

**TRANSFORMATION FROM NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTALISM TO
GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM: THE CASE OF TURKEY**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
OF
MIDDLE OF TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

BY

OLTAN EVCİMEN

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY**

OCTOBER 2011

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Fatma Beğlü Dikeçligil (Erciyes University, SOC)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım (METU, SOC)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Aydıngün (METU, SOC)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Taner Yiğit (Bilkent University, ECON)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şen (METU, SOC)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Oltan Evcimen

Signature:

ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION FROM NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTALISM TO GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM: THE CASE OF TURKEY

Evcimen, Oltan

PhD. The Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım

October 2011, 308 pages

The argument that the world has been witnessing a transformation from national developmentalism towards a new form of developmentalism especially after the 1980s has increasingly become more widespread in the development literature. Moreover, the concerned literature has recently been dominated by the provocative claim that the notion of development itself is no longer operational and meaningful. However, it is still very ambiguous as to how this new form of development which is primarily implemented by the hands of the international corporations and institutions rather than the nation-states is being conceptualized with regard to the existing models of development and how to name it. This dissertation advances the claim that the national developmentalism has given way to what will be called as the 'global developmentalism' in this context and it operates through the notions of the locality and particularity, which are conceptual elements intrinsic to the global capitalism. This dissertation will also attempt to reveal that the logic of global developmentalism no longer depends on the main conceptual categories of the notion of development; thus it can no longer be regarded as a form of developmentalism. The field research of this dissertation involves the analysis of several major and minor projects which are thought to be implemented within either national developmentalism or global developmentalism, or intermediate forms between these two. This dissertation will advance a discussion on the transformation from national developmentalism to global developmentalism and make a discourse analysis of these two forms of developmentalism by interpreting the data obtained from the deep interviews with experts that have worked in these projects, the local inhabitants in the project-affected areas, and from analysis of the observable consequences of these projects.

Keywords: National developmentalism, global developmentalism, local, global, global capitalism

ÖZ

ULUSAL KALKINMACILIĞIN KÜRESEL KALKINMACILIĞA DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

Evcimen, Oltan
Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım

Ekim 2011, 308 sayfa

Dünyanın özellikle 1980'lerden sonra ulusal kalkınmacılıktan yeni bir kalkınmacılık formuna geçişe tanıklık ettiği şeklindeki gözlem kalkınma tartışmalarında son yıllarda çokça tartışılan bir gözlemdir. Buna ek olarak, kalkınma kavramının tamamen işlevini ve anlamını yitirdiği gözlemi de literatürde yaygın bir tartışma konusudur. Ancak ulusal kalkınmacılığın sonrasında, kalkınmacılık söylemini kullanan ve artık ulus devletler eliyle değil uluslar arası kuruluşlar eliyle yürütülen projelerin hangi kalkınmacılık formuna denk düştüğü ya da bu yeni formun nasıl isimlendirileceği belirgin değildir. Bu tezde ulusal kalkınmacılığın yerini bu bağlamda küresel kalkınmacılık olarak tanımlanan sürece bıraktığı ve bu yeni kalkınmacılık formunun küresel kapitalizmin yerellik ve tikellik kavramları aracılığıyla işlemekte olduğu iddiası savunulacaktır. Küresel kalkınmacılığın mantığının artık kalkınma teriminin kavramsal içeriğinde bulunan bir takım niteliklerle işlemediği ve bu kalkınmacılık formunun işleyişinin kalkınma kavramının içkin özellikleri ile bağdaşmadığı ve dolayısıyla artık kalkınmacılık olmadığı bu tezin bir diğer temel iddiasıdır. Tezin alan araştırmasında, ulusal kalkınmacılık, küresel kalkınmacılık ve bu ikisi arasında yer aldığı düşünülen kalkınma modellerinin mantığı ile yürütüldüğü düşünülen birçok büyük ve daha küçük ölçekli projeler incelenmiştir. Temel olarak bu projelerde çalışan uzmanlar, projelerin etkilediği alanlarda yaşayan yerel halkla yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlar ve de bu projelerin nesnel sonuçları dikkate alınarak bu dönüşümün ve bu farklı kalkınma modellerinin söylemsel bir analizi yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulusal Kalkınmacılık, Küresel Kalkınmacılık, yerel, küresel, küresel kapitalizm,

To Oblada Melanura...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank the many people who made this thesis possible.

It is difficult to overstate my gratitude to my Ph.D. supervisor, Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım. Throughout my thesis-writing period, he provided encouragement, sound advice, good teaching, good company, and lots of good ideas. I would have been lost without him.

I am very grateful to the members of Dissertation Examining Committee Prof. Dr. Fatma Beğlü Dikeçligil, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Aydınğün, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Taner Yiğit and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şen. I especially want to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Fatma Beğlü Dikeçligil for her invaluable advice, comments, encouragement, constructive criticism, but most of all, her friendly attitude.

Another great supporter of my work and I. Prof. Yusuf Ziya Özcan has always been helpful, accessible, encouraging and critical of my work in a positive way that propelled me. I owe much to him, whose guidance opened new horizons for me whenever I felt I had lost my way.

Thanks to Koray Değirmenci, primarily for being a real friend, let alone for the other things he has done for me. Koray, my long-lasting friend, has been with me in the some of the most depressed days of the writing process and he again did not surprise me with his clever ideas and criticisms.

I did not feel myself alone, since I shared the difficulties of academic study with my dear friends, Handan Değirmenci, Zeyni Özmen, Muzaffer Demirdelen, Volkan Altınok, and Ağah Hazır. I wish a wealthier and healthier life for all them.

I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my everlasting love Oblada Melanura (Kara Kuyruk), who was always there for me with emotional support whenever I needed. Milanur has been the best reward I could ever hope for in my life. *Sağolasın* Kara Kuyruk in the realest sense of the word.

Lastly, and most importantly, I would like to thank my parents Şirin and Mete Evcimen and my sister Yeşim Nermin Hamamcı, who through my childhood and study career had always encouraged me to follow my heart and inquisitive mind in any direction this took me. My parents provided me with a loving home, one where an academic mind was celebrated, and Yeşim's sharp sense of humour has been a gift in my life. If we ever had a family motto that would have been – *If there's a will, there's a way* – a philosophy of life I have been carrying with me every day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTALISM: HISTORY, BASICS, AND PRACTICES	
2.1 What is Development?.....	30
2.2. The Emergence of National Developmentalism.....	38
2.3. The Concept of Underdevelopment.....	51
2.4. The Regional Development Agencies.....	54
3. FROM NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTALISM TO GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM	
3.1. The Crisis of National Developmentalism.....	77
3.2. What in ‘New’ in Developmentalist Discourse.....	82
3.3. The Search for the ‘Little Things’.....	87
3.4. Global Developmentalism.....	105
4. GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM AS PRACTICE	
4.1. The Field Research: Introductory Statements.....	118
4.2. Investigation of the Projects.....	123
4.2.1. ILISU Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant (IBHESProject).....	124
4.2.2. Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant	

(ABHES Project).....	135
4.2.3. Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Natural Gas Pipe Line Project (BTC-OPL Project).....	141
4.2.4. Socar and Turcas Aegean Refinery Project (STARProject).....	145
4.2.5. Ağıdağı and Kirazli Gold Mine EIA Projects (ADKGM Projects).....	148
4.3. Experts' Roles in the Transformation.....	149
4.3.1. From Regionalism to the Locality.....	150
4.3.2. From Disclosure to Democratic Participation.....	165
4.3.3. From Equality to Diversity.....	174
5. GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM AS PRACTICE: INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION.....	183
6. SOCIAL ASPECT OF TRANSFORMATION OF THE DEVELOPMENTALISM.....	223
6.1. Sample Settlements Where National And Global Development Projects Conducted.....	224
6.2. The Transformation of Locality: From National Developmentalism to Global Developmentalism.....	228
6.3. Understanding Localities.....	241
7. CONCLUSION.....	250
REFERENCES.....	267
APPENDICES	
A. FIELD RESEARCH METHODOLOGICAL SUMMARY.....	275
B. WHAT IS RESETTLEMENT POLICY FOR THE ILISU DAM AND HEPP PROJECT?.....	278
C.CURRICULUM VITAE	288
D. TURKISH SUMMARY.....	289

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1 Comparative Table of the Interviews Conducted.....	27
Table 2 Conceptual Dualities and Relationality.....	150

LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS

ABHES:	Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant
ADKGMP:	Ağı Dağı and Kirazlı Gold Mine Project
AIDS:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARIP:	Agricultural Reform Implementation Project
BTC-OPL:	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Natural Oil Pipe Line
DAKA:	Eastern Anatolia Development Agency
DDT:	Dikloro Difenol Trikloroethan
DPT:	State Planning Institute
DSİ:	State Hydraulic Works
ECA:	Expert Credit Agency
EFN:	Environmental Failure Notice
EHS:	Environmental Healthy Standard
EIA:	Environmental Impact Assessment Report
EIEI:	Electrical Power Resources Survey and Development Administration
ENCON:	Environmental Consultancy Co.
EP:	The Equator Principles
ESIR:	Environmental and Social Impact Report
EU:	European Union
FAM:	Final Assessment Meeting
GAP RDA:	GAP Regional Development Administration
GAP:	Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development Southeastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration
GAP-GIDEM:	GAP- Entrepreneur Support and Guidance Centers
GTDN:	Working Group for the Development of the Brazilian Northeast
IBHES:	Ilisu Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant

IBRD:	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA:	International Development Association
IFC:	International Finance Cooperation
IFI:	International Finance Institution
IRR:	Income Restoration Report
İZKA:	İzmir Development Agency
KBHES:	Karakaya Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant
MEDA:	Mediterranean Development Agency
MW:	Megawatt
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organizations
PETKİM:	Petrokimya Co.
PIU:	Project Implementation Unit
PS:	Performance Standard
RAP:	Resettlement Action Plan
RDA:	Regional Development Agency
RIP:	Resettlement Implementation Report
SEIA:	Social and Environmental Impact Assessment
SIA:	Social Impact Assessment
STAR Project:	Socar and Turcas Aegean Refinery Project
SUDENE:	Northeastern Development Agency in Brazil
TEM:	Trans-European Motorway
TOKİ:	Mass Housing Administration
TPAO:	Turkish Petroleum Cooperation
TÜİK:	Turkish Statistics Institution
TVA:	Tennessee Valley Authority
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
USA:	United States of America
USB:	Union Bank of Switzerland
USSR:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB:	World Bank

YDHES:

Yusufeli Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In our everyday lives, it is hardly possible to trace the changes within the social mechanisms from a historical perspective. If they are closely related with our individual history, these changes are more recognizable: “look at me when I was a child, when children did not have toys other than a few simple spinning tops or rag babies”. Thus, the past seen on family pictures or felt while reading an old letter (though they tend to be deceitful) implicitly relates with a collective history. The relatively slow pace of change comparing to the rapid flow of everyday life has condemned humans to the vicious circle of forgetting and remembering. Even worse, “whatever remembered is always a little bit incomplete or different from what it actually was” (Delueze, 1995). Events of birth and death, decisions that shaped our lives, etc., that is, incidents which we name as breaking or turning points of our lives are actually milestones in the construction of a historical (self) consciousness.

Pointing ourselves as “me before the marriage” in an old photograph should not be regarded as a practice of detaching ourselves from the integrating and continuous structure of life, but rather be seen as the tendency of humans to attribute rational and objective meanings to change. However, this rationalization or periodization of personal histories desensitizes individuals to some extent while paradoxically causing reality to be perceived as detached and personalized. However, this seems to be the only way for humans to make sense of the social change and to address to the future. However, a so-called scientific practice dealing with the social change cannot have the luxury of looking at a phenomenon in the big picture of the ‘social’ in front of it from the same perspective as an individual look at his or her personal history. It, in a way, has to think in terms of what Hegel

calls as 'historical consciousness' through which concepts are understood as processes: "Nothing stands in isolation: everything involves mediation." (quoted in Williams, 1992: 111). This study, being aware of the fact that a scientific practice hardly avoids desensitization though, endeavours to discern the idea of developmentalism with its social, cultural and economic appearances within the big picture of the 'social' and to trace the transformation of it into what is loosely called as global developmentalism. The emergence of the idea of development and its transformation can only be understood by the very nature of the capitalist production and the corresponding transformation of its logic and mechanisms. Speaking in terms of family album analogy, the capitalism is the family album whilst the idea of developmentalism is the person we are looking at with the question of where and how developmentalism exists in the family album of capitalism? The analysis of how the institutional transformation of developmentalism has been embodied in social and cultural spheres can provide new insights into understanding of the mechanisms of capitalism. However, a tiny detail striking our eyes in a picture might be more meaningful than the whole picture in a way to offer comprehensible, testable and empirical information about the change. This seemingly tiny detail or 'punctum' to speak in Barthesian terms, in the picture should not be overlooked in favor of putting centrality on the structural changes or transformations in the analysis.

This dissertation will analyze particular projects, like Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant (ABHES), Ilisu Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant (IBHES), Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Natural Oil Pipe Line (BTC-OPL), Ağrı Dağı and Kirazli Gold Mine Project (ADKGM), Socar & Turcas Aegean Refinery (Star) Project, to find out what forms the idea of developmentalism takes in these projects, how developmentalism is organized in them institutionally and in terms of various other apparatuses, and, more generally, how it is operational in the mechanisms of capitalist system. Moreover, as an extension of this endeavour, this dissertation will also examine the concrete embodiments that developmentalism takes in social and

cultural realms. In this respect, developmentalism is regarded as an ideological apparatus required by capitalism that is used to regulate and to reproduce cultural, economic and political fields. The issues of capital and development have been started to be the subject of academic discussion with the emergence of the nation-states. Today, as financial capital flows in the global scale, the form of production has evolved into a global assembly line production by the hands of international corporations. Therefore, capital has reached beyond the space formerly confined by the nation-states and increased its speed of expansion in the world. As a result, globalization discussions have paved way to the claims that the temporal and spatial boundaries of nation-states have lost their meanings and functions. It is safe to assert that the new forms of developmentalism have been taking significant roles in the reconstruction of cultural, social and political realms within the processes of globalization. This process will be examined from the theoretical perspectives of Frederic Jameson and Arjun Appadurai.

Fredric Jameson, in his seminal work, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, attempts to explain the new postmodern culture of our contemporary society by establishing a conceptual association between economy and culture (Jameson, 1991). Jameson, while trying to tie the notion of culture with economy and politics as other trends of Marxian thought, sees the nature of the cultural production in the late 20th century, the era of late capitalism, distinctive from the preceding periods of capitalist system of cultural production. Although Jameson has dedicated a substantial part of the book to the aesthetic discussions of what he calls postmodern art and culture, his periodization of different modes of capitalism taking inspiration from Ernest Mandel is worth mentioned in our context. In this periodization, capitalism takes three subsequent forms that correspond to three different modes of technology: industrialized manufacturing steam engines emerged in the middle of the 19th century, the production of electricity and internal combustion engines emerged in the late 19th century and finally the production of electronic and nuclear devices since the middle of the 20th century to

date (Mandel, 1978: 118 quoted in Jameson, 1991: 35). The corresponding forms of capitalism are respectively the market economy stage which was hegemonized by the power and limited by the borders of the nation-states, monopoly or imperialism stage in which the capital tended to expand beyond the borders of the nation state, and finally the contemporary stage of capitalism, namely late capitalism or multinational capitalism, in which the spatial and temporary boundaries of the nation states are no longer determinant and significant (Jameson, 1991: 35). Jameson's final theoretical manoeuvre is to correspond these three modes of capitalism with three different types of cultural production: realism, modernism and postmodernism respectively. For Jameson, postmodernism is the cultural logic of the late capitalism that depends on fragmented and disseminated image culture. The postmodern form of cultural production, for him, relies on the notion of fragmentation. Subject in a postmodern world is fragmented as opposed to the modernism in which the subject is alienated. In a postmodern world, everything, he claims, is at the surface in a way to resist any relation with the substance.

On the other hand, Arjun Appadurai defines five different dimensions of the global distribution and circulation, and theorized one of them as the concept of ideaspape which defines distribution of political opinions and symbols such as freedom, human rights and democracy (Appadurai, 2000). These two studies enable concepts introduced by postmodernism in tandem with the globalizing world such as human rights, democracy and freedom to be identified as ideascapes of global capitalism and global culture. While this conception defines postmodern culture or he "*culturallogic of late capitalism*" as the sources of concepts of human rights, democracy and freedom, it does not ignore the nature of freedom ensued by the French Revolution or the context of democracy ensued by then American Revolution. It constantly keeps an emphasis on continuity awake.

What is intended by concepts such as freedom, human rights and democracy defined as postmodern ideascapes hereis the discoursed forms of these concepts

integrated by neo-liberal ideology which is the ideological infrastructure underlying determinants of the postmodern culture, namely global capitalism and global culture. Here, one of the notions that transpose the ideological infrastructure of global capitalism and global culture to daily life in this context is the movement of developmentalism which is the main subject of this thesis. In particular, this thesis which attempts to present the transformation of national developmentalism, defined as a part of our lives after World War II, based on certain developmentalism projects, shall try to understand the operation mechanism of global culture and global capitalism while presenting this transformation.

In fact, claiming that developmentalism as a movement and an idea has undergone a transformation primarily entails a specific definition of developmentalism. To clarify it further, the movement called as "economic developmentalism" and was implemented by the nation-states during the period of the late 1940s to the late 1970s has not disappeared but only taken a different form. Thus, this observation requires an instrumental definition of developmentalism that defines it as an apparatus needed by capitalism to regulate and reproduce the cultural, economic and political spheres. Although the notion of developmentalism persists in different forms of developmentalism, namely global-developmentalism and national developmentalism, these are fundamentally different from each other in terms of the ways in which they reconstruct the social, economic and cultural realms.

The notion of national developmentalism has lost its significance and dominance when capitalism enters into the stage of globalization. According to Ayşegül Kars, newly emerging scales are both above and below the nation-state. The scale referred by below the nation-state is the local scale. Local scale (cities, regions, districts) used to be defined as part of the spatial integrity of the nation-state (Kars, 2006: 3). However, with the processes of globalization, these localities have been separated from the integrity of the country with globalization and they

have been articulated into the process of globalization by themselves. In this regard, today, globalization proceeds in conjunction with localization. The formation of these two spatial scales does not contradict each other, on the contrary, they are processes that complement and develop each other.

This dissertation will deal with the relation between capitalism and development with regard to the mutual reproduction of capitalism and developmentalism. Regulation and reproduction of developmentalism are necessary elements for capitalism to implement its own reproduction. Profitability of capital and motive of performing capital accumulation lies in the foreground behind this reproduction. Capital does not only work for social values for this purpose but regulates and reproduces international social relations as well. Reconstruction of the idea of developmentalism takes place through the dual movement of capital. This dual movement is spatial expansion and concentration of the capital. The components of this dual mechanism are not opposing or contradictory to each other. The consequence of this mechanism which is central in regulating the idea of development is uneven and combined development of regions, to use a Marxist conceptualization.

Although there is a substantial literature on the issue of capitalism and developmentalism, these studies have some shortcomings. Moreover, most of the works on the subject are repetitions of each other. The same issues have been discussed again and again in very similar terms and even by using the same examples. While this repetition makes some perspectives almost normative that exclude other alternative explanations, it also makes some critical questions remain unanswered. This dissertation puts forward some assumptions and theoretical answers to its main questions by testing its assumptions in the reality of material life as has been observed by the author in various field researches. One of the basic aims of the dissertation is to find out the differences and similarities between economic developmentalism and the global developmentalism in a historical

perspective. To put more concretely: what is the difference between the developmentalist concept of Global Developmentalism implemented through the WB and the developmentalism concept implemented by the Nation-States in order to eliminate regional disparities? And what are the practical processes that create this difference and consequences?

As has been stated above, there is a substantial literature on the emergence, development and transformation of the notion of development. These studies agree on the point that these issues should be dealt with in two different periods. The analysis of the remaining influence of economic developmentalism today (if any) on the social life, which has left its mark on the economic, political and cultural realms after the World War II, seems to be possible with such a periodization as these studies assume. Accordingly, this dissertation will follow a periodization which is agreed upon in literature. This periodization is in line with Jameson's periodization of capitalism mentioned above.

The first of these periods is the age of "national developmentalism" which had prevailed as the dominant discourse from roughly the end of the Second World War II to the late 1970s. Although this period is usually referred in the literature as the period of "Economic Developmentalism", this term is not preferred in this dissertation since it puts emphasis on economic changes rather than the cultural and political changes. The basic features of this period are given below:

1- The national developmentalism was based on an organizational model in a way to create a homogenized cultural and social structure within the territories of nation-state and correspondingly rigid forms of modernism. The basic premise of the national developmentalism was that the regional disparities could be resolved within a planned program based on the belief of the existence of universal and positivist knowledge ('social engineering'). The main assumption of this perspective is that social and cultural differences originated from economic inequalities. As an

extension of this perspective, the idea of development was confined within the boundaries of the nation-state. If it needs to be stated explicitly, the spatial boundary of a nation-state is not an expression of the unity of an ethnic community, people who speak the same language, or who believe in a single religion. The boundary of a nation-state is the geographic manifestation of its domestic market; the notion of boundary does not refer to the boundary of elements, such as language, religion, race, nation, culture, etc., but the boundary of the market of the nation-state.

2- Briefly speaking, national developmentalism is a notion of developmentalism that is under the hegemony of the national market. It is so because the national market is the only space where the elements of production distribute freely without any limitations. Braudel describes the national market as a political space: "The national economy is a political space that is transformed into a harmonized and unified economic space and can be mobilized towards any direction in line with the needs and innovations of economic life by the state (Braudel, 1993: 90). National developmentalism has emerged as a part of the modernization project of the nation- state in this context. This modernization project has been embodied within magnificent and gigantic monumental spaces and comprehensive developmental projects that reflect the ideals of the nation-state. While attempting to eliminate the regional inequalities and to attain the national integrity, the 'different' was marginalized and domesticated to incorporate it into the standard ideals.

The second period is when capital tends to flow across the boundaries of the nation-states. Symbolizing the collapse of the national developmentalist model, this new period also refers to the end of a situation where almost everything is predictable, stability is a rule and instability is described as an anomaly. Being known as global developmentalist model, it has been realized in different countries in different temporal and spatial contexts after the 1970s. Indeed, it was more than

an economic development model but a notion that disseminated into fabric of everyday life, undermining the patterns of the national developmentalism. Global developmentalism can be described briefly as a model of development that attribute a very positive value to the flexible, risky and floating social structures where entrepreneurs are the basic actors of social transformation. Furthermore, in a stark contrast with national developmentalism which has a linear and predictable perspective in shaping its long-term projects, global developmentalism depends on the notion of risk and instability in its future vision.

According to Lash and Urry, capitalist relations have lost its organized nature in the contemporary world, which have consequently brought about tremendous changes in the very relationship between structure and agent (Lash and Urry: 1994). In short, the element of disorganization that is paradoxically essential to the new organizational model of capitalism has initiated an unstable and flexible relationship between human action and the structure rather than the stable and long-term structural conditions. The nature of the global developmentalism was accordingly shaped in a way that would lead to the materialization of the flexible relationship between the human action and structure. The fluidity of the global capital that extends beyond the boundaries of the nation state and establishes new balances of political power entails, according to Bauman (2000: 25), a more fluid, sweeping and rapid mode of modernity rather than a solid and stable one. The organizational structure of the global developmentalism operates through and within such fluid and rapid concept of modernity. However, it would be a narrow statement to assert that this notion of fluidity only applies in the economic sphere. The emerging cultural logic of late capitalism, to use Jameson's term, operates through the prominence of the fluidity of capital and the unorganized nature of late capitalism has given the transnational or international organizational and institutional agents primary roles in global capitalism.

The form of capitalism based on national markets and the national

developmentalism as one of the most significant tools of monopoly capitalism have determined the cultural, political and political superstructure through the logic and organizational structure of nation-state. However, with the structural transformation of capitalism, national developmentalism has given way to what is called as global developmentalism. Although it is difficult to find procedural similarities between these two different modes of developmentalism, in both of these two models, capitalism attempts to redefine and redesign the cultural, social and political realms. The role played by the nation-state in the implementation of the national developmentalism was in a way adopted by the international or transnational organizations such as the World Bank (WB), in the implementation of global developmentalism, in a different manner though.

While the nation-state has moved from center to periphery during this transition from national developmentalism to the global developmentalism, the transnational organizations have settled into the center. However, the nature of the structure of the center has also changed tremendously. The center does not refer to an authority in this new context. To make an analogy, this change does not resemble the accession of the new king to the throne upon the death of the old. However, the monarchy persists still; it just has to proceed in an alternative form. This alternative way closely relates with the notion of disorganization in the organizational form of the late capitalism. The newly emerging centrality is rather a constantly shifting supra-discourse that transforms the established relationships accordingly. This new situation does not refer only to a change in the power structure, but also a procedural change in the notion of developmentalism itself. The motto of nation-state to homogenize cultural, social, political, and economic fields to attain integrity has given way to what is loosely called as fetishism of difference in this context of the global developmentalism. Thus the motto of global developmentalism is to preserve differences and further foster the differentiation as has already been a mark of global capitalism. In fact, the old claim of universality of the national developmentalism that the differences among various localities will

be wiped out with the development of these localities had long been refuted by the observed phenomena themselves. Indeed, the idea that the time is the only thing that separates 'us' and 'them' have already lost its credibility and its ground of reality.

Thus, it is clear that the slogan of the new forms of capitalism is not "we're all the same". Being desperately in need of more freedom of movement and space for the unlimited expansion of the capital, the agents of capital generate a discourse in which different subjectivities, localities, identities, strategies of local development, variety of social, cultural and political formations are recognized, articulated, and compete to each other.¹ In its lexicon, there is no equal development of the regions or people. The notion of universality based on the principle of homogenized and equal development is no longer viable and functional in the age of global capitalism; it has totally lost its ground of existence.

Organizational structure of developmentalism can no longer be established in a single direction, any time and place. One could only mention an uneven but combined progress of regions in such a global development model in which identity is replaced with difference. What used to be called as regional by the logic of nation-states is now known as local. Global developmentalism aims to integrate global with the local in a way to produce 'indigenized' forms, to speak in Appadurai's term. Arjun Appadurai uses the term, indigenization, to describe the process in which the global and local spheres come into interaction to produce so-called global cultural forms. Elaborating on the nature of these forms, he was against both the cultural imperialism thesis and more optimistic approaches that see this interaction as a process independent from the power relations of global capitalism. His definition of the process is worth quoting here:

¹ The term, locality, in this context is used in a sense which Appadurai (1996: 231) calls as a project. For him, locality is not a given fact or a thing in itself but a project which has to be constantly maintained and reproduced

The central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization... the homogenization argument subspecies into either an argument about Americanization, or an argument about 'commoditization', and very often the two arguments are closely linked. What these arguments fail to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or other way (Appadurai, 199: 31-32).

For Appadurai, the theories which are based on polarities such as producers/consumers or center/periphery cannot do justice to the complicated processes of global capitalism. In order to understand the process of integration between the global and the local and the resulting cultural (and economic) forms, one should focus on the global cultural flows occurring through the growing disjunctures between various components of global capitalism. Thus, indigenized forms cannot be defined before the very interaction between the concerned locals and global(s) takes place. The outcome is a very context specific form that neither belongs to the sphere of the local nor to the sphere of the global. By using the very logic of indigenization, global developmentalism adopts different organizational models and takes different forms in different localities (spatial and temporal locality zones). Thus, the global developmentalism has the capability to transform itself and locality at the same time in a synchronized manner.

Field Study

The transformation of developmentalism is a fact which can only be understood in the practical life. This transformation offers a very rich area of observation that would give insights into understanding of how late capitalism adopts variety of mechanisms and institutions and how the dynamics of global capitalism operate. Jameson has pointed out that one should regard the the new forms of global capitalism and global culture as the determinants of postmodernism

in order to theorize postmodernism. Similarly, the emerging forms of developmentalism are the determinants of the mechanisms that ensure the flow of global capital.

In this dissertation, a tridimensional field research is designed, the details of which will be given at the end of this section. Before elaborating on the details of this field research, it would be useful to outline the basic methodological position of this dissertation that I will start by telling a personal anecdote answering to the question of why I have chosen this issue as the subject of my PhD dissertation. In the Spring of 2006, The WB has implemented a rural development project that I had found the opportunity to participate in as a sociologist. The project was carried out in a few residential areas in the Eastern Anatolia Region. As a sociologist, I want to tell my first impressions when I first visit the field from my personal notes taken during that period:

From a very romantic and naïve point of view, this settlement could be defined as a lovely village lying on a small valley enclosed by the mountains. One of my friends, an architect, who was also among the field research team could only tell it was a 'very old village' while looking through the structures around. Indeed, the history of the village is not known even by the inhabitants themselves. The settlement seemed to have a lot to promise for a social scientist at first sight with its semi-ruined structures and highly different atmosphere from the neighboring settlements. Very tiny details in the architecture first attracted my attention. Although they were then ruined, the houses were built from stones having almost a width of meter. This kind of architectural structure in such a small rural settlement surprised me. Furthermore, I was even more surprised to see that those stones are ornamented with a very fine and meticulously processed motifs. I had to jump over a doorstep to enter a two floor house which was almost ruined. I saw a spacious anteroom there which was arrived by corridors with asymmetrically placed holes on them. Those marks in a way prove that this was a house where the electricity or

civilization so to speak, had never arrived. With each step, I saw another detail that surprised me, I felt that I would have never been able to understand the logic of this space unless I am able to exit the mentality of the process which had brought me there. I was gradually getting more curious about the everyday life in this space which shaped and was shaped by the mentality of this house design. I turned to my friend with curious eyes that told him have my feelings would not be sufficient to depict the phenomena.

The walls of the rooms were carved in an order which I failed to follow or which resists a categorical systematization at least at first sight. While the walls served as separator between inside and outside, they seemed to have so many functions in a peculiar logic that one did not expect from a wall. The architecture of the house gains an abstract dimension with these walls that apparently were used to have functions other than separating the inside and outside and with those high doorsteps. My architect friend regarded the house as an example of ethnic architecture and said that the high doorstep was the actual separator. Another friend of mine, an ethnographer tells me this doorstep is actually an embodiment of the notion of threshold in the Shafii tradition. Then I realized that this fact revealed the holistic nature of the social that is difficult for people to trace though. Passing from one to room to another, the sun followed me. It seemed as if the anteroom attracted the sun with its windows placed in a row with a pattern that narrow and wide windows follow each other. The wideness of the facility that resembled a fireplace did not seem to be overlooked by anyone. Moreover, the distance of this facility to the rooms was set according to the functions of the individual rooms. While the room once used to be a storeroom is the farthest room to the facility, the most spacious room in the house is the closest. I am told that this facility resembling a fireplace has a dual chimney system that removes odor; and thank to this feature it was used for both heating and cooking purposes. Suddenly I find myself making estimates on how many people used to live in such a big house. The response to this question comes from the villagers living in the neighboring house and it was a

big surprise for me: 22 people and 30 sheep.

Then I leave the house and talk with the 'remaining' inhabitants of the village to learn more about the village. They tell why the village inherited from their ancestors has become such a vacant and deserted place. They constantly talk about the GAP, electricity, irrigation, DSİ, Atatürk Dam, expropriation, etc.

Then I realize that the way I describe the village in my observation notes in the field directly contradict with the discourse of national developmentalism, which expresses the 'authenticity' and ethnographic sensibilities. Then I wonder which words the discourse of national developmentalism would use to describe this village. What are the differences between these two gazes staring at the village? Let's listen to the words of an expert who was working in the Expropriation Department in 1982, which is responsible for the resettlement affairs in the GAP project:

"...I remember very well ... the village of Mezgitli was one of the biggest villages exposed to the resettlement process. No further resettlement was required in the village center since there was not one of the areas inundated due to the Atatürk Dam Reservoir. However, since almost all cultivable agricultural field of the area was to be inundated, the villagers were entitled to request resettlement in accordance with the Settlement Law. I have personally paid much effort for moving the village to any other location. But the villagers did not want to leave their ancestor's lands. We failed to persuade them. I just learn from you that it is now vacant completely. But you know, it was already a very underdeveloped place. Neither electricity nor a source of drinking water was available. Women used to spend almost half a day for bringing water. The roads used to become unusable in the least amount of rain. I remember now I was stuck in the village for many times because of rain. I am now talking about Mezitli upon your request, however that village is not a place that I want to talk about much. Indeed, not only Mezgitli but that region in general are not places proper for human living. No road, no electricity, no drinking water.

Almost all the women were illiterate; they Imagine that there is no road, water or electricity. When it comes to education, almost all of the women are illiterate; they was unable to speak Turkish let alone reading and writing. You are now telling me they have moved to the city; they didn't have any alternative after losing their lands. When there was land, it doesn't make any difference; the land was for the profit of the landlords. We have told them actually at the time, that was not a life worth living. Humans do not live with animals in the same place in this age. The Atatürk Dam was an opportunity for them. We have put much effort for those people to reach the life standards of our time. We designed modern residential places for their resettlement. Actually *what should have happened finally happened*. At least they can have education and can experience different things in the city..."²

In the spring of 2006, before I visited the village of Mezgitli for participating in the project implemented by the WB, I had an image of the village which was more or less the same with most of the people living the west side of the Fırat River in Turkey. This image was very similar to the one in participant's mind. Now this image is so unfamiliar to me that I can only follow the traces of the image of the village in my mind before going to the region from my diary notes written in Ankara.

² Participant (Agricultural Engineer), DSI, Interview with the author, 24-10-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: *"...Çok iyi hatırlıyorum Mezgitli Köyünü, yeniden yerleşimini yaptığımız köyler içerisinde en büyük olanlardan bir tanesi idi. Köy merkezi Atatürk Baraj gölü altında kalmayacağı için yeniden yerleşime gerek görülmemiştir. Ancak, yerleşim yerinin neredeyse tüm ekilebilir tarım arazisi baraj gölü altında kaldığı için köylülerin İskân Kanunu gereği yeniden yerleşim talep etme hakkı vardı. Ben bizzat çok uğraştım köyün başka bir yere taşınması için. Ancak köylüler ata topraklarını bırakmak istemediler. İkna edemedik kısacası. Şimdi sizin söylediğinize göre neredeyse tamamen boşalmış. Zaten eskiden de çok geri kalmış bir yerd. Ne elektrik ne de içilebilir bir su kaynağı vardı. Su için kadınlar neredeyse yarım gün harcıyorlardı. Yol en ufak bir yağmur da kullanılmaz hale geliyordu. Yağmur yüzünden birçok defa köyde mahsur kaldığımı bilirim. Sordunuz diye anlatıyorum ama aslında çok hatırlamak istediğim bir yer değil Mezgitli. Mezgitli özelinde değil o bölge genelinde konuşacak olursam insan olan yaşamaz oralarda. Hele Mezgitli'de, düşünün yol, su, elektrik yok. Eğitim desen neredeyse kadınların tümü bilmez okuma yazmasını bırakın okuma yazmasını konuşmasını bile bilmezler. Şimdi şehre göçmüşler dediğiniz üzere eee toprak gidince olacağı o. Toprak olsa da ne olacak ağaları doyuruyor... Dedik onlara taa o zaman bu yaşanacak hayat değil. Bu devirde insan hayvanlarla beraber yaşamaz. Biz bu köyler için Atatürk Barajını bir fırsat olarak gördük. Bu yerleşim yerlerinin zamanın gerekliliklerini yakalamalarını istedik. Modern yerleşim yerleri tasarladık. Aslında olması gereken olmuş en azından şimdi şehirde okurlar yazarlar, biraz geçirirler..."*

“I’m going on a journey once more; the destination is the East this time. It is a restless journey, though it is not a long, too long, one. An uninvited hopelessness coming from the past is now inside me. Isn’t that a fear about life? Or, am I afraid of what the humans living so far experience? Experiencing something that is already painful to see? ... Is that a fear of seeing the unbelievable underdevelopment, hunger, poverty, and deprivation that disrupts the rhythm of my heart now? Or, am I anxious to smell the odor of Diyarbakir Suriçi and Animal Market again? No, none of these is the reason. It is most probably that I cannot explain all of these after coming back to here, the source of my fear and restlessness...

And I know I do not have the words to express... I will see, smell and taste, but I will not be able to express...

The pain of my heart is those words which I don’t want to have ...”³

Although this text is a very subjective one, it certainly carries very pessimistic feelings towards the region. Thus, I have felt that the region has to be transformed in a very fundamental way. Although my pessimistic feelings about the regions was not groundless, depending on my previous experiences in the region, an average person in Turkey would have felt the same about the region. However, today, people are more optimistic about the region. To answer this question we will look at the contradiction between my observations in the field and my feelings before visiting the site. Indeed, my observations in the field reflect a general transformation in the perceptions of the ‘local’. The new perspective towards the local puts emphasis on the difference, specificity, and flavour of the local; it is a kind of blessing the local. The main question at this point is whether this more optimistic

³ 12th April 2006 Ankara/Before DAKAP Project Visit: “...Yine yol düştü bana bu sefer doğuya, uzak çok uzak olmasa da huzursuz bir yolculuk bu. Yıllar önceki umutsuzluk içimde insanlara dair bir korku olmasın bu... İnsanların yaşadıklarından mı korkuyorum yoksa... Sadece görmek bile zor gelirken yaşamak... Göreceğim, geri kalmışlık, açlık, yoksulluk, yoksunluk halimi kalbimin ritmini bozan... Yoksa Diyarbakır Suriçi, Hayvan Pazarın kokusu tekrar duyurum diye mi endişe doldu içim... Yok, hiç biri değil anlatamayacak olmak beklide huzursuzluk kaynağım... ve biliyorum o kelimelere sahip değilim... Göreceğim, koklayacağım ve tadacağım ama anlatamayacağım... Kalbimin derdi sahip olunmak istenmeyen kelimelerdir...”

attitude towards the region roots in the improvement of the material conditions in the region? The answer is certainly not. In order to confirm this argument, we should look at the material conditions of the area when I visited Mezgitli in 2006 in order to compare them with the material conditions in 1982, which formed the impressions of Participant towards the region.

- Electricity was available in Village of Mezgitli. But it was available every other day according to the information given us in our field visit. This is so although the region is the nearest settlement to Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant, the biggest electricity producer of Turkey. There is a black humor in this fact. Thus the situation in 2006 is more tragic than the situation in 1982.
- Transportation road of the village was asphalt. However in this asphalt road we had two accident risks with 4x4 land vehicle.
- Drinking water was available but it seemed so polluted that everyone thought it was not a good idea to drink it.
- It was still impossible to communicate with women in the village. Women older than 30 years old could not speak. And you have to be a woman in order to talk to them.
- Due to Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant Dam Reservoir, malaria cases which had not emerged in the village before started to emerge and there was no institution giving health services.

In addition to all these, in Mezgitli animals and humans still share a non-sterile environment. Civilization defined by Participant's road, water, electricity and education has been developed in a very limited case. But, due to the Dam Reservoir,

malaria cases started to emerge again. Briefly, the reality observed in 2006 was not different from what was anticipated and it was still upsetting. However, my observations during the field visit contradict with these material conditions.

The basic question at this point is what makes an observer to give a very optimistic account of the region, which undoubtedly contradicts with the poor material conditions in the region. The answer to this question is there is a newly emerging theoretical gaze at the 'local', the criteria of which is not only material conditions anymore. Obviously, I was influenced by the research team, with which I accompanied in the field visit, whose perspectives were not defined from the point of view of national developmentalism anymore. This relation cannot be defined as a relation between individuals. The members of the research team who demonstrated their admiration to the architectural structure which they defined to be an example of ethnic architecture or who showed respect to the tradition while giving me the details about the shafii tradition were actually agents and outcomes of a newly emerging perspective of developmentalism, the development criteria of which is not economic anymore. Interestingly, an agricultural economist among the research team proposed the preservation of the nomadic stockbreeding which, in a way, requires the condition in which humans and animals live together, which was condemned by Participant as an inhuman situation. Moreover, a psychologist who wanted children to depict the village by drawing pictures is a kind of hearing the 'Other' who had something to say rather than only telling them what they should do and not do. These are all examples of a newly emerging paradigm of approaching to the local, to the different, or to the Other so to speak.

According to the directives of the WB, Mezgitli is not a social, cultural, political and regional part of the nation state. Mezgitli is a part of the global world that has to be adjusted to the required conditions demanded by global capitalism. The nation state does not have the organizational and institutional structure to implement this kind of a development project. The WB which has already

developed such an organizational and institutional structure is the executor of this project. The WB circulates its army of specialists around the globe to participate in the teams of such projects and initiates many other institutional transformations. Although this transformation does not match with the institutional structure of the Nation State, it has already now been initiated.

The analysis of the transformation from National Developmentalism to New Developmentalism by only looking at the changing conceptual frameworks and socio-economic indicators makes it impossible to understand the relationality between the actors of this transformation and the structures. In the introductory chapter, we emphasize that developmentalism will be regarded as a tool required by the capital which regulates and reproduces cultural, economic and political fields. However, to define it shortly, this dissertation does not aim to analyze the nature of the process in which the capital reaches beyond the space confined by nation states and expands to the world. It will attempt to analyze the transformation of Developmentalism with regard to the changing logic of the capitalism. In this respect, aiming to reveal the transformation of Developmentalism, this dissertation can also be regarded as an interpretation of the operational mechanisms of global culture and global capitalism. In order to analyze this transformation, certain developmentalism projects have been investigated within this study. A tri-dimensional field research has been designed for this purpose. The motivation behind designing such a field research is to analyze the theoretical, institutional and social transformations of developmentalism with a primary focus on the relationality between them. The field research consists of two prominent developmentalism projects and three minor investment projects implemented in Turkey.

The dissertation will primarily focus on two major projects within the scope of the GAP: Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant and Ilisu Dam and Hyrdoelectric Power Plant. Both of these projects constitute the backbone of the

GAP that was founded with the aim of transforming the Southeastern Anatolia Region from a holistic perspective shaped by the ideology of national developmentalism. The analysis of these projects give insights into understanding the transformation of the Developmentalism movement.

The reason for selecting these two most significant stages of the GAP project as the field of investigation is the fact that big dam projects undertake many functions besides meeting the energy requirement of the developing national industries all over the world. Big dam projects result in the resettlement of a large population, transformation of all modes of production in the locality they are implemented in and the process of cultural and social reconstruction. Therefore, Big Dam Projects make a good field of investigation which one could trace the theoretical, institutional and social transformation of developmentalism. The Development Agencies regards big dam and irrigation projects as primary tools to initiate and organize social, economic and cultural transformations since the early 1930s.

The first example of the RDAs is the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) which was mobilized through the motto of National Developmentalism in USA which we will deal with in detail in the 4th section. Although the TVA is a structure that were planned and realized before the 1950s, when the National Developmentalism started to become a dominant developmentalism perspective, it is a structure that involves all peculiar elements of the National Developmentalism. It is an indisputable fact that the TVA has become a model for the subsequent projects of National Developmentalism. The TVA has been planned according to the requirements of the new economic system emerged after the Great Depression of the 1930s. According to David Ekbladh, the TVA is the pioneer of the Developmentalism projects emerged all over the world after 1950 in terms of their conceptual framework and theoretical approaches (Ekbladh, 2010, 48). The GAP also shares many similarities with the TVA in terms of its organizational structure

and the features of the subprojects that it involves in.

As we mentioned above, the great dam and irrigation projects brought about by giant institutional structures, including the TVA and the GAP, offer us a rich source of investigation to analyze the dynamics of National Developmentalism. And elaborating on the GAP with focus on the empirical data related with the project will give insights into the development of the ideal of Developmentalism in Turkey and its transformation in the last decade. The analysis of the GAP will actually be carried out in two stages. The institutional transformation of the GAP in general and the analysis of the two subprojects mentioned above are the two stages of the analysis in order to explain the transformation of national developmentalism to the new developmentalism. Emphasizing more, although GAP has a large space in the investigation field of this dissertation as an administrative structure shaped within the national developmentalism discourse, the operational structure of the GAP is not within the scope of this study. In this regard, the two Hydroelectric Power Plant and Dam projects constituting the backbone of the the GAP will be focused.

The first of those projects is Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant Project (ABHES). The basic reason for including this project in the field research is that ABHES Project is a project fully planned and realized through the perspective of National Developmentalism. The second is the Ilisu Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant project (IBHES). However, although this project was planned through the perspective of National Developmentalism, its operation was based on an organization model and conceptual logic that differs from the national developmentalist model.

IBHES project requires the biggest source following Atatürk and Karakaya dams. The processes that have followed while realizing IBHES project has many differences from the processes that have followed while realizing the other stages

of the GAP. Although the project is not completed yet and there has been many problems with the operation phases, the operation of the project to date gives many empirical data, the analysis of which would shed light on these differences. However, the implementation stage of the IBHES project which differs from other projects of the GAP has not completed yet. Thus it is not possible to acquire empirical information on the social consequences of the project. The realization of the IBHES project with a theoretical framework and theoretical structure different from ABHES project has been halted for some reasons that will be explained later.

The idea of implementation of IBHES has started in 1954 and the design of the project was completed in 1975. However, the implementation process has never been initiated till the late 1990s since there was not financial source enough for the construction and operation stages. Indeed this period marks the transition from one economic model to the other in which the state was no longer willing (and was un able because of the financial difficulties) to make investments for huge infrastructure projects. Thus, in the late 1990s, the state was in an urgent need for international financial sources to implement the project. However, the international financial institutions (Export Credit Agencies – the ECAs) stipulated some conditions for giving loans for the implementation of the project, which were actually specified in the Equator Principles which was signed among the ECAs and mediated by the WB. These conditions have included regulation of repayment mechanisms, mitigation of the social and environmental impacts of the projects, and initiation of social responsibility projects. Thus, in a way, IBHES was designed in the logic of national developmentalism, which have many potential social, cultural and economic impacts that would lead to the social transformation in the concerned region. In the age of national developmentalism, the state was the primary source of finance for the implementation of such projects and it was responsible for all these impacts and the consequences of the prospective social transformation brought about by those projects. However, in the newly emerging era of the new developmentalism which has intersected with the time of the implementation of

IBHES, the WB as the mediator of the financing issues of such projects has assigned primarily the private sector to the implementation of these projects.

IBHES project was initially designed as one of the most significant backbones of the GAP project within the structural logic of national developmentalism. It was based on:

- The logic of National Developmentalism.
- The central administrative organization of nation state,
- The idea of utilizing national sources.
- The requirements specified in the national legislation.

However, in late 1990's, the project has to be adopted according to the following principles of newly emerging model of new developmentalism:

- Based on the mechanisms of global capitalism.
- Having a multi-centered international administrative structuring,
- Depending on international sources.
- Taking international legislation as the basis.

To make a loose analogy, this story has similarities with the story of a transplanted patient actually. Repairment of the halting mechanisms of the IBHES continuously resembles the medical cures taken by the transplanted patient to solve the problem of histo-incompatibility, during which the patient experience psychological and physiological interruptions seriously affecting his or her life. Although many alternative methods were tried in the implementation stage of the IBHES project in order to repair the halting mechanisms, the result was not very promising.

On the other hand, ABHES project was completed without any diversion

from the logic of National Developmentalism and implemented in accordance with the laws and legislation of the Nation State. While ABHES project which was completed in a very long period appeared in the headlines of the newspapers as a source of national honor with its huge coverage and giant dimensions, it is not possible to talk about such an honor for the IBHES project in the popular media.

However, as has been mentioned at the beginning of this section, the transformation of Developmentalism will be examined in three different stages. These stages are:

- Theoretical aspect of transformation of Developmentalism
- Institutional aspect of transformation of Developmentalism
- Social aspect of transformation of Developmentalism

IBHES project offers us a field of investigation for only two aspects of the transformation of Developmentalism. Those fields are theoretical and institutional aspects of the transformation of Developmentalism. And the ABHES project provides the chance to examine the social field related to the theoretical transformation. The field research was correspondingly carried out in the villages subject to resettlement within the scope of the ABHES project. However, the IBHES project does not offer us such a field of investigation which would provide empirical data to analyze the transformation in the social field, since the project is not completed. Briefly, although the analysis of the IBHES project does not offer us data on its social consequences, the very incompleteness of the project gives insights into the the transformation of developmentalism.

Within this framework, it seems impossible to complete our three-stage analysis if we only look at ABHES and IBHES projects. Thus, this dissertation incorporate another project into its analysis, which is implemented in line with the principles of New Developmentalism and organized by the institutional structures of

New Developmentalism. This project is Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Natural Gas Pipeline Project (BCT-OPL). This project has the potential to offer us the empirical data at social level which IBHES project fails to do. In addition to the empirical data, BCT-OPL project could offer us the complementary information for understanding the theoretical and institutional transformation process of Developmentalism.

Administrative structuring of BCT-OPL and the way in which the experts implement the project are concrete expressions of how the new developmentalism is operated theoretically and institutionally. The analysis of BCT-OPL project could also provide us with important information on how the newly emerging forms of the RDA operates in a very different way than the RDA established by National Developmentalism in the previous period. While the RDA were the most significant agencies of the National Developmentalism in the earlier period, they have transformed into partially or fully autonomous structures independent from the centralized administrative structures after the 1990s. The collaboration of BCT-OPL project with those partially or fully autonomous RDA will be analyzed in the field research section (for detailed interviews see Appendix A). The field research consists of the interviews with following groups of people:

Interviews with 41 individuals who were commissioned in the planning and implementation stages of those three projects from various levels of the hierarchy were conducted using semi-structured interview technique.

In the field where ABHES and BCT-OPL, projects were implemented, interviews with 16 individuals living in 6 settlements that have experienced the various implementations within the scope of the project at various levels (such as, Resettlement, Income Improvement, Rural Transformation, etc.) were conducted by using semi-structured interview technique.

With a hope to access supplementary information, interviews with 8 experts

who were not commissioned in any projects analyzed in the field research were conducted. These people have worked regional development agency in Turkey and participated in many small and big scale projects in various regions of the world implemented in line with the logic of national and global developmentalism.

Furthermore, the field research involves other two more recent projects in order to understand the Environmental and Social Impact Assessment processes which have undoubtedly influential roles in the formation of Global Developmentalism. Both projects will provide us data operational for understanding the processes of Environmental and Social Impact Assessment (ESIA) conducted in accordance with the legislations of WB. Thus, within the scope of this dissertation 8 people were interviewed who have participated in the ESIA processes of the following projects:

Mount Ağrı and Kirazli Gold Mines Projects (ADKAMP) in the Çan district in Çanakkale. The project is not completed yet but the ESIA process is finished.

Refinery Project (STPR) planned to be implemented in the Aliaga district in Izmir by Socar-Turcas Company. In addition to these interviews, secondary sources on various projects based on different models of developmentalism will be discussed (for detailed tables of the interviews see Table 1)

Table 1. Comparative Table of the Interviews Conducted

The Concerned Project	Interviews with the Experts Commissioned in the Projects in Various Stages	Interviews with the Inhabitants of the Project Sites	Total Number of Interviews
The experts commissioned only in ABHES or the inhabitants in the project site	8	8	16
The experts commissioned in both ABHES and IBHES or the inhabitants in the project site	7	0	8
The experts commissioned only in IBHES or the inhabitants in the project site	7	8	15
The experts commissioned in BCT-OPL or the inhabitants in the project site	7	8	15
The experts commissioned in both BCT-OPL and IBHES or the inhabitants in the project site	5	0	5
The experts commissioned only in STPR or the inhabitants in the project site	1	0	1
The experts commissioned in ADKAMP or the inhabitants in the project site	2	0	2
The experts commissioned in both ADKAMP and STPR or the inhabitants in the project site	1	0	1
The experts were not commissioned in any projects analyzed in the field research	8	0	0
Total Number of Interviews	46	16	62

This dissertation elaborates on the very logic and mechanisms of late capitalism by making a comparison between two modes of developmentalism, namely national developmentalism and new developmentalism. The dissertation mainly consists of five sections. In the first and second section (Chapter 2, 3), we will attempt to offer a small history of the transition from the national developmentalism to the new developmentalism. The second section (Chapter 4) attempts to analyze the conceptual transformation within this process of transition with the main question of how capitalism reproduces the process of developmentalism through and within the processes of globalization and how these processes are embodied in various contexts. In other words, we attempt to find out how the transformation of national developmentalism into new developmentalism is internalized socially and pervade into the very fabric of social life. The third section (Chapter 5) elaborates on how

the structure of the institutions change with this process of transition. The nation-state and its associated institutions that have taken significant roles in the national developmentalism have lost their prominence within the context of new developmentalism. The transnational organizations and the new RDA organized within the logic of new developmentalism have gained central place in this new period. The fourth section (Chapter 6) deals with how the very fabric of the social has been transformed within this transition. The following subsection will explain the methodology of this dissertation in which theoretical and practical concerns within the research process will be discussed.

CHAPTER II

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTALISM: HISTORY, BASICS, AND PRACTICES

2.1. What is Development?

The most simple definition of development is to bring 'good life' to people. Although the definition is very simple and naive, the concept itself is not. The notion of development is used in many political contexts, disguises itself under various discourses and ideologies, and the last but not the least, has the potential to transform a society altogether in pursuit of an ideal society or humanity depending on the context. The notion of development inevitably ties with the notion of progress, which constitutes one of the basic tenets of modernity, a belief in the capability of rationalized forms of power, ethical, political, economic, social mechanisms of decision-making so to speak, to create a better world for humanity. Thus, the concept of development directly brings us to the notion of modernity.

It is not coincidence that what is called loosely as the main streams of classical sociology had obsessively preoccupied with the dichotomy of traditional-modern. This dichotomy shows itself in various pairs: community and society in Tönnies (1957: 2001), mechanic versus organic solidarity in Durkheim (1933: 1997), feudal versus industrial societies in Marx (1848: 1988), etc. The very concept of modernity was indeed founded on the traditional-modern dichotomy, which manifests corresponding polarities based on this duality. This polarity operates through the element of difference, namely the difference between the West and the Rest, which was embodied within modernization theories.

The latter seeks the factors behind a unique historical transformation, that of the West, and proposed them as remedy for the ‘underdeveloped’ countries to attain prosperity. The notion of development originates from such an evolutionary schema and unilateral concept of progress. The words of a well-known anthropologist constitute a perfect example of such a developmentalist discourse:

Economic development of an underdeveloped people by themselves is not compatible with the maintenance of their traditional customs and mores. A break with the latter is prerequisite to economic progress. What is needed is a revolution in the totality of social, cultural and religious institutions and habits, and thus in their psychological attitude, their philosophy and way of life. What is, therefore, required amounts in reality to social disorganization. Unhappiness and discontent in the sense of wanting more than is obtainable at any moment is to be generated. The suffering and dislocation that may be caused in the process may be objectionable, but it appears to be the price that has to be paid for economic development: the condition of economic progress (Sadie, 1960: 302).

In such a conceptual schema, where the modernity should be pursued and the tradition should be dodged, the tradition had never been defined in a lucid way. It was practically what was not modern, defined by its difference from it; the savage, the irrational, the inefficient, the local, the East, the other, etc. It is, in short, an obstacle to progress and development, the ‘flourishment’ of universal ideals of humanity. Contrary to the general prejudice about ‘traditional’ societies, the observations of anthropologists reveal the fact that those societies were more prone to the accommodation of differences. Being a prominent representative of post-liberalism, John Gray explains this situation with the absence of the idea of human equality in pre-modern societies. Thus, for him, “modernity begins not with the recognition of difference but with a demand for uniformity” (Gray, 2000: 4).

Having its founding roots in the hegemony of modern rationality over nature (and tradition as well) and in the notion of unilateral development as an inescapable fact, modernity seems to be concomitant with the idea of development and progress from the very beginning. Today, everyone talks about the need for adapting or integrating with the global society for survival. However, this urgent need for adaptation to or the integration with the West and concomitant processes of socio-economic transformation has a history of more than a century for the so-called underdeveloped countries. Especially in the second half of the 20th century, this need assumed a complete and institutionalized form implemented by the states through several policies and giant infrastructure projects. This movement called developmentalism indeed expressed underdeveloped countries' zeal to become modern and to keep pace with the sweeping changes brought about by (high) modernity. The notion of development in this sense emerged just after the World War II, which was legitimized itself on the basis of struggle against poverty in both developed and underdeveloped countries. The catastrophic consequences of the war, the devastating impacts of the Great Depression, the emergence of Cold War, and decolonization process have fostered the debates on developmentalism.

The process of development inherently possess an evolutionary perspective in which there are stages of development that a country has to follow in order. The notion of development, the national development so to speak, has put forward three interrelated criteria for the progress:

- 1- Economically, sharp and sustainable increases in national product; generation of centers of self-sustained growth, mainly in industry ...
- 2- Socially, redistribution of national income on an egalitarian basis; incorporation of marginal masses into the market economy.
- 3- Culturally, emergence of a new national self-image, confident of the future and willing to make sacrifices to bridge the gap with the developed world (Portes, 1973: 253).

Frederick Nixon attempts to find the origins of the literature of development with regard to the associated conceptual elements of the notion of development (Nixon, 2006). His remarks on the development process itself is illuminating and worth quoting at this point (Nixon, 2006: 969):

All the 'pioneers' of development economics ..., admittedly from a variety of theoretical and ideological perspectives, nevertheless focused on structural change, the emergence of 'leading sectors', the development of an urban, industrial capitalist sector and the policies needed to bring about these changes ... It has always been less widely recognized or accepted however, that the development process, that is both a part and a consequence of growth and structural change, is uneven, dialectical and contingent with respect to both time and place. From this perspective it is best viewed as an historical process of both quantitative and qualitative change in which we give priority to the historical analytic rather than the policy prescriptive

For Nixon, the concept has been generally used in an ahistorical and apolitical way that fails to specify an ideal structure that refers to a particular political, economic and social structure. Heinz Wolfgang Arndt (1981), on the other hand, attempts to develop a historical and semantic analysis in order to derive a specific meaning and content of the concept. He deals with Adam Smith's analysis of the industrialization of England that considers it as a material progress rather than the concept of development. In his work, *Wealth of Nations*, the material progress is tied to the notion of capital accumulation, which in turn can be explained by the disposition of wealthy classes to save money. Thus, the concept of material progress has become a common operational term to account for the economic development of the West among economists till the Second World War. Arndt states that after Smith, economists and economic historians have formed a substantial literature on the rise of capitalism, the industrial revolution, and the evolution of trade, but almost none of these accounts relate these processes with

economic development (Arndt, 1981: 457-8). Arndt (1981: 458) regards Alfred Marshall's approach as a very good example of this theoretical stance:

When Alfred Marshall used the word "development," it was in a literal sense, denoting merely emergence over time, as in "the development of speculation in every form" or "the development of social institutions." This remained generally true, at least in the British and American literature, until the 1930s.

However, Schumpeter constitutes a certain exception at this point with his approach formulated in his work, *"Economic Development Theory"*. Furthermore, the concept development as primarily an economic phenomenon was developed by economic historians in the 1920s. With these theoretical interventions, the notion has gradually gained primarily an economic character. For him, Marxist approaches and economic historians differ from each other fundamentally with respect to the meanings they attribute to the concept of development. The former approaches follow the general Marxist framework that attempts to show "how the economic process, changing itself by virtue of its own inherent logic, incessantly changes the social framework—the whole of society in fact" in Schumpeter's words (quoted in Arndt, 1981: 459). In such a perspective, economic and social changes are dialectical; economic development does not occur in isolation from the other social transformations. However, for economic historians in the 1920s, the concept of economic development was merely related with the capacity to obtain maximum benefit from the natural resources.

Although the term of economic development was not used during the Second World War with the exception of the Marxist literature, it has continued to refer to the efficient use of the natural resources in various theoretical perspectives. It is striking to note that none of the approaches mentioned so far have made reference to the underdeveloped regions in their development accounts. A direct reference to the underdevelopment within the context of

development first appeared in the 22th article of the Versailles Treaty dated 28 June 1919:

...To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League...⁴

The notion of development in this context presumes the coexistence of the social, cultural and economic aspects. However, in the subsequent documents published by the League of Nations (and later the United Nations), the development was regarded as primarily economic development, a notion that tended to isolate the other social aspects. The United Nations has gradually adopted the definition of development though which the primary aim is determined to increase prosperity of the whole population. Therefore, with this definition, the economic development has been increasingly used as a synonym for increase in income per capita.

The economics of development as a discipline has emerged just after the Great Depression of the 1930s.⁵ The collapse of international economic system in

⁴ (First World War. Com-Primary, 2011)

⁵ In this thesis, excluding the situations where certain explanations are required, this period named development economy or in other words the period defined as the economic development period in the literature shall be conceptualized as the period of national developmentalism. As we specified previously in the introduction section, the concept of economic developmentalism deals with development under economic transformation and limits itself to economic field. However, as this

the period of 1930–1945 has also fostered the need for economy of development. The economics of development has been used as solely an economic field till the period after the World War II. In Balanced and Imbalanced Development Theories, Neo-Liberal Approaches, and Dependency Theories, the development problem was defined as being intrinsically related with the economic dimensions of the production process, and correspondingly the solution was found to be increasing the efficiency of the use of the factors of production.

The concepts of national developmentalism, such as economic growth, development, improvement, progress, modernization, and industrialization, have commonly been used interchangeably till the early 1980s in literature. The meanings attributed to these concepts by national developmentalism were penetrated into each other. Indeed, the relation between global developmentalism and national developmentalism can be examined by an analysis of how these concepts are articulated in their discourse in different contexts. National developmentalist discourse bears a linear relationship to these concepts unlike global developmentalism, which regard these concepts as instrumental tools that should be embedded with new meanings according to different contexts. The remarks of an expert who participated in a resettlement process implemented within the scope of ABHES project is worth quoting to clarify what is meant by the linear relationship between national developmentalism and those concepts:

...I have worked in a resettlement work in Adiyaman province. But I can't remember the name of the village right now... Since the village was going to be inundated by dam reservoir completely it should have been moved to a new settlement in a short time. We needed to gather data on the economic conditions of the households to initiate the

dissertation understood it, concept of development contains much more than economic change. Developmentalism and the movement of developmentalism cannot be understood solely on the basis of changes in the economic field. It is one of the main actors of developmentalism that shape the social and cultural field. In this thesis the concept and movement mentioned as economic developmentalism in the literature in general shall be dealt as national developmentalism in terms of emphasizing the role undertaken by developmentalism in the cultural and social field.

implementation of resettlement activities. I will never forget the fact that 48 households out of 50 could not have reported any income generating activity to us. How could they earn their living? The village had a subsistence economy; money had almost no use. The material conditions were so poor that I had really difficulty to continue to work there ... I thought resettlement was a very good opportunity for these people to improve their life-standards and to rescue themselves from those poor conditions... but this didn't happen...⁶

In the whole interview, the expert did not make any reference to social or cultural specificities of the region. From the perspective of national developmentalism, the problems (or opportunities) brought about by the proposed project and the existing conditions in a region are explicable only in economic matters. However, that does not mean that the national development projects only deal with economic issues. On the contrary, those projects have usually intended to bring about social and cultural transformations concomitant with fundamental changes in economic structure of the concerned region. However, the notion of development till the late 1970s has primarily referred to the economic development, the primary indicator of which was the economic growth determined

⁶ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 23-04-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "...Adıyaman ilinde bir yeniden yerleşim çalışmasında bulundum. Şimdi adını hatırlamadığım bir köy. Ancak tüm yeniden yerleşim çalışması yürüttüğümüz yerleşim yerleri arasında beni en etkileyen yerleşim yeri idi. Yerleşim yeri tamamen baraj gölü altında kalacağı için bir kısa bir zaman içerisinde yeni bir yerleşim yerine taşınması gerekiyordu. Yeniden yerleşim çalışmasında bu yerleşim yerinde yaşayan hanelerin ekonomik durumlarına dair bilgi toplamamız gerekiyordu. Hiç unutmadığım bir rakamdır 50 hanenin yaşadığı köyde 48 hane bize herhangi bir gelir getiren bir faaliyet belirtememişti. Nasıl geçiniyorlardı? Tamamen geçimlik (subsistence) bir ekonomik yapı vardı köyde hatta paranın geçmediğini söylesem yalan olmaz. Geri kalmışlığın sorununun tamamen ekonomik bir durum olduğunu bu yerleşim yerinde gözledim desem yalan olmaz. Size çarpıcı bir örnek veririm beni daha net anlarsınız. Örneğin bu gün Kürt sorunu olarak nitelendirilen soruna bakışım da bu köyde gelişti desem yalan olmaz. Bu anlamda Kürt sorununu kimlik, kültür üzerinden tanımlayan bir siyasal görüşe gülüp geçiyorum... Yeniden yerleşim bu insanlara bu yapının kırılması için çok büyük bir fırsat verecekti... Bu anlamda Atatürk Barajı çerçevesinde yapılan birçok yeniden yerleşimin çalışması bölgenin kalkınması, gelişmesi, modern bir yaşam kalitesini yakalaması için bir fırsat yaratacağı görüşündeydim... Ama olmadı... hatta neden bu yerleşim yerlerin bu proje çerçevesinde İsviçre deki resimlerde gördüğümüz özendiğimiz bir yerleşim yeri gibi olmasın dedik kendi kendimize... baraj gölünün hemen yanında bir taraftan göl manzarası bir taraftan dağ manzarasına hakim bir yerleşim yeri olarak düşündük planladık... hatta bu yerleşim yeri için DSİ'nin planlarına baktıkça yeni yerleşim yerinden toprak almak ve işlemek burada yaşamak istediğim o kadar çok olmuştur ki... Biz iyi niyetli çalıştıysak da olmadı..."

by the increase in national income. Today, the notion of development is understood with regard to different realms of the social, such as economic development, cultural development, social development, and political development, etc.

Since the basic purpose of growth-oriented development emerged after the World War II was to shift the labor from agriculture to industrial and service sectors, the national income per capita has been assessed as the basic indicator of improvement in prosperity of the country. This approach entails the efficient management of economy and sustainable growth. However, it was understood in the late 1970s that the growth-oriented development model based on increasing the production capacity could not solve especially the social problems of the underdeveloped countries. Thus the concept of development had been questioned and redefined so as to improve the relationship between economic growth and human development. This newly emerging approach which has aimed to incorporate humane, social, cultural, environmental and spatial concerns into the development attempted to redefine the concept of development so as to address the issues of poverty, unemployment, income distribution and regional imbalances besides economic growth. Especially after the 1980s, the development discussions have focused on the macroeconomic stability, governance, institutional consolidations, and participation on the basis of its criticism that the social, cultural and political aspects of the development were largely ignored in the past.

2.2. The Emergence of National Developmentalism

The concept of national developmentalism has generally been used with regard to the policies implemented in the countries which have their national dependencies after the Second World War to foster economic, social and cultural transformations. Such a usage of the term relates with the idea that the purest forms of national developmentalism have emerged in those countries (Chang and Grabel, 2004: 21). Actually, the movement of national developmentalism in this case was a response to the problem of underdevelopment. The remarks of Harry S.

Truman⁷ in his inaugural speech in 1949 can be regarded as a precursor of this movement and confirmation of the assertion above:

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people. ... I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. ... What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing. ... Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge” (Quoted in Escobar 1995: 12).

Today, there is almost no usage of the term, national developmentalism, without making reference to the notions of nationalism, nation state, modernization, and industrialization. Thus, since the term is relevant with the general ideals of the Enlightenment, it cannot be defined solely with regard to the projects implemented in the underdeveloped regions after the World War II. It is a notion relevant with the development of capitalism and the social, cultural and economic changes brought about by modernity in general. Thus, the notion of national developmentalism can be analyzed in two respects. Firstly, one should look at the transformation of capitalism which the notion of national developmentalism has constituted a significant part of. Secondly, in a close relation with the first, the issue of national development should be regarded as an embodiment of the ideals of capitalism in practical life. As an analytic reflection of such concerns, this chapter

⁷ Harry S. Truman (May 8, 1884 – December 26, 1972) was the 33rd President of the United States (1945–1953). As President Franklin D. Roosevelt's third vice-president and the 34th Vice President of the United States (1945), he succeeded to the presidency on April 12, 1945, when President Roosevelt died less than three months after beginning his historic fourth term. (Harry S. Truman The White House, 2011)

attempts to give a brief outline of the emergence and course of national developmentalism.

The perspective of National Developmentalism finds its utmost expression in its observation that the underdeveloped regions represented the majority of the world especially after World War II. This observation originates from the comparison pointed out above. Operating on the basis of the economic categories of savings, consumption and national income (but especially on the basis of the comparison of the savings regarding their share in the national income), this comparison yields a hierarchical classification among countries according to their levels of development. Undoubtedly, sociology of development and development policies contribute to this hierarchical classification to a great extent from their point of views. By attempting to explain the reasons for underdevelopment and to determine the strategies of liberation from underdevelopment, national developmentalism not only chooses to divert from the mainstream economic theories and to attain a theory of its own, but also dares to prepare remedy for underdeveloped societies.

On the other hand, the analysis of the advantageous or disadvantageous positions of the developed and underdeveloped regions in an economic relationship between each other marks another conceptual distinction. This distinction is considered as the literature of underdevelopment as opposed to the literature of development (Bernstein, 1992). Although there seem to be huge differences between these two types of literature, both approach the issue with respect to the desire for development. While literature of development blames internal dynamics of countries for underdevelopment, literature of underdevelopment accuses developed capitalist economies for underdevelopment. Thus, literature of underdevelopment explores the methods and ways of development without questioning the notion of development itself (Ercan, 1995). However, the construction of capitalism in underdeveloped countries in line with the

development strategies has nothing to do with the ideological notion of 'common good'.

The rise of poverty and unemployment, military coups and negative outcomes of industrialization and development on environment, women and labor paved the way for a literature against development. The neo-liberal globalizationist perspectives emerged in the late 1970s considered national developmentalism as a futile business and increasingly disseminated the idea that integration with the globalizing market means 'common good' for all the actors of the world economy. Indeed this theoretical maneuver paved the way for global developmentalism. Furthermore, theoretical fragmentation and self-criticism within the perspective of national developmentalism contributed a lot to the emerging perspective of global developmentalism and they together marked a transformation in the theories of development in its fullest sense.

National developmentalism falls into trap while opposing the basic assumption of neoclassical economics that there exist rationality and conditions of balance anywhere in the world: it inherently makes a differentiation between rational and irrational human actions in its explanations for underdevelopment, regards rational existence as 'normal', and place it above the 'irrational' existence (regarded as abnormal) in hierarchical order. It, at the same time, sees intervention- and the government as the agency of this intervention- as legitimate or even preferable, the primary idea that makes it differ from neoclassical economics. The very idea of this intervention is to transform the different to the same.

The Great Depression of 1929 meant a severe crisis of neoclassical economics as well. The principle of balance was being questioned seriously as the crisis gradually increased. The idea that capitalism periodically enter into stages of crisis had increasingly been a common observation. Such Keynes' criticisms had become gradually more influential and they were even defined as revolution for

economy discipline – Keynes meant what Newton is for physics. The observation of the evolutionist economic theories that the situation of balance contradicts with the human nature and the spirit of capitalism and Schumpeter's (1994) views had contributed to the theoretical framework of global developmentalism to a great extent. Thus, Schumpeter's (1994:1141) idea that the interventions for establishing balance are not so functional to the natural development of capitalism marked the initiation of the discourse of global developmentalism as early as 1930s together with his idea of innovation and creative destruction brought about by innovation. Schumpeter's approach accomplished its fullest function in the 1980s as the main constitutive discursive element of global developmentalism. Keynes' view, on the other hand, constituted the discursive core of the national developmentalism. Indeed, Keynes and Schumpeter agree with the idea that capitalist relations never generate a continuous situation of balance. However, while Keynes considers the situation of balance as a positive thing, Schumpeter regards imbalance as such. They explicate how capitalism fails at maintaining the situation of balance with their different attributions. For Schumpeter capitalism cope with this imbalance with its internal potentialities to generate progress and development paradoxically with the imbalance itself that is creative destruction. On the other hand, Keynes sees nothing positive in the imbalance itself and strives to find ways to eliminate imbalance altogether by means of national developmentalist perspective.

Thus, Keynes emphasized governmental intervention as essential to overcome the situations of imbalance and almost as indispensable to the 'health' of capitalism. Keynes claims that the cash flow of investment cannot be left to the private enterprise. Keynes, in a way, attempted to articulate the principle of the necessity of government intervention into the neoclassical economics. Thus, Keynesian analysis can be regarded as a search for solution to the problems of development by neoclassical economics. For Keynes and his successors, state has a set of instruments to overcome some economic pathologies caused by capitalism, such as inflation or unemployment. Keynes sees inflation and unemployment

resulting from deficient aggregate demand which has to be increased to undermine these problems (Clarke, 1988: 270-75). As has been shown by the people having analyzed the economic policies followed by the countries such as USA, Britain and Sweeden after the Great Depression of 1929, state has developed a set of measures to overcome economic crisis by implementing deficit budget policies and public expenditures. These policies in turn have determined the basis mottos of national developmentalism. Thus, national developmentalism has rendered the principle of government intervention as indispensable for the its economy. What state refers to in the lexicon of national developmentalism is of course the nation-state.

However, a warning is necessary here. The notion of intervention does not only refer to a tool used to repair the halting mechanisms of the system within the discourse of national developmentalism. More than simply presenting a notion of the necessity of government intervention, national developmentalism entails a set of social and cultural reconstruction processes too. These processes can easily be discerned when looking at history from this perspective. For example, planning periods of Soviet Union was in a severe contradiction with the theoretical framework and expectations of the neoclassical economics (Preston, 1985: 40). On the other hand, USA's economic activities towards internationalization brought some other particular dimensions to the issue of intervention. The political restructuring of USA with the aim of achieving an international hegemony necessitates in turn the Economic Recovery of Western Europe. Thus, the notion of intervention has gained an international character and recognition. Being a leading actor in this economic and political program, Prof. Seymour Harris followed a Keynesian theoretical framework (Preston, 1985: 48). Marshall Plan was the most critical stage in the reconstruction process of Europe and it aimed to "expedite the flows of investment from USA to Europe besides creating a stable Europe to foster the growth of Atlantic economy" (Clarke, 1988: 256).

The incorporation of the notion of intervention in economics has underlied the national developmentalism. Being another leading factor that matured the national developmentalist ideology was the dynamization of the Keynesian theory based on the aggregate demand which was static at the beginning and improvement of it in line with the long term expectations. The economic model known as Harrod-Domar model in the literature incorporates long term determinants of growth in the analysis. Investments being the basic determinant of economic growth were in turn regarded as the leading cause of underdevelopment if they are not at a sufficient level by national developmentalism. Definition of investments from such a Keynesian view naturally put forward the income and demand variables into account. The growth of investments, hence production, were related with the high income and aggregate demand in society.

This dynamized Keynesian model legitimizes intervention on the one hand and determine the necessary conditions for economic growth on the other. As Hettne rightly puts, all these variables have underlied the national developmentalism (Hettne, 1990: 50). As the theoretical framework of national developmentalism has gradually matured, two significant events have fostered the hegemony of national developmentalist discourse. The first of these two events was Truman's speech aimed to present USA's aims in international arena. Truman stated that their international enterprises had nothing to do with the conventional imperialist strategies that exploit peoples but creating a more just and democratic world. Truman adds they canalize their industrial and technological facilities to help the economic growth of underdeveloped regions of the world (quoted from Truman; Rist, 1997:71).

Rist sees Truman's speech as marking the discovery of the notion of development. The notion has been widely circulated for the first time with this speech. The ideological discourse of bringing wealth and prosperity to the underdeveloped regions inherently involves a rigid duality between

underdeveloped and developed countries besides a set of criteria that determine whether a particular country is developed or not. United Nations Economic and Social Council attempted to define a set of criteria that determine the development levels of countries under the general title of 'economic development'. The main aim was to determine the underdeveloped countries and to specify the conditions of development for them. In a report prepared by a small group of experts appointed by the United Nations, 'Measures for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries', the UN defined underdeveloped countries primarily by their rates of domestic savings. While the developed countries had the savings rate of 10%, underdeveloped or less developed countries had the savings rate of 5% or below. The report then investigated ways to increase domestic savings rates. The leading actor to take role in increasing domestic savings rates was, according to the report, the government with its active intervention and strategies of planning. Planning was simply defined as determining the best of various uses of resources (Preston, 1985: 64). The insufficient savings rates that were considered as the main indicator of underdevelopment was in a way synonymous with the insufficient capital accumulation in the report.

Given the insufficient capital accumulation as the main determinant of underdevelopment, the basic policy for development is to provide necessary conditions for capital accumulation. This 'basic' remedy was best expressed by W. A. Lewis and submitted to the United Nations Development Commission as a report. For Lewis, the basic problem of developmental theory was to find ways to increase voluntary savings in a given country from 4-5 % to 12-15% or above of national income. In Lewis' lexicon, increase in savings is almost synonymous with increase in investments. For him, the basis tenant of development is rapid capital accumulation that indispensably involves high level of information and capabilities (1966: 416). In one of his speech that dealt with capital accumulation and savings given in Egypt in 1953, he focused on another factor that makes developed and underdeveloped countries structurally differ from each other: the size of the market. He made a

seemingly ordinary statement that the main obstacle to an efficient industrialization in many countries was the small size of their domestic markets (Lewis: 1953). Having explained the reasons for underdevelopment as the low savings rates and small size of the markets, he saw the solution in using excess labor supply. This statement becomes more meaningful when it is considered in the context of proletarianization: it actually implies separation of labor from labor force, hence emergence of a capitalist labor market. Within this conceptual language, the capitalist relations are defined as the most rational and absolute while, for example, the economic systems of the societies earning their living from agriculture for thousands of years are regarded as irrational and inefficient.

Lewis states that although societies with high population have almost infinite labor force comparing to their capital and natural resources, the marginal productivity of labor in those societies is zero, negative or negligible. For him, new industries and business opportunities can be easily materialized by using this abundance of labor (Lewis, 1953). Furthermore, he redefines the modern and traditional societies by establishing a distinction between capitalist and subsistence societies, a notion that also constitute the conceptual basis of the modernization theories (Lewis, 1966). Subsistence societies have a huge amount of unproductive reserve labor.

Besides labor market, Lewis also pointed out the formation of the financial market that is indispensable to the development. For him savings can be made by a limited number of capitalists since population living on subsistence have a very low income. Thus, a limited number of population that can made savings has to turn their savings into additional investment, that is capital. However, in underdeveloped countries where the capitalists' profits are not enough to generate capital, direct intervention of the governments is necessary for accumulation of capital. This intervention can take the forms of printing excess money, granting credits with low interest rates, producing capital by speculating on the tax rates, or

creating an inflationist situation that capitalists profit from (Lewis, 1953). Granting loans is regarded as more efficient than taxing in creating source since granting loans turn income distribution in favor of capitalists and foster capital accumulation. Creating sources for capital accumulation is realized in two ways: domestic savings and foreign financing, that is underdeveloped countries' taking on debt from foreign sources. The latter is only possible via capitalist countries or capitalist private enterprises.

Lewis frequently emphasized the necessity of planning in order to provide efficient conditions for development. For him, planning refers to the improvement of invisible social control of the market by the visible government intervention. Thus, government eliminates the halting mechanisms of the market by planning, which, in a way, is a tool to ensure the security and smooth processing of the market (Lewis, 1949). An underdeveloped economy has to develop sustainable mechanisms of intervention, to improve the labor and money markets for capital accumulation and to develop a systematic planning mechanism in order to realize certain goals determined by the strategies of national development.

Lewis' theoretical standpoint regarding the national developmentalism was mostly shared by other thinkers supporting national developmentalism of his day. The general principles and recommended economic policies developed by these thinkers have formed the basis of the national developmentalist projects executed in the period of 1945-1980. However, that does not mean that there were some controversies among those thinkers especially on how and where these policies should be implemented. For example, a leading figure in the development literature who produced influential works in the field, Paul N. Rosenstein-Rodan made some provocative remarks that challenged the conventional view of national developmentalism in his book, *'Problems of Industrialization of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe'* (1943). For him, the problem of underdevelopment cannot be confined only to the 'depressed areas'; it is a general problem that pertains to the

whole world. For the conventional approaches, the basic problem of underdeveloped economies which restricts the movement capability of these economies is small size of the markets. Rodan, on the other hand, states that the insufficient development of the market is not only a problem of underdeveloped countries, but a major factor that restricts the expansion capacity of capitalist market at world scale. Thus, for further development of capitalist relations and world economy, the markets of what are called as underdeveloped economies should be enlarged. The basic way to do this, for him, is industrialization. Rodan carefully emphasized that the capitalist enterprises that will carry out industrialization should be developed to the maximum level. Having proposed some strategies to develop the capitalist enterprises, he decidedly rejects methods followed in the USSR, 'Russian Model' to use his words. Since Russian Model targets at inward-oriented industrialization, it will dig its own grave sooner or later. He explains the disadvantages of Russian Models as:

1-) Since Russian Model makes use of domestic sources, the development is very slow. The level of consumption and life standard are very low (Rodan, 1967: 246).

2-) Russian Model is oriented towards creating an isolated economic system from the world economy, which will have hindering effects on international division of labor. As the international division of labor remain at a low level, the capacity of commodity production for the world economy would remain low (Rodan, 1967: 246).

3-) Finally, since Russian Model focuses on heavy industry, in the long run, the resources at world scale will be used in an inefficient way (Rodan, 1967: 246).

Rodan clearly asserts that the only alternative for the underdeveloped countries is to take sides with capitalist countries and to follow and further develop capitalist mode of production, which, for him, is the preferable alternative. He states that the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe should integrate with

the world economy to industrialize, which in turn will increase the wealth in these countries together with benefiting from the advantages of participating in international division of labor (Rodan, 1968). Rodan's remarks clearly refute the claims of today's neoliberalist views that national developmentalist perspective was against the capitalism and market relations. Furthermore, in one of other works (*Notes on the Theory of the Big Push*) Rodan (1961) regarded small scale policies towards economic growth as meaningless and pointed out the necessity to allocate certain part of sources to the development programs.

Rodan (1971) uses a popular analogy among development literature between development and plane's take-off in order to explain the conditions of development. As the plane need to attain a certain speed in order to take-off, the economy need to use a certain amount of source simultaneously for sustainable development. Thus, while making investments bit by bit does not bring desirable results to the economy, big scale investments which are planned to cover all industries and implemented suddenly could have very revolutionary consequences to foster development and economic growth.

However, national developmentalist literature is blind to class and gender dynamics, which results in an ideological, discursive, fetishistic, and obsessively economic approach. Thus, although national developmentalist strategies provide some instrumental tools for the reconstruction of capitalism, its literature fails to address to issue of the structural dimensions of the system which are determined by gender and class dynamics. Dudley Seers' work, '*The Limitations of the Special Case*', (1963:81) reveals some important conceptual problems common to the national developmentalist literature. He formulated his criticism by reviewing an influential textbook, '*Economics: An Introductory Analysis*' (1948) written by Paul Samuelson. Although the book was written as a guide to explain the general principles of economics, for him, the book only deals with USA economy; one could hardly find any direct reference or conceptual framework within the book to

understand the economic structure of underdeveloped countries. Thus, he concludes that the title of the book would better be 'United States' Economy in 20th Century' rather than '*Economics: An Introductory Analysis*'. Seers extends his criticism to Marxism as well, which, for him, is unable to understand the economic structure of underdeveloped countries. The main problem with Marxist theory is its tendency to use extremely abstract terms to explain underdeveloped economies, which make it blind to the reality.

Seers claims that economics that was unable to explain the economic crisis is now incapable to present a solution to the problem of poverty that ravages through Africa, Asia and Latin America (Seers, 1967: 1). After being criticized as such by many critiques, national developmentalist literature turned its interest to various problems brought about by capitalism rather than the problem of development itself. Amartya Sen (1983) offered an insight into developmentalist literature somewhat as a response to these critiques. He attempted to show that the notion of development cannot be dealt with by only looking at increase in national income, an approach that tend to confuse the phenomena of development and growth. For him, (1983:755-756) the notion of development specifically interests with 'good life'. Thus, one should focus on humans rather than the produced commodities when it comes to the notion of development.

Sen (1983:753) refers to the average life expectancy as the main area of interest of developmentalism. This indicator is related with another variable: living standards. All these variables are defined by the 'being' and the 'doing' of a person. For a human to have a 'good life' and be in a good state, s/he has to develop his or her functions of being and doing. Developing functions gives one the ability to make a free choice between different variables. Thus, freedom is primarily related with one's development of his or her capabilities (Sen, 1988, 16-18). The complicated relation between freedom and the development of capabilities determine what humans can do or who they can be. Thus, he redefines the notion of development

as the replacement of the hegemony of conditions and luck over individuals with the hegemony of individuals over conditions and luck (Sen, 1983, 754). This notion of the primacy of individuals over material conditions has brought some insights into the developmentalist approaches. The emphasis moved from basic needs to egalitarian development, from self-reliant development to ecological development. Although these developments have seemed to generate promising alternative approaches, human-centered notions of developmentalism have remained totally blind to class dynamics and the proposed solutions by it were limited again generally in the form of national or international short term policies.

2.3. The Concept of Underdevelopment

Theories of underdevelopment have come from many sources. However, one fact constitutes the common focus of analysis of all these theories as a major problem: a significant part of the promises given to the underdeveloped countries in their way to integration with capitalist system were not met. Although these countries have moved forward in developing their labor, money and commodity markets, the problems of poverty, unemployment and the dominance of military authorities have deteriorated, let alone decreased. Indeed, theories of underdevelopment have primarily dealt with the consequences of the integration of these countries with capitalist system. One of their political implications was anti-imperialism that is on the very surface of capitalism. This anti position was expressed within the lexicon of economics by structuralist school, which focused on foreign trade and price mechanisms. Some other theories have blamed the entire world system as imperialist. The culturalist underdevelopment theories, however, was the most acceptable ones among others.

A major implication of these theories was questioning the practices of the mainstream social sciences. Goonahlake's (quoted from Goonahlake; Hettne, 1990, 74) remarks are very illuminating at this point: For him, the conceptual framework

of mainstream social sciences entirely belongs to the West. This framework is as foreign as the Western countries which have been exploiting the rest of the world for centuries (quoted from Goonahlake; Hettne, 1990, 74). Besides mode of knowledge production and cultural differences, underdevelopment literature and its predecessors have put their primary emphasis on power relations in their analysis of the problem of underdevelopment unlike the development of literature. They utilize the critical concept of dependency as being defined to characterize the nature of the relations between developed and underdeveloped countries (Wallerstein, 1989: 66). Though being highly different from each other, approaches in dependency school focus on the very relations between developed and underdeveloped countries and define this relationship as a relation of dependency.

Theotonio Dos Santos (1970:234) defines the notion of dependency within the context of dependency theory as a relation of determination in which economic dynamics of some countries are determined by economic growth or expansion of other countries. He states that the relation of mutual dependence between two or more economies or between these economies and world trade systems refer to the fact that the growth of dependent economies directly depend on the growth of the dominant economies. Indeed, dependency school's novelty comes from this attempt to explain by looking at the very relation between development and underdevelopment. In A.G. Frank's words(1967), underdevelopment and development are two sides of the medallion. The source of development lies in underdevelopment, and vice versa. For P. Baran (1974: 85),

National developmentalism is an ideological tool that hide the real mechanisms of exploitation. For him, the economic development of underdeveloped countries is fundamentally contradicts with the interests of the dominant capitalist countries. Underdeveloped countries are hinterlands of the developed Western capitalist countries as providers of raw materials, profits and investments areas for the companies of those countries.

Theories of underdevelopment were quite pessimist about the possibility for capitalism to provide development in the periphery countries and attempted to generate strategies of development that would undermine relations of dependency among countries by point out the uneven development of capitalism. However, they did not deal with criticizing the very notion of development or the logic of production but focused on the external factors and internal factors, such as comprador or parasitic bourgeoisie, that were claimed to prevent development. Theories of underdevelopment formulated a developmentalist conceptual schema of which the discursive categories of state and people formed the backbone. Although theories of underdevelopment have marked significant break from national developmentalism, they have not criticized the notion of development by locating it within the context of capitalist power relations, but, on the contrary, sanctified the notion of development by defining it with regard to the idea of 'common good'. On the other hand, Marxist theories of underdevelopment attempted to explicate the structural features of capitalism and to analyze how these features are being materialized in various social formations. However, they were unable to analyze the very notion of underdevelopment and to show how individual countries were articulated into the process of the internationalization of capital since they use a very abstract language. They were blind to the ecological problems and gender dynamics. Marxist literature, by being extravagantly radical, attempted to develop strategies of overthrowing capitalism instead of producing realist economic policies or strategies of development. As has been stated, the discourse of national developmentalism primarily involves methods to articulate underdeveloped countries into world capitalist system. However, at the very beginning of this discursive formation, the difference between capitalist and underdeveloped countries has been expressed in qualitative terms. However, as the articulation process was being realized, this difference has gradually been expressed in quantitative terms and the new problems brought about by capitalism in these countries have emerged. Theories of underdevelopment have been popularized because of these new problems. However, development literature has again turned

to single dominant economic approach because of the new problems of underdeveloped and capitalist countries after this articulation process.

2.4. The Regional Development Agencies

Many countries had carried out great deal of national development projects after the World War II. Part of these projects have aimed to equalize the income distribution and to reduce the economic inequalities between regions by providing low-cost loans or forms of subvention to the underdeveloped countries. Çağlar Keyder states that (1993:103) although these projects were very high-cost projects, they hardly produced any lasting structural changes in those countries. For him, when the fund transfer of the states was ended, people in these countries realized that there was no structural progress in the meantime. On the other hand some other countries have chosen to make permanent investments for regional development. They aimed regional development by realizing projects that create sources rather than solely transferring sources. Those countries made investments in underdeveloped countries in various areas, such as irrigation, electricity, soil improvement, etc. Besides these infrastructural projects, they carried out land consolidation and land reforms. They conducted projects that required resettlement, which in turn aimed to transform the social structure of underdeveloped countries (Kubat 1994: 123). Regional Development Agencies (abbreviated as 'RDAs' hereafter) were founded all around the world to implement these development projects. Being founded in the Western Europe countries first, RDAs have gradually become widespread all around the world towards the 1960s in order to overcome the destructive effects of the World War II.

Today many academicians and development experts harshly criticize the projects implemented by the RDAs in the period of 1950-1980. These criticisms agree on the point that these large scale projects have resulted in various ecological, social and cultural damages, many of which are irreversible. Keyder's

criticism of USSR's large scale development projects to provide social and cultural integrity in Turkic Republics is good example of such criticisms (Keyder, 1993). Arturo Escobar tells the story of how the dream promised by national developmentalism and its associated projects carried out by the RDAs turned into a nightmare:

This dream and how it progressively turned into a nightmare. For instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression. The debt crisis, the Sahelian famine, increasing poverty, malnutrition, and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development. In this way, we can read as the history of the loss of an illusion, in which many genuinely believed. Above all, however, it is about how the "Third World" has been produced by the discourses and practices of development since their inception in the early post-World War II period (Escobar 1995:4).

It is obvious that development projects that was implemented through RDAs in the period of 1950-1980 have brought about many social, cultural and ecological problems. However, it would be credulity to claim that the development experts prepared the theoretical and conceptual framework of these projects have not known the possible damages that these projects would have created at the very beginning. On the contrary, it is a fact that these people have taken those risks and were well aware of those prospective problems. The UN report on economic development of underdeveloped countries published in 1951 can be a good example. The report states that (1951:15):

There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst, and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life

frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress.

National developmentalists regard their proposed economic policies as a path to a common ideal of humanity and 'painful adjustments' should be accepted to reach to that ideal. One of the former USA presidents, Harry S. Truman put this ideal into words in 1949 as:

...More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people. ... I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. ... What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing. ... Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge... (Quoted in Escobar 1995: 12).

He, honestly or dishonestly, believed that the social and economic inequalities would be overcome by implementing proper and efficient projects. Escobar pointed out economy as the main tool to attain such an ideal or 'dream' within the discourse of national developmentalism:

...To understand the discourse of the national development economist, one has to analyze the conditions of its coming in to being: how it western economies and economic doctrine generated by it (classical, neoclassical, Keynesian and growth economic theories). How national developmentalist and development economist constructed "the underdeveloped economy", embodying in their theories features of the advanced capitalist societies and culture; the political economy of the capitalist world economy linked to this construction; and finally, the planning practices that

inevitably come with development economies and that became a powerful force in the production and management the entire practice of national development from this privileged space economics pervaded the entire practice of development...(Escobar, 1995:16).

Truman's message dated 1949 can be regarded as an overt expression of 'Truman Doctrine'. However, within the conceptual framework of this dissertation, Truman's message is understood as a declaration that the development is a requirement to attain a common ideal of humanity which is defined primarily in terms of economy. Continuing to read Escobar, we find a good definition of the notion of development which was shaped within the framework of Truman Doctrine:

...The Truman doctrine initiated a new era in the understanding and management of world affairs, particularly those concerning the less economically accomplished countries of the world. The intent was quite ambitious: to bring about the conditions necessary to replicating the world over the features that characterized the "advanced" societies of the time—high levels of industrialization and urbanization, technicalization of agriculture, rapid growth of material production and living standards, and the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values. In Truman's vision, capital, science, and technology were the main ingredients that would make this massive revolution possible. Only in this way could the American dream of peace and abundance be extended to all the peoples of the planet. This dream was not solely the creation of the United States but the result of the specific historical conjuncture at the end of the Second World War. Within a few years, the dream was universally embraced by those in power. The dream was not seen as an easy process, however; predictably perhaps, the obstacles perceived ahead contributed to consolidating the mission. One of the most influential documents of the period, prepared by a group of experts convened by the United Nations with the objective of designing concrete policies and measures for the economic development of underdeveloped countries...(Escobar, 1995: 8).

From a wider perspective, this common ideal of humanity is a modern phenomenon, which also carries a common and standardized social and cultural structure with it. The story of national developmentalism started shortly after World War II is mostly a story of realization of this common ideal of humanity. Though having mainly focused on the economic realm, national developmentalism cannot be analyzed in isolation from its huge impact on social and cultural realms. Thus, national developmentalism can be best understood as a movement that attempted to create an ideal society with all the aspects of the 'social', that is, cultural, political, ecological, individual, and economic dynamics.

However, national developmentalism needed an organizational model in order to attain such a common ideal mentioned above. The most eligible one was the RDA that were thought to have the capacity to realize such a common ideal within the territories of nation-states. The RDAs have taken all the responsibility for the process of social reconstruction that was thought to foster the development of industrialization, urbanization, technology intensive agriculture, modern scientific education, and modern social norms and rules for social progress. National developmentalism implemented all the projects that were based on central organizational structures through the RDAs. For better understanding of the mechanisms of national developmentalism, the RDAs should be analyzed in depth.

Although the RDAs were founded formally in the 1950s, the idea of the RDAs has emerged about 80 years ago, the great depression of the USA which had widespread and devastating impacts on the other parts of the world. The world economic crisis of 1929 that has primarily influenced North America and Europe had forced people to invent new ideas to overcome its associated destructive effects. Mostly affected countries generally saw regional programs as a solution to lessen the spatial inequalities and industrial dilemmas severed by the crisis. Regional development program began to be implemented by 1933 in Tennessee Valley which

was most effected from the great crisis of 1929 in USA can be regarded as the first example of the RDAs in history.

For the RDAs to become widespread and expanded to the other parts of the world, we should wait till the period shortly after the World War II. As a result of the devastating effects of the War and rapid technological developments, the inequality between regions has become a major problem in the developed Western world and variety of projects were implemented by the hands of the states of these countries. Some prominent regional inequalities are summarized below:

- In France, Paris and its environment had attained a high degree of development incomparable to the other parts of France.
- In Italy north/south polarization has reached to the point of creating two different worlds.
- In Britain, the former industrial zones in Scotland and Wales were entirely collapsed and the urgent need for restructuration has emerged.

The RDAs were founded to coordinate national developmentalist policies and mechanisms in order to lessen such inequalities between regions within different national territories of Western Europe. In this period, it is hardly possible to mention great deal of national developmentalist projects in developing countries as a solution to the social and economic differentiation. There are only few examples, such as Northeastern Development Agency (SUDENE) that was founded in 1959 in Brazil. The RDAs have become widespread and influential in the 1960s in many parts of the world, especially in underdeveloped countries, and they have become the main agents of national developmentalism.

One of the most prominent examples of the RDAs was emerged in Italy where the difference of development levels between North and South part of the country was very significant as a result of devastating effects of the World War II.

The high degree of polarization between North and South has led to the establishment of a development agency, "*La Cassa Per il Mezzogiorno*" in 1950 by Italian Parliament (Dinler: 1994). The development program was implemented in three stages, developing infrastructure, taking measures to improve industries and attaining rapid industrial growth, to overcome imbalances between regions. The program, *La Cassa Per il Mezzogiorno*, has formed 12 regional growth poles in order to create development with a central planning system. This attempt has not only given effort to bring the underdeveloped regions to the level of economically developed regions but also overcome political conflicts arisen from the inequalities between regions (Carey and Carey: 1955). In a way, *La Cassa Per il Mezzogiorno* can be regarded as a tool to prevent the rapid popularization of Italian Communist Party during the early 1950s. Carey's remark (1955: 515).on *La Cassa Per il Mezzogiorno* is worth quoting here:

...The South of Italy, or the Mezzogiorno - midday, the time when the sun is highest - as the South is generally called, is beginning to awaken from its long slumber of underdevelopment and depression. There are much ferment at work to stir the South from its past lethargy; and the Communist attempt to win this section - which rose to a climax in the Sicilian elections of June 5, 1955 - cannot lightly be dismissed. Probably the most notable among the economic and political factors causing this change is the program of the Italian government, especially its vast project of public works tied to agriculture and carried on through the Fund for the South, the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno...

South Italy was far from being at the desirable levels in terms of economic, cultural and social development. Thus, it was regarded as having the capability to organize and attract the sources of political conflict that would challenge the national integrity of Italy during the 1950s. Neither did it seem to be the best place to realize the 'common ideal' of national developmentalism. Its huge difference from the North Italy in terms of social and cultural aspects was also very critical.

Carey explains (1995:516) the differentiation between North and South Italy in the following words:

The differences between North and South are similar to those in many other countries; but in Italy there is a more marked cleavage, the two sections forming more sharply differentiated units than in other countries. This separation is due to the forces of history, geography, topography, population pressures, differences in economy and means of communication, and other factors. There are also marked cleavages within the South itself. In fact, the South may be regarded not only as the largest underdeveloped area within any European state, but also as being as severely depressed as any other area. It has chronic mass poverty, obsolete methods of production and social organization, a large proportion of its population employed in agriculture, a high level of unemployment because of lack of industry, and a low per capita income. Poor natural resources and agricultural conditions and the lack of lowcost power and transportation are among the many factors which contribute to this underdevelopment and depression.

The example of Cassa per il Mezzogiomo as a national developmentalist program to undermine the economic differentiation between North and South Italy gives many insights into understanding the nature of the RDAs. For Keyder, (1993: 113) although Cassa per il Mezzogiomo has utilized many economic tools such as low cost loans to the people living in the region and forms of subvention to increase the income of those people, there was no permanent outcome of this program. After the state's fon transfer was ended, people have not seen any structural improvement in the region. However, it is not possible to see this attempt as a total failure. Cassa per il Mezzogiomo not only aimed to increase the incomes and life-standards of the local people by providing transfer of funds and sources but also to realize major structural transformations in the region, such as land reform, land consolidation, large scale infrastructural projects. The program was largely successful to accomplish the latter. The land reform and land consolidation projects in particular have triggered a huge migration movement from the region to the

North Italy. This migration movement was especially functional to provide labor force to the industrial zones in the North (Chenery, 1962:14). Thus, although Cassa per il Mezzogiomo has seemed a regional development project at first, its influences were more at the national level.

Furthermore, Cassa per il Mezzogiomo was very effective in alleviating the harsh political conflict at the time and contributed a lot to the preservation of national integrity of Italy. Carey's remark (1955:577) on the aims of Cassa per il Mezzogiomo is very illuminating at this point:

...The whole area of the South had not been viewed as a unit for public works purposes until the Cassa per il Mezzogiomo was established in 1950 to plan, finance, and carry out with local co-operation a program of "extraordinary" public works in the South. The ultimate object of this program is "to further the economic and social progress of the South." Inherent in this is the immediate goal of raising the level of employment and of increasing consumer demand. Whether both the immediate and ultimate objectives can be attained without conflict is yet in the lap of the gods, although political forces (such as the need to strengthen the Christian Democratic Party in the South against the inroads of Communist gains) might make it easy to favor the short-range objective as opposed to the ultimate goal...

As has been pointed out above, the first example of the RDAs that has aimed to solve the development problem in the perspective of national developmentalism was Tennessee Valley Authority (the TVA). The TVA's significance is far from being the first RDA in the world, but being a pioneer at regional development by reconstructing the region in cultural, social, and economic aspects. Furthermore, TVA, as being different from Cassa per il Mezzogiomo, approach to the problem of regional development in terms of permanent investments to create new sources (Keyder, 1993: 104). With this aspect, TVA has become a model for all the other RDAs founded in different parts of the world.

One of the most prominent projects founded from the same perspective mentioned above is Southeastern Anatolia Project (abbreviated as GAP hereafter), of which this dissertation take as a case for its analysis. Bayram and Kubat (2000:255) defines the scope of GAP as:

GAP was conceived more than two decades ago. At the time it was advertised as regional development project similar to the TVA in the United States. In Such projects, the ultimate goal is the integration of people and the economy of a poor and economically disadvantaged, region in to the national identity.

TVA has served as a RDA that was founded in May 1933 and worked in alliance with the American Federal Government. TVA was initiated to accomplish the integration of underdeveloped Tennessee to the other states. The following remarks on TVA is very insightful in understanding the particular importance of TVA among other development projects:

...The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) is a federally owned corporation in the United States created by congressional charter in May 1933 to provide navigation, flood control, electricity generation, fertilizer manufacturing, and economic development in the Tennessee Valley, a region particularly impacted by the Great Depression. The TVA was envisioned not only as a provider, but also as a regional economic development agency that would use federal experts and electricity to rapidly modernize the region's economy and society. The TVA's jurisdiction covers most of Tennessee, parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Kentucky, and small slices of Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. It is a political entity with a territory the size of a major state, and with some state powers (such as eminent domain), but unlike a state, it has no citizenry or elected officials. It was the first large regional planning agency of the federal government and remains the largest. Under the leadership of David Lilienthal ("Mr. TVA"), the Authority became a model for America's governmental efforts to modernize Third World agrarian societies... (Ekbladh 2002: 336).

TVA was crystallization of the political logic of the 'new order' that has emerged as a consequence of the great depression. Being much more than an infrastructural project with an aim to control the irregular regime of Tennessee River that had negative impact on agriculture, TVA was a multi purpose program with the aim of large scale social transformation. The founder of the project, F. D. Roosevelt has defined TVA as the only way to overcome the devastating effects of the great depression. For Roosevelt, TVA "charge with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River Basin and its adjoining territory for general social and economic welfare of the nation"⁸

In the 1930s, State of Tennessee was known as the poorest state in the USA. While 75% of the 2.3 million population of Tennessee were living in the rural areas, this rate was 44% for the country. The quality of the houses was miserable comparing to the ones in the Northern States and the residential areas were concentrated around schools and churches. Tennessee was also in the worst situation among the other States when it comes to income per capita. While income per capita in the USA was 1835 US Dollars, it was 639 in Tennessee. For the rural areas of the State, this was shrinking to 250 US Dollars. For some parts of Tennessee, the situation was really miserable: Being the poorest part of Tennessee, Norris had the income per capita below 100 US Dollars. The first investments within the scope of TVA were made in this region. Norris Dam and Hydroelectric Plant were built within the early stages of the project. 2841 families were resettled as a consequence of this dam and hydroelectric plant project in which 137 Km² of land were inundated.⁹ After the construction of Norris Dam and hydroelectric plant, Caryville Dam and Big Ridge Dam were built down the river of Norris Dam. The main purpose of building these dams was to provide irrigation and drinking water to the region. These dams also served to generate big amount of electricity. Furthermore,

⁸ (TVA From the New Deal to a New Century, 2011)

⁹ (For detail Statistic: TVA From the New Deal to a New Century, 2011)

Norris Town were reconstructed after the activity of resettlement. This resettlement project has become the first project that required the reconstruction of a residential area in history.

The region had been permanently at risk of malaria because of the irregular flow regime of the rivers. One third of the people living along the rivers were catching malaria. The fact that most of the cultivable lands belonged to the landlords and most of the sources were transferred to the Northern States, and high income inequality had further deteriorated the situation. Child mortality rate and the average life expectancy were much below the average in the USA. The low rate of literacy and high degree of ethnic variety had made it difficult for the people living in the region to have a common national identity.

Considering these social and economic indicators, Tennessee was like a third world country in the USA. This fact was harshly in contradiction with the USA's national integrity and the famous 'American Dream'. In such conditions, TVA was regarded as a recovery project in order to realize the development of Tennessee, which was initiated and implemented by the Federal Government under the supervision of devoted bureaucrats to the ideology of the New Order. Indeed, the qualifications and ideals of those bureaucrats resemble very much to those of planner and experts specified by national developmentalism. Pınarcıoğlu and Işık explain (2000, 20) the basic philosophy of planners and experts in his account of the national developmentalism as:

...The task of development expert or planner had gained almost a celestial meaning. The planners and experts believed that they have knowledge to decipher the secrets of the regular structure of nature and society. In a very short time period, they have become the main actors of a virtuous effort of attaining social and spatial justice...

Although TVA can be regarded as a RDA which emerged in a period when the national developmentalism was not born, it shows characteristics of a typical nationalist developmentalist project which has become widespread after the World War II. The conceptual frameworks of TVA and the RDAs of the period after the World War II were almost identical. Having served as the first Chairman of TVA in the period of 1933-1938, Arthur E. Morgan's remarks (1934, 65) on TVA perfectly reveals the logic of TVA:

...I believe that the program of TVA is more than an assemblage of political and economic expedients. I believe that President Roosevelt has an inclusive social philosophy that has a large degree of clarity, order and integration. To me that philosophy seems to be unusually reasonable, sane and human. It seems to me to be radical in that it gets beyond temporary expedients to elemental issues, and it seems humane and reasonable in its endeavor to bring about necessary changes without violence or undue upheaval which, while establishing a new pattern of society, might do so at tremendous present loss...

TVA did not serve only to provide development; it meant the realization of the American Dream as well. The project has aimed to create a new order, new resettlements, new residential areas for a more humane life; it was not a regional project but a nation-wide one. TVA has preserved its main characteristics defined above till the end of the World War II. Regional development was a total war against underdevelopment within the logic of the project. It attempted to make progress in very diverse areas, such as generating energy, combating soil erosion, education of peasants, improvement of infrastructure, seed improvement, fertilizer production, projects of new settlements, etc. TVA's aim was not only to attain economic development but also to transform social and cultural structure and to preserve national integrity.

TVA has played a significant role in transformation of the cultural and social structure of the region, to which it was questionable to attribute a positive value. What were defined as the indicators of the common ideals of humanity by national developmentalism is a very relative concept and the actual consequences of a high scale and high cost project can sometimes be biasedly assessed in order to legitimize the implementation of the project and the costs associated with it. Today, when the development experts look at TVA retrospectively with all the indicators before them, they observe that there has been no significant improvement in the rate of literacy, income of the people living in the region, spatial transformation (especially with regard to the modern housing projects), public health, agricultural productivity (increase in agricultural production per unit of land), the situation of landless peasants after land reform,, women's participation in the activities of production, etc (Boyce, 2004).

However, the positive value attached to the TVA for decades has prevented perception of the negative changes brought about by TVA. Indeed, what is seen as positive consequences is interrelated with negative consequences in a complicated way. For example, the decreasing need for labor force with the initiation of irrigated farming and mechanized agriculture have led to a big migration wave from South to North. The migration wave was fostered further by the land regulations and support for cotton production and by the resettlement. Many people formerly residing in the small residential regions especially around churches were moved to the modern towns. This in turn has led to the radical and sudden changes in the established cultural and social structure (Boyce, 2004). However, all these changes which would have otherwise been regarded as negative changes have led to an increase in the labor force supply in the North, which was very critical for the region, where the cheap labor force was critical for the intensive industrial production in the region. As another example, although the big dam projects have triggered the resettlement activities, these dams had fulfilled the increasing energy need of the North by generating electricity. Moreover, the reconstructed towns and cities because of the

resettlement have played a significant role in spatial transformation of Tennessee and in overcoming the cultural differences between the North and the South.

Thus, it is not meaningful to attribute negative or positive value to the consequences of the projects implemented by the RDAs, such as TVA. It would be more operational to develop a holistic approach to the RDAs and to analyze their roles in creating a general ideological structure. The RDAs, like TVA, aim to transform the social altogether within a conceptual framework shaped by a modernist ideology. Thus, in a way, they implement 'social engineering' designed within the general discursive framework of national developmentalism.

It is striking to note that most meaningful and effective criticism towards TVA was made by the very people living in the region, ironically whose life styles were attempted to be modernized by the project. The song, 'Song of the Sought'¹⁰ satirizes the underdevelopment of the South and new cotton policies brought by TVA by giving direct or indirect reference to Franklin D. Roosevelt known as the founding father of the project and the New Deal ideology. The song tells the stories of a family which had formerly earned their living by cotton production but had to have to move to city by losing their lands because of the policies implemented withint the scope of TVA and New Deal in general.

The TVA undoubtedly has become a model for the subsequent examples of the RDAs which were also founded from the perspective of the ideology of national

¹⁰ *Song of The Sought*

The cotton was short and the weeds was tall,
but Mr. Roosevelt's gonna save us all.

The father of the family is a Southern Democrat;

Daddy was a veteran, a southern democrat.

They oughta get a rich man to vote like that.

The family loses the farm after the mother gets sick.

The county got the farm and they moved to town."

Well papa got a job with the TVA,

We bought a washing machine, and then a Chevrolet."

(Song of the South is a country song written by Bob McDill. First recorded by Johnny Russell)

developmentalism. The social transformation model implemented within the scope of the TVA was imposed in the underdeveloped countries by the USA which has given financial support to those countries with the condition of adopting a similar social transformation model. One of the first examples of the RDAs in underdeveloped countries was the Regional Development Agency for the Northeast (SUDENE) founded in Brasil. Martins and Hallewell (2002:96) explains SUDENE in the following words:

...A new form of state intervention in the economy has emerged in which the participation of foreign investment drives the national development project forward. Furtado presided over the Grupo de Trabalho para o Desenvolvimento do Nordeste (Working Group for the Development of the Brazilian Northeast-GTDN), which was charged with identifying the reasons for the regional disparities that threaten Brazil's national unity and proposing measures to correct them. The document, which became the basis for the creation of the Superintendencia do Desenvolvimento do Nordeste (Regional Development Agency for the Northeast- SUDENE), treats the region as a serious problem and argues for industrialization aimed at the domestic market...

The conceptual basis of the SUDENE, which shares a very similar logic with the TVA with regard to the notion of development, reflects the economic restructuring of Latin American countries after the World War II. Martins and Hallewell' remarks within their definition of the SUDENE indeed offers a very good understanding of the logical structure of all the RDAs which were founded from the same perspective of national developmentalism:

...The concept of regional development is based on two important ideas. The first is that of a capitalist agriculture, an idea that is based on the belief that under development as its roots in the backwardness of the region's agricultural sector, ruled by an oligarchy that is hostile to modernization. Because the ruling class has up to now been led by people with ties to a tradition bound

agriculture who are against the very idea of development, the state must make every effort to accelerate the formation of a new ruling class. The second idea is that of international aid, supported by the view of underdevelopment as a social disease that threatens both Brazil and the Western Hemisphere. Here the state's duty is to stimulate the transfer of capital and technology. The Northeast is considered the ideal place in which to demonstrate the foreign aid policy of the United States and the efficiency of its form of national government... (Martins and Hallevell, 2002: 96).

The most prominent representative of the RDAs in Turkey is undoubtedly GAP (Southeastern Anatolia Project). The analysis of the case of GAP reveals the conceptual, institutional and social aspects of the transition from national developmentalism to global developmentalism. A brief account of the development of GAP in a historical perspective will give insights into the changing meanings of GAP in the 2010s, and in a close relation with these changes, the changing discourse of the developmentalism in its transformation into global developmentalism.

Upon a brief literature review, one could easily assert that the idea of GAP¹¹ dates back to the 1930s. The history of GAP, which is almost coeval with the Turkish

¹¹ "The Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) is a multi-sector and integrated regional development effort approached in the context of sustainable development. Its basic objectives include the improvement of living standards and income levels of people so as to eliminate regional development disparities and contributing to such national goals as social stability and economic growth by enhancing productivity and employment opportunities in the rural sector. The project area covers 9 administrative provinces (Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak) in the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris and in Upper Mesopotamia. The GAP had originally been planned in the 70s consisting of projects for irrigation and hydraulic energy production on the Euphrates and Tigris, but transformed into a multi-sector social and economic development program for the region in the 80s. The development program encompasses such sectors as irrigation, hydraulic energy, agriculture, rural and urban infrastructure, forestry, education and health. The water resources development component of the program envisages the construction of 22 dams and 19 hydraulic power plants and irrigation of 1.82 million hectares of land. The total cost of the project is estimated as 32 billion US \$. The total installed capacity of power plants is 7476 MW and projected annual energy production reaches 27 billion kWh. The project rests upon the philosophy sustainable human development, which aims to create an environment in which future generations can benefit and develop. The basic strategies of the project include fairness in development, participation, environmental protection, employment generation, spatial planning and infrastructure development" (About GAP, 2011).

Republic, started in 1936 when Electrical Investigation Administration (Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi) was established by the order of Atatürk. The main aim of the institution was to find ways to fulfill the energy need of the young Republic. The first activity of Electrical Investigation Administration was to make intensive investigations for Keban Dam and Hydroelectric Plant. As the first stage of the investigation, meteorological stations were founded in order to analyze Fırat River. Electrical Investigation Administration has primarily focused on drilling works along Fırat and Dicle Rivers in the period of 1950-1960. In order to meet the further requirements of the project, the General Directorate of the State Water Affairs (DSİ - Devlet Su İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü) was founded in 1954. By this way, the idea of starting river basin studies has emerged and the DSİ has initiated study and planning processes in river basins, which were grouped in 26 categories. Upon studies carried out by Fırat Directorate of Planning founded in 1961 in Diyarbakır, "Investigation Report on Fırat River Basin" (Fırat Havzası İstikşaf Raporu) was prepared, which determined the irrigation and energy capacity of the Fırat River Basin. In 1966, as providing supplementary information, "Investigation Report on Downside Fırat" (Aşağı Fırat İstikşaf Raporu) was prepared. Similar studies were conducted for the Dicle River Basin by the DSİ Diyarbakır Regional Directorate in the same period.

Thus, it has become clear how to utilize the natural resources of Downside Fırat River Basin and Dicle River Basin and the project based on these two river basins was named as Southeastern Anatolia Project in 1980. In 1986, State Planning Institute (DPT) has undertaken the responsibility of including Southeastern Anatolia Region in the integrated regional planning and coordination and orientation of the activities performed within the scope of the project. Thus, although the idea of GAP dates back to the 1930s, it was emerged as a national developmentalism project in the late 1970s. Although the project has emerged later than the other examples of regional development projects in the world, GAP maintained its integrity as a

national developmentalism project till the early 2000s. Mine Eder and Ali Çarkoğlu defines GAP as (2005, 168):

The Southeastern Anatolia Development Project (GAP in its Turkish acronym) is one of the world's largest and most ambitious regional development projects, which includes not only a giant water resources development plan, but also large-scale investment in a wide range of development-related sectors such as agriculture, energy, transportation, telecommunications, health care, education as well as urban and rural infrastructure. What started largely as giant dams and hydroelectric projects in the 1950s have evolved into a sophisticated integrated regional development strategy to improve the social and economic fabric of southeastern Anatolia.

The GAP project resembles very much to the TVA in terms of its general organizational model and the projects included in it:

- Based on a central and national organizational model
- Covering a big geographical region
- Being implemented for not only regional but also national interests
- The central importance attributed to the intervention of the nation-state to all the social and cultural structures within its discourse.
- Financed almost entirely by the national sources; a rigid modernist structure.
- Being attributed a huge symbolic value and significance as it is a giant project.
- Being defined as a product of 'social engineering'.
- Conceptually establishing a close relation between socio-economic development and the development of humanity.
- Resulting in big resettlement processes.
- Fostering the already existing migration wave to the developed regions with its subprojects, such as land consolidation, partial land reforms,

expropriation activities, mechanization in agriculture, shifting crop patterns, etc.

The main difference between these two projects is the time periods that they were carried out within. The GAP and the TVA seem to do the same thing in different periods. It can be provocatively asserted that the main handicap of the GAP is that it was carried out in a wrong historical context. Keyder states that if the GAP would have been carried out in the 1960s like the TVA and the other RDAs that have aimed to realize national integrity and regional development, it might have been successful to accomplish those aims (Keyder, 1993:102).

This dissertation does not deal with the issue, whether the GAP has fulfilled its promises given in the early 1980s. However, it is a widespread opinion among economists and social scientists in general that the founders of the GAP have not chosen a right time to initiate such a project. It has become more obvious in the 2000s that the aims and the general logic of the project were in a harsh conflict with the necessary structural adjustments and needs of the increasingly globalizing world. The GAP project attempted to adopt the logic of the global developmentalism though, and it has almost become a 'hybrid' project that was gradually leaving the discourse of national developmentalism. Thus the most correct way to define the GAP in the 2000s is that the project is 'in between'. This dissertation especially deals with the Ilisu Dam and Hydroelectric Plant Project since this subproject is, the dissertation presupposes, the most concrete embodiment of this in-betweenness of the project. This in-betweenness is, to speak metaphorically, a kind of laboratory which offers a very convenient environment to analyze the complicated and paradoxical nature of the developmentalism (Çarkoğlu and Eder, 2005: 168).

The social and economic project of national developmentalism has been fiercely advocated roughly from the end of the World War II to the early 1980s by

all the prominent policy and decision makers in the world. Although the influence and concrete changes brought about by national developmentalism in social, economic and cultural spheres differ in different historical and geographical contexts, it is safe to assert that the conceptual frameworks and the ideological basis of the different RDAs founded in this period resemble more or less to each other.

These resemblances seem to form a pattern of understanding and implementation which one could easily observe in many distant geographical regions, whether it be Italy, a country in Latin America, or Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, one could easily find the traces of the modernist discourse of national developmentalism within daily life of people in a small Anatolian town. Thus the conceptual world of national developmentalism, in a way, has pervaded in to the practices of daily life. An old peasant's words who had to move because of resettlement seem to confirm this observation:

"...I remember our village was very beautiful in the days before moving to here. But he life was very difficult there. Here life is easy; at least we are closer to the civilization ... But, one misses the past ... if someone would ask me if I want to go back to our village, I would say 'right now!' ... but our youngs don't think as such ... I wanted to give my daughter to someone from our village. She just didn't want to go to him. She said, "Papa, you want me to gather tezek (dried dung)?" Sure, burning coals is easier for her. If you ask me I even miss the smell of tezek ... our youngs think I am old-fashioned..."¹²

The Headman's relation with the civilization can be interpreted as a consequence of national developmentalism. Today, however, relation with

¹² The Headman of Keskince Village resettled for Atatürk Dam, GAP, and Interview with the author, Denizli. 12-03-2009. "...Buraya göç etmeden önceki köyümüz çok güzeldi ama yaşam zordu şimdi kolay en azından medeniyete daha yakınız burada... ama insan özlüyor eskiyi... bana sorsan dönme ister misin diye hemen derim... ama gençler öyle demiyor... kızımı bizim oralardan birine vermek istedim gitmedi baba bana tezek mi toplatacaz dedi eee kolay geliyor tabi kömür yakmak. Bana sorarsan tezeğin kokusunu özledim derim... çocuklara sorarsan eski kafalı derler benim için..."

civilization is not defined by some facilitating things, such as burning coal instead of tezek (a kind of cowpat is used heating). While the good life used to be defined as a comfortable and a more humane way of life in more material terms by national developmentalism, today what makes a good life is gradually being more questioned. National developmentalism has somewhat defined what is good and beautiful, and excluded all the other alternative definitions. Its discursive structure has tended to impose these definitions in all the spheres of life, economic, cultural, social, ecological, etc., and to adopt a leveling attitude at the expense of excluding difference. For example, a residential area with 400 years of history can be considered as unsustainable by national developmentalism on the basis of its definitions of what is good and beautiful.¹³ This rigid categorization does not allow the question of how this area has been surviving for 400 years. James C. Scott (1998, 4-5) who regards the history of national developmentalism as a tragic one determines four basic tenets of national developmentalism:

The most tragic episodes of state-initiated social engineering originate in a pernicious combination of four elements. The first is the administrative ordering of nature and society in which the state uses strategies such as measurement, simplification and standardization.... The second 'high modernist ideology': an unquestioned 'self-confidence about scientific and technical process, the expansion of production, growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature (including human nature), and, above all, the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws'. The third is an authoritarian state willing and able to use all its power to realize the high modernist project coupled with the fourth and final element, 'a prostrate civil society that lacks the capacity to resist these plans...

¹³ The Keskince Village was reported as not having any condition of modern life during the studies of Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Plant (The Atatürk Dam Expropriation Report Appendix I – The Table of Socio-Economic Indicators of the affected residential areas from Dam Lake – DSİ Expropriation Unit).

After the 1980s, national developmentalism has been declared as an outmoded discourse since its inheritances were regarded as obstacle to the further development of global capitalism. David Blooth considers the national developmentalism in today's world of postmodernism and globalism as being stuck in an impasse in both theoretical and practical terms. This dissertation does not pursue to find in what terms the national developmentalism has been failed or whether the overall attempt of national developmentalism has been wrong, which would certainly be a defense of global developmentalism. It, however, aims to analyze the agents taking roles in the transition process from national developmentalism to global developmentalism and the nature of the process itself. The notion of a universal modernity which had been pervaded in our daily lives by national developmentalism now hardly signifies a positive meaning. This notion has resulted in a nightmare rather than a dream. The fact that the planners and experts go to field visits not to explain something but to listen to local people is a good indicator of how the notion of universal modernity is an abandoned concept. From the perspective of global developmentalism that is based on listening rather than explaining, the bankruptcy of national developmentalism was unavoidable. What Jameson called as the cultural logic of late capitalism is the very impasse that national developmentalism is stuck in. Furthermore, global developmentalism can also be regarded as a revolt against modernity. Schuurman's (1993:123) analysis can be read from this regard:

...The impasse is said to have arisen as a result of widespread disillusionment with conventional development and national development failure; the crisis and eventual eclipse of the various strands of socialism as alternative paths; the growing economic diversity of countries within the Third World; increasing concern with the need for environmental sustainability; the increasing assertiveness of voices 'from below'; and the rise of the postmodern challenge to universalizing theories and conventional practices of development...

CHAPTER III

FROM NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTALISM TO GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM

*“A man who uses an imaginary map, thinking it is a true one, is likely to be worse off than someone with no map at all; for he will fail to inquire whenever he can, to observe every detail on his way, and to search continuously with all his senses and all his intelligence for indications of where he should go”
(E.F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful)*

3.1. The Crisis of National Developmentalism

A major strand of criticism against developmentalism has come from Marxist and structuralist approaches especially after the late 1960s. A version of this criticism saw developmentalism as a futile attempt since, for the critics, there were structural factors that created the patterns of development and underdevelopment. The structural mechanisms of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism have generated and maintained the existing inequalities among regions and countries. The most influential criticism in the literature has belonged to ‘dependency school’, the theoretical formulations of which has determined the program of many political movements as well. The most prominent representative of this school, Andre Gunder Frank (1967) has found the reasons for underdevelopment in the mechanisms of capitalism and colonialism. The capitalist and colonialist relations have generated the conditions of underdevelopment.

For the proponents of developmentalism and the political right, the Marxist criticism and structuralist approaches to developmentalism in general were ‘ideological’ and their explanations for underdevelopment were biased. These perspectives tended to explain the failure of developmentalism and consequently

the reasons for underdevelopment by looking at the underdeveloped countries themselves and internal dynamics rather than the external factors, such as the mechanisms of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism (for a good example for such an approach see Lerner, 1965 and Ackerman, 1962). However, the criticism towards Marxist approaches has not only come from these perspectives. A strand of critical thinking emerged in the 1970s and turned into poststructuralist approaches later on has regarded Marxist and structural explanations as providing holistic explanations for the 'underdevelopment' that tended to overlook the specificities and difference.

The postcolonial criticism against development largely focused on the relations between the West and the East rooted for centuries and interpreted developmentalism as a Eurocentric perspective that attempts to undermine the non-Western forms of understanding and practice of the World. Edward Said's "*Orientalism*" published in 1979 has constituted a very influential theoretical framework for these criticisms. For Said (1979, 65-67), the Western gaze at the East has always been in an effort to define it as irrational, traditional, feminine, and Other in contrast to the West's image as the rational, strong, masculine. For the postcolonial criticisms, the notion of development has imposed a unique historical transformation of the West on the so-called underdeveloped countries as a model that has to be attained in the future. The Western notions, such as progress, industrialization, individuality, etc., have been defined as indisputable elements of a better life that is modernization and development so to speak.

The poststructuralist criticism of development primarily focuses on developmentalism's ties with the Enlightenment and modernity. The Enlightenment thought regards human beings to be indefinitely perfectible, which could be attained by self-realization brought about by the reason. Reason is the only tool on the way of progress and development since it "is the same for all thinking subjects, all nations, all epochs, and all cultures" (Cassirer, 1951: 13-14). This reason was of

course the reason of the West which brings wisdom and knowledge in contrast to the Rest, the irrationality of which results in ignorance and barbarity. The natural conclusion of such a schema is the claim that the Rest should follow the same path of the West. This idea had indeed formed the basis of modernization theory as well. Poststructuralist theory regards this modern reason as operating through disciplinary institutions and rationalized mechanisms for establishing self-discipline. Indeed, from the hegemony of reason of the Enlightenment to the rational mechanisms of coercion and discipline, the force of modern reason lies in its claim to truth. Michel Foucault (1980: 131) states that:

...Truth is not outside of power ... Each society has its own regime of truth, its general politics of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true ... There is a combat for the truth, or at least around the truth, as long as we understand by the truth not those true things which are waiting to be discovered but rather the ensemble of rules according to which we distinguish the true from the false, and attach special effects of power to "the truth..."

Indeed, the regimes of truth create their own 'discourses' which are taken as objective statements at least in their authoritative spaces. In a way, the claims of truth and disciplinary nature of the modern reason make it coercive rather than liberating (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1991). The poststructuralist critics regard developmentalism and its discourses in such a relationship between truth and power. Developmentalism says 'what to do' and 'what not to do' to the underdeveloped countries on the way to development; it renders the notion of development as a normative goal for all the societies. It is an authoritative discourse legitimizing itself on the basis of the developmentalist (sub) regime of truth.

There has been a vast amount of literature emerged since the late 1970s which has seriously questioned the notion of development and developmentalism. For the representatives of this strand of thought, development as practices and policies and developmentalism as conceptual framework and philosophy have been

proved to be a failure and disappointment; developmentalism is even regarded as “the greatest failure of the century” (Pitt, 1976:16). This fact was explicitly apparent in the case of Latin America, where the criticism against development first emerged. As Gustavo Esteva (1987: 135) states:

In Mexico, you must be either numb or very rich if you fail to notice that ‘development’ stinks. The damage to persons, the corruption of politics, and the degradation of nature which until recently were only implicit in ‘development,’ can now be seen, touched, and smelled. The causal connection between the loss of healthy environment and the loss of peasant solidarity, both of which had been hitherto taken for granted mainly by the poorest, has now been documented by a new, expert establishment. The so-called crisis in Mexico has now provided the peasants and others with the opportunity to dismantle the goal of ‘development’.

Thus, the development movement is similar to the project of modernity since they have both brought about disastrous social consequences. Indeed, taking its inspiration mainly from postcolonial studies and poststructuralist theory, these criticisms have regarded the development as intrinsically modern project. These criticisms have questioned (and sometimes deconstructed) the central concepts of developmentalism, such as progress, improvement, growth, welfare, development, etc., in a way to reveal the power relations behind those seemingly ‘universal’ concepts. As Slater (1993, 421) states the “Occidental framing and deployment of modernization theory for the so-called developing countries” legitimized itself discursively for a series of practical interventions and penetrations “that sought to subordinate, contain and assimilate the Third World as other.”

Most of the pioneering body of literature that paved the way to the emergence of post developmentalism or to the theoretical stances that have offered alternatives that can no longer be regarded as developmentalism was written by Arturo Escobar, a Colombian anthropologist who has been highly influenced from Foucault’s thoughts. He states that the discourse of

developmentalism was so hegemonizing that even the theoretical perspectives having harshly criticized the developmentalism have felt the need to formulate their analysis by offering alternative models of 'development'. Escobar's (1992:23) remarks on developmentalism is worth quoting at this point:

...development can best be described as an apparatus that links forms of knowledge about the Third World with the deployment of forms of power and intervention, resulting in the mapping of and production of Third World societies ... The creation of a vast institutional network ... ensured the efficient functioning of this apparatus. Once it was consolidated, it determined what could be said, thought, imagined; in short, it defined a perceptual domain, the space of development ... All repeat the same basic truth, namely that development is about paving the way for the achievement of those conditions that characterize rich societies...

The development as a process, for him, involves the determination of the factors that resulted in underdevelopment, legitimization of the practices within development by making the issue 'scientific' by means of 'experts' and academic authorities, and the last but not the least the institutionalization of development through the formation of new sites of power/knowledge. As such, development is "a top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the charts of 'progress' " (Escobar 1995: 44). Thus, Escobar calls for alternatives to development rather than development alternatives, a postdevelopmentalist perspective so to speak, since the very concept of development is problematic and historically an essential part of modernity discourse.

Wolfgang Sachs' *"The Development Dictionary"*, deserving the name of a manifesto for postdevelopmentalism indeed, starts with the claim that the book is an obituary of development. Sachs (2010, XV) states that:

...The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crimes, have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work. Moreover, the historical conditions which catapulted the idea into prominence have vanished: development has become outdated. But, above all, the hopes and desires which made the idea fly are now exhausted: development has grown obsolete...

3.2. What in 'New' in Developmentalist Discourse

The notion of progress which has constituted the backbone of both the discourses of modernity and development primarily operates through the concept of 'new'. However, for such an analysis, the definition of "new" in economic terms and the definition of "new" in social terms should be seen as intermingled to each other. It might seem to be easy to tell something about the relation between the definitions of "new" for the two different scientific disciplines, but when it comes to the everyday life, this is not the case. Indeed this relation is a very complicated one, a fact that can be understood only by looking at the notion of new, associated generally by the realm of economy, from the perspective of sociology. In order to understand this relation we should first make the economic definition of what is new.

When we talk about what is "new" in economic terms, we mean embodiment (conceptually or institutionally) of improvements in the production process, communication, transportation, finance, marketing and organization, regulation mechanisms, so on and so forth. If these improvements also mean efficiency, we call them as "new" in economic terms. As with the notion of 'new' in economic terms, the social definition of what is new must also be contextual, must refer to a particular space and time (Bauman, 1990: 54).

One of the first definitions of what is "new" in terms of economy was made by Joseph A. Schumpeter. The basic question of the 1930s was 'what is the exact

cause of economic crisis?'. For Schumpeter the main cause was the technological developments and the emerging of the 'new'. Schumpeter (1939:86-87) defined the new as the basic cause of transformation in economy. Innovation means diverting from the equilibrium state; it means recovery. According to Schumpeter, innovation is the basic stimulating factor in the capitalist process. After innovation starts the economic process, it is followed by the subsequent innovations. In the first stage, prices and interest rates increase upon recovery, then as the innovations decreases prices and interest rates begin to decrease. Then it turns back to the equilibrium state, namely recession. In the second stage, recession gets deeper and it turns into depression. The process of depression starts due to such factors as speculation, difficulty to estimate what will happen, etc. Nevertheless, everything operates for the reestablishment of equilibrium state and recovery begins. Upon recovery, this process proceeds toward a new equilibrium state. Innovations emerge again and the process starts all over again.

Indeed this equilibrium state is one of the basic aims of national developmentalism. The notion of new defined by Schumpeter with its transformative power is very different from the notion of new in national developmentalism. The transformative agents in these two perspectives are not the same. For Schumpeter (1939:96-97) it is individual or totality of individuals, while it is the nation state and its institutions in the discourse of national developmentalism. For Schumpeter, with the destructiveness of the individual, that is the entrepreneur, the structure at equilibrium state transforms and perfect competition gives way to imperfect competition. In this regard, the individual's blow to the fixed and stable economy starts the transformation that leads to a dynamic economy.

According to Schumpeter, integration of a new region with the economic system also emerges as an innovation. Nevertheless, this is economically significant only if the new region contributes to the natural sources and creates new markets.

The view of national developmentalism on inactive regions is different though. National developmentalism pays attention to the underdeveloped regions for making them to remain in the existing markets rather than to create markets. It prevents the emergence of an innovation that would disrupt the equilibrium state of the national markets in underdeveloped regions. National developmentalism makes effort for establishing the same industry patterns in the developed regions in the underdeveloped regions (Pınarcıoğlu and Işık, 2000: 13).

For national developmentalism, as a planning logic that claims to foresee a century in the future, transformation should be organized from the center. However, the new for Schumpeter (1939:82) is an unexpected moment that cannot be foreseen. Innovation comes unexpectedly whether it organizes the social field or the economic field and it incorporates itself into the existing mechanism. In this regard, the underdeveloped regions do not have to follow a line of development dependent on the developed regions. Indeed, that is also true for the global developmentalism. Global developmentalism does not expect underdeveloped regions to follow the same path that developed regions did earlier.

According to Schumpeter (1939:345-346), the basic reason for transformation of economic system is the “new” and, for him, it was the main cause of the great economic depression of 1929. Schumpeter (1976:83) defines the notion of the new by using the concept of ‘creative destruction’ which is almost old as the human history. Actually the concept of “creative destruction” is a philosophical explanation by Schumpeter on the reasons of social transformation. The concept actually refers to a characteristic inherent in human nature (Hugo Reinert and Erik S. Reinert, 2006, 25). This concept also marks the transition of Schumpeter’s thought from economic to social realm as well.

Schumpeter is not the inventor of the concept of “creative destruction” but it is safe to assert that he made this concept very popular in the literature of

economics. In order to find the origins of this concept, one should go back to the myth of Phoenix¹⁴ or myth of Bird Bennu that emerged thousands of years ago. Actually, Friedrich Nietzsche coined the term 'creative destruction' taking inspiration from this myth. The critical view and criticisms on the Enlightenment by Nietzsche on the basis of the myth of Phoenix have also served as a conceptual basis for the later postmodern criticisms as well. The popularity of Schumpeter and Nietzsche in a way constitutes the economic and philosophical tenets of the popularity and currency of global developmentalism discourse as we will discuss later on.

There are significant similarities and parallelisms between Nietzsche's approaches and postmodern analyses. According to him, although one could regard great progress and transformation that have emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries as the natural consequences of modernization, what determined this process was neither human mind, nor science nor the progressive elements inherent in history. For him it was a biological element in human itself; that is the life-energy of human that creates the motivation for acquiring knowledge as well. For Nietzsche, being an immanent feature of this life-energy, "creative destruction" is a natural property of

¹⁴ The idea that the birth of something new is founded on the destruction of previous existence is an old one. From the Egyptians, the Greek inherited the myth of Phoenix, the bird Bennu which was a symbol for the rising sun. This bird lived for five hundred years at a time, and at the end of that time it built its own funeral pyre and lightened it with the beating of its wings. Bennu or Phoenix was consumed to ashes, but out of the ashes grew a new Phoenix which, in time, repeated the 500 year cycle. In medieval Christian writings Phoenix was a symbol of the Resurrection of Christ, in itself a prime example of creative destruction. Nowhere is the concept of creative destruction more clearly outlined than in Hinduism: here we find one of the most complex and certainly one of the richest cosmological illustrations of the dynamics of creation and destruction. At its heart are the three supreme godheads of the pantheon: Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver and Shiva the Destroyer. Brahma creates the universe; Vishnu protects what comes into being: his role includes rescuing mankind in times of need; Shiva, in turn, is the destroyer of the universe, fated to destroy it as it winds down in order to bring about its regeneration. After Shiva finishes his work of destruction, Brahma in turn begins the creation of the universe: thus the cycle is infinite. In other traditions, Shiva is both the creator and the destroyer: in this capacity he is often represented as the *Shiva Nataraja*, the Lord of the Dance. His dance is the dance of the universe as it endlessly moves from creation to destruction, destruction to creation. It is in his nature to embody both, as one is not possible without the other. The reclusive philosopher-god was also said to reside in solitude on a mountaintop, from whence he gazed across the world with his eagle eyes sharpened by ascetic practices. It is said that his burning gaze once incinerated the young god of love, when the latter foolishly disturbed Shiva's meditations. (Hugo Reinert and Erik S. Reinert, 2006: 3)

humans; humankind creates the new by continuously destructing and annihilating the things. Creative destruction is the emergence of life energy. The meaning attributed by Nietzsche to the concept of “creative destruction” regarding the human nature can briefly be summarized in his words as follows: “Whoever must be a creator always annihilates” (Nietzsche, 1968:59). Hugo Reinert and Erik S. Reinert (2006:14) made the following remark with regard to Nietzsche’s concept of “creative destruction”:

...There is no doubt that creation and creativity, artistic or otherwise, were among the principal themes that occupied Nietzsche throughout his life: from his early essays on Greek art and *The Birth of Tragedy*, to his prolific writings on Wagner and his art, to the mystical experiences with music that he experienced prior to his nervous breakdown in Italy. Nietzsche’s specific interest in the relationship between creation and destruction underpinned his ‘genealogical’ enquiry into the history of moral concepts, as well as many of his general ideas concerning history, morality, society and evolution...

The underlying logic of the transformation between National Developmentalism and Global Developmentalism is hidden in Schumpeter’s concept of “creative destruction” who have searched for the reasons of great depression of 1929. The principle of the disorganization in the very organization of the late capitalism or global capitalism takes its inspiration from the notion of ‘creative destruction’. Thus the general structural integrity of the system does not depend on the equilibrium state, but the capability of global capitalism to adopt or incorporate various elements that seem to be foreign (or sometimes threatening) to the system itself. The global developmentalism as a structure operating within a similar logic does not see the difference or the very differentiation as a threat or foreign element and is capable to articulate every element into its logic within a decentralized organization. Thus, its logic depends on the continuous processes of creative destruction in which the elements that seem to be foreign or threatening are successfully incorporated to the general logic of global developmentalism.

Those two different developmentalism movements offer us two different definitions and implications of the new with regard to the social. The agent of the 'new' or the transformation in national developmentalism was the bureaucratic and centrally organized nation state and its institutions (Cecora James, 2000: 101). However, in the global developmentalism, the notion of the 'new' and transformation seems not to be based on the rigidity of planning and centrally organized institutions. The notion of the new of the national developmentalism depends on the modern categories of class, urban, collectivity, nation state, etc., which also constitute aspects of organized capitalism (Lash and Urry, 1987: 312–313). Schumpeter's evolutionary approach to economy and his notion of the 'new', which was not applauded in his era, has made immense popularity in the recent decades as an operational tool to analyze the economic and social structure. Similarly, Nietzsche's criticisms on modernity and the Enlightenment have been very influential among postmodern analysis in our age.

3.3. The Search for the 'Little Things'

The popularity of the perspectives of Schumpeter and Nietzsche today is implicitly related with our claim that the logic of national developmentalism has given way to the logic of the global developmentalism. Indeed, this relation helps us to understand the economic and philosophical origins of the global developmentalism. To approach the issue from a philosophical point of view, we should look at Nietzsche's (2000:712) notion of 'little things':

...One will ask me why on earth I've been relating all these small things which are generally considered matters of complete indifference: I only harm myself, the more so if I am destined to represent great tasks. Answer: these small things—nutrition, place, climate, recreation, the whole casuistry of selfishness—are inconceivably more important than everything one has taken to be important so far. Precisely here one must begin to relearn. What mankind has

so far considered seriously have not even been realities but mere imaginings—more strictly speaking, lies prompted by the bad instinct of sick natures that were harmful in the most profound sense—all these concepts, “God”, “soul”, “virtue”, “sin”, “beyond”, “truth”, “eternal life.”—But the greatest of human nature, its “divinity,” was sought in them.—And all the problems of politics, of social organization, and of education have been falsified through and through because one mistook the most harmful men for great men—because one learned to despise “little” things, which means the basic concerns of life itself..

Nietzsche’s point carries a strong affinity with postmodernism which focuses on the text (event) of everyday life, local knowledge, personal witness, the contingent, the experiences of individuals and communities, etc., to develop an anti-theory (Rosenau, 1992:142). Just as Nietzsche did, for Rosenau, the postmodernist philosophers saw an intuitional, sensational, almost a spiritual content in the everyday life. This Nietzschean view on everyday life can be clarified with an example on the meaning of learning from the new. A struggle against malaria with DDT was started by the central government in 1950’s in the Borneo Island, one of the most undeveloped regions of Indonesia as a part of a large scale development project. However the results were not so good. The story is briefly as follows: The roofs of the villagers made of rushes began to collapse and the epidemic of plague emerged. At first sight no connection was found between the struggle against malaria and the epidemic of plague but it was understood later that the basic reason for the epidemic of plague was the struggle against malaria. This learning is in a way an example of learning from the new meant by Nietzsche that emerged from everyday life. DDT (dikloro difenol trikloroethan) was sprayed to the walls of houses in the rural area for struggling against malaria. Firstly some insects which live there and which are the enemies of caterpillars died. The number of caterpillars increased since their enemies were annihilated. Those caterpillars massively started to eat the roofs made of rushes. As a result, the roofs collapsed and houses got unprotected. Wooden roofs which caterpillars cannot eat were made for the unprotected houses. But those roofs became ideal accommodation

places for the mice. Furthermore, as a result of disinfection, immunity against DDT developed in the cockroaches in the houses. This toxic disinfectant was accumulated in the bodies of cockroaches in great amounts. This DDT accumulated was transmitted to the lizards that ate them through nutrition chain and to the cats from them. A while after the cats started to die. When the number of cats decreased the scene was the mice's and mice were reproduced massively. When the natural enemies of the mice for which accommodation places were ready as well were annihilated, the source for plague was created. The experts who paid effort for struggling against malaria understood as a result of those efforts why the roofs of the houses in the region were made of rushes selected deliberately from an area of a distance that that takes at least 2 days to arrive.¹⁵

The projects of national developmentalism started in the 1950s reminds us the significance of the little things despite bringing about unexpected adverse results. However, the small things are significant for not preventing the unexpected results, but, on the contrary, for revealing the unexpected results in some regard for global developmentalism. Small stories might be regarded as details that does not need to be emphasized for national developmentalism. But, these small stories are the basic subject of global developmentalism. While national developmentalism commissioned the planners and experts of nation state for undertaking the function of obfuscating those small stories, the expert of global developmentalism attempts to remove that curtain.

In this regard, the basic question is not “what is the basic difference between the two developmentalism movements?”, but rather “are we at the end of the development phenomenon?” This question is asked as an introductory sentence

¹⁵ For an account of this famous story see Robin Buckallew. The Day it Rained Cats.... Global Warning - Aug 15, 2004.

of a study by Adelman and Yeldan (2000a:1087)¹⁶. Indeed, global developmentalism can best be understood by what Schumpeter has called as the new. Global developmentalism is a form of innovation invented and embodied by global capitalism. Certainly, the global developmentalism transformed the meaning attributed to the new by the nation state and national capitalism. The analysis of the consequences of the global developmentalism reveal the unexpected functions of the little things on the economic, social and cultural transformation processes. It is not coincidence that the primary focus in the global developmentalism is to extract small stories and its associated little things from what is loosely called as locality.

In the early 2000s, the WB implemented a project in Sub-Saharan Africa for fighting against AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) which was primarily based on collaboration with the local healers who applied traditional methods of healing of AIDS. It is a very good example of the prominence of the 'little things' in the discourse of global developmentalism which is based on the idea that there is no such thing as development without 'hearing' and collaboration with the local. In a way, global capitalism involves dual process of undermining and reviving the local (Morin, 1977, 45). However, the revived local is totally decontextualized and removed from its associated meanings with the 'locality', as with the practice of local healing in the case of the concerned project of the WB. This is, in a way, a good example of what Jameson calls as the concomitant presence and prominence of the 'relentless differentiation' and homogenization in the global capitalism. The hypocritical equality of national developmentalism turns into the decontextualized

¹⁶ The authors, in this study which deals with the reflection of Asian crisis –particularly to the underdeveloped countries- in international level within a general balance model discuss how neoliberal global philosophy prevented the developmentalist targets that could be developed by underdeveloped countries and how it removed the fact of development from the agenda of economic policies. According to the authors, as a result of the oppression of USA Treasury Office and the twins of IMF and World Bank (mentioned as Washington consensus) underdeveloped countries are forced one by one to liberalize national regimes of foreign exchange and are deprived of the chance to follow independent money, exchange rate and interest policies and consequently to determine peculiar development targets. (Adelman and Yeldan, 2000a).

local and the domesticated difference in the discourse of the global capitalism, which is not less hypocritical than the former though.

In the 1950s, national developmentalism movement has attempted to 'modernize' the practices in Zulu's everyday lives, a local people in the South African Republic. National developmentalism has despised all traditional healing methods and knowledge of local healers from Zulu¹⁷. On the contrary, global developmentalism initiated joint anti-AIDS programs with those healers. In order to understand the transformation of developmentalism, one should understand what kind of discourse makes global developmentalism to collaborate with the local healers.

From another point of view, today, the traditional healing centers of some countries in Asia are invaded by people coming from the Continental Europe and the North America, which are, ironically, regarded as the centers of the modern medicine. They are searching for the youth potion, cures for their terminal illnesses, or other methods for having a 'good' body (and soul) in these centers. Globalization is eager to revive and circulate many forms despised by modernity (Iain Chambers, 1994:87). The traditional methods disdained by national developmentalism from the perspective of positivist science have been resurged through touristic tours

¹⁷ Till 1970's World Health Organization introduced certain legal regulations to enable traditional medicine and modern medicine to be in collaboration on legal basis. Through those legal regulations, traditional medicine and modern medicine were enabled to be in collaboration on legal basis. This regulation was particularly significant for the continent of Africa. Today in overall Africa the number of traditional healers is 100 times higher than that of modern medical operators. In addition to the numerical inadequacy of modern medical operators, the fact that the people do not prefer modern medicine even when it is available makes up the basis for this legal regulation. In addition to all of those facts, the anticipation of World Health Organization that traditional methods would offer significant data for the development of modern medicine made up the grounds for such regulation. In 1970's this legal regulation of World Health Organization was criticized by many authorities and started the debates that using the primitive methods that were given up centuries ago would prevent the development of modern medicine. today the usage of traditional methods is getting widespread even in the continental Europe and they are even used for the treatment of certain diseases.

organized within the scope of the projects of the global developmentalism as we will see later on.

Global capitalism is generally associated with the homogenization of different cultures, local characteristics or ethnic identities in the literature. This observation calls this process as Westernization or Americanization which aim to generate a monolithic structure that actually refers to 'global culture'. However, globalization is an ambiguous concept which resists any single definition or confinement by conceptual categories. It might be better to be contended with regarding it as a Janus-faced phenomenon. On the one hand, globalization includes "the processes of resemblance of world societies to one another" and, on the other, it involves "the process of the way in which the societies, communities and identities express their differences" (Keyman and Saribay 1998: 9). Again due to this ambiguity, as specified by Jameson (1989) as well, the efforts to define globalism do not go beyond certain dogmatic discourses that define it as good or bad rather than explaining the process itself.

Jameson (2000) talks about five different aspects of globalization that operate together. They are the technological, political, cultural, economic and social levels of globalization. Crochet (1996) divides globalization into three; as economic (international circulation of commodities), political (establishment of ultra-state institutions) and cultural. The most emphasized aspect among these is the economic aspect. Cultural, political and social influences of globalization seem to arise from the economic aspects mostly. Steger (2004: 10) names the narrations that globalization is a positive or negative process as the "ideological aspect" of globalization; For him, the existence of those narratives indicates that globalization is not only an objective process but also a combination of stories that defines, narrates and analyzes it. One should not overlook the ideological aspect in order to analyze the position of the local in the process of globalization correctly.

In this regard, globalization represents a multidirectional interaction. Capitalist market economy made all nations and culture groups in the world interdependent and the rapid progresses in communication and transportation facilitated the interaction among the nations and cultures, and diminished the geographical distance to the point of having only a symbolic meaning (Giddens, 2000; Gregory, 1995). The rising traveling and communication opportunities brought about by the big developments in technology not only facilitated the interaction among ethnic, religious and cultural groups, but also brought the formerly distinct and irrelevant groups together and make them to live together despite of their differences (Appadurai, 2000:15). The heterogeneity brought about by the migrant groups in nation states relatively having a homogeneous structure is another aspect of globalization worth being emphasized (Barber, 1996:12).

The giant projects of national developmentalism have aimed to foster big population movements, and thereby to ensure social integrity. Policies of displacement, forced migration, and resettlement have been used as tools by national developmentalism to attain an ideal society in which the sameness, not the difference, is strengthened or emphasized. It benefited from the people in rural areas to compensate the deficit of labor in the industrialized regions by creating excess labor in those regions through land reform and agricultural transformation. National developmentalism did not only use migration and settling policies to reach economic equilibrium but it also regarded these projects as tools to eliminate cultural differences. The global developmentalism's approach to the issue of migration differs significantly from national developmentalism.

The migrant cultural groups carry their life styles, habits, customs and values to the region they moved and, thereby form socio-cultural 'islets' within the dominant culture. They try to protect their identities and to keep their traditions and rituals alive by founding associations, schools, and temples (Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994:139-141). This process in turn means the reshaping of the host

society. However, in a similar logic, immigrants also reshape, change, and transform while changing the society (Jackson, 1994:17). The most significant fact here is the identity struggle experienced by the individuals under the influence of different ideologies, cultural and political influences (Palanithurai & Thandavan, 1998:42). The identity and values of the individual are in a continuous battle with the dominant identities and values. Loyalty to the “old” values on the one hand and making choices among the opportunities and values offered by the new environment on the other is a challenge experienced by every immigrant (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998:19). When they face with different approaches and life styles in their new places, they become more sensitive to their own differences and need to define themselves (Appadurai, 1998:32). The immigrants in this situation make up a good example for the process of intensification of differences by globalization mentioned by Anthony Giddens (1990:64).

Being the main agent of global developmentalism, the WB recommends the minimalization of population movements in the big investment projects. However, it does not bring any criteria with regard to the distance of migration. It only stipulates the condition that all forced migration procedure would ensure that the economic conditions of the immigrants should not be worse than they were before migration. Briefly, the project owner should make it guaranteed that people will have at least the same life standards when they move to a new environment. But there is no reference to the distance at this point. For instance in the resettlement plan prepared for the Three Gorges Dam¹⁸, the biggest dam of the world, majority of the people were resettled in an area at a distance of three thousand kilometers. At first sight, this resettlement process could be regarded as a tool of national

¹⁸ It was founded on Yangtze River in China (the biggest river in Asia and the 3rd biggest river of the world). The main body of the Three Gorges Dam the construction of which began on 14th December 1994 was completed 12 years later, in 2006. Other parts were completed on 30th October 2008 and the dam was brought into service. After the breakfast we shall make a trip in Three Gorges Dam which is the most significant energy project of China. Upon the dam being put into service the river waters raised by 70 meters. In this field 13 cities, 140 counties and 1352 villages where 12,5 million people lived were vacated due to the rise in water. New cities were constructed for those people (<http://www.chincold.org.cn>).

developmentalism to foster cultural integration. However, the resettlement process has been carried out in line with the WB legislations, which is one of the most significant agents of global developmentalism. This legislation stipulates that the forced immigrants would not suffer any economic loss and the process would ensure that the immigrants could protect their cultural values in the host society. Shi Goching, who worked as executive manager in the Three Gorges project, explains how it is possible to ensure that people moving to such a distant geographical region could protect their cultural values as follows:

...think the problem is not the question of how the people would realize themselves in social and cultural terms at a distance of 3 thousand kilometers from their hometown. They have faced with the same problem in their former settlements as well. Most of these people were settled together with the Hans although they did not belong to the Han nation¹⁹ ... The real difference here is that while in the past, when they were in their hometown, the state used to say those people 'you are members of the Han nation', now, in the new region they moved, the WB gives them the chance to say that 'we don't belong to the Han Nation'. I think this is a big revolution ... For this reason nobody can say that our moving –it is more correct to name this as moving rather than migration- people from their hometowns to a new settlement at a distance of 3 thousand kilometers does not have any concern of assimilation... Three Gorges project is definitely a big revolution for China in this regard...²⁰

Although the displacement of populations as having a prominent place within the practices of national developmentalism has been criticized, global developmentalism also involves practices of displacement, a good example of which is given above. As has been stated there is no legislation of the WB that stipulates

¹⁹ Han Nation takes its name from the Han Dynasty that ruled from 206 B.C. to 220 A.D. Han Dynasty took the rule following the short-term Qin Dynasty (221 B.C.-206 B.C.) which combined China under a single ruler and leaved deep effects on Chinese culture. Today many people living in China name themselves as Han people (Hàn rén) as the inheritors of the political and cultural unity formed in Han era.

²⁰ Member of the IBHES project Committee of Expert Interview with the author, 21-05-2011, Ankara.

the maximum distance of forced migration. For the perspective of the global developmentalism there is no logical relation between the preservation of cultural difference and the new geographical region that the concerned population is moved to. This, in a way, confirms the significance of decontextualization in the practices of global developmentalism and global capitalism in general. As we have seen in the case of the cooperation with the local healers, the practice of local healing is totally decontextualized and removed from its associated meanings. In the case of the Three Gorges project, the reconstruction of a new sociality in the host society follows a similar logic of decontextualization.

Postmodernist philosophers reject the “grand narratives” of modernism, the narratives that have mostly served to legitimize the modern discourses of justice, reality, progress, reason, rationality, objectivity, etc. Modern narratives talk within an authoritative language that seems to be freed from all sorts of humane characteristics (Rosenau, 1992; 145). Nevertheless, postmodernist philosophers have always been interested in “small subjective stories” rather than objective, universal theories that overlook the lives of the individuals or small communities (Sarup, 1995: 130). Such a discourse is parallel with the discourse of global developmentalism based on the individual and the notion of difference in general. While the stories of national developmentalism is the story of the nation that besieges history and geography” (Lash and Urry, 1987:124), the global developmentalism tells small stories. Its discourse is shaped within the logic of ‘postindustrial society’, to use Daniel Bell’s (1976) concept, or consumer society, media society in different formulations.

Lash and Urry’s (1987:197) formulation of “disorganized capitalism” fits the conceptual schema that regards the global developmentalism as an organizational form of multinational capitalism or late capitalism. The term, disorganized capitalism was coined by John Urry, Scott Lash (1987) and Claus Offe (1985:124) to express the ‘operational’ fragmentation within structures of economy, state, and

civil society in late capitalism. Globalization of economic, social and political structures represents the restructuring of capitalism in which the integrity of the societies and the nation states has been weakened and a new cultural form has been emerged with a strong emphasis on individuality (Urry, 1995: 99-103; Hasse and Leiulfstrud, 2002: 108). Although the fixed, stable and frozen relations and structures of organized capitalism including class, industry, city, collectivity, nation state have been gradually weakened and social, economic and cultural realities have been transformed capitalism have a more functional organization structure in global capitalism (Lash and Urry, 1987: 312-313).

The global developmentalism refers to the mechanisms which implement new economic dynamics in the social field. Although global developmentalism might seem to be the successor of national developmentalism at first sight, their relations with the realm of the social totally differ from each other. While the national developmentalism aims transform the social and to attain social integrity within a centralized structure, the global developmentalism attempts to reconstruct the social by disintegrating and destroying the elements that provide integrity and homogenization. The transformation from national developmentalism to the global developmentalism can be summarized in the following shifts:

- There is a shift from a planning framework having central organizational structure with a predetermined targets to the one organized in a decentralized manner and established within the local.
- There is a transformation from a regular market structure that seeks for equilibrium state to the dynamic market structure that is based on creative destruction.
- While national developmentalism is based on a form of rationality that orients toward predetermined targets, global developmentalism is based on a logic that is open to (and having adjustment mechanisms for) many alternatives.

- There is a shift of concern from eliminating the regional inequalities to the recognizing differences of regions and developing them within their peculiarities.
- There is a transformation from a centralized mechanism to regulate what actors should do to the one where actors are oriented through institutional regulations.
- There is a shift from a process progressing with the scientific knowledge having priority over experience to the one in which experiment is given the first priority.

Capitalism has been restructured through a radical transformation of the economic, social and cultural realms. This radical transformation involves the end of the production process in which thousands of workers realized the mass production of standardized products, increasing currency of small companies and flexible production styles, change of the spatial organization of production and the expansion of companies to the global arena, adopting of the new organizational approaches by the companies that primarily operates through sub-units, increasing competition among workers, the globalization of economic, social and political relations that weakens the integrities of societies and nation states, etc. (Urry, 1995: 99-103; Hasse and Leiulfstrud, 2002: 108). The new mode of capitalist structure is based on flexibility and flexibility paves the way for capitalism to reach maximum profit and gives it the capacity to reproduce and legitimize itself.

A demand-based design of the production process, post-fordist mode of production and the intensity of immaterial labor incorporated into the production process are among the principal constitutive elements of flexibility. Flexibility is claimed to represent a new model of industrial relations which emphasizes individual capabilities and qualifications, puts the employees in the center and encourage the employees to take initiatives. This new model claims to be

characterized by participative, egalitarian, entrepreneurial, customer focused, democratic and decentralized nature.

The notion of flexibility entails the readjustment of the economic mechanisms in a way to be able to react spontaneously to the rapid changes. For this reason, organizations/companies at different levels have to adopt a proper personnel policy in addition to perform the necessary reorganizations in their technical infrastructure. The principle of flexibility also requires multi-skilled labor instead of the model of workforce characteristic to fordist production, which specialize in certain stages of the production process and have no initiatives on the process. This new model of workforce obliges workforce to be competitive, well educated, innovative, eager to improve his/her skills and knowledge and to take more responsibility, adaptable to changing conditions, and to be able to work autonomously (Ritzer 1998: 220-221).

The notion of flexibility paves the way for the new as well. Each employee undertakes a creative function within the production process in order to compete with the other potential candidates for the concerned work, and thereby to survive in the competitive business world. While the expert of national developmentalism who operates mainly within the boundaries of the nation state has given way to the expert of global developmentalism, for whom there is no boundary. While the expert of national developmentalism implements a project to mitigate the social inequality, the expert of global developmentalism designs projects. In this regard, the expert of the global developmentalism both participates in the creation of a new discourse and also practices in line with this discourse.

To clarify the difference between those two forms of developmentalism with an example, we can look at an interesting case in which the projects of national developmentalism and global developmentalism have somewhat competed with each other. Mutki District in Bitlis Province, in Turkey was famous for tobacco

production. However, in the beginning of the 2000s when the tobacco quota was initiated, the tobacco producers in the district were encouraged to produce the foreign Virginia and Burley tobacco which are capital intensive and easily find a ready market rather than producing Turkish tobacco that is labor intensive.

Tobacco producers who were transferred to contract-based production with the Law of Tobacco²¹ being put into force in 2002 and Tekel's phasing out of the support purchases have gradually ceased the production of Turkish (Oriental) tobacco. A villager's words who used to earn their family's living from tobacco production and living in Erler village in Mutki District is very striking at this point:

...Tobacco was primary source of income for us. Those who do the job know it very well; laboring on tobacco is a difficult, painful job ... Thanks God, our force was more than enough for every stage of tobacco production; we had many young people. I have 8 children and my brother has 6; we all were used to work on tobacco ... I had 24 hectares of land; I sold it. The new owner made no use of it. Here, nothing but tobacco can be cultivated. They might say the reverse but we don't know how to do it. When I sold the land, the tobacco quota had just been initiated.

They told us 'just plant other things'... What could we plant, nothing take roots in this land. Even it does, we don't know how to do. Tobacco is a tricky one; but for the one who knows how to do it, it is just plain ... We sold most of the land when the tobacco quota was initiated ... I had ration card for tobacco; I had rent it once. A while after it was not worth a damn. I have first sent my brother to Ankara, then my elder son has gone. And if God is willing, I will go to my son next winter. Indeed agriculturalists have come recently and mentioned a seed. If you plant that seed, the factory would offer guarantee of purchase. But you have to have tractor to

²¹ In accordance with the Law on Amendment of Law 4046 on the Restructuring of General Directorate of Tobacco, Tobacco Products, Salt and Alcohol Corporations and Production, Domestic Purchasing and Sales, Import and Export of Tobacco and Tobacco Products as well as on the amendment of the Statutory Law 233 published in the official journal dated 9th January 2002, contractual period in tobacco production began; this means cessation of tobacco purchasing by the State.

plant that seed. I don't have land big enough to buy a tractor now. If I buy a tractor now ... tractor consumes what it produces ... but it was not the case in the past: we have eaten what we produced ...²²

The end of the production of Turkish tobacco in the region had actually significant social consequences. The most outstanding one was the decreasing household size since the families needed less children when they left the labor intensive tobacco production and they started to migrate to the big cities. The remarks of President of Adıyaman Chamber of Agriculture is very illuminating at this point (the interview was published in a local newspaper on 15th May 2002):

...Adıyaman has five thousand tobacco producers. These people can't plant due to the quotas initiated by the Law of Tobacco. They are migrating to the city from their villages. We are suffering; migration that already started with the inundation of a district and nearly 50 villages by Atatürk Dam has further increased with this Law of Tobacco. Initiation of the tobacco quota put the people of Adıyaman whose sole source of income is tobacco in a very difficult position. These people used to work in their homes with their children. And naturally, when they are deprived of this, they have all become unemployed...²³

²² 2008 Bitlis Province, Mutki District, Eler Village, Vilager: "Tütün bizim en baş geçimliğimizdi. Derdini tasasını çeken bilir zor iştir tütün ırgatlığı... Her bir şeyine tütünün yeter gücümüz Allaha şükür genç çoktu bizde. Ben de 8 çocuk kardeşle 6 çocuk bir tam nüfus tütüne giderdik... 24 dönüm toprak vardı bende satmadan önce sattık ama alana da yaramadı ya ne yapacaksın işte sattık. Tütün den başka bir şey yetişmez ki yetişir deseler de biz bilmeyiz. Ben tarlayı sattığımda tütün kotası yeni gelmişti. Kota gelince bize dediler ki başka şey ekin... Ne ekceksin tutmaz ki bu toprakta tutsa da bilmeyiz... İncedir bizim tütün işi ama bilene kalın gelir bizimkisi de o hesap... Kota gelince sattık toprakların çoğunu... Tütün için karnem vardı kiraladım bir zaman. Bir zaman sonra karne de para etmedi. İlk kardeşi gönderdim Ankara'ya sonra büyük oğlan gitti şimdi kısmetse bende gelecek kışa oğlanın yanına gidecem... Aslında ziraatçılar geldi geçen yıllarda başka bir tohum varmış o tohumdan ekersem fabrika alım garantisi de veriyormuş ama traktör lazım o tohumu ekmeye. Traktörlük toprak kalmadı ki elde... Şimdi alsan traktör... Traktör çalışır traktör yer... Eskiden öyle miydi biz çalışır biz yerdik..."

²³ The President of Adıyaman Chamber of Agriculture: "5 bin tütün üreticisinin bulunduğu Adıyaman'da Tütün Yasası'nın getirdiği kotalar nedeniyle ekim yapamayan üretici, köylerden kent merkezine göç ediyor. Dertliyiz, bölgede yapılan Atatürk Barajı nedeniyle bir ilçe ile 50'ye yakın köyün sular altında kalmasından sonra başlayan göç, Tütün Yasası'nın ardından daha da arttı. Tütün kotasının uygulanması, tek geçim kaynağı tütün ekimi olan Adıyamanlıları zor durumda bıraktı. Herkes evinde, çoluk-çocuğuyla birlikte çalışıyordu. Bu da elimizden alınınca, haliyle köylülerin hepsi işsiz kaldı."

From the perspective of national developmentalism, migration, decreased household size (and associated birth control), and 'proletarianization' of the people in the region are all desired consequences of the tobacco policies in the region. On the other hand, the quotas and new legal regulations initiated in tobacco production is a requirement of neo-liberal economic system. During the process of integration of Turkish economy with the global system and adaptation of neo-liberal economic structure after the 1980s, support purchases and input subsidies have been phased out for many products. Several institutions offering support purchases State Economic Enterprises were either privatized or closed. Base price mechanism was ended and The practices of base price were given an end and the interest rates on agricultural loan were increased.

Although the social transformation brought about by the policies on tobacco production is a result of the process of integration with the global system, we regard this social transformation as a consequence of the national developmentalist policies as well in this dissertation. What is emerged as 'new' in terms of social structure in Erler village is in line with the notion of 'new' in the discourse of national developmentalism. At least, it is clear that this notion of 'new' has nothing to do with the 'new' of global developmentalism. In a way, although Turkey has adopted neo-liberal reforms after the 1980s, the typical national developmentalist remedies peculiar to the period of 1950-1980 to the problems has been persisted for a long time.

National developmentalism develops strategies in line with a logic of capital circulating within the boundaries of nation state rather than with the logic of global capitalism. In such logic, the tobacco producers were given various alternatives such as planting vegetables other than tobacco. For instance, a project was implemented in Samsun to encourage producers to cultivate hazelnut in the lands vacated after

tobacco production.²⁴ In Adiyaman, as another example, the former tobacco producers were given alternative of stockbreeding in the former tobacco lands. All these attempts were hardly succesful. Indeed, the definition of “new” of national developmentalism was a "new" which had no ties with people’s past or with the ‘local’.

If vilager had not migrated to the city, he would still be planting tobacco in his village. According to the news provided by the Anka News Agency on 26th October 2010, with the initiatives of Eastern Anatolia Development Agency, a private company initiated a joint project with the villagers in order to make an ‘authentic’ blend of Mutki tobacco and to sell it in global markets. For the company, Mutki tobacco has an organic fatty acid that no other tobacco has in the world, which gives it a special smell and taste. The company accounded its 5-year strategy of marketing the blend in the most expensive tobacco shops of New York. The company has planned to blend Mutki tobacco, to be produced organically in traditional methods, with other high quality tobaccos and has got the blend copyrighted. We have to wait whether this blend would make a successful market since it is not marketed yet. Most interestingly, the seeds distributed by the company to the villagers for planting were not indigenious Mutki tobacco seeds, but tobacco seeds brought from Macedonia. To plant organic and traditional tobacco and marketing it as ‘Mutki tobacco’ perfectly fits the notion of ‘new’ of global

²⁴ The most striking example of the alternative product searches mentioned is that while the Ministry of Agriculture gives up its protectionist attitude toward tobacco, different solutions are considered for the producers from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia which are not at ease in cultivating alternative products. As it is known, the Ministry, under the Agricultural Reform Implementation Project (ARİP) made an ad-hoc payment of 800 dollars per hectare in the provinces of Adiyaman, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Hakkari, Malatya, Mardin, Muş, Siirt and Van for the purpose of cultivating feed and oil plants instead of tobacco. In the project benefitted by 6 thousand 797 individuals, although approximately 2.5 million dollars were paid, the farmer of the region tended to cultivate grains.

developmentalism.²⁵ The difference in the ways in which these two models of developmentalism promote the 'new' reveals how these two developmentalism movements differ in theoretical, institutional, and practical fields.

Blending the tobacco brought from Macedonia produced by using organic and traditional methods while flavoring it by the fatty acid in Mutki tobacco and marketing it in New York can be seen as 'new' in economic terms but it has also some aspects that can be defined as old. If there is a type of fatty acid in Mutki tobacco that gives it a special flavor, then it is clear that this has been known for a long time. Indeed, the fame of Mutki tobacco had long been known among people in Turkey. It is not the method of the marketing of Mutki tobacco that can be defined as the new, but the re-discovery (or reconstruction) of what is so-called local or 'different' in this context, which had been ignored and even indistinguishable by the national developmentalism.

National developmentalism, contrary to the global developmentalism, does not have such a notion of local and traditional in its lexicon. Its project failed to create new income sources for the concerned population since it also failed to grasp the new marketing and production strategies that have been proven effective in the global capitalism. It was no longer meaningful to seek for solutions to the problems brought about by global economy within the logic of nation state. The logic of the global developmentalism involves the assertion that the projects aiming to solve problems brought about by the global capitalism could only be successful if they are designed within the very logic of global economy.

²⁵. This project began in the province of Bitlis, county of Mutki emerged during a trip organized jointly by Eastern Anatolia Development Agency and European Union for the purpose of attracting national and international investors to the region. Social work expert of Eastern Anatolia Development Agency in an interview held on 10th June 2010. Furthermore when the implementation stage of this study started, it was served by Anatolian Agency and Anka Agency to various local and national press organs.

3.4. Global Developmentalism

It wouldn't be wrong to look for the origin of global developmentalism in Nietzsche's discourse of *small things*. Global developmentalism, contrary to national developmentalism, doesn't concerned with greater human ideals or stories that covers whole world or life; instead, it looks into smaller stories. Global developmentalism claims to be the listener, instead of the narrator. In a sense, this is an epistemological distance that it puts between itself and national developmentalism. In this sense, the first critique of global developmentalism is towards the national developmentalism's discourse of universal ideal. Regarding the discourse of universal ideal, David Simon (1997:190) states:

What distinguishes the present period is that the expression of conventional developmental ideals and the methods of implementing them no longer enjoy universal acceptance and legitimacy within targeted countries and areas. Increasingly, individuals and groups of people at a local level are either seeking the attainment of their aspirations for better living standards outside the realm of the state, or they have rejected the dominant developmental discourse(s) and are pursuing alternative agendas with very different aims and objectives ...

It wouldn't be wrong to say that small things narration, put forward against the discourse of universal ideal manifested itself in private sector development and the concept of downsizing the state, which influenced the globe after 1980s, and Turkey after 1990s. The practice of developmentalism discourse, in which the state is the main actor and which was formed on the basis of technical knowledge built by the positivist understanding and which tries to eliminate the gap between developed and underdeveloped countries under the basis of social and spatial justice, therefore pursuing the greater human ideal, encountered a major crisis in 1980s. This crisis nearly wiped out the national developmentalism, questioned because of its universal ideal discourse, from economic, social and cultural life. In this crisis, for the state itself was perceived as the source of the problem, and not the solution; practical destruction of the structure of national developmentalism

became the main topic of conversation. In this new era, obstacles to entrepreneurship, which had not much maneuvering space in national developmentalism period, removed one by one.

When the maneuvering space of entrepreneurship started to transcend the nation states' boundaries and the concept of traditional foreign trade and acquired a global definition thanks to the major developments in transportation and electronics sector, entrepreneurs became the main actors of this new era and the global developmentalism that represents this new era. Individuals put a far more different play on the stage than the developmentalism game that states steered. With an analogy we can say that this new era is marked by a play where the individuality of people come into prominence and where little things are told rather than the play governed by the state where a perception of greater ideal that covers everything is laid out.

All these finance organizations not only fund the projects previously funded by the state prior to 1980 but also form the conceptual framework and organizational structure of developmentalism movement. This new conceptual framework and organizational structure presents a social reality different from the one designed by national developmentalist projects, funded by nation states, and also a whole different definition of cultural area. Global developmentalism emerges within the new definitional boundaries of social reality and culture defined by international financial organizations mentioned before. In this sense, in today's capitalism, global developmentalism differs from the modernist social and cultural perception of national developmentalism as an instrument of intervention to the practical area. Major national projects as GAP, put the postmodernist social and cultural perception of global capitalism into practice by recognizing all differences, instead of determining the whole social formation.

The fundamental way to put this postmodernist perception into cultural and social practices is to fund, under the conditions set by international financial institutions, private and public sectors in agriculture, energy, finance, manufacture, environmental infrastructure, natural resources, tourism, telecommunication, information technologies, media and transportation. The conditions that are laid out by international financial institutions to fund or provide loans for projects that will be carried out by private and public sectors or the standards that are set for these projects are one of the most important instruments in putting the postmodernist perception of global developmentalism into cultural and social practices. This standardization that has been developed since 1980s until today helped the basic principles of global developmentalism to gain its efficiency in social and cultural life at a global level.

Principally, international financial institutions lay down the condition of complying with certain standards in return for the fund or loan they provide for these projects. Three important reasons can be mentioned for developing those standards for projects that international financial institutions will fund. The first one is the economic, social and cultural sustainability of the project funded, which guarantees, in a way, the return of the fund they provide. If a project has a structural problem which hinders the return of the fund provided by financial organization, providing loan for this project will have destructive effects on the financial organization.

Therefore, the financial organization considers the project it will fund or provide loan as a combination of economic, social and environmental risks and assesses the project in terms of economic profitability and social, cultural and environmental risks. The funders expect the project owners to mitigate even the slightest risks regarding the project's sustainability. In a way, the mitigation of risks that the funded project carries requires the project to be formed according to the desired standards in the planning process. In this sense, the funders are involved in

the planning process within the limits of standards they set until the implementation phase. These standards set by the finance organization is shaped on the basis of practical experiences in and after 1980's as basic arguments establishing the general understanding of global developmentalism. Practical experience has been of utmost importance in development of these standards

Several projects funded by IFC and WB until the mid-1990's in India and sub-saharan countries caused raised eyebrows, both nationally and internationally, because of the irreversible effects on environmental, social and cultural areas and the projects had been cancelled during the construction phase or postponed to be reviewed afterwards. The Sardar Sarovar Dam Project²⁶, funded by WB, were cancelled after the broad participation of the locals to the protest demonstrations and campaigns organized by non-governmental organizations against the project's environmental and social impacts and after these protest campaigns turned into a global reaction through a global information network. This kind of reactions that international finance organizations encountered arose the necessity of stipulation of certain standards in projects they fund.

Projects, especially ones such as major dam constructions, deeply affecting the social life and leading to negative environmental effects have brought big risks along and paved the way for the establishment of these standards. While

²⁶ The Sardar Sarovar Dam is a dam on the Narmada River near Navagam, Gujarat, India. The dam is the largest dam in and part of the Narmada Valley Project, a large hydraulic engineering project involving the construction of a series of large irrigation and hydroelectric multi purpose dams on the Narmada River. Critics maintain that its negative environmental and social impacts outweigh its benefits. It has created discord between its government planners and the citizens group Narmada Bachao Andolan. The dam is one of India's most controversial dam projects and its environmental and social impact and net costs and benefits are widely debated. The World Bank was initially a funder of the SSD, but withdrew in 1994. The Narmada Dam has been the centre of controversy and protest since the late 1980s. One such protest takes center stage in the Spanner films documentary *Drowned Out* (2002), which follows one tribal family who decide to stay at home and drown rather than make way for the Narmada Dam. An earlier documentary film is called *A Narmada Diary* (1995) by Anand Patwardhan and Simantini Dhuru. The efforts of NBA to seek social and environmental justice for those most directly affected by the Sardar Sarover Dam construction feature prominently in this award winning film (Roy, Arrundhati. (1999). 'The Greater Common Good', in Friends of River Narmada <http://www.narmada.org/gcg/gcg.html>).

experiences leading to the development of these standards also contributes to the improvement of these standards, these improved standards, after turning into the basic arguments of global developmentalism, have given rise to the emergence of basic rules and norms regarding the regulation of social and cultural areas.

The second important reason of developing standards regarding projects to be funded is the purpose of providing an equitable competitive environment among finance organization. Providing an equitable competitive environment among finance organization also caused the standardization of these conditions at a global level and the emergence of global developmentalism as a global approach. It is clear that the mitigation of an investment project's effects on environment, society and culture increases the cost of the project and decreases the project's profitability. This led the project owners who want to carry out their projects without raising their projects' cost to prefer finance organizations which do not stipulate such conditions. This situation created a competitive environment to the detriment of financial organizations who expect the project they will fund to meet certain standards regarding environment, society and culture. This unequal competitive environment pushed project owners to tend towards financial organizations looking for no preconditions. So as to prevent this kind of unequal competition, certain standards that financial organizations around the world will look for when providing loan for a project has been set. There is a myriad of credit institutions that provide loans without considering the compliance of the funded project to certain conditions as a prerequisite. Eximbank of Chinese, which operates under Chinese government, is the most prominent one among these credit institutions. It is seen that Eximbank of China provides loans to projects in many countries located in sub-saharan Africa that consider no environmental, social and cultural impacts. There are many negative evaluations and criticism concerning these projects both in national and international public opinion. IBHES project, too, supported and granted loan by Eximbank of China, after it had been canceled due to its inability to meet the standards laid out by Eurocentric import and export credit institutions

The third reason, actually, is directly correlated with the first reason. These standards have been developed to supervise all the projects to be funded with the purpose of preventing the loss of sustainability of projects that are carried out by private sector with a pure profit mentality due to social, cultural and environmental problems and to supervise the sustainable structure of projects carried out with a pure profit mentality. Equator Principles, established with the consensus of private banks in year 2003, is the most important standard that has been developed on the basis of these three principal reasons.

Unlike the stable and long term structure of developmentalism, the period where entrepreneurs, that is individuals, become the main actors of change, bears the mark of a risky and highly volatile structure. This new mobility that hasn't been seen until today in capitalist system due to the decrease in state's maneuvering space, uncontrollability of global markets and technological revolution, reduced the possibility of a long term stability and left almost every segment of society with a range of risks. The most important point here is the fact that human actions, which are results of today's world, constantly push the usual social limits and create an everlasting mobility nullifying almost every attempt to maintain stability. To put it more clearly, we can say that this reformation process is not limited to structural changes on its own. The relation between structure and human actions shows itself as a process that reforms itself. In this new circumstance, we see situations that change because of the volatile and flexible relation between human actions and structure, rather than stable and long term structural situations. In short, while the disorganization in capitalism's mode of organization clarifies the small things narration, we are being removed from bigger stories. This period, where those small things were clearer, has started with the crisis of capitalism that took place in 1980's. Explaining this crisis and the economic developments related to it in briefly will help us picture this shift. Global capitalism, which lived its golden age in the period after Second World War up until 1970's, sank into a new depression that

threw off the economic and social balances after the decrease in profit rates starting from 1980's. At the early 80's, foreign shocks and specifically debt crises left indelible impacts on underdeveloped countries.

These countries experienced a major recession process. Many countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa responded to the crisis by starting economic reformations based on privatization and liberalization policies and leaving strategies depending on import substitution. Until late 1980s even the former socialist countries in Asia and Eastern Europe rushed in to a reformation process in a way that would result in systematic transformation (Williamson, 2000). The WB not also encouraged specifically these reform policies but also supported this process by providing structural adjustment loans. Structural adjustment efforts comprising macro economic stability, liberalization, privatization and deregulation have become widespread around the world.

According to J. Williamson (2000:256) this series of economic policies in Neoliberal approach has been the most effective theoretical perspective in determining the state-market roles in developmentalism since 1980's. J. Williamson (2000:255) summarize this as: "Neoliberal approach defined state and market as competing forms in the context of allocation of resources. Emphasis on shrinking the extent and size of state and confidence in market processes and efficiency of private sector activities considered essential in terms of economic growth."

The basic point of origin of neoliberal approaches emerged as the minimizing of state's role in economic life. The concept of minimal state returned to the literature suggesting that state must be limited to fundamental duties such as defense, public order, justice, diplomacy, physical infrastructure and forming a reasonable legislative framework that would provide a stable macro-economic environment and that states must take their hands off from the administration and regulation of economic activities. In this sense, global capitalism and neoliberal

policies, a by product of the former, slowly removed the feasibility of Keynesian economic policies in capitalist countries and the concept of welfare state, and national developmentalist state policies in underdeveloped countries (Stiglitz, 1998:17). At this point, where global capitalist relations have been becoming much more decisive at a global scale, it has become an inevitable necessity for states to reorganize according to these changes (Stiglitz, 1998:24).

In this reorganization process economic relations are being supported with political and ideological relations and ergo the role of state transforms. In this ongoing process, the feasibility of national developmentalism as a form of social engineering trying to achieve the ideal determined by nation states, no longer exists. Nation states' projects such as GAP and many of the instruments that would make it possible to intervene economic, social and cultural structure in big regions lost their operability in global capitalist system. The new state of global capitalism is smaller, and in this sense, too weak to control market mechanisms and carry out development programmes like GAP (Keyder, 1993). GAP, the project which has been considered as the product of national developmentalism in Turkey in 1980's, as Keyder underlined, was a delayed or in other words an untimely project.

The greatest misfortune about GAP project is its delay. In fact, the search for international funding for the project IBHES, one of the most important pillars of GAP which Turkey wants to implement, and, to be more precise, having to implement the project by relying on only national resources can be considered as the most important sign, in the Turkish case, that shows national developmentalism is no longer sustainable within global capitalist system. In today's world, development ideals of nation states and all the projects within the framework of these ideals refer to a different social and cultural state from the ideal definition of national developmentalism in today's economic rationale of global capitalism. This social and cultural state involves a process which was questioned by the modernist ideological discourse. This is where we face two important questions. Considering

that nation states reached to their performance limit within the capitalist system and contextual changes occurred in societies around the world, who will assume the notion of intervention in cultural and social areas? And the second question is who will tame capitalism in the conjuncture of global disorderliness which would take place due to the weakened and downsized nation states. The answer to the first question is institutions and organizations and cooperations that are defined as transnational. And for the second question we can say that international norms, standards and rules, imposed by those institutions and organizations, will keep global capitalism in check to some extent.

In this context, when we look into developmentalism, we see that nation states that fund national developmentalism projects in the past have been replaced with international finance organizations that fund global developmentalism projects. IFC, working as a subsidiary of WB, can be shown as one of the most important international finance organizations and as a leading organization in funding development related projects. The main objective of IFC, in addition to the WB's purpose, is to support private investors and public enterprises, as partners, in their productive investments especially in developing countries. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and International Development Association (IDA), subsidiaries of WB like IFC, provide low interest loans, interest free loans and grants to developing countries to support their development projects.

In this context, another important international finance organization is European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). EBRD was founded in 1991 with the objective of creating and developing private sectors in a democratic environment in Middle and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet countries. EBRD operates stretching from Europe to Middle Asia to preserve market economies and democracy. In their own definition:

EBRD, which is the largest investor in a region stretching from Europe to Middle Asia, is governed by 61 countries and 2 intergovernmental institutions. Although shareholders are in public, EBRD has formed partnerships with business organizations and focused on private sector enterprises. EBRD provide project finance to banks, sectors and enterprises. Furthermore it works collaborately with public companies and support them in privatization, reorganization and the improvement of their services. The projects supported by EBRD is mainly on agriculture, energy, financial institutions, manufacture, environment infrastructure, natural resources, tourism, telecommunication, information technologies, media and transportation. EBRD presently carries out its projects in Albany, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia Herzogevina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Czech, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Letonia, Litvania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.²⁷

All these finance organizations not only fund the projects previously funded by the state prior to 1980 but also form the conceptual framework and organizational structure of developmentalism movement. This new conceptual framework and organizational structure presents a social reality different from the one designed by national developmenalist projects, funded by nation states, and also a whole different definition of cultural area. Global developmentalism emerges within the new definitional boundaries of social reality and culture defined by international financial organizations mentioned before. In this sense, in today's capitalism, global developmentalism differs from the modernist social and cultural perception of national developmentalism as an instrument of intervention to the practical area. Major national projects such as GAP; put the postmodernist social and cultural perception of global capitalism into practice by recognizing all differences, instead of determining the whole social formation.

²⁷ European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2010.

The fundamental way to put this postmodernist perception into cultural and social practices is to fund, under the conditions set by international financial institutions, private and public sectors in agriculture, energy, finance, manufacture, environmental infrastructure, natural resources, tourism, telecommunication, information technologies, media and transportation. The conditions that are laid out by international financial institutions to fund or provide loans for projects that will be carried out by private and public sectors or the standards that are set for these projects are one of the most important instruments in putting the postmodernist perception of global developmentalism into cultural and social practices. This standardization that has been developed since 1980s until today helped the basic principles of global developmentalism to gain its efficiency in social and cultural life at a global level.

EPs can be defined as the precedent principles accepted by the financial sector led by IFC, the private sector branch of the WB, for projects financements, social responsibilities, the private sector taking responsibility in regional development, and for the management of the environmental risks. In addition, they are accepted voluntarily to be applied in all the 50 million dollar and above project financements by 10 international banks in June 2003 based on environmental and social standards of IFC. These principles are revised on 6 July 2006 to be completely compliant to the IFC standards on social and environmental sustainability. The principles were revised in July, 6, 2006 and they were totally accorded to the IFC's standards of social and environmental issues. Equator principles cover all countries and all sectors. The base-limit of project is decreased to 10 million dollar.

As end of the year of 2007, 56 banks have accepted the EPs around the world. Therefore, it can be applied to the % 90 of the project finance all over the world. The banks which have accepted the EPs have take an important step, on behalf of NGO's, for the investments requiring social responsibility. Equator principles and IFC's standards about social, environmental sustainability are becoming more and

more widely accepted among the world finance sector. Nation states as planners and developers have been transformed into social and environmental impact experts monitoring the standards that were suggested by finance sector, designing projects in the framework of those standards and enhance them. In short, the global developmentalism caused ECAs to come up as a mechanism which organizes social, cultural and economic development. The concept of border has begun to change inevitably while state policies were losing their function in globalizing capitalism. While nation state's control over trade and production flow has been vanished, global legislations have become realized by international financing policies.

One consequence of this process for the old nation-states is that the strict control of borders has become substantially permeable in comparison to previous periods in a way not acceptable. In this sense, the period of global developmentalism in terms of state-society relations is clearly a very different era from that of national developmentalism. The state of the new era is not a state which makes arbitration between the relationships of the classes in a society neither is it a state which intervenes for the reconciliation of classes within society in favor of the lower classes. An important part of the welfare supplied by the state specifically within the scope of national developmentalism has come to an end through the discourse of downsizing the state.

Confidence for the state which is the most fundamental thing in unifying the society when the noting of the nation-state was strongest, that is, when national developmentalism dominated the socioeconomics fields is replaced by a growing mistrust. This lack of trust has been tried to be filled with the creation of new trust mechanisms created by the people themselves during the enrichment processes as well as in times of coping with poverty. In this atmosphere, with a loss of confidence in the expected creation of the state general and inclusive society, especially

communities created by the people themselves which are network relationships based on trust began to hit its mark on social life.

NGOs have made the best of the loss of confidence towards the corporate structure of the state and its restrictions on the area of action and in a short period of time community-based organizations have been an important part of social life. This tendency of the new era leads to setting up of a common language and common goals of development cooperation in the development process. The definition of development began the change from one NGO to another and from an economic network to another. We can speak during the global developmental era of two different agents undertaking the development. The first one of these agents are private sector firms which do invest for profit. And the IFI which transfer resources to private sector firms investments and control the economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability of the investments. These institutions also eliminate concerns about providing private sector investments of the NGOs, which are filling the gap of coming from the smaller becoming state and as a result decreasing confidence in the social area, and do also transform the for profit investments of the private sector into social responsibility and local development projects.

CHAPTER IV

GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM AS PRACTICE: CONCEPTUAL TRANSFORMATION

“At first, you have to learn to talk like them to change them. After you learn to talk like them, you realize that you give up to change them. That must be the reason why I love my job and I do for a long time”.²⁸

4.1. The Field Research: Introductory Statements.

In this chapter, the impossibility of actualization of a Project that is based on the global developmentalism with the language that national developmentalism is using for 30 years will be discussed and the answer of below question is to be found:

“How can an expert and/or a planner who believes that national developmentalism is equipped with the knowledge which is able to figure out the mystery of the nature and the regular structure of the society, could have forgotten the language of national developmentalism?”

In other words, how could these experts and planners manage to speak the global developmentalism’s concepts which could be described as a new language, within a short time? We could make a theoretical evaluation about the difference between the post and national developmentalism so far. But this specification which is based on the limited examples from the practical field does not show the difference how it occurs. However, the difference between these two which are

²⁸ Christine Zirke, Senior Anthropologist, ENVIRON Cooperation (Environmental, Health Sciences and Sustainability Consulting) - Social Impact Assessment Expert, Interview with the author, 22-03-2010, Istanbul. Work in BTĐ-OPL Project

trying to say something about economic, social and cultural being could only be analyzed through the practical processes. In this respect, if the global developmentalism means a sharp turn from the national developmentalism and how this return takes place could only be specified through the practical processes. Therefore, we will try to find the traces of transformation of the concepts that belongs to these two different developmentalism in practical field. More correctly, we will try to see in which processes the national developmentalism leave its concepts to global developmentalism. We will make these efforts for certain projects where these transforming concepts are been utilized.

In other words, how could these specialists and planners manage to speak the global developmentalism's concepts which could be described as a new language, within a short time? We could make a theoretical evaluation about the difference between the global and national developmentalism so far. But this specification which is based on the limited examples from the practical field, does not show the difference how it occurs. However, the difference between these two which are trying to say something about economic, social and cultural being could only be analyzed through the practical processes. In this respect, if the global developmentalism means a sharp turn from the national developmentalism and how this return takes place could only be specified through the practical processes. Therefore, we will try to find the traces of transformation of the concepts that belongs to these two different developmentalism in practical field. More correctly, we will try to see in which processes the national developmentalism leave its concepts to global developmentalism. We will make these efforts for certain projects where these transforming concepts are been utilized.

In order to show the processes where the developmentalism's transformation occurred, we will use Bourdieu's game theory as we mentioned in the second part. We will try to understand in which ways the players use these concepts in the process of transformation and analyze the interests of these actors

in the game and their efforts for the sustainability of this game even if the conceptual framework changes. Shortly, in this chapter we will try to understand how and in which ways the experts, who are accepted as the indispensable actors of the development projects, change their languages or concepts in the process from the national developmentalism to the global developmentalism. The process of changing concepts from the national to the new one and the application of this transformation in the development project by the experts will also help us to understand the transformation of developmentalism itself. Surely, the actors of development game are not limited with the experts who are assigned in development projects. As we talked about in the second chapter, there are other actors from very different regions in this game. But in this part only the experts who have different responsibilities and interests in both quality and quantity, will be discussed. The reason is that these experts have a major role on the conceptual transformation process of the developmentalism.

These experts primarily provide the total replacements of the conceptual sets between the global developmentalism and the national developmentalism. From this view, these experts could be seen as the actors who adapt the development processes's theoretical framework to the actual life. These experts have the main responsibility of the development processes' conceptual transformation. But this could not be a one-sided transformation. The experts have to change their selves before the replacement of the concepts. When it is thought that the global developmentalism is the result of global capitalism, it is required not only the replacement of the concepts but also the replacement of the expert's ideological stance. Therefore the experts must take the responsibility of being upside-down in daily life.

The price of being upside-down is just to sustain the staying in the game. But staying in the game is indispensable motivation for a developmentalism expert. Even one could say that staying in the game is the survival for an expert. An expert's

self-updating or self-renewing is not something like to follow technological changes in software business. This difference is not just a quantitative but also a qualitative. A software expert does not have negative outcomes that effect his daily life after leaving the computer. Everything comes with a price however in the developmentalism game this effect on the actor is direct. The difference between the national and the global developmentalism's view to the ethnic identities is sourced from how we understand the life and surroundings. These two developmentalism have direct relations with the ideological references of political, economic and social life.

If there is a strict relation between the national developmentalism and the modernity, consequently there has to be the same relation between the modernity and the expert of the national developmentalism. However, in the global developmentalism the other party is postmodernism. It is obvious that when a software expert meets and learns a new computer language, this affects his life understanding but this effect is indirect. For an expert who has been grown up in the national developmentalism environment, it is expected to have the global developmentalism's conceptual frame work within short time when it comes to be part of a project based on the global developmentalism. A temporary appropriation is dangerous for an expert. This danger is the limitation of the expert's creative power. The global developmentalism's understanding which is based on Schumpeter's creative destruction can not be carried out by an expert who appropriates the concepts temporarily. Temporary appropriation could be end up a regression and consequently the player will be out of the game.

From this perspective, the role of expert in the transformation process could be performing with an internalization and adaptation mechanism. The expert could be seen as a reformist who prepares the people to adapt new conceptual sets and plays with these sets again and again in this process. That means the expert becomes so involved these new concepts and is thus capable of making up new

rules and concepts at the corporate level. He becomes a part of the corporate transformation process. However in this chapter, we will try to analyze the corporate transformation although they seem unseperable. There will be a detailed analyze about this corporate transformation in the sixth chapter. The reason of this separation is related to showing the qualitative and quantitative impacts of the actors in the transformation process. The conceptual, the corporate and the social transformation are the inter-related processes and each one of them is stuffed with other ones. However, showing the dimensional character of the transformation makes some difficulties for clarifying the responsibilities of the actors in the process. For example, the actors seen as reformist are effective all these processes. But discussing these effects of the reformists could not let the thesis to establish an integrative approach.

For this reason, the transformation process will be discussed through the process itself rather than the actors. Otherwise, the thesis will become eclectic and have multi-sectional structure because the actors are various. On the other hand, dividing the transformation into conceptual, corporate and social one will provide us for more integrative approach. Besides, this division will facilitate to show the duties and functions of these actors. Thus we will be able to differentiate the actors' both corporate and conceptual contributions within the same page.

At this point, here is the main question: Who are these experts? From which groups are these experts to be chosen? We have two concerns while selecting them. The first one is to supply the minimum representation of the experts who worked only in one of the projects of two developmentalism. Thus it would be possible to distinguish the different conceptual framework of two kinds of developmentalism. Second one is to supply the minimum representation of the experts who worked for different time durations in these developmentalist projects. Thus we could grasp the possibility to analyze the effects of those experts who worked for both different times and different perspectives. Besides that, some

interviews were made with the experts who worked for IBHES project which was a huge source to benefits methodologically. The importance of this project stems from its hybrid nature which embraces two kinds of developmentalist at the same time.

It is important for us to give brief information about the expert who we interviewed with and the projects which those experts participated in order to understand our specific approach to the developmentalism. When we specify these projects' properties and originalities, it would be easier to understand this chapter which we will discuss the conceptual transformation. This specification also makes easier to grasp the sixth and seventh chapter where the developmentalism's corporate and social transformation. Normally we should have added these specifications to the third chapter which the field research is discussed in details but we have chosen to mention them here in this chapter in order to supply more integrative understanding.

4.2. Investigation of the Projects.

The field research is composed of the interviews which were made with the experts worked for the projects and some people who were affected from these projects. In the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters there will be a discussion based on these interviews' outcomes and the information attained from second-hand sources. These interviews also contain the experts' experiences apart from these projects. Unexpected information coming from these interviews like sharing experiences about other projects besides our field research made a huge contribution to our topic. For example, an expert who worked for IBHES Project told his experiences from different development projects. These insights helped us to build a connection between the other projects which are not included in our field research and developmentalism understandings. In this sense, the experts' personal insights from development projects served us to look the developmentalism from a

wider perspective. This information could be seen section 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3, 4.2.4, 4.2.5.

4.2.1. ILISU Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant (IBHES Project)

At this point, we are obliged to rehearse why the IBHES Project is a hybrid project in more detailed fashion. The main reason is that it is the main part of the GAP as a huge RDA(Regional Development Agency), which is composed of 22 barrages and 19 power plants and build by the Turkish Government although is started with a delay in Turkey. In the planning of IBHES Project national developmentalism is used, whereas in the application phase the global developmentalism's conceptual framework is used. The insights of the experts worked for these projects set with both two developmentalism perspectives shows us impressive hints about the developmentalism's conceptual transformation. Shortly, to rehearse the story of these two developmentalism perspectives are needed to understand how the IBHES Project is important for this thesis.

The preparatory work of IBHES Project was started by DSI (State Hydraulic Works) in 1954 in the direction of the works that were performed to develop the water and soil reserves of Dicle River. In 1971, "Dicle River Pre-Feasibility Report" was prepared by EIEI and 10 different locations were studied for IBHES project. In 1975, "Engineering Geology Report" that discusses technical and economical predictability of these location choices is prepared by EIEI. An international consortium prepared the technical report's "Feasibility Study and Final Design" in 1980-82. The Project was included into the investment program in 1998. The IBHES project that was involved into the investment program in 1998 required a huge financial source and it was not possible to supply from the national budget, therefore it was decided to be built with an international financing. Thus, IBHES project started to follow a different path from GAP's other parts.

The source for the IBHES project which was decided to be built with hundred percent international financing was found in 1998. It was agreed to be build by a consortium which was composed of American and European companies on behalf of DSI. The financial support was requested from the companies' national government's export credit institutions, and the British, Swiss and American governments approved the credits temporarily. However they provisioned some terms in order to release the export credits. The main concern was to take precautions for the settlements nearby the Project in order not to affect the environment and the culture. In this context, it was requested "The Environmental Impact Assessment Report" and "The Resettlement Action Plan" according to the standards of WB and IFC. The institutions were going to evaluate these reports and decide whether the credit was released for the Project or not. DSI signed an agreement with the WB Institute in 1999 for the "Resettlement Action Plan". The purpose of the Project is stated below:

To prepare an action plan for the inhabitants that is going to be affected from the construction of the Ilisu Dam totally or partially in order to increase their life standards while re-settling them. In accordance with this purpose, to determine the current situation and the re-settling condition in order to obtain the involvement of the inhabitants into re-settling planning.²⁹

This was a new process for DSI which built many huge dams and re-placed thousands of inhabitants to the different regions. DSI initiated all the re-settling processes according to the domestic law until the IBHES Project. Now it had to make all operations required by IBHES Project in accordance with the international regulations. DSI must prepare a very detailed action plan for a huge Project in accordance with international regulations. Besides that, this report was going to be prepared by an independent institution and presented to the institutions which released the credit. The WB put one year time limit and released 100,000 USD dolar

²⁹ IBHES Project RAP Protocol between DSI and WB. Unpublished Manuscript

for the preparation of this report. A field research was done in order to prepare the report according to the WB's standards. During this field research;

- Focused group interviews were done
- The forms which indicates the general information of the villages were filled with the assistance of the mukhtars
- The surveys of the Households were done by interviewing with 2100 householders
- The financial analyses being necessary for the action plan were completed
- The budget for monitoring is determined

IBHES Project Resettlement Action Plan (RAP)³⁰ is prepared in the consideration of this field research. The town of Hasankeyf which has the cultural importance was taken into consideration separately. Moreover the report was criticized in various ways such as the report did not take precautions for the social and cultural ravages; it did not have a common perspective and was not sufficient to specify the cultural and ethnical structure of the region. These credits institutions send their own experts to the region and according to the feedbacks of those experts, they stated that they did not support the project. Firstly, the Swedish Skanska Corporation withdrew from the Project in 2000. After on year, the Balfour Beatty from the United Kingdom and Impregilo from Italy withdrew from the project after the statement of ECA not undertaking the assurance. In the following year, UBS Bank from Switzerland which gave temporary approval to the project withdrew. The reason was the social, cultural and ecological uncertainties of the IBHES Project in the coming future.

³⁰ Resettlement Action Plan (RAP)The document in which a project sponsor or other responsible entity specifies the procedures that it will follow and the actions that it will take to mitigate adverse effects, compensate losses, and provide development benefits to persons and communities affected by an investment Project (E, Richard., E, B, Frederick, (2002). *IFC Handbook for Preparing a Resettlement Action Plan*, Washington: The International Finance Corporation Press).

That means, IBHES Project would have finished before it started. The comments of an expert about why this plan had so many strong setbacks shows the hybrid nature of the Project.

We had a fine staff when we started to prepare the re-settlement action plan. Everyone talked about being independent and professional, and doing the best for the region etc. Our boss motivated us by emphasizing being independent while working. After all this was happening the first time in Turkey and everyone was happy to be a part of this process. But the problems started immediately. In one time, the personals from DSI would like to see the interview surveys which we prepared. After one month, they gave an answer that many of the questions were inconvenient and not to be asked. As far as I am concerned, we had to ask those questions in order to be in accordance with the standards of the WB. However my colleagues justified the response of DSI and consequently we did what DSI asked to do. Still remembering my colleague was suspicious about why the WB cares so much about the inhabitant's mother language which was a question in the survey that I prepared. The second bumper came during the field research. They did not let us to go to the villages. Personnel from DSI said that he could answer to the questions himself on behalf of the inhabitants. According to him he was experienced and knows everything about the region because he participated to some

resettlement process while building the dams of Atatürk and Karkamış Dam.”³¹

Between 1998 and 2005, the process went on like this way. DSI and the Turkish Government could not understand the provisions which were asked for the credits. However, IBHES Project was very important for Turkey and there were many various reasons. But the most important reason was same with the founding purpose of GAP project. This purpose is explained below by Çarkoğlu and Eder (2005, 175):

The GAP region is politically, economically and socially quite distinct and that the divergence of the region from the rest of Turkey remains a problem. By 1989, the increasing regional discrepancy and the rising Kurdish problem in the region had pushed for not only a bureaucratic reorganization of GAP and the establishment of GAP administration, but also a significant change in the formulization of the state’s role in the region.

The purpose of IBHES Project and GAP project’s national developmentalist purposes was matching one-to-one as Çarkoğlu and Eder mentioned about. The main reason that the international credit institutions withdrew from the project is

³¹ Participant, Senior Sociologist, DSI - Resettlement Expert, Interview with the author, 27-07-2009, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES Project: “...Yeniden yerleşim eylem Planı hazırlamak için yola koyduğumuzda güzel bir ekibimiz vardı. Herkes biz bağımsız bir ekibiz doğru neyse onu söyleyeceğiz, bu proje sadece bir enerji üretimi projesi değil bir kalkınma projesi insanlar için en doğrusunu güzelini yapmalıyız gibi şeyler söylüyordu. Şirket patronumuz devamlı kimseye aldırmandan çalışın siz bağımsızınız vurgusu ile bizi motive ediyordu. Ne de olsa bu süreç Türkiye’de ilk kez gerçekleştiriliyordu ve neredeyse herkes bu ekibin içersinde olmaktan dolayı mutlu idi. Ama kazın ayağı öyle değil di ilk sorunlar daha en başından başladı. Hiç unutmam, alan araştırması için hazırladığımız anket formunu DSI’den yetkililer görmek istedi. Bizde gönderdik. 1 ay sonra bize anket formundaki her iki sorudan birinin bölge halkına sorulmasının sakıncalı olduğu ve soramayacağımızı ve sorulmasını istemedikleri soruları da belirttikleri bir yazı ile bize döndüler. Ben cevabımızın bu soruları sormazsak Dünya Bankası tarafından istenen formatta ve içerikte bir değerlendirme yapamayacağımız olacak diye umarken benim dışımda ekipte yer alan tüm uzmanlar DSI’ye hak verdiler ve biz DSI’nin dediklerini yerine getirdik. Hala hatırlarım anket formunu Dünya Bankasının istekleri doğrultusunda sabahlara kadar uğraşarak hazırladığım arkadaşım şöyle demişti. “Dünya Bankasına ne kimin hangi dili konuştuğu” oldu. İkinci darbe alan araştırması sırasında geldi. Gitmek istediğimiz köylerin neredeyse hiç birine gitmemize izin vermediler. Bir DSI yetkilisi bu durum ile ilgili aynen şu belirlemede bulunmuştu. Sen onlara değil bana sor cevaplayım zaten ne yapılacağı belli biz bu işi yıllardır yapıyoruz. Atatürk Barajında, Karkamış Barajında onlarca köyü iskân ettim ben hiçbir sorun çıkmadı... İşte biz bu şekilde çalıştık o zamanlar...”

the impossibility of carrying out the IBHES Project with the national developmentalist perspective. At this point it can be said that the withdrawal is related to the inconsistencies between the logical framework of the IBHES Project and the international financial institutions. The global market economy does not allow to the local financiers to actualize the projects needed high amount of financial support such as IBHES Project. The Turkish Republic had to find the financiers for IBHES Project from the international markets because the capitalist system does not allow otherwise. Foreign multi-national capitals require transferring not only money and the technical know-how but also its cultural, social and conceptual framework. The conceptual frame is very different and inharmonious from the national developmentalism's conceptual frame. The most important reason that IBHES Project could not find the financiers from the international market in 2000 was the misunderstanding of the global capitalism's cultural and social background. Actually this misunderstanding is an internal problem of IBHES Project.

During the technical and engineering implementation of the IBHES project which had thirty years planning, the cultural and social outcomes of the project were not taken into account. The officials did not take into consideration the sufferings of those people whose homelands would be underwater eventually and the destructive impacts on the social and cultural heritage in the region especially in Hasankeyf by such a huge dam. This dam whose technical and engineering implementation was prepared 30 years ago was not very important. Actually, these effects were desired by the national developmentalist and the officials of GAP. But, these effects which were foreseen by GAP but ignored were not very acceptable by the global developmentalism perspective. The national developmentalism makes even the differences existing in the underdeveloped regions while incorporating its idealistic projections, on the other hand the global developmentalism does not have such attitudes. The cultural logic of global capitalism is not based on sweeping the differences and establishing a valid single idea. The global developmentalism has

the same logic. Actually, it must have this logic in order to expand and make progress. To preserve and to accept the differences, to care about the differences and to create new differences are the sole alternatives for the global developmentalism.

On the other hand, IBHES project is an intervention to the cultural and social texture of the region which has the differences from the other regions of Turkey. In the process of technical and engineering planning which was made thirty years ago, the social texture and cultural heritage of the region were not taken into consideration. This style suits for the national developmentalism's perspective. The latent purpose of the project is to change the social and cultural texture itself besides the manifest purposes. But in 2000s, this was a paradoxical. Surely, this paradox was recognized by the financiers. The non-governmental organizations, national and international public opinion contributed to develop this understanding of the financiers. The project which could not foreseen this paradox thirty years ago was suspended until 2005.

In 2005, DSİ tried to search the financial sources because of the insufficiency of the national sources without making any changes from the plan before 30 years. This time the source was found from different countries' Export Credit Agency (ECA). But the ECAs asked to repeat the same procedure in 2000. The updated "Environmental Impact Assessment Report (EIA)", "Resettlement Action Plan" and "Cultural Heritage Assessment Report" were prepared in 2005. This time DSİ guaranteed to solve all its problems which were based on the Project and provided for the environment without any interference. DSİ supplied more sources to the reporting and did not interfere with the processes. For the "Resettlement Report" that would be re-written in 2005, DSİ released one million dollars. DSİ allowed visiting to the villages which were evacuated because of the terror actions in the region. It gave the permission to the project to be presented in different languages. The census was initiated and DSİ did not interfere with the officials to communicate

with the people who migrated from the region. DSI accepted the detailed archeological report about the Hasankeyf Historical City. DSI did not even analyze the reports before they were represented to ECAs. The comments of personnel from DSI exemplify the situation very clearly.

In 2005, while the ENCON (Environmental Consultancy Co.) was preparing the Resettlement Action Plan, we only provided for the whole region to be accessible for them. We did not ask or investigate what they were doing. We did not make the mistake again like in 2000. The Head Office asked the Project to be initiated very much so we were asked to make easier everything for the ENCON group. The only process that the Head Office was included the initiation of the new settlement of the Hasankeyf which was specified by the local community. The locals asked the same region which we anticipated. We could not read the reports because they were in English and there was nobody to be able to understand that level English in the Office. We gave the approval without knowing what was in them. Later this caused some problems of course.³²

The ECAs analyzed the reports that were prepared by an independent institute in 2005 and held a meeting with DSI. A memorandum of understanding which involves preventing the project's negative effects against the environment, culture, social and economic texture in the region was signed with DSI. According to this memorandum, DSI was obliged to fulfill thirty one environmental, thirty eight social, twelve cultural and two international provisions. DSI was expected to

³² Participant, Agriculture Engineer, DSI - Resettlement Expert, Interview with the author, 28-05-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES Project: "...2005 yılında ENCON Yeniden Yerleşim Eylem Planını hazırlarken biz sadece tüm bölgenin onlara tamamen açılmasını sağladık. Ne ne yaptıklarını sorduk nede soruşturduk. 2000 yılındaki hatayı tekrarlamadık aslında bu şekilde davranmak Genel Müdürlüğün tavrı idi. Genel Müdürlüğün bu projeye hayata geçmesini o kadar istiyordu ki ne deseler yapacaktı ve bize de bu yönde ENCON'un tüm işlerinde kolaylık sağlamamız yönünde talimat verdiler. Genel Müdürlüğün tek dahi olduğu süreç Hasankeyf'in yeni yerleşim yerinin neresi olacağına rapor içinde karar verilmesi gerekiyordu. ENCON halka sordu halk ne dediyse o oldu. Belki orada biz biraz kendi istediğimiz yeri dayattık ama halkta bizim istediğimiz yeri isteyince sorun çözüldü... Raporla okumadık zaten okuyamazdık hepsi İngilizce oldukları için ve bizim kamulaştırma dairemizce o gün o düzeyde İngilizce bilen kimse olmadığı için tam olarak okuyamadık. Bize geldiği gibi ECA'lara verdik. Onay verdik gibi gözükse de verdiğimiz onay ne olduğunu bilmediğimiz raporlardır. Tabi bu durum sonra başımıza büyük dert açtı..."

establish an independent organizational structure, separated from its own organizational structure to meet these obligations. Also, the ECAs expected DSI to found an independent mechanism to monitor these new structures. DSI had to fulfill many of the provisions before the construction phase of the project. Each provision had a time limit. According to the memorandum, when the ECAs recognized that these provisions were not completed, they would have given DSI Environmental Failure³³ Notice and a time of ninety days to meet these obligations and after these periods if these obligations were not still performed, the ECAs could have withdrawn from the agreement.

It was 2009 and DSI still did not meet the obligations to start the construction of the IBHES project. However the first part of the credit from the ECAs was received by DSI due to the agreement provisions and eventually the construction of IBHES project was started. To control the situation, the ECAs asked DSI to stop the construction due to the Environmental Failure Notice and meet the obligations that were not completed until that time in ninety days period. The alarm

³³ On October 06, 2006, Final Assessment Meeting (FAM) regarding Ilisu Dam and HEPP Project was held in Ankara and as a result of this meeting, a Memorandum of Understanding which amends the project according to World Bank and international standards, was signed between DSI and ECAs. In order to fulfill the requirements of the Terms of Reference (ToRs) agreed upon by the Parties within the scope of Memorandum of Understanding, a Resettlement Implementation Plan (RIP) was composed on February 12, 2007 by the Project Owner and relevant committees of the settlements that will be affected during Phase I of the Project. However, encountered problems and insufficiencies in institutional structure of the project management, namely PIU, and improvement needs of previous plans related with Resettlement, Cultural Heritage and Environmental components were resulted in an Environmental Failure Notice (EFN) issued on October 06, 2008, according to Article 2.3 of the Agreement signed between ECAs and IC. The immediate actions taken during the 60-days EFN period by the Project Owner and IC in order to *a) strengthen the institutional capacity of the Project Implementation Unit (PIU), b) complete planning activities for Phase I settlements at design level and c) to prepare a Work Plan for RAP at feasibility level for Phase II ad Phase III settlements* were recognized and appreciated at a certain level. Needs in suspension of works to give necessary time for completion of ToR activities and to safeguard that the ongoing infrastructure and preparatory works respect all aspects of the standards agreed to apply to the project led the ECAs give a six months period for the suspension period. The PIU took this as the opportunity to complete institutional strengthening process of project management and to design more comprehensive and consistent RAP, RIP and IRPs based on the most current and robust figures and to take necessary actions in implementation for remedying the present and avoiding the occurrence of further Environmental Failures. (IBHES PIU. (2009) IBHES Project Updated Resettlement Action Plan Unpublished Manuscript)

bells were ringing for the IBHES project. At this point, it would be better to listen somebody inside from the project.

Those were the tough days, we did not know what to do we had a booklet. Some the provisions were even not suitable to our laws and regulations. They asked us to found a Project Implementation Unit (PIU) but we did not have any experts that could work in this group. There was no sociologist or anthropologist or archaeologist in DSİ. We only build dams, we have engineers to do so but we do not have any idea about the folkloric texture. They requested us to do some ethnographic research in the region before the construction of the Project. These demands were unbelievable and not suitable to the law and the regulations. The Government and Head Office had deal with them but their demands were impossible to carry out. Not just we but also the Ministry of Culture rejected their demands. Shortly after we could not meet their requests, we called the group that prepared these reports. There was just three months left. They formed a new organizational structure and opened offices at the area, they instructed the local community, prepared new ethnographic reports, did again population census. But our management mentality did not meet theirs.”³⁴

As it can be realized from the short quotation above, after ninety days the ECAs cancelled the financing and withdrew from the agreement due to DSİ's not

³⁴ Participant, Civil Engineer, DSİ – Civil Engineer, Interview with the author, 12-05-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES Project: “...Zor günlerdi, ne yapacağımızı bilmiyorduk elimizde bir kitapçık vardı. Bir sürü uyulması gereken kural şart bazıları bizim yasalarımıza yönetmenliklerimize bile uymuyordu. Bir proje uygulama birimi kurmamızı istiyorlardı(PIU) ancak bu birimde yer alacak nitelikte hiçbir uzmanımız yoktu. DSİ çatısı altında ne sosyolog ne antropolog ne arkeolog kadrosu vardı. Biz baraj yapmaktan anlayan bir kurumuz mühendislerimiz vardır ama biz ne anlarız türküden, halk oyunundan bizden etkilenecek tüm bölgede etnografik araştırma yapmamızı istiyorlardı hem de inşaat başlamadan... İnanılmaz şeylerdi istenilenler ne kanun ne yönetmelik tanıyordu tamam yapalım desek memuruz biz suçlu durumuna düşersin... Hükümet, Genel Müdürlük anlaşmış tamam ama kanun var olacak var olmayacak var dedik dinletemedik tabi beceremedik... tek biz değil kültür bakanlığı bir taraftan olmaz böyle diyor adamların istediklerine. Ne diyeceksin haklılar... Olmaz ama bakanlık diretiyor olduracaksın... Kısacası biz beceremeyince bu şartları ortaya çıkaran raporları hazırlayanları çağırdık kurtarın dedik bizi bu işten üç ay vardı ellerinden geleni yaptılar yeni bir organizasyon yapısı kurdular alanda ofisler açtılar, halkı bilgilendirdiler, etnografik raporlar hazırladılar, köy köy tekrar nüfus saydılar. Daha kadastro geçmemiş yerlerde adamlar her haneyi harita üzerinde gösterdiler. Ama olmadı bizim ne kafamız ne yönetim anlayışımız bu tür işleri yapmaya yeterli olmadı... Düşün bir kere tüm projeden sorumlu kişi tüm kamulaştırma işlerinden sorumlu bizim mevzuata göre onlarca köyü yerleştirmiş iki günde köy yerleştirir bıraksan...”

meeting the cultural, social and economic obligations. This was not a misadventure of IBHES Project itself. The case was an outcome of the contradiction between the global developmentalism and the national developmentalism. DSI had built many the dams and re-settled thousands of inhabitants without hiring any social scientist inside its organizational structure. They never put the people that being re-settled to the center of the projects. DSI always thought that they were doing the best for these people. But now the situation changed and the global developmentalism would transform the decision-making processes what were correct for years.

From this point of view, the works which were done between 2000 and 2010 for the IBHES project points the paradox between the global developmentalism and the national developmentalism. In the light of the discussions we could say the IBHES Project was performed as a conceptual and corporate fight of these two perspectives between 2000–2010 years. Therefore according to the framework of this thesis, all the works which were done between 2000 and 2010 for the IBHES project could be seen as a hybrid situation or more clearly the practical expression of the passing to global developmentalism.

In the field research of the thesis, the hybrid nature of the IBHES Project is very important for us to figure out how these developmentalisms differ from each other. In this context, the interviews were made with eleven experts who worked for the project between 2000-2010 years. One of these experts also worked for the ABHES Project which was carried out with the national developmentalism entirely. Three of these experts also worked for BTC-OPL Project which was actualized with the global developmentaslim's perspective. The rest of the experts only worked for the IBHES Project. It is obvious that the expert who were interviewed in the extent of the field research of the thesis and worked for the different projects, shows us how the difference between two perspectives occurred in the practical plane.

4.2.2. Atatürk Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant (ABHES Project)

ABHES project is between Adıyaman and Şanlıurfa cities, built on the Fırat River and has energy and watering purposes. The construction of the barrage started in 1983 and worked in 1992. The beginning date of the construction is 4 November 1983. In 1990, the construction of the dam is finished. ABHES project is built to produce energy and watering. It is the sixth dam in the World due to the volume of the sealant. At the same time, it is the biggest dam of Turkey and Europe. The area of the dam reservoir in ABHES project is 817 kilometer square.

ABHES project is not just huge because of its technical and engineering project but also the effects of it to the region that it is built on. In Adıyaman City, 1 town, 12 villages and 47 hamlets, totally 60 settlement areas, 2268 houses and 13666 people are directly affected from ABHES project. This social movement is the third example of the resettled a big population because of the government projects, after Keban and Karakaya Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant. 588 families and 3678 people urban purposed 95 families and 578 people rural purposed, are resettled because of the ABHES project's submerging the settlements and soils. 300 families are still waiting for the certain rural settling. Other families have taken their socialization rewards for their houses and territories and have to find their own solutions to settlement problems. These families migrated mainly to Adıyaman city centre, some of them to Adana and Mersin.

ABHES project is the biggest engineering project that is done by government and made the biggest migration movement in Turkey Republic history by government hand. However, ABHES project is a project that the resettle of the population by government is limited with only executive and economic points such as the supply of the resettling areas and the infrastructure services and housing. To see the ABHES project only as a hydroelectric power plant and the energy produced from this plant will not be correct for this Project and for the GAP. Undoubtedly, in special the ABHES project and in general its hydroelectric power plants, the GAP can

be perceived as the projects to supply the energy demands of Turkey. This perception can be true in a way but the only purpose of the GAP and ABHES projects is not producing electrical energy. GAP is designed as a complex project. This integrated structure aims to convert the region's economical, social and cultural configuration and to articulate this region to modern Turkey.

In this sense, ABHES project and GAP have much more critical purposes than producing energy. All the hydroelectric power plants that are carried out in the scope of GAP aims an agricultural development and production for the region. This agricultural development understanding can not be limited with the transformation of dry farming to irrigating farming and the increase in the agricultural income which is an upgradeable development understanding. Çarkoğlu and Eder (2005: 175) underlines the below written generally for GAP, especially for ABHES project:

GAP also reflects elements of high modernist ideology. This is particularly evident in the dam building phase of the project, where the focus has remained solely on hydroelectric production. Even after the systematic shift of emphasis within GAP from water and land resources development projects in the 1970s to a multi-sectoral, socioeconomic regional development program in the 1980s, the concern for electricity and agricultural output has persisted. Short term, immediate gains such as the maximization of electric output and agricultural yield have guided the design of GAP more than the process of implementation, the dynamics of mutual learning in the field, and the establishment of negotiated objectives. Long term and complex objectives, such as education, agricultural training, crop breeding, improving health services, have been postponed in favor of immediate 'productionist' results.

GAP has many different purposes from electricity production in the long term. In this sense, ABHES project is a part of a big story. This big story is like the reflection of the national development in the Turkey mirror. The name of the articles that are written by Çarkoğlu and Eder about GAP Project gives away this situation very clearly: *Developmentalism a la Turca.*" ABHES project's national

development can be found as the main numbered. When looking from ABHES project's scope to performed things in social and cultural areas, it is not too hard to trace the main logical frame and modernist ideology of the national development" (Çarkoğlu and Eder, 2005: 175). Firstly, this will be clearly seen when looking to the re-settling operations in ABHES Project's scope.

- All the resettlement operations in the scope of the ABHES project are performed with a central organization,
- The local attendance to the re-settling operations in the scope of the ABHES project is in the minimum level,
- All the re-settling operations in the scope of the ABHES project are based on the changing and converting the cultural and social life of the region,
- All the re-settling operations in the scope of the ABHES project are performed on the light of the ideal meaning of the national development.

Konak shows that how much the main premises of the national development dominates the re-settling operations in the scope of the ABHES Project, in his research of the re-settling operations in the scope of the ABHES project in 2002. Konak ranges the main properties of the ABHES project re-settling operations as written below:

- The living places are converted from the traditional village life that allows adding new units due to the new requirements to the planned housing and settlement area structure that does not allow developing. (Konak, 2002: 84.)
- The families that at first have economic structure and production in agricultural sector are tried to be directed to have partially agricultural and partially non-agricultural source of income in the new settlement areas. (Konak, 2002: 84.)

- The title holder families taken from large families due to the Settling Law and Regulations will be converted into immediate families, so the families will have younger population and the older generations will be less represented in the families. (Konak, 2002: 84.)
- Due to the Settling Law, in the new settlement areas, the areas that will be given to the families will be equal and limited with living, not paying attention to old area quantities of the families. This situation caused big is owners not to prefer resettlement by government aids and migrate to the big cities by taking their socialization rewards. In this sense the possession structure is broken down in a no return. (Konak, 2002.)
- The relations between the large family members will decrease because of the physical distances. This situation caused the dispersion of the traditional cultural and social structure. (Konak, 2002.)

The resettlement implementation activities can be seen as interference to the social and cultural existence of the local community. In this sense, the resettlement implementation in the scope of the ABHES project is not singular example in Turkey. The resettlement due to the Keban, Karakaya, Birecik and Karkamış Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant that are in the scope of the GAP have similar purposes. All the resettlement operations near these dam it can be clearly understood that how much the GAP caused big economical, social and cultural transformations. The

watering projects³⁵ going along with this resettlement implementation opened an unlimited area to the GAP, related to this social structure transformation. Many big and small watering projects that are carried out in the scope of the GAP provided the region's agriculture to a transformation. The Urfa Tunnels³⁶, which are seen as the indispensable parts of the ABHES project, are the main triggers of the change in the cultural and social structure of this region. GAP will not be limited with changing the face of South East Anatolia Region's by agriculture and related industry, but also will be named as the total transformation in the transportation, population and urbanization areas. Modern settlement areas, more reachable health services, a foreseen demographic structure will be carried out in this alteration. In this sense, the transformation in the region by GAP shows the solution of the East Problem since the establishment of the republic, now called as Kurdish Problem. This is the reason why all Turkey Republic intendants appropriate the GAP.

As we make a compare, mainly there is not big differences between the planning of the ABHES and IBHES projects. Both of these two projects aim the re-organization of the region by government's hand with re-settling projects, watering projects and agricultural development projects. The planners and operators of these projects thought that these projects were the solution to the economical

³⁵ With the completion of the GAP irrigation projects within the program, as provided for in 1.1 million hectares in the Euphrates and Tigris Basin for a total of 1.7 million hectares to 0.6 million hectares of major projects, including the rest of the individual projects will total 1.8 million hectares of irrigated agriculture. So far, the irrigation potential of the Euphrates Basin and 6 percent, 4 percent of the potential of the Tigris River Basin was put into operation. 49 percent of the potential of the Euphrates basin, 27 percent of the potential of the Tigris River Basin is located in the Investment Program. Investment Program to the team, innovative projects are completed the Euphrates Basin, 202,976 hectares of land, 61,772 hectares of land irrigated in the Tigris Basin projects are completed. For today, the total irrigated area within the scope of GAP, only 183 thousand hectares. But it was 10 per cent of the targeted irrigation area. (DSI Genel Mudurlugu, 2011).

³⁶ Şanlıurfa Tunnels: 5 km from the Atatürk Barrage reservoir northeast province of Şanlıurfa 26.4 km in length extending parallel to each other of the two tunnels and one of the longest irrigation tunnels in the world. Şanlıurfa, the Southeastern Anatolia Irrigation Project (GAP) is one of the most important units. Şanlıurfa-Harran plain and the water used to irrigate 4,100 square meters downstream of the exit tunnel was built at the same time Şanlıurfa Hydroelectric Power Plant is used for electricity generation. 50 MW power plants with an installed capacity of 124 million kWh of energy produced per year (DSI Genel Mudurlugu, 2011).

backwardness, cultural and social difference problems. However, IBHES project has to be performed without these purposes and in this sense it is independent from ABHES Project and other projects related to the GAP. In this context, the differences of these two projects must be listened to an expert worked in the both projects.

...It is seen that the same thing is aimed in both two projects. Firstly, they will both produce electricity, and secondly the dry farming will convert into irrigating farming. Both of the two projects are huge reputation sources by means of engineering projects. The Picture of the Atatürk Dam on the money bills shows the reputation of this. Be sure that Ilisu dam will also be on the money bills after its construction will be finished. These projects are honour sources for DSI and Turkish Engineering. Atatürk dam shows the top point of the Turkish engineering. That is why all the prime minister visits this barrage. The owners of the Ilisu dam projects and operators are Turkish Engineers, although the construction will be from more different ways. However, the main difference between these two projects is the different progress occurred in the construction period. My personal idea is that the way followed in the construction of Ilisu Dam is a deviation, from the purposes of the GAP. Today when Ilisu Dam is discussed, if the Europe is mentioned more than Turkey and “Kurd” Word is mentioned more than “Turk”, this is the biggest sign of the deviation...³⁷

³⁷ Participant (Civil Engineer), DSI, Interview with the author, 12–05–2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES Project: “...Her iki projeye de baktığın zaman aynı şeyi amaçladığını görebilirsiniz. Bunlardan birincisi her iki projenin de elektrik üretimi yapacak olması, ikincisi ise kuru tarım arazilerinin sululu tarıma açılmasıdır... Her iki projede ciddi büyük mühendislik projeleri olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti açısından büyük itibar kaynaklarıdır. Atatürk Barajı ne kadar büyük bir proje olduğunu anlatmak için paralarımızın üzerinde bile yerini almıştır. Emin olun Ilisu bitince o da bir banknot’u süsleyecektir. Bu projeler DSI için Türk mühendisliği için onur kaynaklarıdır... Atatürk Barajı tamamen Türk mühendisliğinin geldiği doruk noktayı gösterir. Bu yüzden tüm hükümetlerin tüm başbakanların bir kere gidip görmüşlüğü vardır. Ilisu barajının yapımı biraz farklı yollardan gerçekleşecek olsa da o projeyi de çizenler adını koyanlar ve şu an bile uygulayan mühendisler Türk’tür. Ancak, iki proje arasındaki asıl farklılık projelerin büyüklüğü ve altındaki imza değil yapım aşamalarındaki gelişen farklı süreçlerdir. Benim kişisel fikrim Ilisu barajı yapım aşamasında izlenen yol bir sapmadır. GAP’ın ideallerinden bir sapmadır. Bu gün Ilisu barajı denince Türkiye’den çok Avrupa’nın adı geçiyor ise bugün Ilisu barajı denilince Türk’ten çok Kürt kelimesi geçiyor ise bu sapmanın en büyük işaretidir...”

4.2.3. Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Natural Gas Pipe Line Project (BTC-OPL Project)

Firstly, it can not be said that BTC-OPL project is not a development project. It has not been a project that is mentioned with developmental expression and discussed in the scope of development since it came in sight. However, there are many different development based projects that the countries in this project presented, it not easy to specify these projects' total number. This BTC-OPL project can be represented as a Project that starts from Azerbaijan's capital city Bakû and ends up in Ceyhan town of the Adana city in Turkey, which is planned as an international infrastructure Project that the pipe lines carry in the first instance the Azeri's petroleum and the petroleum that is produced in that region to Ceyhan town and from here transport to the World markets by oil tankers. The construction of a secured transportation system that will be used in the export of petroleum to the international markets is the main purpose of this project. BTC-OPL project aims to build an economical and sustainable by means of environment secured transportation system. Expert mentions the reasons that converted BTC-OPL project to a development project below.

...When I said to people around me that I was working in BTC project, they were a little surprised. Some of them even said that I was a sociologist and what was the relation between mean a pipe line project. Further, my father thought that I was working as a translator. Actually, I could not tell my work in this project to anybody because I did not what I was going to do in the scope of this Project. I spent the first three months with training in Ankara. These training were very tough and heavy. But I understood my function in the Project at the second day. I do not forget the first statement of the project's director. He associated the BTC project to a caravan that its length is more than 2000 kilometers and carries very valuable assets, and said that there was not such a big security organization on the world that could protect this Project even it existed, it could not manage to protect and finally mentioned that we were going to protect this caravan. He was right, BTC project did such workings intended to the

social organization, and the local society protected the project.³⁸

In the scope of this thesis, it is possible to say that the BTC-OPL project is the first representative of the global development movement in Turkey, by using the above quotation. The main reason of establishing this relation is that the BTC-OPL project supplied many sources to large and small projects in its regions or activated the mechanism that could supply sources for these projects. In this sense, to mention about BTC-OPL project only as a development Project is an evaluation without taking into account lots of development referenced small or medium scaled projects that are activated in the scope of BTC-OPL project. Actually, Environment associations General Manager Güven Eken summarized best why BTC-OPL project is not only an infrastructure project.

BTC Pipe Line showed that the development and environment were not opposite concepts to each other. This project was carried out by making least effect on the environment, society and culture although it is one of the biggest investment projects in Turkey and was finished without damaging the living areas of the many living things. Environment Associates, invites all the companies in Turkey that have investments on energy and construction sectors to adjust the environment standards that BTC Project raised. BTC Pipe Line Construction has finished, and what a big happiness that environment continues to living.³⁹

As an international project, the workings of the BTC-OPL in the reference development are seemed as one-to-one matching with the new meaning of the development or the logical scope of the global development movement. There are two reason of this one-to-one matching. First of these, the activation of the global development's development agencies that aim the local development starting with

³⁸ Participant (Sociologist), TEPE NAKAP Cooperation related with BCT-OPL Project, Interview with the author, 17-06-2009, Ankara. Work in BCT-OPL and IBHES Project.

³⁹ (BTC yapıyor Doga Tarihi, 2011).

BTC-OPL project instead of the RDA that were established in the frame of national development projects and regulated the various investment activities about the such a big GAP region, in Turkey. BTC-OPL project helped to the semi-autonomous development agencies that carries out the small and medium scaled projects in the scope of local development understanding. The second reason that shows the matching of the development projects of BTC-OPL project with global development movement is the international norms and standards that the development purposed projects of BTC-OPL project based on.

In this sense, the BTC-OPL project which transports the Azeri petroleum to Mediterranean Sea, also worked for the development of the villages located on the Pipe-line. The BTC-OPL project which carried out many rural development projects mainly based on agriculture and animal-breeding on the 330 villages that are located on the Pipe-line, also shared the social and cultural activities that helped to villagers' developments with international public opinion. For example, in the 63 villages in Erzurum that are located on the Pipe-line, the global development's BKAs supported the micro projects.

Generally, BTC-OPL project supplied 36 million USD dollars financing to 10 cities, 34 towns and 330 villages located on the Pipe-line. Erzurum Sustainable Rural Development Project Coordinator Mükerrerem Kaya, describes the executions of the BTC-OPL project in the regions located on the Project area thus: "BTC, supported the infrastructure services but mainly it taught villagers to make the halva or the way of the development."⁴⁰ The specification that BTC-OPL project taught villagers to make the halva is not so correct. It is clear that global development does not have halva recipe to give to the villagers. However, the source that the BTC-OPL project gave to the villagers is an opportunity to activate the villagers own halva recipes or to make possible to reveal these halva recipes. BTC-OPL project aimed to produce possibilities to the projects that are based on the pre-specified general

⁴⁰ (BTC yanıyor Doga Tarihi, 2011).

heading in the areas affected from the project. The development and activation of the projects were totally done by the villagers. The BTC-OPL project expressed that the organic agriculture projects in a settlement area which has soil structure suitable for organic agriculture would be supported and demanded from the villagers to prepare their own projects about the organic agriculture, and supported the sustainable projects. This working style is matching with the main philosophy of the global development. The BTC-OPL project transferred the big amount of its funds to regional development agencies, which are one the biggest activators of the global development. The RDA of global development used these funds to support the micro projects of the local community.

The BTC-OPL project has four main importances for this dissertation. First of these, the BTC-OPL project transferred all the funds to the local development based project by the regional development agencies, which adopted the global development's institutional organization. These RDA specified the general development areas due to the social, cultural and environmental properties of the region and supported the projects that were prepared by the local community. The second meaning of the BTC-OPL project in this thesis is that this project tried to remove the project's negative effects to the settlement areas and natural environment by using the standards of the IFC institution. For example, all the socialization operations because of the project are done by the IFC standards.

Another example is the protection of all the living things in danger, of the region located near the project's areas. Again, projects are produced and activated to protect the archeological and architectural monuments around the project areas. The third meaning of the BTC-NOPL project in the scope of this thesis is the organizational structure that is formed to remove the cultural, social and environmental effects of the projects in the frame of the IFC standards, out of the national laws and regulations. The agreement of all the terms to form this organizational structure by the directors of this project is also important. The fourth

meaning of the BTC-OPL project in the context of this thesis is the execution of the project with the global development movement and the permissions to follow these execution's results in the social area for us. In the scope of the BTC-OPL project, the settlement areas with various executions are visited and the global development's executions are tried to be observed.

In this frame, the interviews are made with eight experts who worked in this project between 2000–2010. The three experts of this group also worked in the IBHES project. The rest experts of the group only worked in the BTC-OPL project.

4.2.4. Socar and Turcas Aegean Refinery Project (STAR Project)

It is almost impossible to think the Star project as a development project like BCT-NGPL project. In the first stage, an industrial project that the private sector mainly built for pecuniary advantages. The owner of the project summarizes the purposes of the project as follows:

- To supply continuous, economic and safely raw materials to PETKIM Petro-chemistry complex,
- To supply the rafination capacity deficit of Turkey for Ultra-Low Sulphurous Diesel and Jet Fuel, to produce the diesel and jet fuel which have supply deficit for supplying country requirements,
- To form synergy by providing the integration of petro-chemistry-refinery
- To provide added value to national economy with production, trade, employment and procuracy,
- To keep the added value and currencies, that are transferred to abroad by importing, inside the country and to support decreasing the current deficit of the country.⁴¹

⁴¹ (IFC BTC Oil Pipe Line, 2011)

It will be very natural to think that this project can not be a reference of national or global development, when the general purposes, that the owner of the project stated, are analyzed. However, the Star project can be associated with the global development indirectly because of the way that the owner of the project follows to carry out this project. This indirect relation starts with the financing demand of the owner of the project from international finance institutions to market his project real. It continues with some environmental, social and cultural standards of the project that International Finance Institutions (IFI) looks for to supply financing to project. These standards that IFI's want to give credit to project make the project related to global development at the instant, even this relation is indirect.

The standards that IFIs claim for Star project range from the standards for basic engineering design workings to the environmental sustainability and economical feasibility of the project, the protection of the environment, process security, reliableness, the enhancement of the social welfare and public opinion attendance. These standards that IFIs expected to be completed specially for his project are the main principles that will be followed in the every level of the construction and management.

The preparation of an Environmental and Social Impact Report (ESIR) was demanded by IFIs for Star project. In the frame of the ESIR report that prepared for Star project, the potential environmental and social risks and impacts around the project's area were evaluated. In the scope of this report, the sustainability of the project by developing the positive impacts and preventing the negative impacts was presented. The content of the ESIR consists of the natural environment (air, water, soil), human health and security, social traits (resettlement, socialization, local community and cultural existences), cross border and cultural environmental sides. ESIR, discusses the natural and social traits in an integrated way. It analyzed the variations of the project, national conditions, the findings of the national

environmental workings, the national environmental action plans, the political scope of the country and national regulations, the social and environmental capabilities of the project's sponsor, the responsibilities of the country due to their relation with the project activities and international environmental agreements and contracts. This ESIR, which was prepared for Star project, was directed with both the Turkish environmental and social laws and regulations and the international standards such as Ecuador Principles (EP), IFC Performance Standards and Environmental Healthy Standard (EHS). In the frame of this report, when the workings for regional development that were expected to carry out this project are analyzed, the project's obligations to make real many development based activities can be observed.

- The financing supply to the project's budget for the construction of a vocational high school in Aliğa Town,
- The preparation of a project with Izmir Regional Development Agency to supply more qualified water to Aliğa Town Centre and the financing supply to this project,
- The financing supply to the advertising of the antique Kyme city near the project area to support the agritourism,
- The financing supply to the ethnographic workings in the corporation of that region's universities about the migrants resettled to Aliğa town centre,
- To prioritize the local community for the personals who work in the construction and management stage of the project and to contribute to solution of the employment problem in the region,

The main reason of the workings mentioned above that can be seen out of the major purpose of the Star project is the requirement of the indirect impact that it has to do for the development of the region to provide the EPs and IFC Performance Standards. All of the projects that are planned to be carried out by using the ECA credit accept to provide the Equator Principles and IFC Performance Standards or to market the project development based in the scope of the social responsibility projects as a pre-term. In this sense, Star project is a development directed project, even it is indirectly. The reason to analyze this project in the scope of this thesis is to show this indirect process more detailed. In this scope, an interview is made with an expert who worked in this project in the ESIR preparation process at 2010.

4.2.5. Ağıdağı and Kirazlı Gold Mine EIA Projects (ADKGM Projects)

It is almost impossible to think the ADKGM project as a development project like BCT-OPL and Star project. At first, it can be seen as an industrial project that the private sector mainly built for pecuniary advantages. The main purpose of this project can be described as to insert the gold mines in Kirazlı and Ağıdağı villages that are tied to Çan town of Çanakkale city to the economic market. The purpose of the project is not very original from the Star project. These two projects are both private sectors' profit-oriented industrial investment projects. ADKGM also invest indirectly to the development of a region by activating civil society initiatives in the settlement areas near the project's region in the frame of civil society, like Star project. But the main difference of ADKGM from Star project is to make these investments for regional development in the scope of civil society without trying to use any IFI credit. In the ADKGM, there will be not used any credits from IFI. However, the owner of this project demands to be made all projects' workings in the international standards. The main reason to analyze this project in the scope of this thesis is that the owner of the project performed all the international project standards in ADKGM, although there was not any obligations for this situation.

The main reason of the owner's this preference is to decrease the public opinion pressure that is expected to be formed against ADKGMP. The public opinion pressure against the project provided a profit-oriented project to be carried out as a development referenced project, even it was indirectly. In this frame, an interview is made with an expert who worked in this project in the ESIR preparation process at 2010. This expert also worked in Star project.

4.3. Experts' Role in the Transformation

Development projects are described in different ways in every period. The development referenced projects are carried out by using these concepts. To follow the transformation of the development is actually to follow the transformation of these concepts. There are two possible ways to follow the conception of the concepts about the development movement. First say is to look at the letters of the development. But trying to understand the transformation of concepts due to the letters of the development will take us to the middle of a discussion. To follow the transformation of the concepts from this way will be insufficient to present the relation between development and practical realm.

Therefore, we will follow the conceptual transformation of the development movement over the practical realm or development projects or a secondary way. This preference will give us a wider perspective about the own of the transformation and make easier to present the relation between development and practical realm. From this frame, we will analyze the development and development projects, where the concepts are mostly used in, with the perspective of the experts who worked in these projects. These experts must be seen as the closest witnesses of the conceptual transformation of the development. These experts are also the agents of this transformation. So, these experts must be seen as the agents who

carried out this one-to-one transformation. But, the biggest problem is to specify how these experts converted these concepts.

We will use the conceptual dualities to specify their roles in the transformation of conceptual frame. We will try to understand how the global development's and national development's conceptual transformation was operated in the practical life by using these conceptual dualities. We will correlate all the concepts to a development perspective. We will try to follow the new meanings, transposition with other concepts and semantic shifts of the concepts that are correlated with development perspectives. We will try to do this analyze over the three conceptual dualities which are used in national and global development movements. These conceptual dualities and the development movements correlated with them are given in the Table 2.

Table.2 Conceptual Dualities and Relationality

Conceptual Dualities and Relationality		
Dualities	First Concept Relationality	Second Concept Relationality
Regional-Locality	<u>Regional</u> /The National Developmentalism	<u>Locality</u> /The Global Developmentalism
Disclosure- Participation	<u>Disclosure</u> /The National Developmentalism	<u>Participation</u> /The Global Developmentalism
Equality- Difference	<u>Equality</u> /The National Developmentalism	<u>Difference</u> /The Global Developmentalism

4.3.1 From Regionalism to the Locality

Although it can be seen as a difficult thing, at first sight, to use words regional and local interchangeably, there are many developmentalist projects where those two concepts have been used interchangeably in last two decades.

However, prior to 1980, there were almost no projects or studies regarding developmentalism with a locality emphasis. When we came 2010's, it is possible to see many projects and studies in which the two concepts were used as opposite terms. In short, the history of the relation of those two concepts unfolds many discrepancies. The statement of an expert worked in the ABHES project at early 1980's clarifies that locality is not used for developmentalism projects.

I have covered the whole GAP region. So it would be just to say that I have great deal of knowledge about localness. For instance food, especially food of Mardin, is quite tasteful.⁴²

An expert who still works at DSI expressed the usage of the concept localness at early 1980's as follows:

I started working at DSI in 1978. If they want me to write the history of DSI, I might do that after my retirement... Nowadays I have been reading books and reports about GAP. In the last book I bought there was a part saying GAP was an example of local developmentalism. However, building Atatürk Dam or Kralkızı Dam⁴³, in fact, was about getting rid of localness.⁴⁴

When we look to these two experts' statements regarding localness we clearly see that the term localness is not used in the context of developmentalism back in the beginning of 1980's. The word local generally refers to a cultural situation which is not modern. Local is a bit of countryside, the countryman and the

⁴² Participant (Agricultural Engineer), DSI, Interview with the author, 27-06-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES Project: "...GAP bölgesi tümünü gezdim neredeyse yerellikler konusunda çok bilgim var desem yeridir. Örneğin yemekler özellikle Mardin'in yemekleri çok güzeldir..."

⁴³ Kralkızı Dam: is one of the 21 dams of the Southeastern Anatolia Project of Turkey in Batman. The hydroelectric power plant has a total installed power capacity of 90 MW. These facilities are located on the Maden Stream, one of the important tributaries of the Dicle River, at a distance of 81 kilometers to Diyarbakır and 6 kilometers to the Dicle District (DSI Genel Mudurlugu, 2011-2).

⁴⁴ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), DSI, Interview with the author, 30-06-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "1978'de DSI'de işe başladım. DSI tarihini yaz derler bana belki bu sene emekli olup yazarım... GAP hakkında yazılan kitapları topluyorum raporları okuyorum bu aralar emekli olunca oturacağım masa başına ve GAP'ı yazacağım. Son aldığım kitapta GAP bir yerel kalkınmacılık örneğidir diyordu. Oysaki biz yerelliklerden kurtulmak için yaptık Atatürk Barajını, Kıralkızını..."

one that is traditional. It is not acceptable for an institution which gave life to a monumental project such as ABHES to be mentioned with the concept local. ABHES is a modernization project of a region. Thus, at early 1980's, the meaning that modernization discourse attributed to the concept of localness is full of negative connotations. These ideological emphases were also adopted and even internalized by the expert and the planner. Local food might be a good thing but the localness itself is a phenomenon that must be questioned. In 1980's, the first thing that comes to mind is language.

The first difficulty faced by the planner or the expert who comes to the region with the purpose of providing the national integrity is the problem of communication. Additionally he or she will have problems with regard to the local practices which completely clashes with the things described as modern. Local aspects are the main thing that troubles the expert and the planner and the major hindrance that prevents them from carrying out their responsibilities. More importantly, it is unlikely that they can achieve the lofty objectives determined by developmentalism without eliminating these local aspects. Words of an expert, who told what he had gone through during the nationalization process carried out within the framework of ABHES project, will reveal more clearly the national developmentalism's struggle against localness.

Expropriation in the east is a difficult task... When you go to a village for nationalization you face two problems. Explaining yourself and understanding. You might explain yourself one way or another but understanding is a huge endeavor. Failing to understand is not due to the fact that you don't know the language. All in all, what you do is nationalization and in this region almost every individual is the partner of everybody's property. In documents, a property might be owned by tens, hundreds or even thousands of people but in practice, each piece of land belong to just one person. It is impossible to

carry out an expropriation without understanding this land system in the region...⁴⁵

In 1980's, local aspects were a thing to struggle, or in other words, a problem to be overcome by the experts of national developmentalism.

I will give you a very interesting example. Atatürk Dam started to fill and was about to overflow. We said to the villagers that their village would be flooded sometime soon and that we needed to transfer them as soon as possible. All the arrangements were made, the place they will move and everything. But no! We couldn't persuade them in any way possible. One of them had died recently and the village was mourning for the person and somehow the mourning was never ending. Believe me that was unbelievable. They were going to be flooded even the snakes understood and ran away...⁴⁶

For the expert and the planner of national developmentalism, local aspects are neither understandable nor needed to be understood. The expert or the planner of national developmentalism is there to give life to a rational and positive planning logic. But local aspects cannot be understood within the limits of this reason. And to the extent of this imperceptions, it is seen as a problem to be overcome. Local aspects cannot progress within the rational understanding of this modernism. It is not quite possible to speak of the development of the local, or in other words, local development. Development is a matter of regional progress. In

⁴⁵ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), DSI, Interview with the author, 28-06-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "...Kamulaştırma Doğuda zor iştir... Bir köye kamulaştırma için gittiğinizde iki sorunla karşılaşsınız. Birincisi derdinizi anlatmak ikincisi de anlamak. Derdinizi anlatmayı bir şekilde çözersin ancak anlamak zor iştir. Anlamak dil bilmemenizden kaynaklanmaz... Sonuçta yapacağınız iş kamulaştırma ve bu bölgede herkes herkesin malına ortaktır. Kâğıt üzerinde tüm arazilerin sahibi 10'lar 100'ler hatta 1000'lerce kişi olabilir ama pratikte her toprak parçası bir kişindir. Bu toprak düzenini anlamadan kamulaştırma çalışması yapmak mümkün değildir..."

⁴⁶ Participant (Public Relation Expert), GAP, Interview with the author, 20-06-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "Çok ilginç bir örnek vereceğim size Atatürk Barajı su tutmaya başlamış bir biz köydeyiz köylülere diyoruz ki tamam artık yakında su altında kalacak köyünüz en kısa zamanda sizi taşımalıyız... Taşınacakları yer belli her şey olabildiğince hazır... Ama yok bir türlü ikna edemiyoruz... Bir ölüm olmuş ve yas var ve yas bir türlü bitmiyor... Emin olun akla sığmaz bir şey su gelecek öyle böyle değil yılanlar bile anlıyor suyun geleceğini ve kaçıyorlar..."

this sense, the concept that we can talk about for beginning of 1980's is regional development. Thus, the expert or the planner of national developmentalism don't use the term local interchangeably with regional.

Almost every plans, programmes and projects designed for Southeastern Anatolian Region within the scope of GAP or in other platforms excluded the local actors and were carried out with a centralized approach. While tens of projects planned within the framework of GAP and also tens of reports were concerned with the problem of socio-economic development of a large geographical region, local aspects were tried to be melted and destroyed.

The local aspects, in a way, perceived as a part of the problem or, in other words, as the result of the economic underdevelopment. The purpose of GAP was to economically integrate a region with the rest of Turkey. Therefore it was a regional project. It was a planning trying to bring an underdeveloped region to the economic and social development level of developed regions.

When we come to the end of 1980's, we come to see that experts and planners linked a relation between the concepts regional and local, although to a limited extent. This relation linked between the two concepts can be seen as an attempt to form a similarity. In other saying, it has been discovered that local aspects can be used to the good of national developmentalism. Local aspects considered as a situation that can be used as long as it serves to the goals of national developmentalism. If local food is tasteful, everybody should get a taste.

In fact, national developmentalism desired to share the monumental work it created with the whole country and even the whole world. ABHES project was completed mid-1990. It must be accepted that it was the greatest achievement of Turkish Republic in engineering sector. In order to present this achievement countrywide and, associate this national victory to the whole country they arranged

tours to the region. Primarily government officials, and citizens participated in these tours. First destination of these tours, of course, was ABHES project. Nevertheless, these trips somehow started to focus on local aspects in the region

We wanted everybody to visit Atatürk Dam. In this context, we arranged regular trips to the region and wanted DSI and GAP employees to be the first visitors. Afterwards, we tried to encourage the participation of citizens but visiting only Atatürk Dam wasn't found appealing and the participation was quite low. So we changed the nature of these tours and expanded it to the whole region. We specifically included historic districts in Mardin, Urfa and Adiyaman to the GAP tours. Atatürk Dam project Tours transformed into GAP cultural tours. Later on, tourism companies continued to arrange these tours. This gave us the idea of using tourism in the regional development. In every effort, GAP administration also planned tourism-oriented development projects. Cultural and local characteristics were emphasized in these tourism projects...⁴⁷

In mid-1990's, local aspects had different meanings than a situation to be struggled through touristic discoveries. Negative connotations attributed to local aspects started to transform partially. Local patterns were, at a certain degree, included to regional development. However the singularizing culture perception of nation states were still dominant. Local aspects must be intervened in situations where they threatened the ideal singularizing understanding of national developmentalism. Although national developmentalism started to use the term local in a conceptual sense, in practice local aspects were not quite acceptable.

⁴⁷ Participant (Economist), GAP, Interview with the author, 12-05-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "...Atatürk Barajı'nı herkesin ziyaret etmesini istedik. Bu çerçevede bölgeye düzenli geziler düzenledik ilk olarak tüm DSI ve GAP çalışanlarının görmesini istedik. Daha sonra bu gezilere halkın katılımını sağlamaya çalıştık ancak sadece Atatürk Barajı gezmek insanlara çok sempatik gelmedi katılım çok az oldu. Bu aşamada bu gezileri daha farklılaştırdık bölgenin tümüne yaydık özellikle Mardin, Urfa, Adiyaman'daki tarihi bölgeleri GAP gezilerine dâhil ettik. Atatürk Barajı Proje gezileri GAP kültür turlarına dönüştü. Daha sonra bu gezileri turizm şirketleri devam ettirdi. Bu bize bölgenin kalkınması için turizm kullanma fikrini verdi. GAP idaresi her çalışmasında bir turizm odaklı bir kalkınma projesi planladı. Bölgenin kültürel ve yerel özelliklerini bu turizm projelerinde öne çıkarıldı..."

...In 1992, one of my friends who worked in the same office used the word localness in a report regarding Atatürk Dam. There were some evaluations concerning the reason of failure of a project regarding stockbreeding carried out within the framework of Atatürk Dam project. GAP administration implemented projects supported milk dairying. Each household provided with two milk cows and cooperatives were established covering couple of villages. However, these cooperatives in many villages in the region didn't operate efficiently. There were problems all the time. Nevertheless there were also some parts that these cooperatives worked just fine. My friends prepared a report comparing the successful and unsuccessful examples. It was stated in the report that only two of the twelve cooperatives established were operating efficiently and those successful cooperatives were in Alevi villages. In the report, the statement that local developmentalism must be improved repeated four or five times. The parts where the word Alevi was used omitted from the report but nobody touched to the local aspects. Nobody understood that the local aspects that my friend mentioned were references to Alevi culture. For everyone who worked in GAP administration, local and regional were the same... The word Alevi was dangerous but the word local was innocent.⁴⁸

The concept local in mid-1990's occurred as a part of regional development. However, even today, the meaning of the term remains to be ambiguous. The concept local developmentalism had been used countless times in place of regional developmentalism. 1990's was a period when the meaning of local

⁴⁸ Participant (Economist), GAP, Interview with the author, 12-05-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "1992 yılında aynı ofiste çalışan bir arkadaşım Atatürk Barajı ile ilgili bir raporunda yerellik kelimesini kullanmıştı. Rapor bölgede Atatürk Barajı çerçevesinde yapılan hayvancılık ile ilgili bir projenin neden başarısız olduğunu dair bazı tespitler yapıyordu. GAP İdaresi Atatürk Barajı çerçevesinde süt inekçiliğini destekleyen projeler uygulamıştı. Her haneye iki adet süt ineği dağıtmıştı ve birkaç köyü içine alan kooperatifler kurmuştu. Ancak, bölgedeki birçok köyde bu kooperatifler hiç verimli işlemedi hep sorunlar çıktı. Ancak bazı bölgelerde ise bu kooperatifler çok verimli çalıştı. Arkadaşımda başarılı olan ve başarısız olan örnekleri karşılaştıran bir rapor hazırladı. Kurulan 12 kooperatiften sadece 2'sinin verimli çalıştığını ve verimli çalışan kooperatiflerin kurulduğu köylerin Alevi köyleri olduğunu raporunda belirtti. Raporunda ise 4-5 yerde yerel kalkınmacılığın geliştirilmesi gerektiği sözü geçti. Bu rapor içinde alevi kelimesi geçen yerler çıkartıldı ama yerelliklere kimse dokunmadı. Hiç kimse arkadaşımın bahsettiği yerelliğin alevi kültürü olduğunu anlamadı. GAP idaresinde çalışan herkes için Yerel ile bölgesel aynı şeylerdi... alevi kelimesi tehlikeli ama yerellik kelimesi çok masumdu..."

developmentalism and regional developmentalism had become the same. Most of the times, localness had been used in place of regional development as an innocent and sympathetic practice. However, ongoing conflicts based on ethnic identities in Southeastern Anatolian Region and terror activities based on these identities, restricted, to some extent, the use of the concept localness.

At the end of 1990's there were almost no projects within the scope of GAP without an emphasis on the local. For GAP to reach its objectives, it was crucial that local aspects to be included and covered. We can see in every GAP project in early 2000s that the concept of local is used.

GAP administration started to prepare project suggestion regarding social, economic, agricultural, physical and environmental sustainability since 1996. The only way to obtain European Union's and specifically MEDA's funds was to focus on sustainability. According to the information provided by GAP administration, in year 2000 European Union provided grants in the amount of 43, 5 million Euros within the framework of "GAP Regional Development Programme". In addition to that, with the 3,5 million euros of additional resource provided after the 2002 agreement, EU provided grants in the amount of 47 million euros. The substantial goals of the programme is stated as⁴⁹ :

- Creating employment opportunities and new lines of business by supporting local enterprises,
- Fully utilizing the region's social potential by developing projects regarding local development,
- Preservation of cultural heritage and improvement of touristic potential through the restoration and improvement of areas which have a rich cultural and historic heritage,

⁴⁹ (GAP Uluslararası Kuruluşlar, 2011).

- Improving the environmental conditions by creating awareness and sensitivity towards environmental subjects,

When we come to the 2000's many international institutions such as United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and European Union (EU), shared the goals of GAP's regional development and transformed them. They supported and funded many projects that will be implemented within the scope of GAP. And the administrative body of GAP started to transform its projects in accordance with the guidelines of these international institutions. Within the framework of these guidelines experts' emphasis on local aspects started to increase. In almost every project, local aspects were referred in some way.

...Foreigner's admiration towards the region was tremendous. There was an Irish Archeologist who came to the region for a European Union project. He wanted to shop in Urfa. So we took him to the Grand Bazaar. We got there in the morning. However it was evening when we left there... You can't imagine how many pictures he took... He had pictures taken almost everyone in the bazaar. He also made some drawings... After six months he came back and wanted to go Diyarbakır. He had designed a project and also secured fund from UNDP. The project was quite interesting. Reviving the traditional "puşi"⁵⁰ weaving.⁵¹

In 2000's, the emphasis on the local was dominant nationwide and not limited to the GAP project. Developmentalism projects were going through a

⁵⁰ Puşi: is a traditional headdress typically worn by Arab and Kurdish men fashioned from a square, usually cotton, scarf. It is commonly found in arid regions to provide protection from direct sun exposure, as well to protect the mouth and eyes from blown dust and sand. Its distinctive woven check pattern may have originated in an ancient Mesopotamian representation of either fishing nets or ears of grain (Nancy and Ingham, 1997, 8).

⁵¹ Participant (Civil Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 18-05-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: *"Yabancıların bölgeye hayranlıkları inanılmaz boyutlardaydı... İrlandalı bir arkeolog vardı bir Avrupa Birliği projesi için geldi bölgeye. Urfa'da alış veriş etmek istedi. Bizde ilk olarak ilk kapalı çarşıya götürdük. Kapalı çarşıya sabah girdik ancak akşam çıkabildik... Kaç resim çektiğini tahmin edemezsin... Neredeyse herkesle resim çekti. Çizimler yaptı...altı ay sonra tekrar geldi Diyarbakır'a gitmek istedi götürdük... Bir proje hazırlamış, UNDP'den kaynakta bulmuş kendi çabalarıyla... Proje ilginçti geleneksel "puşi"⁵¹ dokumacılığını yeniden canlandırmak...*

process of transformation. This transformation also triggered the transformation of the profiles of experts worked in development projects.

I was in Urfa office of GAP-GIDEM between 2001-2003... I can say that it was an interesting experience for a person who was newly graduated from university. In fact, what I do wasn't much fun but the people I meet there was quite interesting and they changed the course of my life. At those times, almost each week we had someone coming from foreign countries... People from every line of work and from almost every country. I met a lot of people from a lot of countries, from Colombians to the Koreans. When I was started working at GAP-GIDEM, I was planning to work in Urfa for a few years and then go back to Ankara. However, GAP-GIDEM changed my life. Out of the blue, I found myself to be a development expert traveling the world. It was a good thing to try to do something for people and in countries that you don't know at all. And this is why I love my job. A life-long learning process...⁵²

The change in development experts' profile also caused the development projects to transform. Executive and personnel staff of almost every development-oriented projects in Turkey was full of experts from around the world. Not just in GAP, but in many projects carried out around Turkey; people from every line of work and nationality were started to be employed. This situation also led to the transformation of the relation formed on the basis of the similarity between local aspects and regionalism. To continue adopting the approach of national developmentalism was impossible. The sustainability of national developmentalism projects no longer existed. At the early 2000's, when there was a search for foreign

⁵² Participant (Economist), GAP, Interview with the author, 11-04-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: 2001–2003 arası GAP-GIDEM Urfa ofisindeydim... Daha üniversiteden yeni mezun olmuş biri için ilginç bir deneyimdi diyebilirim... Aslında yaptığım işin çok eğlenceli olduğunu söyleyemeyeceğim ancak tanıştığım kişiler hem çok ilginçtiler hem de benim hayatımı seyrini değiştirdiler. O zamanlar neredeyse haftada bir birileri geliyordu yurtdışından... Her meslekten her ülkeden insanlar... Kolombiya'dan tutun Koreli'sine kadar tanıdım birçok farklı ülkeden insanlarla tanıştım... GAP-GIDEM'de çalışmaya başladığımda sadece 1-2 sene Urfa'da kalıp sonra Ankara'ya dönmeyi planlamıştım... Ancak GAP-GIDEM hayatımı farklılaştırdı... Bir anda kendimi dünya'yı gezen bir kalkınma uzmanı olarak buluverdim... Hiç bilmediğiniz ülkelerde hiç tanımadığınız insanlar için bir şeylere yapmaya çabalamak güzel bir şeydi ve ben bunun için seviyorum bu mesleği... Devamlı bir öğrenme süreci...

financial organizations to fund IBHES project, one of the most fundamental pillars of GAP, experts of national developmentalism had the chance of employment as long their approach towards developmentalism matched the understanding of international financial organizations. This understanding caused the relation formed on the basis of the similarity between local aspects and regionalism to transform. Actually, in a manner of speaking, the concept of local was transforming.

...I am against suggesting things on the basis of models that we created in our minds. Thus, local aspects are important for me. The thing we tried to do in BCT project was to give the opportunity to reveal people's own potential. We don't ask people to set aside their potentials and start over. This kind of mentality creates irreversible effects on people. What I observed in Turkey that you advise people to forget. But remembering is way too important. In some of the settlements covered by the BCT project, they planned a beekeeping project which required the distribution of beehives and beekeeping training. However, the nature of beekeeping in these villages is a little different... Villagers in these settlements uses a traditional method in which they make their own hives and produces high quality honey. While there is a lot to learn from them, teaching and training them doesn't seem quite right. So we changed the original project and designed a project that guarantees the purchase of the honey that they are going to make with their traditional methods with high prices and provided the cost of their 2-year production in advance. In short, we indebted honey producers on the basis of honey. In those settlements, we saw that the production quintupled...⁵³

⁵³ Participant (Agricultural Economist), TPAO-BTC-OPL, Interview with the author, 18-03-2011, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL: *"Ben kendi kafamızda kurduğumuz modeller üzerinden insanlara bir şeyler önermeye karşıyım. Yerellikler benim için bu nedenle önemli BCT-OPL projesinde yapmaya çalıştığımız insanların kendi potansiyellerini ortaya çıkarmaları için onlara fırsat vermektir. İnsanların sahip oldukları potansiyelleri bir kenara bırakarak yeniden başlamalarını istemiyoruz. Bu tür bir anlayış insanlar üzerinde geri dönülmez etkiler yaratıyor. Türkiye'de gördüğüm insanlara unutmaları öğütlediğiniz ama bence hatırlamak çok daha önemli... BCT-OPL projesinin etkilediği yerleşim yerlerinin bazılarında arıcılık projesi planlamışlar ancak bu proje köylere arı kovanı dağıtılmasını ve arıcılık eğitim verilmesini öngörüyordu. Oysaki bu köylerde arıcılık farklı dinamiklerle işliyor... Bu köylerde yaşayan insanlar kovanlarını kendileri yaptıkları geleneksel bir metot uyguluyor ve çok kaliteli bir bal üretiyorlar. Bizim öğreneceğimiz çok şey varken bir şey öğretmek bana çok doğru gelmiyor. Biz önerilen projeyi biraz farklılaştırdık kovan yerine geleneksel metotlarla üretecekleri bal için yüksek fiyatla alım garantisi veren bir proje planladık ve daha balı üretmeden peşin olarak 2 yıllık*

Experts of national developmentalism acted according to the prescriptions they had. However, the global developmentalism did not have that kind of prescriptions. Not just the funding resource but also the methods and experts, too, internationalized in global developmentalism. If we look to the experts we will see this difference more clearly. The flux of foreign experts made it clear that the concept of local development will not be able to define regional development. Statement of a British expert presents us the fact of how foreign experts contributed to the quantitative and qualitative transformation of the concept localness.

...It is true that people who work in development projects move a lot. For my part, I traveled more than 50 countries for the projects I worked. In most of these projects I worked as a social impact assessment expert or as an evaluation expert in some projects. The projects that I worked generally carried out in rural areas. What they asked me to do was always this (or that was what I thought on how I should carry out my assignments): Go out to the fields and see what we don't see in these desks. I know that my job is very difficult and what I do is directly related with people's lives. Therefore I always work with local experts. I try to show my point of view and try to understand the places I go through them. In my experience, I can say that in everywhere you go you encounter different and unique cases. When the subject in question is human, there is no way that you can be prepared...⁵⁴

üretimlerinin parasını ödedik. Kısacası, bal üreticilerini bize bal üzerinden borçlandırdık. Yerleşim yerlerinde üretimin 5 kat artığını gördük..."

⁵⁴ Participant (Environmental Engineer), GOLDER Associates, Interview with the author, 18-03-2011, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL: "Kalkınmacılık projelerinde görev alanların devamlı hareket halinde oldukları doğrudur. Kendim için konuşacak olursam 50'nin üzerinde ülkede belirli projeler için gittim. Bu projelerin birçoğu sosyal etki değerlendirmesi uzmanı olarak veya çeşitli kalkınmacılık projeleri için değerlendirme uzmanı olarak görev aldım. Görev aldığım projelerde genelde kırsal bölgelerde yürütülmekteydi. Benden istenen hep şu oldu (veya ben görevimin hep bu şekilde yürütmem gerektiğini düşündüm) git ve masa başında göremediklerimizi gör. Zor bir iş yaptığımı biliyorum ve bu yaptığım işin insanların yaşamları ile doğrudan ilgili olduğunu da ve bu yüzden devamlı yerel uzmanlarla beraber çalışırım. Bakış açımı onlara aktarmaya ve onlar sayesinde gittiğim yerleri

The expert profile that acts with the point of view that thinks it is impossible to be prepared when the subject is human and tries to solve this state of unpreparedness by depending on the knowledge of the local is now prevalent. This point of view increases and improves the capacity of depending on the knowledge of the local and working together with them.

On my part, YDHES has been one of the most educational projects. In the context of this project I clearly understood once more that how important local aspects are. I had thought that experts who advised us in BCT project were too pragmatist but the thing we had with a foreign expert in Yusufeli project showed me the value of the local knowledge. As part of YDHES, we were designing the resettlement project of Yusufeli district. Our friends were designing a new district centre for Yusufeli would be flooded with dam water. The biggest wish of Yusufeli residents was to have a broad area where they would have their traditional bull fighting annually. But we were against these kind of activities due to its unsuitability to modern urban lifestyle and animal rights. Some of the experts stated that they would definitely not give permission to a violent practice such as bull fighting and opposed the request of Yusufeli residents. There were also people among the staff saying that it was an opportunity to get rid of from bull fighting. However, a Finnish expert came to Yusufeli to supervise our work. We explained our efforts and asked the expert's opinion regarding bull fighting. This Finnlander expert wanted to see the region and the district and informed us that he would present an assessment report three days later. We didn't take it seriously the report we read three days later presented an important approach to our greatest problem. It was explained in the report that bull fighting was not just an entertainment or ritual for the people of Yusufeli but also something that had economic foundations. And in the language of people living in Yusufeli.

tanımaya çalışırım... Deneyimlerinden hareketle size şunu söyleyebilirim her yerde farklı bir durumla karşılaşılıyorsunuz. Odağınız insan olunca hazırlıklı olmanın imkânı yok..."

He was saying that bull fighting in Yusufeli, had economic foundations. The roads used by people and bulls were quite narrow because of the fact that Yusufeli had a very mountainous geography. In many times, bulls have to come face to face in these narrow roads and fight to the death. And there were no way to prevent this. This was merely a result of the bulls' instincts. Bulls fighting in these narrow roads surrounded by cliffs perish most of the times after falling off the cliffs. In Yusufeli arranging regular bull fights was a way of preventing this situation. Bulls who got familiar with each other in these tournaments avoided fights in narrow roads because they knew who the superior was. So bulls don't perish in narrow roads of Yusufeli district and the locals don't suffer economic losses. In short, the fundamental motivation of bull fighting tournaments is economic. Bull fighting tournaments are not a violent practice but an economic activity arising from local conditions.

The Finnish expert confirmed this with many statements of the local community. For instance, five years ago, the mayor

thwarted the bull fighting tournament and that year almost no breeding bulls left in Yusufeli district...⁵⁵

Global developmentalism's emphasis on local aspects triggers a qualitative change in developmentalism. After this change, local aspects became the main element of the project. National developmentalism considers the local only as a variant that must be noticed in development. Project designing process must be planned on the basis of this variant, and this must be the way how local aspects included to the projects. In an environment where there are many variants, the local is just one of them. In this sense, individualities of local aspects are always

⁵⁵ Participant (Environmental Engineer), ENCON Environmental Consultancy, Interview with the author, 18-04-2011, Ankara. Work in IBHES and BTC-OPL: *"Benim için çok öğretici projelerden birisi YBHES projesi olmuştur. Yerel olanın ne kadar önemli olduğunu bu proje kapsamında birçok kereler daha net anladım. BCT-OPL projesi çerçevesinde birçok kere çok bize danışmanlık yapan veya bizi yönlendiren uzmanların çok işgüzar olduklarını düşünmüştüm ancak yine Yusufeli projesinde bir yabancı uzman ile beraber yaşadığımız bir olay beni yerel olanın bilgisinin ne kadar değerli olduğunu bana gösterdi: YBHES kapsamında Yusufeli ilçesinin yeniden yerleşim projesini hazırlıyoruz. Yusufeli ilçesi tamamen baraj gölü altında kalacağı için yeni bir ilçe merkezinin tasarımını yapıyor arkadaşlar. Yusufeli ilçesinde yaşayanlar en büyük istekleri geleneksel olarak her yıl yaptıkları Boğa Güreşleri için geniş bir alanın yeni yerleşecekleri yerde de olması ancak biz bu tür aktivitelerin modern kent yaşamına ve hayvan haklarına uymadığı için karşı çıkıyoruz. Bazı uzman arkadaşlar kesinlikle Boğa Güreşi gibi vahşi bir uygulamaya izin vermeyeceklerini belirtiyorlar ve Yusufeli ilçesinde yaşayanların bu isteklerine karşı çıkıyorlar. Hatta Boğa Güreşi geleneğinin ortadan kalkması için bu bir fırsattır diyenler bile vardı aramızda. Ancak bir Finlandiyalı bir uzman yapılan çalışmaları denetlemek için geldi Yusufeli ilçesine biz yapılanları aktardık kendisine ve Boğa Güreşleri ile fikrini sorduk. Finlandiyalı uzman arkadaş alanı ve ilçeyi gezmek istedi ve üç gün sonra tüm yapılan çalışmaları değerlendirecek bir raporu bize sunacağını bildirdi. Biz çok ciddiye almadık ancak üç gün sonra okuduğumuz rapor en büyük sorunumuza çok kritik bir yaklaşım getiriyordu. Boğa güreşlerinin Yusufeli de yaşayan insanlar için anlamının sadece bir sıradan eğlence, bir ritüel olmadığını ekonomik temellerini anlatıyordu. Hem de birebir Yusufeli ilçesinde yaşayanların dilinden. "Yusufeli ilçesindeki Boğa Güreşlerinin ekonomik temelleri olduğunu aktarıyordu. Yusufeli çok dağlık bir coğrafya sahip olduğu için insanların ve boğaların kullandığı yollar çok dardır. Boğalar bu dar yollarda birçok kez karşı karşıya gelirler. Bu karşılaşmalarda birbirlerine saldırırlar ve ölümüne kavga ederler bunu engellemenin yolu yoktur. Boğaların sahip olduğu bir içgüdü'nün gereğidir bu. Uçurumlar ile dolu dar yollarda kavga eden boğalar çoğu kez uçurumdan düşerek telef olurlar. Yusufeli ilçesinde bunu engellemek için her yıl düzenli olarak boğa güreşi turnuvaları yapılır. Bu turnuvalarda birbirlerini tanıyan boğalar uçurumlar ile dolu dar yollarda birbirlerini gördükleri zaman kimin üstün olduğunu bildikleri yani birbirlerini tanıdıkları için kavgadan kaçınırlar. Bu sayede dar ve uçurumlarla dolu Yusufeli ilçesinde boğalar telef olmaz bölge halkı ekonomik kayba uğramaz. Kısacası boğa güreşi turnuvalarının temel amacı ekonomiktir. Boğa Güreşi turnuvaları vahşice bir uygulama değil yerel koşullardan kaynaklı ekonomik bir aktivitedir. Finlandiyalı uzman bu görüşünü yerel halktan birçok kişinin ağızından doğruluyordu. Örneğin bundan 5 sene önce belediye başkanı hayvan haklarını savunan örgütlerin baskısı ile Boğa Güreşlerini yaptırmamış o sene Yusufeli ilçesinde neredeyse damızlık boğa kalmamış..."*

avored in national developmentalism projects. However, this favoring is adopted after it was filtered through the modernist approach of national developmentalism. But in Global developmentalism, local aspects are the main factor of projects. How we can reach to the knowledge of local aspects? How local aspects will become directly a part of projects? The way of reaching this knowledge according to global developmentalism is to see local aspects as the principal element and propellant of the project. In this context, global developmentalism transforms the concept of participation. We will try to analyze how local aspects included to development projects and how national developmentalism's informing mentality turned into learning.

4.3.2. From Disclosure to Democratic Participation

It is possible to observe the transformation in developmentalism projects in certain sectors from 1950's until today. Even by just reading executive summaries, general introduction of these projects, we can see the transformation in developmentalism projects. Even comparing summaries of some projects carried out within the scope of national developmentalism's mentality to summaries of projects carried out within the scope of global developmentalism's mentality will make it possible for us to see the transformation in certain points. When you look at the project budget and the budget resource sections in the first page of executive summaries, you will clearly see the traces of the transformation. The organization that funds the low budget projects of global developmentalism generally happens to be an international organization. On the other hand, the founder of national developmentalism's high budget projects is nation states. If you look at to the last page of these project summaries you may catch a different dimension of this transformation. Although there will be signatures that belong to people from various nationalities in the last page of a global developmentalism project summary, similarity of signatories' names in the last page of national developmentalism project reports will attract your attention. This transformation that you noticed in

the development project summaries by only allocating a few minutes has a special significance more than it seems.

The transformation in developmentalism can be explained even only by referring to the internationalization of project finance. But in order to understand this transformation in terms of practical realm, we need read the project summaries more thoroughly. When we are conducting these thorough readings, an unyielding discrepancy between the two developmentalism approaches will catch your attention. This difference is the fact that a section will be covered quiet extensively in global developmentalism whereas national developmentalism might allocate no space for the same section. In global developmentalism, the section participation has an extensive coverage. In fact, this is a section that must be thoroughly read to understand the relation of global developmentalism with local aspects.

The thing we considered most important in resettlements that we carried out in the context of ABHES project was the people's participation. To the best of our ability, we informed the people to make sure they didn't lose their legal rights and we did our best to provide the best conditions. However, because the educational profile was so life, we were incapable of informing the people properly regarding their rights within the context of resettlement. It was clear that there were several setbacks but that was what we could do. We were carrying out the regulations, provided by the state, to the letter...⁵⁶

All resettlement efforts carried out within the context of GAP, were implemented according to the national regulation. Resettlement in Turkey, is

⁵⁶ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 13-02-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "ABHES projesi kapsamında yaptığımız yeniden yerleşimlerde en önem verdiğimiz şey yeniden yerleşimin halkın katılımı ile olmasıydı. Elimizden geldiğince yasal haklarını kaybetmemeleri için halkı bilgilendiriyor ve onların en iyi şartlara kavuşması için elimizden geleni yapıyorduk. Ancak, bölgede eğitim durumu çok düşük olduğu için birçok kere bölge halkına yeniden yerleşim çerçevesinde sahip oldukları hakları ne olduğuna dair bilgi vermekte yetersiz kalıyorduk. Bazı eksiklikler olduğu kesindi ama yinede elimizden gelen buydu. Biz devletin bize verdiği mevzuata göre her şeyi eksiksiz yapıyorduk."

carried out in accordance with two different laws and related guidelines. The first of these laws is The Law of Expropriation and the second one is The Law of Settlement. People's participation to the project will take place to the extent that the regulation permits.

The major difference between Ilisu Project and Atatürk Dam projects originated from the related regulations. In ABHES, we applied all the procedures in accordance with these regulations. Expropriation lands that were going to be inundated. We paid the cost of expropriated lands to the landowners and picked a new settlement area for the households in the flood region and moved them to the new settlements. Of course they had the choice of moving or not moving to these new settlements. We provided long term agricultural loans for people who moved to the new settlement. We built their houses and done everything else that we could do within the limits of the current regulations to provide a modern and untroubled life for these people. Of course the project Ilisu project required much more participation that we cannot compared it to Atatürk Dam Project. In Ilisu Project, as a requirement of the agreement we made with credit institutions, determination of the place to be resettled was left directly to the people and the costs of nationalizations were being questioned. It also required the formation of participation mechanisms such as setting up village resettlement committees in every settlement and making that the resettlement was organized by those committees. These obligations were a set of requests that we could not realize with the regulations available. Many people who were saying that there had to be legislative changes, and

even constitutional amendments to meet these obligations became a nightmarish nuisance in DSİ...⁵⁷

The greatest novelty brought to the developmentalism projects by global developmentalism was the principle of participation. The thing that unlocks the transformation of national developmentalism projects was the principle of participation. It was the principle of participation that made it possible for an expert, who came from Finland to a country without knowing the language, to discover the relation between the regional economy and bull fighting tournaments organized in a region which is one of the hardest places to reach in Turkey.

Everybody was appalled. An anthropologist came from thousands of miles away showed us that a cultural situation we defined as cruelty in Yusufeli was not at all about violence or cruelty. At first we thought that he was interested in bull fighting. Afterwards, when I got close with him, I got the chance of asking how he understood the real nature of the case here. His answer was quite simple but surprising as much: I have read the transcripts of Focus Group interviews

⁵⁷ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 16-03-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES: *"İlisu Projesi ve Atatürk Barajı projeleri arasında en büyük fark yeniden yerleşim ile ilgili mevzuattan kaynaklanmaktaydı. ABHES projesinde biz tüm prosedürleri bu mevzuata göre yaptık. Su altında kalacak arazileri kamulaştırdık. Kamulaştırılan arazilerin bedellerini sahiplerine ödedik ve su altında kalan haneler için farklı bölgelerde bir yeniden yerleşim alanı seçtik ve haneleri bu yeniden yerleşim yerine taşıdık. Tabii ki yeniden yerleşim yerine gitmek veya gitmemek bu insanların seçimleri idi. Belirlediğimiz yeni yerleşimlere gidenlere uzun vadeli tarımsal krediler verdik. Konutlarını yaptık kısacası elimizdeki mevzuatın bize izin verdiği ölçüde bu insanlara daha modern ve sıkıntısız bir hayat kurmak için çabaladık. Ancak tabii ki IBHES projesi ABHES projesi ile karşılaştırmayacak kadar daha fazla katılımı öngörüyordu. Bizim IBHES projesinde kredi kuruluşlarına yaptığımız anlaşmalar gereği öncelikle yeniden yerleşim yerinin seçimini direk halka bırakıyordu ikincisi kamulaştırma bedellerini sorguluyordu. Hatta her yerleşim yerinde köy yeniden yerleşim⁵⁷ komiteleri kurulmasını ve yeniden yerleşimin bu komiteler tarafından organize edilmesi gibi birçok farklı katılım mekanizmasını oluşturulmasını zorunlu kılıyordu. Bu zorunluluklar bizim tabii olduğumuz mevzuat hayata geçirilemeyecek isteklerdi. Ortada bu zorunlulukları yerine getirmek için kanun değişikliklerine gidilmesi gerektiğini hatta bu zorunlulukların ancak Anayasa değişikliği ile yerine getirilebileceğini söyleyen birçok insan DSİ'nin korkulu rüyası haline gelmişti."*

regarding the thoughts of Yusufeli residents about resettlement...”⁵⁸(See details page:155-156).

Global developmentalism was progressing in full speed. It was transforming all concepts of national developmentalism and moving forward. Experts turned into anthropologists who listens to the people in IBHES project from engineers who informs them about their rights in ABHES project.

...We need to accept that we, as DSİ, had our own mistakes during the process of Ilisu project. But we were not the only one responsible. When we had been granted loan we did our best and since we were going to deal with a situation we didn't have much experience, we made a request regarding the employment of sociologists and anthropologist in DSİ but the Ministry of Finance responded to our request only 1 year later. Their respond was also interesting. They said that DSİ was a technical institution but the personnel we requested were not. So they denied our request. You see, I am an agricultural engineer and so are the people in other rooms. Upstairs, in the department of dams, there are constructional engineers. What they expected from us didn't match with our training and DSİ culture. With all due respect, we did our best...⁵⁹

All projects designed with an understanding of global developmentalism, needed sociologists, anthropologists and public relation experts. Global

⁵⁸ Participant (Environmental Engineer), ENCON Environmental Consultancy, Interview with the author, 18-04-2011, Ankara. “...Herkes şok olmuştu. Binlerce kilometre uzaktan gelen bir antropolog Yusufeli’nde bizim vahşilik olarak tanımladığımız bir kültürel durumun hiç de vahşice olmadığını göstermişti. Önceleri boğa güreşlerine ilgisi olduğunu düşündük. Sonradan biraz yakınlaşınca ben sordum nasıl anlamıştı nereden bulmuştu. Cevabı basitti ama bir o kadar da şaşırtıcı idi. Sizin Yusufeli’de yaşayan insanlarla yaptığınız yeniden yerleşim ile ilgili görüşlerini almak için düzenlediğiniz Odak Grup görüşmelerinin kayıtlarını okudum dedi...”

⁵⁹ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), DSİ, Interview with the author, 22-03-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES: “...Kabul etmek lazım bizim de DSİ olarak Ilisu sürecinde hatalarımız oldu. Ama tek suçlu biz değiliz. Ilisu için kredi bulununca biz gereklerini yerine getirmek için elimizden geleni yaptık ama bilmediğimiz bir işin içine girdik biz bilen insanları alalım dedik DSİ’ye sosyolog, antropolog kadroları istedik ama Maliye bakanlığından 1 yıl sonra cevap ancak aldık. Cevapta ilginçti DSİ’nin teknik bir kurum olduğu ancak istenen personelin ise teknik personel olmadığı için karşılanamayacağı gibi bir şeydi. Şimdi ben ziraat mühendisiyim, yan odadakilerde benim gibi... üst katta barajlar dairesinde inşaat mühendisleri var... Bizden beklenen bizim aldığımız eğitime, DSİ kültürüne uyuşmadı. Kimse kusura bakmasın elimizden bu kadar geldi...”

developmentalism completely set aside the idea of implementing development projects without getting access to the knowledge of local aspects. Actually, global developmentalism that considers local aspects as the main element of development, were also transforming the sociological and anthropological perception regarding local aspects. Global developmentalism was transforming the sociology and anthropology's nostalgic approaches towards local cultures that drifted away from their origins and lost their originality. What the global developmentalism was expecting from anthropology and sociology was to reveal the local aspects that react to the global instigations. It needed a kind of anthropology and sociology that emphasizes the creative and enriching qualities of the reaction of local aspects. For this kind of sociology, the dialogue with the local, that is the respond given by the local, was becoming more important than the local themselves. Global developmentalism approach to the local was no longer a nostalgic point of view.

...During the period I worked in BCT, I saw many incidents which I didn't approve. When you go to a settlement, the first question that you need to ask, according to the standards of WB, is that whether the people living in the village comply with the 7. Performance standard⁶⁰ of IFC. In fact, even I fit to the indigenous people definition made by that standard... We are Tatarians. Both my mother and father. If you have a look at my eyes you will see that... Even us would be considered under this standard and protected, provided they set up a

⁶⁰ Performance Standard 7 recognizes that Indigenous Peoples, as social groups with identities that are distinct from dominant groups in national societies, are often among the most marginalized and vulnerable segments of the population. Their economic, social and legal status often limits their capacity to defend their interests in, and rights to, lands and natural and cultural resources, and may restrict their ability to participate in and benefit from development. They are particularly vulnerable if their lands and resources are transformed, encroached upon by outsiders, or significantly degraded. Their languages, cultures, religions, spiritual beliefs, and institutions may also be under threat. These characteristics expose Indigenous Peoples to different types of risks and severity of impacts, including loss of identity, culture, and natural resource-based livelihoods, as well as exposure to impoverishment and disease. Private sector projects may create opportunities for Indigenous Peoples to participate in, and benefit from, project-related activities that may help them fulfill their aspiration for economic and social development. In addition, this Performance Standard recognizes that Indigenous Peoples may play a role in sustainable development by promoting and managing activities and enterprises as partners in development. (IFC P_S_7_IndigenousPeoples, 2011)

pipe line through our village. Our project coordinator was a British and included every Alevi villages to standard 7, included every Shafii village to standard 7... So we arranged participation meetings almost every day and in every village as a requirement of the standard. Because of the project, we went ten times to a village we supposed to go once. For this kind of villages, we had to refer to special practices. On the other hand the villagers too find it odd. In short, they became what they weren't...⁶¹

Global developmentalism were considering participation as a participation limited to people. Participation, for a global developmentalism project meant a multilayered process. Including all the stakeholders to the project was solving substantially the representation problem of local aspects. In a way Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) were the institutionalized body of the local. In this context including non-governmental organizations to the projects was a solution to the legitimization problem of the local.

It was a project that was being carried out through the project owner's instruction since it was a very risky project. The project owner had the means of implementing the project by depending on his own resources and without the need of any outside resources. Although the project owner had no obligation, he requested a social impact evaluation in the standards of IFC in order to lessen the reactions occurred, recently in Turkey, along with the whole world, against mining projects, specifically gold extraction activities by using cyanide. Their priority was to maintain the participation. It wasn't likely that he would be able to extract the ore that worth millions of dollars without the local community's

⁶¹ Participant (Environmental Engineer), GOLDR Associates, Interview with the author, 14-07-2010, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL: "BCT'de çalıştığım dönemde hiç tasvip etmediğim birçok olayla karşılaştım. Bir yerleşim yerine gittiğinizde Dünya Bankası standartlarına göre ilk sormanız gereken soru bu köyde yaşayanlar acaba IFC'nin 7. Performans Standardı'na⁶¹ uyuyor mu? Aslında o standart'ın yaptığı Indigenous People tanımına ben de uyuyorum... Biz Tatarız annem Tatar, babam Tatar gözlerime bakınca anlarsın zaten... Şimdi bizim köyden boru hattı geçse inan bizi de bu standart çerçevesinde görüp koruyup kollarlar... Bizim proje koordinatörümüz bir İngiliz di her alevi köyünü standart 7'ye dâhil etti. Her şafi köyünü standart 7'ye dâhil etti... Tabi bizde standart gereği neredeyse tüm köyler de her gün her gün katılım toplantısı yaptık. Proje gereği bir kere gitmemiz gereken köye on kere gittik. Bu köyler için özel uygulamalar çıktı başımıza... Köylülerde artık şaşırıyor adamın biri geliyor her gün hal hatır soruyor... Kısacası adamlar olmadıkları şey oldular..."

consent. In the field, we tried to analyze the people's opinion towards the project. There weren't too many people who opposed except for the village that would be affected from the project. The village was worried about their highly productive farm lands which might be affected by the cyanide. There were no non-governmental organizations in the region that campaigned against the project. Only couple of political party representatives were expressing that they would not let that to happen when talking with their friends in the region. There wasn't much to do... The project owner was conducting social responsibility projects and we were looking for nongovernmental organizations that might have an interest in the project. We couldn't come up with much results. We found some executives from two different parties and some unionists and arranged several meetings and made evaluations about the project...⁶²

Multilayered participation aspect of global developmentalism made it possible for NGO's to be included in the projects. Especially in projects with high environmental risks, there was a broad participation of nongovernmental organizations. The participation of nongovernmental organization was considered as a mechanism of approval for projects. We need to say that with globalization, nongovernmental organizations, too, were internationalized. In this sense, the extent of the NGO's participation in projects were varying according to the nature of the project. It was possible to see NGO's, organized and operating at a local, national and international level, in developmentalism projects. Many NGO's,

⁶² Participant (Environmental Engineer), GOLDER Associates, Interview with the author, 15-07-2010, Ankara. Work in AGKGMP: *"Riskli bir proje olduğu için proje sahibinin talepleri doğrultusunda gerçekleştirilen bir projeydi. Proje sahibi herhangi bir kaynağa ihtiyaç duymadan kendi öz kaynakları ile projeyi hayata geçirebilecek kapasiteye sahipti. Dünyanın her yerinde olduğu gibi Türkiye'de son yıllarda maden projelerine özellikle siyanür ile Altın çıkartma faaliyetlerine karşı geliştirilen tepkiyi kırmak için proje sahibi hiçbir zorunluluğu olmamasına rağmen IFC standartlarında bir sosyal etki değerlendirmesi çalışması istedi bizden. Öncelikleri katılımı sağlamaktı. Bölge halkı olur vermeden toprağın altındaki milyar dolarlık cevheri çıkarması pek imkânlı görülüyordu. Sahada yerel halkın projeye bakışını tespit etmeye çalıştık. Projeden etkilenecek bir köy dışında çok karşı çıkan yoktu. O köyde çok verimli tarım arazilerinin siyanürden etkileneceği kaygısını taşıyordu... Bölgede projeye karşı kampanya yürüten sivil toplum örgütü bulunmuyordu... Sadece bazı siyasi parti temsilcileri olmaz yaptırılmaz gibi söylemlerini eş dost muhabbetlerinde dile getiriyorlardı... çok yapılacak bir şey yoktu proje sahibi sosyal sorumluluk projeleri yapıyor biz de bir şekilde bölgede proje ile ilgilenecek sivil toplum örgütü arıyorduk. Aramalarımız çok sonuç vermedi. İki farklı partiden yöneticiler ve birkaç bölgedeki fabrikalardan sendikacı bulup toplantılar yaptık projeyi değerlendirdik..."*

organized at a local and national level, were included in the developmentalism projects as agents or voices of international NGO.

It is clear that WB and other international financial organizations consider the participation of NGOs in developmentalism projects as a local necessity⁶³. All the subsidiaries of WB and other international financial organizations consider the increased participation of NGOs and the emphasis on importance of democratization as a necessity for the collaboration of diversified segments.

...In the social impact evaluation carried out within the scope of ADKAMP project, we saw that there was a small group of settled Pomaks in of the settlements. In our research, we mentioned this group briefly because it was a group that got used to living with emigrees which was another ethnic group lived in the settlement. There weren't much differences between the two groups and even they didn't recognized themselves as a different group. After all these two groups immigrated to Turkey from Bulgaria in 1930s lived together before the migration. As I said, we mentioned briefly. However, our report didn't get approval due to the fact the Pomaks weren't included democratically to the participation mechanism. Although we indicated several times that there was a good solidarity between the two groups, they asked us to repeat the participation activities in a way that this group would be effectively included. They referred to the Aarhus Convention as a criterion and ask us to repeat our work...⁶⁴

⁶³ Nongovernmental organizations and other organizations of civil society (NGOs) are important actors in the development process. These organizations can make important contributions toward ensuring that the views of local people are taken into

⁶⁴ Participant (Environmental Engineer), GOLDER Associates, Interview with the author, 15-07-2010, Ankara. Work in AGKGMP: "...ADKAMP projesi çerçevesinde sosyal etki değerlendirmesi çalışmasında yerleşim yerlerinden birinde ufak bir grup Pomak⁶⁴ yerleşik olduğun gördük. Biz yaptığımız araştırmada bu gruptan çok kısaca bahsettik çünkü proje çerçevesinde köyde yaşayan diğer bir etnik grup olan muhacir'ler⁶⁴ ile bir arada yaşamaya alışmış bir gruptu iki grup arasında bir farklılık yoktu hatta kendileri bile bu ayrımı yapmıyorlardı. Zaten 1930'larda Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye göç eden bu iki grup göç etmeden önce de birlikte yaşıyorlardı. Dediğim gibi çok kısaca bahsettik. Ancak, raporumuz ve bu rapor çerçevesinde yaptığımız çalışmalarda Pomak grubu demokratik katılım mekanizmalarına dahi etmediğimiz için onaylanmadı. Biz bu iki grup arasında çok iyi bir dayanışma olduğunu defalarca belirtsek de o zamana kadar yaptığımız tüm katılım aktivitelerini bu grubun etkin katılımı sağlayacak şekilde tekrarlamamızı istediler... Hatta Aarhus sözleşmesini bize kıstas olarak sundular ve çalışmalarımızı tekrar etmemizi istediler..."-

Participation efforts in global developmentalism projects are not an ostensible section mentioned in executive summaries. It is put into practice in every work being done within the scope of the project. Global developmentalism projects are created theoretically in the context of these participation activities.

4.3.3. From Equality to Diversity

National developmentalism projects approached development from an equalist point of view. This understanding of equality, along with the nation state's organizational structure surrounding the economic, social and cultural life remained dominant until 1980's. National developmentalism projects pushed all the diversities in a large geography into indistinctness within the understanding of spatial and social justice, and in a way, made them invisible. In the process continued until 1980s, diversities were seen as a threat or an external element by the centralized organization structure of nation states. After 1980's, localities were not considered as a threat or external elements. Disorganized structure of global developmentalism connected or included these external elements within the limits of its capacity. The developmentalism approach that national developmentalism maintained until 1980's through the concept of equality began to transform. The transformation of this structure that excludes diversities and sees them as a threat underlined and used the concept diversity in developmentalism. The shift from equality to diversity presented a pattern from national developmentalism towards global developmentalism

...Within the framework of ABHES project, many villages resettled. We placed most of villages to Western Anatolia and there were also villages that we replaced to Samsun. When we were carrying out these resettlements I had some personal reservations. I asked many questions to myself regarding how they would survive in so different places. My answers were generally various. But I always adopted an attitude suggesting this kind of resettlement wasn't supposed to take place. I wasn't comfortable sending people to places

located miles away and which they didn't know. But when I look at my family's history I see another migration story that I am not comfortable with. I always remember that the relation of my parents with this country starts with a similar forced migration. They migrated from Yugoslavia years ago. And now, here I am, in these lands. Haven't we all somehow started our relations with this country in a similar way. I won't say that it is something pleasant but we move one way or another. Sometimes because of wars, sometimes dams and sometimes other reasons. If I am working for my bread and butter, if my family manages to get by coming from far away lands, other people too can do that...⁶⁵

It might be true that everybody living in Turkish Republic has a story of migration. However, for an expert who worked in ABHES, the most important project of national developmentalism movement, to equalize every individual living in Turkish Republic on the basis of this kind of migration stories is quite significant. This attempt to maintain equality indicates how the national developmentalist point of view also affects the expert's approach. The same expert's statement regarding a village whose people were forced to emigrate within the context of GAP explains the attempt of equalizing more clearly.

...DSİ has been criticized quite a lot. There are even people who sees GAP as an effort to tame Kurds. That might be true from time to time. I worked in GAP for many years. I can say that I have dedicated my life to the project. So I know exactly

⁶⁵ Participant (Architecture), GAP, Interview with the author, 12-04-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: *"...Atatürk Barajı çerçevesinde çok köy yer değiştirdi. Bu köylerden birçoğunu Batı Anadolu'ya yerleştirdik Samsun'a yerleştirdiğimiz yerler bile vardı. Bu Yeniden yerleşimleri yaparken kişisel tereddütlerim olmadı değil. Bu insanların çok farklı coğrafyalarda nasıl hayatta kalacaklarına dair birçok soruyu kendime sordum hani kendime verdiğim cevaplar çeşitlidir. Ancak hep bu tür yeniden yerleşimlerin olmaması gerektiğine yönelik bir tavırım olmuştur. İnsanların hiç bilmediği, yüzlerce kilometre ötede de bir yere göndermek içime çoğu zaman sinmemiştir. Ancak kendi ailemin tarihine baktığım zaman içime sindiremediğim başka bir göç hikâyesi ile karşılaşıyorum. Hep, benim annemin, babamın da bu ülkeyle kurduğu ilişki bu tür bir zorunlu göçle başladığını hatırlarım... Yugoslavya'dan göçmüşler bizimkiler yıllar önce şimdi buradayım bu topraklarda... Hepimiz bu ülkeyle ilişkisi bir şekilde böyle başlamadı mı? Buna iyi diyemem ama bir şekilde göç ediyoruz işte... Bazen savaşlar bazen barajlar bazen başka nedenler... Ben gelip ekmek parası için çalışıyorsam... Ailem taa başka diyarlardan bu gelip bu ülkede yaşamayı başarabiliyorsa başkaları da başka topraklarda yaşayabilirler..."*

why people who says that this project, which tames the Fırat and the Dicle, did the same for the people too, cannot say that this is a bad thing...⁶⁶

You have probably come across with the expression “great dams tame the roaring rivers”. Although saying that national developmentalism puts barriers before the people like seawalls put before the roaring rivers might be an exaggerated and unpleasant statement, there is some truth in that. National developmentalism’s understanding of equality presented a framework that undermines both economic and social diversities and that similarizes all diversified social aspects. The experts of national developmentalism were considered to be successful to the degree they internalize this understanding. And the projects of national developmentalism were successful to the degree they remove the diversities.

...ABHES project is a successful project. When you look at the resettlement efforts made within the context of ABHES project, you will see that there are a lot of people subjected to resettlement because of Atatürk Dam in many places of Turkey, such as Denizli or Samsun. For these new settlements, it is impossible to talk about socio-cultural problems. Of course during these resettlement efforts some mistakes were made. It is true that there were some wrong choices or defective agricultural development programmes. But one thing is for sure: These resettlements does not confront us as a social problem...⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 17-05-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: “DSİ birçok kere eleştirilmiştir. GAP’ı Kürtleri evcilleştirme çabası olarak görenler bile var. Zaman zaman bu da yapılmış olabilir. Yıllarca GAP’ın için çalıştım. Ömrümü verdim desem yeridir. Fırat’ı, Dicle’ye ıslah eden bu projenin insanlara da aynısını yaptığını söyleyenler bunun neden kötü olduğunu söyleyemedikleri bilirim...”

⁶⁷ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 11-01-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: “ABHES projesi başarılı bir projedir. ABHES projesi çerçevesinde yapılan yerleşim çalışmalarını şöyle bir baktığımda bu gün Denizli’de, Samsun’da Türkiye’nin birçok yerinde Atatürk Barajı nedeniyle yeniden yerleşime tabi tutulmuş insanlarla karşılaşabilirsiniz. Bu insanların yaşadığı yeni yerlerde bir toplumsal kültürel bir sorundan bahsetmek imkânsızdır. Tabii ki bu yeniden yerleşimler yapılırken bazı hatalı yapılmıştır. Yanlış tercihlerin veya hatalı tarımsal kalkınma programları uygulandığı doğrudur. Ancak görünen şudur bu yeniden yerleşimler toplumsal bir sorun olarak karşımıza değil...”

New settlements, determined as a result of experts' choices and guiding were not considered successful or unsuccessful according to criteria such as the distance between the new settlements or the new settlement's consistency with the old one's cultural and environmental conditions. This can be observed in the approaches of experts too.

...When I first started working at DSI, I got the chance of traveling many settlements subjected to resettlement. We went to a settlement moved to Denizli from Malatya. Although they moved from Malatya, it was a settlement quite harmonious with the surrounding region. It wasn't quite different from the surrounding settlements in terms of economy. Of course it was clear they were having many difficulties. They weren't using the building built for the resettlement. Like in Malatya, they were growing apricots. Although it was a Kurdish settlement, everybody knew Turkish. You couldn't see the traces of migration which took place years ago. Social integration was completed. You could say that the cultural and social transformation of this village was quite successful. But the DSI personnel admitted that this was a success of the villagers. DSI didn't make a considerable contribution to this transformation. The only thing it did was to find the settlement area...⁶⁸

National developmentalism that considers the transformation itself as a sign of success disregarded the nature of this transformation. Villagers, who moved to Denizli from the rural region of Malatya, dealt with the resettlement process on their own. When the apricot seedlings they brought from their former settlements yielded high quality products in Denizli's climate they managed to live by

⁶⁸ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 19-03-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: *"İlk DSI'de işe başladığımda yeniden yerleşime tabi tutulmuş birçok yerleşim yerini gezme olanağı buldum. Malatya'dan Denizli'ye taşınmış bir yerleşim yerine gitmiştik. Malatya'dan gelmiş olmalarına rağmen bölge ile çok uyumlu bir yerleşim yeri idi. Ekonomik olarak çevresindeki yerleşim yerlerinden çok farklı bir izlenim olmadı. Tabi birçok sorun olduğu açıktı yeniden yerleşim için yapılan konutlar kullanılmıyordu. Malatya'daki gibi kayısı tarımı yapıyorlardı. Bir Kürt yerleşimi olmasına rağmen Türkçe bilmeyen yok gibiydi. Yıllar önce yapılan göçün etkileri çok hissedilmiyordu. Kısacası, başarılı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Toplumsal bütünleşme sağlanmıştı. Bu köyün kültürel ve toplumsal olarak dönüşümü hayli başarılı denebilirdi. Ancak DSI'den arkadaşlar itirafları şu yönde idi bu dönüşümü gerçekleştiren köylünün kendisi idi DSI bu dönüşümün gerçekleşmesi için çok büyük bir çaba harcamamıştı yaptığı tek şey yerleşim yerinin seçimi olmuştu"*

economically in a very distant place. National developmentalism considers social and cultural transformation in its own entirety. It is clear that this point of view that sees social and cultural transformation as the removal of diversities attributes negative meanings on diversities and different life practices. The answer of national developmentalism to the question of which practices will be preferred instead of these practices is quite clear.

...today GAP is being severely criticized but I don't agree with these criticisms and, frankly I don't understand them. It upsets me to see that a project trying to provide a much modern life for the people is receiving so much negative criticism. I don't understand the people who consider the GAP as an assimilation project. Excuse my language but what is so bad about the project that places people to modern residences after removing them from caves...⁶⁹

This modernist approach of national developmentalism experts is the basic determinant of social and cultural life. The daily life determined by the expert's point of view will change in 1980's along with the change of expert's view. The content of the transformation in the expert's modernist understanding will give us the main idea of the transition towards global developmentalism.

...I wish that I were in the staff that pulls out the IBHES project. But I got old and also the things don't go as we see anymore. From time to time, I am being told about the things that are done in the IBHES project. They talk about the problems and difficulties and my answer never changes. I say this is not the way things will work. But from what I see, everybody sees what I see and knows what I know but they comply. They say who pays the piper calls the tune... Things in Ilisu is working in that way. In Ilisu the one pays the piper calls the tunes. As far as I am concerned even the most nationalist

⁶⁹ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 14-01-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "...Bu gün çok eleştiriler alıyor GAP ancak ben bu eleştirilere çok katılmıyorum ve anlamıyorum. İnsanları daha modern bir yaşam kavuşturmak çabalayan bir projenin bu kadar ağır bir şekilde eleştirilmesi beni üzüyor. GAP'ı bir asimilasyon projesi olarak görenleri anlamıyorum. 1970'lerden beri bölgeye gider gelirim... çok kaba olacak ama bu gün insanların eleştirdiği bu proje insanları mağaralardan çıkartarak modern konutlara yerleştirmenin neresi kötü..."

guys in DSI submit themselves to the project, that is the one has the funding. They do what they ask without questioning anything. They attend this meeting and that meeting... I guess they like that... In my opinion they believe that they will be awarded if they pull this off...⁷⁰

It presents a meaningful pattern regarding the transformation of experts who approached developmentalism with an ideology that overlooks diversities for years and how the projects, designed on the basis of national developmentalism's equality concept, were designed on the basis of diversities.

...It is clear that the project IBHES has been a great contribution for me. This process we started to please foreign credit institutions makes me happy. I see that things are changing. In DSI, in the Ministry of Culture and in the local community. I, too, have changed. Every people included to the Ilisu project is changing. You feel ashamed of yourself when you observed the potential of settlements that we considered as a mess and a place that had no sustainability. I think we are being too prejudicial. My biggest objection is to the fact that the things we do in the context of Ilisu project makes us see that potential but have no meaning regarding the good use of this potential. Seeing the potential of a village is not enough. We need to utilize its potential. But it is not possible and seems like a deception. We are not the ones who are deceived, but the people living in that village. In the past,

⁷⁰ Participant (Environmental Engineer), DSI, Interview with the author, 19-01-2011, Ankara. Work in IBHES: "...Ilisu projesi projesinin gerçekleştiren ekipte çok yer almak isterdim. Ama yaşlandık ayrıca işler bizim olaya baktığımız gibi gelişmiyor. Ilisu projesi kapsamında yapılanları anlatıyorlar arasına arkadaşlar sorunlardan ve bahsediyorlar benim cevabım hiç değişmiyor. Bu iş bu şekilde yürümez oluyor. Ancak gördüğüm o dur ki herkes benim gördüğümü görüyor bildiğimi biliyor ama boyun eğiyor. Parayı veren yönetir derler... Ilisu'da biraz öyle gidiyor... Ilisu'da parayı veren yönetiyor...DSI içerisinde ne milliyetçi arkadaşlar bile projenin yani parayı verenin dümen suyuna girmiş durumda benim anladığım kadarıyla çok sorgulamadan yapıyorlar istenenleri...Toplantıdan toplantıya koşuyorlar...hoşlarına gidiyor herhalde...Bu işi becerirlerse ödüllendirileceklerine inanıyorlar kanımca..."

we weren't at least deceiving people. Rest assured, when the dam will be completed everything will not be okay...⁷¹

The fact that global developmentalism's expert acting on the basis of recognizing diversities respects certain cultural and social diversities is not an obstacle to the transformation of these diversities. It is not so easy to know the underlying reason of the boundaries that shaafites created between humans and dogs. National developmentalism shows its respect to modern medicine after saying that this boundaries put between humans and dogs exist as a religious practice that prevents dogs' diseases from spreading to humans and that it is prevalent in Southern and Eastern Anatolia where modern medicine is absent. On the other hand global developmentalism its instrumentalized respect to this religious practice itself.

Whereas localities are expressed as a social aspect that eliminates and threatens the national developmentalism's perception of equality, global developmentalism approaches the local from an instrumentalized point of view. Localities, being valuable and something to be preserved to the extent its usability, lose all its importance when there is no longer an area of use. Global developmentalism keeps it contact with local aspects as long as they're usable, and shines, embellishes, transforms and protects them. For national developmentalism, on the other hand, localities, which are the universe of diversities, are categorically insignificant.

⁷¹ Participant (Environmental Engineer), Ministry of Culture, Interview with the author, 19-01-2011, Ankara. Work in IBHES: "...IBHES projesi'nin bana çok şey kattığı açık. Yabancı kredi kuruluşların memnun etmek için başladığımız bu süreç beni mutlu ediyor. Bir şeylerin değiştiğini görüyorum. Hem DSI' de hem Kültür Bakanlığı'nda hem de bölge insanında. Ben de değiştim. İlisu sürecine dâhil olan tüm insanları değiştiriyor. Bizim zaten bitmiş zaten hiçbir sürdürülebilirliği kalmamış olarak değerlendirdiğimiz yerleşim yerlerinin sahip olduğu potansiyeli gözlemleyince insan kendinden utanıyor. Çok ön yargılı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Benim en büyük itirazım İlisu kapsamında yapılan çalışmaların bu potansiyeli sadece görmemizi sağladığı ama bu potansiyelin değerlendirilmesi anlamında hiçbir anlam ifade etmediği yönünde. Bir köyün potansiyelini görmek yetmiyor... Bu potansiyeli değerlendirmek gerekiyor... Ancak bu imkânlı değil ve sadece bir kandırmaca gibi geliyor... Kandırılan biz değiliz o köyde yaşayan insanların kendisi... Eskiden en azından insanları kandırmıyorduk... Bu baraj bittiğinde emin olun her şey çok güzel olmayacak...

In fact, the project BTC, sometimes could be very tiresome and sometimes very educatory. Especially the things we lived during field visits changed my view towards developmentalism projects. It helped me understand that every effort was an ostentation to some extent. We traveled village by village and at times we had to stay in one of these villages. In one of these demanding visits, the British expert too was stucked with us in a village of Kars. Because of the harsh weather, we took shelter in a village near the region. When we entered the village, we were welcomed by dogs... There was a villager beside the large shepherd dogs that we know from before, we weren't strangers to him. He invited us to his home. When the British expert saw the dogs he got scared but the dogs were quite brazen and playful. The British expert wanted to pet them... But despite their playful nature, the dogs avoided him... The expert tried to pet over and over again but in every time they avoided and didn't let. The British expert couldn't make sense but I got it. The village was a shaafi village and shaafis don't touch dogs because it was religiously forbidden. So the dogs were used to this situation and weren't touching humans either. I explained the situation shortly, to the expert and he was greatly impressed. Since he respected that he apologized to the villager. He also said something like this: "that's what culture is, even the dogs understand it." In the following day I saw him petting the dogs at the back of the house. He managed it somehow and the dogs weren't running away anymore. "But it is forbidden" I said. His respond was that he wasn't a Muslim and that he respected our beliefs but it wasn't forbidden for him. I felt kind of bad, back then. The dogs wouldn't avoid the people trying to pet him and therefore would be beaten. Only

respecting was not enough... But there wasn't much we could do other than to have respect...⁷²

⁷² Participant (Anthropologist), BTC-OPL, Interview with the author, 21-06-2010, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL: "Aslında, BTC projesi bazen çok yorucu bazen çok öğretici olabiliyordu. Özellikle saha gezilerinde yaşananlar benim kalkınmacılık projelerine bakışımı değiştirdi. Her çabanın biraz gösteriş olduğunu görmeme yardımcı oldu. Köy köy geziyorduk tüm bazen köylerde bile kalkmak zorunda olduğumuz bile oluyordu. Yine zor bir gezi idi bir İngiliz uzmanda bizimle beraber Karsın bir köyünde mahsur kalmıştı... Hava çok bozuk olduğu için yakın bir köye sığınmıştık... Köye ilk girdiğimizde bizi köpekler karşıladı... Çok büyük çoban köpekleri yanlarında bir köylü vardı daha önceden tanışmışlığımız vardı kim olduğumuzu biliyordu yani... Bizi buyur etti evine... İngiliz uzman köpekleri görünce biraz korktu ama köpekler büyüklüklerine karşın çok şımarık ve oyuncu idiler... İngiliz uzman sevmek istedi... Köpekler o oyunculuklarına rağmen kaçtılar... İngiliz uzman tekrar tekrar denedi sevmeyi köpekler tekrar tekrar kaçtılar sevdirmediler kendilerini... İngiliz uzman bir anlam veremedi duruma ben anlamıştım... Köy şafi köyü idi ve şafiler köpeklerle dokunmazdı çünkü dinen yasaktı... Köpeklerde buna alışmıştı insanlara dokunmuyorlardı... İngiliz uzmana kısaca anlattım durumu çok etkilendi... Bu duruma saygı duyduğu için ev sahibinden özür diledi... Hatta şöyle bir söz söyledi işte kültür böyle bir şey köpekler bile anlayabiliyorlar... Sonraki gün döneceğiz köpekleri evin arkasında severken gördüm bir şekilde başarmıştı artık köpekler kaçmıyordu... Bende ama yasak dedim... Aldığım cevap şu oldu... Ben Müslüman değilim saygı duyuyorum inançlarına ama bana yasak değil. O zaman kendimi biraz kötü hissetmişim... Artık o köpek kaçmayacaktı onu sevmek isteyen insanlardan... Kaçmadığı için dayak yiyecekti... Sadece saygı duymakla olmuyordu... Ama yapacak çok ta bir şey yoktu saygı duymaktan...

CHAPTER V

GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTALISM AS PRACTICE: INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION

It is clear that there is a strong connection between practical life and all the rules that limits or liberates institutions, laws or social practices. Most of the times it is difficult to say where the transformation started or what exactly triggered it. We will try to compare major projects such as ABHES, which is the Turkey version of national developmentalism and the projects of global developmentalism's RDAs operating with partially autonomous, local and smaller international financing from the view of experts worked in these projects. Secondly we will look into projects funded by Export Credit Institutions and the global developmentalism manifests itself in these projects. RDAs were founded originally in 1950s and 1960s to provide information for development programs led by centralized governments and to supervise the implementation and tracking of these plans. After the increasing local competition due to the globalization in 1980s, RDAs have been charged with the responsibility of maintaining the active participation of private sector and local actors in the regional development.

Additionally, in parallel with the understanding of governance and global developmentalism that became dominant in 1990s, international organizations that fund economic and social development (WB, UNDP, EU funds and credits, EIB, EBRD, IADB, etc.) paved the way for the establishment of many global development agencies. In time, present development agencies experienced very important functional and institutional changes. Thus, in 1990s many development agencies that varies according to their corporate identities, fund resources, duty and responsibilities, and relations with central administration, local administration, and international and transnational organizations have emerged.

Until 1980's, in order to deal with interregional imbalance, nation states referred to various practices such as regional policies, plans and incentives. But, after globalization, dealing with interregional imbalances gradually ceased to be the essential priority of the state. Instead, the element of gaining advantage in global competition became an important matter. Local developmentalism started to become the main factor of gaining advantage in global competition. When the importance of local aspects started to increase and diversification became a necessity in global competition, information technologies and knowledge intensive production emerged as the proper strategies in this context.

After local aspects started to gain much importance, RDA which assumed the role of attracting investments, advertising, providing collaboration and coordination between the regional actors became widespread specifically after 1990's. These agencies found an area of operation, although which differed from RDA established after the Second World War in terms of structure and status. RDA relied on the potential of the local and became the main factor in preparing development strategies aiming to gain advantage in global competition. In the past, nation states prepared and implemented regional development strategies with a centralist perception whereas new regional development agencies, which we considered as the agents of global developmentalism, relied their strategies and plans to the knowledge and potential of the local. In this period, where the potential and knowledge of the local came into prominence, centralist corporate structures of national developmentalism lost their efficiency. Today, there is a transition period in progress towards corporate structure which can realize the perspective of global developmentalism. The first organizations that we are going to address as the new agents of global developmentalism will be regional development agencies. These development agencies, rapidly established around the world after 1990's and which were partially or completely autonomous from the central authority, appeared as the organizations that laid the foundations of the global developmentalism perspective.

Since I started working in Izmir regional development agency, that is throughout the two years, I have always dealt with the private sector. This agency is considered to be the most efficient agency in Turkey. I believe there are two reasons for that. First, Izmir attracts plenty investors. There is always someone in Izmir that has an interest in making investments... And the second reason is that this agency is almost independent from the state's bureaucracy. We can create our own resources, which makes us more autonomous when compared with other agencies... No other governmental organizations can pull off the things we do here in İZKA...

...Every year, we evaluate and finalize perhaps thousands of projects... Without being familiar with the region, without knowing the social and cultural characteristics of the region; it is almost impossible to do this on your desks... For instance, in a recent time a firm came up and requested our counseling services regarding the establishment of a cigarette factory... The location they wanted to set up was a forest close to a highly populated area. We said that it wouldn't be possible and told them that they wouldn't be able to find people to employ... Had the firm contacted Ankara, they would have got the approval. But then again, Ankara wouldn't know that it was an area highly populated with gypsies and Ankara also would not know that they do nothing but playing instruments and singing... So this is exactly what we do. Actually firms don't have much interest in consulting us. After all, getting the confirmation from Ankara is not so difficult. But the bank

in Europe which will provide the loan requests the firm to do some comprehensive research...⁷³

Today, the presence of global developmentalism's regional development agencies, in a way, forms the basis of guaranteed profit of the global capital. Localities, considered as a threat by the national developmentalism's development agencies, are viewed both as a threat and an opportunity from the global developmentalism's perspective. However, there is also a need for a corporate structure that turns those localities, viewed as a threat by the national developmentalism, into opportunities.

One of these corporate bodies is global developmentalism's development agencies. Agents that collaborate with the localities that global developmentalism is in need of and that familiarize with and somehow have the ability to tame those localities. In today's world, there is an ongoing process in which there is a desire to feature investments that could bring competitive advantage and a special emphasis on education, novelty and communication. Founded with the notion that education, skill development, increasing the local people's capacity for novelty and development, reducing unemployment, and establishing collaboration between local authorities, development agencies, local businesses and non-governmental organizations have a key role in comparative regional advantage; RDA become more

⁷³ Participant (Economist), İZKA, Interview with the author, 17-05-2010, İzmir: "...Ben İzmir Bölgesel Kalkınma ajansında çalışmaya başladığımdan bu yana geçen 2 yıllık süre içerisinde hep özel sektörle muhatap oldum... Bu ajans Türkiye'nin en verimli çalışan ajansı olarak kabul ediliyor... Bunun iki nedeni var bence İzmir'in çok yatırımcı çekmesi özellikle yabancı yatırımcıların biri gelip biri gidiyor... İkincisi ise bu ajansın devlet bürokrasisinden neredeyse tamamen özerk olması diyebilirim... Kendi kaynağımızı kendimiz yaratabiliyoruz buda bizi bürokrasiden diğer ajanslara göre daha özerk kılıyor... Bizim bu gün İZKA özelinde yaptığımız işi hiç bir devlet kuruluşu yapamaz... Biz belki bir yılda binlerce projeyi değerlendiriyor ve sonuçlandırıyoruz... Bölgeyi tanımadan bu bölgedeki toplumsa, kültürel özellikleri bilmeden bu işi masa başında yapmak imkânsız gibi bir şey... Örneğin geçenlerde bir firma geldi bir sigara fabrikası kurmak için danışmanlık hizmeti istedi... Fabrikayı kurmak istedikleri yer roman nüfusun yoğun olduğu bir bölge biz olmaz dedik orada çalıştıracak adam bulamazsınız size başka yer önerelim dedik... Bu firma Ankara'da işini bitirmiş olsa idi olur cevabı alırdı. Ankara ne bilsin orada Çingenlerin yoğun olarak yaşadığını ve Çingenlerin çalıp söylemekten başka bir şey yapmadıklarını... İşte biz bu işi yapıyoruz... Aslında firmalarda bize keyfinden gelmiyor yoksa Ankara'da iş bitirmek kolay ama kredi alacaklar Avrupa'dan bir bankadan onlar diyor git bir bak bakalım ne var imiş ne yok imiş..."⁷³

and more independent from nation state's corporate authority to realize those goals.

This process of becoming independent from the national, brought the requirement of a new corporate structure. This need of corporate structure has been met with global developmentalism's RDA organized at a local level. Contrary to national developmentalism, the potential and knowledge of the local was viewed by RDAs as a creative resource rather than a destructive force. The localities, which nation states want to assimilate and consider as a threat, now appear as an opportunity and defy all the restrictions and impositions of nation state. Today, national developmentalism's corporate bodies, which try to eliminate interregional economic, cultural and social inequalities by articulating the local with the national and which even show cultural and social differences as the source of economic inequalities, is being replaced by corporate bodies that are more independent from the central authority. One of the interviews with the representatives of these new corporate bodies clearly reveals the difference between national developmentalism's corporate structures and global developmentalism's new regional development agencies.

... It seems that we, as DAKA (Easten Anatolian development Ageancy), have no other alternative than to collaborate with the local... In the region we operate there is almost no industrial activity and it appears to be impossible for us to provide an industrial investment in the region with the resources at our disposal... In the short term, it is not possible for the state, too, to fund the region directly. Thus, to overcome the financial difficulty that hinders the development of the region, we are trying to include the private sector. Additionally, we thrive to unearth the local potentials with projects backing the small manufacturers... We do our best for the development of this region by including EU and other international resources. As a matter of fact, it seems that we have no alternatives. All the funds that we receive from international organizations and DAKA's organizational model require us to be in relation with the local. Although as a person who has worked in DPT for 17

years, I have some difficulties in doing business without consulting to DPT, I can say that I got used to it. You procure a loan from WB and of course the inevitable condition for the loan happens to be the local participation. And without it, there is no way that they provide the loan... This makes it absolutely necessary to act independently from the central authority..."⁷⁴

When we look from a global point of view, we will come to see that international organizations, primarily institutions such as WB and IMF, implement policies directed to the realization of competitive capitalism's demands such as expanding the extent of central and regional regulating semipublic organizations. All in all, in an environment where production and finance is globalize, the national boundaries of economy prove to be problematic and local-regional connections that transcend national boundaries becoming more and more important. However, perceiving globalism solely as an external economic process in which there is an increased capital and trade flow can be deceiving. The fact that it also transforms the political sphere where economic governance is carried out should not be overlooked.

After 1990's and 2000's, especially in Europe, the fact that regions had to find their new places in this changing structure, led to a much more competitive environment. After states' role nearly ended due to neo-liberal policies during this process; local aspects, seen as a threat by nation states, became more active. At this

⁷⁴ Participant (Economist), DAKA, Interview with the author, 11-06-2010, Ankara: "...Bizim DAKA olarak yerel olanla işbirliği yapmaktan başka bir alternatifimiz yok gibi görülmekte... Bizim hizmet verdiğimiz bölgede genelde endüstriyel faaliyetler yok denecek kadar az ve bizim elimizdeki kaynaklarla bu bölgede bir sanayi yatırımını desteklememiz de imkânsız görülmekte... Devlet'inde bu bölgeye doğrudan yatırım sağlaması kısa vadede imkânlı değil bu nedenle bölgenin kalkınması için finans sıkıntısını aşmak için özel sektörü devreye sokmaya çalışıyoruz. Ayrıca, küçük üreticiyi destekleyen projelerle yerel potansiyelleri ortaya çıkarmaya çalışıyoruz... Avrupa birliği ve diğer uluslar arası kaynakları devreye sokarak bölgenin kalkınması için elimizden geleni yapıyoruz. Zaten başka alternatifimiz yok gibi uluslar arası kurumlardan sağladığımız tüm kaynaklar ve DAKA'nın örgütlenme modeli bizim yerel olanla ilişki içerisinde olmamızı gerektiriyor... Ben 17 sene DPT'de çalışmış bir kişi olarak bu gün hala DPT'ye sormadan iş yapmak bana zor gelse de artık buna alıştım diyebilirim. Dünya Bankasından bir kredi buluyorsunuz ve bu kredi için kaçınılmaz koşul yerel katılım yoksa kredi uçuyor... Bu da bizim merkezden bağımsız hareket etmemizi zorunlu kılıyor..."

point, the increase in interregional competition for investments could position the local political leaders as the main actors. For instance; basic infrastructure, technological infrastructure, information infrastructure, quality of the location, capacities regarding infrastructure and accessibility, human resources, entrepreneurship culture, sectoral concentration, internationalization, novelty, governance, corporate capacity, expertise and the nature of the competition are one of these elements. Additionally, today, factors such as knowledge, learning, social capital, mutual relations and trust, too, must be taken into consideration when analyzing the regions and explaining the dynamic structures of some regions.

These new regional development agencies, which have replaced nation states' centralist development agencies such as GAP and TVA, have become the focal point in knowledge generation, access to knowledge, advertisement of regions and an environment of extensive participation and collaboration. This kind of transformation of these RDA was one of the most basic indications of developmentalism's corporate transformation. While developmentalism were becoming no longer a national enterprise and transforming into local aspects' struggle of existence within the global markets, the requirement of corporate structure for this evolution were tried to be met with these regional development agencies, established following the 1990's.

...It is not too early to say that we don't need the state... As long as we find our own resources there is not much that the state can do for Izmir Development Agency... The main problem in development is money and to overcome this problem Izmir Development Agency doesn't need the state... The only thing that we expect from the state is that they clear the way for our operations. Today, the wastewater treatment plants in almost every districts of Izmir is built by the European Union funds. Many municipalities in Izmir, including Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, apply to international finance institutions, not DPT or Provincial Bank. International finance institutions are well aware of the fact that every investment in this place will return to them as profit. They know that it is the best interests of both sides... The biggest problem is to mobilize the potential which is already present. Our main concern is to unearth this potential. We are trying to explain to the people the value of what they already have... Our operations are not limited to industrial projects. We are also in cooperation with firms operating at a global scale that would support agricultural projects... We are trying to market all the unique aspects of the region... It is very difficult for a central body to do what we do. Because what we do is directly talking to the local people.⁷⁵

As the participant from İZKA said, these new development agencies have focused on directly to the cultural, social and economic uniqueness of the local and tried to realize a development model contradicting the national developmentalism's centralist, singularist, imposing structure. Many projects that national developmentalism has prepared on desk is carried out in the field by directly

⁷⁵ Participant (Economist), İZKA, Interview with the author, 17-05-2010, Izmir: "...Bizim devlete ihtiyacımız yok demek için çok erken değil... Kaynaklarımızı kendimiz bulduğumuz sürece Devlet'in İzmir Kalkınma ajansı için yapacağı çok bir şey yok... Kalkınmada sorun para sorunu ve bu sorunu çözmek için İzmir Kalkınma Ajansının devlete ihtiyacı yok... Devletten isteyebileceğimiz tek şey önümüzü açması... Bu gün İzmir'in neredeyse tüm ilçelerindeki Atık Su Arıtma Tesisi Avrupa Birliği Fonları ile yapıldı... Bu gün İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi dâhil olmak üzere İzmir'deki birçok belediye alt yapı yatırımları için DPT'ye, İller Bankasına değil Uluslar arası finans kuruluşlarına başvuruyor... Uluslar arası finans biliyor buraya yapılacak her yatırım onlara kar olarak dönecek onlarda İzmir'de kazanacak... En büyük sorun var olan potansiyelin harekete geçirilebilmesi bizim temel amacımız dab u potansiyeli ortaya koyabilmek insanlara şu an sahip olduklarının sahiden değerli olduğunu anlatmaya çalışıyoruz... Sadece endüstriyel projeleri değil tarımsal projelerini de destekleyecek küresel ölçekte çalışan firmalarla iş birliği yapıyoruz... Bölgenin tüm özgünlüklerini pazarlamaya çalışıyoruz... Bizim yaptığımız işi merkezi bir yapının yapması çok zor çünkü biz birebir insanlarla konuşuyoruz...

contacting with the people within the global developmentalist model. Within this model, nation states relinquishes some of its authority to international organizations while becoming more localized inside their own structure.

At this point, in fact, two opposite approaches (globalization-localization), paradoxically, undermines nation states for the same end; on one hand the capital is having a limitless flow capacity which accords with the new economic accumulation regime, nation states downsizes and relinquish some of their national authorities to attract more foreign investments and to keep up with conditions of international competition; but on the other, some authorities, previously exercised at a national scale, have being transferred, depending on the globalization's paradigm of governance, to independent regulating boards in a central context, and to local-RDA which can accommodate themselves to globalization in a local context.

Today, there is an emphasis on a regional development perspective relying on RDAs and local entrepreneurship, trying to ensure local improvement by reinvigorating the local potentials, aiming to attract foreign investments and achieve economic superiority in global economy and which is based on private sectors and local entrepreneurs rather than centralized policies. This new regional, and in a way local, developmentalism perspective of global developmentalism, brought along the corporate transformation of developmentalism.

...Of course it is our primary goal to improve the life standards of the local people. However, it seems that it is no longer possible to achieve that goal with a centralist organization model... We cannot direct hundreds of firms and thousands of people to Ankara. We have to look for solutions for their problems... And this requires a quite different corporate

formation. And this is exactly what we are trying to establish...⁷⁶

RDA's are viewed as the dynamic actors of this process. Today, the process of global competition runs in a course based on local and regional expertise with a basis of gaining comparative advantages by revealing the local and regional potential, and where competition between nations reduced into an interregional level.

During this process, competitive power is seen as the precondition of existing in a new competitive environment formed in the basis of information economies and regions reveal themselves as the principal actors of this process. Knowledge, the capacity of knowledge generation, and the capacity of coming up with innovations are viewed as the most important factors in forming the region's attractiveness in global competition. Although the element of competition is considered as the guarantee for efficiency in global market, it is not the guarantee for equity. In other words, states' control power over national economies considerably reduced in the presence of internationalized economies' convenience in transportation and trade. One of the most striking developments in this process is the increase in the value attributed to regional/corporate organizations and formations to ensure interregional competition. Because it has been indicated that local and regional structures, in comparison with national ones, are more convenient for supplying collective goods, cooperating with local/regional actors and agencies and banding all the actors together. In a sense, we see that in these areas developed without the states' control, corporate/administrative bodies which essentially works under the umbrella of the state increase the regions' efficiency and break into global markets by transcending the national scale. With the advent

⁷⁶ Participant (Economist), İZKA, Interview with the author, 17-05-2010, İzmir: "...Buradaki insanların daha iyi hayat şartlarına kavuşması tabii ki bizim temel amacımız ancak görülen o ki bunun merkezi bir örgütlenme modeli ile yapılması artık imkansız görülmekte... Bize başvuran yüzlerce firma ve binlerce insanı Ankara'ya yöneltemeyiz burada onların sorunlarına çözüm aramamız zorundayız... buda farklı bir kurumsal yapı gerektiriyor bizim kurmaya çalıştığımız da bu..."

of globalization, through its operations directed to the regions' advertising, acquiring of competitive power in global market and attraction of investment to the region, RDA have become one of the organizations whose importance is increasing day by day.

Activities of global developmentalism's RDA are diversified and multi-directional. Therefore even drawing the general outline is a difficult task. Nevertheless, one of the most important characteristics of these organizations is their competence acting in unison with international institutions and organizations. These new RDA represent a separate perspective from the understanding of national developmentalism, which acts on the basis of a social perception that asserts centralist policies ought to be implemented in the region, too, by the central bureaucracy and consider the state as the one and only force that will lead the development. These new RDA are new administrative bodies that will develop local-specific policies relying on participatory methods based entirely on feedbacks and implement these policies instead of coming up with development policies on desk without referring to the opinion of local entities and adopting an entire interventionist approach. The fundamental function bestowed upon to RDA by global developmentalism is to assume a supportive and coordinating role at a local/regional scale contrary to the national developmentalism's regulating, interventionist and pragmatic approach. In this context, these agencies will form a synergy among local actors and dynamics and work as coordinators, organizers and catalyzers with the purpose of mobilizing the local resources and enhancing the efficiency of local/regional development efforts. In this sense, agencies have been assigned with the task of mobilizing the local potentials, unearthing the investment potentials of local aspects, attracting investments, supporting local entrepreneurs and RDAs, enhancing the local's competitive power and implementing infrastructural and environmental projects. To this end, agencies will prepare regional programmes, develop projects, support the present projects and investments and perform research and development, education and advertising

efforts. However, to carry out all these activities, required resources must be provided from a different body than the RDA of national developmentalism. And those are private sectors and international organizations. With regard to the resources of new RDA and their corporate structure, One of the interviewees, an expert from İZKA, makes the following assessment:

...Whoever has the money gets to decide on managerial issues. Doesn't that feel quite natural? When WB funds your urban renewal projects, to be have to comply with WB's standards in this project shouldn't be a major problem. But sometimes it is because WB's standards require you to contradict with the legal framework present in your country. WB and other international organization wants you to practice their standards in the projects they fund. At first sight, opposing these kind of situations might appear to be reasonable. However, when you consider WB's requests, you come to see the inhumane nature of the legislative framework present in your country. You feel sad because of the unfortunate practices took place in the past...⁷⁷

When we look to the other examples around the world, we see that regional development agencies, the agents of global developmentalism, which mostly rely on EU, WB and foreign based credits and grants have become nothing but the operational agents of their funders due to their dependancy to these resources. An expert from Fırat development agency explains this situation in a much clearer manner.

...Almost all of our projects are implemented through the EU funds. In fact, it wouldn't be quite proper to say that we are coming up with projects. We generally look for foreign

⁷⁷ Participant (Economist), İZKA, Interview with the author, 17-05-2010, İzmir: “...Parayı veren yönetir. Bu çok doğal değil midir? Kentsel dönüşüm projesi için Dünya Bankası size bir finans kaynağı sağlıyor ise sizin bu proje özelinde Dünya Bankasının koyduğu standartlara uymanız beklemesi çok büyük bir sorun olmamalı. Ancak oluyor çünkü Dünya Bankasının standartları sizin ülkenizde var olan yasal çerçevenin dışına çıkmanızı istiyor... Kendi standartlarını kaynak sağladığı proje de uygulandığını görmek istiyor... ilk bakışta karşı çıkılabilir bir durum olsa da bu aslında hiç Dünya Bankası'nın sizden istediklerine bakıldığında ne aslında sahip olduğunuz yasal çerçevenin hiç de insani olmadığını görüyorsunuz... Geçmişte yapılmış uygulamalar için üzüyorsunuz...”

fundings and when we find one we make announcements. We continuously apply for the WB and European Union funds.. The type of the project is mostly irrelevant. We always arranging files... Each and every experts employed at this agency participate in several trainings and the ones regarding project preparation never ends...⁷⁸

Regional development agencies' relation with global developmentalism is directly concerned with the fact that the fundamental resources of these agencies provided by international organizations. International organizations that fund development referenced projects became the major actors of developmentalism. These organizations, which replaced the regulating, rulemaking and pragmatic nation states in national developmentalism, consider development initiatives at a global and therefore pave the way for global capitalism to enter all the stagnant regions which it couldn't until today. As the expert from İZKA agency stated, whoever has the money gets to decide managerial issues. However, this managerial type is based on a different structure than the nation states' perspective. The rules of international organizations regulating, supervising and implementing developmentalism at a global scale are far more flexible. This flexibility is a product of locally organized managerial approach that recognizes diversities and which can adapt itself to these diversities. This managerial approach requires a direct contact with the local and a mutual dialogue to utilize those local aspects. This kind of development strategy is not viable with development agencies operated with the unilateral and imposing development understanding of nation states and which are highly dependant to the central authority.

⁷⁸ Participant (Sociologist), Fırat Development Agency, Interview with the author, 21-07-2010, Ankara: "...Biz neredeyse tüm projelerimizi AB fonları aracılığı ile gerçekleştiriyoruz. Aslında bizim proje yaptığımız söylemek doğru değil biz genelde yurtdışından kaynak arıyoruz bulduğumuzda duyuruya çıkıyoruz... Devamlı olarak Dünya Bankası Avrupa Birliği fonları için başvurularda bulunuyoruz... Hiç fark etmiyor ne projesi olduğu... Devamlı bir dosya hazırlama işi içindeyiz... Burada çalışan her uzman en azından sene de 3-5 eğitime katılıyor nasıl proje hazırlanır eğitimleri bitmek bilmiyor..."

Therefore major actors of global developmentalism such as WB were in need of these structures' transformation and new corporate bodies operating in accordance with the perspective of global developmentalism. And these bodies have turned out to be these partially or completely autonomous RDA established after 1990s around the world. Initially, RDA of global developmentalism were reformed within the framework of structural adjustment programmes of organizations such as WB and European Union. RDA, founded after 1990's in Turkey, have abandoned the practice of top-down interventions and developing policies on desk without consulting to the local authorities and entities and started seeking to develop region-specific policies, determined by participatory methods on the basis of bottom-up feedbacks and they are being transformed into administrative bodies that will implement these policies.

For instance, it is clear that in its current formation, GAP Regional Development Administration, an institution run by the central authority is not a sufficiently autonomous regional development agency with regard to European Union's standards. In this context, GAP started to go through a process of reformation after 1990's. As far as Turkey is concerned, the question we need to ask is whether development agencies in Turkey has the required project capability of utilizing EU and WB funds in underdeveloped regions of Turkey. The best answer to this question will be a brief narration of an expert who worked in GAP.

...In 1985, we distributed turkeys to villages within the framework of GAP. Without regard to their wishes, we delivered turkeys to many villages for stock farming... In many villages that we provided those turkeys, people saw a turkey for the first time in their lives. As it was our part in the project, we delivered these animals... Villages used most of them as food... The main purpose was to create a new source of income in these villages. However, villagers ate their source of income... In 2001, WB provided funds for the encouragement of poultry raising in Eastern Anatolia but there were some conditions.

We were not to deliver the turkeys. The villagers were to design their own project and we were to give the funds to the local people, provided by WB. We thought that it would be much better. The idea was that villagers would prepare a poultry raising in a pre determined format and we would provide our counseling services. In this way, the projects would be designed with the local participation and the local needs would be taken into account. We were supposed to create entrepreneurs among the villagers... The name of the project was something like supporting local development... At the end, we came up with three projects in total. Our resources was 750.000 dollars and the cost of these projects was 150.000 dollars...

...We approved all of the three projects. After one year, officials of WB visited us to monitor these projects... Villagers spent the money for their own use. So, in the end, nothing changed. Since it was one of the first attempts of WB in Turkey, this situation was ignored. Later on, WB continued to their projects. They wanted local community in Turkey to prepare their own projects. However, at that point, we weren't in possession of institutional formation to explain ourselves let alone complying WB's standards. Finally, WB funded us for the enhancement of our institutional structure... If you ask whether our institutional structure has been improved I would say both yes and no... As an individual who both tasted the turkeys given by the state and participated in

the receptions held with the money granted by WB, I just laugh away...⁷⁹

Since 1990's regional development agencies, established in Turkey, have been going through a process of reformation in the context of global developmentalism's perspective. This reformation process of RDA carried out sometimes with the support of corporate structure enhancement credits provided by WB, as stated above by the expert worked at GAP, and sometimes within the context of EU accession process.

After EU started funding highly competitive regional development projects, the numbers and activities of RDAs increased considerably in EU member states especially following 1990s. In member states, national governments have formed new models of regional development agency and financed them through public resources to utilize EU regional funds. In Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Estonia, Litvania and Latvia, countries that gained access to EU subsequently, RDAs were introduced in 1990s with the direct request of EU. Furthermore, RDAs in

⁷⁹ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 16-03-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES: "...1985 yılında biz GAP çerçevesinde köylere Hindi dağıttık... İstesin istemesin birçok köye yetiştirmesi için hindi dağıttık... Hindi Dağıttığımız birçok köyde köylüler daha hindi görmemişti. Bize düşen dağıtmaktı bizde dağıttık... Köylüler bu hindileri çoğunu kesip yediler... Amaç hindi verdiğimiz köylerde yeni bir gelir kaynağı sağlayabilmektir... Ama köylüler gelir kaynaklarını yediler... 2001 yılında ise Dünya Bankası bize Doğu Anadolu'da kümes hayvancılığının teşvik edilmesi için kaynak sağladı ancak bu kaynaktan yararlanmak belirli şartlara bağlanmıştı. Köylere hindi dağıtmayacaktık. Köylüler kendi projelerini yapacaklar ve bu projeler için biz Dünya Bankasından sağlanan fonu köylülere dağıtacaklık. Böyle daha iyi olacak diye düşünüyorduk. Köylü belirlenen formata uygun bir kümes hayvancılığı projesi hazırlayacaktı biz köylülere bu projeleri hazırlamaları için danışmanlık hizmeti verecektik. Bu şekilde projeler yerel halkın katılımı ile hazırlanacak ve yerel gereksinimleri göz önüne alacaktı daha hindi görmemiş köylere hindi dağıtılmayacaktı... Köylülerden girişimciler çıkaracaktık... Projenin adı zaten yerel girişimciliği destekleme gibi bir şeydi... Topu topu 3 tane proje hazırlandı kaynak 750 bin dolardı projeler toplam 150 bin dolar tutuyordu... Hepsine onay verdik... Bir yıl sonra Dünya Bankasından yetkililer projeleri izlemek için geldiler... Köylüler bu sefer paraları yemişti... Değişen ne oldu... Bu proje Dünya Bankasının Türkiye'deki ilk denemelerinden biri olduğu için üzeri kapatıldı... Sonra Dünya Bankası bu tür projelere devam etti Türkiye'de yerel halkın kendi projelerini hazırlamalarını istiyordu ama Bizim Dünya Bankası formatlarını bırakın köylüye anlatacak kendimiz anlatacak kurumsal bir yapılanmamız yoktu... Sonunda Dünya Bankası Kurumsal yapımızın güçlendirilmesi için bize kredi verdi... Kurumsal yapımız güçlendi mi diye sorarsanız hem evet hem de hayır... Hem devletin dağıttığı hindileri tatmış hem de Dünya Bankasının paralarıyla verilen davetlere katılmış biri olarak sadece gülüyorum..."

Eastern Europe were founded by experts and the finance allocated by EU during the initial stage.

Therefore, in order to benefit from regional development aids before the accession and EU structural funds following the accession, Turkey have promised that they will establish development agencies in the 2003 Accession Partnership Document. As a requirement, this commitment has been officially accepted with a congressional resolution in the General Assembly of the Parliament on 25.01.2006. The preamble of Law on Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies presents a pattern regarding the transforming corporate structure of developmentalism.

Development agencies that will perform activities involving local entrepreneurship, mobilization of local resources, specialization depending upon local potentials and enhancement of competitive power, needs to be in possession of a flexible and dynamic structure that can make fast decisions and implement them to keep up with the rapidly changing circumstances.⁸⁰

Regional development agencies, subjected to a reformation through the period of accession into European Union and institutional enhancement credits that WB provided, have turned out to be the leading actors of global developmentalism. However, these newly established or transformed RDA are not the only leading institutional actors of global developmentalism. Seeing these RDA as the global developmentalism's agents at a local level would be a more appropriate approach. Global developmentalism uses RDA only as an instrument of easing the tensions between local and major entrepreneurs. These development agencies assume the

⁸⁰ Kalkınma Ajanslarının Kuruluşu, Koordinasyonu ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun'un gerekçesi "Küresel rekabet sürecinde yerel girişimcilik, yerel kaynakların harekete geçirilmesi, yerel potansiyellere bağlı olarak sektörel uzmanlaşma sağlanması ve rekabet gücünün artırılması yönünde çalışmalar yapacak olan Kalkınma Ajansları, hızla değişen koşullara ayak uydurabilmek için çabuk karar alıp uygulayabilen, esnek ve dinamik bir yapıya sahip olmalıdır." (www.tepav.org.tr/.../1271245092r8246.Bolgesel_Kalkinma_Ajanslari)

role of maintaining the communication between local entities and credit institutions, transnational companies and private sector that fund investment projects having essential effects on environment, society and culture. An expert worked in BTC-OPL project explains this role of RDA within global developmentalism:

...Within the context of BTC project, we are in collaboration with regional development agencies. In fact, we cannot say that it's an exact collaboration. Basically, we provide finance and they present their services. Actually we have to jump through many hoops even when we try to get their services. First we equip them with a training, which we call enhancement of corporate structure, regarding the services they will provide. They refer to the needs of BTC with the concept corporate structure. You may ask what the BTC's needs are. Well, the answer to this question is quite simple. We don't want any problems regarding both local aspects and bureaucracy. To solve our problems, firstly, we need to establish a proper dialogue and to solve these problems with the local community and bureaucratic mechanisms we make a good use of regional development agencies. Within the context of BTC, we played a role in ensuring WB credits and grants for the use of regional development agencies... In fact, beyond playing a role we actually ensured WB's credits for the region... In addition to these credits, we also met the needs of the local community by using our own project budget... BTC couldn't have been so successful if they hadn't promoted so much district governors to the position of governor.⁸¹

⁸¹ Participant (Agricultural Economist), TPAO-BTC-OPL, Interview with the author, 18-03-2011, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL: "...BTC projesi kapsamında bölgesel kalkınma ajansları ile işbirliği yapıyoruz. Aslında buna işbirliği demek doğru değil. Biz onlara para aktarıyoruz onlar bize hizmet veriyor demek daha doğru olacak. Aslında hizmet almak için bile birçok engel var önce onları alacağımız hizmeti vermeleri için eğitiyoruz buna biz kurumsal yapıyı güçlendirme adını veriyoruz. Kurumsal yapıdan kasıt BTC'nin ihtiyaçlarını anlamaları. BTC'nin ihtiyacı ne diye sorarsanız çok basit bir cevabı var biz ne yerel düzeyde ne de bürokratik sorun istemiyoruz. Sorunları çözmek için ilk olarak diyaloga ihtiyacımız var yerel halk ve bürokratik mekanizmalar ile sorunlarımızı da çözmekte bölgesel kalkınma ajanslarını kullanıyoruz. BTC projesi kapsamında Dünya Bankasından birçok kere bölgedeki kalkınma ajanslarının kredi veya hibe kullanmasına vesile olduk... Aslında vesile olmaktan öte Dünya Bankasının bölgeye kredi vermesini sağladık... Bu krediler yanı sıra biz proje bütçemizden yerel halkın ihtiyaçlarını karşıladık... BTC o kadar çok kaymakamı vali yapmasa bu kadar başarılı olamazdı..."

From this point of view, RDA can be viewed as local agents of international organizations such as WB and European Union. However, as the expert from BTC-OPL project said, international organizations such as WB and European Union are not the only institutions that RDA work with. These agencies operate, in an indirect way, as a means of communication between the private sector and the local entities. At least that is the optimal way of how things should work. Today, nation states' all obligations regarding development is carried out through the private sector. Encouraging private sector investments, creating an appropriate environment for these investments and supervising the sustainability of these investments is carried out via these regional development agencies. However, RDA are not in possession of the capacity and means required to undertake those actions. It is clear that national developmentalism is in need of other mechanisms supervising local aspects that it tries to tame on the basis of a cultural, social and universal ideal. Today, a large part of private sector investments is being supported by international financial organizations. As far as Turkey is concerned, the total amount of investments that private sector made through international fundings in 2010 was three times more than the total amount of investment made by the Turkish Government in 2010. This ratio clearly points out the fact that the state no longer has much to do in developmentalism.

Transforming DPT⁸², the planner and implementer of all development projects and investments in Turkey, into the undersecretariat of Turkish Republic Ministry of Development, newly established in 2011, shouldn't be interpreted as an indication that the state will initiate a new development progress. This change in name, in fact, can be viewed as the transformation of state's approach towards developmentalism. The fact that DPT has been transformed into the undersecretariat or general directorate of Development Ministry should be perceived as a symbolic expression of the end of 50 years of planning.

⁸² Devlet Planlama Teşkilat (State Planning Organization)

The affiliation of Turkish Statistics Institution (TÜİK), Ziraat, Halk and Vakıflar Banks, Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) and Privatization Administration along with Undersecretariat of Treasure and DPT under Ministry of Development, established in 2011, can be viewed as the last stage of global developmentalism's institutional formation in Turkey. State's all responsibilities regarding development has been transferred to private sector with this structural transformation. Global developmentalism's new institutional formation in Turkey has four fundamental piers.

- International organisations such as WB.
- International finance providers,
- Private Sector Companies (national, foreign, transnational companies)
- Regional development agencies, operating at a local level and these agencies' representative nationwide, namely, Ministry of Development.

We can find the explanation of how development projects operate on these four piers in the words of an expert worked in Gebze-İzmir Highway Project⁸³, which hasn't been included to the extent of this thesis but caused great resonance.

When we look at the process of Gebze Izmir Highway project, we can say that the project means the connection of Turkey's two biggest industrial zones. It can be defined as a huge conduit that can convey everything between Izmir and Istanbul... This project, in fact, wasn't designed as it was announced to the public. It was a project of land transportation accompanied with the installment of a high-speed train route integrated to the highway. However, this kind of enormous project couldn't be realized through the resources of Turkish Republic in the last 30 years. Now, they will implement the part that will return some profit, that is the highway... If you regard this project as a development project you will see that there are two side. The first one is

⁸³Gebze-Izmir Motorway Project: The solution starts by separating Gebze – Dilovası region from TEM motorway with a Junction, passing through the İzmit Bay by a suspension bridge and reaching to the Foreland of Hersek. Then the route will be completed by the Gebze-Orhangazi-Izmir (including İzmit Bay Crossing) Motorway project where extending up to Izmir. The project's realization has been decided by government considering feasibility surveys and evaluations. This new project's time and monetary earnings which will be provided by shortening approximately 140 km of the current state road, has been calculated by the feasibility studies and as a result, the provided save has been envisaged as 870 millions TL per year by reducing the current transport period from 8-10 hours to 3,5-4 hours time. The starting point of Gebze-Orhangazi-Izmir (including İzmit bay Crossing and the access roads) Motorway project is Gebze, the Motorway between Dilovası and Hersek Foreland which has approximately 3000 meters length and 1700 meters main aperture, crossing the İzmit Bay by a suspension bridge, by passing nearby Orhangazi and Gemlik, connects Ovaakça junction to Bursa Ring Road. When the project completed, it will be the world's second suspension bridge with longest aperture. The Motorway, starts after the completed Bursa Ring Road from Karacabey junction passes through the east side of Uluabat Lake, south side of Mustafakemalpaşa and north side of Susurluk then reaches to Balıkesir. After then running from the east side of Balıkesir to the south, passing near by the provinces of Savaştepe, Soma, Kırkağaç and then near by Turgutlu, runs to the east, goes along parallel with the İzmit-Uşak state road and connects Anadolu Lisesi Junction where is on the Izmir Ring Road. The project has length of 377 km motorway and 44 km access road, a total of 421 km long. Based on the first design approach there are

- one suspension bridge approximately 3 km in length,
- 30 viaducts approximately 18,212 m in total length,
- 4 tunnel approximately 7395 m in total length,
- approximately 209 bridges,
- approximately 18 toll booth areas,
- approximately 5 Motorway maintenance operating centers,
- approximately 7 service areas and 7 park areas.

(Izmir –Gebze Motorway Project Public participation Meeting Presentation (2011), Unpublished Manuscript)

the consortium that will carry out the project and the second is credit institutions that will fund the project. Considering local community as the third side would be a quite naive approach. If there is a third side that will develop with the finalization of the project, that would be the private sector companies that already started to make investments. Although it is a project that cannot be explained briefly, the project can be summarized in four stages. The state cannot find the resources to realize this project requiring a huge finance and decides to use private sector, telling them to hand it over to the state after making some profit. In short, the build-operate-transfer model introduced in Özal's term. At the second stage, international finance providers step in for the project that private sector, too, cannot carry out with their own resources and fund the consortium that will handle the project in exchange for a certain interest rate. At this stage, WB comes into place and says to the finance providers that they need to have a set of standards and rules they need to comply with and take necessary precautions to prevent the project's failure. And this is where we come in. In order to take precautions that will reduce social and environmental effects of the project, we go to the people affected by the project. We present some small gifts to gain the people's sympathy and make sure they fully embrace the project. At the final stage, NGOs confront us and we explain the precautions we took and the positive attitude of the people. As a result, as long as the consortium runs project, it works with every possible entities. And it gives a great share of the profit it gained from these entities to the international financial organizations. One who funds wins, one who is funded wins. Turkey came into possession of the world's second largest suspension bridge and thus the politician wins. If you expect me to say that this is bad, I am afraid I will not. In fact, it is a very good system which is employed all around the world. As a person who has worked in dozens of projects you should know too. Why do you ask me about how things work...⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Participant (Environmental Engineer), ELC Consultant, Interview with the author, 15-08-2011, Ankara: "Gebze İzmir Otoyolu projesi geçmişine bakılacak olursa Türkiye'nin en büyük iki sanayi bölgesini birleştirmek demektir. İzmir ve İstanbul arasında her şeyi taşıyabilecek kesintisiz dev bir boru hattı olarak nitelendirebilir... Bu proje aslında bu gün kamuoyuna anlatılan şekliyle planlanmamıştır. Bu proje hem karayolu taşımacılığı projesi hem de bu karayoluna bütünleşmiş hızlı tren hattını yapılmasını öngörmekteydi.... Ancak böyle büyük bir projenin Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kaynakları ile hayata geçirilebilmesi projenin kamuoyu gündemine geldiği son 30 yıl içerisinde mümkün olmamıştır... Şimdi ise para eden kısmı yani otoyolu yapacaklar... Bu projeye bir kalkınma projesi olarak bakarsanız kalkınmanın iki farklı tarafı olduğunu görürsünüz. Bu taraflardan birincisi

With reference to the opinions of the expert participated in Gebze İzmir Highway Project in a certain phase, the first thing we can clearly say is that this kind of development which international institutions such as WB provided the basic motivation can only be realized with a different institutional formation than the understanding of national developmentalism. The fundamental theoretical framework of this new formation, too, is determined by the same institutional formation.

If we look at the roles assumed within this perspective of developmentalism by the four piers that we mentioned above within the context of Gebze-İzmir Highway project, we will be able to develop a much clearer understanding of global developmentalism's institutional formation. When we consider the implementation of Gebze – İzmir Highway project;

- 1.) Private sector firms from various nations form up an international consortium and takes the responsibility of carrying out the infrastructural investment, which the nation state cannot realize with its own resources, under the condition of running the establishment for a certain period.

projeyi yapacak konsorsiyum ikincisi ise bu konsorsiyuma proje için kaynak sağlayacak kredi kuruluşları bir üçüncüsü bölge halkı olacağı ise çok naif bir yaklaşım olacaktır. Proje bitimi ile kalkınacak olan üçüncü bir taraf varsa yine bu proje çevresinde yatırımlara şimdiden başlayan özel sektör şirketleri olacaktır... Projenin kısa bir özetini istediniz bu proje hiç kısaca anlatılacak bir proje olmasa da özeti 4 aşamada şu dur: Devlet büyük finansman gerektiren bu projeyi yapacak kaynağı bulamaz ve özel sektöre sen yap sonra geçenlerden para al sonra bana devret der. Özal ile Türkiye'ye giren yap işlet modeli kısacası. İkinci aşamada özel şirketlerin de kendi öz kaynakları ile yapamayacakları bu proje için devreye Uluslar arası finans sağlayıcılar girer ve proje için parayı projeyi yapacak konsorsiyuma belirli bir faiz karşılığında verir. Bu aşamada Dünya Bankası devreye girer finansman sağlayıcı kuruluşlara tamam ama der ya proje batarsa yarıda kalırsa ne yapacaksınız tedbirlerinizi alın kendi koyduğunuz kurallara uyun der işte bu aşamada biz devreye gireriz projenin sosyal ve çevresel etkilerini azaltıcı tedbirler için projeden etkilenen halka gideriz... Halka projeyi sevmeleri bağırklarına basmaları için ufak hediyeler öneririz... Son aşamada sivil toplum gelir projeye karşı çıkar biz de bakın işte önlemleri aldık deriz... Sonuçta konsorsiyum projeyi işletmede olduğu sürece yoldan geçen herkese bilet keser... Bu biletlerden kazandığı paranın büyük bir miktarını kredi aldığı uluslar arası finans kuruluşuna verir... Parayı veren kazanır, parayı alan kazanır... Türkiye dünyanın en büyük ikinci asma köprüsüne kavuşur politikacı kazanır... Sizde biliyorsunuz aslında olacakları bana neden soruyorsunuz... “

- 2.) The consortium, formed up by different private sector firms from various nations, provides the required funds, which the nation state couldn't ensure, from international finance providers in exchange for a certain interest rate. In this way, international financial organizations acquire the revenue partnership of this projects. The actual meaning of this is that the completion of the project in a predetermined time and cost has become crucial to the return of the credit with interest, provided by the international financial organization. What matters to the finance provider is that the project is completed and yields some money.

- 3.) In this stage, international institutions and organizations such as WB step in and request the consortium, running the project, to comply with certain standards and remove all the obstacles that prevents them from completing the project under a certain condition. These standards ensure the financial return of the project. Additionally, standards and rules of organizations such as WB is presented as the fundamental principles of global developmentalism. Principally, these standards have been developed to reduce the risks of the projects to the minimum.

- 4.) RDA operating at a local scale contributes this kind of projects in a different way. Supporting the project's sustainability by ensuring the investments of other private companies that operate in the same field of the project. Today, the private sector investments on the region where Gebze-Izmir Highway will be constructed are being encouraged through RDA and the opportunities created by this infrastructural project are being marketed to the private sector via these regional development agencies. Additionally, enhancing the capacity of the establishments located in the surrounding area of the highway's route or applying for small scale credits to international financial organizations to conduct new investment activities can be counted as other contributions of these agencies. By providing financial support to the private

sector investments around Gebze-Izmir Highway project, international financial organizations go into various partnerships with the investments in the region. The development of the region aims to increase the required resources for the project and therefore increase its feasibility by making sure Gebze-Izmir Highway, the project they provided the essential finance, is carried out efficiently.

This 4-pier structure of global developmentalism brings along a complicated and intricate network of relations, which cannot be handled by nation state's centralized planning efforts. Global developmentalism projects appear no longer as social transformation projects but sustainable investment projects. However, this sustainability shouldn't be viewed solely from a economic point of view. Global development projects take into account of all the social, cultural and environmental risks. The most important criterion for this kind of sustainability is the removal or minimalization of these risks. The assessment of an expert worked at Gebze-Izmir Highway project sets a significant example of how these risks are eliminated.

I'm not sure whether you know whose side we're on... Or is there a side to be on? There is no longer a side in this matter... Take WB; they say that the standards set forth for the projects are in favour of community and environment. But I think there is a problem in this matter. If I really believed them I would say that I have a side in here, that I side with people whose lives changed by these projects. But I believe these standards are just for show... We are talking about huge projects requiring huge amount of money... However, the people who provide this huge amount of money come and gently says that this is a project for everybody and that they will do everything to make it everybody's project... If you don't say this, you won't be able to work properly. Today, international financial organizations compete to fund mining projects in Africa. And in almost none of these projects they mention the condition of complying with their standards. The very same international finance organizations that ignore the people and rely on dictators who are still in power in Africa says to the people in Turkey that they are important for them. Because no matter what you think or say, the voice of non-

governmental organizations and the people is much stronger when compared with Africa. So the problem is to suppress this strong voice...You can't do much without suppressing these strong voices...⁸⁵

When you consider all these, you clearly come to see that you need institutional bodies that national developmentalism don't have in order to carry out infrastructural or development projects with a global developmentalist perspective. These bodies are a mechanism that doesn't heed what national developmentalism says and understands the language of the local or who would drown out some thundering voices. Today, almost all of the projects funded by the global finance operate in a system that forms up this kind of institutional formation. Actually, the best example that will show the difference between national developmentalism and global developmentalism's way of operating and why global developmentalism cannot operate within nation state's institutions would be IBHES project, which was planned as a pillar of GAP and later on tried to be accomplished by international funding. The difference between IBHES and ABHES projects' institutional operation shows the extent of the contrast between the two development movements' institutional formations.

We can consider GAP as the first development agency founded in Turkey. GAP can be viewed as the principal agent of national developmentalism. An institution governed from a centralized body such as GAP regional development administration cannot be considered, at least in its present formation, as a

⁸⁵ Participant (Environmental Engineer), ELC Consultant, Interview with the author, 15-08-2011, Ankara: "...Farkında mısın bilmiyorum ama hangi taraftayız... Veya bu işin bir tarafı var mı? Bu işin tarafı kalmış mı kimin yanındasınız? Büyük paralar gerektiren bir yatırımdan bahsediyorsunuz çok büyük paralar... Ancak bu paraları verenler çok nazikçe diyorlar ki size bu hepimizin projesi herkes için iyi olacak en azından olması için her şeyi yapacağız... Bunu demezseniz işinizi yapamayacaksınız bunu demek zorundasınız demektir. Bu gün Afrika da birçok maden projesi için uluslar arası finans kaynak sağlamak için yarışıyor ve bu madenleri sağladığı kaynak için gerçekleştirilecek olan projelerin neredeyse hiç birinde kendi koyduğu standartlara uyulmasından bahsetmiyor. Afrika da halen güçlü olan diktatörlere sırtını dayayarak halka değil bu diktatörlere siz bizim için önemlisiniz diyen bu finans kuruluşları Türkiye'ye bakıyorsunuz halka siz biçim için önemlisiniz diyor çünkü Türkiye'de sivil toplum ve ne dersiniz deyin burada insanların sesi Afrika'da yaşayanların sesinden daha gür... İşte dert biraz bu gür sesi bastırmak... bu gür sesi bastırmadan yapabileceğiniz çok bir şey yok..."

development agency that would put forward the mentality of global developmentalism. Although it gave life to many projects, and experienced many transformations since its foundation, it is clear that it cannot realize the understanding of global developmentalism. The words of an expert worked in GAP, in certain phases of ABHES and IBHES projects, will help us make a very clear analysis:

...I carried out development projects based on rural development in villages which would be affected within the scope of Atatürk Dam. Although my participation in Ilisu project was quite indirect, I had the opportunity of seeing the difference between the two projects. Ilisu project had the quality of openness which I didn't witness anywhere else within the scope of GAP. I attended one of the meetings of Ilisu project as an audience. The meeting was mainly about participation. They planned to form village committees⁸⁶ in each affected villages to ensure participation. Forming committees in nearly 200 villages seemed incredible to me. And since I had a very indirect responsibility I didn't object. And I thought that objecting would be meaningless. I found out that this was just a part of the participation efforts. There would be no resettlements in affected settlements until each households gave their consent. The consent of the each household was necessary. The question that we need to ask is

⁸⁶ Village Level Resettlement Committees were formed in each affected village in order to facilitate data collection, consultation, and supervision of resettlement related tasks and activities (such as decisions regarding site selection, type of houses, farmland, income-generation packages and to make necessary coordination with the relevant resettlement authorities). These committees, which will be an intermediary between local people and relevant project implementation organs in order to bring efficient solutions to the problems are formed by local people from the affected villages (for instance the oldest man, the most respectful man or the teacher or headman). These assigned people will provide the most efficient coordination between the Project Unit and the PAPs from their communities. These committees will cooperate with Project Implementation Unit for Resettlement (PIU-R) in informing PAPs about both project and the legislation related to resettlement and related issues in local level, whenever they require for further information. These committees will also provide the transfer of PAPs' decisions to the PIU-R during the resettlement process. In order to settle these committees in each affected village during Phase I, Public Informative Meetings were held by the authorities of Resettlement Committee of the Project Implementation Unit (PIU-R) of the Ilisu Dam and HEPP Project in March 2009 with the aim of introducing the Resettlement Policy drawn up for the Ilisu Dam and HEPP Project in Ilisu, Koctepe (including Kocyurdu Hamlet), Karabayir, Kartalkaya, Temelli, and Dugunyurdu. Therefore, village resettlement committees were established in each village to facilitate an efficient implementation of Ilisu Project Resettlement Policy in the field.

why we reached to the decision of common good regarding Ilisu Dam? How can a household head can stop everything? Village committees, information offices, complaint processes, tens of meetings arranged in settlements... Things they told me were amazing. Who could pull this off. What manpower... What institution and legal framework? There are no answers for these questions... The interesting thing is that all these things are just for activating the loan. As you can see nobody had a clue about why all these efforts were being made... How can you realize this project with the institutional structure of GAP administration and if this is the way this project is going to be carried out, is Ilisu is a part of GAP?...⁸⁷

“Is IBHES project a part of GAP?” is a question that we need to underline. When we look at the IBHES project today, we clearly cannot see the GAP’s perspective and approach towards developmentalism which it adopted back in 1980s. However, GAP, too, is experiencing a transformation. The role designated for IBHES project today does not fit to the transforming GAP of year 2010. No matter how much GAP transforms, it preserves its fundamental posture as an agent of national developmentalism. In year 2011, GAP defines itself as follows:

...The Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) is a multi-sector and integrated regional development effort approached in the context of sustainable development. Its basic objectives include the improvement of living standards and income

⁸⁷ Participant (Economist), GAP, Interview with the author, 25-06-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES: “...Atatürk Barajı çerçevesinde etkilenecek köylerde kırsal kalkınma odaklı kalkınmacılık projeleri yürüttüm. Ilisu projesine çok dolaylı bir katılımın olsa da bu iki proje arasındaki farkı görme imkânı buldum. Ilisu GAP çerçevesinde hiç tanık olmadığım bir şekilde işlediğine çok açıktı. Ilisu Projesinin bir toplantısına katıldım sadece izleyici olarak, bunlardan birincisi katılım konusuydu. Katılımın sağlanması için projeden her etkilen yerleşim yerinde köy komiteleri⁸⁷ kurulması planlanmıştı. 200’e yakın yerleşim yerinde köy komiteleri bana inanılmaz gelmişti ve çok dolaylı bir sorumluluğum olduğu için itiraz edemedim. İtiraz etmeninde çok bir anlamlı olduğunu düşünmedim. Bu sadece katılım çalışmalarının bir parçası imiş etkilenen yerleşim yerlerinde her haneden onay alınmadan yeniden yerleşim yapılmayacakmış. Her hanenin onayı şartmış. Soru şu olmalı biz Ilisu barajı için kamu yararı kararını neden aldık? Nasıl bir hane reisi her şeyi durdurabilir? Köy komiteleri, bilgilendirme ofisleri, şikâyet süreçleri, yerleşim yerlerinde düzenlenecek onlarca toplantı... Anlatılanlar akıl alır gibi değildi... kim yapacak tüm bunları... Hangi insan gücü... Hangi kurum ve hangi yasal çerçeve içersinde olacak? Hiçbir sorunun cevabı yok... Asıl ilginç olan tüm bunlar baraj için alınacak krediyi aktif hale getirmek için... Kimsenin tüm bu çalışmaların neden yapıldığı hakkında bilgisi yok anlayacağınız... GAP idaresinin kurumsal yapısı, işleyiş mekanizması ile nasıl gerçekleşir bu proje ve bu şekilde yapılacaksa Ilisu artık GAP’ın bir parçası mıdır?”

levels of people so as to eliminate regional development disparities and contributing to such national goals as social stability and economic growth by enhancing productivity and employment opportunities in the rural sector. The project area covers 9 administrative provinces (Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak) in the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris and Upper Mesopotamia...⁸⁸

When we look through this definition, we see that the transformation that GAP has experienced since its foundation is not compatible with the mentality of IBHES project's implementation today. IBHES project today, has a different attitude. This can be viewed as an attitude that is developed against all the basic realities of national developmentalism. In this context, its one and only similarity with ABHES is its extension and technical details

...It might be true that they made some mistake when building the Atatürk Dam. It is highly possible that people suffered. They may be deprived of their relatives and lands. But those things will not change my thoughts towards Atatürk Dam in specific, and GAP, in general. GAP has strived for the people of this country and to provide them with a better life. What I see now is much more agonizing. The expectation in Ilisu project is neither better living standards nor a national solidarity. Only money... You sell electricity and make money. My opposition against this project as a DSI employee is categorical... An institutional protest...This project does not coincide with the goals of DSI when it was first founded. The most distressing thing is that those institutional goals are embraced by only couple of people in DSI...⁸⁹

⁸⁸ (About GAP, 2011).

⁸⁹ Participant (Economist), DSI, Interview with the author, 29-04-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES: *"Atatürk barajının yaparken hatalar yanlış uygulamalar yapılmış olabilir. İnsanlar acı eziyet çekmiş olabilir. Bir anda akrabalarından, topraklarından koparılmış olabilir. Ama bunlar bu özelde Atatürk Barajının genelde de GAP'ın temel kaygısı hakkındaki kanaatimi değiştirmeyecektir. GAP bu ülkedeki ve bölgedeki insanların daha rahat yaşaması için emek harcamıştır. Şimdi gördüğüm manzara çok daha acı vericidir. Ilisu projesinde beklenti ise ne insanların daha iyi yaşaması ne de ulusal bir dayanışma ağının yaratılmasıdır. Sadece para... Elektrik satacaksın ve para kazanacaksın... Benim bir DSI çalışanı olarak bu projeye karşı çıkışım kategorik bir karşı çıkıştır... Kurumsal bir karşı çıkıştır... Bu proje DSI'nin kurulurken ortaya koyulan amaçları ile örtüşmemektedir... Bu kurumsal amaçların DSI içerisinde sadece birkaç kişi tarafından sahiplenilmesi ise en acı olanıdır..."*

Technical feasibility of IBHES project is in no way discussed by DSİ. The reason why the necessary use of technology and other engineering skills for IBHES project isn't discussed is directly related with the prior success of DSİ on similar projects. However the main topic of discussion is the concessions being made by GAP administration and DSİ within the framework of this project in exchange for the loan provided by ECAs. The main topic of discussion is the standards expected to be complied in exchange for the loan that will be provided by ECAs. The nature of this debate is clearly explained by an expert working in T.R Ministry of Culture, who has been charged with some responsibilities within the context of IBHES project.

...We are calling meetings all the time... I think this is just pointless. We are obligated only to do what we are told. No law, no rule, no pride, no reputation, no nothing. They say Ilisu project, we go there with haste and try to pull things out but the only thing we hear is that we should do these and those or else the loan will be cancelled. Some say that these are good things. But who decides or determines that they are good. At every time we object or oppose to something, we are being reprimanded. Let me tell you something... but don't you mention my name. One day, there was this letter. They requested something impossible regarding Hasankeyf. Actually, I don't know about the technical aspects but as an archaeologist who is been working for years, I knew for sure that what they request was legally impossible. I wrote a respond letter informing DSİ that it was not possible. A day later the phone rang. Minister of culture was on, telling me off... The Minister of Culture... I said that it was impossible in terms of legalities but in no way I couldn't convince him. In the end he summoned me to his office and made me sign the document that permitting the digging requested by DSİ. If one filed a complaint, I would be fined. I phoned the guys in DSİ and told them not to do it. There was this instruction of Environment Minister. All the responsibility regarding Ilisu has been charged to Ilisu Project Implementation Unit. I didn't get this system called PIU too. Who are the employees, where is the unit located and what is its jurisdiction? I had no clue. Ilisu

project pulled out completely illegitimate things in this country...⁹⁰

ABHES project deprived tens of people of their original homes and consequently thousands of families emigrated to major cities and all the procedures carried in accordance with a certain regulation. As a similar project, IBHES didn't do that through available laws. Conditions stipulated within the framework of the project by ECAs included many requests transcended the T.R legislation. IBHES project formed a policy and an institutional regulation specified for this project only. IBHES project formed a resettlement policy and an organizational structure that will implement this policy (the institutional organization and the organizational structure is provided in appendix B). This policy and organizational structure has not been implemented in any projects with a policy disregarding the T.C. legislation, except BCT-OPL. Additionally, except BCT-OPL, no organizational structure other than the available organization mode has been adopted.

...The biggest problem was that the mandatory practices in the project had in fact no accordance with the available laws and regulations. ECAs continuously stated that the available expropriation and settlement laws were not sufficient. There were two options: making a legal regulation or taking advantages of the loopholes in laws. The DSI file already a

⁹⁰ Participant (Economist), Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Interview with the author, 29-04-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES: *"Toplantı üzerine toplantı yapıyoruz... Boşu boşuna bence biz sadece söylenenleri yapmakla yükümlüyüz. Ne kanun ne kural ne onur ne itibar kaldı. İlisu projesi diyorlar koşup gidiyoruz bunu yapmalıyız yoksa kredi kaçacak lafından başka bir şey yok ağızlarında... Hem bunlar güzel şeyler diyor birileri... Kim karar vermiş kim bilmiş güzel olduklarını... Her itirazımızda her karşı çıkışımızda azarı en yüksek yerden yiyoruz... Bakın bir örnek vereyim size... Ancak bu örnekle ilgili adımı vermeyin kesinlikle... Bir gün bir yazı geldi Hasankeyf ile ilgili olmayacak bir şey istedi... Daha doğrusu teknik olarak olur olmaz orası benim uzmanlık alanım değil ama kaç yıldır bu işle uğraşan bir arkeolog olarak biliyorum ki yazıda istenen şey kanunen imkânsız... Ben olamayacağını DSI'ye bildiren bir karşı cevap yazısı yazdım... Bir gün sonra ofiste bir telefon çaldı... Kültür Bakanı telefonda azar çekiyor... Koskoca Kültür Bakanı... Ben kanunen efendim hayır diyorum ama ikna edemiyorum... Sonunda beni yanına çağırdı gittim odasında bana DSI'nin istediği kazıya izin veren belgeyi imzalatırdı. Dava açsalar ceza alırım... DSI'den arkadaşları aradım yapmayın böyle dedim... Çevre Bakanı'nın talimatı var İlisu ile ilgili tüm sorumluluk İlisu Proje Uygulama Biriminde(Project Implementation Unit) diye cevap verdiler. PIU denilen yapıyı da anlamış değilim kimlerden oluşuyor bu birim nerede ikamet ediyor ve ne yetkisi var belli değil... İlisu projesi tamamen kanunsuz işler yaptı bu ülke de..."*

motion. However, since giving this kind of privilege to only one project didn't coincide with the equality principle of constitution, they rejected the motion. We tried to find a way to make it look legal but at this point it is difficult to say that this properly enough....⁹¹

Apart from IBHES project, we see BCT-OPL as a project in which procedures disregarding T.R legislation was adopted. However, BCT-OPL project was conducted under different circumstances than the IBHES project. BCT-OPL, as a transboundary project, was under the guarantee of participant governments and international agreements in terms of its rules and organizational structure. In addition, an additional budget was allocated for sub projects implemented that will be implemented in each phases of the project and project's resources were under guarantee of the organizations funding the project. All resettlement and expropriation efforts, efforts regarding the preservation of cultural inheritance and the removal of environmental impacts that will be implemented within the context of BCT-OPL project were funded by international credit agencies. In IBHES project, on the other hand, only engineering efforts were funded by ECAs. All other activities that will be carried out within the scope of IBHES is expected to be funded by DSI, the project owner. In IBHES project, almost all the loans provided by ECAs are allocated for engineering projects. In addition to the funding provided for engineering activities, ECAs guaranteed an additional loan in the amount of 20 million Euros for Historical City of Hasankeyf. However the cost of activities regarding Historical City of Hasankeyf that ECAs requested, that is imposed, within the context of the project, is exceeding many times more the 20 million euro loan they guaranteed

⁹¹ Participant (Urban Planer), ENCON Environmental Consultancy, Interview with the author, 11-07-2009, Ankara. Work in IBHES: *"En büyük sorun IBHES projesi kapsamında yapılması zorunlu uygulamaların mevcut kanun ve yönetmeliklerle uyumsuz olmasıydı. ECA'lar devamlı olarak mevcut kamulaştırma ve iskân yasalarının proje standartlarını tam olarak yerine getirmek için yetersiz ve eksik olduğunu beyan ediyorlardı. İki seçenek vardı kanuni düzenleme yapmak veya kanunların açıklarından faydalanmak. DSI yeni kanun düzenlemesi için kanun teklifi önerisi bile verdi ancak sadece bir proje için bu tür bir ayrıcalık yapmak Anayasanın eşitlik ilkesine uymadığı için gerçekleşmedi. Sonunda kanunların biraz eyip büküp her şeyi kitabına uydurmaya çalıştık ancak onunda çok yeterli olduğunu söylemek bu gün gelinen noktaya bakıldığında zor görülmekte..."*

...Hasankeyf is, of course, important. But there is confusion. In the part that will be flooded there are approximately 300 mounds and most of them are in the wilderness. Why is Hasankeyf important? Because the ECAs say so. Why Tarkan⁹² sings for Hasankeyf. Because that is the will of ECAs. Why is Hasankeyf being swarmed with people? Because ECAs say so... Everything changes... Maybe we, too, need to change. But it shouldn't be just because ECAs say so...⁹³

IBHES project found funding for its engineering activities but in the case where the funder's standards are met, the cost will be much higher than the cost in which the project is carried out according to the national legislation. Shortly, the standards that DSI accepted to comply raised the project's cost.

...When I compare the BCT and Ilisu projects, I see that both projects operate in the same mentality. Both use international funding. In both projects the goal is making money. They may write to their fancy project reports that their goal is the region's development but both projects goal is to make some profit...⁹⁴

⁹² Tarkan Tevetoğlu; was born near Frankfurt, Germany in 1972, the son of Turkish "guest workers." At the age of 13, he moved with his family to Istanbul. He released his debut album "Yine Sensiz" in 1993, selling over 700,000 copies in Turkey. His international breakthrough came in 1999 with "Simarik," or "Kiss Kiss" -- the best-known Turkish song ever. The track made it into the Top 5 in Germany, France, and Russia and was covered in other languages. Tarkan revolutionized the pop scene and the image of men in Turkey with his music and metrosexual style. He has fought for nature conversation in Turkey in recent years and has protested against the Ilisu dam project that threatens the ancient city of Hasankeyf. (<http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/0,1518,626916,00.html>)

⁹³ Participant (Antropologist), Ankara University, Interview with the author, 16-08-2009, Ankara. Work in IBHES: "...Hasankeyf elbette önemli... Ancak karıştırılan bir şey var su altında kalacak bölgede 300 kadar höyük var bunlardan çoğu daha el sürülmemiş yerler. Neden önemli Hasankeyf ECA'lar dediği için... Neden Hasankeyf için şarkılar söylüyor Tarkan ECA'lar dediği için insanlar niye Hasankeyf'e akın ediyor ECA'lar dediği için... her şey değişiyor belki bizim de değişmemiz lazım ama ECA'lar dediği için olmasın istiyorum..."

⁹⁴ Participant (Environmental Engineer), ENCON, Interview with the author, 26-05-2011, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL and IBHES: "...BCT projesi ile Ilisu projesini karşılaştırdığımda gördüğüm manzara şu ikisi de aynı mantık çerçevesinde ilerliyor. İkisi de Uluslar arası kaynak kullanıyor. İkisinde de ana amaç para kazanmak aslında kalkınmacılık, kalkınma gibi hedefleri süslü süslü proje raporlarına yazmış olsalar da bu iki projede de temel amaç para kazanmak..."

IBHES project drifts institutions such as GAP, DSI that assumed the responsibility of national developmentalism into a transformation. It wouldn't be wrong to say that it has given these institutions the opportunity of reconsidering their loss and gains. However it can be clearly seen that the mentality of global developmentalism, assumed by international financial organizations, introduced a far more different institutional structure and a legislative framework. Furthermore the understanding of global developmentalism also presents transforming social aspects.

Until a few years ago the locals were arranging feasts when an expert came for the project ABHES and said that they had to evacuate the village... But in IBHES, they will find villagers readied their beating sticks... Experts who roams the region village by village for the project ABHES are going to find out the wrongness of their doing after being beaten to death..."⁹⁵

...BCT used RDA located in the regions where the pipeline passed for its project. These agencies were supporting the micro projects and creating a mechanism to prevent the possible reactions against the project. In general, people got happy when heard that people from BTC were in town. When we go to the villages, the development agencies worked collaborately with NGOs and officials and got their approval and also hindered the possible protest campaigns. Tens of, or may be hundreds of projects were put into practice. The fund allocated for the project was in the same amount with one month's earning provided that the project is completed. But the project had much importance for villagers. Micro projects

⁹⁵ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), DSI, Interview with the author, 23-05-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES and IBHES: "...Daha birkaç yıl öncesine kadar ABHES projesi kapsamında bir köye haydi boşatın köyünüzü demek için gidenler için kuzular çeviren halk... IBHES kapsamında sopadan başka bir şey bulamayacaklar emin ol... ABHES projesi için köy dolaşan uzmanlar yanlış bir iş yaptıklarını bir güzel sopa yedikten sora anlayacaklar..."

were making NGOs and the local community happy and in this sense, things were working quite fine...⁹⁶

Development agencies, that carried out the first implementations within the context of BCT-OPL project, gained their legal status in 2006 with law numbered 26974. These agencies were introducing a completely different organization model from the agencies of national developmentalism. In the preamble of law numbered 26974, it was stated that in a global competition process, Development Agencies that will operate on local entrepreneurship, activation of resources, providing sectoral expertise depending on the local potentials and the enhancement of competitive power must have a flexible and dynamic structure in which decisions are taken and realized promptly to be able to adapt to the constantly changing conditions. For Turkey this law clearly indicated that national developmentalism's large development agencies in the region such as GAP no longer were efficient. These agencies principally supported the micro projects of private sector and their source of income was the state as well as the profits they made through their cooperation with international organizations and projects such as BCT-OPL or ADKAM. They were implementing small scale social responsibility projects and income improvement projects with the funds they obtained from projects such as ADKAM.

...Although it would be quite gullible to say that the social responsibility projects carried out by Mount Ağı and Kirazlı projects are development projects, these projects, to a small extent, contributed to the region's development. But after all, it's private sector. What can you expect? The contributions

⁹⁶ Participant (Sociologist), BTC-OPL, Interview with the author, 16-08-2009, Ankara. Work in IBHES and BTC-OPL: "...BCT projesi için Boru hattının geçtiği bölgelerdeki Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajanslarını kullandı. Bu ajanslar hem mikro projeler yapabiliyor hem de BCT projesine karşı muhtemel tepkileri azaltmak için bir mekanizma yaratıyordu. Genel de köylerde BTC'ciler geldi deyince insanların güzü gülüyordu. Biz köylere gittiğimizde Kalkınma Ajansların yetkililer ve sivil toplum örgütler ile beraber hareket ediyor hem onların onayını alıyor hem de muhtemel bir protesto kampanyasının önünü kesiyordu. Onlarca belki yüzlerce proje hayata geçirildi. Ayrılan kaynak proje tamamlandığında elde edilecek 1 aylık gelir kadardı. Ancak, köylüler için çok anlamlıydı. Mikro projeler sivil toplumu ve yerel halkı mutlu ediyor ve bu çerçevede işler yürüyordu..."

they make to the region might seem nice but there are only several rural training programme and project supports for couple of villagers. What did they changed or transformed? As an environmental engineer I can say that when you compared the things they took from the people and environment to the things they provided, I don't have the words to explain the devastating extent of the former. I can say the same for development agencies too. These are institutions that welcome any investments no matter what. There had been a lot of cooperations regarding Mount Ağı and Kirazlı projects but it is not possible to say something about the results...⁹⁷

The same goes for the STAR project too. But the difference between the two projects is that in ADKAM micro projects were supported even though there were no obligations. The STAR project on the other side, conducted its social responsibilities within the framework of IFC standards.

...When I started working at SOKAR-TURKAS, our public relations expert said: "Our project is a very big investment project. We are aware that we have some social responsibilities within the context of this project and we must do what we need to do. But as far as I can see later everything that is done is done to comply with the standards. That is to say, there are some people in somewhere watching us and what they say is law. I don't claim that they are saying nasty things but expressions like we have social responsibilities, or this is a development project don't seem sincere. The person

⁹⁷ Participant (Environmental Engineer), GOLDER Associates, Interview with the author, 21-09-2011, Ankara. Work in STAR project and AGKGM: "...Ağı Dağı ve Kirazlı projelerinin ortaya koyduğu sosyal sorumluluk projeleri kalkınma projeleri olarak değerlendirmek biraz saf dillilik olsa da yine de bir tarafları ile ufak ufak da olsa bölgenin kalkınmasına katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Ancak özel sektör ne bekleyebilirsiniz. Hiçbir sorumluluğu olmadığı halde bölgeye yatığı katkılar size hoş gelebilir ancak birkaç kırsal eğiti programı, birkaç köylüye proje desteği o kadar. Ne değiştirdi neyi dönüştürdü bölgede bir çevre mühendisi olarak size şunu söyleyebilirim verdiklerinin yanında insanlardan ve doğadan aldıkları tarifi mümkün değildir. Kalkınma ajansları içinde aynısını söyleyebilirim yatırım olsun ne olursa olsun mantığı ile tüm özel sektör yatırımlarını destekleyen destek alan kurumlar. Ağı Dağı ve Kirazlı projeleri kapsamında çok işbirliğine gidildi ama sonuçları ile ilgili çok bir şey söylemek mümkün değil..."

who will provide the loan wants some guarantees and that's all...⁹⁸

Although it is true that the reflection of national developmentalism agents' transformation on social aspects is not something to be traced, it quite clear that the institutional framework of global developmentalism affects and transforms social practices. For instance, SOCAR-TURKAS, in which local aspects were emphasized within the framework of IFC standards manifested itself in İzmir's Aliğa district. Take BCT-OPL or IBHES; in all these projects the institutional structure assumes a new perspective. This transformation of institutional structure, that is the diminished role of nation state in development, causes the international institution and organizations to determine the institutional framework of developmentalism.

In fact, ADKGMP project is good example showing the prevalence of international standards and bodies and their important position in private sector investments. Carrying out the ADKGMP project through its own resources without the need of an international organization's financial support provides a great advantage for the private sector organization realizing this project. This advantage is the fact that the rules the organization needs to comply is limited to the national legislation. Acquiring the necessary permissions to run a mine is legally sufficient for the company carrying out ADKGMP project. However, in addition to obtaining this legal permission, the company wants to practise all the IFC standards in ADKGMP project. This company willingly integrating the IFC standards that exceeds the

⁹⁸ Participant (Environmental Engineer), GOLDER Associates, Interview with the author, 21-09-2011, Ankara. Work in STAR project and AGKGMP: "...Ben SOKAR-TURKAS'da işe girdiğim zaman halkla ilişkiler uzmanımız şöyle demişti. Projemiz çok büyük bir yatırım projesidir. Biz biliyoruz ki bu proje çerçevesinde sosyal sorumluluklarımız var ve bu sorumluları gerçekleştirmek için elimizden geleni yapmalıyız. Sonradan gördüğüm kadarı ile her şey belirli standartlara uymak için yapılıyor. Yani bir yerlerde bizi gözleyen birileri var ve onların dedikleri oluyor. Kötü şeyler diyorlar demiyorum ama bizim sosyal sorumluluklarımız var, biz kalkınma projesi olacağız tarzındaki sözler çok da ben tatmin etmiyor. Kredi alacağın adam sende taahhüt istiyor o kadar..."

national legislation's obligations also assumes the financial burden. So, the question arises: "Why it assumes this financial burden"

We suggested the owner of ADKGMP project to do something for the region. In the contrary case, there could be a huge reaction in the region against the project. In short, all that fuss during the ADKGMP project was for the minimization of the reaction that might come from the local community. The thing that must be done was clear. Considering IFC's standards in this project and carrying out the project within the framework of these standards. We told the project owner to make contact with the local community and listen to their problems and find solutions and they accepted to do so... Have we formed a transparent communication, yes. Have we managed to solve their problems, no? Have we made up the region's shortages, for this I don't have a specific answer? Afterall, the project is there with all arrangements. What are you going to change by talking to people? There is gold under worths millions and you have to make a tremendous amount of digging. Who cares about the participation of the people or collaboration with the local community? However, what we did worked in one aspect. We told nongovernmental organizations that we considered everything and we can reconsider all the things together if you like. And this worked. Up until now, we haven't come across with a considerable problem in the region.⁹⁹

Activities carried out within the framework of ADKGMP project shows that private sector embrace global developmentalism in an institutional sense and global developmentalism is gradually embedded in the corporate culture of these

⁹⁹ Participant (Environmental Engineer), GOLDER Associates, Interview with the author, 21-09-2011, "Ankara.Biz AKDAM projesinin sahibine bölge için bir şeyler yapmasını önerdik aksi takdirde bölgede projeye karşı çok büyük bir tepki olabilirdi. Kısacası AKDAM projesinde bu kadar ince elenip sık dokunmasının sebebi bölge halkından gelecek tepkileri en alt seviyeye indirmektir... Bunu yapabilmek için de yapılması gereken aslına belliydi IFC standartlarını bu projede aramak ve projeyi bu standartlar çerçevesinde gerçekleştirmek... Proje sahibine halkla görüşelim proje ile ilgili sıkıntıları dinleyelim ve giderelim ayrıca bölgenin eksiklerini giderelim dedik kabul ettiler... Çok açık görüştük mü halkla evet, sıkıntılarını giderdik mi hayır, bölgenin eksiklerini tamamladık mı bunu ise tam olarak bilemiyorum. Zaten proje ortada her şeyi ile hazır neyi değiştireceksin halkla konuşarak. Toprağın altında milyarlarca dolarlık altın ve sen köstebek gibi kazmadan çıkaramazsın... Bu yapılacak halkın katılımı yerel ile ortak çalışma kimin umurunda... Ancak yaptığımız bir şey vardı bu proje çerçevesinde projeye karşı gelen sivil toplum örgütlerine bakın işte biz her şeyi düşündük gelin isterseniz bir de sizinle beraber düşünelim dedik ve işe yaradı... Şimdiye kadar bölgede çok bir sorun çıkmadı."

companies. Although this global developmentalism's embedment in these companies cultural fabric is partially related with these companies' effort to create reassurance regarding the project's sustainability, we can speak of the global developmentalism's codes that has been embedded into the cultural fabric of private companies. No projects that ignore cultural and social forms and lack environmental sensitivity can work without a public pressure. Today, no investment made by the private sector can avoid this sensitiveness. The question is what products avoiding this sensitivitiy can find a place in any market. The answer to this question would be none for developed countries. For sub-saharan Africa it has an positive answer. And in Turkey there is a transition from positive to negative.

Today, ADKGMP project is carried out with regard to Aarhus Convention which Turkish government did not sign. Today, project handlers fund small and medium scale development projects in the surrounding settlvment as part of their main project, although they have no obligations to do that. Today, the environmental impact assessment of ADKGMP project has been carried out in accordance with a legislation that is separate from the environmental impact assessment regulation of Turkish Republic. Project owner of ADKGMP, has carried out environmental impact assessments in villages that the project covered and formed a direct communication with almost each households in the region, although it isn't obligated to do so. In this context, ADKGMP project is a perfect example that shows how effective the perspective of international organizations such as WB has become in social area. Recently, international project standards have been localized to render the safety of private sector investments focused on the maximum profit. We have come to a position that a villager in Çanakkale can make such demands. In addition to its responsibility of supervising private investments through rules and standards, WB also assumed the role of localizing these standards. WB's standards recognize local aspects and grant the right to have a voice in the matter and also provide the political and social conditions ensuring the local community's right to speak. This way, the reconciliation between local and

global has been realized. This, at the same time, makes the local more submissive. The next stage is the point where the institutions of nation state accept these standards. As far as Turkey is concerned, this process gradually transpires. Recently, there is an expectation that Aarhus Convention which hasn't been signed yet will be signed during the process of accession to European Union. Today, almost all projects carried out in accordance with Turkish Republic Environmental Impact Assessment Legislation, couldn't be completed due to the criticism and pressure of the people and non-governmental organizations. These abandoned projects make it necessary to rearrange Turkish Republic Legislation in a way it will comply with the standards of global developmentalism agents. In fact, this still is an ongoing process in Turkey. Recently, GAP GiDEM, has conducted a participation project to refer to the public opinion for the irrigation projects anticipated to be carried out by the government in Şırnak province. A project that had been carried out without communicating with the local community and that flooded villages and even districts in 20 years ago intends to consult to the owners of the lands that will be subjected to irrigated farming and contacts consulting firms that will carry out the process independantly. This can be considered as the clearest example of how developmentalism has been institutionally transformed.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ASPECT OF TRANSFORMATION OF THE DEVELOPMENTALISM

Today, when you look at the development based projects, it is possible to see that developmentalism has acquired a whole different dimension. From the language used in the project reports to the discourse of the experts writing those reports, any things can be said regarding the transformation in developmentalism. Concepts regarded as a threat by national developmentalism has become the main reference in the discourse of global developmentalism's experts. The transformation of developmentalism is not solely consists of the conceptual framework's transformation. Institutional structure, too, transforms along with the conceptual frame work. Nation states, the coordinator of national developmentalism, has been replaced with international organizations. The national legislation, practiced by national developmentalism, has been replaced with international standards that are much more flexible. In today's world, development projects' point of reference is international standards.

At first sight, it can be said that the development projects operate with different sets of concepts and organizational structures will, of course, have different reflections on social area. It can be easily thought that national developmentalism and global developmentalism's discursive changes on social aspects would trigger some changes in everyday life. Both developmentalism perspectives have its own definition regarding social aspects and try to suppress or eliminate all practices contradicting their definitions. For this reason it might be possible to determine the transformation of developmentalism by observing social aspects, that is, everyday life. It seems possible to see the transformation in developmentalism by looking at the trails in the everyday life of ABHES and BTC-OPL projects, two projects adopted two different perspectives of developmentalism. To

see the conceptual and institutional differences between national and global developmentalism in social area, we need to look directly at these two developmentalism movements' practices in social area. In this part, the reflection of developmentalism's transformation in everyday life will be tried to be determined. To reveal the reflections of developmentalism's transformation in everyday life, that is in social area, 16 people from 6 villages, where several projects are carried out within the context of BTC-OPL and ABHES, have been interviewed. These villages have been listed in part 6.1.

6.1. Sample Settlements Where National And Global Development Projects Conducted

First Sample Village

Village Name: Karaorgan affected by the BTC –OPL Project (Kars-Sarıkamış)

Sampling Eligibility for Dissertation Field Survey: This village is a successful example to understand the process in which global developmentalism operates and how it differentiates from national developmentalism processes. Because, In August of 2005 under the direction of Regional Development Agency the village established an effective 40 member association that is currently implementing a project to construct a village sewage system with \$90,000 donated in part by UNDP and SURKAL. The NGO has held two training sessions in the village, one focused on improving conditions at 30 dairy farms and the other aimed at teaching 15 women about environmental pollution and wastewater. At the end of the training session the experts distributed detergent, toothpaste and toothbrushes. Regional Development Agency has also helped the villagers to prepare and submit an application for EU funding for qualifying projects under the various EU programs.

Second Sample Village

Villages Name: Hasbey -Kars-Sarıkamış (affected by the BTC –OPL Project)

Sampling Eligibility for Dissertation Field Survey: This village is a successful example to understand the process in which global developmentalism operates and how it differentiates from national developmentalism processes. Regional Development Agency has successfully repaired three kilometers of gravel road, delivered 20 packages of cement, and 30 seedlings to a number of households. They oversaw the construction of seven greenhouses which were poorly built and have become rather dilapidated, and from 2004 to 2005 the NGO ran the artificial insemination program for 10 TL per plant. Regional Development Agency has received \$1,353,000 to implement the above projects. The villagers are aware that BTC-OPL project has contributed \$850,000 to Regional Development Agency.

Third Sample Village

Village Name: Boğatepe (affected by the BTC Project)

Sampling Eligibility for Dissertation Field Survey: This village is close to Kars Province's western border. It is included in the BTC-OPL delineated corridor for the promotion of sustainable rural development and community investment projects. The BTC-OPL program implemented by RDA supported the dairies. However, at this time market demand is low and the dairies are operating at reduced capacity. Boğatepe households benefit from strong rural-urban links. Many families have members living in Kars and operating shops in the city center. They sell their products through these outlets (milk principally, butter and cheese). The villagers are industrious, productive and entrepreneurial. They are open to new ideas. There is excellent potential to increase productivity and rural incomes through improvement in animal husbandry and dairy farming practices and marketing of products.

Fourth Sample Village

Village Name: Ovacık (affected by the ABHES Project)

Sampling Eligibility for Dissertation Field Survey: After the dam reservoir of ABHES project ceased to hold water, the flooded settlement was subjected to resettlement

tin Havza district of Samsun in accordance with the settlement law numbered 2510 and governing regulations taking this law as a reference. Ovacık village's resettlement in Samsun's Havza district was completed in 1990. 29 out of 43 households living in Ovacık village preferred to be settled by the government. Other households living in Ovacık village, of their own will, immigrated to cities such as Mersin, Adana, Istanbul and Izmir. While 29 households were living in reconstructed Ovacık village in 1990, today the number of the households in the village decreased to 19. Following the resettlement process, the migration to major cities continued. The reason why this village has been included to the extent of the field survey is that the new settlement of this resettled village had been fully formed by the state and all economic activities in this new settlement had been regulated by the state. It gives us a clue about national developmentalism's approach towards social aspects and how it transforms these social aspects.

Fifth Sample Village

Village Name: Mete (affected by the ABHES Project)

Sampling Eligibility for Dissertation Field Survey: After the dam reservoir of ABHES project ceased to hold water, the flooded settlement was subjected to resettlement in a location 12 kilometers away from the former settlement in accordance with the settlement law numbered 2510 and governing regulations taking this law as a reference. The resettlement process was completed in 1991. All 18 of the households living in Mete village preferred to be settled by government and the resettlement process had been carried out by the state. While 18 households were living in reconstructed Mete village in 1991, today the number of the households in the village decreased to 15. The reason why this village has been included to the extent of the field survey is that the new settlement of this resettled village had been fully formed by the state and all economic activities in this new settlement had been regulated by the state. It gives us a clue about national developmentalism's approach towards social aspects and how it transforms these social aspects.

Sixth Sample Village

Village Name: Keskince (affected by the ABHES Project)

Sampling Eligibility for Dissertation Field Survey: After the dam reservoir of ABHES project ceased to hold water, the flooded settlement was subjected to resettlement in Tavas district of Denizli in accordance with the settlement law numbered 2510 and governing regulations taking this law as a reference. Keskince village's resettlement in Denizli's Tavas district was completed in 1991. 21 out of 34 households living in Keskince village preferred to be settled by the government. Other households living in Keskince village immigrated, of their own will, to cities such as Mersin, Adana, Istanbul and Izmir. While 21 households were living in reconstructed Keskince village in 1991, today the number of the households in the village increased to 41. The reason why this village has been included to the extent of the field survey is that the new settlement of this resettled village had been fully formed by the state and all economic activities in this new settlement had been regulated by the state. It gives us a clue about national developmentalism's approach towards social aspects and how it transforms these social aspects.

Several projects, varying in scale and involving both national and global perspective of developmentalism, was carried out in these 6 sample settlements mentioned above. First three sample villages were affected by BTC-OPL project and these settlements have been chosen to present the global developmentalism's relation with social aspects. Fourth, fifth and sixth sample villages are settlements subjected to resettlement within the context of ABHES project. These three villages subjected to resettlement within the scope of ABHES project were completely resettled by the state. In these villages, certain development projects within the context of GAP were conducted. In this sense, these three villages have been chosen to show the national developmentalism's relation with social aspects. In this chapter, information, which has been compiled within the framework of previous research that shows the national and global developmentalism's reflections in social

area, has been included in addition to the interviews conducted within the scope of field survey.

The relation that national and global developmentalism formed with social aspects and the transformations they triggered in social area will be tried to be analyzed through these projects carried out in these villages. As a part of the field survey, two individuals from each village have been interviewed. Interviewees have been chosen from people who have witnessed those development projects carried out in their settlements. Considering the fact that the development projects, carried out in settlements affected by ABHES project, started to be implemented 20 years ago; making interviews with people who witnessed and participated in these projects has become a necessity.

6.2. The Transformation of Locality: From National Developmentalism to Global Developmentalism

National developmentalism appeared as an effort to come up with a modern social formation by melting local aspects in a universal pot. In this sense, when we look at all the projects of national developmentalism we see project procedures that almost completely disregard local aspects. This fact also applies for the ABHES, one of the most important projects of national developmentalism. Additionally, ABHES project, as a part of GAP, can be perceived as a project of forming collectivism within the context of Turkey's universal criteria. ABHES project appears as one of the monumental works of modern Turkey in terms of its size and goals. When we look into resettlement and nationalization activities carried out within the context of ABHES project, we can reveal the foundations of the perspective of GAP, or national developmentalism's perspective directly practiced in GAP. Resettlement activities conducted in Ovacik, Mete and Keskince villages will illustrate a clearer picture regarding national developmentalism's approach towards the local and modernism. The information given by one of the residents of newly established

Keskince village in Tavas district of Denizli, the headman of Keskince in 1990s; will clearly present the nature of the national developmentism's relations with the local.

At the time I was 36. I was much younger... Back then, the headman would do exactly what the aga said... The people who came to our village neither consulted nor informed us... They told us that we would settle in Denizli... Since all the lands were owned by the village aga we couldn't get anything from the nationalization. So, must of us come here...¹⁰⁰

As headman stated, all resettlement activities carried out under ABHES project was run through the central authority. To fully understand this resettlement activity carried out by the central authority, we need to explain certain characteristics of Keskince village. Before the resettlement procedure, the property of most lands in Keskince village belonged to a person referred as village aga (lord).

And the villagers live by cultivating these lands. Since the villagers didn't own any land, the nationalization process carried out within the context of ABHES project brought almost no profit to the villagers. The only right of villagers, who couldn't financially benefit from the nationalization, was to settle in a different place arranged by the government within the concept of settlement law. In this context, villagers applied in accordance with this law, and were settled to Tavas district of Denizli. In a way, the resettlement of Keskince village became a forced migration. Another interviewee who had gone through the same things experienced in 1990s explains the situation with the following words.

¹⁰⁰ The Headman of Keskince (Village relocated for Atatürk Dam), Interview with the author, Denizli. 12-03-2010 "Ben o zaman 36 yaşındaydım. Sakalımıza ak düşmemişti... O zamanlar bizde muhtarlık ağının dediğini yapardı... O zamanlar köye gelen gidenler bize ne bir şey sordu nede bir şey söyledi... Denizliye yerleşeceksiniz dediler... Köydeki tüm topraklar ağının olduğu için istimlaktan parada almayınca köyün çoğu buraya geldik..."

...At that time, I just returned from my military service. We knew, for a long time, that our village would be flooded. We didn't want to leave. We wanted to migrate to a closer place. We said that the only thing we wanted was land and tools to be engaged in agriculture. Nevertheless, all the lands were owned by the village aga so he got all money came as compensation. After having left with no money and choice, we had to come here. Thank god the state built houses and provided lands with some debt... At the time, the people who had registered land got their money from the state and migrated to Adana. After all, there were 4 or 5 families that have registered land. Since we didn't have no registered anything, we had no choice but to come here....¹⁰¹

Villagers who lived by cultivating Aga's lands were forced to settle in the new Keskince village established by the government after the lands, which they were the tenants of, were flooded and due to the fact that they couldn't benefit from the compensation for nationalization since they were just tenants of the land. In the new Keskince village, in accordance with the settlement law, the state built houses and provided each household with 5 decares of land by debiting the villagers. When we consider all these resettlement activities, we see that the state's centralized planning practices were dominant. National developmentalism's communication with the local, that is the villagers of Keskince, is unilateral and centralistically controlled. Headman of Keskince village explains this unilateral communication during the resettlement process as follows.

We neither heard nor saw anyone from DSİ. They always had dinner in Aga's house. After all, the decision had already been made at that time. My authority as a headman was just on paper. I just did what I was told. They told us that

¹⁰¹ The Villiger of Keskince (Village relocated for Atatürk Dam), Interview with the author, Denizli. 12-03-2010. "...Ben yeni askerden geldiydim. Köyü su basacağını çoktan biliyorduk. Gitmek istemedik köyün yakınlarında bir yere göçmek istedik buralarda tarla tapan versinler bize dedik ama köyün tüm toprakları Ağa'nın bizim bir şey yok tüm parayı ağa Cukkaladı... Para olmayınca zorunlu olarak buralara geldik Devlete zeval gelmesin bize borç ilen ev yaptı borç ilen ahanda şuncacık toprak verdi... O zaman köyde tapulu arazisi olan köylüler istimlak tan para aldılar istimlak parası ile Adana'ya göçtüler zaten 4-5 hane vardı yoktu tapulu arazisi olan köyde bizde tapulu bir şey olmayınca biz de buraya geldik başka çare yoktu..."

we would go to Denizli. I said all right. I explained the situation to the village. I told them the place we were going to go was fertile, verdant and all. They said ok too. Frankly, I too hadn't seen Denizli until I came here. We didn't ask the government why they brought us here... Still, I wonder why they moved us here... If you ask me whether it has been good for us, I would say yes. At first, we had some difficulties, but now we're good...¹⁰²

Even now, it seems to be impossible to know why Keskince village was resettled in Denizli's Tavas district. It is simply not possible to contact with authorities worked in Keskince village's resettlement and access to information regarding this resettlement. Nevertheless, the things that an expert worked in ABHES project's resettlement efforts said about the resettlement activities carried out within the scope of ABHES project might give some clues about why Keskince village was resettled in Denizli's Tavas district.

"The main criterion in all resettlements carried out due to Atatürk Dam is land property. Resettlements were carried out according to land ownership. Generally, distant areas were chosen for settlements owned by one person. However, since it was quite difficult to find state properties in distant places, many villages were directed to urban settlements. By doing this, state dispersed the land ownership in the region due to dam reservoir and tried to break the cultural formation regarding the property. It is not easy to say that whether it was right or wrong but, all in all, that was what the state tried to achieve. And in settlements in which there were various land owners, the state tried to place those elevated areas which wouldn't be affected from the dam reservoir. Of course there were other criteria too regarding the resettlement process. Sometimes a person from a higher

¹⁰² The Headman of Keskince (Village relocated for Atatürk Dam), Interview with the author, Denizli. 12-03-2010 *"...Biz ne duyduk ne gördük DSI'cileri onlar hep Ağa'nın evinde kuzu çevirirlerdi... Zaten karar verilmiş bize göçmek kaldı. Benim muhtarlığım kâğıt üzerinde gel dediler geldim git dediler gittim. Dediler Denizliye gideceksiniz tamam dedik anlatım herkese yeşil bir yemiş, çorak değilmiş bereketliymiş dedik köylülere anlattık bi tamam... valla daha önce görmemiştim Denizliyi... Neden diye sormadık neden bizi buralara getirdi devlet sormadık... Hala merak ederim neden bizi getirdiler buraya... iyi oldu mu dersin oldu derim... İlk zamanlar zorlandık ama şimdi rahatız..."*

authority would told us to disperse the village and we wouldn't know the reason..."¹⁰³

The main criterion in the resettlement activities included Mete and Ovacık villages carried within the scope of ABHES project was land ownership. Resettlement activities in Mete and Ovacık villages was shaped by the nature of land ownership in these villages. Since most of the lands in Mete village was regarded as treasury and forestry land, this village was resettled in a treasury land which was close to the village. Ovacık village, on the other hand, was moved to Samsun for most of its land belonged to one person. In this sense, resettlement activities conducted within the context of ABHES project had no communication with local aspects. The words of an expert who participated in these resettlement activities as a DSI employee may provide more detailed information regarding resettlement activities of ABHES project.

¹⁰³ Participant (Agricultural Engineer), GAP, Interview with the author, 13-02-2011, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "Atatürk barajı nedeniyle yapılan yeniden yerleşimlerin tamamında temel kıstas toprak mülkiyetidir. Yerleşim yerlerindeki toprak mülkiyetine göre yeniden yerleştirme çalışmaları gerçekleştirildi. Genel de tek kişinin mülkiyetinde olan yerleşim yerleri için seçilen yeni yerleşim yerleri uzak bölgeler oldu ancak uzak bölgelerde devlete ait toprak bulmak güç olduğu için birçok köy kentsel iskâna yönlendirildi. Bu sayede hem bölgedeki toprak mülkiyetinin Baraj gölü nedeni ile dağıtıldı hem de bu mülkiyete dair kültürel yapı kırılmaya çalışıldı. Doğru muydu değil miydi şu an itibarı ile kestirmek çok zor ancak az buçuk dikkat edilen ilk şey buydu. Eğer bir yeniden yerleşime tabi dağıtık toprak mülkiyetine sahip bir yerleşim yeri söz konusu ise bu yerleşim yeri baraj gölünden etkilenmeyen üst kotlara yerleştirilmeye çalışıldı. Tabi yeniden yerleşim çalışmalarında yapılırken bizim bilmediğimiz başka kıstaslarda söz konusuydu. Birileri yukardan dağıtın o köyü diyebiliyordu ne için neden biz de bilmiyorduk..."

The answer to the question of what happened to the villages affected by the projects carried out within the context of Atatürk Dam is quite simple. Villagers who owned some lands migrated to major cities with the nationalization compensation they received. Most of them did not prefer to be settled. Village agas migrated to cities. They established businesses and became rich and some of them couldn't make profit and lost what they had. The only solution for villagers who had no lands turned out to be settlement law and resettlement. Villagers with no lands were resettled in new settlements by benefiting from the settlement law but most of them couldn't adapt to these new settlements and the lands and the houses newly built in these lands by the government wasn't sufficient for them to start a new life. So most of these settlements migrated to cities and many were emptied. Only few of them continue their ordinary existence. It can be easily said that, concludingly, most of the people living in settlements affected by Atatürk dam migrated to major cities. But I don't think this has been a failure. During the resettlement process, the consequences were known. Resettlement was an alternative presented to the villagers who had no lands. These settlements would have migrated to major cities even though Atatürk Dam didn't existed and these villages weren't flooded. These villages subjected to resettlement weren't places to be lived in long before the Atatürk Dam...¹⁰⁴

Actually, the common ground of resettlement activities carried out within the context of ABHES project was settlement law and governing regulations. Settlement law and the governing regulations of this law can be regarded as the

¹⁰⁴ Participant (Economist), GAP, Interview with the author, 12-05-2010, Ankara. Work in ABHES: "...Atatürk Barajı çerçevesinde yapılan tüm etkilenen köylere ne oldu sorusunun aslında çok basit bir cevabı var... Köylülerden az buçuk toprağı olanlar kamulaştırma tazminatlarını alarak büyük şehirlere kendi istekleri ile göç ettiler iskan edilmeyi çoğı tercih etmedi.. Köy ağaları zaten kentlere göç etti... Orada iş kurup daha zenginleştiler aralarından bazıları tutunamayıp yok olup gitti... Topraksız köylüler için ise tek kurtuluş iskan kanunu ve yeniden yerleşim oldu..Topraksız köylüler iskân kanunundan yararlanarak yeni yerleşimlere yerleştirildiler ancak bu yeni yerleşim yerlerinde çoğı tutunamadı devletin verdiği topraklarda onlara yeni yaptıkları evlerde ne onlara yeni bir hayat kurmak için yeterli geldi bu yerleşim yerleri her geçen gün büyük şehirlere göç etti birçoğı boşaldı... Sadece bir ikisi bu gün yaşamını devam ettiriyor. Atatürk barajından etkilenen tüm yerleşim yerlerinde yaşayanlar için sonuç büyük kentlere göç oldu denebilir... Ancak bunun bir başarısızlık olduğunu zannetmiyorum... Yeniden yerleşimi yaparken herkes bu işin böyle sonuçlanacağını biliyordu yeniden yerleşim topraksız köylülere devletin verdiği bir fırsattı Atatürk Barajı olmasaydı da bu köyler su altında kalmasaydı da bu köyler büyük şehirlere göç edecekti Atatürk Barajından önce yeniden yerleşime uğrayan köyler çok da yaşanacak yerler değildi zaten..."

most important indication that reflects ABHES project's approach towards social area.

When we examine the first article of settlement law introduced in 1934, the significance of resettlement activities carried out under ABHES project to nation states can be understood much clearly. "Settlement of immigrants, refugees and wandering gypsies is carried out by ministry of internal affairs and ministry of public health and welfare in accordance with the programme formed by the cabinet with the purpose of ensuring their devotion to the Turkish culture and regulating the demographic activities (Settlement Law)." All resettlement activities carried out within the framework of this law can be considered as a part of a nationwide cultural and social arrangement. In this sense, national developmentalism could not form a communication with localities. If we look at other provisions of this law, we can have a much clearer perspective regarding the motives that the central authority had when carrying out these resettlement activities within the framework of this law. According to the 4th article of this law, people who haven't devoted themselves to the Turkish culture, anarchists, spies, wandering gypsies and deportees cannot be settled in Turkey. In fact, it is clear that the main purpose of this law and article is to create a homogenous social and cultural integrity which is coherent with the nation state's ultimate purpose. This law introduced in 1934 and amended several times during the following years was arranged to determine the settlement of immigrants coming from other countries. In 1970, with an included article, this law became a legislation arranging the mandatory displacements within the boundaries of Turkey. Turkey, which didn't receive much immigration after 1970s, used this law mostly on domestic mandatory displacements. The article ensuring this use of the law is given below.

"Additional article 10: Among the citizens being forced to leave their homes as a result of losing partial or fully ownership of real property due to the exercise of special laws or expropriating with the purpose of building dams, airfields, factories,

other facilities concerned with economy and defense and preservation of historic and environmental values;

- a) whose property is completely nationalized,
- b) whose property is partially nationalized and who are forced to leave these properties,
- c) who settled in the nationalized area at least three years before the beginning of the budget year in which settlement planning studies began and had no property;

Villagers are subject to settlement in governmentally determined locations in accordance with the law numbered 2510 and its provisions, if requested. State of inconvenience is stated through regulations. Fees paid for the property of individuals subject to settlement as a requirement of special laws or as a result of an expropriating procedure are deposited to the special settlement fund which will be formed by concerned administrations in accordance with the provisions of this law. Fees deposited in this manner along with other settlement aids and indebtedment fees excluded in additional article 5, subject to set offs in accordance with the principles to be prepared by ministries of finance, commerce and village affairs in a joint effort.”

With this amended article, the law that had been introduced in 1934 with a concern for a cultural and social integrity started to be used in resettlement activities that development projects caused. All resettlement activities conducted within the framework of ABHES project referred to this law. This, in fact, shows the main direction of resettlement activities carried out within the context of ABHES project. Through this law, ABHES project intervened in social aspects. In the settlements subjected to resettlement, land owners received nationalizations compensations and migrated to major cities but on the other hand villagers with no lands were resettled in various places determined by the government. Within the context of the project, extensive ownership of various lands, which is prevalent in

the region, tried to be eliminated. All resettlement activities carried out for the realization of other projects such as Keban Dam and Hydroelectric Plant, Karakaya Dam and Hydroelectric Plant, Birecik Dam and Hydroelectric Plant, Karkamış Dam and Hydroelectric Plant in addition to ABHES project, which is just one part of GAP, was conducted within the framework of this law. In this sense, GAP brought along an extensive cultural and social transformation. During these transformation, all decisions were made through the central authority and all efforts were conducted in a unilateral process. And this side was the state itself. Villagers and the local community, who are the main actors of these resettlement activities, were mere spectators of the process. The words of one of the interviewees from Ovacık Village reveals the nature of this unilateral communication.

...We wanted to benefit from the settlement law. I personally collected the villagers' petitions. Because it seemed back then that there were no other alternatives... However, when we were told that we were going to Samsun we were greatly surprised. So we objected but nobody cared. Even the houses were already packed. So we stayed in a guesthouse for a while. Shortly afterwards, we have been placed here. Nobody asked our opinion when bringing us to this place...¹⁰⁵

The nation state that imposingly forms the ideology of all institutions and organizations having a prominent role in national developmentalism has broken off the ties between development and local aspects. As far as national developmentalism is concerned, it is impossible to speak of a collaboration or communication with local aspects. The relationships formed between national developmentalism's institutions and organizations and the local is of an imposing nature. Nevertheless, global developmentalism's approach towards local aspects is gradually changing. The relationship formed between global developmentalism and

¹⁰⁵ The Villager of Ovacık (Village relocated for Atatürk Dam), Interview with the author, Samsun 10-01-2010: "...Biz istedik iskân kanunundan yararlanmayı tüm köylüden teker teker arzuhalleri ben topladım çünkü başka bir çare yok gibiydi... Ancak bize Samsun'a gidin dendiğinde bizde şaşırarak itiraz ettik ama kimse gale almadı bizi... Evleri bile hazırlamışlar geçici bir süre bir konukevinde kaldık sonra bizi buraya yerleştirdiler... Kimse bize danışmadı bizi buraya getirirken..."

the local is mutual. It tries to understand local aspects and attempts to be in collaboration with it. Global developmentalism does not operate with a notion of universal modernization. It approaches towards the local by considering the needs of global market and makes it submissive within this market. All cultural and social situations that national developmentalism ignored with a discourse of national integrity and universal truth fall under the global developmentalism's point of interest. Without the inclusion of all these local situations, it is impossible for global developmentalism's projects to work efficiently. In this sense, local aspects are nothing but a different situation that can be integrated to its own system, rather than an obstacle. Whereas local aspects are regarded as a threat to developmentalism in national developmentalism, it is an area that can be included through a process of taming according to the global developmentalism's understanding. This situation can be understood best by looking at the studies carried out in settlements affected by BTC-OPL project. All development-oriented studies carried out within the context of BTC-OPL project in Karaorgan, Hasbey and Boğatepe villages, also examined as part of the field survey within the context of this thesis, included the participation of the local community. WB's standards which BTC-OPL had taken as a reference, made the local community's participation obligatory for this project. Various mechanism were formed and executed efficiently which aimed at informing the local community about the project and making sure that the local community was directly included to the all stages of the project. With regard to this, the project was subjected to many changes during the construction phase. For many times, BTC-OPL project stopped or changed due to environmental or other difficulties based on cultural and social characteristics. The statement of Boğatepe Village's headman regarding activities performed in Boğatepe village would be a perfect example for this.

Many people from BTC came to our village. They informed us about anything they had done. They let us know when even they were passing through the village. Once they informed us one day earlier regarding the passing of two trucks through the village. Foreign people came and go. And they asked

questions about anything. From marriages to funeral, they visited us in every occasions. Truth be told, they had done no harm to us. They contributed to the village. Many families engaged in dairy farming and established cooperatives thanks to them. They bought the milk, butter, cheese we produced.. They had done many things but also many things that were unnecessary...¹⁰⁶

As we can understand from what Boğatepe village's headman said, although BTC-OPL project had less impact on the surrounding settlements than ABHES project's impact, it tried to achieve a greater communication with the local. Although ABHES project had a great impact such as resettlement which reestablished social and cultural elements, it didn't even consult to the people who lost their homes regarding where they wanted to be settled. However, even though BTC-OPL project would have temporary impacts, it established a strong communication with the local community and conducted all planning activities with local community's participation. In Karaorgan and Has villages, too, which have been examined within the scope of this thesis, all activities performed within the extent of BTC-OPL project were conducted with the local community's participation and with regard to the unique social and cultural formation of region. The interview made with the headman of Karaorgan village displays the importance that BTC-OPL project attributed to participation.

...When they first came to the village for BTC that wanted specifically to have talk with the women... Although we said this is a village, they insisted that they need to listen to everybody and that man cannot speak on the women's behalf. We said okay and arranged the meetings. They were greatly pleased. They took pleasure in listening to our

¹⁰⁶ The Villiger of Boğatepe (Village Affected for BTC-OPL), Interview with the author, Kars 10-10-2009: "...BCT'den birçok kişi geldi gitti köyümüze. Adamlar ne yapsalar haber veriyorlardı. Köy yolundan geçeceğiz diye bile haber veriyorlardı. Devletin yolu neden sorarlar hiç anlamadım... İki kamyon geçecek diye bir gün evelden haber verdikleri oldu... Gâvurlar geldi gitti bir süre yedi sülalemizi sordular... Sormadıkları hiç bir şey kalmadı... Düğünümüzden ölümümüze her olayda geldiler gittiler... Yukarda Allah var bize bir zararları dokunmadı... Köye katkıları da oldu birçok aile süt inekçiliğine yaptı onların sayesinde kooperatif kurdular. Ürettiğimiz süti, yağı, peyniri peşin aldılar... Birçok şey yaptılar sağ olsunlar ama gereksiz birçok işte yaptılar..."

problems and of course we told everything since we found someone who listened to our problems. They had done everything in the book just to lay some pipes underground. They established a big screen in the middle of the village and explained how they made the installment like a movie...¹⁰⁷

The connection of all activities performed within the context of BTC-OPL project with the local goes through this process of participation. The meaning of participation is to design the whole project with the local community, rather than just explaining it to the people. Firstly, this kind of participation requires understanding. Global developmentalism considers understanding as a mechanism realizing the social and cultural transformation. If you manage to understand the people in the region you carry out the project, you can minimize the project's impact on the people. This process excludes national developmentalism's perspective of transforming the local in a universal ideal. Rather than transforming the social and cultural structure, it prefers to preserve and collaborate with it. As far as national developmentalism is concerned, there are no local aspects to be preserved. All local aspects to be preserved, in fact, are obstacles that hinder the national development movement. In this sense, the main starting point for national development is to melt the local aspects in a universal pot, that is to modernize; instead of preserving it. However, in global developmentalism there is neither defined universal ideals nor a social and cultural integrity. For this reason, as far as global developmentalism is concerned, localities are not an existential problem. For global developmentalism, local aspects are just an element of risk that must be minimized. And this minimization process can only be achieved through the formation of relationships with the local. In this sense, these relationships are bidirectional. To be more precise, these relationships reveal themselves as

¹⁰⁷ The Headman of Karaorgan (Village Affected for BTC-OPL), Interview with the author, Kars 13-10-2009: "...BTC için köye geldiklerinde özellikle kadınlarla görüşmek istediler. Burası köy dediysekte ısrarcı oldular herkesin söz söylemesi gerekiyormuş. Kadınların yerine erkekler söz edemezmiş. Tamam dedik görüştük pek bir mutlu oldular. Dert dinlemek bir hoş geldi onlara tabi biz de dert dinleyeni bulunca saydık döktük her şeyi. Adamlar topu topu köşesinden yerin altından boru geçirecez diye yapmadıklarını bırakmadılar. Köyün orta yerinde sinema kurdular boruları nasıl döşediklerini film gibi anlatılar..."

bidirectional. It has been observed that in all three settlements affected by BTC-OPL project, the processes defined as democratic participation are tightly tracked. In all three settlements the project was explained to the local community and the authorities answered their questions and listened to their concerns. The interview made with the headman of has village sets a good example of how this bidirectional communication works.

...First they came to me asked me how I have been. So they gathered the villagers and talked about the project for hours... They said that they need to get familiarize with the village to avoid any harm. You can visit and get to know the whole village in ten minutes but they lingered around for a year and couldn't get enough of our village...¹⁰⁸

The principle of democratic participation, which is the basis of global developmentalism, brought along the preservation of local aspects. This preservation protects the project from the problems that might arise from local aspects as well as ensured the project be embraced by the local community thus providing the sustainability of the project. A sustainable project requires a sustainable relationship with the local community. Forming this kind of relationship can only be achieved by understanding the local. As long you understand local aspects, you can minimize the project's impact and reduce the risks in the project by including them to the project. The main problem here is related with the possibility of this understanding. National developmentalism preferred to make itself understood, instead of understanding them. And what national developmentalism told was a set of universal values. However, the relationship of global developmentalism with local aspects involves the understanding of local aspects. The reflections of these two developmentalism movements in everyday life is determined by the relations they formed with the

¹⁰⁸ The Headman of Karaorgan (Village Affected for BTC-OPL), Interview with the author, Kars 13-10-2009: "...ilk bana geldiler hal hatır sordular. Sonra köylüyü topladılar anlattıkça anlatılar. Belki elli defa geldiler... Projenin bize zarar vermemesi için köyü öğrenmeleri gerekiyormuş. Neyini öğreneceksin köy işte... 10 dakikada gezilir ama adamlar 1 yıl gezdiler bizim köye doyamadılar..."

local. Unilateral and marginalizing relationship of national developmentalism has been replaced with a bidirectional communication model within the perspective of global developmentalism. Saying that this bidirectional communication model of global developmentalism is quite realistic and something feasible is somewhat difficult. Also as long as there is a risk minimization of global developmentalism projects, it is not quite reasonable to state that this relationship formed with local aspects has been transformed into a mechanism of understanding based on localities. Actually, it must be emphasized that although there is a difference between the two developmentalism approaches regarding the relations they formed with the local, the reflections of these two distinct methods in social area is not so different. In this context, efficiency of the participatory projects aimed at the understanding of localities will be discussed in 6.3.

6.3. Understanding Localities

To present the differences, or in other words, to be able to argue that one thing is different than another, it is necessary that you define the two things. National developmentalism's approach asserting that differences do not exist or its emphasis on the removal of these differences prevents it from defining the local. It is very difficult to come across with any definitions regarding localities when you look at national developmentalism's projects. Global developmentalism, on the other hand, brings these differences into the light and integrates these differences into the global market. Global developmentalism carried out projects defining the different. And making a definition regarding the different can only be possible by understanding it. Global developmentalism's most fundamental argument is understanding the localities. The main reason why Christine Zirke who worked for a long period as an anthropologist at Environ, a company providing social and environmental consulting services to public and private sectors, was that global development projects' effort to understand the local. Repeating the quotation from Christine Zirke we included at the beginning of the 4. Chapter would be significant

for showing global developmentalism's effort to understand local aspects. "At first, you have to learn to talk like them to change them. After you learn to talk like them, you realize that you give up changing them. That must be the reason why I love my job and I do for a long time".

However, is that kind of understanding effort sufficient to really understand localities? Actually, the proper question would be like this: What kind of information will a bidirectional communication with the local provide. One of the biggest predicaments of global developmentalism is the healthiness of the bidirectional communication formed with the local. To what extent understanding, or as Christine Zirke puts, knowing is possible. What global developmentalism's bidirectional communication basically does is taking localities into consideration. When we analyze the activities performed in the villages in which ABHES and BTC-OPL projects were carried out, we see that the bidirectional communication model of global developmentalism had no reflections in the everyday life of the people lived in these settlements. This situation can be clearly seen in two interviews made in Boğatepe Village.

...Within the context of BTC project, they made huge contributions to our village. The development of dairy farming in village is due to their efforts. They thought us how to make cheese. Today, Boğatepe cheese is the best selling one in Kars...¹⁰⁹

In Boğatepe village, within the context of BTC-OPL projects, milk cows, adapted to the region's environmental conditions has been given to the households living in the village with quite low interest rates. Additionally, a cooperative was established to make use of the produced milk. The most significant part of this exercise was the discovery of a cheese making technique unique to Boğatepe village

¹⁰⁹ The Villiger of Boğatepe (Village Affected for BTC-OPL), Interview with the author, Kars 10-10-2009: "...BTC projesi için köyümüze çok yardımları dokundu. Süt inekçiliği onlar sayesinde bu kadar gelişti köyümüze. Bize peynir yapmasını yeniden öğrettiler şimdi gidin Kars'a Boğatepe peynirleri en çok satılan peynirdir..."

within the context of supporting dairy farming project. During the anthropological studies conducted in the village within the framework of BTC-OPL project, it was discovered that the villagers had a unique cheese making technique and subsequently making good use of the milk produced with this technique was encouraged. However, when we asked this technique in the village, we have been told that this is quite prevalent in Turkey. This cheese making technique, presented as BTC-OPL project's discovery of the local, in fact, should be defined as the global developmentalism's marketing effort rather than revealing the colors of local aspects. One of the interviews made within the scope of this thesis involves a clear analysis regarding global developmentalism's bidirectional communication.

...It is not our place to say anything about BTC. It comprises of highly educated people. Our countrymen learned a lot of things from them...¹¹⁰

In a sense, global developmentalism's projects relationship with the local is more artificial than the relationship between the global developmentalism's experts and the local community. Despite the artificialness, this relation will restrain the local and eliminate the risks it poses. Global developmentalism's concern for understanding resembles whispering to a person who's not aware of his distinctiveness that he is distinct. A study conducted as part of IBHES project sets good example of how this distinctiveness is revealed.

Another settlement flooded due to IBHES project was Çattepe village. This village is known to be an Alavite Turkmen village settled in this region in 1940s. However, when Çattepe residents settled in this region and mixed with the densely populated Shafiis, it lost its characteristics as Alavite Turkmen settlement. Due to its close distance to the railway and highway, Çattepe village received a lot of migration lost its characteristics as Alavite Turkmen village. During the creation of

¹¹⁰ The Villiger of Boğatepe (Village Affected for BTC-OPL), Interview with the author, Kars 10-10-2009: "...BTC için laf söylemek bize düşmez. Okumuş insanlar başta bizim köylü bir şeyler öğrendi onlardan..."

alternatives for villagers to choose their new settlements within the context of IBHES project, the necessity of settling in a place where they can preserve their own uniqueness due to its characteristics as an Alavite Turkmen village was underlined. However when we went to the village we observed that there was only several families having the Alavite Turkmen identity mentioned in the village's history books. At that point the necessity of resettling the village in two segments arose. It was concluded in accordance with WB and IFC standards that there had to be separate resettlement alternatives for Alavite Turkmen families and Kurd Shafii families. This situation in fact was the whisperings made according to WB and IFC standards claiming that these two different ethnical groups who managed to live together for 70 years were different. The villagers had the right to make their own choice but they whispered in their ears that they were different. The most pleasing development for Çattepe village was the fact that wouldn't be affected by the project which was revealed through further engineering activities. It is clear the burden laid by the nation state on Alavite Turkmen families which were settled in this region, again, by the nation state in 1940s is not so different from the burden laid by the global developmentalism, although in an insinuating manner. Settlement policies carried out in the name of maintaining national integrity in 1940s, to some extent, resembles the directives of global developmentalism towards the local. The things said by the headman of Karaorgan Village, which is one of the villages interviewed within the scope of this thesis, provides very important clues which makes it easier for us to know and understand global developmentalism

...Mr. Mete from BTC visited us once a week. He would ask whether we had any problems. They had those forms and papers that he wrote on. One day he came he said "Your people are too silent, they don't participate in the meetings. They don't ask anything like they have no problems at all. Please come to the meetings and make some requests regarding the project." This was how we participated in the

process. After all, what can we know about these things as mere countrymen...¹¹¹

As we underlined before, global developmentalism's effort to form a bidirectional communication was built on the basis of dealing with safety concerns. This safety concern is the safety of the primary project. The safety of a conduit, which will be formed within the concept of BTC-OPL project, covering almost the whole country. In a way this bidirectional communication was formed to leave an open door to say that we referred to your consultation in case of a public reaction. This kind of relationship, whose main concern is this kind of safety, is not so different from the relation which national developmentalism didn't form.

The secondary problem of this bidirectional communication is the improbability of this kind of communication. The contrast between global development's expert's language used to understand the local and the local's language makes it impossible for the expert of the global developmentalism to understand the local. This is the most fundamental indication for the infeasibility of global developmentalism's logic. This communication between the expert of global developmentalism and the other (in this case the locals) leads to its expansion and even domination over the other. The interview made in Hasbey village exemplifies this domination based relation between the expert and the local community.

...Our village is arid... Since it is a rural area, it seems different to the people from cities. This went for the people from BTC too. Nevertheless we got along with them just fine and saw that they had no bad intentions. After a period, they instructed and we carried out the tasks. As countrymen who had not much things in their lives, we requested for more as

¹¹¹ The Headman of Karaorgan (Village Affected for BTC-OPL), Interview with the author, Kars 13-10-2009: "...Haftada bir bizi BTC'den Mete Bey ziyarete gelirdi. Bir derdimiz olup olmadığını sorardı. Formları vardı yazarçizer giderdi. Bir gün geldi dayı ya köyünüz çok sessiz kalıyor toplantılara gelmiyor. Hiçbir şey istemiyor hiçbir sıkıntısı yok kurban olayım gelin şu toplantılara bir şeyler isteyin şu projeden dedi. İşte biz öyle girdik işin içine yoksa ne anlarız biz. Üç yıl geldi gitti Mete yazık adam işinden gücünden olmasın diye gittik toplantılara iyi de olmuş köyün yolunu asfaltladılar bir sürü şey yaptılar köye..."

they provide. All the needs of the village were fulfilled. It was kind of embarrassing but anyway, I wish there were 10 more BTCs in per village. Still there is much to be done...¹¹²

The expert of global developmentalism develops a different perception of locality than it already is. The main reason for this situation is that he/she considers what he/she sees through his/her own semantic codes. The relationship that the global developmentalism's expert tries to establish is a process that develops on its own. The expert's relationship with the locals is a relation imposing a sense of locality formed through his/her own semantic codes and, in this sense, a relation that actually creates the local aspects. To what extent is that relationship bidirectional and to what extent coherent with the democratic participation principle of global developmentalism is not certain. Within this relation, the people exposed to certain impacts within the context of a project are included to the project through the expert's perception of local aspects. The essential point of this relationship is the fact that global developmentalism's expert's somewhat credulous consideration of local aspects as a thing worth being won over. Global developmentalism tries to win the local over but this locality tried to be won over is a locality defined, determined and even created by the expert. And the participation of this locality, created by the global developmentalism, in its project underpins global developmentalism's bidirectional communication formed with the local.

Whereas national developmentalism breaks off all ties with the local, global developmentalism ensures the participation of a locality existing in its own perception. In this context, the two perspectives of developmentalism are not that different from each other. The localities that national developmentalism excluded on desk, is created on desk by global developmentalism and included to the

¹¹² The Viliger of Hasbey (Village Affected for BTC-OPL), Interview with the author, Kars 12-10-2009: *"Bizim köy çoraktır... Köylük yer olduğundan farklı görünür şehirliye... BTC'ciler içinde öyle oldu sonra anlaştık hepsiyle baktık kötülük yok içlerinde bir vakit sonra zaten onlar dedi biz yaptık... Biz köylüyüz görmemişiz ya onlar verdikçe istedik biraz ayıp oldu köyün her bir şeyini yaptırdık ama olsun... Keşke 10 BTC geçse köyden daha çok iş var köyde..."*

development project. All in all, in both developmentalism perspectives, the relationship formed with the local is unilateral. However, the relationship that global developmentalism formed with the local differs in being participatory. Localities defined, found and created by global developmentalism are included to the global development projects. The words of an expert working in BTC-OPL project presents some clues regarding how local aspects are included to the projects by global developmentalism and how this inclusion process is democratized.

...There were 8 settlements that I was responsible of. We arranged focus group meetings with 4 separate groups in each settlement once a month. I continued conduct these meetings for a period of 3 years. In the archive, in my office, thousands of registry papers piled up. If you ask me who read these, I would say nobody. But we conducted dozens of projects with reference to these interviews. From traditional beekeeping to traditional pickling, we designed dozens of projects. In these villages, some of them were realized, some other weren't. None of these projects are based on the things talked in these focus groups. I can't think of any example in which a villager came to me and said we definitely need to have this. We did that on their behalf. I never forget this one. Once, in one of these villages, a pipeline was to be installed. And its route involved a wish tree. By considering this wish tree's material and spiritual significance for the villagers, we moved the tree with a tremendous effort to a location near the village. Forcibly, I obtained complaint petitions from the village headman and other two villagers regarding the tree's significance. I don't remember how many times I had to persuade the headman to receive the complaints requesting authorities to take necessary precautions to avoid any harm that might come to the tree. Since the tree was very old, we couldn't move it with traditional methods and arranged an expert just to move the tree. But soon afterwards, the villagers started to hang rags to another tree and nobody cared about the tree. But in the end, we proved ourselves to

the inspection mechanisms and showed that we do it right...¹¹³

These words are quite valuable as a clear example presenting global developmentalism's relationship with local aspects. However, the answer to a question asked to the same expert clearly illustrates the nature of the relationship, which is defined as bidirectional, that global developmentalism formed with the local and the relationship ensuring the democratic participation.

-Who were the people that you need to prove yourself that you operate properly, that is to say, the entities checking your operations?

- Primarily, nongovernmental organizations. But the funny thing about this situation is that it was us that organizing these organizations. When you design and conduct a project, nobody asks questions. And you tear the streets apart to find a person who would ask you questions. One of my primary responsibilities was to include non governmental organizations to the project. I rode off in all directions just to find one NGO in Kars. But no, there is NGO in Kars. So the prime inspection mechanism was these non-existing non governmental organizations that we ensured their presence. If they give the nod, there is no problem with the internal checks. Internal inspection was all about the lists of meeting attendance. If that list is long enough, you are good. Coming

¹¹³ Participant (Anthropologist), BTC-OPL, Interview with the author, 21-06-2010, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL: "...Sorumlu olduğum 8 yerleşim yeri vardı. Ayda bir kez her bir yerleşim yerinde 4 farklı grupta odak grup toplantıları düzenlerdik. 3 yıl boyunca bunu sürdürdüm. Ofisteki arşivimde binlerce sayfa kayıt oluştu. Kim okudu bunları kimse ama bu yapılan görüşmelere istinaden onlarca proje yaptık. Geleneksel metotlarla yapılan arıcılıktan tutun geleneksel turşuculuğa kadar onlarca proje hazırladık bu köyler için bazısı uygulandı bazısı uygulanmadı. Bu projelerin hiç biri o odak gruplarda konuşulardan çıkmadı. Köylü gelip bana hiçbir zaman bak bizim köyde bu olmazsa olmaz demedi. Biz onların yerine olmazsa olmazlar ürettik... Hiç unutmuyorum bir köyde boru hattı bir dilek ağacının yanından geçecek dilek ağacının köy maddi ve manevi anlamı olduğunu düşünüp kesmek yerine bin bir uğraş köye yakın bir yere taşıdık... Köy muhtarı ve köydeki iki kişiden zorla şikâyet dilekçesi aldım ağaç bizim için önemlidir diye. Bu ağaca zarar gelmemesi için yetkililer önlem almasını isteyen şikâyet beyanlarını alınca kadar kaç kez ikna etmeye çalıştım muhtarı hatırlamıyorum sayısını... Ağaç yaşlı olduğundan klasik metotlarla taşıyamadık ve sadece o ağacı taşımak için uzman bile getirdik... Ama ne oldu köylüler taşıdığımız ağacın yerine başka bir ağaca çaput bağlamaya başladılar bizim taşıdığımız ağaç öylece kaldı... Ama bizi denetleyenlere şunu gösterdik biz işimizi doğru yapıyoruz..."

up with good work was limited to the number of signatures.

...¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴Participant (Anthropologist), BTC-OPL, Interview with the author, 21-06-2010, Ankara. Work in BTC-OPL:

-İşinizi doğru olarak yaptığınızı göstermek zorunda olduğunuz yani sizi denetleyenler kimlerdi peki?
- En başta sivil toplum örgütleri ama garip olan da bu örgütleri de örgütleyen bizler olmamız. Bir proje yapıyorsun kimse sana bir şey sormuyor bu neden böyle bu neden şöyle diye ve sen gidiyorsun köşe bucak sana soru soracak insan arıyorsun... Benim en başlıca görevlerimden birisi sivil toplum örgütlerini projeye dâhil etmektir. Kars'ta sivil toplum örgütü bulacam diye dört döndüğümü bilirim. Yok arkadaş yok sivil toplum mivil toplum Kars'ta... İşte bizi en başta denetleyen bu olmayan ama bizim öldürdüğümüz sivil toplum örgütleri idi. Onlar tamam derse zaten iç denetim de sorun çıkmaz ki... İç denetimin zaten baktığı toplantı katılım listesi eğer o liste yeterince dolu ise tamam... İş doğru yapmak listedeki imza sayısı...

CONCLUSION

It has recently been a common assertion in the development literature that the development, now about half a century years old, has come to an end. Other than its total failure to overcome the economic problems of 'backward' countries, it has also brought about traumatic social, cultural and ecological consequences. The discourse of developmentalism which was formed through the same modern regime of truth has mostly lost its legitimizing grounds. The idea of progress, improvement, the superiority of the model of Western historical transformation, the myth of common humanity ideals have all collapsed and consumed their plausibility.

The most simple definition of development is to bring 'good life' to people. Although the definition is very simple and naive, the concept itself is not. The notion of development is used in many political contexts, disguises itself under various discourses and ideologies, and the last but the least, has the potential to transform a society altogether in pursuit of an ideal society or humanity depending on the context. The notion of development inevitably ties with the notion of progress, which constitutes one of the basic tenets of modernity, a belief in the capability of rationalized forms of power, ethical, political, economic, social mechanisms of decision-making so to speak, to create a better world for humanity. Thus, the concept of development directly brings us to the notion of modernity.

In such a conceptual schema, where the modernity should be pursued and the tradition should be dodged, the tradition had never been defined in a lucid way. It was practically what was not modern, defined by its difference from it; the savage, the irrational, the inefficient, the local, the East, the other, etc. It is, in short, an obstacle to progress and development, the 'flourishment' of universal ideals of humanity. Contrary to the general prejudice about 'traditional' societies, the

observations of anthropologists reveal the fact that those societies were more prone to the accommodation of differences.

Having its founding roots in the hegemony of modern rationality over nature (and tradition as well) and in the notion of unilateral development as an inescapable fact, modernity seems to be concomitant with the idea of development and progress from the very beginning. Today, everyone talks about the need for adapting or integrating with the global society for survival. However, this urgent need for adaptation to or the integration with the West and concomitant processes of socio-economic transformation has a history of more than a century for the so-called underdeveloped countries. Especially in the second half of the 20th century, this need assumed a complete and institutionalized form implemented by the states through several policies and giant infrastructure projects. This movement called developmentalism indeed expressed underdeveloped countries' zeal to become modern and to keep pace with the sweeping changes brought about by (high) modernity. The notion of development in this sense emerged just after the World War II, which was legitimized itself on the basis of struggle against poverty in both developed and underdeveloped countries. The catastrophic consequences of the war, the devastating impacts of the Great Depression, the emergence of Cold War, and decolonization process have fostered the debates on developmentalism.

At the end of the course of development lasted about half a century, the so-called underdeveloped world had still been swamped with poverty and economic polarization had never been alleviated significantly, rather it had been worse than ever before even in the so-called developed countries. Moreover, the social and cultural consequences of the development were also disastrous. In favor of reinforcing, maintaining or creating the social integrity within countries, the totalizing discourse of developmentalism has brought about the loss of diversity and relentless homogenization. This standardization has permeated into the material

culture as well. Things have become the similar to each other within this homogenizing and totalizing discourse of developmentalism.

A major strand of criticism against developmentalism has come from Marxist and structuralist approaches especially after the late 1960s. A version of this criticism saw developmentalism as a futile attempt since, for the critics, there were structural factors that created the patterns of development and underdevelopment. The structural mechanisms of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism have generated and maintained the existing inequalities among regions and countries.

For the proponents of developmentalism and the political right, the Marxist criticism and structuralist approaches to developmentalism in general were 'ideological' and their explanations for underdevelopment were biased. These perspectives tended to explain the failure of developmentalism and consequently the reasons for underdevelopment by looking at the underdeveloped countries themselves and internal dynamics rather than the external factors, such as the mechanisms of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism. However, the criticism towards Marxist approaches has not only come from these perspectives. A strand of critical thinking emerged in the 1970s and turned into poststructuralist approaches later on has regarded Marxist and structural explanations as providing holistic explanations for the 'underdevelopment' that tended to overlook the specificities and difference.

The postcolonial criticism against development largely focused on the relations between the West and the East rooted for centuries and interpreted developmentalism as a Eurocentric perspective that attempts to undermine the non-Western forms of understanding and practice of the World. For the postcolonial criticisms, the notion of development has imposed a unique historical transformation of the West on the so-called underdeveloped countries as a model that has to be attained in the future. The Western notions, such as progress,

industrialization, individuality, etc., have been defined as indisputable elements of a better life that is modernization and development so to speak.

The poststructuralist criticism of development primarily focuses on developmentalism's ties with the Enlightenment and modernity. The Enlightenment thought regards human beings to be indefinitely perfectible, which could be attained by self-realization brought about by the reason. Reason is the only tool on the way of progress and development since it "is the same for all thinking subjects, all nations, all epochs, and all cultures" (Cassirer, 1951: 13-14). This reason was of course the reason of the West which brings wisdom and knowledge in contrast to the Rest, the irrationality of which results in ignorance and barbarity. The natural conclusion of such a schema is the claim that the Rest should follow the same path of the West. This idea had indeed formed the basis of modernization theory as well. Poststructuralist theory regards this modern reason as operating through disciplinary institutions and rationalized mechanisms for establishing self-discipline.

Indeed, the regimes of truth create their own 'discourses' which are taken as objective statements at least in their authoritative spaces. In a way, the claims of truth and disciplinary nature of the modern reason make it coercive rather than liberating. The poststructuralist critics regard developmentalism and its discourses in such a relationship between truth and power. Developmentalism says 'what to do' and 'what not to do' to the underdeveloped countries on the way to development; it renders the notion of development as a normative goal for all the societies. It is an authoritative discourse legitimizing itself on the basis of the developmentalist (sub) regime of truth.

There has been a vast amount of literature emerged since the late 1970s which has seriously questioned the notion of development and developmentalism. For the representatives of this strand of thought, development as practices and policies and developmentalism as conceptual framework and philosophy have been

proved to be a failure and disappointment; developmentalism is even regarded as “the greatest failure of the century” (Pitt, 1976:16). This fact was explicitly apparent in the case of Latin America, where the criticism against development first emerged.

Thus, the development movement is similar to the project of modernity since they have both brought about disastrous social consequences. Indeed, taking its inspiration mainly from postcolonial studies and poststructuralist theory, these criticisms have regarded the development as intrinsically modern project. These criticisms have questioned (and sometimes deconstructed) the central concepts of developmentalism, such as progress, improvement, growth, welfare, development, etc., in a way to reveal the power relations behind those seemingly ‘universal’ concepts.

Most of the pioneering body of literature that paved the way to the emergence of post developmentalism or to the theoretical stances that have offered alternatives that can no longer be regarded as developmentalism was written by Arturo Escobar, a Colombian anthropologist who has been highly influenced from Foucault’s thoughts. He states that the discourse of developmentalism was so hegemonizing that even the theoretical perspectives having harshly criticized the developmentalism have felt the need to formulate their analysis by offering alternative models of ‘development’.

The development as a process, for him, involves the determination of the factors that resulted in underdevelopment, legitimization of the practices within development by making the issue ‘scientific’ by means of ‘experts’ and academic authorities, and the last but not the least the institutionalization of development through the formation of new sites of power/knowledge. As such, development is “a top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the

charts of 'progress' " (Escobar 1995: 44). Thus, Escobar calls for alternatives to development rather than development alternatives, a postdevelopmentalist perspective so to speak, since the very concept of development is problematic and historically an essential part of modernity discourse.

As has been stated in the section dealing with the major criticisms against developmentalism, the development literature has tended to shift its emphasis from more plausible models of development towards alternative models of development or the discourse of anti-development, which are no longer conceptualized within the theoretical framework of developmentalism. The developmentalism seems to lose its legitimacy at least among critical development literature and the radical social movements. However, we still use the term 'development literature' since the new forms of projects held by the international corporations rather than the nation-states do not cease to be development projects. Although the intrinsic elements of developmentalism discourse, such as progress, improvement, equality, modernity, etc., have been questioned to the point of invalidation, these projects are legitimized as having potential to bring 'development' to the concerned region. Thus, the remnants of the discourse of developmentalism have scattered everywhere; they not only exist within the talks of international corporations implementing such projects but also, surprisingly, within the political discourses of emancipatory social movements and, surprisingly, NGOs, which take their legitimacy from the negative consequences of development movement. However, this dissertation has attempted to show that the persistence of developmentalist discourse is only an illusion. What is defined as global developmentalism in the context of this dissertation, which represents the conceptual framework of the projects held by the international corporations and institutions, involves a hollow concept of development. As we have seen from the projects that were investigated in the field research section as examples of global developmentalism as practice, the global developmentalism primarily lies on difference, locality, 'little stories', etc. It no longer adopts a totalizing and

homogenizing discourse of developmentalism, although the practical consequences are vulnerable to discussion. It seems to leave the 'we are all the same' discourses of modernity (though it is already a hypocritical one) and attempt to foster the difference, which, in its case, originates from locality and indigeneity.

The universalist discourses of modernity which was inherited from developmentalism seem to be in crisis. The global developmentalism operates through the notion of particularity and difference. The new localism of global developmentalism seem (at least do not refuse) to be eager to hear the Other; it exaggeratedly emphasizes the democratic participation of the 'local' people and preserve the social and cultural patterns of the concerned region. Since the global capitalism produces both differentiation and homogenization at the time, the resulting (so-called) locality mostly mean a more convenient place for the permeability of capital.

It wouldn't be wrong to look for the origin of global developmentalism in Nietzsche's discourse of *small things*. Global developmentalism, contrary to national developmentalism, doesn't concerned with greater human ideals or stories that covers whole world or life; instead, it looks into smaller stories. Global developmentalism claims to be the listener, instead of the narrator. In a sense, this is an epistemological distance that it puts between itself and national developmentalism. In this sense, the first critique of global developmentalism is towards the national developmentalism's discourse of universal ideal.

It wouldn't be wrong to say that small things narration, put forward against the discourse of universal ideal manifested itself in private sector development and the concept of downsizing the state, which influenced the globe after 1980s, and Turkey after 1990s. The practice of developmentalism discourse, in which the state is the main actor and which was formed on the basis of technical knowledge built by the positivist understanding and which tries to eliminate the gap between

developed and underdeveloped countries under the basis of social and spatial justice, therefore pursuing the greater human ideal, encountered a major crisis in 1980s. This crisis nearly wiped out the national developmentalism, questioned because of its universal ideal discourse, from economic, social and cultural life. In this crisis, for the state itself was perceived as the source of the problem, and not the solution; practical destruction of the structure of national developmentalism became the main topic of conversation. In this new era, obstacles to entrepreneurship, which had not much maneuvering space in national developmentalism period, removed one by one.

When the maneuvering space of entrepreneurship started to transcend the nation states' boundaries and the concept of traditional foreign trade and acquired a global definition thanks to the major developments in transportation and electronics sector, entrepreneurs became the main actors of this new era and the global developmentalism that represents this new era. Individuals put a far more different play on the stage than the developmentalism game that states steered. With an analogy we can say that this new era is marked by a play where the individuality of people come into prominence and where little things are told rather than the play governed by the state where a perception of greater ideal that covers everything is laid out.

All these finance organizations not only fund the projects previously funded by the state prior to 1980 but also form the conceptual framework and organizational structure of developmentalism movement. This new conceptual framework and organizational structure presents a social reality different from the one designed by national developmentalist projects, funded by nation states, and also a whole different definition of cultural area. Global developmentalism emerges within the new definitional boundaries of social reality and culture defined by international financial organizations mentioned before. In this sense, in today's capitalism, global developmentalism differs from the modernist social and cultural perception of

national developmentalism as an instrument of intervention to the practical area. Major national projects as GAP, put the postmodernist social and cultural perception of global capitalism into practice by recognizing all differences, instead of determining the whole social formation.

The fundamental way to put this postmodernist perception into cultural and social practices is to fund, under the conditions set by international financial institutions, private and public sectors in agriculture, energy, finance, manufacture, environmental infrastructure, natural resources, tourism, telecommunication, information technologies, media and transportation. The conditions that are laid out by international financial institutions to fund or provide loans for projects that will be carried out by private and public sectors or the standards that are set for these projects are one of the most important instruments in putting the postmodernist perception of global developmentalism into cultural and social practices. This standardization that has been developed since 1980s until today helped the basic principles of global developmentalism to gain its efficiency in social and cultural life at a global level. Principally, international financial institutions lay down the condition of complying with certain standards in return for the fund or loan they provide for these projects. Three important reasons can be mentioned for developing those standards for projects that international financial institutions will fund.

The first one is the economic, social and cultural sustainability of the project funded, which guarantees, in a way, the return of the fund they provide. If a project has a structural problem which hinders the return of the fund provided by financial organization, providing loan for this project will have destructive effects on the financial organization. Therefore, the financial organization considers the project it will fund or provide loan as a combination of economic, social and environmental risks and assesses the project in terms of economic profitability and social, cultural and environmental risks. The funders expect the project owners to mitigate even

the slightest risks regarding the project's sustainability. In a way, the mitigation of risks that the funded project carries requires the project to be formed according to the desired standards in the planning process. In this sense, the funders are involved in the planning process within the limits of standards they set until the implementation phase. These standards set by the finance organization is shaped on the basis of practical experiences in and after 1980's as basic arguments establishing the general understanding of global developmentalism. Practical experience has been of utmost importance in development of these standards

Projects, especially ones such as major dam constructions, deeply affecting the social life and leading to negative environmental effects have brought big risks along and paved the way for the establishment of these standards. While experiences leading to the development of these standards also contributes to the improvement of these standards, these improved standards, after turning into the basic arguments of global developmentalism, have given rise to the emergence of basic rules and norms regarding the regulation of social and cultural areas.

The second important reason of developing standards regarding projects to be funded is the purpose of providing an equitable competitive environment among finance organization. Providing an equitable competitive environment among finance organization also caused the standardization of these conditions at a global level and the emergence of global developmentalism as a global approach. It is clear that the mitigation of an investment project's effects on environment, society and culture increases the cost of the project and decreases the project's profitability. This led the project owners who want to carry out their projects without raising their projects' cost to prefer finance organizations which do not stipulate such conditions. This situation created a competitive environment to the detriment of financial organizations who expect the project they will fund to meet certain standards regarding environment, society and culture. This unequal competitive environment pushed project owners to tend towards financial organizations looking

for no preconditions. So as to prevent this kind of unequal competition, certain standards that financial organizations around the world will look for when providing loan for a project has been set. There is a myriad of credit institutions that provide loans without considering the compliance of the funded project to certain conditions as a prerequisite.

The third reason, actually, is directly correlated with the first reason. These standards have been developed to supervise all the projects to be funded with the purpose of preventing the loss of sustainability of projects that are carried out by private sector with a pure profit mentality due to social, cultural and environmental problems and to supervise the sustainable structure of projects carried out with a pure profit mentality. Equator Principles, established with the consensus of private banks in year 2003, is the most important standard that has been developed on the basis of these three principal reasons.

Unlike the stable and long term structure of developmentalism, the period where entrepreneurs, that is individuals, become the main actors of change, bears the mark of a risky and highly volatile structure. This new mobility that hasn't been seen until today in capitalist system due to the decrease in state's maneuvering space, uncontrollability of global markets and technological revolution, reduced the possibility of long term stability and left almost every segment of society with a range of risks. The most important point here is the fact that human actions, which are results of today's world, constantly push the usual social limits and create an everlasting mobility nullifying almost every attempt to maintain stability. To put it more clearly, we can say that this reformation process is not limited to structural changes on its own. The relation between structure and human actions shows itself as a process that reforms itself. In this new circumstance, we see situations that change because of the volatile and flexible relation between human actions and structure, rather than stable and long term structural situations. In short, while the disorganization in capitalism's mode of organization clarifies the small things

narration, we are being removed from bigger stories. This period, where those small things were clearer, has started with the crisis of capitalism that took place in 1980's. Explaining this crisis and the economic developments related to it in briefly will help us picture this shift. Global capitalism, which lived its golden age in the period after Second World War up until 1970's, sank into a new depression that threw off the economic and social balances after the decrease in profit rates starting from 1980's. At the early 80's, foreign shocks and specifically debt crises left indelible impacts on underdeveloped countries.

The basic point of origin of neoliberal approaches emerged as the minimizing of state's role in economic life. The concept of minimal state returned to the literature suggesting that state must be limited to fundamental duties such as defense, public order, justice, diplomacy, physical infrastructure and forming a reasonable legislative framework that would provide a stable macro-economic environment and that states must take their hands off from the administration and regulation of economic activities. In this sense, global capitalism and neoliberal policies, a by product of the former, slowly removed the feasibility of Keynesian economic policies in capitalist countries and the concept of welfare state, and national developmentalist state policies in underdeveloped countries. At this point, where global capitalist relations have been becoming much more decisive at a global scale, it has become an inevitable necessity for states to reorganize according to these changes.

In this reorganization process economic relations are being supported with political and ideological relations and ergo the role of state transforms. In this ongoing process, the feasibility of national developmentalism as a form of social engineering trying to achieve the ideal determined by nation states, no longer exists. Nation states' projects such as GAP and many of the instruments that would make it possible to intervene economic, social and cultural structure in big regions lost their operability in global capitalist system. The new state of global capitalism is

smaller, and in this sense, too weak to control market mechanisms and carry out development programmes like GAP (Keyder, 1993). GAP, the project which has been considered as the product of national developmentalism in Turkey in 1980's, as Keyder underlined, was a delayed or in other words an untimely project.

The greatest misfortune about GAP project is its delay. In fact, the search for international funding for the project IBHES, one of the most important pillars of GAP which Turkey wants to implement, and, to be more precise, having to implement the project by relying on only national resources can be considered as the most important sign, in the Turkish case, that shows national developmentalism is no longer sustainable within global capitalist system. In today's world, development ideals of nation states and all the projects within the framework of these ideals refer to a different social and cultural state from the ideal definition of national developmentalism in today's economic rationale of global capitalism. This social and cultural state involves a process which was questioned by the modernist ideological discourse. This is where we face two important questions. Considering that nation states reached to their performance limit within the capitalist system and contextual changes occurred in societies around the world, who will assume the notion of intervention in cultural and social areas? And the second question is who will tame capitalism in the conjuncture of global disorderliness which would take place due to the weakened and downsized nation states. The answer to the first question is institutions and organizations and cooperations that are defined as transnational. And for the second question we can say that international norms, standards and rules, imposed by those institutions and organizations, will keep global capitalism in check to some extent.

In this context, when we look into developmentalism, we see that nation states that fund national developmentalism projects in the past have been replaced with international finance organizations that fund global developmentalism projects. IFC, working as a subsidiary of WB, can be shown as one of the most

important international finance organizations and as a leading organization in funding development related projects. The main objective of IFC, in addition to the WB's purpose, is to support private investors and public enterprises, as partners, in their productive investments especially in developing countries. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and International Development Association (IDA), subsidiaries of WB like IFC, provide low interest loans, interest free loans and grants to developing countries to support their development projects.

All these finance organizations not only fund the projects previously funded by the state prior to 1980 but also form the conceptual framework and organizational structure of developmentalism movement. This new conceptual framework and organizational structure presents a social reality different from the one designed by national developmentalist projects, funded by nation states, and also a whole different definition of cultural area. Global developmentalism emerges within the new definitional boundaries of social reality and culture defined by international financial organizations mentioned before. In this sense, in today's capitalism, global developmentalism differs from the modernist social and cultural perception of national developmentalism as an instrument of intervention to the practical area. Major national projects such as GAP; put the postmodernist social and cultural perception of global capitalism into practice by recognizing all differences, instead of determining the whole social formation.

The fundamental way to put this postmodernist perception into cultural and social practices is to fund, under the conditions set by international financial institutions, private and public sectors in agriculture, energy, finance, manufacture, environmental infrastructure, natural resources, tourism, telecommunication, information technologies, media and transportation. The conditions that are laid out by international financial institutions to fund or provide loans for projects that will be carried out by private and public sectors or the standards that are set for these projects are one of the most important instruments in putting the

postmodernist perception of global developmentalism into cultural and social practices. This standardization that has been developed since 1980s until today helped the basic principles of global developmentalism to gain its efficiency in social and cultural life at a global level.

One consequence of this process for the old nation-states is that the strict control of borders has become substantially permeable in comparison to previous periods in a way not acceptable. In this sense, the period of global developmentalism in terms of state-society relations is clearly a very different era from that of national developmentalism. The state of the new era is not a state which makes arbitration between the relationships of the classes in a society neither is it a state which intervenes for the reconciliation of classes within society in favor of the lower classes. An important part of the welfare supplied by the state specifically within the scope of national developmentalism has come to an end through the discourse of downsizing the state.

Confidence for the state which is the most fundamental thing in unifying the society when the notion of the nation-state was strongest, that is, when national developmentalism dominated the socioeconomics fields is replaced by a growing mistrust. This lack of trust has been tried to be filled with the creation of new trust mechanisms created by the people themselves during the enrichment processes as well as in times of coping with poverty. In this atmosphere, with a loss of confidence in the expected creation of the state general and inclusive society, especially communities created by the people themselves which are network relationships based on trust began to hit its mark on social life.

NGOs have made the best of the loss of confidence towards the corporate structure of the state and its restrictions on the area of action and in a short period of time community-based organizations have been an important part of social life. This tendency of the new era leads to setting up of a common language and

common goals of development cooperation in the development process. The definition of development began the change from one NGO to another and from an economic network to another. We can speak during the global developmental era of two different agents undertaking the development. The first one of these agents are private sector firms which do invest for profit. And the IFI which transfer resources to private sector firms investments and control the economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability of the investments. These institutions also eliminate concerns about providing private sector investments of the NGOs, which are filling the gap of coming from the smaller becoming state and as a result decreasing confidence in the social area, and do also transform the for profit investments of the private sector into social responsibility and local development projects.

Global developmentalism is very much similar to the global capitalism a subsystem of it in its zeals, functions, and logic of operation. As has been stated, the general structural integrity of the global capitalist system does not depend on the equilibrium state which entails homogenization and predictability. Global capitalism has an incredible capacity to adopt or incorporate various elements that seem to be foreign (or sometimes threatening) to the system itself. The global developmentalism as a structure operating within the similar logic does not see the difference or the very differentiation as a threat or foreign element and is capable to articulate every element into its logic within a decentralized organization. Thus, its logic depends on the continuous processes of creative destruction in which the elements that seem to be foreign or threatening are succesfully incorporated to the general logic of global developmentalism. One of the major criticisms against developmentalism was the postdevelopmentalism which altogether rejects the notion of development and abandons the idea of new models of development. Global developmentalism seems to incorporate and articulate the major points of postdevelopmentalism into its logic. However, the local, difference or the Other are tamed or domesticated within the discourses of global developmentalism as only

offering a local flavor, which of course seem to have potential to attract more capital and foreign investment.

Thus, global developmentalism's eagerness to cooperate with the 'local healers' in the case of the project carried out in Sub-Saharan Africa should not be regarded as a respect for the difference or an attempt to benefit from the local insights and wisdom. The difference or the Other is, in a way, tamed or domesticated while being incorporated in to the very mechanism of the project, and thereby it helps to ensure the smooth processing of the project. Thus, in this regard way, rather than rejecting the postdevelopmentalist criticisms, which mostly take their inspiration from global colonial theory and post-Marxism, global developmentalism seems to incorporate part of the conceptual framework offered by this school into its logic and attempt to realize projects that depends on now a domesticated notion of difference and diversity. In this way, global developmentalism depends on a form of localism and the notion of particularity in contrast to the national developmentalism operating through the discourses of universality and a totalizing Westernism. However, unsurprisingly, global developmentalism overlooks the criticisms of postdevelopmentalism with regard to the relations of power in global capitalism and the global mechanisms of it that brought about increase in inequality and polarization among and within countries, and marginalization and poverty all over the world.

REFERENCES

- Ackerman, E. A. (1962). "Public policy issues for the professional geographer", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 52, 3: 292-8
- Adelman, Irma ve Erinç Yeldan (2000a.) "The Minimal Conditions for a Financial Crisis: A Multiregional Intertemporal CGE Model of the Asian Crisis", *World Development*, 28(6): 1087-1100.
- Adelman, I., Yeldan, E. (2000b). The End of the Developmental State? Structural Change and Economic Dynamics, September.
- Appadurai A.(2000). Grassroots globalization and research imagination. *Public Culture*, 12(1), 1–19.
- Appadurai, A. (1998). *Modernity at Large : Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Arndt, H.W. (1981). Economic Development: A Semantic History. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 29, 457-466
- Baran, P(1976). *Büyümenin Ekonomi Politikası*, çev; E,Günçe, May Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Barber, B. R. (1996). *Jihad vs. McWorld*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bell, Daniel. (1976). *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: a Venture in Social Forecasting*, New York :Basic Books
- Bernstein,H. (1992).Gelişme Toplumbilimine Karşılık Azgelişmişlik Toplumbilim mi?., M.Ersoy. (ed), *Emperyalizm Gelişme ve Bağımlılık Üzerine.*, Ankara: V Yayınları. Books.,New York
- Benmayor, R., and Skotnes, A. (1994). *Migration and Identity*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Boyce, R. R. (2004). Geographers and the Tennessee Valley Authority, *Geographical Review*, 94(1), 23-42.
- Braudel, F. (1993). *Maddi Uygarlık:Ekonomi ve Kapitalizm X.-XVIII Yüzyılları*, translated by Kılıçbay. M.A. Ankara: İmge Kitapevi Yayınları.

- Bruan, A. (1994). The Megaproject of Mesopotamia, *Centrepiece*. March-April, 25-30.
- Carey, J. P. K., & Carey, A. G. The South of Italy and the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 13(4), 569-588
- Cassirer, E. (1951). *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Chang, Ha-Joon., & Ilene, Grabel. (2004). *Reclaiming development: An alternative economic policy manual*, London: Zed Books
- Chambers, I. (1994). *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, London: Routledge
- Clarke, S (1988). *Keynesianism and Monetarism and The Crisis of The State*, Edward Elgar, Adershot.
- Çarkoğlu A., & Eder, M. and Kirişçi, K. (2005). Fikret Adaman and Murat Arsel (Eds.), *Developmentalism à la Turca: The Southeast Anatolia Development Project* (pp.167-185). London: Ashgate
- Çarkoğlu, A., & Eder, M. and Kirişçi, K. (1998), *Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in the Middle East*. London: Routledge Press.
- Cornell, S. E., & Hartmann, D. (1998). *Ethnicity and Race : Making Identities in a Changing World*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.
- Deleuze, G. (1995). *Difference and Repetition*, translated by P. Patton. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dos Santos, T. (1970). "The Structure of Dependence" *The American Economic Review*. 60 (2), 231-236
- Dudley, S. (1963). "The Limitations Of The Special Case" *Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Economics & Statistics* 25 (2): 77-98
- Durkheim, E. (1997). *The Division of Labor in Society*. Free Press
- E, Richard., & E, B, Frederick, (2002). *IFC Handbook for Preparing a Resettlement Action Plan*, Washington: The International Finance Corporation Press.

- E, Richard., E, B, Frederick (2002). *IFC Handbook Handbook for Preparing a Resettlement Action Plan*, Washington: The International Finance Corporation Press.
- Ekbladh, D. (2010). Meeting the Challenge from Totalitarianism: The Tennessee Valley Authority as a Global Model for Liberal Development, 1933-1945” *International History*
- Ercan,F. (1995).*Gelişme Yazını Açısından Kapitalizm, Modernizm ve Azgelişmişlik*, Sarmal Yayınları
- Escobar, A. (1992). Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements. *Social Text* 31–32: 20–56.
- Escobar, A. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Esteva, G. 1987. “Regenerating People’s Spaces.” *Alternatives* 12: 125–152.
- Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Frank, A. G. (1967). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, Monthly Review Press,
- GAP-RDA (1996), *Southeastern Anatolia Project: An innovative approach to integrated sustainable regional development*, Southeastern Anatolia Development Project – Ankara: Regional Development Administration, April.
- Gregory, D. (1995). Imaginative Geographies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19, 447-485
- Hettne,B.(1990) *Development Theory and Three World*, London.
- Horkheimer, M., and T. Adorno. 1991 ed. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Continuum.
- Jackson, P. (1994). *Maps of Meaning : an Introduction to Cultural Geography*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- James, C, Scott. (1998). *Seeing Like a State*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Jameson, F. (1991.) *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.

- Jameson, F. (1998). *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern 1983-1998*. London: Verso
- Giddens, A. (2000). *Runaway World : How Globalisation is Reshaping Our Lives*. New York: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Kars, A. (2006). *Sermayenin Coğrafyası: Yayılan Sermayenin Daralan Mekânları*, (Master Thesis). Retrieved from acikarsiv.ankara.edu.tr/browse/3181/4035.pdf
- Keyder, Ç. (1993). *Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın İflası*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Kolars, J. (1986). The Hydro-Imperative of Turkey's Search for Energy. *The Middle East Journal*, 40, 53-67.
- Konak, A. (1995). *Atatürk Barajı'nın Neden Olduğu Yeniden Yerleşim Sorununun Yenisamsat, Söke, Reyhanlı Örneklerinden Sosyal Antropolojik Açıdan İncelenmesi*, (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <http://www.belgeler.com/blg/24ik/aturk-baraji-nin-neden-oldugu-yeniden-yerlesim-sonunda-yenisamsat-soke-reyhanli-orneklerinde-sosyal-antropolojik-acidan-incelenmesi-the-questions-of-the-again-settlement-that-are-caused-by-aturk-dam-are-investigated-with-examples-of-yenisamsat-soke-reyhanli-with-the-social-anthropology> (UMI No. 3114720).
- Lash, S., & J. Urry (1994). *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage Publications.
- Lash, S., & J. Urry (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity. Press,.
- Lerner, D. 1965. *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: Free Press.
- Marx, K. 1988 *The Communist Manifesto* (Norton Critical Editions). W. W. Norton & Company.
- Morgan, A. E.(1934). The Tennessee Valley AuthorityAuthor. *The Scientific Monthly*, 38(1), 64-72.
- Mortan, K. (1998). GAP: Intentions, Hopes, Actions, Results. *Private View*, 6(2), 38-44.
- Mutlu, S. (1996). The Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) of Turkey: Its Context, Objectives and Prospects, *Orient*, 37, 59-86.

Nancy, T., & Ingham, B (1997). Languages of Dress in the Middle East. In Lindisfarne(Ed.), *Approaches to the Study of Dress in the Middle East* (pp.8) Surrey UK: Curzon Press.

Nietzsche, F. Basic Writings of Nietzsche. (Trans by Walter Kaufmann). Penguin Classics.

Nixon, (2006), *Journal of International Development*, 2006, 18, 967–981

O'Brien.P:J (1992) "Latin Amerika Bağımlılık Kuramlarının Eleştirisi", ed:M.Ersoy.

Orfe, C. (1985). *Disorganized capitalism: contemporary transformations of work and politics*, MIT Press.

Palanithurai, G., & Thandavan, R. (1998). *Ethnic Movement in Transition: Ideology and Culture in a Changing Society*. NewDelhi: Kanishka Publishers Distributors.

Pınarcıoğlu, M.Melih and Işık Oğuz. (2000). *Yeni Kalkınmacılık: Bölgesel Kalkınmada Arayışlar*. GAP Gidem Yayınları. Ankara

Pitt, D.C. (1976). *Development from Below: Anthropologists and Development Situations*. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.

Portes, A. (1973). "Modernity and Development: A Critique." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 8 (3): 251-75.

Preston,R.W.(1985) *New Trends in Development Theory.*, London: Routledge- Kegan

Rist, G. (1997) *The History of Development*. London: Zed Books.

Rodan. P.N (1968)"Problems of Industrialization of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe", (ed.) A.N.Agarwala ve S.P.Singh., *The Economics of Underdevelopment.*, A Galaxy

Rodan. P.N (1961). "Notes on the Theory of the 'Big Push.' " (ed) Howard S. Ellis and Henry C. Wallich., *Economic Development for Latin America*, New York: St. Martin's.

Sachs, W., ed. 1992. *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*.London: Zed Books.

Sadie, J.L. "The Social Anthropology of Economic Underdevelopment", *The Economic Journal*, No. 70, 1960: 294-303.

Said, E. *Orientalism*, Vintage Books, New York, 1979.

- Samuelson, P. A. (1948). *Economics: An Introductory Analysis*. US: McGraw-Hill.
- Schumacher, E. F. (1993). *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. New York: Vintage.
- Schuurman, F. J. (1993) *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*.
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1976) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1994) *History of Economic Analysis*. Routledge.
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1939) *Business Cycles - A Theoretical, Historical, and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process*, New York: London
- Seers,D.(1967) "The Limits of The Special Case". Eds; K.Martin &J.Knapp, *The Teaching of*
- Sen, A. (1983), "Development: Which Way Now ?" , *Economic Journal* ,93, 745-762.
- Sen, A. (1998). "Mortality as an Indicator of Economic Success and Failure," *Economic Journal, Royal Economic Society*, 108(446), 1-25.
- Simon, D. (1997) *Development Reconsidered; New Directions in Development Thinking. Human Geography*, 79 B (4), 183-201
- Simon, D.(1997). *Development Reconsidered; New Directions in Development Thinking, Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 79(4), 183-201.
- Slater, D. 1993. "The Geopolitical Imagination and the Enframing of Development Theory." *Transactions (Institute of British Geographers)* 18: 419–437.
- Stiglitz, J. (1998). *More Instruments and Broader Goals: Moving Toward the Post-Washington Consensus the 1998 WIDER Annual Lecture*, Helsinki
- Tönnies, F. 2001. *Community and Civil Society (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought)*. Cambridge University Press.
- United Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs. (1951) *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries*.

Ünver, O.I.H. (1995) Southeastern Anatolia Development Project (GAP) of Turkey - An overview of issues of sustainability. *Water Resources Development*, 13(2), 187-207.

Wallace, R. A., & Wolf, A. (2006). *Contemporary Sociological Theory: Expanding the*

Wallerstein, I. (1989) "Kavram ve Gerçeklik Olarak Burjuvazi", *Defter*, sayı 8.

Williams, R. (1992). *Recognition: Fichte and Hegel on the Other*, Newbury Park:State University of New York Press

Williamson J. (2000). What Should the WB Think about the Washington Consensus?. *The WB Research Observer*, 15(2), 251–64.

Williamson, T. (2000). *Knowledge and Its Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Yayınları.

Internet Sources:

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (2010). Retrieved from <http://www.ebrd.com/pages/about.shtml>

First World War. Com Primary, (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/versailles1-30.htm>

Harry S. Truman The White House, (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/harrystruman>

Arrundhati Roy's Article, (2010). Retrieved from <http://www.narmada.org/gcg/gcg.html>

EquatorPrinciples Frequently Asked Questions, (2011).<http://equatorprinciples.com/resources/Frequently%20Asked%20Questions.pdf>

DSİ Genel Mudurlugu, (2011). Retrieved from <http://www2.dsi.gov.tr/topraksu.htm>
BTC yanyor Doga Tarihi, (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.dogatarihi.net/btc-yanyor>).

IFC BTC Oil Pipe Line, (2011). Retrieved from
http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/btc.nsf/Content/Environmental_Impact_Assessment_Documents

DSİ Genel Mudurlugu, (2011-2). Retrieved from
<http://www2.dsi.gov.tr/bolge/dsi10/isletme.htm#baraj>

GAP Uluslararası Kuruluşlar, (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.gap.gov.tr/proje-ve-faaliyetler/uluslararası-iliskiler-genel-koordinatörlüğü/uluslararası-iliskiler/uluslararası-kuruluşlarla-gerçekleştirilen-ortak-projeler>

IFC P_S_7_IndigenousPeoples, (2011) Retrieved from
[http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/enviro.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/pol_PerformanceStandards2006_PS7/\\$FILE/PS_7_IndigenousPeoples.pdf](http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/enviro.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/pol_PerformanceStandards2006_PS7/$FILE/PS_7_IndigenousPeoples.pdf)

TVA From the New Deal to a New Century, (2011). Retrieved from
<http://www.tva.gov/abouttva/history.htm>

About GAP, (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.gap.gov.tr/about-gap/what-is-gap%29>
(www.tepav.org.tr/.../1271245092r8246.Bolgesel_Kalkinma_Ajanslari)
(<http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/0,1518,626916,00.html>)

Unpublished Manuscript

IBHES Project RAP Protocol between DSİ and WB. Unpublished manuscript

IBHES Project Implementation Unit. (2009) IBHES Project Updated Resettlement Action Plan Unpublished Manuscript.

(Izmir –Gebze Motorway Project Public participation Meeting Presentation (2011) Unpublished Manuscript.

APPENDIX A: Field Research Methodological Summary

Appendix B. Field Research Methodological Summary						
Primary Data Source	Data Gathering Technique	Reason for choosing this technique	Level of Representation	Analysis Unit	Analysis Technique	Relations with Study Purposes
The experts which played active roles in the operations carried out within ABHES, IBHES, BTC-OPL, STPR ADKAM Projects	“Non-Standardized Non-Structured” technique as a quantitative data gathering technique	In order to comprehend project mechanism and project cycle and to work out the relationships among project partners, people who have been present in decision making procedures of the operations carried out on project basis will be interviewed. In such interviews, it is not possible to adopt a standardized question form due to the facts that all participants and project constituents have different knowledge and background regarding the project and that each of them has taken part in different stages of the project. Moreover, it is not possible to gather numeric data about project cycle. On the other hand, as all interviews are to be carried out by a single researcher, it is not necessary to standardize the interview directions. This technique was chosen due to the fact that only a descriptive statement of the procedures is not sufficient, as an explanatory analysis of project procedures is aimed.	It has been planned to interview the key personnel who have individually taken part in planning and application stages of ABHES, IBHES, BTC-OPL, STPR ADKAM Projects . Certain criteria was adopted for the selection of the people who represent all constituents of the projects and the research subject among hundreds of employees who have taken part in main engineering project or side projects such as social, cultural, environmental and public relations within the scope of these projects. These criteria are: 1. Active participation in decision making procedures, 2. Presence in different stages of the projects (e.g. feasibility, planning, application, monitoring, etc.), 3. Conducting different tasks in the projects (e.g. monitoring, complaint mechanism, data gathering, participation activities, etc.), 4. Taking part in social, cultural and environmental side projects as well as main engineering project, 5. Having worked in areas affected by the projects (valid for at least a certain part of the people to be chosen)	Individuals 38 people are to be interviewed.	Interviews were transferred from digital platform to computer platform and will be subject to content analysis with a hermeneutical approach.	One of the purposes of this study is to reveal the practical operation cycle of global developmentalism mentality. In order to achieve this, the aim within the scope of this study is to see this mechanism through the eyes of the people who have taken part in this cycle by interviewing them. Therefore, it will be possible to profoundly investigate planning and application stages of SIA, EIA, RAP and RIP works and to put forth the way development agencies get involved in this mechanism. Information about the financial sources of the project and how these sources were obtained will be gathered from the people who have played key roles in decision making mechanisms of the projects. Moreover, in order to reveal the informal cycle of the project besides the formal one, interviews with the personnel who have individually taken part in field operations and in application stage of social and environmental transformation works planned in residential areas which have been affected by the projects will be made

Appendix B. Field Research Methodological Summary						
Primary Data Source	Data Gathering Technique	Reason for choosing this technique	Level of Representation	Analysis Unit	Analysis Technique	Relations with Study Purposes
Representatives from the areas affected by BTC-OLP project and ABHES Project	“Non-Standardized Semi-Structured” technique as a quantitative data gathering technique	Administrative authorities of the areas affected by the projects will be interviewed. In order to comprehend the participation processes of people living in those residential areas in the projects, project mechanism and project cycle of the projects, to work out the relations among project partners, people who have taken part in decision making processes of the works conducted within the context of the projects will be interviewed. In such interviews, it is not possible to adopt a standardized question form due to the facts that all participants and project constituents have different knowledge and background regarding the project and that each of them has taken part in different stages of the project. Moreover, it is not possible to gather numeric data about project cycle. On the other hand, as all interviews are to be carried out by a single researcher, it is not necessary to standardize the interview directions. This technique was chosen due to the fact that only a descriptive statement of the procedures is not sufficient, as an explanatory analysis of project procedures is aimed. While information on the mechanism of a sub-project dealing with an agricultural plant planned to be taken under protection in an EIA work conducted in one of the villages where an interview is to be made and being financed by the funds of The World Bank will be acquired if considered necessary, the aim will be to obtain information on RIP works in another residential area. For this reason, different elements subdivided under general titles such as participation and positioning in planned and applied projects will be the subjects of profound interviews. The fact that these profound interviews will be carried out by a single person has removed the necessity of standardizing the profound interview direction.	Administrative representatives from the 6 villages which are thought to be directly affected within the scope of BTC Pipe Line and ABHES and where the projects which are planned either within the context of the main project or by development agencies as side projects are concentrated will be interviewed. Taking the size of application areas of the projects into account, 4 residential areas which were thought to represent project area and operation scope in the best way were chosen. Certain criteria were adopted while choosing the residential areas which were thought to represent these two projects affecting vast geographical lands and which fit in the research subject. Certain restrictions were taken into consideration as a requirement of time and content. In this context, residential areas where the works planned within these two projects, which exhibit their effects in more than 500 residential places are concentrated and where the effect levels of the projects are the highest were chosen. Criteria adopted for choosing the residential areas: 1. Villages which were subject to rehabilitation activities were chosen. The reason behind it is that rehabilitation works bring along enormous social and cultural effects. 2. Residential areas where the operations of development agencies are concentrated were chosen. 3. Residential areas where the environmental, social and cultural effects of the projects are concentrated were chosen. 4. Residential areas where field operations are concentrated were chosen (Areas where works such as social operations, public relations works on project basis are concentrated were chosen). 5. Residential areas towards which non-governmental organizations show their sympathy in various ways were chosen.	Residential area Administrators from 6 villages were interviewed. 16 people are to be interviewed. Although the interviews will be made with the administrators, the analysis unit is residential areas. The reason behind that is the interviews have been planned to analysis the positioning of the residential areas in the projects applied.	Interviews were transferred from digital platform to computer platform to computer platform and will be subject to content analysis with a hermeneutical approach.	One of the purposes of this study is to reveal the practical operation cycle of new developmentalism mentality. Through these interviews, it is aimed to set forth the projects conducted in relation with the residential areas which stand in the centre of this cycle, their content, their mechanism and how and under which conditions the people living in these areas get involved in this mechanism from the perspective of local society. Located around large investment projects, this global development alism mentality theoretically operates with a decentralized planning and application and carries an emphasis made on locality and public participation. This study, which aims to view the practical functionality of this theoretical emphasis, prescribes data gathering from the region which will be directly affected by the application area. Moreover, it will constitute the basis of the field survey which will be conducted in the areas affected by these projects within the scope of the second leg of this study. These interviews, which will facilitate the transitivity between these two legs, are in the centre of the field survey fictionalized within the scope of this thesis study. In this sense, the reason behind conducting these interviews is to make a comparison between the social transformation triggered by the projects which are developed within the context of new developmentalism and past applications.

Appendix B. Field Research Methodological Summary						
Primary Data Source	Data Gathering Technique	Reason for choosing this technique	Level of Representation	Analysis Unit	Analysis Technique	Relations with Study Purposes
<p>Authorities from the regional development agencies which played active roles in the operations carried out within development project and experts from the many small and big scale projects in various regions of the world</p>	<p>“Non-Standardized Non-Structured” technique as a quantitative data gathering technique</p>	<p>In order to comprehend project mechanism and project cycle and to work out the relationships among project partners, people who have been present in decision making procedures of the operations carried out on project basis will be interviewed. In such interviews, it is not possible to adopt a standardized question form due to the facts that all participants and project constituents have different knowledge and background regarding the project and that each of them has taken part in different stages of the project. Moreover, it is not possible to gather numeric data about project cycle. On the other hand, as all interviews are to be carried out by a single researcher, it is not necessary to standardize the interview directions. This technique was chosen due to the fact that only a descriptive statement of the procedures is not sufficient, as an explanatory analysis of project procedures is aimed.</p>	<p>Personnel from the development agencies which plan and apply projects which complete the projects organized within the context of BTC Pipe Line and ABHES and IBHES Projects and approved and supervised by international finances sources (e.g. IFC, The World Bank, EU, etc.) will be interviewed. Two criteria were adopted while the development agencies with which the interviews would be made.</p> <p>The criteria for determining the development agencies:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Having developed projects within the context of BTC Pipe Line and ABHES and IBHES Projects. 2. Location in the areas affected by these projects. <p>The criteria for choosing the personnel to interview in these development agencies:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Active participation in decision making procedures, 2. Presence in different stages of the projects (e.g. feasibility, planning, application, monitoring, etc.), 3. Conducting different tasks in the projects (e.g. monitoring, complaint mechanism, data gathering, participation activities, etc.), 4.Taking part in social, cultural and environmental side projects as well as main engineering project, 5.Having worked in areas affected by the projects (valid for at least a certain part of the people to be chosen) 	<p>Individuals 8 people will be interviewed. The projects organized by development agencies within the frame of investment projects have been accepted as analysis units. The topic of the interviews with the personnel from the development agencies will be these planned and/or applied projects. For this reason, although the interviews will be made with individuals, the analysis unit will be the projects in which these individuals have taken part. E.g. Beekeeping project planned within EBRDP (Eastern Black Sea Regional Development Plan) affected by BTC Pipe Line Project and applied in 24 villages.</p>	<p>Interviews will be transferred from digital platform to computer platform and will be subject to content analysis with a hermeneutical approach.</p>	<p>One of the purposes of this study is to reveal the practical operation cycle of this global developmentalism mentality. Besides, in order to comprehend what kind of a social transformation is aimed by development agencies with the projects they have planned or applied, a transition to the second leg of the field survey to be conducted within the scope of this research will be ensured.</p>

APPENDIX B: RESETTLEMENT POLICY FOR THE ILISU DAM AND HEPP PROJECT

WHAT IS RESETTLEMENT POLICY FOR THE ILISU DAM AND HEPP PROJECT?

For Lands

Resettlement Policies drawn up for the Ilisu Dam and HEPP Project are composed of two main headings:

- Houses
- Lands

Specific policies will be implemented for the affected houses and lands. Furthermore, implementation of the policies will be specified according to the impact status of the affected assets as being affected either completely or partially and differentiated policies will be implemented specific to each household as well.

Helpful Information:

What is resettlement?

According to international standards, resettlement is defined as the elimination or minimization of the potential problems related to physical and/or economical resettlement of the families that are directly (people whose immovables are inundated) or indirectly affected by the 'development' projects through planning the fact of subject resettlement and also adopting measures to ensure that the production and living standards of the affected people can be restored to the previous or higher levels before resettlement.

What is subsistence threshold?

For determining the subsistence threshold, the amount equals to 18 times of the official minimum gross wage, which is in force at the date of determination, for 30 working days of the employees older than the age of 16, is the base value.

How is subsistence threshold determined?

The official minimum gross wage for 30 days (between January 2009 and July 2009) corresponds to 666 TL and the 18 times of this value is equal to TL 11.988.. The subsistence threshold for the period between January 2009 and July 2009 is determined as TL 11,988. If the affected household's annual income is below TL 11,988 the household is under the subsistence threshold and if the annual income of the affected household is above TL 11.988 , the household is over the subsistence threshold.

The minimum wage is regulated in every 6 months by the decree taken by the Board of Ministers.

For Affected Lands:

The policy that will be implemented for the affected lands is briefly based on the replacement of income generated from inundated lands by allocating lands for agricultural use in new settlement area. In other words, it is aimed to allocate land in new settlement area in order to keep income generated from inundated land, at least in an equal level with the level before the resettlement or more than the previous income generated from inundated land.

According to Resettlement Policy, families who are entitled to resettlement and whose income level is below the subsistence threshold:

Optionally for the PAP whose income is lower than the determined subsistence threshold:

1. The expropriation compensation will be paid only for his/her land (PAP who prefer self-resettlement).

or

2. Land that would suffice for the subsistence will be allocated when rural resettlement is preferred by the PAP. Families, which prefer this option, will pay the cost of the new allocated land by using their compensation money paid to them for their affected immovables. However, if compensation money does not cover the cost of the replacement land, remainder of the cost will be paid by the PAP without any interest rate, with a 5 year grace period, in 15 years by equal installments (Total payment term is 20 years).

Example: It is assumed that a family, which prefers rural resettlement, is paid TL 15,000 for its expropriated immovables. The value of the new land to be allocated to this family is presumed to be TL 20,000. There will be 5,000 TL difference between the value of the expropriated immovables and the cost of the replacement land (TL 20,000 – TL 15,000 = TL 5,000). This difference will be paid by the PAP without any interest rate, with a 5 year grace period, in 15 years by equal installments (Total payment term is 20 years).

According to Resettlement Policy, families who are entitled to resettlement and whose income level is above the subsistence threshold:

For the PAP who own more land than legally determined subsistence threshold:

1. Only the expropriation compensation will be paid, if his/her lands are partially affected and the remaining land provides income above the subsistence threshold.

or

2. If the land is affected completely and the family loses its livelihood thereof, and if the family prefers rural resettlement, the family will be provided with an amount of land that would suffice for its subsistence. The compensation value for the remainder of affected land will be paid to the family.

Example: A family, which prefers rural resettlement, is assumed to be paid TL 65,000 for its expropriated land. The value of the land to be allocated to the family that would suffice for the subsistence is presumed to be TL 20,000. The value of the replacement land, which amounts to TL 20,000 TL, will be deducted from the compensation money, (while the remaining TL 45,000) will be paid to the family. Therefore, the difference between the value of the expropriated immovables and the cost of replacement land (TL 65,000 – TL 20,000 = TL 45,000) will be paid to the family as expropriation compensation.

According to Resettlement Policy, PAP who are entitled to resettlement but do not own any land;

Optionally, for the PAP who earn their livings from affected land as a tenant or a sharecropper:

1. Land that would suffice for the subsistence threshold will be provided for the families that prefer rural resettlement, provided that they will be indebted for the land in new settlement area

Example: Let's assume that a family prefers rural resettlement and also prefers to benefit from the land in amount of the subsistence threshold in new settlement area and this family must pay back TL 20,000 for the land. This will be paid without any interest rate with a 5 year grace period in 15 years in equal installments (Total payment term is 20 years).

2. Within the scope of the project, training programs will be conducted to increase employment possibilities and PAPs will be provided with employment opportunities as much as possible..
3. Apart from the project, consultation and alternatives of training programs to sustain the employment will also be provided.

How to make Land Appraisal?

Appraisal of affected lands and also the lands to be allocated within the scope of the rural resettlement, will be done by using scientific methods. During these studies, some criteria such as location, slope, soil quality of

land and current income generated from the affected land, potential income to be provided from the land to be allocated in new settlement area will be taken into consideration.

How will the families that prefer rural resettlement but who will have to be indebted pay back their debts?

It should be kept in mind that, if the affected families prefer government assisted resettlement, the cost of the land to be allocated in new settlement area will be paid back in 15 years with a 5 year grace period, without any interest rate (total payment term is 20 years).

Indebted families will be able to **make their livings and pay their debts regularly** by using income providing packages that are one of the most important characteristics of the project.

What is Income Providing Package? How will be applied and whether there will be any cost of it for the family?

Income providing packages, which are one of the most important elements of the project, will be applied for the resettlers in order to generate income in new settlement areas.

In line with this information, these packages consist of the activities that must be carried out in order to generate maximum level of income from the land to be allocated in new settlements. Furthermore, these packages also cover skill development training programs in vocations other than animal husbandry and agriculture.

Regarding agriculture, during the implementation of these packages, at first, land will be improved in terms of fighting against soil erosion, implementation of terracing activities in required areas, and applying advanced agricultural methods in order to increase productivity. Furthermore, growing of crops, which produce the highest yield depending on the soil quality and the location of land in new settlement areas, will be encouraged. For instance, agricultural activities for the vineyard will be supported in one region, while agricultural activities related to growing orchard or to greenhousing will be supported in an other region. In parallel with this information, seeds and saplings will be provided for the farmers. Additionally, relevant training programs will also be provided by the experts in the region.

The income providing packages that will be suggested in new settlement areas will be identified through the consideration of regional marketing conditions so many aspects related to the marketing of crops produced by the farmers will also be taken into consideration. For this reason, attempts such as establishment of cooperatives in villages will be supported.

It should be kept in mind that income providing packages will be provided free of charge by the Government within the scope of the Ilisu Dam and HEPP Project. Therefore, these packages will not bring any financial burden to the PAP!

How will the PAPs make their livings until sufficient income is provided by the income generating packages?

Within the scope of Resettlement Law, for entitled families preferring rural resettlement, food aid, fodder aid, and fuel aid will be provided for 1 year in order to support families so their productivity will be increased or one of the members of the affected family will be employed during this transition period.

How will the resettlement area be determined? How will the dispute about the ownership be solved, if any, in areas that are suitable for the resettlement?

Resettlement areas will be identified by primarily consulting with the PAP, implementing scientific research and having expert opinions about the subject. The main target of this task is the identification of the most suitable area where income restoration packages can be efficiently utilized. Despite the fact that the first priority will be given to treasury (public) lands during the determination of resettlement area in order to minimize the disputes about the ownership, alternative areas might be selected instead of scientifically nonarable treasury (public) land for the resettlement in some of the regions. As a result, land consolidation can be realized in some places.

Families preferring rural resettlement and within this content, families owning land in new settlement area, will be able to produce high quality and productive products. Thus, these families can sell their products and pay their debts back more easily. Therefore, they will gain more income from the land to be purchased by using reasonable payment conditions than the income provided from the land before the resettlement.

Selling or renting the real estates in new resettlement areas, when will it be possible?

Real estates in new resettlement area cannot be sold, rented or transferred till the end of the payment of the loans.

However, PAPs that pay back their loans in 10 years before the end of the payment period, can sell or rent their real estates after 10 years from the purchase date of the real estate.

How will the PAPs forward their grievances related to the implementation of the project?

During the implementation of the project, any of the PAP can apply personally to any of the Project Information Offices, which are located in: Dargecit District Center, Karabayir Village, Batman Province or Hasankeyf District Center for their grievances and request information. Furthermore, grievance can also be forwarded to the Project Information Office located in Xth Regional Directorate of DSI in Diyarbakir Province.

How will PAPs' participation be provided in the project?

In all affected settlements, including Hasankeyf District Center, **village resettlement committees** will be established for public consultation, data collection and also for monitoring of resettlement activities. Mukhtar, teacher of village and also voluntary household representatives will be the members of these committees. Both face to face interviews and public participation meetings about site selection for resettlement, implementation of income generating packages and providing income training programs will also be organized.

Will any financial aid be provided for title deed expenses to entitled people who prefer rural settlement?

Yes, it will be. The title deed expenses of land to be allocated in resettlement areas will be exempted from the regular title deed expenses. These title deed expenses will be paid by the Project and any of the PAP will not make any payment for these expenses.

WHAT IS RESETTLEMENT POLICY FOR THE ILISU DAM AND HEPP PROJECT?

For Houses

Resettlement Policies drawn up for the Ilisu Dam and HEPP Project are composed of two main headings:

- Houses
- Lands

Specific policies will be implemented for the affected houses and lands. Furthermore, implementation of the policies will be specified according to the impact status of the affected assets as being affected either completely or partially and differentiated policies will be implemented specific to each household as well.

Helpful Information:

What is resettlement?

According to international standards, resettlement is defined as the elimination or minimization of the potential problems related to physical and/or economical resettlement of the families that are directly (people whose immovables are inundated) or indirectly affected by the 'development' projects through planning the fact of subject resettlement and also adopting measures to ensure that the production and living standards of the affected people can be restored to the previous or higher levels before resettlement.

For Affected Houses;

In accordance with the Resettlement Policy, policies to be followed for the PAP who are entitled to resettlement and requested government assisted resettlement;

- If both expropriated house and the replacement house have **same sizes (in m²)**, replacement houses will be allocated to the entitled people at no cost, which means that entitled people will own houses in return for the expropriation compensation without paying any additional cost.

***Example:** If the affected house is 80 m² and the entitled family prefers replacement house in size of 80 m², entitled people own house in the new resettlement area without paying any additional cost.*

Replacement house (80 m²) = Affected House (80 m²)

- If expropriated house is **larger** than the replacement house **(in m²)**, houses will be provided for the entitled people at no cost. The difference caused by the sizes of expropriated house and the replacement house shall be paid in terms of expropriation compensation to the entitled people.

***Example:** We assumed that the affected house is 120 m² and the expropriation cost of the house is 48.000TL. If the entitled people prefers the replaced house in 80 m², the difference will be 40m²(120-80=40m²). The difference shall be paid to entitled people as taking the base of 1 m² cost of expropriation compensation of the house (48.000/120 = 400TL/m²). In this example, the difference in 40m² will be paid to the entitled people as expropriation compensation (400 x 40 = TL 16.000). Furthermore, entitled people will acquire replacement house in size of 80m² in new resettlement area without paying any cost.*

Replacement house with a size of 80 m² in new resettlement area + expropriation compensation in amount of TL 16,000 = affected house in a size of 120 m² (It is assumed that the expropriation compensation of this

house is TL 48,000. Therefore PAP will purchase the replacement house with a size of 80m² by paying TL 32,000)

- If the expropriated house is **smaller** than the house to be built in the new resettlement area (in m²), entitled people willingly approve the repayment of a loan with reasonable conditions. This loan will be paid back in 15 years with a 5 year grace period and without any interest rate. (It will be repaid in 20 years in total)

Example: Let's assume that the size of the affected house is 80 m² and the entitled family preferred the replacement house with a selling price of TL 60,000 in 100 m². The difference between the sizes is 100-80=20 m². The commercial value of the replacement house (60.000/100 = 600TL/m²) in terms of the value corresponding to 1m² is calculated and this value is charged to the entitled family. Under these circumstances, entitled family will pay 600 x 20 = TL 12.000 that corresponds to the difference in 20m², with a 5 year grace period (without any interest rate) in 15 years (total payment term is 20 years) as the cost of the new house to be built in new resettlement area.

Replacement house in 100m² in new resettlement area (it is assumed that the commercial value of this house is TL 60.000) = **80m² affected house + the cost caused by the difference between the sizes of affected and replacement house TL 12.000**

- Families, which do not have their own houses and also that are entitled to resettlement, also prefer government assisted resettlement, can purchase house in new resettlement area by paying back reasonable loans with a 5 year grace period in 15 years (total payment term is 20 years).
Furthermore, families which do not either own any house or are not entitled to government assisted resettlement, can benefit from the other social housing projects of TOKI, which determines the payment condition of these projects.

According to Resettlement Policy, policies to be followed for the PAP who prefer self resettlement but do not prefer Government Assisted Resettlement, despite the fact that they are entitled to resettlement;

- Expropriation compensation will be paid to PAP who have houses in affected settlement area.
- Furthermore, a transportation aid in fixed and reasonable amount, will be provided for the PAP who prefer self resettlement during the movement

- Additionally, PAP can benefit from other social housing projects of TOKI, which determines the conditions of payment.

According to Resettlement Policy, policies to be followed for the PAP who do not prefer Government Assisted Resettlement but prefer physical resettlement;

Within the scope of physical resettlement, building of new houses in new resettlement area according to (land) and preference will be provided.

1. Cash in advance
2. To pay the first installment in cash and to pay the rest of the loan in 2 installments in a 2 year period with 5% interest rate.

Additionally, if PAP who prefer to benefit from housing projects in addition to the land, the payment will have 5% annual interest rate and 2 year grace period, (it will be paid back in total 12 years in 10 equal installments)

Moreover, income providing training programs and with respect to these programs, employment of the PAP will be provided as much as possible. Training and consultation programs for the PAP will also be provided in order to employ the PAP in another area rather than the Project.

According to Resettlement Policy, policies to be followed for the PAP who do not prefer either Government Assisted Resettlement or prefer physical resettlement

PAP who do not prefer either Government Assisted Resettlement or Physical Resettlement but who are subject to resettlement due to the Project can benefit from other social housing projects of TOKI, which determines the payment condition.

If the PAP preferring Government Assisted Resettlement, requests a larger house than their old houses, what will happen?

In this case, PAP willingly accept a loan with reasonable repayment conditions. The difference between the old house and the replacement house will be paid in 20 years (in 15 installments) without any interest rate and with 5 year grace period by the PAP.

Will transportation aid be provided for the PAP who are entitled to Government Assisted Resettlement?

Yes, it will be provided. In accordance with the Resettlement Law, expenditures caused by the movement of goods, livestock, machinery and equipment during the resettlement, will be met by the Project. Furthermore, daily allowance will also be paid to the PAP during the movement.

Will any financial aid be provided for title deed expenses to entitled people who prefer Government Assisted Resettlement in new resettlement area?

Yes, it will be. The title deed expenses of replacement houses to be built in resettlement areas will be exempted from the regular title deed expenses.

These title deed expenses will be paid by the Project and any of the PAP will not make any payment for these expenses.

Will any financial aid be provided during the transition period to entitled people who prefer government assisted resettlement?

Yes, it will be. In accordance with the Resettlement Law, after moving to new settlement area, PAP will be provided food, fuel and fodder allowance for 1 year.

Will the resources like infrastructure, health, training, be provided in new resettlement areas?

Yes, it will be. Resources related to waste water, potable water, electricity, main roads, access roads, tandoori, mosque, easily transportable school and health station will be provided by the Project. Furthermore, services will be provided in facilities such as schools and health stations by the Project temporarily, until provisional services are initiated by the relevant public institutions (Providing education with transfer facilities and mobile health stations).

Selling or renting the real estates in new resettlement areas, when will it be possible?

Real estates in new resettlement area cannot be sold, rented or transferred till the end of the payment of the loans.

However, PAP who pay back their loans in 10 years before the end of the payment period, can sell or rent their real estates after 10 years from the purchase date of the real estate

How will PAPs' participation be provided in the project?

In all affected settlements, including Hasankeyf District Center, **village resettlement committees** will be established for public consultation, data collection and also for monitoring of resettlement activities. Mukhtar, teacher of village and also voluntary household representatives will be the members of these committees. Both face to face interviews and public participation meetings about site selection for resettlement, implementation of income generating packages and providing income training programs will be held.

How will the PAP forward their grievances related to the implementation of the project?

During the implementation of the project, any of the PAP can apply personally any of the Project Information Offices that are located in Dargecit District Center, Karabayir Village, in Batman Province or Hasankeyf District Center for their grievances and request information. Furthermore, it can be applied to the Project Information Office located in Xth Regional Directorate of DSİ in Diyarbakir Province.

APPENDIX C

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Oltan, Evcimen
Nationality: Turkish (T.C)
Date and Place of Birth: 19 July 1976, Konya
Marital Status: Single
Phone: +90 352 437 93 42
Fax: +90 352 437 93 43
email: oltanevcimen@erciyes.edu.tr

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Political Science and Public Administration	2004
BS	METU Sociology	2000
High Scholl	Konya Gazi Lisesi	1993

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2010-present	Erciyes University Department of Sociology	Lecturer
2007-2009	ENCON Co.	Sociologist
2005-2007	Ankara University Department of Sociology	Research Assistant
2003-2005	ENCON Co.	Sociologist
2002–2004	Turkish Railway Worker’s Union	International Relation Manager

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

APPENDIX D

TURKISH SUMMARY

Günlük hayatın akışı içerisinde toplumsal mekanizmaların işleyişindeki değişimi tam olarak ortaya koyabilmek imkânlı değildir. Birey olarak bu değişimin izlerini veya başka bir değişle değişimin delillerini ancak geçmişten kalma bir aile fotoğrafının kadrajının içindeki bir nesneden yol çıkararak ya da kişisel tarihimize not düşen eski bir mektup köşesinden kendimize bir yol açarak izleyebiliriz. Gündelik hayatın hızlı akışı karşısında değişim hızının görece yavaşlığı, insan zihnini unutmaya ve hatırlamaya mahkûm etmiştir. Ancak, “hatırlanan her şey ise biraz eksik veya olduğundan farklıdır”(Delueze,2004). Ölümler, doğumlar ve hayatımıza yön verdiği düşündüğümüz kararlar yani hayatımızın kırılma veya kopuş noktaları olarak adlandırdığımız olaylar, insanın, değişimin izlerini ararken kullandığı sistematik bir çaba olarak görülmelidir.

Geçmişten kalma bir aile fotoğrafının kadrajında gördüğümüz kendimizi yani birçok insan arasında dikkatimizi çeken parçayı ‘evlenmeden önceki ben’ diye tanımlamamız yaşamın bütünlükçü ve süreklilik arz eden yapısından kopuşu simgelemekten çok insanın değişime rasyonel bir anlam verme çabası olarak görülmelidir. İnsanın geçmişini bu şekilde bütünlüğünden kopartıp dönemleştirmesi hayatın sürekliliğini anlamakta insanı belirli ölçüde hissizleştirirken aynı zamanda gerçeği, eksik ve olduğundan farklı kılacağı açıktır. Ancak, toplumsal olanla ilgili insanın değişimi anlamlandırmasının ve geleceğe dair bir şey söylemesinin tek yolu bu gibi görülmektedir. Sosyal Bilimlerin de toplumsal alandaki değişimin izini sürebilmek için toplumsalı kategorikleştirme ve bununla beraber ufak bir parçadan yola çıkarak toplumsal bütüne dair bir şey söyleme çabası bu tezin temel metodolojik yaklaşımı da özetlemektedir.

Bu anlamda, bu tezin toplumsallığın bütünsel fotoğraf karesinde izi süreceği parça “Kalkınmacılık” fikri ve bu fikrin son 30 yılda geçirdiği dönüşüm olacaktır. Kalkınma fikrinin oluşumu ve geçirdiği dönüşüm kapitalist toplumlarda sermayenin mantığının egemenliği altındadır. Teorik ve metodolojik olarak yanlış anlaşılma kaygısı not düşerek örneklemek gerekirse bu tezin ana konusunu teşkil eden bütünsel fotoğraf karesi kapitalizmin aile fotoğrafı ise bu fotoğrafın kadrajı içersinden bu tezin gözünün kaydığı nokta “Kalkınmacılık” olacaktır. Kalkınmacılık kapitalizmin aile resminde nerede ve nasıl durur? Kalkınmacılığın, kapitalizm geçirdiği yapısal dönüşüm sürecinde aldığı yaraları veya üstlendiği sorumlulukları ortaya koyabilmek bizlerin bireyler olarak son yıllarda toplumsal, kültürel ve siyasi alanda “Yeni” olarak tariflenen değişimlerin nasıl içselleştirdiğimizin ipuçlarını sunacaktır.

Tez içersinde Kalkınmacılık, kültürel, ekonomik ve siyasi alanı düzenleyen ve yeniden üreten sermayenin gereksinim duyduğu bir araç olarak ele alınacaktır. Literatürde sermaye ve kalkınma konusu, Ulus Devletlerin ortaya çıkması ile birlikte ele alınmaya başlanmıştır. Günümüzde mali sermaye küresel düzeyde dolaşımını gerçekleştirirken; üretim, uluslararası şirketlerin elinde küresel bant tipi üretime dönüşmüştür. Böylece sermaye ulus-devletlerin sınırlı mekânını aşmış ve dünya coğrafyası üzerinde yayılma sürecini hızlandırmıştır. Bu sebeple küreselleşme söylemlerini, ulus-devlet mekânının sınırlarının anlamını yitirdiği, bu sınırların günümüzde işlevsizleştiği yönünde iddialar takip eder. Bu düşünsel akış içersinde kültürel, toplumsal ve siyasi alanın kurgulanmasında sermaye tarafından bir araç olarak kullanılan kalkınmacılık hareketinde büyük bir payı vardır. Bu tür bir araçsallık içersinden kültürel, toplumsal ve siyasi alanın kalkınmacılık ile kurgulanması Frederick Jameson ve Arjun Appaduri'nin çizdiği teorik çerçeveden incelenmeye çalışılacaktır.

Frederic Jameson, “Postmodernizm, ya da Geç Kapitalizmin Mantığı” adlı çalışmasında, yeni postmodern kültürü günümüz kapitalizmi bağlamında ekonomi

ve kültürü bağdaştırarak yorumlar(Jameson, 1991). Jameson'a göre postmodernizm, gösterişli, parlak tasvir ve görünüşleri barındıran, dış görünüş, stil ve ifade üzerine şiddetli bir eğilimi olan, günümüz tüketim ve medya kültürünü oluşturan bir kültürdür(Jameson, 1991). Bu ele alış biçimiyle, postmodernizmi kuramsallaştırabilmek, küresel kapitalizmin ve küresel kültürün yeni formlarını postmodernizmin belirleyicileri olarak anlamak ve değerlendirmekten geçer(Jameson, 1991). Postmodernizmi bu şekilde kuramsallaştırdığımızda, küresel kapitalizm ve küresel kültürün küresel dolaşımı da ayrı bir kuramsal çalışma olarak karşımıza çıkar.

Nitekim 90'lı yıllarında başında, Arjun Appaduari, küresel dağılım ve dolaşımın beş farklı boyutunu tanımlarken, bunlardan birini de özgürlük, insan hakları, demokrasi gibi siyasal fikir ve simgelerin dağılımını tanımlayan ideescape kavramı olarak kuramsallaştırır(Appadurai, 2000). Bu iki çalışma, postmodernizm ile beraber küreselleşen dünyanın getirisi olan insan hakları, demokrasi ve özgürlük gibi kavramların, küresel kapitalizm ve küresel kültürün birer ideescape'i olarak tanımlanabilmesini sağlar. Bu anlayış insan hakları, demokrasi ve özgürlük kavramlarının kaynaklarını postmodern kültür ya da "geç kapitalizmin kültürel mantığı" olarak tanımlarken, özgürlüğün Fransız Devrimi'nden gelen doğasını ya da demokrasinin Amerikan Devrimi'nden gelen içeriğini göz ardı etmez. Bir süreklilik vurgusunu daima uyanık tutar. Burada postmodern ideescape'ler olarak tanımlanan özgürlük, insan hakları ve demokrasi gibi kavramlardan kasıt, bu kavramların postmodern kültürün belirleyicileri olan küresel kapitalizm ve küresel kültürün ideolojik altyapısı neoliberal ideoloji ile eklemlenerek söylemleşmiş halidir. İşte bu bağlamda küresel kapitalizmin ve küresel kültürün ideolojik alt yapısını gündelik yaşama aktarıcılarında bir tanesi de bu tezin temel konusu olan kalkınmacılık hareketidir. Özellikle, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası yaşamımızın bir parçası olarak tanımlanan Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın dönüşümü belirli Kalkınmacılık projeleri etrafında ortaya koymaya çalışacak olan bu tez bu dönüşümü ortaya koyarken küresel kültürün ve küresel kapitalizmin işleyiş mekanizmasının anlamaya çalışacaktır.

Aslında, Kalkınmacılığın hareketinin ve fikrinin sadece bir dönüşüme uğradığını söyleyebilmek belirli bir Kalkınmacılık tanımını terkisinde getirir. Biraz daha somutlaştırılsak, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında 1970'lerin sonuna kadar geçen dönemde ulus devletler tarafından yönlendirilen ve "İktisadi Kalkınmacılık" olarak adlandırılan hareketinin sonlanmadığını ve günümüzde sadece bir dönüşüm geçirdiğini söylemek kalkınmacılığın tanımını şu şekilde yapmamızla mümkündür. "Kalkınmacılık, kültürel, ekonomik ve siyasi alanı düzenleyen ve yeniden üreten sermayenin gereksinim duyduğu bir araçtır. Aksi takdirde, bu gün "Küresel Kalkınmacılık" olarak tariflenen kalkınmacılık fikri ve hareketinin Ulus Devletlerin yön verdiği "İktisadi Kalkınmacılık" hareketi ile neredeyse hiçbir ortak noktasını bulamayız. Bu iki hareket arasında ne ulaşmak istediği amaçlar ne de organizasyon yapıları bakımından bir benzerlik vardır. Ayrıca bu iki hareketin yarattığı veya yaratmaya çalıştığı kültürel, siyasi ve toplumsal dünya temelde birbiri ile çelişiktir.

Vurgulamak gerekirse, Ulus Devletlerin İkinci Dünya savaşı sonrası dönemde uyguladıkları Kalkınmacılık hareketi ile bu gün küresel sermayenin yön verdiği Kalkınmacılık hareketi arasındaki bağı, bir dönüşüm olarak görebilmek yukarıda belirtildiği gibi ancak Kalkınmacılığı her iki aşamada da sermayenin bir aracı olarak görmekle mümkündür. Bu gereklilik aynı zamanda kapitalizmin kendi içersinde temel bir süreklilik mekanizması ile işlediğinin de kabuldür. Bu anlamda, tez içersinde Jameson'un kapitalizmin doğasına ilişkin dönemselleştirici varsayımı izlenecektir. Jameson'ın bir "üst yorum" olarak kaleme aldığı "Metin İdeolojisi" makalesinde aktardığı gibi bu dönemselleştirici varsayıma göre sermaye tarihsel olarak üç değişimden (mutasyon) geçmiş ve bu aşamalar tarihsel kopukluklara karşılık gelse de temeldeki sistemin devamlılığını ya da özdeşliğini korumuştur (Jameson, 1988). Bu üç an, ulusal piyasa kapitalizmi, 20. yüzyılda ortaya çıkan tekelci sermaye anı ve çok uluslu "geç kapitalizm"dir. Jameson'a göre bu üç değişim anına sırasıyla üç "kültürel an / uğrak" tekabül eder: gerçekçilik, modernizm ve postmodernizm. Jameson, postmodernizmi geç kapitalizmin kültürel

mantığını anlayabilmek için eşsiz bir imkân olarak görür. Kapitalizmin bu türden bir adlandırması ile çok uluslu veya geç kapitalizm dönemine denk düşün Küresel Kalkınmacılık hareketi ve fikri de bize geç kapitalizmin organizasyon yapısı ve toplumsal, kültürel ve siyasi alana yön verme mekanizması anlaşılması için eşsiz bir imkân sunmaktadır.

Küreselleşme ile beraber ulus-devletin kalkınmacılık fikri, ekonomik etkinliklerin yoğunlaştığı başat ölçek olma özelliğini yitirmiştir. Ayşegül Kars'a göre; yeni oluşmakta olan ölçekler hem ulus-devlet üstüdür, hem de ulus-devlet altıdır. Ulus-devlet altı ölçek ile kastedilen yerel ölçektir. Yerel ölçek (kentler, yöreler, bölgeler) daha önce ulus-devletin mekânsal bütünlüğünün birer parçası olarak tanımlanmaktaydı(Kars, 2006.pg:3). Ancak küreselleşme ile birlikte bu yerellikler ülke bütünlüğünden kopmuş ve kendileri küreselleşme sürecine katılmaya başlamışlardır. Bu şekilde günümüzde küreselleşme, yerelleşme ile bir arada ilerlemektedir. Bu iki mekânsal ölçek oluşumu, birbirlerine zıt değil; aksine birbirlerini geliştiren ve tamamlayan süreçlerdir.

Bu tez ise kapitalizm ve kalkınma konusunu, kapitalizm ve kalkınmacılığın karşılıklı yeniden üretimi çerçevesinde ele alacaktır. Kapitalizm için kalkınmacılığı düzenlenmesi ve yeniden üretimi, kendi yeniden üretimini gerçekleştirmesi açısından zorunlu bir unsurdur. Bu yeniden üretimin ardında, sermayenin karlılığı ve daha fazla sermaye birikimini gerçekleştirme saiki ön plandadır. Bu amaçla sermaye sadece toplumsal olanı değil, uluslararası toplumsal ilişkileri de düzenler ve yeniden üretir. Kalkınmacılık fikrinin yeniden inşası sermayenin ikili hareketi sonucunda gerçekleşir. Bu ikili hareket, sermayenin mekânsal yayılması ve yoğunlaşmasıdır. Bu ikili dinamik birbirlerine zıt / çelişik değildir; aksine birbirlerine bağlıdır. Kalkınma fikrini düzenleyen bu ikili dinamiğin sonucu, bölgelerin eşitsiz ve bileşik gelişimdir. Daha somutlaştırmak gerekirse; Küresel Kalkınmacılığın Dünya Bankası aracılığı yürüttüğü bir kalkınmacılık anlayışıyla, Ulus Devletin bölgesel eşitsizlikleri gidermek

için yürüttüğü kalkınmacılık anlayışı arasındaki fark nedir? Ve bu farkı yaratan pratik süreçler nelerdir? Sorularına bu tez içerisinde cevap aranacaktır.

Kalkınma fikrinin gelişimi ve dönüşümü ile ilgili yukarıda da belirttiğim üzere literatürde birçok çalışma mevcuttur. Bu çalışmaların uzlaştığı nokta kalkınmacılığın iki farklı dönem içerisinde ele alınmasının zorunluluğudur. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında toplumsal hayatın bütününe(ekonomik, siyasal ve kültürel alanda) damgasını vurmuş “İktisadi Kalkınmacılık” fikrinin ve pratiğinin, bu güne geldiğinde toplumsal hayattaki yerini saptanmasının yolu bu alanda yapılan çalışmaların üzerinde uzlaştığı gibi bu tür bir dönemselleştirme ile mümkün görülmektedir. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası ekonomik, siyasi ve kültürel alanda dolaşıma giren İktisadi Kalkınmacılık fikri ve pratiğinin geçirdiği dönüşümleri anlamak için bu tez içerisinde genel olarak literatürde kabul gören bir dönemselleştirme gidilecektir. Ancak bu dönemselleştirme yukarıda da belirtildiği üzere Jameson’ın kapitalizmin dönemselleştirmesini teorik olarak takip etmektedir.

Bu dönemlerden birincisi İkinci Dünya Savaşından 1970’lerin sonuna kadar hâkim bir söylem olarak varlığını sürdüren ve toplumsal pratikleri belirleyen “Ulusal Kalkınmacılık” dönemi olacaktır. Bu dönem genelde literatürde “İktisadi Kalkınmacılık Dönemi” olarak adlandırılrsa da bu adlandırma kültürel ve siyasal bir değişimi anlamaktan çok ekonomik değişime vurgu yaptığı için bu çalışma içerisinde tercih edilmemiştir. Bu dönemin temel özelliklerini kısaca aktaracak olursak;

Bu döneme hâkim olan Ulusal Kalkınmacılık anlayışı Ulus Devlet sınırları içerisinde, katı ve sabit bir modernite anlayışı ile tekçi bir kültür ve toplumsallık yaratmak için bir örgütlenme modelini ortaya koymasıdır. Ulusal Kalkınmacılık devletin geleceğin planlanmasında ana aktör olarak rol aldığı ve pozitif ve evrensel bir bilginin varlığına olan inançla oluşturulan modeller çerçevesinde bölgesel farklılıkların giderileceğini ön görmüştü. Ulus Devlet sınırları içerisindeki farklılıkların giderilmesi çabası olarak da adlandırılabilir bu kalkınmacılık modeli, kültürel ve toplumsal tüm farklılıkları ekonomik temelde olduğuna inançla bu farklılıkları

gidererek tekçi bir kültür ve toplum planlamasını amaçlamıştı. Bu çaba aslında Ulus Devletin kalkınmacılığı, kendi iç piyasasıyla sınırlamasıydı. Açık bir şekilde belirtmek gerekirse, Ulus Devletin mekânsal sınırları ne bir etnik topluluğun, ne tek bir dili kullanan halkın, ne de tek bir dine mensup insanların sınırlarının bir ifadesidir. Ulus-devletin mekânının sınırları, iç piyasasının coğrafi dışı vurumudur; bu sınırlar dil, din, ırk, millet, kültür gibi öğelerin değil; Ulus Devletin piyasasının sınırlarını belirtir.

Kısacası, Ulusal Kalkınmacılık ulusal piyasanın egemenlik alanındaki bir kalkınmacılık anlayışıdır. Bunun sebebi ulusal piyasanın, tüm üretim unsurlarının özgür dolaşabildiği tek alan olmasıdır. Braudel ulusal piyasayı bir siyasi mekân olarak tarif eder: “Ulusal ekonomi, iktisadi hayatın ihtiyaç ve yeniliklerinin bir sonucu olarak devlet tarafından, kombine faaliyetleri aynı yöne yönelebilen ahenkli, birleşik bir iktisadi mekâna dönüştürülmüş siyasi bir mekândır” (Braudel, 1990, pg.90). Ulusal Kalkınmacılık bu bağlamda Ulus Devletin modernleşme projesinin doğal bir parçası olarak ortaya çıktı. Bu modernleşme çabası birçok ülkede uygulanan gösterişli, devasa ve Ulus Devlet idealinin büyüklüğünü yansıtan anıtsal mekân kurguları ve bu kurguları yapan kalkınma projeleri olarak geri döndü. Bölgesel eşitsizliklerin giderilmesi ve Ulusal bir “homojenleştirme” çabası olarak “farklı” olan tekleştirildi ve ideal olarak tanımlanana eklemelendi.

İkinci Dönem ise, sermayenin Ulus Devletlerin sınırların ötesinde bir hareketliğe sahip olduğu dönemdir. Hemen her şeyin tahmin edilebilir başka bir değişle istikrarın bir kural, istikrarsızlığın ise bir kural dışılık olduğu Ulusal kalkınmacılık modelin çöküşünü simgeleyen bu dönem literatürde genel olarak “Küresel Kalkınmacılık” adlandırılmıştır. Küresel Kalkınmacılık modeli farklı ülkelerde farklı zamanlarda kendini gerçekleştirme olanağı bulsa da genelde Dünyada 1970’ler sonrasında ortaya çıkmıştır. Kapitalizmin dönüßen yapısına koşut olarak Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın temel aldığı kaidelerin altını oyan bir yaklaşımı gündelik hayatın içersine sokmuştur. Küresel Kalkınmacılık; esnek, girişimcilerin toplumsal dönüşümün temel aktörleri olduğu, Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın doğrusal ve uzun vadede

tahmin edilebilir olan algısına benzemeyen, riskli ve son derece deęişken bir yapının toplumsal hayatı belirlemesini öngören kalkınmacılık modeli olarak kısaca tanımlanabilir. .

Lash ve Urry'nin tanımıyla organize doğasını yitiren kapitalist ilişkiler, yapı ile insan arasındaki ilişkinin kendisini deęişime uğratmaktadır(Lash and Urry, 2008). Kısacası, kapitalizmin örgütlenme tarzındaki bu örgütsüzlük istikrarlı ve uzun erimli yapısal durumlardan çok, insan eylemi ve yapı arasında oynak esnek bir ilişki kurmaya başlamıştır. Küresel Kalkınmacılığın doğası da insan eylemi ve yapı arasındaki esnek ilişkinin gerçekleşmesini yol verecek tarzda şekillenmiştir. Sınırları zorlayan küresel sermaye akışkanlığının ve yeni güç dengelerinin kurulmasının zorunlu hale gelmesi Bauman'ın belirttiği gibi katı ve sabit modernite anlayışından, çok daha akışkan ve hızlı bir modernite'ye anlayışını gerektirmektedir. Küresel Kalkınmacılığın örgütlenme biçimini de bu tür akışkan ve hızlı bir modernite anlayışı tarafından belirlenmektedir. Oluşan bu akışkanlığın sadece ekonomik alanda olduğunu söylemek ise çok zordur. Geç kapitalizmin mantığı yani bu akışkanlık denetlenememesi daha doğru bir ifade ile geç kapitalizmin örgütlenme tarzındaki örgütsüz yapı ulus aşırı veya uluslar arası bir örgütlenmeyi de terkisinde getirmiştir.

Ulusal piyasa kapitalizmi ve kısmen tekelci sermayenin araçlarından biri olarak Ulusal Kalkınmacılık, ulus devletin mantığı ve organizasyon yapısı ile kültürel, sosyal ve siyasi üst yapıyı belirlemiştir. Ancak, Kapitalizmin geçirdiği yapısal dönüşüm yani geç kapitalizmi döneminde küreselleşen bir sermayenin ihtiyacı olan kültürel, sosyal ve siyasi üst yapının belirlenmesinde etkinliğini yitiren Ulusal Kalkınmacılık yerini Küresel Kalkınmacılık modeline doğru bir dönüşüm geçirmiştir. İki farklı Kalkınmacılık modeli arasında usul olarak benzerlikler bulmak zor görülse de iki anlayışta sermayenin kültürel, toplumsal ve siyasi olanı yeniden tanımlaması ve dizayn etmesi bakımından fonksiyonel olarak birbirine benzemektedir. Ulusal Kalkınmacılık modelinde ulus devletin rolünü Küresel Kalkınmacılık modelinde farklı

bir tarzda da olsa Dünya Bankası gibi ulus aşırı veya ulus ötesi örgütlülükler üstlenmiştir.

Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın merkezinde bulunan ulus devlet merkezden çevreye doğru kayarken Ulus ötesi örgütlükler merkez konuma oturmuştur. Ancak bu yeni oluşan merkezi yapı ulus devletin merkeziyetçi yapısından farklıdır. Bir otorite gidip yerine yenisi gelmemiştir. Bir analogi yapmak gerekirse, merkezin bu değişimi, bir kralın ölümüyle yerine gelen yeni bir kral ifade etmemektedir. Ancak, monarşide yıkılmamıştır sadece farklı bir tarzda devam etmek zorundadır. Bu farklılık geç kapitalizmin örgütlenme tarzındaki örgütsüzlükten kaynak bulmaktadır. Yeni olan merkezi yapı daha çok kurduğu ilişkilere göre değişen, devamlı yer değiştiren üst bir söylemdir. Bu durum kalkınmacılık hareketinde sadece bir otorite değişikliği değil yönetsel değişimi de beraberinde getirmiştir. Çok büyük bir sermaye akışının olduğu ve sınırların kalktığı bir pazarda ulus devletin Ulusal Kalkınmacılık ile kültürel, toplumsal, siyasi ve ekonomik alanları homojenleştirerek düzeni kurma ideali artık tedavülden kalkmıştır. Aslında, Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın belirli bir anda bir yer diğerinden farklılık gösteriyor olsa da toplumsal ilişki dinamiklerinin kalkınma süreci ilerledikçe benzeşmeye başlayacağı, farklılıkların silinip gideceği tezi gücünü kaybetmiş. Kısacası, bizi ayıran şeyin sadece zaman olduğu fikri gerçekliğini ve uygulanabilirliğini yitirmiştir.

Bu izlek üzerinden, daha fazla özgürlük isteyen sermayenin tüm insanlara söyleyeceğinin “hepimiz aynıyız” olamayacağı kesindir. Bu tür bir kavrayış içersinden, sınırsız özgürlüğe muhtaç olan sermaye kimlikleri, öznellikleri, yerellikleri ve farklı toplumsal kültürel, siyasi formların farklı yerel kalkınma stratejilerini tanımak, bir araya getirmek, birbirlerine eklemlenmek, kapıştırmak üzere bir söylemde bulunmak zorundadır. Herkesin ve her bölgenin eşit bir gelişiminden bahsetmek mümkün değildir. Ulus devletin yaptığı türden eşitlikçi ve tekleştirici gelişimi destekleyecek kültürel, toplumsal ve siyasi bir ideal durum tanımı yapan bir

Kalkınmacılık modeli küresel kapitalist yapılanma içerisinde artık fonksiyonel değildir ve bu nedenle gerçekliğini yitirmiştir.

Kalkınmacılığın organizasyonel yapısı da artık her an ve yer yerde tek bir doğru üzerinden kurulamaz. Özdeşlik yerine farklılığın konulduğu Bu tür küresel bir Kalkınma modelinde ancak bölgelerin eşitsiz ama bileşik gelişim söz edilebilir. Ulus Devletin bölgesel olarak tanımladığı artık yerel, ulusal olan bir anlamda ise küreseldi. Küresel Kalkınmacılığın temel amacı ise Küresel ile yerel olanı eşitlemek değil birleştirmektir. Bu birleşimden ortaya çıkacak olan ise Appadurai'nin kullandığı biçimiyle "indigenized" bir form olacaktır. Bu nedenle Küresel Kalkınmacılığın mantığı her durum ve zamanda farklı örgütlenme modelleri ile gerçekleşecektir. Küresel Kalkınmacılık farklı doğrular ve varsayımlara gidecek yerel ile küresel arasında etkileşimi sağlayarak yereli dönüştürürken kendisi de dönüşecektir. Bu anlamda bu tez ileriki bölümlerde yukarıda özetlemeye çalışılan iki farklı kalkınmacılık modelini karşılaştırarak geç kapitalizmin işleyiş mantığına dair olgusal gerçeklerden hareket ederek çıkarımlar yapmaya çalışacaktır.

Günümüzde kalkınmacılık alanında bölgesel (Regional) ve yerel(Local) kelimeleri birbirleri yerine kullanmak ilk bakışta çok zor görülse de son yirmi yıl içinde bu iki kavramın birbirinin yerine kullanıldığı birçok kalkınmacılık projesi görebilirsiniz. 1980 öncesinde ise kalkınmacılık alanında yerellik vurgulu proje veya çalışma neredeyse yok gibidir. İki kavramın 2010'lara geldiğimizde birbirine karşıt kavramlar olarak kullanıldığına birçok proje veya çalışmaya rastlamak mümkündür. Kısacası, bu iki kavramın birbiri ile ilişkisinin serüveni birçok çelişkiyi gözler önüne serer. 1980'lerin başında ABHES projesinde görev almış bir uzmanın sözleri yerellik kavramının kalkınmacılık projeleri için kullanılmadığı netleştirir.

Yerel denilince modern olmayan bir kültürel durum akla gelir. Yerel olan biraz taşralı, biraz köylü, biraz geleneksel olandır. ABHES projesi gibi dev anıtsal bir yapıyı ortaya koymuş bir kuruluş için yerel kavramı ile bir arada kullanılmak çok

kabul edilebilir bir durum değildir. ABHES projesi bir bölgenin modernleşme projesidir. Bu anlamda, Modernleşme söyleminin yerel kavramına yüklediği anlam 1980'lerin başında negatif vurgularla doludur. Bu ideolojik vurgu aynen uzman ve planıcı tarafından da sahiplenilmiş hatta içselleştirilmiştir. 1980'lerde yerel denilince ilk akla gelen dil olacaktır. Bölgeye, ulusal bütünleştirmeyi sağlamak için giden bir planıcının veya uzmanın ilk karşılaştığı zorluk iletişim sıkıntısı olacaktır. Daha sonra modern olarak tasvir edilen ile hiç uyuşmayan yerel pratikler ile başı derde girecektir. Uzmanın ve planıcının sıkıntıya sokan ve GAP'ın ona verdiği sorumlulukları yerine getirmesi önündeki en büyük engel olarak karşısına çıkandır yerellikler. Daha önemlisi ulusal kalkınmacılığın ona verdiği ulvi amaçlar bu yerellikler giderilmeden çok gerçekleştirilebilir görülmemektedir.

Aslında, ulusal kalkınmacılık ortaya koyduğu anıtsal yapıyı tüm Türkiye hatta dünya ile paylaşmak istiyordu. 1990'ların ortasında ABHES projesi tamamlanmıştı. Kabul etmek gerekir ki Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin mühendislik alanındaki en büyük başarısı idi. Bu başarıyı tüm Türkiye'ye göstermek ulusal zafere tüm Türkiye'yi ortak etmek için bölgeye geziler düzenlendi. Öncelikle devlet büyükleri sonra ise halk bu gezilere dahi oldu. Bu gezilerin ilk durağı tabii ki ABHES projesi oldu. Ancak, bu geziler bir şekilde bölgedeki yerel olana vurgu yapmaya başladı.

1990'ların ortalarına gelindiğinde yerellikler turizm keşfi ile savaşılabilecek bir durum olmaktan başka anlamlarda içeriyordu. Yerel olana yüklenen negatif anlamalar kısmen de olsa dönüşmeye başlamıştı. Bölgesel kalkınma olan yerel motifleri belirli bir ölçüde içine dâhil etmişti. Ancak hala ulus devletinin tekleştirici kültür algısı sürmekteydi. Yerellikler ulusal kalkınmacılığın ideal tekleştirici mantığına tehdit oluşturduğu anlarda müdahale edilmeliydi. Ulusal kalkınmacılık kavramsal olarak yerellik kavramını kullanmaya başlasa bile pratik olarak yerellikler çok kabul edilebilir değildi.

1990'ların ortasında yerel kavramı bölgesel kalkınmanın bir parçası olarak gündeme gelmişti. Ancak, halen anlamı net değildi. Yerel kalkınmacılık kavramı pek çok kere bölgesel kalkınmacılığın yerine kullanılıyordu. 1990'lar yerel kalkınma ile bölgesel kalkınma kavramları anlamlarının eşitlendiği zamanlardı. Yerellik çoğu zaman çok masum ve sempatik bir pratik olarak bölgesel kalkınma yerine kullanılıyordu. Ancak, Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesinde süren etnik kimliğe bağlı oluşan çatışmalar ve bu kimliklere dayanan terör olayları yerellik kavramın uzmanlar tarafından kullanılmasında bazı sınırlamaları beraberinde getiriyordu. 1990'ların sonunda ise neredeyse yerel vurgusu olmayan hiçbir proje GAP çerçevesinde yok gibiydi. GAP'ın amaçlarına ulaşması için yerel olan bir şekilde dahil edilmeli kapsanmalıydı. Yerel kavramının GAP projelerinde tümünde 2000'li yılların başında kullanıldığını görmek mümkündür. GAP İdaresi 1996 yılından bu yana sosyal, ekonomik, tarımsal, fiziksel ve çevresel sürdürülebilirlik konusunda proje önerileri hazırlamaya başladı. Avrupa Birliği fonlarından, özellikle de MEDA fonlarından yararlanabilmesinin tek yolu sürdürülebilirlik üzerine yapılacak vurguydu.

2000'li yıllara gelindiğinde GAP projesi çerçevesinde UNDP, Avrupa Birliği gibi birçok uluslar arası kuruluş GAP'ın bölgesel kalkınma amaçlarını paylaşıyor ve dönüştürüyordu. GAP çerçevesinde yapılacak birçok projeyi destekliyor ve kaynak aktarıyordu. GAP idaresi ise bu uluslar arası kuruluşların yönergeleri doğrultusunda projelerini şekillendirmeye başlamıştı. 2000'li yıllarda yerel olana yapılan vurgu sadece GAP içerisinde değil tüm Türkiye genelinde kalkınmacılık projelerinde baskın olarak görülmeye başlandı. Artık kalkınmacılık projeleri dönüşmekteydi. Bu dönüşüm kalkınmacılık alanında çalışan uzmanların profiline dönüşümü tetikledi.

Kalkınma uzmanlarının profilleri değişim kalkınma projelerinin de dönüşmesine sebep oldu. Türkiye'nin yürüyen neredeyse tüm kalkınma referanslı projeleri yönetenler ve bu projelerde görev alanlar dünya'nın dört bir tarafından uzmanlar ile doluydu. Sadece GAP projesi değil Türkiye'nin her yerinde yürütülen kalkınmacılık projelerinde çok farklı ülkeden çok farklı mesleklerden insanlar görev almaya

başlamıştı. Bu durum yerellik ve bölgesellik arasında benzerlik üzerinden kurulan ilişkinin de dönüşmesine sebep oldu. Ulusal kalkınmacılığın bakışını sürdürmek imkânsızdı. Ulusal kalkınmacılık projelerinin sürdürülebilirliği kalmamıştı. GAP projesinin en temel ayaklarından birisi olan IBHES projesi için yurtdışı finans kuruluşlarının kaynak arayışını başladığı 2000’li yılların başında ulusal kalkınmacılığın uzmanları uluslar arası finans kuruluşlarının kalkınmacılığa baktığı gibi bakabildikleri sürece bu projelerde sorumluluk alabildiler. Bu bakış ise yerel olanla bölgesel olan arasındaki benzerlik üzerinden kurulan ilişkiyi dönüşmekteydi. Aslında bir anlamda yerel kavramının kendisi dönüşmekteydi.

Ulusal kalkınmacılığın uzmanları kalkınmacılık projeleri çerçevesinde tüm ellerindeki hazır bir reçeteye göre hareket ettiler. Ancak, küresel kalkınmacılığın elinde bu tür bir reçetesi yoktu. Küresel Kalkınmacılığın sadece finansman kaynağı uluslararasılaşmamıştır (Internationalization) izlediği yol ve uzmanları da uluslararasılaşmıştır. Öncelikle uzmanlara bakarsak bu farklılaşma daha net ortaya çıkacaktır. Yabancı uzmanların dolaşımı bölgesel kalkınmanın kavramının yerel kalkınma kavramını karşılamayacağı çok netleşmişti.

Küresel kalkınmacılığın yerel üzerine vurgusu kalkınmacılıkta niteliksel bir değişimi tetikler. Bu değişim yerel olanın projenin temel bir unsuru haline gelmesini demektir. Ulusal kalkınmacılık yerel olanı sadece kalkınmada dikkate alınması gereken bir değişken olarak ele alır. Proje süreçler bu değişkenden yola çıkarak planlanmalı yerel olan bu şekilde projelere dahi edilmelidir. Birçok değişkeni bulunduğu bir ortamda değişkenlerden bir tanesi yereldir. Bu anlamda ulusal kalkınmacılık projelerinde yerel olana dair özgünlükler devamlı gözetilir. Ancak bu gözetilme hep belirli ulusal kalkınmacılığın modernist bakışının süzgecinden geçirilerek yapılır. Küresel Kalkınmacılık ta ise yerel olan projelerin ana unsurudur. Yerel olanın bilgisine nasıl erişilecektir? Yerel olan nasıl projelerin doğrudan bir parçası olacaktır? Bu bilgiye erişmenin yolu olarak küresel kalkınmacılık bize sunduğu yerel olanın projenin başat unsuru olarak görülmesi ve yerelin projenin ana

yürütücüsü olmasıdır. Küresel kalkınmacılık bu anlamda katılım kavramını dönüştürür.

Yerelliklerin uluslararası alanda giderek önem kazanmasıyla yatırım çekme, tanıtım faaliyetlerini yürütme, bölgedeki aktörler arası işbirliği ve eşgüdümü sağlama gibi faaliyetleri üstlenen Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları da özellikle 1990'lardan sonra yaygınlaşmıştır. Bu ajanslar II. Dünya savaşı sonrasında kurulan bölgesel kalkınma ajanslarından farklı olarak birçok ülkede farklı yapı ve statüde de olsa uygulama alanı bulmuştur. Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları, yerel olanın potansiyellerine dayanan ve küresel rekabette avantaj sağlama amacındaki kalkınma stratejilerinin hazırlanmasında temel unsur konumuna gelmiştir. Ulus devletler, geçmişte bölgesel kalkınma stratejilerini ve planlarını daha çok merkezden hazırlayarak uygularken bu gün küresel kalkınmacılığın ajanları olarak ele aldığımız yeni bölgesel kalkınma ajansları kalkınma stratejilerini ve planlarını yerel olanın bilgisine ve potansiyeline dayandırmaktadır. Yerel olanın potansiyelinin ve bilgisin ön plana çıktığı bu dönemde ulusal kalkınmacılığın merkezi olarak örgütlenen kurumsal yapıları da yavaş yavaş etkinliğini yitirmiştir. Küresel kalkınmacılık perspektifini hayata geçirebilecek kurumsal yapılara doğru bir geçiş sürecinde başlamıştır. Küresel kalkınmacılığın yeni ajanları olarak ilk olarak ele alacağımız yapılar bölgesel kalkınma ajansları olacaktır. Dünya'da 1990'lar sonrası hızla kurulan merkezi otoriteden kısmen veya tamamen özerk bu kalkınma ajansları küresel kalkınmacılığın perspektifinin temellerinin atıldığı kurumlar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır

Bu gün küresel kalkınmacılığın kalkınma ajanslarının varlığı bir anlamda küresel sermayenin garantili bir şekilde kar etmesine için temel oluşturmaktadır. Ulusal kalkınmacılığın kalkınma ajanslarının tehdit olarak gördüğü yerellikler bu gün de hem bir tehdit hem de bir fırsat olarak küresel kalkınmacılık tarafından görülmektedir. Ancak ulusal kalkınmacılığın tehdit olarak gördüğü yerellikleri bir fırsata dönüştürmek için yeni bir kurumsal yapıya ihtiyaç vardır. Bu kurumsal

yapılardan biri ise küresel kalkınmacılığın kalkınma ajanslarıdır. Küresel kalkınmacılığın ihtiyacı olan yerel olanla iş birliği yapan onu tanıyan ve onu bir şekilde ehlileştirme yeteneğine sahip ajanlardır. Günümüzde rekabet avantajı getirebilecek yatırımların ön plana çıkarılmak istendiği ve eğitim, yenilik ve haberleşmenin önem kazandığı bir süreç yaşanmaktadır. Eğitim, becerilerin geliştirilmesi, yerel halkın yenilik ve kalkınma için kapasitesinin artırılması, işsizliğin azaltılması ve yerel yönetimler, kalkınma ajansları, yerel iş çevreleri ve sivil toplum arası işbirliğinin mukayeseli bölgesel üstünlük için kilit rolde olduğu hareketle kurulan bölgesel kalkınma ajansları bu amaçlarını gerçekleştirebilmek için ulus devletinin kurumsal otoritesinden giderek bağımsızlaşmaktadırlar.

Ulusal olandan bu bağımsızlaşma kalkınmacılık alanında yeni bir kurumsal yapı ihtiyacını getirmiştir. Bu kurumsal yapı ise küresel kalkınmacılığın yerel düzeyde örgütlenen bölgesel kalkınma ajansları ile sağlanmıştır. Ulusal kalkınmacılığın tersine bölgesel kalkınma ajansları için yerel olanın potansiyeli ve bilgisi bir yıkıcı güç olarak değil yaratıcı bir kaynak olarak görülmektedir. Ulus devletlerin evrensel içinde eritmek istedikleri ve bir tehdit olarak gördükleri yerellikler artık bir fırsat olarak ortaya çıkmakta ve ulus devletinin tüm sınırlamalarını ve dayatmalarını kabul etmemektedirler. Yerel olanı ulusal olana eklemleyerek bölgeler arası ekonomik, kültürel ve toplumsal eşitsizlikleri gidermeye çalışan hatta ekonomik eşitsizliklerin kaynağı olarak kültürel ve toplumsal farklılıkları sebep gösteren ulusal kalkınmacı kurumsal yapıların yerini bugün merkezi otoriteden daha bağımsız kurumsal yapılar almaktadır.

Küresel düzlemde bakıldığında, başta Dünya Bankası ve IMF gibi uluslararası örgütlerin, serbest ticaretin, yönetim anlayışına göre çalışan düzenleyici merkezi ve bölgesel yarı-kamusal örgütlerin yaygınlaştırılması gibi dünya çapında rekabetçi kapitalizmin gereklerini hayata geçirmeye yönelik politikalar uyguladıkları gözlemlenmektedir. Sonuçta, üretimin ve finansın küreselleştiği bir ortamda ekonominin ulusal sınırları problemlili bir hale gelmekte, ulusal sınırları aşan yerel-

bölgesel bağlantılar giderek önem kazanmaktadır. Ancak küreselleşmenin sadece ticaret ve sermaye akışkanlığının arttığı dışsal bir ekonomik süreç olarak algılanması yanıltıcı olur; aynı zamanda ekonomik yönetişimin uygulandığı ulusal politika alanını da dönüştürdüğü gözden kaçırılmamalıdır.

Özellikle Avrupa'da, 1990 ve 2000'lerden sonra bölgelerin kendilerine değişen yapı içinde yer aramak zorunda kalmaları, bölgeler açısından daha rekabetçi bir ortamın oluşmasına neden olmuştur. Bu süreçte devletlerin rolünün neo-liberal politikaların etkisiyle neredeyse bitmesiyle ulus devletler tarafından bir tehdit olarak görülen yerellikler daha aktif bir hale gelmiştir. Yatırımlar için bölgeler arasındaki rekabetin artması da bu noktada yerel politika liderlerini temel aktör konumuna getirebilmektedir. Bu süreçte her bölgenin rekabet gücü farklı unsurlara dayanacaktır. Örneğin, temel altyapı, teknolojik altyapı, bilgi altyapısı ve mekânın niteliği, altyapı ve erişilebilirlik kapasiteleri, beşeri kaynaklar, girişimcilik kültürü, sektörel yoğunlaşmalar, uluslararasılaşma, yenilik, yönetişim, kurumsal kapasite, uzmanlaşma ve rekabetin doğası bu unsurlardan bazılarıdır. Ayrıca, günümüzde bölgelerin analizleri yapılırken ve bazı bölgelerin dinamik yapısı açıklanırken, ekonomik nedenlerin yanında bilgi, öğrenme, sosyal sermaye, karşılıklı ilişkiler, güven gibi unsurlar da dikkate alınmaktadır.

Ulus devletlerin GAP, TVA gibi merkeziyetçi kalkınma ajanslarının yerini alan bu yeni bölgesel kalkınma ajansları, bilgiyi üretme, bilgiye ulaşma, bölgelerinin tanıtımını yapma, geniş katılım ve işbirliği ortamının odağı haline gelmişlerdir. Bu yeni bölgesel kalkınma ajanslarının bu yönde dönüşümü kalkınmacılığın kurumsal dönüşümünün en temel göstergelerinden bir tanesi olarak önümüze çıkar. Kalkınmacılık ulusal bir atılım olmaktan çıkarak yerel olanın küresel piyasalar içersinde var olma savaşına doğru dönüşürken bu evrimin gerektirdiği kurumsal yapılar 1990'lar sonrası kurulan bölgesel kalkınma ajansları ile sağlanmaya çalışmıştır.

Bu yeni kalkınma ajansları birebir yerel olanın kültürel, toplumsal ve ekonomik özgünlükleri üzerine odaklanmış ve ulusal kalkınmacılığın 1980'lere kadar geçen süreç içerisinde merkezi, tekçi, dayatmacı yapısına aykırı bir kalkınma modelini gerçekleştirmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Ulusal kalkınmacılığın masa başından karar verdiği birçok proje küresel kalkınmacı model içerisinde birebir insanlar ile konuşarak örgütlenmektedir.

Bu model içerisinde ulus devletler yetkilerinin bir kısmını uluslararası örgütlere devrederken, diğer yandan da kendi içlerinde yerelleşmektedirler. Burada, esasında paradoksal bir şekilde iki zıt akım("küreselleşme-yerelleşme") aynı amaç doğrultusunda ulus devletin altını oymaktadır; yeni ekonomik birikim rejiminin gereklerine uygun olarak bir taraftan sermaye sınır tanımaz bir akışkanlık yeteneği kazanmakta, devletler daha fazla yabancı yatırım çekebilmek, uluslararası rekabet şartlarına ayak uydurabilmek için küçülerek ulusal yetkilerinden vazgeçmekte, ancak diğer taraftan da önceden ulusal düzeyde kullanılan bir takım yetkiler, küreselleşmenin yönetim paradigmasına dayalı olarak merkezi düzeyde bağımsız düzenleyici kurullara, yerelde ise küreselleşmeye ayak uydurabilecek yerel-bölgesel kalkınma ajanslarına devredilmektedir. Günümüzde KOBİ ve yerel girişimciliğe dayanan ve yerel potansiyeli harekete geçirerek yerel gelişim sağlamaya çalışan, yabancı sermaye yatırımlarını çekmeyi ve dünya ekonomisinde üstünlük elde etmeyi hedefleyen ve merkezi politikalarla ziyade özel sektör ve yerel girişimciyi esas alan bir bölgesel kalkınma anlayışına işaret edilmektedir. Küresel kalkınmacılığın bu yeni bölgesel ve bir anlamda yerel kalkınmacılık anlayışı kalkınmacılığın kurumsal olarak dönüşümünü beraberinde getirmiştir.

KOBİ'ler bu sürecin dinamik aktörleri olarak görülmektedir. Bugün küresel rekabet süreci, yerel ve bölgesel potansiyeli ortaya koyarak karşılaştırmalı üstünlükler elde etme temelinde, yerel ve bölgesel uzmanlaşmaya dayanan ve ülkeler düzeyindeki rekabetin giderek bölgelerarası düzeye indiği bir çizgide seyretmektedir. Bu süreçte bilgi ekonomileri ekseninde şekillenen yeni rekabet

ortamında var olabilmenin ön koşulu olarak rekabet gücü gösterilmektedir ve bölge bu süreçte temel aktör olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bilgi, bilgiyi üretebilme kapasitesi ve yenilik yaratabilme gücü de bölgelerin küresel rekabette çekiciliğini oluşturacak en önemli unsurlar olarak gösterilmektedir.

Küresel pazarda rekabet unsuru etkinliğin garantisi sayılsa da, eşitliğin garantisi olarak görülmemektedir. Başka bir ifadeyle devletlerin ulusal ekonomiler üzerindeki kontrol gücü, uluslararası hale gelen ekonomilerin ulaşım ve ticaret kolaylığı karşısında azalmıştır. Bu süreçte en dikkat çekici gelişmelerden biri de bölgelerarası rekabetin sağlanabilmesi için bölgesel/kurumsal yapılanmalara atfedilen değerdeki artıştır. Çünkü yerel ve bölgesel yapıların ulusal yapılara göre kolektif malların temininde, yerel/bölgesel aktörler ve ajanslarla birlikte çalışmada ve bütün aktörleri bir araya getirmede daha uygun bir düzey olduğu belirtilmektedir. Yani devletlerin kontrolü dışında gelişen bu alanlarda devletin altındaki kurumsal/idari yapılanmaların, bölgelerin etkinliğini arttığı ve küresel pazarlara ulusal düzeyi aşarak girdikleri görülmektedir. Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları da bu süreçte faaliyet gösterdikleri bölgelerin küresel pazarda rekabet gücü elde edebilmesine, tanıtılmasına ve bölgelerine yatırım çekilmesine yönelik faaliyet göstererek küreselleşmeyle birlikte önemi artan yapılanmalardan biri haline gelmiştir.

Bölgesel kalkınma ajansları bu çerçeveden bakıldığında Dünya Bankası Avrupa Birliği gibi uluslararası kuruluşların yereldeki temsilcileri olarak görülebilir. Ancak bölgesel kalkınma ajanslarının BTC-OPL projesinde çalışmış uzmanın söylediği üzere hizmet verdiği tek kurum Dünya Bankası ve Avrupa Birliği gibi uluslar arası kurum ve kuruluşlar değildir. Bu ajanslar dolaylı olarak özel sektör ile yerel arasındaki iletişim aracı olarak çalışırlar. En azından bu şekilde çalışmaları ön görülmektedir. Bu gün ulus devletlerin kalkınma ile ilgili tüm sorumlulukları özel sektörün eli ile yerine getirilmektedir. Özel sektör yatırımları teşvik etmek bu yatırımlar için ortam yaratmak ve bu yatırımları sürdürülebilirliğini denetlemek bu

bölgesel kalkınma ajansları aracılığı ile sağlanmaktadır. Ancak, özel sektörün kar amaçlı yatırımlarını teşvik etmek, yatırımlar için ortam hazırlamak ve bu yatırımların sürdürülebilirliğini denetlemek için bölgesel kalkınma ajansları yeterli kapasite ve imkânları sunmaktadır. Ulusal kalkınmacılığın kültürel, toplumsal evrensel bir ideal üzerinden ehlileştirmeye, içermeye çalıştığı yerel olanın denetleyecek, içerecek başka mekanizmalara ihtiyacı olduğu açıktır. Bu gün özel sektör yatırımlarının büyük bir kısmı Uluslar arası finans örgütleri tarafından desteklenmektedir. Türkiye özelinde bakarsak 2010 yılında özel sektörün uluslar arası kaynak kullanarak yaptığı yatırımların toplamı Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin 2010 bütçesinde devlet eli ile yapılacak yılında yatırımları tutarlarının yaklaşık 3 katıdır. Bu oran devletin kalkınma adına çok yapacak bir şeyi kalmadığının en büyük göstergesidir.

2011 yılında Türkiye’de kalkınmacılık adına yapılan tüm projeleri ve yatırımların bir nevi planlayıcısı ve uygulayıcısı durumundaki DTP’nin Yeni Kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kalkınma Bakanlığının Müsteşarlığı haline dönüşmesi devletin yen bir kalkınmacılık atılımına gireceğinin bir göstergesi olarak yorumlanmamalıdır. Bu isim değişikliği aslında devletin kalkınmaya bakışının dönüşümü olarak görülebilir. DPT’nin Kalkınma Bakanlığı’nın müsteşarlığı veya genel müdürlüğü haline getirilmesi, 50 yıllık planlama defterinin kapatılmasının simgesel bir ifadesi olarak algılanmalıdır. 2011 yılında kurulan Kalkınma Bakanlığı’na Hazine Müsteşarlığı ve DPT Müsteşarlığı yanında, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu’nun (TÜİK), Ziraat, Halk ve Vakıflar bankalarının, TOKİ’nin ve Özelleştirme İdaresi’nin de bağlanması küresel kalkınmacılığın Türkiye’de kurumsal inşasının son aşaması olarak görülebilir. Devletin kalkınmadaki üstlendiği tüm sorumluluklar bu yapısal dönüşüm ile birlikte özel sektör eline devredilmiştir. Türkiye’de küresel kalkınmacılığın yeni kurumsal yapılanma içerisinde dört temel ayak üzerine oturmaktadır.

Küresel kalkınmacılığın projeleri artık toplumsal dönüşüm projeleri olarak değil sürdürülebilir yatırım projeleri olarak karşımıza çıkar ancak burada projelerin sürdürülebilirliğinden kasıt sadece ekonomik bir bakış açısı ile anlaşılabilir. Küresel

kalkınmacılık projelerinin sürdürülebilirlik hesapları toplumsal, kültürel, çevresel tüm riskleri de hesaplayan bir sürdürülebilirlikten geçer. Bu tür bir sürdürülebilirlik için ise en önemli kıstas bu risklerin ortadan kaldırılması veya en aza indirilmesi olarak ortaya konur.

Tüm bu söylenenler değerlendirildiğinde küresel kalkınmacı bir mantıkla bir alt yapı projesi veya bir kalkınma projesi gerçekleştirmek için ulusal kalkınmacılığın sahip olmadığı kurumsal yapılara ihtiyaç olduğu kesindir. Bu yapılar Ulusal kalkınmacılığın ne dediğine pek aldırmadığı yerel olanın dilinden anlayacak veya Gebze-İzmir Otoyolu projesinde çalışmış olan uzmanın belirttiği çıkacak gür sesleri bastıracak bir mekanizmadır. Bu gün küresel finansman ile yapılan neredeyse tüm projeler bu tip bir kurumsal yapıyı kendi içinde kuran bir düzen içerisinde hareket etmektedirler. Aslında ulusal kalkınmacılığın ve küresel kalkınmacılığın kurumsal işleyişleri arasındaki farklı ve küresel kalkınmacılığın neden ulus devletin kurumları ile işlemediğini gösteren en iyi örnek GAP'ın bir ayağı olarak planlanan ve daha sonra uluslar arası kaynak kullanılarak yapılmak istenen IBHES projesi olacaktır. IBHES projesi ile ABHES projesinin kurumsal yapıları arasındaki farklılaşma iki kalkınmacılık hareketin kurumsal düzeyde nasıl farklılaştığını daha net olarak bize gösterecektir.