industry	10,4	9,9	14,6	15,2	15,8	16,8	18,6	25,0	22,5	19,2
Service	46,9	43,6	40,7	39,8	44,2	46,1	55,6	58,0	63,9	71,4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr and derived from other sources (SPO, TOBB)

As the share of agriculture in GDP has been decreasing also following the historical trend in the development process of most developing countries, the share of

agricultural labour in total labour force has declined. The increase of unemployment rate in rural areas can be explained by mechanization of agriculture, giving the priority to industry in implemented development policies. Also in terms of young people, they have sought employment opportunities out of rural areas due to not thinking agriculture as an attractive employment field and not finding non-agricultural employment opportunities in rural areas. The demand of low-quality employment force by service and industry sector in urban areas has been one of the main push factors in terms of rural people to migrate to urban areas. The migration from rural to urban causes the loss of dynamic labour force needed for rural economy

Even though the employment in agriculture has been declining in rural areas, it is still the main sector of rural economy. As observed from Table 3.5. the increase share of employment in service and industry sectors in rural areas may be thought as an opportunity to create the non-farm employment options.

Table 3.4. Distribution of employment (%)

Sector	Turkey					Urban					Rural				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Agriculture	64,0	53,2	46,9	36	25,1	6,2	5,7	5,0	3,8	4,2	89,4	86,8	76,8	70,2	63,0
Industry	16,0	20,4	15,3	17,7	19,9	25,3	26,4	29,2	27,3	25,9	3,2	3,1	5,5	7,5	8,8
Service	20,0	26,4	37,8	46,3	55,0	68,5	67,9	65,9	68,9	69,9	7,4	10,1	17,8	22,4	28,2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr and derived from other sources

According to Census of Agriculture in 2001, only %66 of rural households dealt with agriculture that Figure 3.3. shows the distribution of it in terms of provinces. The lowest ratio is observed in maritime provinces in that tourism and construction sector which are alternative to agriculture mostly intensified.

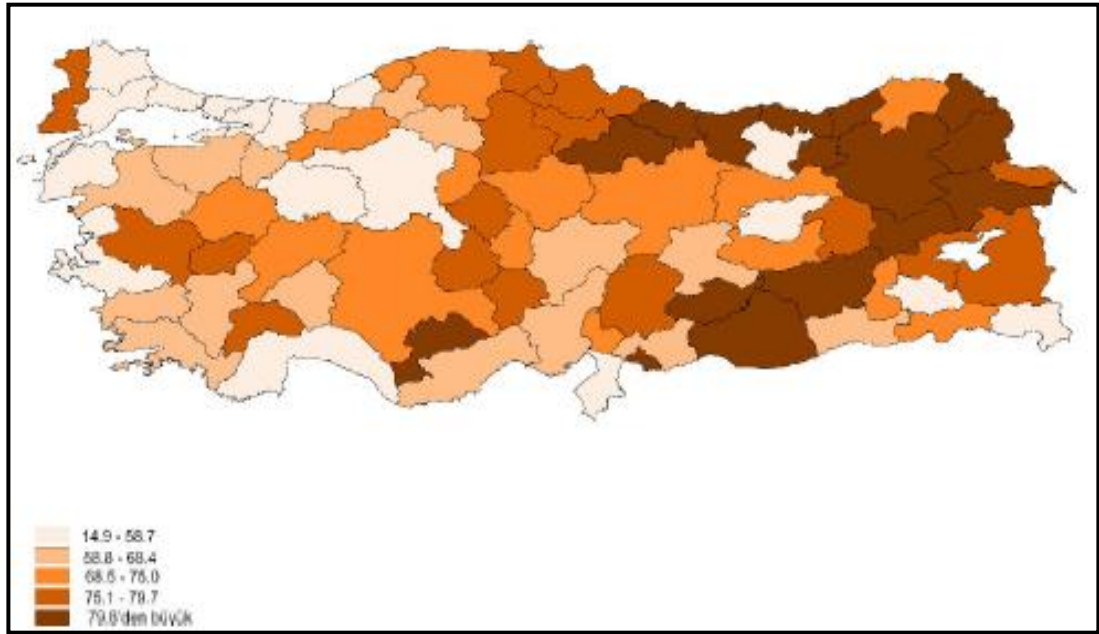


Figure 3.3 Ratio of households in farming activities to total rural household %
Source: Pınarcıoğlu, M. and Işık, O. ,2008:15

One of the important side of the subject is that the agricultural sector is mostly female-labour intensive sector. While the female participation in labour force was %27,60 in total in 2010, the ratio became %36,3 in rural areas (Table 3.5). Also employment rate of female in Turkey was %24 in 2010 whilst it was %34,7 in rural areas (Table 3.6). Agricultural sector provides employment for almost all females in the rural areas with about 85 percent share in the rural employment. As understood from Table 3.7, majority of female is employed in agricultural sector in Turkey and also rural areas (in urban they are mostly employed at service sector). However, when compared the years 1990-2000 and 2010 for female, the tendency of decrease in employment rate of agricultural sector can be seen. Agriculture with its labour intensive and low learning feature, has been left by men firstly in rural areas and women in rural areas still try to continue in agricultural activities. While the statistic shows female employment in agriculture has decreased, this decrease is much lower than decrease in male employment in agriculture in rural as Table 3.7. indicates. This can be concluded as the term of feminization of agriculture in rural where female work force is dominant.

On the other hand, the majority of employed female in agriculture are the unpaid family workers. In 2006 statistics showed that %74,4 of female employed in

agriculture work as unpaid family workers (Directorate General on the Status of Women, 2008:15). In rural Turkey, only %1.5 of females working in agricultural activities, are registered to social security system. That is, the rest 98.5% work as unregistered. This ratio is about %21 for male as being registered (Günaydın, 2010)

Table 3.5. Labour Force Participation %

Gender	Turkey			Urban			Rural		
	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Male	80,5	73,7	70,8	78,0	70,9	70,4	83,4	77,9	71,6
Female	35,3	26,6	27,6	18,1	17,2	23,7	53,4	40,2	36,3
Total	57,6	49,9	48,8	48,2	44,1	46,8	67,8	58,7	53,5

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr and derived from other sources

Table 3.6. Employment Rate %

Gender	Turkey			Urban			Rural		
	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Male	74,6	68,9	62,7		65,4	61,5		74,1	65,4
Female	32,6	24,9	24,0		15,0	19,3		39,4	34,7
Total	53,3	46,7	43,0		40,2	40,1		56,4	49,6

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr and derived from other sources

Table 3.7. Sectoral Distribution of Employment %

Sector	Turkey						Urban						Rural					
	Male			Female			Male			Female			Male			Female		
	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Agriculture	33,0	27,0	18,3	75,0	60,5	42,4	5,0	2,7	3,5	4,0	8,7	8,7	63,0	59,6	50,7	93,0	89,2	84,6
Industry	19,0	19,5	21,9	10,0	12,6	15,1	30,0	27,6	26,8	29,0	25,6	23,1	8,0	8,6	11	3,0	5,4	4,9
Service	48,0	53,5	59,8	15,0	26,9	42,6	65,0	69,7	69,7	67,0	65,7	68,2	29,0	31,8	38,3	4,0	5,4	10,5

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr and derived from other sources

As well as the share of agriculture in GDP and employment, also the share of agriculture in export decreased, too. Imports expanded faster than exports, and the share of agricultural products in total exports is declining. Examined the balance of agriculture trade by years, the Turkey perceived as export surplus country

transformed to a country imports. The export of agricultural products was 57.5% in 1980 while it fell back 4.5% in 2010 (Table 3.8.)

Table 3.8. Foreign Trade Indicator by years

Years	Export (Million \$)			Import (Million \$)		
	General Export	Export of Agriculture	Share of Agriculture in Export	General Import	Import of Agriculture	Share of Agriculture in Import
1980	2.910	1.672	57,5	7.909	51	0,6
1985	7.958	1.672	21,0	11.344	375	3,3
1990	12.959	2.284	17,6	22.302	1.140	5,1
1995	21.637	2.155	10,0	35.709	1.909	5,3
2000	27.775	1.998	7,2	54.503	2.129	3,9
2005	73.476	3.468	4,7	116.774	2.826	2,4
2010	113.981	5.096	4,5	185.542	6.490	3,5

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr and derived from other sources

According to Rural Development Plan (2008), the increase in share of agriculture in import is emanated from agricultural raw materials that show positive development in terms of progress in agricultural industry.

3.1.3. Agricultural Holdings and Usage of Agricultural Land:

According to 2001 Census of Agriculture, the size of agricultural lands is 22.1. million ha and 18.4 million ha of it are possessed by agricultural holdings. Size of land per holdings were 61 decar. The holdings having lands larger than 100 decar are found mostly in Southeast, Central Anatolia and Thrace (Figure 3.4.). Although the decrease of employment in agriculture, land per holdings increased about 7 decar compared 1991 and 2001 Census. However, the current data about Census of Agriculture is not available so it is impossible to see the changes in the past 10 years. On the other hand, the survey on Agricultural Holdings in 2006 which has not detail information as the Census of Agriculture guided us to see some changes.

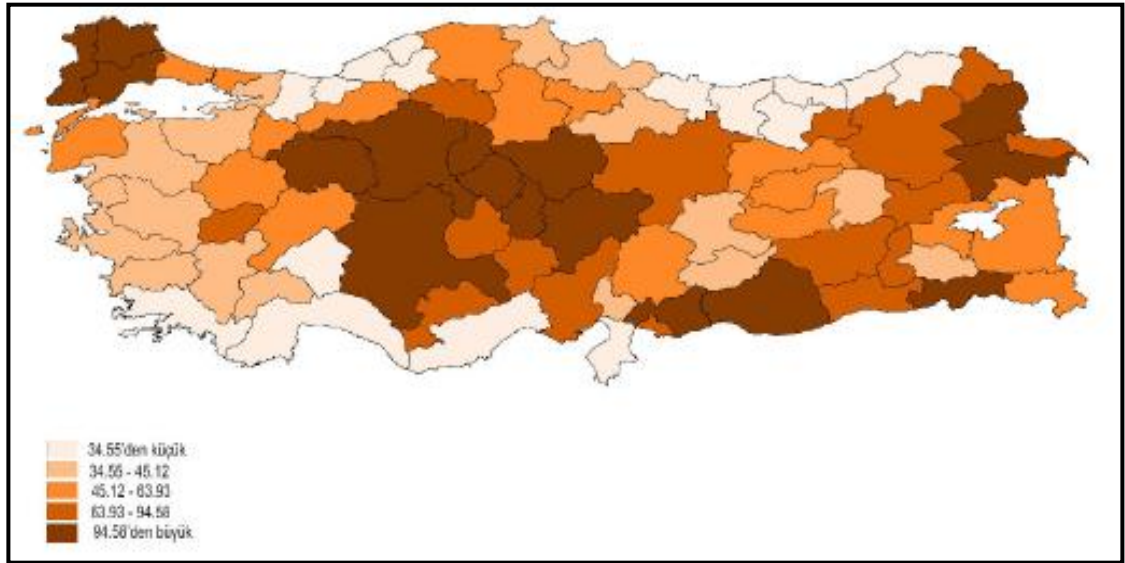


Figure 3.4 Land per Holdings

Source: Pınarcıoğlu, M. and Işık, O. ,2008:16

According to Census of Agriculture (CA), total number of agricultural holdings was 3.650.910 in 1980, it was 3.966.822 in 1991 while 3.022.127 in 2000..

Agricultural holdings in Turkey have been accumulated among 20-49 decare land group both in the 2001 CA and the 1991 CA with rates 31.46% and 32.13% respectively. Land operated by agricultural holdings have been accumulated among 100-199 decare land group according to the results of both censuses; however, land belong to this group constitute 23.81% of total land in the 2001 CA and 20.99% in the 1991 CA (<http://kutuphane.tuik.gov.tr/pdf/0014909.pdf>). As compared the data between 1991-2001, there is a decline both in number of holdings and land area of holdings having less than 50 decare land and holdings having more than 500 decare land and there is an increase in both cases in agricultural holdings having 50-499 decare land. These results display that there is a tendency of agricultural holdings in cumulating medium size group in Turkey in view of number of agricultural holdings and land operated by agricultural holdings (2001 Census of Agriculture).

In genaral it can be said that there has been decrease in number of holdings and land operated by holdings compared between 1991 and 2001. However, there has been an increase in the size of holdings between 50-99 decar and the above 100 decar. Their ratio (50-99 decar) was %17.98 in 1991, %18.53 in 2001 while it was %22 in 2006.

For the land above 100 decar, It was % 14.97 in 1991, % 16.64 in 2001 and %21 in 2006. Despite this increase, the some studies have explained that small size of lands is a very serious problem. The farmers face this kind of a problem should focus on irrigation, technological and valuable products otherwise they will pass from sustainable agriculture to semi-sustainable agriculture. For revealing the situation apparently, Pınarcıoğlu and Işık (2008) created three maps (one is ratio of irrigated land to total agricultural lands, second one is ratio land under protective cover to total land area and the third one is index of mechanization). The three maps showed that developments as giving importance to irrigation, technological and valuable products is limited and there are regional differences (Pınarcıoğlu, M. and Işık, O. ,2008:16)

Table 3.9. compares the number of agricultural holdings and size of the land operated by size of agricultural holdings in 1991 and 2001.

In Turkey, Aegean and Black Sea regions comprise 35% out of the total agricultural holdings as compared to about 15% in the eastern zones. A relatively higher number of larger and more specialised farms are located in the Aegean and Mediterranean regions (Ayalp, E., 2007:50).

As seen from the statistics, rural areas have been changing, transforming and being transformed like all other production formations. Transformation on rural labour, rural skills, rural employment gained speed especially after the 1980s in the effect of globalization process and its consequences. Firstly, agriculture has lost its relative account in rural areas. The importance of agricultural income has decreased in the rural households income bases. The integration of rural and urban areas with the rapid expansion in transportation and communication systems, have caused remarkable developments in the restructuring of the rural areas. The traditional meaning of the village has started to disappear. (Ayalp, E., 2007:64).

For covering the changes more clearly, it is necessary to comprehend the rural development policies. In Turkey generally rural development policies and their

implementations can be examined in four main heads. In the below, four heads covering all policies can be seen at the same table (Table 3.10)

Table 3.9. Number of agricultural holdings and size of the land operated by size of agricultural holdings

Size of holdings (decare)	1991 Census of Agriculture				2001 Census of Agriculture			
	Number of holdings	%	Area of Sown (Decare)	%	Number of holdings	%	Area of Sown (Decare)	%
Turkey	3.966.822	100,00	234.510.993	100,00	3.022.127	100,00	184.348.223	100,00
-5	251.686	6,34	667.059	0,28	178.006	5,89	481.987	0,26
5-9	381.287	9,61	2.511.091	1,07	290.461	9,61	1.952.471	1,06
10-19	752.156	18,96	10.042.501	4,28	539.816	17,86	7.378.022	4,00
20-49	1.274.609	32,13	38.688.961	16,50	950.840	31,46	29.531.619	16,02
50-99	713.149	17,98	46.750.693	19,94	560.049	18,53	38.127.032	20,68
100-199	383.323	9,66	49.216.633	20,99	327.363	10,83	43.884.395	23,81
200-499	173.774	4,38	46.487.432	19,82	153.685	5,09	42.075.497	22,82
500-999	24.201	0,61	14.982.493	6,39	17.429	0,58	11.218.554	6,09
1000-2499	10.266	0,26	13.856.621	5,91	4.199	0,14	5.476.900	2,97
2500-4999	1.930	0,05	6.538.082	2,79	222	0,01	695.541	0,38
5000+	441	0,01	4.789.427	2,04	57	0,00	3.526.175	1,91

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

3.1.4. Rural-Urban linkage:

There are some information in western countries about the urban-rural integrity and its reflections on space and social situation. In Turkey the information based on only simple observation that shows the integration between urban-rural usually occurs in western part of Turkey. The benefits of globalization such as spreading communication, transportation networks help in this integration in terms of increasing commuting trips between urban and rural and increasing number of satellite cities, spreading of cities into countrysides. These changes make rural resemble to urban and decrease the diffreneces between urban and rural areas (Pınarcıoğlu, M. and Işık, O. ,2008:16). Resemblance process of demographic characteristics of western rural to urban areas is an example of the integrity of rural

and urban (Pınarcıoğlu, M. and Işık, O. ,2008:16). A search executed by Pınarcıoğlu and Işık (2008) in villages of Ordu, Çankırı, Aydın and Adana revealed the importance of transfer of information, knowledge, experience and social living from urban to rural areas. It displayed that having more linkage with urban would provide rural areas having the more chance to leave up their stationary situation and having more chance to develop their entrepreneurship capacities. In the conclusion of another study by Yıldırım (2006) showed that one of the reasons why the search area of Norşun Village have not internalized the changing conditions of changing world and lost the population and employment opportunities because of the limited interaction with the urban areas.

As mentioned there is a limited literature and statistics about the integration of urban and rural and its effects on rural areas in Turkey. In the next chapter we will try to contribute this limited literature by revealing the effects of interaction on rural areas.

3.2. Rural Development Policies:

3.2.1. Models:

In this part, Case Village Models, Society Development Model, Multi-dimensional Rural Area Plan, Center-Village Model, Village-Town Model and Agricultural Town Model will be described briefly. We will not here explain whether these models became successful or not and will not describe different views about the models. Only their principal aims will be explained here.

i. Case Village Model:

The model was implemented between 1963 and 1965 years in some villages in Ankara or İstanbul. In this model, the case village which had a special feature was developed to set an example to close rural areas. As Keleş (1992) stated, the Model aimed to gather the villages together which had same problems, to coordinate the

facilities among villages and to reveal development model as an example to other villages.

ii. Society Development Model:

This model firstly developed by United Nations as an education and organization process that based on integration of individuals in rural areas, cooperation of them with municipalities, participation to facilities with their physical and fiscal power. In our country, First Five Years Development Plans explained the Model's description, principals and targets.

As Geray (1971) explained, Korkuteli (Antalya), Altınözü (Hatay), Terme (Samsun), Bünyan (Kayseri), Bolu and Muş became the first areas that the works about Society-Developments started in the context of Programme of 1963. In 1964 Köyceğiz (Muğla), Ulukışla (Niğde), Hınıs (Erzurum), Tavas (Denizli), Maçka (Trabzon) and Orta (Çankırı) were appeared as an testing areas. Between the period 1963 and 1972, 53 districts of 41 provinces became testing areas.

The main aim of works executed in testing areas was to search implementation possibilities of society development method in country-wide, to reveal the problems faced and so to conduct future works efficiently by observing the past experiences.

iii. Multi-dimensional Rural Area Plan:

It aimed to create self-sufficient units in rural areas, to create more liveable rural areas and to run the resources more efficiently.

iv. Center-Village Model:

The high numbers of rural settlements in Turkey made local and central public services difficult to access to each rural areas. For this reason, developing a rural settlement which included village clusters and placed in a central location, as a Service Station for providing villages to be developed in this way. Collecting social

and cultural services -which could not be accessed to each villages- with low cost in a village determined as a center and accessing them to close village, were the aims of this Model.

Table 3.10. Classification of Rural Development Policies and their Implementation

RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION
I-MODELS
Case Village Model (1963-1965) Society Development Model (1963-1972) Multi-Dimensional Rural Area Plan (1965-1970) Center Village Model (1971-1983) Village-Town Model (1978-1980/2000-2002) Agricultural Town Model (not implemented)
II- NATIONAL POLICIES AND DOCUMENTS
Five Years Development Plans National Rural Development Strategy and Plan
III- RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS
Çorum-Çankırı Rural Development Project (1976-1984) Erzurum Rural Development Project (1982-1989) Bingöl-Muş Rural Development Project (1990-1999) Yozgat Rural Development Project (1991-1998) Erzincan-Sivas Rural Development Project (2005-2012) Ordu-Giresun Rural Development Project (1998-2005) Diyarbakır-Siirt-Batman Rural Development Projects (2006-2011) Agricultural Extension and Search Projects Eastern Anatolian Basin development Project Projects of Developing Suitable Methods for Common Forestry Anatolian Water Basin Rehabilitation Project Projects of Social Support in Rural Areas
IV- REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS
Southeastern Anatolian Project (GAP) Regional Development Plan for the Eastern Black Sea Region (DOKAP) Eastern Anatolia Project Master Plan (DAP) Yeşilirmak Basin Development Projects (YHGP) Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük Regional Development Projects (ZBK)

Source: Çelik, Z., 2006

v. Village Town Model:

This Model aimed to form rational rural settlement structure to provide efficiency in services accessed to village, to expand industry in villages and to create employment opportunities in rural areas (Keleş, 2002)

vi. Agricultural Town Model:

This Model was supposed to be implemented in about 4000 villages. It aimed to bring the all State services to Agricultural Towns and to make them as cultural and economically powerful settlements. However, the Model had never been implemented.

3.2.2. National Policies and Documents:

The works about the rural development in Turkey goes back the the early years of the foundation of the Republic. The modernization process started with the early years of the Republic, affected the efforts of rural development. The Village Law numbered 442 in 1924 and foundation of Village Institutes in 1940 were the two main improvements in this period. (Çelik, 2006:50)

Until the 1970s, agriculture sector remained its importance in terms of share in GDP. The sector was supported with some policies. However, with the agricultural mechanization, division of lands, increase in information and technology level in rural and attractiveness of urban caused rural unemployment and so migration to urban areas. Therefore, in the beginning of the 1960s -with the implementation of Five Years Development Plans- that faced problems of rapid urbanization and migration, emphasized the rural development policies with increased weight.

With the First Five Year Development Plan (1963-1967), the Planned Period started for realizing social and economic development in Turkey. In this period some strategies were developed for providing rural development. This head can be divided

into two groups such as; Five Year Development Plan and National Rural Development Strategy Document.

i. Five Year Development Plans:

The policies after the Planned period will be described briefly in the below table under the contents of each development plan (Table 3.11).

There have been nine Five Year Development Plans and each of them had some articles about rural areas. They can be summarized as follows:

In the First Five Year Development Plan (1963-1967), the subjects of rural development was examined under the head of Society-Development (Village Development). The Plan thought that the method of Society-Development could be used for rural development. Beside this method; creditization, marketing easiness, cooperativize and Land Reform appeared as other solutions to development. This Plan also emphasized that scattered and small units of rural areas affected rural developments negatively. Therefore it focused to give more attention to searches which had started before the Plan to discover the situation of rural settlements to determine a rural development policy. Foundation of Society Development Institute was another related issue with rural development in the Plan. However, this intention was not realized.

The First Plan had some deficiency due to treating Society Development and Village Development as equal and excluding urban areas. For overcoming these deficiencies, in Second Plan (1968-1972), there was a headline of “Village and Villagers Problems”. In this headline, the Society-Development Method was continued but it was narrowed. In this plan the description of village was explained.

For overcoming the problems of village and villagers; a stable price policy, low-cost inputs to agriculture, suitable marketing system, supporting cooperatives and non-agricultural employment opportunities were some solutions mentioned in the Second

Plan. As the First Plan, Second one also intended to realize the foundation of Society Development Institute but it again was not achieved.

Contrary to First and Second Plan, the subject of Society-Development Method was not handled in the Third Plan (1973-1977). However, the headline of “Village and Villagers Problems” that Second Plan mentioned was placed in Third one. Also, Center-Village Model was firstly touched in Third Plan. Additionally, increase of living standarts in rural, decreasing the income disparities among villagers were some cares for rural development. Also, Land and Agricultural Reform as the Second Plan tried, was intended to be created. However, it was not executed.

In the context of Fourth Plan (1979-1983), providing state support and regulations, cooperativize, settlement pattern were the main headlines related with rural development. Also The model of Village-Town firstly introduced in Fourth Plan. In Fourth one, the development priority regions concept was appeared and it aimed to handle the developments of less developed settlements with the concept of regional development and to prepare the comprehensive projects.

In the Fifth Five Years Development Plan (1985-1989), there were two main headlines related with rural development; services accessed to villages and development priority regions. The plan aimed to increase the quality of life of villagers by providing social and economic services. For doing this Central Villages were used as a tool.

Table 3.11. Evaluation of rural developments in Five Year Development Plans

Development Plans	I. Five Year Development Plan	II. Five Year Development Plan	III. Five Year Development Plan	IV. Five Year Development Plan	V. Five Year Development Plan	VI. Five Year Development Plan	VII. Five Year Development Plan	VIII. Five Year Development Plan	IX. Five Year Development Plan
Implemented years	1963-1967	1968-1972	1974-1978	1979-1983	1985-1989	1990-1994	1996-2000	2001-2005	2007-2013
Aim	Implementation of Society development model, Credits, Marketing facilities, Land reform and cooperativize, Improvements in development plans of Antalya and Çukurova Regions, Foundation of society development institute	Continue of society development model, Development of villagers, Arrangement of human-land relations, Providing cheap input to agriculture, Supporting to Cooperatives and non-agricultural activities, Foundation of society development institute, Improvements of village-town and agricultural-town models.	Increase of the living standart of villagers, Realizing agricultural and land reform, Providing production increase, Improvement of cooperative-marketing and credit facilities, Improvements of center-village models.	Realizing land reform, Cooperativize, Providing state support and regulation for development in rural areas, Creating a new rural production arrangement through village-town model, Bringing development priority regions concept into to agenda and realizing developments in less developed regions with region development concept and also preparing projects.	Creating center-villages, Implementation of integrated rural development projects, Solutions to the property rights to agricultural lands, Continuation to the developments of priority regions, Encouraging industrial establishments in priority regions.	Preparing region and sub-region plans for development priority regions, Preparing rural plans, Making education and integrated projects, Supporting non-farm activities in rural areas.	Decreasing rural-urban disparities, Legislation for ventures in rural to be located on suitable land size, Creating balance among regions	Decreasing regional disparities, Increasing welfare level of population living in priority regions, Harmonization to EU regional policies, Creating employment opportunities in rural, Increasing income level, Supporting participation in rural	Preparing rural development plan, Harmonization to EU policies, Developing human resource for non-farm activities, Preparing rural settlement plans.

Source: Çelik, Z., 2006; Günaydın, G., (2006)

The next (Sixth) Plan (1990-1994) covered the rural developments under two heads; Development Priority Regions and Services to Villages. For the Development Priority Regions, preparing regional and sub-regional plans and intensifying industrial investments to central villages and towns in the frame of rural areas planning contexts.

Seventh Five Year Development Plan (1996-2000), the subject of rural development was examined under the heads of rural infrastructure, regional balances and regulations. In the Plan, it was stated that share of agriculture in total GDP had decreased from %17,5 to %15 in 1995 and the importance of agriculture in economy had declined. The main reasons of this was stated as lack of land use planning, the increase of non-agricultural usage of agricultural lands, unbalanced land ownership and the increase of small holdings. In the Plan, for decreasing rural-urban disparities and providing suitable land sizes to agricultural holdings, it was cited that necessary legislation would be realized.

Firstly, the rural development concept directly was introduced in The Eighth Five Year Development Plan (2001-2005) when compared with other Plans (Çelik, Z., 2006:78). Increasing of employment opportunities, increasing welfare level of population living in less developed regions, giving importance to regional plans, increasing participation were the main targets of Plan in terms of rural development.

Before the Ninth Five Years Development Plan (2007-2013), National Rural Development Strategy Document was prepared and put into force in 2006. In the Plan, within the frame of the Document in 2006, it was anticipated to prepare and put into the force the Rural Development Plan. The last Plan aimed to harmonize the rural policies to EU rural policies, to develop human resources for non-farm activities and to prepare the rural settlement plans.

These nine Five Years Development Plans faced generally the below criticisms (Çelik, Z., 2006:80)

- Policies for rural development resemble to each other in each Five Years Development Plans.
- Rural development were thought as a separate issues from urban areas.
- No achievement in decreasing urban-rural disparities.
- No prevention of migration from rural to urban.
- Ignorance of spatial dimension of rural development.
- Ignorance of regional and local conditions in creation of policies.
- No realization of Land Reform
- No participation in creation of policies.

ii. National Rural Development Strategy Document and Rural Development Plan:

The prerequisite of exploiting IPARD programme of EU was to prepare the National Rural Development Strategy and Plan. Therefore National Rural Development Strategy Document (2006) was prepared by SPO and other related institutions within the context of harmonization to the Acquis Communautaire in the field of rural areas.

National Rural Development Strategy Document was prepared for creating integrated policy frameworks for rural developments, for being a basis in National Rural Development Plan and for guiding the projects financed by international sources.

In this Document, there are mainly six principles such as; Sensitivity on Space, Cooperation and Participation, Sustainability, Social Inclusion, Consistency in Policies and Regulations Efficient Monitoring, Efficiency in the Use of Resources.

The principle of Sensitivity on Space explained that activities for rural development at regional and local level will be implemented in consistency with the regional development plans and programs. However, the obvious description of region can not be found in the Document.

The second principle told that for providing cooperation and participation, it is necessary to improve cooperation between public-private sector, universities and non-governmental organizations at national and local level. However in the Document at which method the cooperation and participation will be provided did not explain obviously.

It is accepted in the third principle of Sustainability that; non agricultural activities as the agricultural activities are important for more sustainable job and living conditions with economic, social and environmental dimensions. While the increase of non-agricultural activities are crucial for more social and economic environment in rural areas, it should be supported with other policies.

In social exclusion principle, its basic point is to ensure social solidarity and integration in rural development through promoting active participation of individuals and groups in economic and social life which are subject to social exclusion and risk of poverty.

The other principle of Consistency in Policies and Regulations -Efficient Monitoring stated that this Document will constitute the basis for the Rural Development Plan and for the projects and activities on rural development.

According to the last principle of efficiency in the use of resources, the laws and provisions of international agreements to which our country is a signatory will be an important determinant in realizing and supporting rural development projects and activities. However, national priorities were not mentioned in the Document.

The other document about the National Rural Policies is Rural Development Plan. This document covers the years between 2010-2013. National Rural Development Strategy Document became the basis of Rural Development Plan which reveals the policies in terms of rural development.

The main of the Plan has been to develop life and employment conditions of rural areas in its own location and to make it sustainable. For this aim, actions and policies which are important for life and employment conditions of rural areas are determined in the Plan.

The current situation of rural areas, development level and their potential helped to determine 30 Policies and 96 Actions. Also the targets and indicators of these actions are intended to evaluate economic and social development level of rural. This Plan also will be a tool to provide integration among projects, programme and supports executed by different public institutions in terms of rural development. Also, it is aimed with Plan to counter the some deficiencies in concept of rural development . Another aim of Plan is also to contribute the obligations of Turkey in harmonization of EU policies.

In short, Plan accepts the concept of rural development with four main strategic aims:

- Developing economy and increasing employment opportunities.
- Improving human resources, level of organization and capacity of local development.
- Improving rural infrastructure and increasing quality of life.
- Protecting and improving rural environment.

3.2.3. Rural Development Projects:

The rural development projects in Turkey has been implementing since the 1970s to use local resources more efficiently and to decrease the social-economic disparities among rural areas. The projects generally have been financed by international funds. The main aims of these projects can be explained as:

- Increasing income and life conditions of rural.

- Preventing migration from rural to urban.
- Creating new production fields.
- Providing infrastructure.
- Increasing non-farm employment opportunities.
- Rehabilitation of wet areas.
- Providing health-education facilities.
- Constructing village roads.

There are six rural development projects implemented in Turkey which are;

Çorum Çankırı Rural Development Project (1976-1984)

Erzurum Rural Development Project (1982-1989)

Bingöl-Muş Rural Development Project (1990-1999)

Yozgat Rural Development Project (1991-1998)

Ordu-Giresun Rural Development Project (1998-2005)

Erzincan-Sivas Rural Development Project (2004-2010)

Diyarbakır-Siirt-Batman Rural Development Project (2006-2011)

Except the above mentioned projects Agricultural Extension and Search Projects, Eastern Anatolian Basin Development Projects, Anatolian Water Basin Rehabilitation Project, Social Supporting Projects were the other ones implemented in Turkey.

3.2.4. Regional Development Projects:

Regional disparities are vital problems for most countries, but in developing countries such as Turkey, these present a greater problem. One of the basis of rural development has been to decrease the disparities among regions and to develop the regions. For realizing this aim some rural development projects has been prepared since the 1960s. These project have been expected to cause important changes and transformations in the region when they are completed.

These projects are Southeastern Anatolian Project (GAP), Regional Development Plan for the Eastern Black Sea Region (DOKAP), Eastern Anatolia Project Master Plan (DAP), Yeşilırmak Basin Development Projects (YHGP), Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük Regional Development Projects (ZBK). These projects are generally multi-sectoral and integrated regional development project based on the concept of sustainable development.

In short, as mentioned, the rural development policies (Models, National Policies, Rural Development Projects, Regional Development Projects) picked up speed after the 1960s named as Planned Period. The majority of policies in that time have resembled each other. When examined the policies, we can say that they are limited in terms of participation principle, health, child-care, environment, nutrition and women education facilities, rural entrepreneurship spirit, disadvantage groups (old people, children, young people) decreasing rural-urban differences.

As a summary, the deficiencies in social and economic infrastructure, deterioration of agricultural sector in rural, increase in rural poverty, environmental pollution, risk in biodiversity, population aging, out-migration and low level of education are the problems of rural areas face in Turkey. In this respect for realizing rural development with its own dynamics, the policies (Models, National Policies and Documents, Rural Development Projects and Regional Development Projects) have been created. The nearly all policies and their implementations have had same targets such as increasing non-farm employment opportunities, preventing migration from rural to urban and increasing health- education facilities, decreasing regional disparities.

One of the common aim of these policies to increase the non-farm activities and employment opportunities in rural areas. Rural areas in Turkey of which main economic activity is agriculture that has lost its importance in terms of economic weight and share in employment due to changes in national and international economies via technological changes, globalization, liberalization, and localization. However, the dependency of rural economy on agriculture remains the well-known reality for Turkey. The loss of agriculture especially in employment has made

governments think to create rural policies for new job resources for rural communities while keeping the agriculture sector alive. For realizing this aim, Models, National Policies and Documents, Rural Development Projects and Regional Development Projects have concentrated on the diversification of rural income and rural non-farm activities. However, the departures from rural to find better job opportunities in urban can be a sign of improving non-farm employment opportunities in rural has not realized its main aim yet.

The other common target of policies is to prevent the migration from rural to urban via decreasing the regional disparities, increasing accessibility of health-education facilities. For achieving this aim, rural development projects, regional development projects and a concept of priority regions in development were started to be common. However, the share of rural population of rural has had a tendency to decrease. This display that the aims of policies should be rethought.

In short, this Chapter considered two main heads; one is the current situation of rural Turkey and the other is the policies implemented in rural areas. In the next Chapter we will examine two village examples (Gedelek and Kuşçuali) one of them reflects traditional rural area (Kuşçuali) in Turkey that shows the current situation of most of the rural areas in Turkey, with decreasing population, employment opportunities, limited health and education services, not different income earning fields, while the other one (Gedelek) is completely different than the traditional one and have intensive linkages between urban areas and shows the some characteristics (increasing population, easily accessible to health and education facilities, non-farm job opportunities, entrepreneurship spirit) that national rural development policies intended to realize in rural areas.

CHAPTER 4.

CHANGING FEATURES OF CASE STUDIES AFTER 1980s: GEDELEK VILLAGE& KUŞÇUALI VILLAGE

The case studies of Gedelek in Bursa and Kuşçuali in Ankara have been used to attain a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the nature of the power of the linkage between urban-rural. Also whether the increased linkage with the help of globalization advantageous, has a deep effect on resemblance process of the mentioned villages to urban areas or not. In the light of the changes, we will examine the changing circumstances in villages in terms of non-farm activities, role of women, diversification of labour, in-migration and entrepreneurship activities that are traditionally found in urban areas and argued recently by new rurality concept

Detail information about the changes occurred in Gedelek and Kuşçuali Villages will be presented in this Chapter. There is no intention of generalizing the results of the study. The only claim of the study is to conceive the social and economic transformation process after the 1980s and to search whether the village which captures the characteristics of urban more easily (the concepts that new rurality has brought), has a chance to perpetuate its own life by investigating two case studies.

4.1. General Information about Villages:

The survey encompassed forty-one and twenty-three villagers in Gedelek and Kuşçuali, respectively. The number of coverage is not so high due to the fact that the method of the survey is in-depth-interview not questionnaire and trying to understand the changes in the view of villagers.

4.1.1. About Gedelek:

Gedelek village is located at Orhangazi district in Bursa. It is to the south-west of Orhangazi and one kilometer away of the way of Gemlik-Orhangazi. Village is about six kilometer away from Orhangazi District and forty kilometer away from Bursa. Transportation between Gedelek and its around settlements are provided with highway. There are busses from Gedelek every one hour to Orhangazi. Village has not dirt roads as most of villages in Turkey have but also the paths in village are asphalt.

It is not known at which date Gedelek founded on its current location. However, the expression by old villagers points that, it was firstly founded on a location called as Sırasöğütler, the south of Bursa-İstanbul highway. The founders had suffered from malaria illness in there and migrated to Beyköy location. Due to deficient water source in Beyköy, they decided to find somewhere else having more water sources so they found their current location. The name of Gedelek firstly was “Gezerek” due to frequency of migration. Gezerek in following years undergoes change and is called as “Gedelek”. When the village had settled in its current location, around the spring (called as Pınarbaşı) - which is one of the factor that makes pickles more delicious and makes village more famous-, plane seeds were planted. The geologists that came Gedelek to make survey, demonstrated that these planes are at least 400-500 years old, so it can be concluded that Gedelek settled in this location 400-500 years ago.

Also, there is a legend belief about Pınarbaşı that a girl with long-blond hair, comes to Pınarbaşı to have a bath, is believed to live in Pınarbaşı. This girl is told the owner of Pınarbaşı and has a house under the rocks of Spring and it is believed that only good people can see her.

In 2009 according to Address-Based Population Registered System, the village of Gedelek had a population of 1358. In Gedelek, the age group; 15-64 year olds which is economically most active groups forms the majority. Population change by years and gender since 1960 for Gedelek is depicted in Table 4.1. As showed in Table

4.2., percentage of female population in Gedelek is more or less equal to percentage of male population in Kuşçuali, vice versa is true for male population.

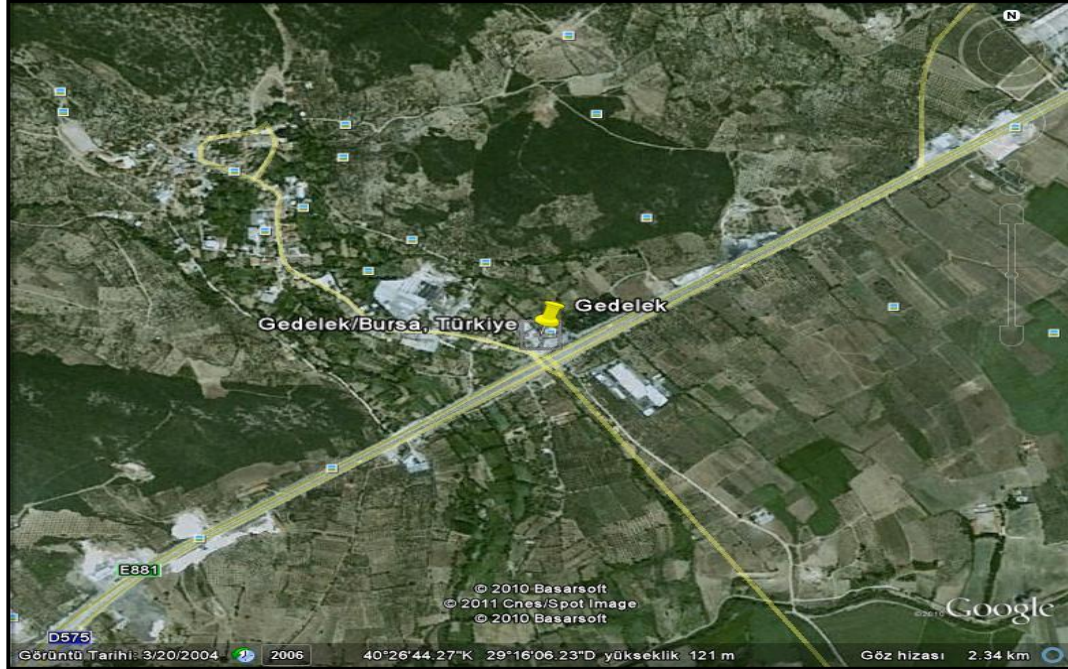


Figure 4.1. Air Photograph of Gedelek
Source: “Google Earth” satellite images

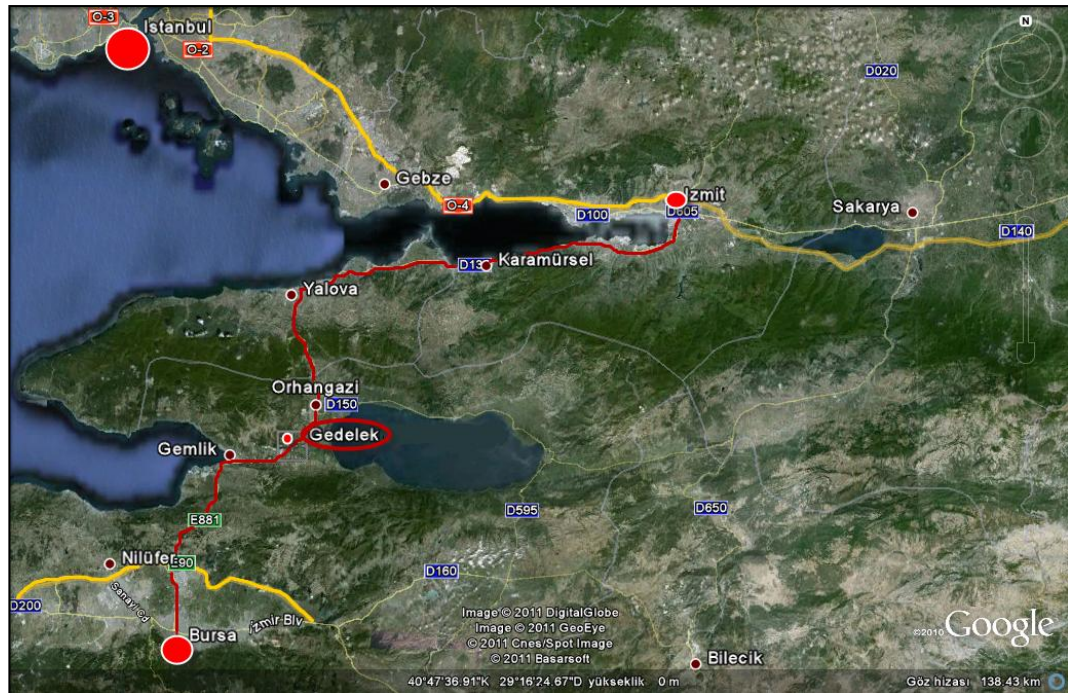


Figure 4.2. The Location of Gedelek
Source: “Google Earth” satellite images

There is a primary school, health center and mosques in Gedelek. As the headman of village stated, literacy rate in Gedelek is about 98% for the population. The people who do not know reading and writing are the people above 85 years old. All female and male children attend the village primary school (eight years education).

Gedelek village is very famous with its pickles and its fame is also worldwide and Village has very interesting story while becoming famous with the pickle, as next part tells.”



Figure 4.3. View of Pınarbaşı
Source: Personal archive

4.1.2. About Kuşçuali:

Kuşçuali village is located at Elmadağ district in Ankara on one side of a valley. It is seventeen kilometer away from Elmadağ District and 55 kilometer away from Ankara. Elmadağ-Bala Road passes into the village. Therefore, transportation is not so difficult for the villagers. This Village as Gedelek has not dirt roads but also the paths in village are asphalt. There is a small stream named as Balaban through the Village. The foundation date of Village is not known. there is no documents could be found about the past of the village, even the aged people of the village could not provide any information of the village, but there is an ancient settlement 1,2 km away from Village which is located on Balaban Stream



Figure 4.4. View of Balaban Stream
Source: Personal archive

In Kuşçuali, there is not primary school and health center, about twenty years ago, there used to be a primary school in Kuşçuali but due to lack of population at education age, the school was closed. While sewer system is constructed in Gedelek about twenty years ago, also today, the system is not found in Kuşçuali.

All of the houses have electricity and there is not any house with water closets outdoor in both villages. Both villages have communication facilities through telephone and internet.

In 2009 according to Address-Based Population Registered System, the village of Kuşçuali had 134 people. The old people (over 65 years of age) try to live in there and so form the majority of population. Population change by years and gender since 1960 for Kuşçuali is depicted in Table 4.1.

Literacy rate in Kuşçuali is not high as Gedelek because of having more old people, this rate is about %90 as the headman of village told and all children attend to primary school too. The detail findings from the surveys taken in two villages will be discussed in next parts.



Figure 4.5. Air Photograph of Kuşçuali
Source: “Google Earth” satellite images

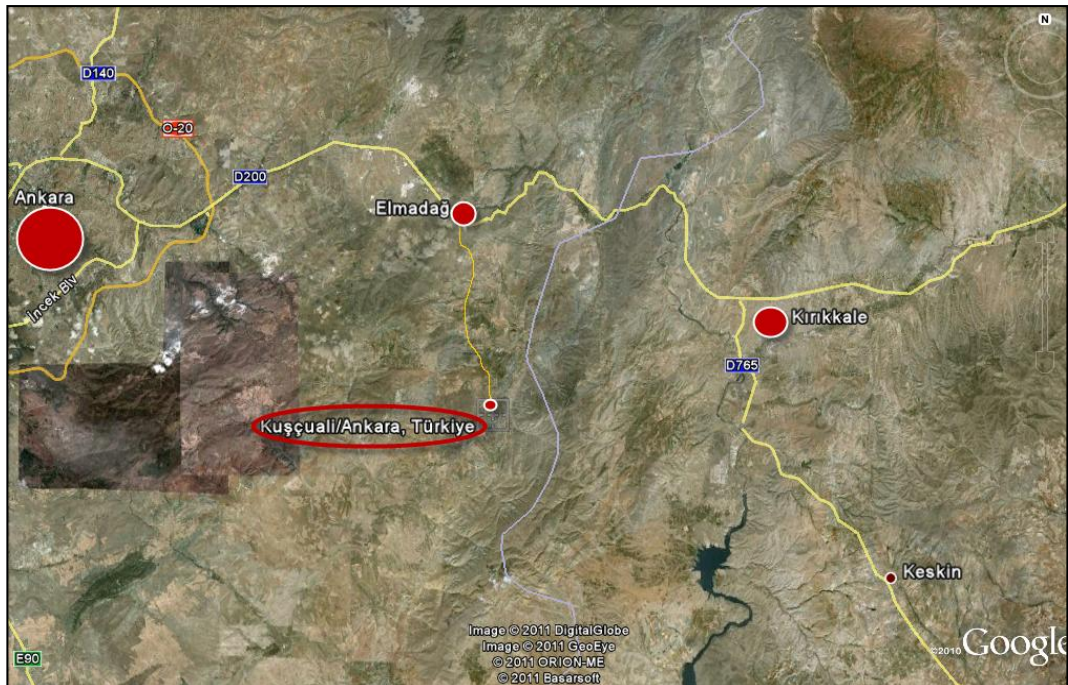


Figure 4.6. The Location of Kuşçuali
Source: “Google Earth” satellite images

Table 4.1. Population Change since 1960

Gedelek-Bursa				Kuşçualı-Ankara			
Years	Men	Women	Total	Years	Men	Women	Total
1965	396	426	822	1960	191	197	388
1970	399	415	814	1970	238	271	509
1980	483	452	935	1980	235	282	517
1985	550	473	1.023	1985	196	209	405
1990	563	492	1.055	1990	162	186	348
2000	693	601	1.294	2000	129	132	261
2009	698	660	1.358	2009	63	71	134

Source: www. tuik.gov.tr (Population Census)

Table 4.2. Distribution of Population by gender in 2009

Gender	Gedelek			Kuşçualı	
	N	%		N	%
Female	660	49		71	53
Male	698	51		63	47
Total	1.358	100		134	100

Source: www. tuik.gov.tr (Population Census)



Figure 4.7. General view of Kuşçualı and Gedelek Villages

Source: Personal Archive

4.2. Transition process of Gedelek and Kuşçuali:

For purpose of the study, both Gedelek and Kuşçuali were examined. Gedelek was chosen for the study because of increasing its population size and functional characteristics enabled us to formulate wider generalizations about the impacts of increased urban-rural linkages on rural areas after the 1980s.

In Gedelek, totally forty-one villagers; twenty-three of them were native, eighteen of them were non-native, were interviewed. In the research, it was found (in next parts it will be explained in detail) that Gedelek shows very different characteristics than traditional Anatolian villages. It does not resemble a rural area which is the only core of agriculture and plays a productive role in terms of supplying only food for urban areas. For better comprehending Gedelek village, it is necessary to have a look the stages of development in there that next part will explain.

Twenty-three villagers were interviewed in Kuşçuali to have an idea what has been happening in the village and whether strong linkages between Kuşçuali and Elmadağ or Ankara has an impact on the resembling process and taking characteristics of urban areas. However, the observation realized in Kuşçuali showed that the situation is very different in there. Agriculture is still the-almost- only means of making a living in there. Unlike Gedelek, what villagers produce is not for market, but for family use. Only the excess of agricultural products are sold to Elmadağ District but not to cities since the mid 1980s. There is also a tendency to migrate from Kuşçuali and number of native villagers have sharply decreased since the 1980s as nearly all villages in Anatolia. As Gedelek, stages of Kuşçuali will be expounded in next parts.

4.2.1. Stages of Kuşçuali Village:

Two previous searches were realized in Kuşçuali in 1967 by Bahattin Akşit and in 1988 by Nurdan Atalay. The prior works helped us to apprehend changing situation

easily in Kuşçuali. The information obtained from villagers⁸ and headman⁹ and previous works (Akşit, B. & Atalay, N) displayed four phases that Kuşçuali faced.

In the first stage until the 1970s, land was the main means of production that is Kuşçuali seemed to depend on land to make a living for families. The majority of households owned the his own land they worked on and so the agricultural equipment owned by household increased in that time. Beside agriculture, animal husbandry was another important economic activity of population. Nearly every kind of vegetables-fruits and cereals were produced by villagers. While the necessary amount of the production were used as their nutrition, the excess amount of agricultural production was sold in Elmadağ or Ankara. Especially, sugar beet were being produced and sold at very huge quantity. Sugar beet were produced by those whose fields were close to stream because villagers used irrigation trenches to draw water from nearby streams. About %40 of households benefitted from this form of irrigation, so it gave them an opportunity to grow fruits, vegetables or industrial crops. There were about 5000 sheeps and cows. Also, villagers from close villages such as Hisarköy, Taburlar and Deliler were working as workers collecting crops and as herdsman for sheeps and cows. This means, at this time also, villagers from close villages were earning income from Kuşçuali. Therefore, there had not been no tendency to deal with non-farm activities because the income from agriculture and animal husbandry was enough for them to survive but also accumulation was realized. Also, interviewers told that the cars, tractors or savings they have today, are the results of earnings from the 1970s. Because, village was self-sufficient, gradual increase in the population observed due to migration from close villages. However the trace of out-migration did not appear. The survey in 1966 by Akşit displayed that, in kuşçuali, the age group, 0-14 years old formed the majority of population. There were two minibusses for passenger transport between village and Elmadağ daily. Nearly each villagers were visiting Elmadağ once-twice a week. This rate was each day for headman. There was also a primary school.

⁸ Informant KVM01-02, K VW01-02

⁹ Informant KHM

The second stage can involve the dates between the 1970s-the mid 1980s. While the production of sugar beet continued (also annually some households were able to sell 4-5 tonnes sugar beets to factory in Ankara), at this time interval increase rate of population was very below the rate until the 1970s. The out-migration was observed because in 1966 the majority of population comprised 0-14 years old, this population group especially girls grew up and they did marriage and left from village. Also, male population tried to find better job opportunities in Elmadağ or Ankara because young and economically active population had difficulty in finding enough land to cultivate. The reason was the division of land due to inheritance that is, there was lack of agricultural land. Nearly %25 of male population chose to migrate to Elmadağ to work especially in factories. Elmadağ was best location for them because of proximity to village, they did not tend to break ties with Kuşçuali having relatives in there.

The third stage involves dates between the 1980s and the 2000s. At this time population reduced by half. Not earning enough income from agricultural production and animal husbandry and changing necessities because of changing world conditions caused speedy population decrease. Especially young population chose to migrate from village for job, educational opportunities. While people migrated to urbanized centers, they sold their lands and sheeps or cows. The financial losses in agriculture and animal husbandry reduced the relationship between land and human and also some sectors such as tourism, industry did not appear as an alternative to agriculture. This condition prepared the infrastructure of migration. At the first time, the individuals departed from village worked as seasonal workers then they found permanent job opportunities in Elmadağ. Villagers¹⁰ explains the reasons of sudden income decrease from agriculture and so increased migration that; after 1980 the State have gradually started to dismantle its protectionist and interventionist agricultural policies. The old system of agricultural subsidization was abolished. In this period, still farming was the main economic activity with its decreased weight. The survey in 1987 showed that, villagers produced wheat, barley, oats, sunflower, sugar beet, fruits and vegetables and took about %50 of their agricultural products to

¹⁰ Informant KVM 03, KVV 03,04

market and most families kept about half of their output for family consumption, taking the rest to market. Also about %29 of households still produced sugar beet all of which were sold to sugar refineries. Producing and selling the sugar beets as an industrial crop made the household producers gain more income than other households. Also %64 of cereals was sold to TMO. That is the marketing channels were usually the institutions of State in that time. Villagers due to proximity to Elmadağ or Ankara, did not explore different markets. They did not prefer to sell their cereals to merchants, if they did, they confessed that, they would get more direct cash payments. Villagers explain the reason why they preferred selling their crops to institutions that, in that time the young population decreased and it was difficult for older villagers to market them directly in Elmadağ/ Ankara or to agree with merchants.

The fourth and last stage can be explained the time since the 2000s, it is very obvious that population decrease percentage from 2000 to 2009 (nine years) equals the percentage reduction from the 1980 to 2000 (twenty years). According to the villagers, reason of this very sharp decrease in population can be explained by Sugar Law - No: 4634 in 2001. With this Law, some quotas were implemented and also starch based sugar was allowed to be produced about %10 of sugar production quota. This situation made living conditions of village and sugar beet producers worse. Because, sugar beet was the only good income source for villagers. By the Law came into effect, they did not achieve to compete with marketing conditions.

Today, the lands have passed through hands. The today's landowners are not the sons/daughters or grandsons of the ones in 1966 or 1987. There is a tendency to sell the lands to individuals not from village but also from Ankara. The situation is explained by villagers that villagers do not have enough money to buy the lands but people from Ankara want to buy these lands because there is a hearing that highway will pass near the village and also a dam construction will be realized on Balaban stream.

When compared the intensity of ties linking Ankara/Elmadağ and Kuşçuali, it observed that linkage weakened when the trade relationship reduced. The most intensive linkages between Kuşçuali and Elmadağ-Ankara, occurred before the 1980s, while the developments in transportation and communication sector have been accelerating since the 1980s.

Lastly, agricultural population decreased in proportion, the importance of agriculture declined, the rural life gradually lost its distinctive so peculiar characteristics after the 1980s with the changes that globalization brought. As Shanin and Worsley indicated “increasingly what happens in the countryside is determined by what happens in the towns”. This saying means that; the strict distinctions between rural-urban have been disappearing since the 1980s. However, the situation is not same for all rural areas in Turkey. Some rural areas take the changes as an opportunity by integrating to urban areas with growing flow of public and private capital, people (temporary migration and commuting) and goods (trade), while some rural areas does not achieve the integration so they are convicted to population decrease, low-income earning and so low quality of life. The next part will tell the stages of other village-Gedelek which has not the same features of traditional rural areas.

4.2.2. Stages of Gedelek Village:

The phases that were eventuated in Gedelek, appeared by the information taken from villagers. The information from headman¹¹ of Gedelek and also a some villagers¹² generally pointed to nine stages. The stages can be describe as follows:

The first stage is before the 1929 -which is the arrival date of Rıfat Minareci to village-, villagers were producing beans (In past, when beans were thought, Gedelek was coming into the minds) and were dealing with agriculture, husbandry and forestry activities, every villagers had their own lands and animals to feed themselves also to sell them to Bursa and other cities. There were about one hundred

¹¹ Informant GHM

¹² Informant GNMW 01-02, GNWH 01-02, GNWW 01

households at that time (1927 Population Census). It can be concluded that in the first stage, Gedelek was a little bit different than a traditional rural area, that is, it had more dynamic structure because products of agriculture did not only for their survival way but with the trade to cities, it was a regular cash earning way for accumulation.

Second stage comprised the date between 1929 and 1949 that villagers only produced agricultural products for Rıfat Minare to produce pickle. The majority of them gave up selling their products to other cities. First time, they only produced cucumber but than crop pattern diversified, so Rıfat Minare produced different kind of pickle. Rıfat Minare at that stage paid regular money to villagers, also some extra money or credit to the ones who brought the first harvest. At that period it can be summed that, the competitiveness had occurred among villagers to become the first one to harvest and also they continued to earn regular cash as before 1929 and also some villagers worked in Rıfat Minare's firm to produce pickle in Gemlik.

Third stage of the year of 1950 was the turning point for the village because a native villager of Gedelek who had been working in Rıfat Minare's establishment learnt how to produce pickle, then produced crops in his land and by using them he made his own pickle to sell to cities and got more money than its past earning, so it gave inspiration to the villagers and also they learnt the process. So, they slowly started to give up production of agricultural products to Rıfat Minare and chose to produce pickle by their own vegetables.

Fourth stage involves the date between 1950-1966, in which pickle producing had been very common that each household produced pickle in their own house and sold them to big cities such as Bursa, İstanbul in type of wholesale not retail.

The date of 1966 is the fifth stage that electricity came to village and mechanization was observed.

The date between 1970- mid-1980s can be treated as sixth stage that, with the

increase in mechanization, producing pickles were realized by establishment of new firms so production of pickle went beyond the boundaries of houses. With the birth of new firms with production permit, the village's own crops (vegetables) started to become insufficient and other villages from close to remote distances provided crops to Gedelek (villagers did not deal with producing vegetables, they chose to produce only pickle, the land which were being harvested for vegetables such as beans, cucumber, etc... transformed to olive grove and fruit ranch). There have been some villagers (at most four households)¹³, that they bought small shops in big cities to sell their products that villagers inserted into a variety of markets.

Since the mid-1980s through the mid-1990s the seventh stage, the number of shops owned by native villagers have increased at an accelerating pace in cities. These villagers also bought houses in cities near their shops. They tended to produce pickle in village and sell them in their shops. Generally, son of them have been responsible for shop. They were at the head of firms and employers which both member of his own households members and apart from their own household members. Therefore it can be said that the trade style changed from wholesale to retail. Property ownership in cities encouraged them buying cars and minibusses. Besides having car and minibusses, the roads at that period became more comfortable and larger that these improvements made villagers have more intensive relation with urban areas. This stage can be seen as the starting point of increasing linkages between village and other villages-big cities that visit frequency between village and city increased. Before that stage, villagers had been only producing pickle and purchaser had been sending truck from İstanbul, Bursa to load the pickle, so there was a limited interaction between city and village. However, having shops, houses in big cities and developments at communication, transportation and infrastructure made a huge contribution to this limited interaction. The seventh stage is also important for Gedelek that export demands¹⁴ appeared from Germany, Spain, Israel, Azerbaijan to relatively large scale firms such as Zeytursan registered in 1983 and Pınar registered in 1971.

¹³ Informant GNE 01, GNWW 01-02-03

¹⁴ Informant GNE 01-02, GNL 01-02

The eight stage involves the mid-1990s and beginning of 2000s, has faced a different picture that, people who are not born in Gedelek and had shops in cities, started to migrate from their settled place to Gedelek because they learnt Gedelek from the native ones who had shops in İstanbul. They desired to establish their own firms to produce pickle and then sold them in their own shops. This stage incredibly increased the linkage between village and city. Therefore, in this time interval, the linkage was provided in a bidirectional way; one direction is shaped by the established market relation, i.e. increased visits occurring from Gedelek to other urban areas in which native villagers had shops and houses and another direction is shaped by emigrants to Gedelek. This linkage has not been limited by time, it has been very dynamic.

The last stage has been continuing since the mid-2000s that export has become common not only in large scale production firms but also in small firms. The export has been realizing with the help of subcontractors in small firms. The direct export is achieved by large scale firms to so many countries from Europe to Africa. Also, the migration continues rapidly.

In next part, answers of the aim questions of thesis will be tried to be found such as; have the distinctions between rural-urban been disappearing for all rural areas and do the rural areas integrating with urban areas and taking its characteristics have more chances to survive will be examined in the case studies of Kuşçuali and Gedelek.

4.3. New Rurality-Changing Features

In Chapter 2, the features of a concept used to tell to any changes in rural areas or any issues which had previously been neglected or insufficiently emphasized by prior studies, named as new rurality has been explained in detail. In chapter 2, it was aimed to attract attention to the new changes in rural areas. While giving information about the changes in rural areas, five aspects were analysed basically that have been started to be observed in rural areas. They are; increase of non-farm activities, changing role of women, increase of rural entrepreneurship, rural population growth

and also change of division of labour. In this part, whether the observed changing features of rural areas as new rurality approach defined in the integration process occurred in all rural areas or not will be tried to be introduced within the context of Gedelek and Kuşçuali Villages.

4.3.1. Non-Farm Activities:

It is a well-known fact in traditional view that living in rural areas is earned mainly from agricultural activities. These activities are essentially crop production, animal husbandry and forestry that these are at the turn point of exposing to change since 1980s. After that period, non-farm activities in rural as a component of new rurality has been interpreted as a way of rethinking rural development in terms of employment and income generation. For understanding whether there is a increase in NFA or not and whether linkage between village and more urbanized center affect the increase of NFA that is widely accepted as the feature of urban or not, some hidden questions in Appendix were asked to villagers during in-depth interview. The in-depth interview was realized with owners of registered firms, workers, truck loaders, producer of tin package for pickle of native and non-native individuals that they deal with different non-farm activities. The answers of the questions, the past documents about settlements, observations helped to draw a picture about increase of NFA and linkage.

At this point, Kuşçuali and Gedelek exhibit very different pictures that agriculture is still the main income earning way in Kuşçuali with its decreased weight.

4.3.1.1. About Kuşçuali:

There are totally according to data on 2009, 134 people living in there; 71 of them are female and 63 of them are male. There are about 70 people which are economically active population (the years between 15-65). Therefore, the number of

economically not active population is 64 consisting of 25 people which are students and children below 15 years old and 39 people with above 65 years¹⁵. The villagers¹⁶ and head man of Village told us that, two households deal with animal husbandry (including women totally 7 people), four heads of a family work in poultry farm near the village, two heads of family work in factory in Elmadağ (having old parents in Kuşçuali, they can not migrate to Elmadağ) among 70 people who are economically active population. Also, ten headman of a family among villagers who are above 65 years old, are retired that they migrated to work in Ankara and Elmadağ and returned to village after retirement. Therefore 64 people (including ones dealing with animal husbandry and the women who help their husbands) deal with farming actively¹⁷.

Table 4.3. Distribution of occupation among villagers

	Distribution of Occupations			
70 people Economically active population	7 people with animal husbandry	57 people only with agricultural activities	4 people in poultry farm	2 people in factory
64 people Economically not active population	25 people which are students and children below 15 years old		39 people with above 65 years	

Source: Interviews with headman and other villagers.

After the 1980s, due to division of land, implemented some agricultural policies, sold lands to foreign people, aging problem; the number of population dealing with agriculture or animal husbandry reduced with very speedy rate in Kuşçuali. The search made in 1987 by Ilgaz showed that %86,5 of population work in farming, however this rate is only about %47 in 2010

Even though the farm activities have not been enough for income-generating of Kuşçuali households, they have not been concentrated on the non-farm activities not a substitute for employment in agriculture but rather as a supplementary measure.

¹⁵ Informant KHM

¹⁶ Informant KVM01-02, KVV 01-02-03

¹⁷ Informant KHM

A women villager¹⁸ told that, before the 1980s tomatoes were being produced (today also tomatoes are being produced) at huge amounts on more irrigated lands near the stream, their tastes were liked by the customers in Elmadağ. Some women villagers intended to produce tomato paste and market them in Elmadağ. For being afraid of risk-taking and necessary income earning at that time, this intention was not achieved by them. She also explained that, today still tomato paste are produced but old population does not find the energy to market them in Elmadağ. Headman of villager also expressed that instead of migration that has been easier way of making life in better conditions, villager could save their past earnings and invest on a business and so maybe the migration would not occur at that speed.

The study in 1987 in Kuşçuali also showed, there was one minibus serving the needs of transportation of whole villagers-in that date, (population was 340) however there were many taxis and minibusses in Karaoğlan (the population was 258 in that time) which was another case observed by the same study. It is interesting that there were so many drivers in Karaoğlan than Kuşçuali that the population of Karaoğlan was less compared to Kuşçuali. One reason can be the proximity to centers that Karaoğlan is 4 km far away from Gölbaşı and 27 km from Ankara and so it could be easier to drive from village within closer areas¹⁹. However, in Kuşçuali as the study in 1987 and our observation shows, while there has been a demand for taxis and minibusses as public transportation, there has not been any attempt finding ways to provide this demand that it could be a good way of earning money. This demand may not be met due to financial problems that it is very expensive to have a minibus or taxi, but this is not a valid reason because someone could hire a taxi or minibus²⁰

In other words, until the 1980s earning enough income from farming activities and so having good quality of life in Kuşçuali (no transportation problem with Ankara or Elmadağ due to having cars, enough lands to cultivate, enough machinery equipments, their own houses, having a primary school, village clinic in a close village) and after the 1980s finding jobs at factories in Elmadağ-Ankara, can be

¹⁸ Informant K VW 04

¹⁹ Informant KVM 03-04, K VW 05

²⁰ Informants KVM 04

reasons not to search non-farm activities and why they lacked of ability to accumulate capital to examine making new investments.

In this point of view, Kuşçuali resembles to the first type of village according to Keyder's identification that Keyder identified four distinct types of villages after long-time struggles for survival (Akşit, 1999) in the 1980s. In this village type, they did usually subsistence farming and also they were the ones which had been losing a great part of their population through migration either to cities or abroad because of the limited capacity of their lands for efficient agricultural production.

When looked at this perspective, Gedelek can be categorized as the Keyder's second village type that at this type of villages people can diversify their income basis either by rural non-farm activities or by benefiting from nearer settlements and economies by the help of developments in accessibility.

4.3.1.2. About Gedelek:

As explained in part 4.2.2., foundation of new pickle firms by native and non-native individuals and having shops in cities since the 1980s have made firm owners understand the production process could not be achieved only by household members working in production. Therefore, workers have been employed in production cycle which have been sometimes native of village and sometimes from closer villages or Orhangazi District or sometimes the migrants coming from Eastern part of Turkey (the migrants from western part of Turkey settle in there for becoming a self employer while the ones from eastern part settle for becoming worker or truck loader that their relatives usually have had such an experience and also their future aim is to have their own establishments).

Employment and income increase in Gedelek is not only due to pickle production. The production also created different employment fields. Appearing so many pickle production firms within Gedelek made it impossible to provide the needs of all

vegetables for production only from Gedelek, for that reason vegetables have been obtaining from closer village to remote settlements (The first harvest is obtained from closer village and then; Ödemiş, Balıkesir, Afyon even Ağrı)²¹ this causes very important economic dynamism for these villagers. Annually about 50.000 tones of production are marketted which is achieved by the vegetables collected from at least 50 villages.

Also these vegetables have to be carried to Gedelek, so some villagers both in Gedelek and other settlements have become truck driver and also the vegetables need to be loaded and unloaded that some villagers have become workers in loading. The packing appeared as another need, when this need was revealed, a tin package factory established twenty years ago that this factory was founded by a retired bank employee who took risk by entering a completely very different new sector (we can call him as an entrepreneur). However, today most of his earning comes from Gedelek and he employees eight people²².

Another occupation branch related to the pickle production is the some chemicals to protect them from some negative outside effects. Few villagers worked as intermediary that they have been providing some chemicals to firms which is bought from cities. Also, subcontractors which is another field of employment have started to become common in Gedelek with the increase of export demands, while large scale firms make export by themselves, small-scale firms realize it with the help of subcontractors.

Shortly, non-agricultural economic activities figure prominently dominant in the village of Gedelek that today only three households engage in animal husbandry and only two household in agriculture, the most of the rest in pickle production as worker or self employer, few of them in truck loading, few of them in driving, few of them in production of raw material to pickle²³. There are also two hairdressers and their two apprentices, one grocery, one butcher. This means that, NFA is much more than

²¹ Informant GNMW 02, GNNMW 01-02

²² Informant GNNTTP 01

²³ Informant GHM

agricultural activities in Gedelek. The village today seems a factory realizing integrated pickle production with its peasants becoming workers.

The linkage between Gedelek and İstanbul has gained intensity since the mid-1980s. Since that time, villagers have owned shops and houses in İstanbul and pickle producers from İstanbul have migrated to Gedelek for producing pickle. The investments on transportation and communication sector has been beneficial to Gedelek in terms of facilitating movement of people and transporting marketable products. In other words, the different kind of linkages between Gedelek and other rural areas and İstanbul and also foreign countries has appeared. One type is agricultural marketing and employment linkage (agricultural products such as cucumber, cabbage, pepper are obtained from close villages to remote rural areas and also workers) realizing between Gedelek and other close villages and also other remote rural areas. Other type can be seen as the industrial linkage between Gedelek and İstanbul. The finished products of pickle production industry which is based on not very complicated technology and mostly family-run enterprises, are sold in retail shops in İstanbul. Also preference of the owner of retail shops of non-native ones to settle in Gedelek for realizing start-up businesses formed another type of linkage between rural and urban. Generally, one-four trucks are loaded in a week depending on the size of production firm to İstanbul or Bursa²⁴. Therefore self employers at least once a week have a visit to İstanbul. Also, export linkage between foreign countries and village is other type that shows the linkages goes beyond the national boundaries.

The above writings create an idea in mind that, due to non-farm activities in Gedelek, relationship between Gedelek and urban areas have increased. However, it is true that by the help of developments with globalization, the number of shops and houses owned increased so trips to İstanbul rose up (the increased linkage). The flow of people, ideas and capital from Village affected the non-native pickle producers that they decided to settle in Gedelek. This situation made an increase in number of enterprises and workers (non-farm activities) in Gedelek. That is, while the

²⁴ GNE 01-02, GNNE 01-02-03

increasing of non farm activities made a beginning for the intensity of linkage between Gedelek and İstanbul, with the increment intensity of linkage also made a big climb in NFA in Gedelek.

In sum, it can be easily perceived that, non-agricultural activities so employment are common in Gedelek whereas there is no sign in Kuşçuali except two workers in working in Elmadağ and having daily trips between home and factory and also four workers in poultry farm near the village. The earnings of households in Kuşçuali are usually for survival while it is both survival and accumulation in Gedelek (under the new rurality, Gedelek has been transformed from an area of farming for subsistence for the local market to an area of more specialized–pickle production-oriented toward the national and also international market) that the rise in purchasing power encourages villagers to make new investments in terms of modernization such as equipments in production cycle and also expanding their establishments and buying shops and houses in cities. This clearly reflects the transformation the village of Gedelek is undergoing.

4.3.2. Role of Women and Division of Labour:

The most notable feature in our observations and interviews in Gedelek and Kuşçuali was that, women in general had difficulties in comprehending the concepts used by us compared with men. It can be explained by; men members of households have more interaction with cities that helps them to easily adapt the culture of cities so concepts used in there.

As stated in Chapter 2, rural economies, particularly those dependent on agriculture, have been affected by the processes of globalisation, leading to the restructuring and decline of the agricultural sector, the growth of the service sector and increased emphasis on technology. In many areas, this has created unprecedented work and employment opportunities, as well as bringing changes in the role and status of women (Report of Assuring the Future of Rural Europe, 2000:5)

In this part we will examine the status, roles and occupations of women in Gedelek and Kuşçuali. The general questions used to perceive their status and role in household. The table at Appendix section describes the questions.

Women in rural Turkey generally continue their lives as a disadvantaged social groups with more domestic roles and a dependency on men. However, as a result of economic growth and social change occurring in some rural areas in recent years, there has been some gradual visible improvement in the lives of women too.

The changes can be grouped as in social life, economic life, daily life in terms of rural women in these two observed villages. In both villages, rural women are not a homogeneous group. They have different roles and occupations, on farms and in family businesses, in employment and in community activities. Their needs and interests differ too, particularly from one village to another.

4.3.2.1. About Kuşçuali:

In Kuşçuali, the role and situation of girls and women are usually the same with traditional Anatolian villages. Girls usually make their first marriage about the age of 18 after the elementary school. Girls usually marry to men working in Elmadağ or Ankara but their parents are native of Kuşçuali and well-known by girls' families²⁵. There is also no pressure on girls in choosing their lawful man. However, girls in there have less chance for their decision making in village because men after high school, seek employment opportunities in Elmadağ or Ankara. When they find a suitable work, they migrate there so the men at marriage age are not much in village²⁶.

In Kuşçuali, nuclear type of family (consisting of father, mother and unmarried children) is common. This means; girls in Kuşçuali do not need to live with their

²⁵ Informant KHM, KVM 04-05-06, KVV 03-04

²⁶ Informant KVV 03-04

parent-in-law. The reason of common nuclear type of family is due to migration to other working places when men are at marriage age in Kuşçuali.

Men in Kuşçuali do not favor women travelling alone outside and also giving their decisions according to the ideas of their wives. Women in Kuşçuali do not travel alone to Elmadağ, they only travel at most once a month with their husbands. Their reasons are usually for doctor's appointment and also family visits. Generally according to men in Kuşçuali, women should visit their family and doctor with their accompaniment because of the difficulties in travelling from Kuşçuali to Elmadağ due to no vehicles and distance, also men's conservative views²⁷. This means, while men members of households have visits for marketing their products to more urbanized center-Elmadağ, the women labour is stationary and only help the continuity of the agricultural production.

Our examination displayed that, women participation in economic life has been very limited in Kuşçuali. Village being economically poor, men of Kuşçuali village only allows their wives to work on farm activities in village (there is also no other works for women except farm activities). They think that it does not matter they are rich or poor, women basically should stay home and take care of their families, women can only help them on farm activities. However, it is interesting that as displayed in the study of 1987 by Ilgaz, women of households were working during tree-planting seasons as a head of workers before the 1980s. As mentioned, before the 1980s the relationship with Elmadağ was at the highest level in its history. The situation in that time made men of Kuşçuali see their wives to work as the head of workers coming from close villages during tree-planting seasons²⁸.

In Kuşçuali because there is not a primary school in Village, all girls as boys attend to primary school in Karacahasan. In our search when it was asked to girls what to be in future, the first sentence by them was that they want to become a mother²⁹. In Kuşçuali also, there is a willingness by parents to send their daughters high school

²⁷ Informant KVM 07, KVM f06

²⁸ Informant KHM, KVM07

²⁹ Informant KVCG 01-02-03-04

and also university but they speak as hopeless. Therefore, their first desire for their daughters in next years making a good marriage with a man having a permanent job³⁰.

4.3.2.2. About Gedelek:

In Gedelek, contrary to Kuşçuali, the situation and role of women and girls are different than traditional Anatolian villages but also close to the situation and role of women-girls living in urban areas.

The girls are usually married to men living in there, there is no tendency of marrying to men outside the village. Because, boys after high school carry the works of their family as a self-employer or become worker in pickle production or get the responsibility of shops in İstanbul, they have purchasing power of having their own houses, cars and so enough money for family living when they are at marriage age. So, girls do not have to live in the same house with her parent-in-law. These are the general reasons for girls to have intention on marrying a native man. The average marriage age of girls is about 20-21. The marriage age was below the 18 about thirty years ago. However today, women are against their daughters to marry such a young age. The marriage age in nowadays is compatible with Turkey statistics. In Turkey %59 of women realize their first marriage between age of 18-24 (TUIK, Family Structure Survey, 2006). There is no pressure on girls to marry a certain man, they can choose who they will marry³¹.

In Gedelek as Kuşçuali nuclear type of family (consisting of father, mother and unmarried children) are common. This means; girls in Gedelek do not need to live with their parent-in-law. The reason of common nuclear type of family is having enough purchasing power of their own houses or having enough money for family living in Gedelek.

³⁰ Informant KVM 07-08-09, KVV 05-06

³¹ Informant GNWW 02-03-04, GNE 02, GNNE 01, GNNMW 01-02

Men in Gedelek favor women travelling alone outside the villages more than men in Kuşçuali. Nearly all of the head of families approved such an option in Gedelek except some just migrated there from eastern part of Turkey. The proximity of Orhangazi and the frequency of transportation (bus-minibus) allowed a more relaxed attitude from men about their wives or daughters travelling doctor's appointment, shopping, going to hairdresser, family visits unaccompanied by them. Women also familiar the visits to İstanbul because when their husbands or sons have some other works to do in İstanbul, they can take the responsibility of shops. At least once a week they visit Orhangazi alone and at least every two months to İstanbul by their husbands or sometimes alone. These visits are seen normal in the view of men³².

Our examination displayed that women engagement in social conversations with us has been more interactive in Gedelek compared with Kuşçuali and women have told their opinions more freely. They think that women live in İstanbul are not superior than themselves, they are the same and they can do whatever they do.³³ They usually see their husbands as head of the family but men are only superior than themselves in terms of physical power. The majority of men in Gedelek stated that they take the opinions of their wives in giving decisions and women are not only responsible from house-hold chores such as cleaning, raising children, cooking etc..³⁴ are the ones who are not native of Gedelek but lived in İstanbul in so many years that they had pickle shops in İstanbul and decided to migrate to Gedelek for production and have very intense relations between Gedelek and İstanbul.

In Gedelek, it is seen very normal that women should work outside home to provide additional income, i.e. the monetary contribution of the wives to household is highly appreciated in Village. Women's participation is usually realized through pickle production. Women work in pickle production firms as workers with men. Also, the rapid expansion of exports of pickle production and the increase of retail shops in İstanbul so increase demand of pickle, has mainly created employment possibilities for women. Employers have preferred to employ female workers as they are seen to

³² Informant GNMW 02, GNE 01-02, GNNE 01-03

³³ Informant GNWH 01-02, GNWW 01-02-04, GNNWW 04-05-07

³⁴ Informant GNNE 01-02-03

be more willing to accept temporary work and women are better workers as they take greater care in their work which is important when dealing with perishable vegetables. We also observed in some pickle production establishments, wife of the households were working as a head of workers. The few permanent jobs available tend to be filled by men, as are the higher and better paid supervisory positions such as export dealer, firm owner. Nonetheless, many women value their increased participation in the labour market as it offers them an opportunity to negotiate better relations with their partners or parents and reduce patriarchal domination within the household, as well as gain greater independence.

As opposed to obstacles in accessing education for women in rural areas of Turkey, girls in Gedelek are luckier than them. There is a primary school in Village and all girls attend to school. Also, all girls as boys are sent to high school in Orhangazi. Parents of daughters also have a willingness to send girls to university after high school³⁵. Illiteracy rate is very low in Gedelek, only the women migrated from east villages of Turkey do not know analphabet. All the women migrated from urbanized centers know reading-writing³⁶. In our interviews with children³⁷, girls explained that they want to be a teacher, doctor or even an astronaut before the first sentence of being a future mother.

4.3.3. Rural Entrepreneurship:

While, new jobs, higher incomes and increased wealth are seen as the benefits of entrepreneurship; rural areas are often found difficult to sustain high-growth entrepreneurship. Spatial difficulties and some barriers explained in Chapter 2 give rise to such a thought. For examining the entrepreneurship, the questions in table at Appendix were asked to interviewers.

³⁵ Informant GNW H 01-02-03-04, GNL 01-02-03, GNNWW 03-04-05-06-07

³⁶ Informant GHM

³⁷ Informant GNCG 01-02-03, GNNCG 01-02

4.3.3.1. About Kuşçuali:

In Kuşçuali, sign of enterprises can not be observed. The interviewers blame themselves for not saving their earnings and not investing on a venture by cooperating with each other. The excess amount of agricultural productions were sold by their own efforts at the streets or industrial crops through State Institutions not through the merchants. However, the changing quality of relations in marketing process since globalization caused a need of new organization of production according to market conditions. The study in 1987 compared Kuşçuali with Karaoğlan displayed that the latter one explored different markets for its same kind of agricultural products. They preferred to sell their wheat to wheat merchants due to direct cash payments. In this point of views, the villagers in Kuşçuali told that in the 1970s due to enough income earning, they did not concentrate on other type of non-farm activities and with the 1980s changing conditions, it became difficult for them to adapt and they wish they could examine other ways of employment in Village and become risk takers³⁸.

4.3.3.2. About Gedelek:

In Gedelek since the 1970s, due to expansion of pickle production so inadequate space at home gave birth of firms independent from houses. The firms were founded at the additional spaces next their houses. The first firm established in Gedelek was Pınar Gıda founded at 1971 as a small-medium sized firm (Documents obtained from Orhangazi Chamber of Commerce and Trade). In the 1970s, four workers were working which all were the relatives each others (brothers and their sons)³⁹ in Pınar Gıda. The founder of the first firm became a self-employer and can be seen as having an entrepreneursip spirit that he was risk taker and strategic thinker able to perceive and use opportunities. The first firm birth was one important indicator of starting of entrepreneurial activity in Gedelek.

³⁸ Informant KHM, KVM 05-06-07-09

³⁹ Informant GNE 01

In the first years of foundation of Pınar Gıda, they only invested on the firm own needs in terms of mechanization. The first machine bought was packing machine. For being easily remembered by customers, they pressed their trade marks on the package

Time between the 1971 (the first foundation year of firm-Pınar Gıda) and the mid-1980, the all founded firms including Pınar Gıda did not spend money on properties such as land, houses or cars, however all save was spent on the mechanization to catch up the technological development. The reason was that wholesale (for all founded firms) was an important income earning for all firms in that period. The all produced goods were sold to bigger shops that they were influenced from the level of technology (mechanization) the firms in Gedelek used. As well as wholesale, for retail sales there happened a tendency for having shops in big cities in that time interval. The Pınar Gıda was again the first one had the shop in İstanbul. However about one fourth of firms had shops in İstanbul between 1971 and mid-1980.

The firms which did not have shops in big cities before the 1980s had a tendency to have shops in cities on the other hand the ones which had shops in cities before the 1980s had a tendency to have additional and bigger shops for increasing retail sales in İstanbul after the mid-1980s. Better communication and transportation facilities after the 1980s also helped villagers to give the decision of having shops in İstanbul more easily. Either sons of the founder of firms or close relatives of the founder of the firms were head of the shop.

When villagers from Gedelek decided to buy shops in İstanbul, they firstly searched where to buy. In İstanbul there were some locations (Beşiktaş, Üsküdar) where pickle shops agglomerated, these shops were owned by individuals especially from Kastamonu, Karabük, Zonguldak or Ankara. Therefore villagers decided to locate near the other pickle shops owned by non-native individuals in Beşiktaş and Üsküdar. So, there has been intensive marketing linkages between Village and the city since that date (mid-1980).

The intensive relationship between native (from Gedelek) and non-native shop owners (from Kastamonu, Karabük, Zonguldak or Ankara), revealed the flow of information and experiences between them. This was also starting point of a new era for entrepreneurship in Gedelek. Because, the non-native owner of shops in İstanbul were affected from new comers (from Gedelek) that they decided to migrate to Gedelek with all family members to have their own production firms after the 1990s. Nearly all in-migrants⁴⁰ stated that, agglomeration of pickle production firms in Gedelek, the taste and quality of Pınarbaşı stream used in production, available experienced employment force, transportation facilities, lower cost of land for establishment were the main reasons for the decision.

The agglomeration of firms in Gedelek helped to reduce the search costs for knowledge and information. In other words, because the founders of firms have been all acquaintance, the presence of inter-related firms allowed easier communications and the more knowledge spillovers for improving knowledge transfer, and facilitate knowledge creation, innovative activity, and so economic growth (employment, income increase). The firms were inspired by each other that first innovative ideas by one specific firm especially in terms of mechanization were common in couple months among all others.

As labor characteristics and the quality of the labor force influence the average cost of production for firms, the firms had an opportunity that the workers in production cycle especially from Gedelek had always experienced in production of pickle. Also owner of today's registered firms were the sons at that dates and they started to learn the business course when they were 14 or 15.

The entrepreneurship activities as a result can be categorized into two groups; locally-born entrepreneurs and in-migrant entrepreneurs. Locally born type of entrepreneurship appeared with the first registred firm in 1971 and gained speed after the 1980s while the second type emerged after the 1990s.

⁴⁰ Informant GNNE 01-02-03, GNNMW 01-02

The new arrivals (in-migrants), have increased significantly (in fact more than double) the number of business ventures in Gedelek since the 1990s with close relationships with their main sources of information gotten in İstanbul. In-migrant entrepreneurs displayed a greater level of informal business contacts outside the Village, as well as a greater proportion of sales due to having retail shops in İstanbul for years that their fathers or grand-fathers had been making the jobs. The new comers also have been creative that they attempted to produce different kinds of pickle such as from egg, apple, onion because the new ones knew the tastes of the people in İstanbul. The pickles from these kind of vegetables and fruits started to become common in nearly all enterprises. The new arrival entrepreneurs is also seen by nearly all interviewed locally-born entrepreneurs, as an important instrument in enhancing the integration of rural economy in the national as well as global markets. The observation and documents showed that export grew between 1990 and mid-2000s by large scale firms to so many countries from Europe to Africa.

The all in-migrant entrepreneurs invested on firm and mechanization to adapt changing technological improvements when they settle in Gedelek. One in-migrant individual⁴¹ told that when they were in Gedelek with all family members, he firstly decided its firm location, in the first few years he only spent money on fixed costs such as wage and insurance of employers also bought important machines to make production in a speedy way and did not buy his own house. After about seven years, he bought his own house in Gedelek. Nearly all in-migrant entrepreneurs were observed that they were born in Kastamonu or Karabük that showed us, they advised each other to migrate there.

Since the dates of mid- 2000s export has become common not only in large scale production firms but also in small-scale production firms. However the interviewed ones accepted that they are realizing export through sub-contractors. On the other hand, there is a desire to make export by themselves as large-scale firms⁴².

⁴¹ Informant GNNE 03

⁴² Informant GNNE 03

As explained new business starts are related to rural employment growth, but how fast these firms grow after initial start-up is also important. When looked at this perspective, a willingness was observed in all small-medium sized enterprises to evolve in terms of scale⁴³. The small ones have an intention to cooperate with each other and to become a large-scale joint venture.⁴⁴

In short, since the foundation date of registered first firm (1971), number of new firm births have increased in Gedelek. Also according to data obtained from Orhangazi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the number of death of firms have been in a very small proportion compared to birth ones. The rate of increment in the share of young firms and self employment gave rise in job opportunities for individuals both in Gedelek, close villages and Orhangazi.

Also since the 1980s, both retail and wholesale have been realizing together in Gedelek. Totally about 7000 tonnes of products are being sold in national market annually. Today also the number of labours working in firms, have at least doubled since the 1970s.

For example, 50 people work in production cycle in Pınar Gıda, it was said that with the additional production space in near future, the number of the employees will be at least 80. Workers are from Gedelek, close villages and also Orhangazi District. The firm also has expanded their activities and markets and they have found new markets for their products beyond the local boundaries and also national boundaries. The export has been realizing by their own selves not with the help of subcontractors since 1985 that Russia, Germany, Azerbaijan. The annually 60 tonnes of export are being eventuated.

In Gedelek today except Pınar Gıda, there are two large scale enterprises too. The names are Zeytursan and Yaman Gıda that were small-scale firms in the first foundation days that the all workers were relatives each other. Today at least 150 employee are working in Zeytursan and 10.000 tonnes of production annually are

⁴³ Informant GNE 02, GNNE 01-02-03

⁴⁴ Informant GNNE 01-02-03

being marketed while the employee numbers are about 50 and 5.000 tonnes of production annually are being marketed by Yaman⁴⁵.

Entrepreneurship treated as a characteristic of urban areas can be observed easily in Gedelek competing with also big companies in national as well as global markets. Gedelek was described as a small Germany that was seen an important tool for employment and income opportunities as long as the enterprises survive⁴⁶. The number of ventures gained a speed especially after the 1990s with the arrivals of in-migrants and also entrepreneurship spirit developed with the new young comers with having urban entrepreneurship experiences, using more modern technology.



Figure 4.8. View of production areas

Source: Personal archive

4.3.4. Rural In-Migration:

Unemployment is one of the important problems that rural areas especially in developing countries. The nearly all searches in rural areas displayed that the migration from rural to urban occurs due to unemployment so inadequate income earning and so low level of quality of life.

In literature the searches focus on the reasons of migration from rural to urban areas due to lack of employment opportunities outside of agriculture and the lack of

⁴⁵ Informant GHM

⁴⁶ Informant GNNTTP 01

amenities such as education, health are seen as the push factors. According to Adewale (2005:13), the decision to migrate is often part of the household livelihood strategy of individuals. For rural, the migration usually involves the younger members of the family which can not find ways of job opportunities and income earnings and not adapt the global economic processes.

While out-migration (population loss) treated as a concept relating only with rural areas, in-migration (the population gain) was seen as a related concept to urban areas in 1980s-1990s. However, in developed countries in-migration to rural areas (from urban to rural (or back) migration) has become one of the most important modes of migration since recent years.

4.3.4.1. About Gedelek:

Gedelek, opposed to general trend in rural Turkey, has not lost population even has gained population. The population increase rate was %13 between the 1980-1990 while %25 between the 1990-2000 which is nearly doubled of the 1980s-1990s. The rate of rise was about %5 between 1990-2000.

Before the 1980s, interaction was very limited between urban and Gedelek, due to lack of transportation, communication developments so the employment opportunities only known by the close villagers that they tended to migrate. Because the close villagers were cultivating their agricultural products for Gedelek, had learnt the advantageous of Village. Therefore the population growth between 1980-1990 was due to new comers from close villages.

However after 1990s a new era for Gedelek, the increase of shops owned by Gedelek villagers in Istanbul, rose the relationship between Gedelek villagers and the existed ones who already had pickle retail shops in İstanbul. Flow of people, capital, ideas, information between village and urban created an awareness on the old pickle retail shop owners about the the natural and occupational opportunities of Gedelek. The

opportunities of Gedelek according to them were skilled labour, cheap land (today not cheap as before), natural amenities, such as stream, agglomeration, not far away from District, close the motorway.

They decided to migrate to Gedelek to become a self-employee with having their own production firms. Since that date, there has happened a population and production firm growth steadily. With the rise of number of firms; vegetables, for pickle production which obtained from close villages in Bursa and other villages in close cities such as Balıkesir, İzmit, have become inadequate. The result was found as picking up the vegetables from villages in cities that are at remote distances such as, Afyon, İzmir, Aydın, Manisa, Antalya and also Muş and Ağrı. This means, Gedelek have had interaction with other villages in different cities. The increase linkage and so the dissemination of information also gave way to another type of population increase. Suppliers of vegetables to Gedelek also have had an idea about the Gedelek. Especially they have been the ones located in eastern part of Turkey which have had a threat of job-losses due to the decreasing efficiency in agricultural production, started to migrate to Gedelek. They wanted to become worker or truck loader. They have also willingness to have their own pickle production firms after years.

Also the native villagers of Gedelek and new comers have told the possibilities in Gedelek in terms of employment and income earning to their relatives or friends that has been another type of in-migration. For example an individual-work as a truck loader and his wife as a employee in Gedelek- from Muş learnt opportunities from one of his relative having a pickle shop in İstanbul and living in Gedelek. He and his family totally seven members have been living in Gedelek since 1994.⁴⁷

Another in-migrants are the ones who were locally-born in Gedelek however lived in somewhere to work especially at a public institution, came after their retirement to Gedelek. Their first desire to settle in Gedelek again not to work in there as a self

⁴⁷ Informant GNNWW 07

employee or in some other occupational field but its natural features and also they explained why they returned to Gedelek as they want to die in their born settlement.

We can see also other side of coin. Although the increased relationship between Gedelek and urban areas created population growth in Village, the rise of population especially come from big cities such as Istanbul or Bursa increased the interaction between Gedelek and urban areas where they are from or came from.

In short, the migration reasons because of job and natural opportunities have varied generally according to migrants' departure location and their past occupations.

Also, there is a temporary population increase in Village that reaches 1800 people in summer that pickle production gains speed. They are the ones especially from eastern part of Turkey who have relatives in Gedelek as pickle workers⁴⁸

In our observation, all the members of in-migrants are not regretful to settle in. The interviewed children also told that since the time of arrival, they have never felt themselves as excluded from other children in education or in every field of life. They are also happy for their parents' well-being compared with past. However, we comprehended that the girls' future desires do not cover to live in Gedelek, but the boys want to become a producer as their fathers or relatives living in the village⁴⁹.

4.3.4.2. About Kuşçuali:

Kuşçuali shows very different picture compared with Gedelek but compatible with nearly all about the rest of rural areas in Turkey. As seen table 4.1., the increase rate of population was %31 between 1960-1970, %2 between 1970-1980 while decrease rate was - %33 between 1980-1990, - %25 between 1990-2000 and the deepest rate of decrease was - % 49 from 2000 to 2009. As explained in the previous parts, the income was enough for the villagers but also accumulation was being realized by

⁴⁸ Informant GNNMW 01-02, GNNWW 06-07

⁴⁹ Informant GNCG 01-03, GNNCG 01-02, GNCB 01-03-04, GNNCB 01-02-03

them until the 1980s. Because the more cultivated land and so production, the more interaction with urban areas-Elmadağ- appeared through marketing channels. However, with the increase of unemployment due to reasons noted in the previous parts became the cause of out-migration that is typically seen a feature of urban areas. Also, the study in Kuşçuali also showed that the boys in Kuşçuali want to migrate from Kuşçuali in the future and live in Elmadağ⁵⁰

In short, external dynamics that is the transformation of the system bigger than rural, draw the frame of changing process of Village. All rural areas (villages) as a part of a whole do not have the same ability to integrate with system easily. The rural areas which do not achieve the integration process face a dissolution with increased unemployment, lack of job opportunities, lack of accessibility to education or health services and so permanent population loss*.

In this perspective, Kuşçuali is not successful in this integration process, it has always been quite closed to outside dynamics than Gedelek that still showing traditional village characteristics. It tries to survive in its own frame which is not open to the outside world, has limited interaction with urban centers so traces of urban dynamics are not observed. On the other hand, Gedelek became successful in the process. Through the process with the help of intensive linkages between urban centers, it started to take the urban characteristics and so blurring of the distinctions between the village and urban worlds have been observed. The village of Gedelek so can be concluded that has more ability to take advantage of opportunities arising by absorbing some characteristics of urban as “New Rurality” approach explains. Therefore, the features seen as mainly urban characteristics such as non-farm and entrepreneurial activities (no unemployed people), changing role and status of women, new organized division of labour (more skilled labour) and population increase, have provided Gedelek to survive not dissolution.

⁵⁰ Informant KVCB 01-02-03-04

* The main reasons of dissolution of a village is explained by unemployment, inadequate income earning and so population loss in literature. Therefore, in the thesis we used the reasons of dissolution of Village as explained in literature (*McGranahan, D. , Beale, C. (2002), Todaro (1969), Harris and Todaro (1970), Pissarides and Wadsworth (1989), Oliver (1964), Bencivenga and Smith (1997).*)

CHAPTER 5.

CONCLUSION:

Urban and rural were seen as very opposite units with specific distinctive characteristics (in demography, employment, education, political views, service-information accessibility), although the high interdependence of each other. Rural was characterized with strict division of labours, agricultural income and employment as main economic activity. Population loss, the low entrepreneurship spirit and low self-employment opportunities, traditional role and status of women are the other traditional features of rural. In addition, the dichotomy of urban and rural has also changed over time. This means the strict borders between urban and rural has started to disappear since the 1980s. Increasing mobility, the intensification of the flow of information, people, ideas, rules, goods, services and capital, changes in the production process and increasing globalization of markets which have been some changes that globalization process brought, have helped disappearance of the traditional urban-rural distinctions.

In other words, the definition of rural context has been changing and transforming especially since the 1980s via the new changes and improvements in the world. After a long period of demographic and economic decline, rural areas have been opened to new changes as people increasingly diversify their livelihood strategies beyond agriculture, entrepreneurship activities take place, less strict division of labour occur, population gain happens, role and status of women start to become more equal with men. So, the observed changed relations caused to think that there is clearly something of a turnabout.

For referring any new transformations of rural areas with new changes and characteristics they have been taking -these were treated as the features of urban areas- by highlighting certain issues which other approaches have under emphasized

or even ignored, have been tried to be explained by a new umbrella concept emerged namely as “New Rurality”. It has been seen as the source of a new approach to rural development since the mid 1990s.

Within the context of new rurality some characteristics that nearly all urban areas have, started to be observed in rural areas. These characteristics which are the aspects of major transformations in rural can be summarized as non-farm activities, role of women, division of labour, rural in-migration, rural entrepreneurship. In the process of transformation in rural areas, the increase linkage between urban-rural with the help of new developments (improvements in transportation, communication technology) that globalization process brought, have caused rural areas to capture the features of urban areas more easily.

For searching this new concept and its main features, the data of present study have been obtained by a field survey carried out in the two villages Kuşçuali-Ankara and Gedelek-Bursa to demonstrate the changing circumstances and characteristics of rural. By examining these features, also the impact of linkage between urban and rural areas has been tried to be displayed. In the thesis, non-farm activities, role of women, diversification of labour, in-migration and entrepreneurship activities were searched that has been thought that they are traditionally found in urban areas and argued recently by new rurality concept.

The survey encompassed forty-one and twenty-three villagers in Gedelek and Kuşçuali, respectively. In-depth-interviewing technique, participant observation and taking of field notes techniques were used as a methodology to understand the changes in the view of villagers. Also archives (electronic or printed documents), newspapers, technical and official reports, books, documentaries and other materials were examined about the villages for gathering secondary data.

In Gedelek, pickle producers-the owner of registered firms, workers at pickle firms, employee in Agricultural Development Cooperative, workers at truck loading, housewives, children, producer of tin package for pickle were interviewed during the

primary data collection process. In Kuşçuali, there was no variety of occupation fields as Gedelek so, farmers, housewives, children were interviewed.

For better comprehending, what has been happening in villages and the effect of linkage between villages and urban areas on this changing circumstance, the stages of development in villages and the characteristics of new rurality were examined. Firstly, the attention was focused on the linkage between villages and urban areas. It was seen that, the most intensive linkages between Kuşçuali and Elmadağ-Ankara, occurred before the 1980s depending on the trade relationship. As the trade relationship has reduced since the 1980s because of the pointed reasons in Chapter 4, the linkage also weakened between Kuşçuali and Elmadağ-Ankara. Unlike Kuşçuali, the intensive linkage between Gedelek and İstanbul-Bursa has risen since the mid-1980s with the increase of number of pickle shops and houses owned by native villagers in İstanbul, with the help of developments in transportation and communication sector. However, the most intensive linkage between Gedelek and big cities (İstanbul and Bursa) has occurred since the mid-1990s that people who are not born in Gedelek and had shops in cities, started to migrate from their settled place to Gedelek because they desired to establish their own firms to produce pickle. Since the mid-1990s, the linkage can be thought being in a bidirectional way; one direction is shaped by the established market relation, i.e. increased visits occurring from Gedelek to other urban areas in which native villagers had shops and houses and another direction is shaped by emigrants to Gedelek.

The linkage between village and cities has been an important effect on the changing characteristics of villages. In terms of non-farm activities, for example, pickle production has been an important income earning of villagers in Gedelek since the 1950s. However, this production has created more employment and income earning opportunities for Village since the 1980s. While the number of pickle production firms has increased since that time, intensive linkage between village and cities (because the villagers have an idea about how to maximize the efficiency of production during the flow of ideas, information and people between village and city) have made firm owners understand the production process could not be

achieved only by household members working in production. Therefore, workers have been employed in production cycle from Gedelek, close villages and also Orhangazi. The production also created other different employment fields such as; self-employers, truck drivers, workers in loading of vegetables and pickles, producer of tin package for pickle and employees, subcontractors for export, workers as intermediary providing some chemicals to firms. Shortly, non-agricultural economic activities figure prominently dominant in the village of Gedelek that today only three households engage in animal husbandry and only two household in agriculture. It was observed also that while the increasing of non farm activities (pickle production) made a beginning for the intensity of linkage between Gedelek and İstanbul, with the increment intensity of linkage also made a big climb in NFA in Gedelek.

Unlike Gedelek, there is no sign of non-agricultural activities and so employment in Kuşçuali. In Village, there had not been no tendency to deal with non-farm activities before the 1980s, because the income from agriculture and animal husbandry was enough for them to survive but also accumulation was realized. After the 1980s, the job opportunities at factories in Elmadağ or Ankara made the population loss and so there were not enough young and dynamic population in Village who had ability to search non-farm activities in Kuşçuali. In Village today only, two workers work at factory in Elmadağ and four workers work in poultry farm near the village as non-farm activity and having daily trips between home and factory. The earnings of households in Kuşçuali are usually for survival.

The effect of linkage between Gedelek and İstanbul has been also felt in the division of labour and role of women in the village. The increased linkage with cities helps villagers to easily adapt the culture of cities so situations in there. Therefore, the situation and role of women and girls are different than traditional Anatolian villages in Gedelek. The women in there act as the women living in cities. Men unlike other traditional views, favor women travelling alone outside the villages and representing their ideas obviously, working outside the home, engaging in social conservations. They are also favor girls attending university. In Gedelek, except the few permanent jobs, other jobs have a tendency to be filled by men or women.

However, In Kuşçuali, the role and situation of girls and women are usually the same with traditional Anatolian villages. The people in Kuşçuali have more conservative thoughts than Gedelek because of less limited interaction with urban areas. Men in Kuşçuali do not favor women travelling alone outside, working outside the home, taking their ideas. There is more strict division of labour in Village that the jobs of men and women are clear.

Also the increased linkage between Gedelek and İstanbul affected the rise in entrepreneurship activities. While the entrepreneurship activities and self-employment have gained speed since the 1970s with the first firm establishment in there, the increase in entrepreneurship activities have been felt especially since the mid-1980s. After the mid-1980s the number of shops owned by villagers have increased with the help of better communication and transportation facilities. So, there has been intensive marketing linkages between Village and the city since that date (mid-1980). In that dates, there were also pickle shop owners (from Kastamonu, Karabük, Zonguldak or Ankara) in İstanbul and the intensive relationship between native (from Gedelek) and non-native shop owners, revealed the flow of information and experiences between them. This was also starting point of a new era for entrepreneurship in Gedelek. Because, the non-native owner of shops in İstanbul were affected from new comers (from Gedelek) that they decided to migrate to Gedelek with all family members to have their own production firms becoming self-employer after the 1990s. This means, there are locally-born entrepreneurs and immigrant entrepreneurs that the first type of entrepreneurship appeared with the first registred firm in 1971 and gained speed after the 1980s while the second type emerged after the 1990s.

In Kuşçuali, sign of enterprises can not be observed. The interviewers blame themselves for not saving their earnings and not investing on a venture by cooperating with each other.

The population loss is seen as the characteristics of traditional rural areas. However, this is not true for Gedelek that it has always gained population. This rise has

appeared due to new comers from close villages between 1980 and 1990, while it was due to new immigrants from İstanbul. Since the mid-1990s; flow of people, capital, ideas, information between village and urban with the increased relationship, created an awareness on the shop owners in İstanbul about the the natural and occupational opportunities of Gedelek. Therefore, the population increase rate was %13 between the 1980-1990 while %25 between the 1990-2000 which is nearly doubled of the 1980s-1990s. The rate of rise was about %5 between 1990-2000.

Kuşçuali is completely different than Gedelek but compatible with nearly all about the rest of rural areas in Turkey. The increase rate of population was %31 between 1960-1970, %2 between 1970-1980 while decrease rate was - %33 between 1980-1990, - %25 between 1990-2000 and the deepest rate of decrease was - % 49 from 2000 to 2009. The out migration because of the explained reasons became the destiny of Kuşçuali.

In these respects, Kuşçuali resembles to the first type of village according to Keyder's identification that they did usually subsistence farming and also they were the ones which had been losing a great part of their population through migration either to cities or abroad because of the limited capacity of their lands for efficient agricultural production. While, Gedelek can be categorized as the Keyder's second village type that at this type of villages people can diversify their income basis either by rural non-farm activities or by benefiting from close settlements and economies by the help of developments in accessibility.

In Turkey, generally we can see the excess amount of rural areas seem like Kuşçuali. They depend on agricultural activities, employment as well as having low entrepreneurship activities. Also the women in there reflect traditional Anatolian village women roles and status. In Turkey as mentioned in Chapter 2 , the policies and strategies have been focused on preventing inequalities between urban and rural. Although there is improvement in terms of preventing the inequalities, it is obvious that some more attempts should be realized.

As a conclusion; the rural areas have a destiny with increased unemployment, lack of job opportunities, lack of accessibility to education or health services and so permanent population loss when they do not have the ability to integrate with changing system easily. At this point of view, Kuşçuali is not successful in this integration process, it has always been quite closed to outside dynamics than Gedelek that still shows traditional village characteristics. However, Gedelek with the intensive relationship with urban areas have captured some features of urban areas more easily as “New Rurality” approach explains. These characteristics such as non-farm and entrepreneurial activities (no unemployed people), changing role and status of women, new organized division of labour (more skilled labour) and population increase, have provided Gedelek to survive not becoming a ghost village.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW FORM

(Applied in both Kuşçuali and Gedelek Village)

Table A.1. Research questions about interaction with urbanized center and NFA

Reserach objectives (Changes in Village after 1980s)	Research Questions	Some of the interview questions	Data
Exploring urban-rural interaction	Is there an increased speed of interaction between village and urban areas?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Do you have an house in the city? * Do you have vehicle? * Do you have shop in city? * How often do you go to city for any of reason in a month? * Do you have cell phone? * Do you have internet connection at home? 	Interviewee answers
	Has living conditions started to resemble to urban areas?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * What is your education? * Do you want your kids to have more education than you? * Did you pay money for your marrigae to your wife's family? * If you have daughter, will you demand money before her marriage? * What is your non-food expenditures? 	Interviewee answers, newspapers and websites
Exploring dependence of agriculture and animal husbandry and non-farm activities	Is there a decreasing tendency of animal husbandry or agricultural activities for earning money?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Are you earning money from your cultivated land or animal husbandry? * Are you self employed? * If you are self employed, do you have workers and how many ? * In the last 30 years has the household suffered a substantial loss of harvest? 	Interviewee answers
	Is there an increasing tendency of non-farm activities?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Is your household engaged in only agricultural activities or both agricultural and non-agricultural activities? 	Interviewee answers

Table A.2. Research questions about in-migration.

Reserach objectives (Changes in Village after 1980s)	Research Questions	Some of the interview questions	Data
Exploring in-migration	Is there a tendency to increase of population?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Are you native of Gedelek? If not, when did you come to Gedelek? * Do you reccomend your relatives to settle here? * Do you think to migrate from here? * If you are native of Gedelek, do you think there are more non-native people in Gedelek when compared it in the past? *Do you have any relatives that migrate from Gedelek? *Do you want your kids to live in village? *Do you want your kids to work in production of pickle? *Has the population become older when compared the past years? 	Interviewee answers, websites of TUIK, Document of Census of Population of diffrenet years

Table A.3. Research questions about role of women and division of labour.

Reserach objectives (Changes in Village after 1980s)	Research Questions	Some of the interview questions	Data
Exploring role of women and division of labour	When compared past, are there some changes in statute of women?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Do you have washing-machine? *Do you have dish-washer? *Does your husband take your advice in decision making process? *Do you buy your clothes from shop or do you sew? *Do you go to hair cutter? *Do you earn money? *Can you drive? *Did you go to medical services before giving to a birth? *How often do you go to urban center? * Do you help your wives in houseworks? * Do women work outside the home? 	Interviewee answers, observation notes, newspapers and websites

Table A.4. Research questions about rural entrepreneurship.

Reserach objectives (Changes in Village after 1980s)	Research Questions	Some of the interview questions	Data
Exploring the importance of entrepreneurship	What is the role of entrepreneurship in rural household's quality of life?	<p>*What kind of a change did you observe in household's income in the last ten-fifteen years?</p> <p>* If household's income increased in last 10-15 years, was it after establishing an enterprise?</p> <p>*Did you experience obstacles in starting up /expanding the non-farm business?</p> <p>*Is primitive or modern technology is used in firm?</p> <p>*Do you export your products?</p> <p>* Does the product of your business face competition?</p> <p>*What kind of competition is it (price, quality or both)?</p> <p>*Do you intend to shut down the business?</p> <p>* If no what are your future plans?</p>	Interviewee answers, documents from Trade and Industry Chamber of Orhangazi, newspaper, websites

INFORMANTS LIST
(Both Kuşçuali and Gedelek Village)

Gedelek (Native):

- Informant GHM : Headman of Gedelek Village, Mr. Osman Trak
- Informant GNE 01 : Native Entrepreneur of Pınar Gıda, Mr. M.G
- Informant GNE 02 : Native Entrepreneur of Small Scale Pickle Firm, Mr. O.Ç.
- Informant GNWW 01 : Native Woman Worker in Large Scale Pickle Firm, Mrs. A.Ş
- Informant GNWW 02 : Native Woman Worker in Large Scale Pickle Firm, Mrs. R.Ö
- Informant GNWW 03 : Native Woman Worker in Small Scale Pickle Firm, Mrs. T.Ö
- Informant GNWW 04 : Native Woman Worker in Small Scale Pickle Firm, Mrs. S.T
- Informant GNMW 01 : Native Man Worker in Large Scale Pickle Firm, Mr. H.Ü
- Informant GNMW 02 : Native Man Worker in Small Scale Pickle Firm, Mr. R.A
- Informant GNL 01 : Native Man Truck Loader, Mr. Z.T
- Informant GNL 02 : Native Man Truck Loader, Mr. A.G
- Informant GNL 03 : Native Man Truck Loader, Mr. İ.Ü
- Informant GNWH 01 : Native Housewife, Mrs. A.A.
- Informant GNWH 02 : Native Housewife, Mrs. F.T
- Informant GNWH 03 : Native Housewife, Mr. S.G.
- Informant GNWH 04 : Native Housewife, Mr. H.Ç.
- Informant GNCG 01 : Native Children (girl), Mrs. P.Ü
- Informant GNCG 02 : Native Children (girl), Mrs. A.Ç
- Informant GNCG 03 : Native Children (girl), Mrs. T.T
- Informant GNCB 01 : Native Children (boy), Mr. S.A
- Informant GNCB 02 : Native Children (boy), Mr. Ü.Ü
- Informant GNCB 03 : Native Children (boy), Mr. T.Ş
- Informant GNCB 04 : Native Children (boy), Mr. O.K

Gedelek (Non-Native):

Informant GNNE 01 : Non-Native Entrepreneur of Small Scale Firm, Mr. R.T
Informant GNNE 02 : Non-Native Entrepreneur of Small Scale Firm, Mr. N.G.
Informant GNNE 03 : Non-Native Entrepreneur of Small Scale Firm, Mr. M.A.
Informant GNNWW 01: Non-Native Woman Worker in L.S. Pickle Firm, Mrs. R.Ü
Informant GNNWW 02: Non-Native Woman Worker in L.S Pickle Firm, Mrs. S.L
Informant GNNWW 03: Non-Native Woman Worker in L.S Pickle Firm, Mrs. B.Y
Informant GNNWW 04: Non-Native Woman Worker in S.S Pickle Firm, Mrs. H.L
Informant GNNWW 05: Non-Native Woman Worker in S.S Pickle Firm, Mrs. F.E
Informant GNNWW 06: Non-Native Woman Worker in S.S Pickle Firm, Mrs. A.D
Informant GNNWW 07: Non-Native Woman Worker in L.S Pickle Firm, Mrs. M.D
Informant GNNMW 01: Non-Native Man Worker in L.S Pickle Firm, Mr. İ.Ç
Informant GNNMW 02: Non-Native Man Worker in S.S Pickle Firm, Mr. M.O
Informant GNNTTP 01 : Non-Native Tin Package Producer, Mr. M.A
Informant GNCG 01 : Non-Native Children (girl), Mrs. D.A
Informant GNCG 02 : Non-Native Children (girl), Mrs. F.T
Informant GNCB 01 : Native Children (boy), Mr. D.K
Informant GNCB 02 : Native Children (boy), Mr. S.G
Informant GNCB 03 : Native Children (boy), Mr. A.Ç

Kuşçuali (Native):

Informant KHM : Headman of Kuşçuali Village, Mr. Erol Aslan
Informant KVM 01 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. A.G
Informant KVM 02 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. T.Y
Informant KVM 03 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. M.N
Informant KVM 04 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. D.A
Informant KVM 05 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. Ö.Ö
Informant KVM 06 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. A.S
Informant KVM 07 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. E.G
Informant KVM 08 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. M.Ş

Informant KVM 09 : Man in Kuşçuali, Mr. S.A
Informant KVV 01 : Woman in Kuşçuali, Mrs. A.S
Informant KVV 02 : Woman in Kuşçuali, Mrs. S.Ş
Informant KVV 03 : Woman in Kuşçuali, Mrs. S.A
Informant KVV 04 : Woman in Kuşçuali, Mrs. Y.D
Informant KVV 05 : Woman in Kuşçuali, Mrs. A.Y
Informant KVV 06 : Woman in Kuşçuali, Mrs. C.G
Informant KVCG 01 : Children (girl), Mrs. T.G
Informant KVCG 02 : Children (girl), Mrs. E.A
Informant KVCG 03 : Children (girl), Mrs. Ü.G
Informant KVCG 04 : Children (girl), Mrs. M.T
Informant KVCM 01 : Children (boy), Mr. C.Y
Informant KVCM 02 : Children (boy), Mr. N.K
Informant KVCM 03 : Children (boy), Mr. E.Y
Informant KVCM 04 : Children (boy), Mr. M.Ö