TURKEY'S SOUTHERN EASTERN ANATOLIA PROJECT (GAP) and THE STATE'S APPROACH ON GENDER

A critical feminist perspective on the Southern Eastern Anatolia Project (GAP) as a complex developmental state project on its approach on the women related social projects between 1989-2019

IREM CÖREKCI

Supervisor: Muriel Côte
SGED10, 2020
LUND UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

This research overall aims to investigate the GAP (Southern Eastern Anatolia Project) of Turkey and its approach in the years between 1989 and 2018 by answering the main question:

'How can the GAP's (Southern Eastern Anatolia Project) approach as a developmental state project on women in the region be understood by applying a critical feminist perspective?

This question has been examined with the help of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and feminist CDA in order to look at the problem from a more critical feminist approach. The analyzed material of this research is mainly the official reports from the GAP and ÇATOM which is the unit that works for women related issues within GAP. The results were interpreted with the lens of feminist developmental theories and inclusivity theory for investigating the project from a feminist developmental approach and to shine light on how inclusive the projects proved for the women. Undoubtedly, further research to be conducted remains instrumental in aiming to provide more opportunities for the women in Southern Eastern Anatolia.

Key Words: GAP, Turkey, Southern Eastern Anatolia Region, Gender Equality, Women

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Imagine a massive development project in 'one of the most backward regions", to put it in the words of the officials of a country aiming to overcome the status/ label of a "developing country" which is the 'bridge' between the Middle East and Europe. This ambitious project named Southern Eastern Anatolia Project or shortly the 'GAP' in Turkish (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi) was put in place to ensure lasting development in the Southern Eastern Anatolia Region of Turkey by using the existing resources of the region itself. Southern Eastern Anatolia was envisioned as the perfect location due to the occurrence of one of the biggest rivers in Turkey and the Middle East Euphrates (in Turkish: Fırat) and Tigris (in Turkish: Dicle) which follows from Turkey to Syria and Iraq. Furthermore, the region contains vast lands suitable for agriculture, covering almost 10% of Turkey overall and with almost 10% of the Turkish population residing there (Bilgen, 2017 p.3).

Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s, the idea of GAP has always remained a dream. However, it took almost half a century until discussions were initiated (or started) and the project began.

Unofficially, GAP started in the 1970s with the publication of the 1989 GAP Master Plan. Thereby, it became an official state based development project. Over the years, its popularity increased, gaining attention from the whole of the country, as it was the first holistic development project of the Turkish Republic. I heard about the project for the first time as a child, being from the capital city Ankara but growing up in a small town called Elazığ in Eastern Anatolia. We were visiting Keban Dam Lake on Euphrates as it was the biggest dam of Turkey. I was mesmerized by the massiveness of the dam. It was a mindblowing visit for a five-year-old who had never seen such a big construction in her life. At that moment I was convinced that the dam was the biggest thing in the world and Euphrates was the biggest river on earth. However, I was told that in the town of Şanlıurfa there was a dam at least two times bigger than this one, now being the biggest dam of the country due to GAP. I did not ask more but I remember how one of the workers of the Keban Dam and my father were glorifying GAP, explaining how it was

changing and had been changing everything in the region. As one worker exclaimed: "Once you have the money, you can even convince the Earth to spin from the opposite direction.'' Nowadays I understand how he addressed the power relation between the region and the state, what he meant the traditional social structure of the region, and how change only seemed possible with the economic welfare the state was supposed to bring for everyone. Then they concluded their conversation hoping that Eastern Anatolia Region could also somehow benefit.

GAP recorded high levels of sympathy and the support of the people of Turkey from every region (Bilgen 2018c). Maybe for the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic, people from the Western regions of Turkey were wondering about the East of their country. Due to the TRT GAP TV[1], the whole nation was following the news about and the projects in the region. Consequently, the scope of GAP had been expanded by not only building dams but also doing a lot of social projects in the region (Bilgen 2018c). I remember watching shows on TRT GAP as a kid about women who are taking courses to learn how to read and write, how they never had this chance in their life, how their status is 'changing' thanks to GAP in Southern Eastern Anatolia. Upon watching these shows, I was shocked about how adults could not read and write, asking myself how they could live like that? In 2013, almost fifteen years after this incident I moved to the biggest city in Southern Eastern Anatolia called Gaziantep in 2013. I then remembered the question that I asked myself: What are the women of this region doing now? Are they still trying to learn how to read and write? Are they still doing handmade things and trying to sell them in order to earn some money? Are they still oppressed by their families and the society? What happened to the glorified GAP and why were we not hearing much about it after the closing of TRT GAP TV in 2015? However, it was only a personal curiosity as a social science student and unfortunately I had no chance to investigate the region myself, only drawing on my personal observations until this thesis.

1.1 Aim and the Research Question

In 2020, I once again remembered all the questions that were keeping a place in my head about the women of Southern Eastern Anatolia which serve as the underlying motivation for choosing

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[1] which is the national TV channel under the TRT (Turkish Radio TV) that was creating specific content for the GAP Region

to focus on writing my thesis about this topic. This thesis aims to find out about the approach of GAP on gender related projects in the Southern Eastern Anatolia region as a state oriented massive development project. In order to investigate such, development and feminism theories and their historical background will be used intersected with the theory of inclusivity since both are the most suitable theories that could be found for this research as the theoretical framework of this thesis. Furthermore, with the help of the literature review of development states and its perspectives on gender (drawing on examples from different countries), the research questions below will be answered in the analysis section. Thereby, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as well as Feminist CDA was applied. Considering the lack of critical discourse analysis associated works in the GAP related literature, this thesis aims to prove helpful for researchers, as well as beneficial for policy makers in the future.

''How can the GAP's (Southern Eastern Anatolia Project) approach as a developmental state project on women in the region be understood by applying a critical feminist perspective?''

The sub-question is:

How can the planning (stages) as well as applying social-related projects of GAP as a developmental state project be seen as inclusive for women?

1.2 Thesis Structure

This section will briefly present the overall structure of the thesis, as well as what the reader can expect in the following sections. The structure of this thesis will follow the order in the table of content found above. First, the background section will provide information on the context. Afterwards, the literature review will summarize the existing literature on the relevant topic so the reader can connect what they read in the background section. Theoretical framework will follow the literature review in order to connect the existing literature to relevant theories. Thereafter, the method section will present the methods that were used during the data collection and analysis process. Finally, the discussion and concluding remarks will be the closure of the thesis.

2.0 BACKGROUND

In the background section, first of all the GAP area will be presented in terms of its human development context with its main features compared to Turkey. Then the project will be overall introduced. Finally, the GAP will be presented with its historical background in order to draw a clear picture about the project itself.

2.1 An Overlook to the GAP Region

Within the seven regions and 81 cities of Turkey, the Southern Eastern Anatolia Region and its cities always followed the label of 'the one of the most backward' in Turkey (Muhçi 2012). In order to show the place of the Southern Eastern Anatolia Region (GAP Region) compared to the rest of Turkey, The Human Development Index (HRI) will be used and it will provide an overall idea about the region. The Human Development Index (HRI), which has been published annually by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) since 1990, ranks countries between 0 and 1 according to their success in human development; 0 is the lowest and 1 is the highest human development show its value (Mıhçı 2012). ICE consists of three key indicators: (1) life expectancy from birth; (2) weighted average of adult literacy and total schooling rate; and (3) real per capita income in terms of purchasing power parity (ibid.). For each indicator, a value of 1 is given to the country with the highest performance and 0 to the country with the lowest performance. The values of other countries are determined between these two numbers (ibid.).

The same index can also be applied to the regions of the countries. According to that range, the rank of the GAP Region was raised from 0,501 to 0,753 between 1990 to 2018, while Turkey raised its rank from 0,579 to 0,806 between the same years (see figure 1).

Figure 1: HRI Index of Turkey with its sub-regions

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Turkey																													⚲ Show on map
Total	0.579	0.583	0.590	0.597	0.599	0.607	0.615	0.624	0.635	0.643	0.656	0.662	0.672	0.679	0.685	0.691	0.702	0.709	0.714	0.721	0.743	0.759	0.765	0.782	0.792	0.800	0.800	0.805	0.806
Aegean (Afyon, Aydin, Denizli, Izmi...	0.607	0.612	0.618	0.626	0.626	0.632	0.638	0.644	0.653	0.662	0.674	0.680	0.692	0.699	0.703	0.708	0.717	0.723	0.726	0.732	0.753	0.768	0.773	0.789	0.799	0.807	0.807	0.812	0.814
Central Anatolia (Kayseri, Kirsehir, ...	0.540	0.544	0.550	0.558	0.565	0.579	0.593	0.607	0.624	0.632	0.645	0.651	0.662	0.668	0.675	0.682	0.693	0.702	0.706	0.715	0.739	0.755	0.763	0.781	0.792	0.799	0.800	0.805	0.807
Central East Anatolia (Bingol, Bitlis...	0.467	0.471	0.476	0.482	0.484	0.492	0.500	0.508	0.518	0.538	0.560	0.577	0.597	0.614	0.616	0.618	0.625	0.628	0.629	0.643	0.672	0.694	0.708	0.732	0.742	0.749	0.750	0.754	0.756
East Black Sea (Artvin, Giresun, Gu...	0.576	0.581	0.587	0.595	0.596	0.603	0.610	0.617	0.627	0.633	0.643	0.647	0.656	0.661	0.668	0.676	0.687	0.696	0.700	0.706	0.726	0.740	0.746	0.761	0.771	0.779	0.780	0.784	0.786
East Marmara (Bilecik, Bolu, Bursa...	0.593	0.597	0.604	0.612	0.622	0.639	0.656	0.673	0.693	0.696	0.704	0.705	0.711	0.713	0.719	0.724	0.734	0.741	0.744	0.749	0.769	0.783	0.787	0.801	0.812	0.820	0.820	0.826	0.827
Istanbul	0.665	0.670	0.677	0.686	0.678	0.677	0.676	0.675	0.677	0.686	0.700	0.707	0.718	0.727	0.733	0.738	0.748	0.755	0.759	0.761	0.779	0.790	0.792	0.803	0.813	0.821	0.821	0.826	0.828
Mediterranean (Adana, Antalya, B...	0.589	0.593	0.599	0.608	0.610	0.619	0.628	0.637	0.649	0.652	0.659	0.660	0.667	0.669	0.673	0.677	0.685	0.690	0.692	0.701	0.725	0.742	0.750	0.769	0.779	0.787	0.787	0.792	0.793
North East Anatolia (Agri, Erzincan...	0.477	0.482	0.487	0.493	0.494	0.500	0.506	0.512	0.520	0.541	0.565	0.583	0.604	0.622	0.627	0.633	0.642	0.649	0.653	0.660	0.680	0.695	0.701	0.718	0.728	0.734	0.735	0.740	0.742
South East Anatolia (Adiyaman, Di...	0.501	0.505	0.510	0.517	0.517	0.524	0.530	0.535	0.544	0.555	0.569	0.577	0.589	0.597	0.606	0.614	0.627	0.637	0.644	0.655	0.680	0.699	0.709	0.729	0.739	0.746	0.747	0.752	0.753
West Anatolia (Ankara, Konya, Kar...	0.619	0.623	0.630	0.638	0.645	0.658	0.672	0.686	0.702	0.705	0.713	0.714	0.721	0.723	0.731	0.738	0.749	0.757	0.763	0.770	0.793	0.810	0.816	0.833	0.843	0.850	0.848	0.853	0.855
West Black Sea (Amasya, Cankiri, ...	0.554	0.559	0.565	0.572	0.576	0.586	0.596	0.607	0.620	0.631	0.645	0.652	0.665	0.674	0.680	0.684	0.695	0.701	0.705	0.714	0.737	0.755	0.763	0.782	0.792	0.800	0.801	0.806	0.807
West Marmara (Balikesir, Canakka...	0.542	0.547	0.552	0.560	0.573	0.592	0.610	0.630	0.651	0.659	0.671	0.676	0.687	0.693	0.698	0.702	0.711	0.717	0.720	0.731	0.758	0.778	0.788	0.810	0.820	0.827	0.825	0.830	0.832

(Table generated in https://globaldatalab.org by the researcher)

However, it should be emphasized that the change observed in the values of HRI over time in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions remained below the average change in the country, thus deterioration is observed in their relative positions (UNDP 2001, p. 21). Therefore, the GAP region is still considered as one of the most backward regions in Turkey in terms of economic and social aspects with the hope that it will change one day with the immediate completion of large-scale projects such as the Southeastern Anatolia Project (Mıhçı 2012).

2.2 The Southern Eastern Anatolia Project (GAP)

In this section, general background information about the GAP, the planning process, the stages of change, the goals and the objectives of the project will be explained starting with the GAP Master Plan created in 1989, when GAP has become an official project. During this period, the project had priorities that changed with time. Classifying them according to time intervals and explaining the project in more detail while doing this will help to better understand the GAP project. Additionally, this will show how the development in the region had been planned and investigates the effect of the aforementioned development on the women and the effect of this development on the women who live in the region. Also, ÇATOM (Multi-Purpose Community Centres) will be described in this section in order to examine and discuss those in the analysis section.

On its official website [2] The Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) is described as the project that is largest in terms of the scale and the costliest project in the Republic of Turkey's history. Furthermore, it is mentioned as a project "very effectively implemented among regional development plans and programs developed so far" (GAP Nedir, 2018). GAP is implemented in an area covering the nine provinces of Southeastern Anatolia, Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak. It can be defined as the GAP The GAP Region can be defined as encompassing the aforementioned areas as of 2015, making up 76,014 square kilometres in width and 8,250,718 million of Turkey's facial measurements. The area, furthermore, constitutes 10% of the total population. (Turkey Statistics Institute [TurkStat], 2015: 3-12, cited in Bilgen 2018)

Figure 2:The Southern Eastern-GAP Region in Turkey

Source: http://www.pedology.net/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderpictures/tr-gap1.jpg
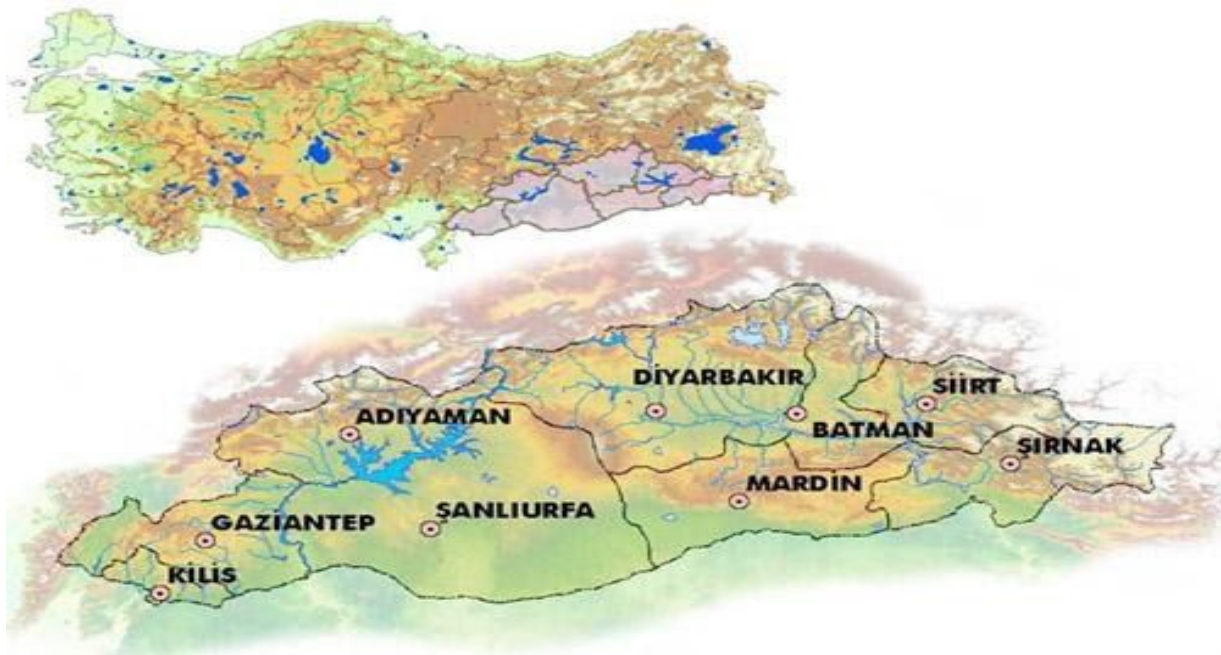
The aim of the project has been combining the economic development and sustainable human development philosophy in order to achieve overall development in the Southern Eastern

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[2] (http://www.gap.gov.tr)

Anatolia Region by utilizing the region's resources (GAP Nedir, 2018). The overall idea of doing this has been "eliminating development disparities existing between the region and other parts of the country, and contributing to national economic development and social stability by enhancing productivity and employment opportunities in the region." (ibid.).

At the planning stage of the GAP in the 1970s, it was mostly considered as an economic development project by using the water and land resources with building massive dams in order to create electricity and control the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (GAP Nedir, 2018). However, after 1989 with the broader vision of the Master Plan the project became broader as well and it turned into an overall development project that is including investments in agriculture, industry, transportation, education, health and rural-urban infrastructure based on the philosophy of sustainable human development in order to achieve a project that will be useful for future generations as well (ibid.).

2.3 The Historical Background of GAP

It is also important to provide the summary of a chronological order of the project with its planning steps and the action in order to see this very long process clearly. Even though the official start of the project is the year of 1989, as the project was started to be discussed since the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the summary will start from the 1930s up until late 2010.

-1930s

The idea of using Turkey's water potential as effectively as possible started to be discussed in the 1930s during the early years of establishment of the Republic of Turkey, and got serious in 1936 when the Electrical Power Resource Administration was established (GAP-RDA, 2016b: 2, cited in Bilgen 2018a). In this period, in order to generate energy from the water resources of the country, exploratory studies and investigations were carried out in the Euphrates River (Bilgen, 2018a).

-1950s

In 1954, the research on basins was started by the establishment of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSI) and the country divided into 26 basins (Hakkımızda - DSİ Genel Müdürlüğü, 2020).

-1960s

As a result of efforts to improve water and soil resources, the Euphrates Basin Stability Report was prepared in 1964, which determined the irrigation and energy potential of the Euphrates Basin. A similar study was carried out for the Tigris Basin in 1969 (Hakkımızda - DSİ Genel Müdürlüğü, 2020).

-1970s

A total of 13 projects considered in the two basins were combined for the first time in 1977 and these bundles were officially named "Southeastern Anatolia Project". In this context, irrigation investments were envisaged with 22 dams and 19 hydroelectric power plants in order to generate 27 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity and irrigate about 1.8 million hectares of land annually (GAP-RDA, 2016b: 2, cited in Bilgen 2018a).

-1980s

Within the framework of transforming GAP from a water and soil resources development project into a regional planning project, the task of directing the project was given to the State Planning Organization (DPT) in 1986 (Bilgen, 2018a). In 1989, the GAP Master Plan was prepared in order to transform the project into a socio-economic development project, and with the plan, the project integrated multi-sectoral integration aimed at the overall development of the provinces in the GAP Region, including investments in agriculture, industry, transportation, education, health, rural and urban infrastructure. Thereby, it had been turned into a regional development project (GAP-RDA, 2016b: 4, cited in Bilgen 2018a). Due to the wide scope of applications planned to be carried out within this framework, the GAP Regional Development Administration was

established in 1989, with its 15-year term in Ankara and the regional directorate in Şanlıurfa, in order to perform the planning, project, implementation and monitoring-evaluation functions with integrity (T.C. GAP Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2018). The GAP High Council and the technical pillar of the organization were the GAP Regional Development Administration. In addition, the GAP Coordination Board has served as a forum for discussing different ideas and problems related to the project (Bilgen, 2018a).

-1990s

Principles such as sustainability, participation, development of local capacity, equality and justice in development, which started to spread all over the world in the 1990s, also affected the practices within the GAP (Bilgen, 2018a). For this reason, the GAP Social Action Plan was prepared in 1994 with the synthesis of researches conducted in 1992-1994 on issues such as social change, women's status and population movements in order to ensure social and human development within the framework of GAP (Ünver, 1999). The first ÇATOM (multi-purpose community centers) was established based on the Social Action Plan, which was prepared based on the findings of the five basic researches conducted in this context, and the Action Plan prepared based on one of these researches, "Survey of the Status and Integration of Women in the GAP Region" (GAP ÇATOM | Multi-Purpose Community Centres – WHAT IS GAP ÇATOM, 2020). Although its name seems quite generalizing, the main goal of ÇATOM in the first years of its establishment was to make projects for the social status of women who are in a disadvantaged position in the region. However, as GAP has changed over the years, ÇATOM has been changed and its main focus has been divided into many things, not just being a woman.

-2000s

A new GAP Regional Development Plan was prepared in 2002, covering the years 2002-2010, based on the principles of human development, sustainability and participation, but was not implemented as it had been planned (Bilgen, 2018a). In 2007, investments within the scope of GAP were reviewed and the GAP Action Plan covering the years 2008-2012 was prepared and put into practice in order to complete the project quickly (ibid.) The main aims of this plan are

the realization of economic development, social development, infrastructure development and institutional capacity development (GAP-RDA 2008, p. 9, cited in Bilgen 2018a).

-2010s

Although 2005 is specified in GAP Master Plan, 2010 in GAP Regional Development Plan and 2012 in GAP Action Plan, it is difficult to say whether the desired goals were achieved (Bilgen, 2018a). According to the 2016 Latest Status Report published by GAP-Regional Development Administration, the realization rate of energy projects is 74% and the realization rate of irrigation projects is 26.4% (GAP-RDA 2016b, p. 28-32, cited in Bilgen 2018a). Therefore, the 2010s are known as the years when the completion of the project was considered after a long delay but the purpose of this was not reached (Bilgen, 2018a).

As the technological and infrastructure side of the project, social projects within GAP are also 'work in progress'. Especially after 2013, social work that is concerned with Turkish and Kurdish women and children in the region, with the refugee flow in last years the from Syria, ÇATOM have made a lot of projects especially for Syrian women and children regarding their urgent needs (GAP 2018 Faaliyet Raporu, 2018).

This research, hopefully, will be providing a detailed analysis of the actions and projects that were conducted by the GAP and GAP ÇATOM in order to find out the approach of GAP on projects related to the women in the region.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is going to present the reviewed literature for this study. First of all, the developmental state literature will find a place, then how the developmental state literature is stressed about the gender issues will be presented. Finally, specifically Turkey as a developmental state and how the gender issues will/if presented in the reviewed literature will conclude the literature review section.

3.1 Developmental State

The developmental state is a development model in various forms that aims at rapid development in their economies by having an active state involvement in the economy for protecting, shaping and controlling the economic activities whereby different kinds of policies are adapted (Caldantey 2008). The core of the structure of the developmental state was to create a strong bond between politics and economy in order to make the state involved in every stage of the developmental activities and to make the process more efficient and faster (ibid.).

The developmental state is an idea often associated with the East Asian countries and Japan and its role of the government in the industrialization of the countries after World War II (Caldantey 2008). Even though those countries are the first ones that come to mind, they were not the first ones to implement the ideas of the developmental state. The first developmental state models were followed during the industrial revolution by the Western European countries in the 18th century and in the US in the 19th century in order to achieve rapid development by creating a strong bond between economy and policies (ibid.). The first countries that followed the developmental state had some differences between each other according to them being colonial states, late comers, or non-colonial states, as those times were close to the post-colonial era or a short while after that (Bresser-Pereira, 2016)

Bresser- Pereira (2016) argues that there were four different state models during the industrial revolution era which are; 1- colonizer countries like England and France that achieved rapid industrialization during 18th and 19th century which are the original central developmental state models, 2- counties that are not colonizers or late colonizers such as Germany and the United States which are the latecomer central developmental state, 3- countries that were the colonies or the semi-colonies of Western countries but also with high national autonomy like Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan that are quickly industrialized, rich and caught up, or China, Thailand, Malaysia and India that are middle-income countries, 4- countries that succeed the capitalist revolution which followed the nationally dependent model of an environmental development state model, yet lost some of their national autonomy and became very slow- growing countries like Mexico and Brazil (Bresser - Pereira, 2016).

After the industrial revolution era, with the widened globalization and democratization, states had to consider the demands of their voters and change their approach to the development and distribution of services (Takagi et al., 2019 p. 1). Then, this led them to follow a different path than the industrial revolution era and following cold war era developmental state models which were more centric and only focused on economic growth without social aspects of development (ibid.). After this transition, from the models that are only seeking economic growth to the models that are combining economic growth and social development, the concept of "developmental state" had its golden age from the mid-1980s until the Asian financial crisis broke out in the late 1990s (ibid.).

However, the developmental state phenomena did not come to an end but experienced resurrection and transformation in many countries. Consequently, the Beijing Consensus as a reminder of the developmental state concept got a lot of attention worldwide (Halper 2010). Even though the developmental state concept has transformed and widened, even after the 1990s, the debate around the topic was very state-centric and focused on the small number of Asian countries while it actually internationalized and took on different shapes in different countries (Takagi et al., 2019 p. 2).

3.2 Development State Literature and Gender

The developmental state literature has been significantly gender blind (Rai 2012 cited in Truong 1999). This is very important because an economically successful developmental state model means they reached almost all the institutions and if they do not touch upon this through a gender perspective then they are losing the change of improving the situation of the women in the country and reapplying to somewhere else (Evans, 1998 cited in Kovacs 2013).

For example, Korea is always considered as a successful developmental state model (Minns 2001), since the country is covering the crucial characteristics and conditions of the model such as 'highly capable, coherent economic bureaucracy, closely connected but still independent of the business community' (Evans 1998: p.69) and also by having the 'weakening, flattening or

control of civil society' (Leftwich 1995: p.416). Kovacs (2013) argues that, despite the fact that being a successful developmental state, Korean society is considered as unequal in terms of gender because of many implications by the state besides other social and traditional parameters (Kovacs 2013). For instance, Korea has been recorded as having one of the world's highest wage gaps between women and men (Seguino 2000) which has widened since the 70s to 2000s and reached 70% in 2004 (OECD 2005) while there has been a huge increase in female employment in the country at the same time (Park 2012). Furthermore, the positions of the women occupied have a low status in the labour market and usually also a low wage (Park 1995). Besides, the structure of the patriarchal society is not being helpful to bring equality to the place of women in the labour market.

There was a system in Korea until it was abolished in 2005, called the family head system, which was officially giving the authority to the oldest men in the family to control the family members (Park 2012). As inequality was supported by the state until a time can be considered as modern times, one can say that gender inequality is a big issue even in a successful and example developmental state country as Korea (Kovacs 2013).

Korea is not the only country who has followed a male dominated developmental state approach during the process of development. Bunwaree (2007) argues that, in some African countries, when the leaders plan and explain their developmental goals they exclude half of the population, women (Bunwaree 2007). For instance, in 2001 the African Union launched a new initiative called The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in order to create more opportunities for African development with the attendance of the member countries (ibid.). The main aim of the 'reforms' found in this initiative framed by Bunwaree (2007) as: 'enhance Africa's rapid integration into the world's economy.' (ibid). However, the reality clashes with what has been said in the reports since thinking a successful integration with the world can not be thought of without thinking about the women in the 'continent' (ibid.). Even though women's visibility has improved in many countries of Africa, this initiative and the country's work on the development process did not show a significant change for gender relations on behalf of the women (ibid.). The discrimination for women in every stage of the life is truth for the African women: they still face the inequalities in terms of education opportunities, being significantly

less visible in the economic activities, facing with discrimination in the working places, being almost non-visible in the political representation and facing with violence in their families (Kevane 2004, cited in Bunwaree 2007). Bunwaree argues that, while all these are happening, this gender blindness during the developing process in African countries will bring more marginalization for the women and it will create larger problems that are harder to fix later (Bunwaree 2007).

3.3 Turkey as a Developmental State and Its Approach on Gender

Turkey is also one of the countries that has been following a developmental state model since the establishment of the country in 1923 by supporting industrialization and pursuing 'national economic development' with the natural resources the country already has (Buğra 2017). In order to achieve this goal, there have been many mega projects around the country implemented by the state with a high rate of state control over them. For instance, in the Middle Black Sea region which has rich coal and steel stratums and is suitable for producing cement that could easily be imported by using the Black Sea Port. Another example is Eastern Anatolia since the region is very rich in terms of high running big rivers suitable for producing hydroelectric power and has rich soil for effective agriculture (Bayar 1996).

Especially, Southern Eastern Anatolia has been a very important region that should be developed both economically and socially for the Turkish state (Bilgen 2018b). Even though it has always been a goal to make a big development project in the region, the project called Southern Eastern Anatolia Project (GAP) officially started to be planned in 1970s and was finally starting in 1989, aiming to build massive infrastructure for economic development such as dams, bridges, factories etc. without thinking about the social aspects of the region, i.e. gender inequality and what this project could do about it (Bilgen 2018b). According to Bilgen (2018b), GAP had already started as a big project but by the years it got massive and it emerged to include many social projects within the project (Bilgen 2018b). The author also argues that after 1995 GAP had become a project seeking for the transformation of the society rather than a water-oriented development project, as the idea about the region has been seen as backward in terms of education, agriculture, social structure of the region, gender relations, etc. (ibid.) However,

within those topics, gender issues and the existing gender inequality in the region are the least touched topics in the literature that covers the GAP and the Southern Eastern Anatolia region (Bilgen 2018a).

In this very gender blind literature, there are only a few dissertations, news series and unfinished research about the topic which could be found online. Also they are not specifically approaching Turkey as a developmental state and looking at the region independently. Therefore, it is very hard to use them in the literature review as sources to find a place and lead this research.

4.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following section is going to present the theoretical framework of this thesis. This theoretical framework will be based on two different yet connected theories that are feminist development theory (theories) and inclusivity. Those theories will be helpful for this research in order to understand the GAP as a big development project that has been going on in a big geographical area and its perspective on gender. Therefore, in the first part of the theoretical framework, some feminist development theories will be historically explained in order to analyze the data through the lens of feminism and development, and to try to see the GAP from this perspective.

In the second part of the theoretical framework, inclusive development theory is going to find a place and it will help this research to investigate and analyze whether the GAP is an inclusive development project for the women who live in the region and in which ways it has been inclusive or not.

4.1 Development and Feminism

Feminism in development is an important lens to look through for this research to understand and analyze the place of women in GAP. Therefore, a short historical background and evolving process of feminism in development will find a place in this section. Furthermore, the relation

and links between feminism in development and GAP will be pointed out to examine the project from this point of view.

Development and modernization

Since its emergence at the beginning of 1940s, during the Second World War, the term development has carried a lot of different meanings over time. However, in general, one can refer the meaning of the term of development, until it broadened and includes different theories, as "catching up with the advanced industrialized countries" (Pieterse 2002, p.5), and it is a founding belief of modernity (Peet and Hartwick 2009, p.1). The "golden times" of developmentalism and modernism have brought some ideas that have been seen as the essentials for a successful modern development. For instance, it was a very strong idea that the role of the government as the main player in the development process from the beginning of the policy making and during the development process as a control mechanism is very important so it can be successful and improve the living standards (Reddock, 2000 p. 23). Another strong belief was that switching the investments from traditional economic activities like agriculture to more industrialized and manufactured sectors could lead to a faster and successful economic development (Reddock, 2000 p. 23).

However, this definition of development is also reflecting the general idea of development by many developing countries and the specialists from developed countries because many of them have not questioned whether this well-being would spread equally to all classes, races and gender groups (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 51). Even though the place of women in development started to be discussed in the 1950s and 1960s there is almost no literature on the topic excluding the social movements for women's rights of some developing countries. Until the beginning of 1970s, development was a term that was ignoring the presence of women and only focusing on development as a modernisation by following the Western technology and Western lifestyle in order to catch up with them (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 51). Additionally, the potential of modernisation proving inefficient or even challenging for women instead of being beneficial, was ignored.

<u>'Genderblind' Development</u>

During the 1970s the role of women in the big development projects of the governments started to be discussed more compared to the past decades. For example, in 1970 the United Nations General Assembly analyzed the 1960s in terms of women's place in developing countries and they found that the projects on industrialisation in those countries worsened their position and life (Reddock, 2000 P. 23).

In addition to that, 1970 was the year that Ester Boserup, an agricultural economist, published a groundbreaking book called *Women's Role in Economic Development.* Ester Boserup (1970) opened the place of women in development projects to a discussion and examined the effect of it on women in developing countries. In this work Boserup (1970) found that most of the big development projects in developing countries are gender blind and the technology that the modernisation brought is not helping women to have more space (Reddock, 2000 p.34). On the contrary, they are restricting the economic space and autonomy of women (ibid.). Furthermore, the training on new technologies in the projects that was meant to create new job opportunities was mostly for only men which strengthened the position of men by creating more opportunities for them while it was restricting the economic opportunities for women (ibid.). However, according to Boserup (1970) this should be the other way around and the developing countries should actively include women in the development process, otherwise a successful economic development is not possible (ibid.). This result can be seen as an important turning point for the recognition of women in development because it has created a big discussion against the general idea about development projects, implying that once they start and become successful, everyone, including the disadvantaged groups, will benefit from this automatically (ibid.).

The main point of including women in the developing process is, because fixing the poverty problem is only possible if both women and men are equally involved in the process of development (Reddock, 2000 p. 35). The reason of this is explained by Margaret Snyder ve Mary Tadesse (1995) as;

-"Development," in accordance with the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade, means "to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and to bestow benefits on all."

-Half of the existing population is women and they are comprising more resources than men, so their active participation in development is crucial

-Women and development is a concept that we can not think separately as a successful development is impossible without the existence of women activities

-Therefore, women must have "both the legal right and access to existing means for the improvement of oneself and of society."

— Snyder and Tadesse (1995, p. 6)

'Gender and Development (GAD) Approach'

On the other hand, some feminist development theorists have defended the Gender and Development (GAD) approach which also known as "empowerment approach" or "gender-aware planning." (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 62). This approach was adopted by some feminists in developing countries and began to be recognized and developed globally. It became known as one of the strongest feminist development theory of the 1980s (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 63). The GAD approach is based on a socialist feminist perspective and argues that women's place in society is influenced not only by the patriarchal order in society and the family, but also by material living conditions, regional and global economies. In addition, the focus of GAD is not only related to women, but it is seen as more inclusive and holistic than the relationship between men and women in the society, because, according to them, gender roles can be changed in the state, in the society and in the family, as it is believed, but can be changed if desired (ibid.). In addition, GAD sees women not as a recipient of development projects, but as an active participant in the process, which clearly indicates how women are seen in the development process (ibid.). With all these features, although the GAD approach was more prominent in the

1980s, it played a role in shaping the development projects of donor countries, NGOs and developing countries (ibid.)

Also, GAD argues that creating new jobs for women is not enough to give them economic or social liberty (Asalatha 2009). On the contrary, this is a way to double womens work and create more unpaid or low paid imaginary jobs for women (ibid.). The thing that should be done according to this approach, creating space for women in the existing market (ibid.). Then only the gender equal approach would apply rather than separating women by putting them in a different market environment (ibid.). In addition, GAD supports that there should be capacity-building and training, policies regarding this and raising awareness should be done in order to provide this for the women (ibid.). Besides, GAD is an approach that is very open for any kind of partnership that will allow more equal opportunities for women and girls in the countries, therefore it is not supporting only a national monopol approach (ibid.)

Differing effects of globalization on women

By the 1990s, the diversity inherited from the past decades began to manifest itself more prominently in women's movements and in women's development (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 63). In this period, organized women's movements increased their power and pressure and started to be more effective on states and scholars (ibid.). These years served as a bridge between the feminism and development debates of the past decades to move to a new century full of new terms and phenomena such as globalization (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 64).

With the start of the new millenium, trends of the 90s such as globalization, free trade, and policies of structural adjustment programmes, which have been discussed and monitored in the past years, have had different effects on women and men (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 66). As the most important feature of the time that started at the end of the 1990s, many job areas were created by the sectors who produce many new jobs in this period in order to create a flexible and cheap workforce (ibid.). However, these jobs were generally lower paid, less secure, and less advantageous, and were generally preferred by women rather than men (ibid.). In addition, with the spread of export-based industrialization in developing countries, low-wage female

employment has increased considerably in developing countries. In addition, women in these regions are generally perceived as more suitable for doing ordinary, unskilled jobs for a long time, causing them to be seen as cheaper and more passive workers (ibid.). Also, women are usually used in the jobs that require "self production" such as gardening, child care, selling handmade things etc. and that put them in a more vulnerable position compared to men who usually work in jobs which do not require such (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 67).

4.2 Inclusivity and Development

The Oxford Dictionary defines the term of inclusivity as "The practice or policy of providing equal access to opportunities and resources for people who might otherwise be excluded or marginalized, such as those having physical or mental disabilities or belonging to other minority groups." (inclusivity, Oxford, 2020) and the concept of inclusion officially emerged as a social practice in the 1990s (Dunne 2009). With the beginning of the 21st century, countries started to adapt the concept of inclusivity more in their social related projects in order to include everyone in the process of development of the area that they are working (ibid).

In every country, there are disadvantaged groups whose participation in the economic, social and political life of their nations is consciously or unrelatedly prevented, and in some countries gender can be seen as one of the reasons for this exclusion (World Bank 2020). This situation of communities that are not sufficiently included in the society they live in harms them and also affects the society they live in, even the nation, socially, politically and economically. Therefore, it is essential to ensure that these groups participate in society as a priority in the policies and projects of the states. Otherwise, this situation will damage the economic conditions of the countries. The 2018 IMF report titled 'Economic Gains from Gender Inclusion: New Mechanisms, New Evidence' shows that in countries with the highest gender discrimination in the workforce, it costs approximately 35 percent of GNP (IMF 2018). The same report stated that if women actively participate in the workforce, there will be an increase in productivity, apart from social gains, and this will also benefit the economy (IMF 2018).

In addition, the United Nations has made a commitment to "leave no one behind", that is, to include all those who are excluded because of their gender and social status in the development process to help countries promote inclusive growth and achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNDP, 2018). Based on all these, we can say that the inclusion of women in the development process is essential for the development of countries, as well as benefits for women.

In Gupta et al. (2015) inclusive development is defined as "development that includes marginalized people, sectors and countries in social, political and economic processes for increased human well-being, social and environmental sustainability, and empowerment. Inclusive development is an adaptive learning process, which responds to change and new risks of exclusion and marginalization." (Gupta et al. 2015).

Inclusive development is one of the key features of sustainable development which emphasizes social and environmental aspects of sustainable development (Gupta et al. 2015). In this context, sustainable development also needs to be described in order to clarify the point. Sustainable development has been termed as "development that satisfies the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987, p. 43).

Asian Development Bank publications (ADB, 2007) were the first place in which the term of inclusive development had appeared (Rauniyar and Kanbur, 2010 cited in Gupta et al. 2015). In these publications, the term found a place as, poverty reduction, development of education and health services, social capital development, gender-based development i.e. health, welfare and women's participation in social development and social protection such as age, disease, disability, natural disasters, economic crises and the reduction of the internal conflicts (Rauniyar and Kanbur, 2010 cited in Gupta et al. 2015).

Like the developing Asian countries, it is assumed that all the developing countries always aim for inclusive development especially by including women in the developing process, but in policy making it can work differently since this process requires fiscal space (Elson and Seth 2019). This is because, for projects that are improving the education level, healthcare,

empowerment for women is perceived as expense instead of investment even in their planning process (ibid.). However, it is possible for countries to expand the definition of what they aim with the investments by stopping to see the projects for women as only expenses (ibid.).

On the other hand, According to Elson and Fontana in their chapter in the UN Report named *Gender Equality and Inclusive Growth: Economic Policies to Achieve Sustainable Development* (2019), they argue that inclusion does not have to be always good. The term of inclusion is always drawn as a positive thing in the SDGs, UN or other NGO reports, and the existing literature around the inclusivity but it can be harmful as well depending on the way that is applied (Elson and Fontana 2019). For example, in some cases indirect inclusion in developing process by social reproduction can be harmful in a way they can be;

• Forcible inclusion (e.g., forced unpaid domestic and care work through forced marriage)
• Stigmatized inclusion (e.g., low-quality public services narrowly targeted to poor women) (Elson and Fontana 2019).

Implementation of 'beneficial' inclusivity is crucially important in order to give to the marginalized groups in the society to join the development process so they can actually feel their importance and also create a sense of equality and justice in the society (Gupta et al. 2015).

4.3 From Theory to Analysis

Development and Feminism theories and their historical transformation over the decades that were mentioned above are very important for understanding the place of women in the GAP project, as the GAP is an ongoing and transforming project for decades. However, this study will mainly use the gender and development (GAD) approach in the analysis section because it is the approach that does not see women as only one group but bringing the awareness of diversity in women by introducing the concepts of ethnicity, age, class etc. (Young 2002, p. 321- 325). This is very important to look at the women as not only one homogenous group in this study, because there are many different groups of women in the region even though they can also belong to more than one group at the same time.

Then, the term of inclusivity will find a place in the analysis process together with the development and feminism concept, specifically using the GAD approach. As an addition to the GAD, inclusivity is also a very suitable concept for this research to analyze because, as the GAP claimed, being an inclusive project is very important for them to achieve. Since it is a state based project that is conducted in a region that has many marginalized groups, it has been important for them to include the society in the development process. Furthermore, women in the region are one of the marginalised and disadvantaged groups and this study will focus on inclusivity in terms of women's inclusion. Because, for GAP it has been crucial to include them in the development process. However, the way they do that is questionable and the discourse of the documents will be examined and discussed in the analysis and discussion section in order to look at whether the planning and acting of inclusivity was a form of beneficial or harmful inclusion as stated above. The analysis will provide a synthesis of these concepts and also the discussion around the themes in order to answer the sub and the main question.Also the background section and the reviewed literature will be used to help us to understand the case of GAP and the approach of the state on the region then examine the discourse of planning and applying process on the projects related with women.

5 METHODOLOGY

The following section will firstly present the study's research design, secondly the collected data and procedures of data analysis and finally the methodological and other delimitations of the study.

5.1 Research Design

This study made use of qualitative research methods, which means this study analyzes the data that has been collected from qualitative aspects. More specifically, this is a qualitative single case that is using critical discourse analysis with the addings from the feminist discourse analysis. The reason why the chosen methods find a place in this study, is because the chosen

case is complex and has its own nature which explored with the help of both critical and feminist discourse analysis. (Bryman 2012, p.66). Furthermore, the CDA and feminist CDA is used because this research aims to see the selected reports as a power resource which is related to the approach of the state by examining their language (Bryman 2012, p.536).

5.1.1 Philosophical Base

This work is philosophically based on Bhaskar's (1989) concept of critical reality. According to this approach "Critical realism is a specific form of realism whose manifesto is to recognize the reality of the natural order and the events and discourses of the social world and holds that 'we will only be able to understand—and so change—the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses." (Bryman 2012, p.29). However, these structures cannot be formed by themselves and can only emerge and be defined by practical and toric studies of social sciences (Bhaskar 1989: in Bryman 2012: 29).

According to this approach, epistemology and ontology exist as independently but they are connected and related (Bryman, 2012: 29). This means, the world would exist without the words but understanding the world without the words and discourse would not be possible since they are all interconnected (Bryman, 2012:29). Therefore, the philosophical approach of this research is based on this, because a realistic research with a result is only possible with a critical point of view (Bryman, 2012: 20, 32).

5.2 Data Collection

Although there is a lot of literature on GAP, these are generally studies related to the economic, technological and agricultural aspects of the project. Since most of the studies related to the projects that evaluate all groups in the region at the same level, studies on women of the region are quite limited. Therefore, it became difficult to decide on the reports to be selected for this study during the data collection. First of all, all the sources that have been used are secondary data sources from the official websites of the projects (www.gap.gov.tr and www.gapçatom.org). The reports selected for this study were also chosen even though they are not directly related to the women of the region, but they are the one who stresses about the women related issues and the projects compared to the rest.

According to feminist CDA does not require a fixed process of sampling as CDA (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p.28). Therefore, the sampling process of this study started with the collection of documents that might be relevant to the research question, as Bryman suggested (Bryman 2012, p.416). Later, many documents were collected and read, and the reports to be used for this study were selected from the plans and activity reports on the official website of GAP.

These reports are the most comprehensive and clear reports about the project, written by the government's self-commissioned employees, who are the main executors of the project. This is of great importance because the source should not be too large for the findings to be valid, to allow a sufficiently large but limited study (Bryman 2012, p.425). These documents are indicated in the table below (see Table 1) and shown in general terms.

The sample size has also been considered, keeping in mind that it needs to be large enough for the findings to be valid, but not too large for an in-depth single case study (Bryman, 2012: 425). Based on the data sample, four published reports, two online sources and one book were deemed appropriate. An overview of the sampled documents, their relevance and contribution is found below.

Table 1. Sampled Documents

Original Name of the Document(s)	English Translation of the names, websites	Aim	Name in the text
Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi Master Plan Çalışması Master Plan Nihai Raporu Cilt 2	Southeastern Anatolia Project Master Plan Final Report Volume 2	This is the first official big plan report of the GAP which made the project a wide official. This report	Doc. 1

	TC GAP İdaresi Başkanlığı Kütüphane ve e-Kaynaklar | Master Planlar Yayınları > [Accessed 20 October 2020].	was covering plans on agriculture, technology, infrastructure, population and social projects in the Southern Eastern Anatolia region. Therefore it is a crucial document to examine for this research in order to see the first steps of the GAP on social projects then we could move to the women related projects.	
1999 Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi Sosyal Eylem Planı	1999 Southeastern Anatolia Project Social Action Plan Report GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU PROJESİ SOSYAL EYLEM PLANI > [Accessed 20 October 2020].	This is the report of the social research that was conducted between 1992 and 1994 in order to determine the social needs in the region and what are the urgent things that need to change, improve, etc. Therefore, it is	Doc.2

		another important report for this research to see what are those projects, what kind of approach they followed etc.	
GAP 1998 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu	GAP 1998 Activity Report [1998 YILI FAALİYET RAPORU](#) > [Accessed 20 October 2020].	This report is the first report that mentioned ÇATOMs and also the first published report that stated concerns, plans and objectives about the women in the Southern Eastern Anatolia.	Doc.3
2002 Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi Bölge Kalkınma Planı, Cilt 2 Ana Rapor	2002 GAP Regional Development Plan Main Report Volume 2 [GAP Bölge Kalkınma Ana Rapor Cilt 2](#) > [Accessed 20 October 2020].	This report is the first comprehensive plan report of the project which covers plans, objectives and policies that is aiming to be applied between 2002 and 2010.	Doc. 4
Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi Eylem Planı	Southeastern Anatolia Project Action Plan	This report is the first general action plan	Doc. 5

(2008-2012)	(2008-2012) GAP Eylem Planı (2008-2012) > [Accessed 20 October 2020].	report that is covering a wide range of plans in the region. Therefore, in order to examine the future plans, this report is an important one to investigate.	
Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi Eylem Planı (2014-2018)	Southeastern Anatolia Project Action Plan (2014-2018) GAP Eylem Planı (2014-2018) > [Accessed 20 October 2020].	This is the second and the last plan report of the GAP. The most important reason for choosing this document is that it is the first report of GAP that includes plans and objectives regarding the refugee flow from Syria to the GAP region.	Doc. 6
Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi Son Durum (2019)	Southeastern Anatolia Project Latest Status Report (2019) 2019 GAP SON DURUM > [Accessed 20 October 2020].	This report is the last report that was published by the GAP. Therefore, it is important to look at it in order to see the latest status of the project.	Doc. 7

5.3 Data Analysis

In this section, the applied method feminist CDA will be discuss with its essentials and how and why this research used the femist CDA. Then the analytical steps of this study will be overviewed.

5.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

This study is using a critical approach to the social reality that is partly shaped by authority by looking at the reports created by the government. This will be done by applying the feminist dicourse analysis while combining it with critical discourse analysis. First of all, it is important to start from the discourse analysis as an umbrella term to both CDA and feminist CDA.

Discourse analysis is a way of analysis that allows the researcher to identify the social reality through the language (Bryman 2012, p. 356). Critical discourse analysis (CDA), furthermore, is a type of discourse analysis which is particularly interested in the relation between language and power (Wodak and Meyer 2001, p. 2). CDA specifically concerns the language of the political, institutional, gender and media related sources through which one can usually clearly make a point of power relations and conflict (ibid.). CDA is aware of language not being powerful on its own, however how it may become powerful if powerful people make use of it (Wodak and Meyer 2001, p. 10). Also, CDA is always aware that created discourse is always a production of the dominance, it always exists in time and space with the validation of the dominant social power (Wodak 2001, p. 32).

Feminist critical discourse analysis "aims to advance a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining (hierarchically) gendered social arrangements" and is furthermore applied to highlight the complexity of gender and hegemonic power relations (Lazar, 2007). Therefore, feminist CDA is an important to tool in

order to explore how the power relations, strategies from the dominant power and the relation between them finds a form within the discourse (Van Dijk, 1993)

Additionally, feminist CDA is known as being a method which supports diversity and difference among women, as this is a topic needed to be seen within its historical and cultural context as well (ibid). This method recognizes women and women related issues as complicated and unique in different social realities rather than women being one group. This should be taken into account during the analysis process (ibid). Therefore, this study will look at the women of the region by considering the different and possibly complicated sub-groups (eg. refugee women, young and elderly women) as well as seeing them one group according to the situation by examining the discourse of the sampled documents.

While examining the selected documents, it is important to consider the discourse from the micro and the macro level in order to find the link between them (Wodak and Meyer, 2009 p. 19). To clarify, micro level means language and discourse while the macro level means structural manifestation of hegemony of how the power is represented (Van Dijk 2005, p.467). This study followed this same approach by first determining the micro level discourse of the documents then examining the relationship between the language and the power behind the documents who wrote them, the government.

Besides, it is important to point out that besides everything, this study is based on critical reading of the material by the researcher. Therefore, it is important to mention that everyone can have a different understanding from any reading and come to an alternative conclusion from that because the reading process can provide different circumstances for everyone. According to Humes & Bryce (2003, p. 180) searching for the true meaning and exact answer is illusory since there will always be another point of view from someone else. Therefore, this study did not aim to find the absolute truth or facts that can not be changed depending on the approach or different point of view.

In the case of GAP related reports and other documents, this research stresses the importance of understanding and examining how and in what way authorities are using the language and what

the reports actually say about the projects that are for women in the region, as well as their approach behind these documents. As the GAP is a government based project, the language, terms, the things they repeated but also things they did not repeat, what they say in the documents and concepts that the government has been using, are important and directly related to the understanding of the projects and plans that are mainly for the women in the region. Therefore, using CDA with the lens of feminist CDA for analyzing the discourse was deemed most appropriate for analyzing the used data.

5.4 Analytical Process

Analytical process is a time period during the study that is a lot of things happening at the same time while the researcher is trying to answer the research question, so it is not a linear process (Bryman 2012, p.13). In order to eliminate the possible confusion, Miles and Huberman Framework for qualitative data analysis has been followed. This framework suggests data display and data reduction after the data collection, then coming to the conclusion with data most useful data after this process even though it doesn't always have to be linear (Miles and Huberman 1993). Also, this study uses Nvivo in order to get help for creating the codes for the analysis.

5.5 Limitations

It is important to point out the limitations or concerns that occurred during the research process. In this section, first the ethical concerns that may occur due to the selected method and will be presented. Then the posinality of the researcher and some personal reflections about the project can be stated as it is important to be transparent about the position of the researcher.

First of all, as it stated above this study follows a critical approach by applying feminist CDA. Therefore, it is not possible for this study to be objective and impartial as it is looking at the case from a feminist perspective (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p. 7). On the contarary, it is very important for a feminist study to address the positionality, biases and the perspective of the researcher and it is the thing that will bring clarity to the research (Lazar 2007). Therefore, from the beginning

this study never aimed to be neutral due to the positionality of the researcher and the selected method but being critical and transparent as it will be elaborated more above.

Using feminist CDA was the most adequate option to conduct this research, however brought some limitations. The sheer amount of documents possible to pick for analysis related to GAP and gender issues in the region proved challenging, as the development project has been going on for decades. However, it was impossible to take the full quantity of documents into account due to time and resource limitations. Therefore, this research used limited amounts of documents which may affect the analysis since there could be more analyzed documents. However, this was again not possible because of the time limitation.

Another limitation regards almost all documents being in Turkish and translated into English by the researcher. Although the documents have been translated very carefully, it has been the first bigger translation experience of the researcher. Therefore, minor translation mistakes might occur. However, these mistakes were tried to be eliminated by getting help from another translator whose mother language is Turkish and has full proficiency in English.

Additionally, the proximity to the project field needs to be seen as one of the limitations of this research project. Having focus group discussions, seeing the project facilities or first-handedly or gaining a deeper understanding of more people by conducting broader surveys could have brought a chance to compare the documents and the real situation. However unfortunately impossible for the scope, timing and finances of the research but unfortunately it was not possible for this research.

In addition, it is important to point out that since this research is a case study, it can not be generalized because it is a unique case (Bryman 2012, p.69). As it is also mentioned in the literature review section, there is a lack of enough research about the topic from this perspective and this study hopes to contribute the literature for the future projects about the topic.

Finally, the position of the researcher might be considered a limitation since the researcher has lived in the area and is already familiar with the topic. Therefore, this might cause a bias by the

researcher even though its effects were attempted to be minimized. Both the issue of the researcher's positionality and personal reflections will be elaborated above.

5.5.1 Position of the Researcher and Personal Reflections

The possibility of bias needs to be accounted for as I, the researcher, have lived in the city of Gaziantep for three years, which is located in Turkey, close to the Syrian border and simultaneously the biggest city of the Southern Eastern Anatolia region. Therefore, I already had ideas and strong opinions as a social sciences student who was interested in the GAP project and their perspective on gender long before I moved to the region. In my opinion, the women in the region are always oppressed by the patriarchal society that is based on a big family structure where women appear to continuously have to serve their families.

I have met many women who were not allowed to work. I have met many women who wanted to work but had no contacts and previous education. I have met many women who were discouraged by the people they were close to when they opened up about their wish to earn their own money, to be economically and socially free. I have met many women who were living under oppression and lost trust in themselves precisely because of the aforementioned reasons. This is a long list about the women who live a life in which they are unable to use the potential they have because of the so-called system. Unfortunately, speaking based on my personal observation, the GAP, one of the biggest development projects in the Middle East, is a development project that promised a lot for the region, however could not change the destiny of the women of Southern Eastern Anatolia.

Again, based on my personal observation during three years between 2013 and 2016 in Gaziantep, the city has been the first destination of Syrian refugees. Unfortunately, the situation for the refugee women was also not very bright in Southern Eastern Anatolia. Running away from a horrible war which was already making them feel helpless, only to arrive in a country where they do not speak the language and where they face many kinds of oppressions, has increased their vulnerability even more. Every Syrian woman I met did, unfortunately, not receive any kind of guidance or support from local authorities. Neither did GAP provide any

integration program for them in the years I was living there until 2016. Now being a refugee woman in Sweden myself, helps me understand them even more and I think this is important to take into account when refugee women are being discussed in the analysis and the discussion sections. Nevertheless, one needs to be aware that there is no such thing as an analysis that can depict a realistic picture of what a whole society or even a single person might be going through, let alone what they have on their minds.

6.0 ANALYSIS

In the analysis section, the main question and sub-question will be reviewed and answered with the help of the data that has been analyzed, applying the concepts of development and feminism also inclusivity and development. This thesis being a feminist critical discourse analysis on GAP (Southern Eastern Anatolia Project) as a developmental state project and its approach on social related projects, specifically about women, the main research question will be repeatedly stated as:

''How can the GAP's (Southern Eastern Anatolia Project) approach as a developmental state project on women in the region be understood by applying a critical feminist perspective?''

The sub-question is:

How can the planning (stages) as well as applying social-related projects of GAP as a developmental state project be seen as inclusive for women?

The analysis section is divided into three sections in order to answer the main and the sub question and to clearly show the data that has been used for this research. First of all, in section 6.1 the theoretical approach of the analysis is drawn based on the concepts that were discussed in the theoretical framework section. Then in section 6.2 the analysis of the data found on the topic in terms examining the discourse around the inclusivity and approach of women at the beginning of the project. Section 6.3 will look at the GAP and its approach on gender will be examined and also the discourse of the power dynamics of the Turkish state in the region will be analyzed.

Finally, this will be covering the sub and the main research question and it will lead to the discussion and the conclusion section.

First of all, before moving into the chapter it is important to mention that Turkish is a gender neutral language in terms of grammar (Göçtü and Kır 2014). Meaning that, nouns for humans and pronouns do not address the gender of the person (ibid.). To be clarified, the word 'o' is equivalent for she, he and it (ibid.). Therefore, when analysing a text, it is complicated to identify the referred gender if they are not specifically referring to a specific gender. Also, since it is the case, it is likely for the reader to think that language itself is already inclusive and approaches the genders equally. However, it is possible to understand the discourse in terms of its gender approach by looking at the specific word states for 'woman' (kadın), time and the context of the text.

6.1 Theoretical Approach of the Analysis

This chapter will make points on the inclusivity concept and what are the aims and statements of the GAP on that issue as a developmental state project in the Southern Eastern Anatolia.

"Our vision as the GAP Administration, is to be a source of inspiration for inclusive and sustainable development studies in the international area as well as in the national area''
(T.C. GAP Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2018)

As it stated in the quote above, the vision and one of the biggest aims of the GAP is to be an example development project by its inclusiveness. The reason why, it is very important to dig into the discourse around their inclusivity approach. Before doing that, it is important to look at what are the main aspects of inclusivity in order to elaborate what has been drawn in the theoretical framework.

As it stated in the theoretical framework section, inclusivity is one of the most important aspects of development in a way that is always also stressed by the biggest NGOs and also the states. Especially with the last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century,

inclusivity became more important for countries' social related projects (Dunne 2009). Also, the inclusion of women within the development discourse and policy of the states started to find itself more space at a similar time even though it started to be discussed in the middle of the last century with the UN decade of development between 1961-1970 (Asalatha 2009). However, even after such a long time it is still heavily argued that development investments, such as development projects that aim to include the women into the development process failed in every developing country (ibid). Asalatha (2009) argues that it got even worse in some countries for the women in terms of the position and the economic status of the women. This is also discussed by Elson and Fontana (2019) as even though the aim of inclusion is good, it can also be harmful for the women as well as the other vulnerable groups in the society depending on the context.

Asalatha (2009) argues that, although the application of the policies and the projects around the women somehow failed and did not come to the point that is beneficial for the women, it had some good effects to the discourse around development and position of the women (Asalatha 2009). Thanks to this approach, women and women issues got more attention and started to discuss significantly more in the development discourse (ibid). For instance, this helped the development discourse to get more 'feminist' by washing out so many inequalites and assumptions from the many conceptions and becoming more considered about the women related issues (ibid.). However, the problem of the discourse that created by the feminist critics was that, they assumed that talking more about women, the inequality and their inclusion into the society and the growth process would automatically fix the problems of the women (Dyzer and Bruce 1988, cited in Asalatha 2009). According to the Asalatha (2009), of course it is important to create a new discourse on development that stresses about the women and their inclusion, however as long as the implementation of the discourse did not realize by the authorities, just the discourse is not enough to solve the problems (Asalatha 2009).

In the case of this study, since the reports that were written by the government authorities, who create the discourse and who are capable of applying them is the same institution, the state. Therefore, this study will perceive the state as the creator of the discourse and also the authority that decides to do or not to do what they said.

6. 2 Gender Blind Data in the Early Years of GAP

This section of the analysis will mainly focus on the data that was found as 'gender blind'. While doing that, especially the earliest data that was found on the GAP project will be examined in order to see the project's approach from the beginning to the present.

Within the selected GAP reports, it is possible to see that the discourse around women in GAP reports started from the point zero as it also pointed out in the background section. For example, in the first planning reports of GAP that was published in 1989 (Doc. 1)[3], the discourse is completely gender blind. Meaning that, there is not even a single line specifically about the women and the problems of the women of the region in a planning report that is around 155 pages. It appears insignificant for the GAP so as for the state as well.

To elaborate, the report mainly stresses the economic development of the country and looks for quick solutions with the existing resources, including people of the region (Doc. 1). Therefore, the first target group that the planners wanted to include to the development process is the man who can work in the sectors like industrial agriculture, animal husbandry, freshwater fishery, mining, industrial production, tourism etc. (Doc.1.). Especially, the emphasis on agriculture is more than any other sectors in order to achieve rapid development in the region since it is the main income of the region. (Doc. 1). Especially the 'improvement of agriculture by industry' is one of the most used terms in this report since as the report stated agriculture is the main income source of the region (Doc. 1). Therefore, the drawn plan is to improve agriculture by building massive dams and establishing a good irrigation system and creating job opportunities for people of the region (Doc.1).

However, this 'improvement' does not even consider including the women. even though, especially the poor women has always been working undocumented in the agriculture sector (picking cotton, planting etc.) in the region (Harris 2006). This gender blindness of the discourse,

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[3] There is no page number in the reports itself.

drawing a picture of the GAP as a project that is almost against women's inclusivity to the process that they desire for the region.

6.2 The Discourse of 'Inclusivity' Within the Data

This gender blindness in the GAP discourse, that is not including the women in the developing process of the region, lasted until the 'official' first three years of the project. Then the development of the society by 'transforming the society' started to talk about as an addition to the developing process. However, this does not mean that it stresses on the women related issues directly but more looking at the Southern Eastern Anatolian society as problematic. In the report based on a social research between 1993-1994 (Doc.2), it stated as;

"Development can not be restricted with only economic growth, it is a concept that includes the improvement of the life quality of society and individuals. Looking at the subject in this way, it will be seen that social transformation is directly related to the concept of development." [Doc. 2 page 4]

Here, social transformation means the overall development of the region very much depends on the social structure of the region which needs to be changed according to the state. Then the social obstacles stated as;

"...There are serious obstacles in the development process of the region stemming from social structural features. The first of these, let alone rural communities, even urban communities are extremely introverted and close. The second is the dependence of the local people on intertwined institutions such as tribe, sheikhdom[4] , and agha[5], coming from the long history of production relations and social organization. Although these structural features are in the process of disintegration, they still continue to affect the social situation. The traditional structure prevailing in all parts of the region is a sheltered structure, although it is not reactive to the change." [Doc. 2 page 5]

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[4] religious authority in the region or tribe

[5] the person who has most of the land in the area, can be thought as like feudal system where the villagers are working for the land

Which means, the state sees itself more powerful than the region's traditions and using its power to change the structure of society by using a development project, **'GAP'** as a tool for that. Another important point of this discourse, the state sees the society itself as the problem for the development of the region and also for the inclusivity problems for women. For instance, one of the main reasons for women that cause exclusion from the society and low position in the family stated as; the low marriage age (lower than 18 for the %73.1 for women), polygamous marriage men and 'bonnet money'[6] for the bride (Doc.2).

Therefore, here the plan of the state is changing the social norms and traditions that are not in favor of women. Then, include them into the development of the region with the help of GAP at this stage. Especially, there is a special emphasis on problematic family structures and the planned solutions are in regards to taking women out of the house as much as possible. For example in the quotes above;

"Measures will be taken to eliminate practices that prevent women's employment and to encourage their participation in employment." [Doc. 2 page 41]

"Infrastructures that are open to common use (drinking and utility water, laundry, nursery, oven, etc.) should be developed to reduce the "in house" workload of women." [Doc. 2 page 42]

"Reducing the women's "in house" work and leading women into the organized collective activities that are income-generating, by creating education opportunities from this perspective." [Doc. 2 page 42]

In those quotes the word 'in house' is used many times in order to emphasise the state's will to change the society from the family in order to start to solve the inclusion problems of the women. The language is being used in a way that is very imperative and certain for the steps they

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[6] 'Başlık parası' in Turkish. It means the money that the groom pays in order to marry a woman in some tribes of Southern Eastern Anatolia.

are planning to take. Until this point, the plans and objectives are being drawn, the problems are being pointed out with a language that is addressing the region as the 'problem' and the state will be there with GAP to fix them. Also, since the state is the most powerful institution, the portrait that the state is drawing for itself is very important, because it means the state is willing to be more dominant then it is in the region even in the smallest units of the society.

Then, as an addition to the planning reports, there are also activity reports where the GAP states their conducted plans and activities in the region. In those reports the language is very different from the previous planning reports (Doc.1 and Doc.2). For instance, in the 1998 GAP Activity Report (Doc. 3), there is no more drawing the situation of the Southern Eastern Society and the problems that the women are facing. Instead, there is a glorification of the state and what they are doing in the region for the women with the institutions they established, like ÇATOM in the region.

In this report (Doc. 3), under the 'GAP Social Action Plan Implementations' section, the projects that have been going under the ÇATOM, objectives, aims and future plans are shown. This report being another important one, it appears to be the first one in which the ÇATOMs are not only mentioned but also their aim and the objectives are explained in greater detail. In this report, the direct aim is stated as:

"Direct target groups of the programs in ÇATOMs are women and young girls between the ages of 14-50 living in the slums of the GAP Region cities and in central rural areas. In addition, public institutions, non-governmental organizations and those living in these fields, form indirect target groups in terms of adopting a participatory and integrated approach in the provision of services and views on women." [page 97]

This report is more specific and clear in following a more feminist approach about the aim of the project compared to other documents, as it is stated in the quote above. Another clear example of the report's feminist language is;

"The basic principle is to show women not what to do, but what can be done under what conditions. It is the women themselves who will make the choice among the various alternatives or reveal new options.'' [page 98]

The approach of the report is analyzed as it is giving all the responsibility to the ÇATOMs in order to specify them as a project that will be a semi-autonomous unit under the roof of the GAP. Also, in this report there appears an emphasis on the 'willingness' of the society for these centers. According to the research and surveys, the demand for ÇATOMs was significantly rising in the years between 1995 and 1998.

Even though this report is a more 'feminist' report compared to the last years' reports, it talks about the man in the families as 'head of the household'. Another problematic point is that it never talks about educating women for the existing labor market, but always encourages them to engage in very small businesses through which they can make very little money, improving their skills as mothers, teaching them about child care and trying to improve their self confidence so they can demand things. These are perfectly suitable short term objectives, however the report never mentioned the long term objectives for women as equal beings to the man in the region which makes it difficult to see this project as a groundbreaking project for necessary social change.

The approach and the discourse of GAP about creating new small entrepreneurship opportunities for the women continued in the beginning of the new century as an addition to that creating a place for women in the market also stated as an additional goal to the agenda. However the main focus was still on creating new job opportunities for women. For example, in the 2002 GAP Regional Development Plan Report (Doc.4), the some of the goals regarding women stated under the 'Goals Concerning Women' section as;

-**"Developing and implementing education and skills programs that will facilitate women's participation in economic life"** [page 112]

-**"Developing special credit / micro finance mechanisms for women in order to encourage women entrepreneurship"** [page 112]

Also, with the new century, GAP became more clear on their approach and position as a state project as implementing and planning new policies for behalf of the women in the region. In the quotes below;

-**"As a principle, instead of the "women in development" approach, the "gender in development" approach will be adopted."** [page 130]

The quote means, the state for the first time following a specific approach on how they see the women and gender relations from a theoretical approach. It shows that the state no longer sees the women in the region as recipients as in the women in development approach, but active and inclusive participants of the development process as the GAD is standing for (Connelly et al, 2000 p. 63). Also, this approach argues that the gender roles can be changed depending on the context of family or society (ibid.). This is very important to point out because the GAP followed an approach of trying to create more women that are outside of the home, in order to give them another identity which is different from their family identity. The reason for this is because the people have different potentials and identities in different social settings but they can not find this out if they don't have the opportunity or knowledge. In the same report, it is also pointed as one the aims and plans as;

-Establishing service / consultancy units for women in local governments,
-establishing new units that will provide social, psychological and legal consultancy services for women,
-establishing mechanisms for women in accessing basic services and needs in education, health and employment,
-opening women's shelters (Doc.4 page 112)

Here, the state is clearly following the GAD approach and also aiming to create opportunities for women to be included in the development process since they don't have that opportunity to do it alone. Then, in the next plan report named GAP Activity Plan Report 2008-2012 (Doc. 5) which

was published in 2008, it is also possible to follow the same pattern in terms of inclusion plans for the women and also for the other vulnerable groups. For example,

"It is important to reduce unemployment and unregistered employment, improve the quality of the workforce and ensure social integration especially for the women and the youth. In this framework, training and consultancy services will be provided for individuals to acquire a profession, gain skills and establish their own businesses." [Page 32]

"Considering the socio-economic and local conditions, the social protection network will be provided with an effective structure that covers the entire population of the region, integrates vulnerable groups into society with family-based policies, and minimizes the risk of social exclusion and poverty." [Page 32]

"Considering the local characteristics of the region, it will be ensured that job training courses with employment guarantee for women are diversified, increased and expanded in areas needed in the labor market." [Page 49]

"Cooperation of ÇATOMs with community centers will be increased and institutionalized." [Page 32]

Here, the state is also giving ÇATOMs a bigger responsibility in order to have a more physical place for the projects they want to apply in the region. They before presented the ÇATOM centers and offices as places where all women can come and actively participate in the projects (Doc.4). Also, the importance of the existence of these places for women to have a 'safe space' stated many times in the Doc. 4. Coming to the 2008, ÇATOM centers are expecting to do more by adding a responsibility on creating more job opportunities for women (Doc.5)

Then the final plan report that the GAP published named GAP Activity Plan Report 2014-2018 that was published in 2014 (Doc. 6), the discourse around the aim and the policies is going in a different direction then the previous ones even though the discourse around the aim still remains

the same as the last ones. For example, in the quote below how the aim is phrased is same as the previous report (Doc.5 page 32)

"The inclusion of the vulnerable groups, especially women and youth, to the labor market will be facilitated in order to increase employment, improve the quality of the workforce and ensure social integration." [Page 41]

However, there are also differences from the last reports that will be stated in this paragraph. Until 2014 the GAP was following an approach towards including women into the society and the development process, creating opportunities for them to join the economy, empowering them by educating them through ÇATOMs etc. However, when we came to 2014, the Syrian refugee flow had started already and the long term plans changed as short term objectives in order to deal with the so called 'refugee crisis'. For example this quote below;

As it is known, Syrians who came to Turkey due to the civil war in Syria, mostly women and children, live as a part of daily life in all the provinces they 'visit', especially in the Southeast Anatolia Region. The existence of an increasing number of Syrian 'guests' 'causes an increase in the needs' such as education, health, housing and infrastructure, especially basic humanitarian needs such as food, nutrition and shelter in the GAP Region. Meeting the needs of the target group in question, facilitating access to services, improving the current situation and bringing the solutions to meet the demands are urgently important issues. Necessary precautions have been taken by considering this situation in the Region in the preparation works of the new GAP Action Plan and in determining the actions. In addition, studies will be conducted on the subject and necessary support will be provided to organizations operating in this field. [Page 15]

Here, the words that are unquoted ('') show the approach of the Turkish state towards the refugee women and children. First of all, in the beginning of the paragraph the beginning sentence is chosen as 'as it is known', which is a way to legitimize whatever they will say after this. Then, the words of *visit* and *guest* clearly state that the state doesn't have any intentions of

including those people into the society. Those words are also chosen purposely in order to give a message to the people that the refugees are 'temporary'. Another point, the rest of the paragraph emphasizes that the 'guest refugees' are in urgent need for the food, shelter, health etc. Therefore the priority of the state in the 'GAP Region' won't be the project itself, but the more urgent issues regarding the refugees.

The discourse here is completely against the principles of GAD approach and inclusivity as the GAP followed/tried to follow during the years. First of all, the chosen words and the way they explain the problem makes the refugee women even more vulnerable and marginalized in the region. Here, the GAP almost does not see the refugee women as women who are living in the region, but another group which is completely against the GAD approach and inclusivity as it is drawn in the theoretical framework section. In addition, this discourse is creating an understanding as the refugees are the main reason why the possible delay/change in the project which may cause a conflict within the women in the region.

When we look at the last report that was published by the GAP named 'Latest Situation in GAP' in 2019 (Doc. 7), we see that almost all the projects regarding local and refugee women in the region are conducted or financed by a foreign country or institution. For example, 'Innovations and Opportunities in Women's Empowerment in the GAP Region' project partly conducted and financed by Swedish government between 2012-2016 (Doc.7). Then, 'Syrian Women's Adaptation to Social and Economic Life Project' financed by the Kuwait government, 'Social Cohesion Project Between Syrian and Host Communities Through Empowerment of Women in the GAP Region' project conducted and financed by UNDP, 'Project for Strengthening the Social and Economic Stability and Resilience of Syrian Women and Girls Under Temporary Protection' financed by the Japanese government (Doc.7).

While it is the situation, it means both the local women and the refugee women in the Southern Eastern Anatolia region got support from the foreign institutions in order to empower and include them into the social and economic life. Which means the Turkish state was not entirely alone to cover the needs for the refugees. Therefore creating a discourse around as the 'needy'

refugees are the reason for projects to stop for the local women is creating a polarization within the women of the region.

6.3 Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis mainly explored what has been said, what was not said and how the arguments were laid out in the data selected for this study. The process examined the approach that has been followed by the Turkish state in the Southern Eastern Anatolia, by using the GAP as a development project. This has been done by applying feminist CDA to the selected data. It made possible for the analysis to see the discourse from a critical perspective and thus address the main and the sub research question.

The analysis has examined the approach of GAP on inclusivity, as they claim to be an inclusive development project and how it corresponds to the inclusivity concept. Besides, the analysis looked at the gender blind data that has been found in the selected documents in order to address the change in the approach of GAP that will be elaborated below. Based on the analysis, the discourse of the GAP has shown significant changes depending on the year. Thus, the project has started from point zero in terms of inclusivity of women in the region with the discourse being very gender blind in the beginning. Then, it showed an improvement in terms of putting women and women related issues on the agenda by conducting comprehensive research in the area.

Even though the discourse around the topic has been increasing year by year, the documents have, however, never mentioned the level of inclusivity and the possible negative effects of inclusivity. The analyzed data was mainly emphasising the projects and the plans of the women in the region represented as groundbreaking projects that will change things on behalf of women (Doc 2., Doc.3, Doc 4.)

Furthermore, in the analyzed data it has been inferred that there is an assumption from the state that planning things and putting them on the agenda will fix the problems of the women in the region. However, it is possible to say that this was not the reality by looking at the reports written in different years. For instance, the aims and the planned policies remained the same in the

planning report from 2008 (Doc. 5) and 2014 (Doc. 6). Which means, the reports created a discourse around the women in the region by showing that the state is going to imply more inclusive and comprehensive projects, but they stayed as merely a plan.

Besides, the image that the state drew for itself was a position that is more powerful than the regions and the existing social norms of the region. The language that is being used in documents was showing that the state is pointing to the region itself as a reason why the region is not developed. According to that, the position of the women was also the product of the social reality of the region itself. This is a problematic approach in terms of inclusivity even though the idea behind is an outcome that is good for women. To elaborate, the position that the state looks at the region is almost patronizing and very external. In that sense, while it should be more embracing, it is very difficult to prevent inclusivity in a region from an external power in this way.

Then, the analyzed data shows that the GAP is trying to 'convince' women to create new jobs for themselves with the help from ÇATOMs (Doc.4 page 112). After the 2000s, the ÇATOM started to expand in the whole region, they diversified their activities which was explained in the analysis section, and started to reach more people every year. However, even though they reached more people, as time proceeded, more facilities almost exclusively kept doing whatever they were already doing since the beginning, except for some added projects.

This approach that was giving a lot to the ÇATOMs also needs to be criticized in terms of inclusivity and GAD approach. First of all, the GAP framed this discourse as completely positive for the women. However, it never became a project that was giving an opportunity to the women who wanted to do different things. It was restricted to some courses which allowed very few women to find a job or create their own businesses, such as hairdressing and selling products which were made during some ÇATOM activities. Also, these jobs are usually low paid or even unpaid depending on the activity. Then, trying to create new jobs instead of creating space for women in the existing market, is not enough to include women in the social life and make them more free. On the contrary, as Asalatha (2009) argued, this 'modern' approach may cause low paid or unpaid work for women. Which means it may create 'double day' and resulting in a heavier workload on women as an addition to their unpaid house work at home. (Asalatha 2009).

Another point is, especially after 2012 the refugee flow to the region also affected the existence and the priorities of GAP. With regard to the women in the region, the GAP followed an approach of seeing them not as a priority of the project anymore since the 'guests visiting' the region are in urgent need. This approach of the GAP can be understood by putting the refugees in the front, thereby postulating that the projects cannot be conducted as they were presented before.

However, this is very possibly creating polarization in the region within women, as one group is perceived to take from the other. Therefore, it is against what the project stated about 'being inclusive'. Also the discourse around the refugee women is far from being inclusive since they are always represented as temporary and visiting guests. If one of the biggest institutions of the region - GAP - creates a discourse like this, such a discourse framing might mirror itself in the general opinion of the society as a whole that can hardly be expected to harbour more welcoming, inclusive and open sentiments. Meaning that, here the state is creating the discourse around the social reality as the CDA approach states that the language itself is not powerful but it can become powerful if powerful people make use of it (Wodak and Meyer 2001, p. 10).

On the other hand the analysis has shown that most of the projects in the region are related to women financing and some of them are conducted by foreign countries and institutions. While the situation is like that, the discourse created by the GAP about the refugee women may cause more polarization in the region on the contrary of being inclusive.

To sum up, all those findings are important to point out in order to answer the research questions. While the project started from a point zero in terms of gender awareness, it was then rising by the 90s and during this time looking very promising for the future. In the following years, it was expanding but failed to significantly create a holistic difference for the women and their place in the region. This shows that the mere expansion of the social development projects and the people who are reached does not render the project as fully inclusive, nor successful in terms of creating opportunities. While female employment and visibility have increased, gender discrimination and its place in society have been put forward on the agenda and more female employment can

be observed in developing regions nearing the end of the second decade of the 21st century, the project cannot be considered to have solved the problems of inequalities in provided opportunities for women and men.

7.0 Personal Reflections and Future Research

This research tried to answer the research questions that were aimed at investigating the approach of GAP on gender as a development project. The findings were presented in the discussion section. It has been a very intense, complicated and personal research journey, however by digging more into the topic, the process was increasingly complicated. Considering this very limited research on a massive development project that has been going on since the 80s in a country between the Middle East and Europe, in which it has never been easy to understand its dynamics, one cannot think of solving the occurring problems easily. However, this critical discourse analysis, that was further guided by feminist CDA, can suggest that future projects may be conducted according to what has been analyzed in this research in order to increase efficiency and to establish a wider range of projects for women in the region, especially including refugee women. This will only be possible by looking at the past, thereby understanding the pattern and the approach of a project-institution which has not grown as it should have. By doing so, the project has the potential to be transformed into something more useful for an increasing amount of people. Especially as a state based development project like GAP has more power to provide things compared to a local NGO, aiming for more in order to achieve gender equality in the region by providing increased and diversified opportunities for women should not be impossible.

All those suggestions could have been mentioned previously in the thesis. However, lack of time and resources constrained the final outcome. This research, furthermore, only used existing data, namely government documents. Therefore, the results cannot paint an adequate picture of the people that actually participated in the process, as well as of their point of view. Some exceptions being the very few stories that could be found in the 2005 ÇATOM Activity Report. Questions remain regarding, for instance, whether they were pleased with what they received, what teachers

and project coordinators perceive the projects to be like, or what managers think about the approach, to mention just a few. There is no doubt that future research can and should be done by following a different way to collect more substantial data. However, this critical discourse analysis has presented a summary of the GAP's reports up until this point in time, hopefully serving as an analytical starting point for future research projects.

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