



CHANGING ECONOMIES UNCHANGING GENDER ROLES: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ABOUT WOMEN WORKING IN THE AGRI-FOOD SECTOR IN TURKEY¹

Değişen Ekonomiler Değişmeyen Cinsiyet Rollerini: Türkiye’de Tarım-Gıda Sektöründe Çalışan Kadınlar Üzerine Sosyolojik Bir Çalışma

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to examine the effects of transformations in economical politics on agricultural structure, social relations and gender roles, the relationship between employment of women and their status and roles in the case of women working in package unit in TARIŞ premises and agricultural premises based in Manisa/Alaşehir.

This research was carried out by mixed methodology where both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. Data was principally collected by questionnaire. However, questionnaire data were supported by participatory observation and in-depth interviews. The sample was formed by selecting randomly 309 women (%80,3) in 10 businesses and 76 women (%19,7) from Tariş company. Therefore the total number of sample is 385.

Data was analyzed via SPSS statistical package. According to the findings, women regard the works they do in packaging units as extensions of their domestic roles and traditional agricultural practices. The fact that they work as seasonal workers, they get paid less than minimum wage, the perception that their works are seen as extension of their domestic roles, traditional perception of womanhood have not resulted in any change in status and roles of women depending on their employment.

Key Words: Women’s labour, agriculture, gender, social change

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, ekonomi politikte yaşanan dönüşümlerin tarımsal yapı, toplumsal ilişki ve cinsiyet rolleri üzerindeki etkisini, kadınların istihdamı ile statü ve rolleri arasındaki ilişkiyi Manisa/Alaşehir tarım işletmeleri ve TARIŞ tesislerinde, paketlemede çalışan kadın işçiler örneğinde ele almayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu çalışma, nicel ve nitel yöntemin araştırma tekniklerinin bir arada kullanıldığı karma yöntemle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmada temel veri toplama tekniği olarak anket tercih edilmiş, anket, katılımlı gözlem ve derinlemesine görüşmelerle desteklenmiştir. Araştırmanın örneklemini, araştırma evrenini temsilen özel sektöre ait 10 farklı işletmeden tesadüfi olarak seçilen 309 kadın (%80,3) ve Tariş’ten de 76 (%19,7) kadın olmak üzere 385 çalışandan oluşmaktadır.

Anket verileri SPSS istatistik programında analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma, kadınların üzüm işletmeleri paketleme servislerinde yaptıkları işleri hane içi rollerinin ve geleneksel tarım pratiklerinin birer uzantısı olarak algıladıklarını göstermiştir. Mevsimlik işçi olarak çalışmaları, asgari ücretin altında maaş almaları, istihdamlarının hane içi rollerinin bir devamı ve bir çeşit “fedakârlık” olarak görülmesi ve geleneksel kadınlık algısı, kadınların statü ve rollerinde istihdama bağlı bir değişimin yaşanmadığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın Emeği, Tarım, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Toplumsal Değişim

Introduction

The legal regulations, on one hand, made in the developing countries with the motivation of integrating with the global economy are increasing the power of developed countries and multinational partnerships; on the other hand, they reduce the authority on the economy of those

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making such regulations (Koc, Dahlberg, 1999: 112; Aydın, 2010: 183). Among the sectors to be influenced from such settlement the most is agri-food sector within the economies (Bonanno, 2004: 37).

Having launched just following the economic crisis erupted in mid-1970s; the restructuring has promoted the role and control of multinational corporations in agri-food sector. During the process, called as 'Third Food Regime', the capital aiming at many more profits through reducing production costs has shifted its operations of manufacture to the countries which offer unqualified and female labour, and cheap labour force (Koc, 2010: 77). Within this framework, the female labour seems to intensify at agricultural works in many parts of the world. This situation has been conceptualized as 'the feminization of agriculture' (www.fao.org).

The changes in agri-food sector caused by the neo-liberal policies launched in 1980s in Turkey are worth to be investigated with a multidimensional point of view. Customs Union Agreement signed with European Union (EU) has required some legal regulations of agri-food sector, as it has in many fields, in Turkey in favour of EU. Due to the conditions of this agreement, Turkey has reduced the tariffs in agricultural products import and lessened the agricultural subventions. On the other hand, such international settlements as International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), World Trade Organization (WTO) has played critical roles in integration of Turkish agri-food sector with the global agri-food sector (Ozturk, Nas et. al., 2008: 36-37). As a result, some factors such as privatization in agriculture, limitations to agricultural subventions, removal of customs walls, quotas on agricultural products have caused the agri-food sector in Turkey to become narrow rapidly, and reduced the employment rates in agriculture (Gunaydin, 2006:14).

1. Gender and Female Labour in Agriculture

Studies carried out in various countries in international level on the effects of economic changes resulting from structural adaptation policies and globalisation process in the context of increasing international trade on gender revealed different results. While some of these studies appraise the process due to increase in women workforce, others point out an increase in the number of women working in small establishments and agricultural sector that women suffer in the sense that compared to men, they get less wages and they work in unsecured types of job (Ecevit, 2011:40).

Studies carried out in Turkey on position of women and perception of gender usually appear to be supporting the second set of results stated above. As Ecevit stresses, the consequences of structural adaptation policies that have been put into action since 1980 have created new inequalities for women and deepened the existing inequalities between men and women (Ecevit, 1997: 72). According to the 2015 Report of World Economic Forum, Turkey ranks 130. position out of 145 countries. When evaluating the overall score, the report looks at certain criteria; namely economic participation and equal opportunities, time spent in education, life expectations, health services and political criteria. Turkey is in 131. position in economic participation and equal opportunities, ranks in 105. position with respect to both equality in terms of educational level and how much power is shared in politics (The Global Gender Gap Report 2015, 2015:9).

Inequality between men and women in terms of participation to workforce and the level of employment in Turkey is also reflected in OECD report. According to the 2014 OECD data, while the participation rates of women aged between 15-65 to the workforce are 79,3 % in Sweden, 79,0% in Switzerland, 75,0 % in Denmark, 72,1 % in England, 67,1 % in the USA, 69,8 % in Spain, 74,2 % in Canada (OECD average 62,8 %), it is 33,6 % in Turkey (<http://stats.oecd.org/>).

Although population of men and women is almost the same in Turkey, there is a serious inequality in terms of rates of joining the workforce. TÜİK 2015 data asserts this notion as it states that as opposed to 31,5 % of women, 71,6 % of men join the workforce. These rates changes dramatically for men in agricultural sector as only 15,9 % of men join the agricultural workforce. For women it is almost the same figure (31,4 %) (www.tuik.gov.tr). At the outset, only in agricultural

sector women beats men in terms of participation to workforce. Although the workforce in agricultural sector has been in decline, it is still populated by women workforce.

When assessed based on the years, the decline of employment in agriculture can be clearly observed: the employment rates in agriculture were 25,7 %, 23,7%, 25,2%, 23,6% respectively in 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2013 (www.tarim.gov.tr). The male and female employment rates in agriculture are, respectively, 19%-46% in 2005, 17%-42% in 2008, 18%-42% in 2010 and 18%-37% in 2013 (Tokgoz, 2014: 36).

In spite of the rising density of female labour force in agri-food sector, the women seem not to be so efficient at the sources' control and decision-making mechanisms (Allen, Sachs, 2007: 1). The women have been kept out of the relations which could be a power source for economic and social fields. They are also subject to many obstacles obstructing the settings they could improve themselves (Ecevit, 1994: 96). Moreover, they are out of some activities for such direct agricultural production as agricultural education studies (Kizilaslan: 2007: 23).

However, the relatively good state of women in terms of agricultural workforce do not seem to be reflected in their positions well. The majority of women work in unsecured manner, long hours with low wages. Although women work on 24 hour cycle (from dawn to dawn) in rural areas, what they do is perceived as an extension of their mother and house-wife roles (Gülçubuk vd., 11).

There are some approaches building a correlation between the female labour force being made secondary as cheap labour and the secondary position of woman within the society. It can be observed a kind of making insignificant related with the understanding of gender at those works associated with the womanhood roles of the women at the markets. In this respect, it has been emphasized on the necessity of changing the mentality regarding the roles of gender in eliminating the wages inequality between man and woman, and this inequality is estimated to be removed by changing the social value judgments (Kumbetoglu, Caga, 2000: 58-60).

Although economic analysis of women employment indicate that they are disadvantaged and tend to be considered subsidiary, the increase in participation of women to workforce and level of employment have been reflected positively for their social positions. For this reason, it is important to evaluate the cultural results as well rather than only focusing on the situation with economic dimensions. Although limited, participation of women to the workforce and increase in employment levels bring about a change in perception of gender which then leads to development of a modern mind-set. This process is more explicit in the lives of women living in rural areas. Participation of women to social communication patterns and networks are justified with the fact that they work. Increasing levels of employment among women lead a way that status of women also increase in the family and society. This gives way to the opportunities that provides women more power in decision making processes. Being self-sufficient results in high self-esteem in women that is then the source of psychological support they need. Women feel more confident about the future. Participation of women in social and economic life increase not only individual welfare of women but also welfare of whole society (TBMM Komisyon Raporu, 2013:1).

2. Agricultural Businesses as a Field for Feminine Employment

The restriction in agriculture sector has caused the male labour force to sever from the agricultural works, and the rate of female labour force, which is absolutely more inexpensive, to go up rapidly (Gunaydin, 2010: 192). Production of seedless grape is one of the production lines that has been affected mostly by the neo-liberal economy politics in the agricultural sector. Turkey is ranked as the first in the global production of seedless raisin. The global production of seedless raisin in the year of 2008/2009 was 767.400 tons. 349.000 tons of the whole production was recorded in Turkey, 255.000 tons of which were in the USA, 50.000 tons of which were in Iran and the rest of which was recorded in Chile, Argentina, South Africa and Greece. In the season of 2009/2010, Turkey was again ranked as the first with the production of 255.000 tons in the 725.000 tons' global

production, and was followed by the USA and Iran, respectively with the 242.000 tons' and 100.000 tons' production (2010 Grape Report, 2011: 5).

Aegean Region is the most significant part of Turkey in terms of vineyards and production amount of seedless grapes. According to the data in 2010, the grape production has been resumed on the land of about 850.000 hectares. Alasehir is the greatest grape producer of the region with its 190.000 decares' vineyard. The sector, previously depending on the production of seedless dried grape, has turned to the production of edible seedless fresh grape recently. Alasehir, Sarigol and Buldan are the leading centers in production of seedless fresh grape (2010 Grape Report, 2011: 6). The most important institution in purchase and selling of seedless dried grape is TARIS (Union of Cooperatives for Agricultural Sales), but nowadays many companies make purchases and marketing of seedless fresh grape. The production of seedless fresh grape aims at the export, rather than the local market. Along with the market-targeted production in agri-food, the sector of packaging and distribution has gained importance. This sector has become a temporary field of employment in the place it has been built. Having been a significant product in the food export of Turkish agri-food sector in the recent years, the seedless fresh/dried grapes have enhanced the significance of packaging and distribution services. The center of international economic connections for these raisin/grape businesses is Alaşehir.

According to the records released by Alasehir Exchange of Commerce, 8.250 transporters checked out from Alasehir Custom House in 2010, and 250 million dollars' export of agricultural products were realized in the mentioned year. 185.000 tons of seedless fresh grapes were ranked as the most exported product among the other agricultural products such as cherry, pomegranate and strawberry (www.ciftcihaber.com). In 2011, 29.050 tons of dried grapes were exported by TARIS (www.tarisuzum.com.tr).

This newly-built market has augmented the number of enterprises by private sector the basic operations of which are on selection, packaging and distribution of fresh fruits and vegetables, but especially seedless grapes, in Alasehir as an important center for grapes production. The tasks of selection and packaging in these enterprises have developed as a feminine branch, and thus this has formed a temporary/seasonal field of employment for the local women. The social status and position of the women in the rural area have been mostly shaped based on the traditional patriarchal structure.

According to our observations the changes and transformations occurred in social and economic life can alter the interfamilial distribution of role and status, and this can bring the women's traditional family-based status be kept out of the house with it. One of the most crucial social changes causing the transformation in traditional role and status of the rural women generally possessing the role and status of mother and housewife is that these women begin to work as the workers at the grapes enterprises.

As stated before, rationalization and capitalization of agricultural sector as well as neo-liberal economy politics that started to be effective in 1980s in Turkey have resulted in a significant shift in traditional agricultural sector. Family and small businesses have been transformed into agricultural structures and they resulted in consequences social relations. Production of seedless grape is one of the production lines that has been affected mostly by the neo-liberal economy politics in the agricultural sector. With the increase of production for the markets, packaging and delivery of goods have become two of the most important jobs of the production of seedless grape. The fact that packaging job is done by women only has resulted in an agricultural practice that has been feminized which in turn also resulted in transformations in social relations and roles. 40 thousands women are employed seasonally in packaging work only in Alaşehir.

3. Methodology

Women working in the raisin/grape businesses located in Alaşehir raise such questions as whether that they work as the workers at the grapes enterprises has triggered some fundamental changes in their traditional roles and status, and converted traditional perception of gender are some

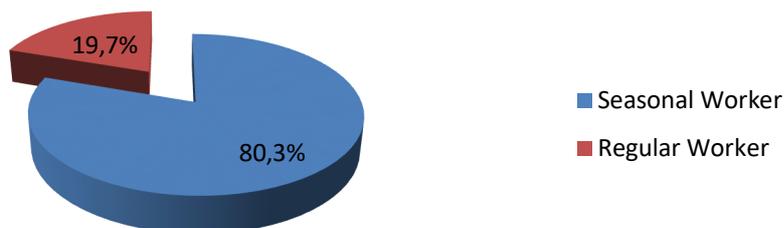
come to mind at this point. Since working on the agricultural areas is one of the traditional gender roles attributed to the rural women, does the transfer of the mentioned role out of the house create the transformations differed from the traditional perception in the gender role and status of the women? Is being an agricultural worker the transformed form of the women's traditional in-house roles, and in this context, does this situation display a kind of continuity in their traditional gender roles and status? The main objective of the research is to determine the working conditions of the women working in agriculture sector, to reveal whether that they work temporarily or permanently makes changes at their social roles and status, and to assess their status and roles along with the perceptions of gender.

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of transformations in economical politics on agricultural structure, social relations and gender roles, the relationship between employment of women and their status and roles in the case of women working in package unit in TARİS premises and agricultural premises based in Manisa/Alasehir.

This research was carried out by mixed methodology where both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. Data was principally collected by questionnaire. However, questionnaire data were supported by participatory observation and in-depth interviews. This study was done in August-September of the year 2009 at the TARİS processing enterprises of seedless dried grapes and at the private-owned processing enterprises of fresh fruits and vegetables, especially the seedless fresh grapes, in Alasehir of Manisa. The universe of the research consists of the women working on the selection and packaging bands at the enterprises the number of which has increased in recent years and made export targeted operations with its production of fresh fruits and vegetables, especially seedless fresh grapes, in a way differing from the traditional type of agriculture, and the seedless dried grapes processing plant of TARİS in Alasehir of Manisa in Aegean Region. The study sample consists of totally 385 female workers, the randomly selected 309 people (80,3 %) from ten different private-owned enterprises, and 76 people (19,7 %) from TARİS, in a way representing the research universe. The sample that in-depth interviews were carried out was determined by purposeful sampling and interviews were conducted. Interviews and observation notes were recorded. The interviews were analyzed and they were classified and interpreted together with observation data. The quantitative data has been analyzed on SPSS 16.0 statistical software.

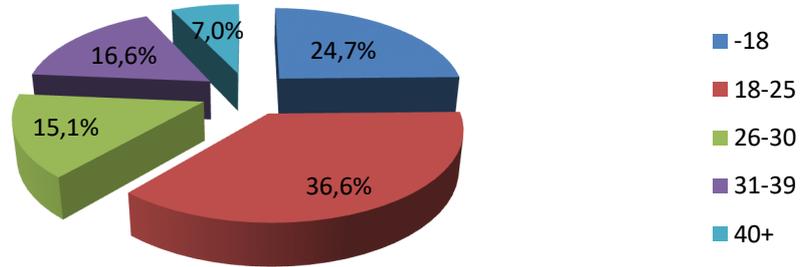
4. Research Findings

The operations related with grapes' harvest and marketing preparations in the aftermath gain intensity in the months of August and September. Thus, it has been observed an increasing demand for labour force on the production fields of grapes during that period. Since this demand for labour force cannot be met from Alasehir and its surrounding, some travelling/temporary seasonal agricultural labourers arrive in Alasehir for working on the lands. Almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the women working at the enterprises are the local workers from such settlements as Alasehir, Sarigol and Kula very near to the enterprises; the rest consists of the travelling/temporary workers from the other parts of the region. On one hand, these travelling/temporary seasonal agricultural workers meet the necessity for labour force; on the other hand, they influence the wages for the workers to fall. The women within local labour force working at these enterprises have been determined to be the members of those families often not possessing any or sufficient agricultural lands.



Graph 1: Job Type

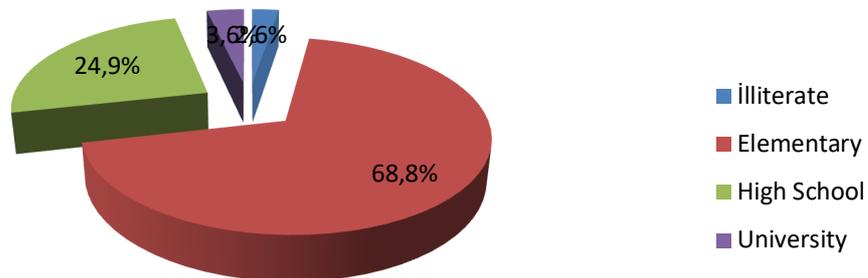
However, the exact number of the women in this sector is not clear, since they work off the books. It is estimated that almost 40.000 women work in the season at the enterprises. There are approximately 90 enterprises in the region. However, some of the enterprises are sub-contractor enterprises. Some enterprises employ 10-20 workers in a day, and some do 150-200.



Graph 2: Age Groups

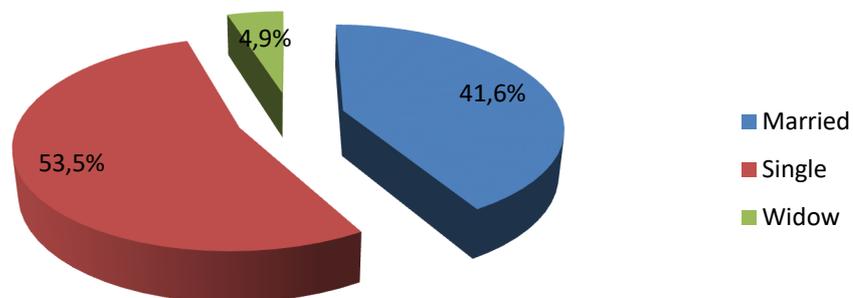
Thus, the age factor is a determining variable in choosing worker at the enterprises. Because the selection and packaging services have been carried out on the active bands. Care and velocity is the most sought feature at workers. 68,3 % of the women included in this research is between the years 18-40, 24,7 % of whom younger than 18, 7 % of whom older than 40. The distribution based on age groups of the women in the research sample seems to be proportional to average of age for the workers preferred at the enterprises.

The educational status of the women working at the enterprises is significant since it reveals well the reflections in the educational field of the gender-oriented inequality in Turkey. 68,8 % of the women are primary school graduates, and 24,9 % of whom high school graduates. 3,6 % of them are university graduates, and 2,6 % of whom are illiterate.



Graph 3: Educational Level

41,6 % of the women are married, 4,9 % of them widow, and 53,5 % of whom single. The married and widow generally have only one child (33 %) or two (40,8%) children. 10,1 % of the women have three, 2,2 % of whom four children, while 14 % of those have not any.



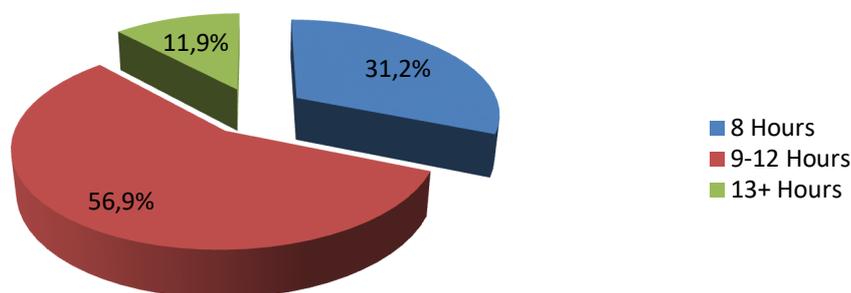
Graph 4: Marital Status

The employer-employee relations in the sector of agriculture are under the direct effect of informal intermediate sector, though some legal regulations to have been made. The people called as 'dayibasi' supply workers for the enterprises, and some works for the workers. The *dayibasi* get some commissions from the workers' wages, and have authority in recruiting workers. During the terms in which the demand for worker is at lower degree, the *dayibasi*-worker relations (kinship, neighborhood and acquaintanceship etc.) gain importance. The *dayibasi* arrange the employer-employee relations, distribute the wages which they take from the employees to the workers, and convey the messages of the employer to the workers. One of the other significant tasks of the *dayibasi* is the credits they supply to the workers. The *dayibasi* meet the cash needs of the workers by the credits called 'advance' during the winter in which demand for labour force is quite low on condition that they re-pay in return for working in summer. Thus, this makes the worker dependent on *dayibasi*.

The wage to be paid to the workers is determined every year based on the volume of the work by the commission consisting of Provincial Director of Agriculture, Chairman of Chamber of Agriculture in the town, the *dayibasi* and representatives of grapes enterprises chaired by the district governor. However, the decision made by this commission is something advisory, not binding. The wage is up to the grapes harvest-worker supply relations. However, the workers think that their wages are quite low, the employers agree on paying lower wages and they have not right of speech on this issue.

The women working at the TARIS dried grapes processing enterprises are employed with social security, and are granted some rights such as weekly day-off, extra wage for the extra working hours, medical leave, health insurance, food subsidy. The monthly income of the workers is not under minimum wage.

The women at the grapes enterprises except for TARIS work off the books. Therefore, they have not such rights as daily working timetable, weekly pay-off and extra wages for extra working hours. Most of the women at the enterprises (68,8 %) work more than eight hours in a day. They do not have any chance of holiday as they are paid based on daily working timetables. The monthly average income of the women (69,1 %) working at these enterprises is under minimum wage. The act of working attributed to the female labour within the traditional family structure and blessed as 'devotion' has been strengthened with extra working hours and lower wages at the enterprises. This situation reminds us of the continuity of traditional roles and status of woman with a new form in the agricultural labour. The working timetables-wage relations can be easily arranged in favor of the plant owner. The working hours can be enhanced, though the wage to be kept stable and in return of lower extra wages. The workers fulfilling this demand of the plant owners gain a kind of confidence with their devotion in order to work on the other days. This behavior is a significant indicator for the workers to be accepted as 'good workers' in the eye of both employer and *dayibasi*.



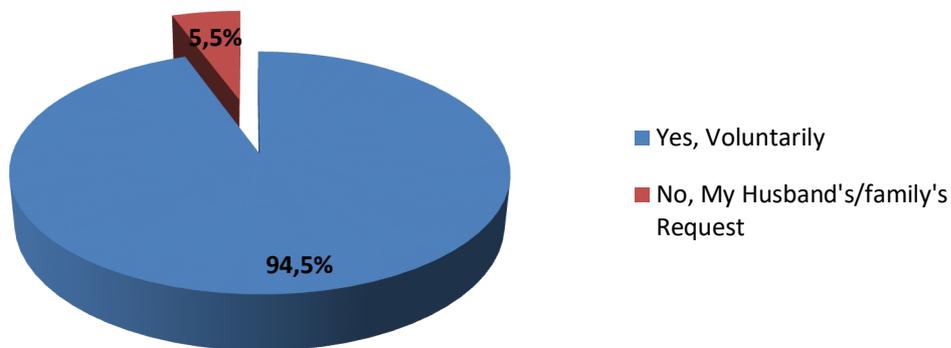
Graph 5: How Many Hours A Day Do You Work?

The women work at such agricultural businesses as collecting leaves and separating the grapes from the vine (54,8 %) or just spend time on housework (42,1 %) during the period in which the agricultural enterprises are off or fewer workers are needed. Thus, the women keep the same roles at in-house context, as they do on agricultural lands, within the traditional interaction networks.

However, these businesses carried out within the traditional interaction networks are also temporary, and do not offer any guarantee of work. The majority of the women working at the agricultural enterprises seek to work at a permanent business with social security and a specific salary. This wish of the women is efficient in their preferences of marriages. For the women, the firstly expected feature at the men while marrying is whether they work at a business with social security and a specific salary (53,2 %).

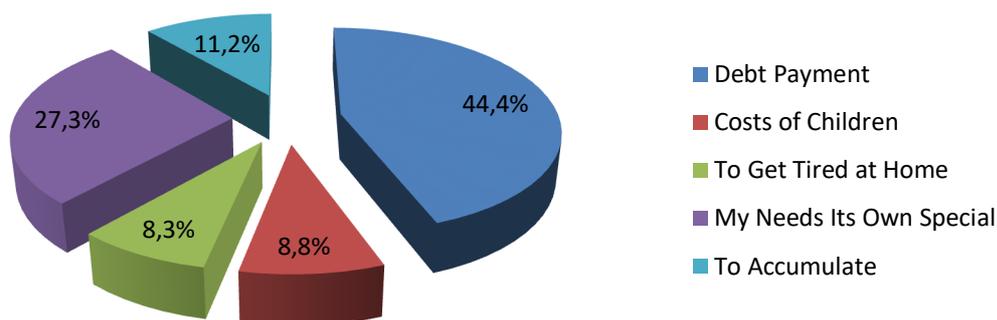
The answers given by the women to the question ‘If you had an opportunity, which occupation would you like to have?’ actually give some significant clues about the current situation and degree of their satisfaction. This also displays that the women are aware of the permanence between the agricultural labour and their traditional in-house roles and status, and that they want to determine their gender by stepping out of their traditional roles and status. As a matter of fact, the women prefer such the jobs offering higher social status as doctor, lawyer and teacher (50,1 %) or want to work at any business, but under the public assurance (32,5 %). The percentage of the women who want to work at agricultural businesses is quite low, namely (2,6 %).

While almost all the women working at the enterprises (94,5 %) began to work with their own desire, 5,5 % of them did with that of their families. It is quite difficult for the women to make decisions on the outside activities, those outside of the house, on their own within the limits of traditional family structure. The women who behave or make decisions independently are not welcomed. Thus, that they work at any business except for the familial ones is up to the approval of their spouses/families, even if they want individually. This situation again reminds us the proceeding feature outside the house of gender roles and status in traditional patriarchal structure. A great majority of the women (79,5 %) working at the agricultural enterprises have stated that they took permission from their husbands/families in order to work. The participation degree (81,1 %) to the statement ‘A woman must take permission from her husband in order to work outside’ towards a question of attitude asked to the women support strongly the act of taking permission in order to work at the enterprises.



Graph 6: Was It Your Choice To Start Working In This Enterprise?

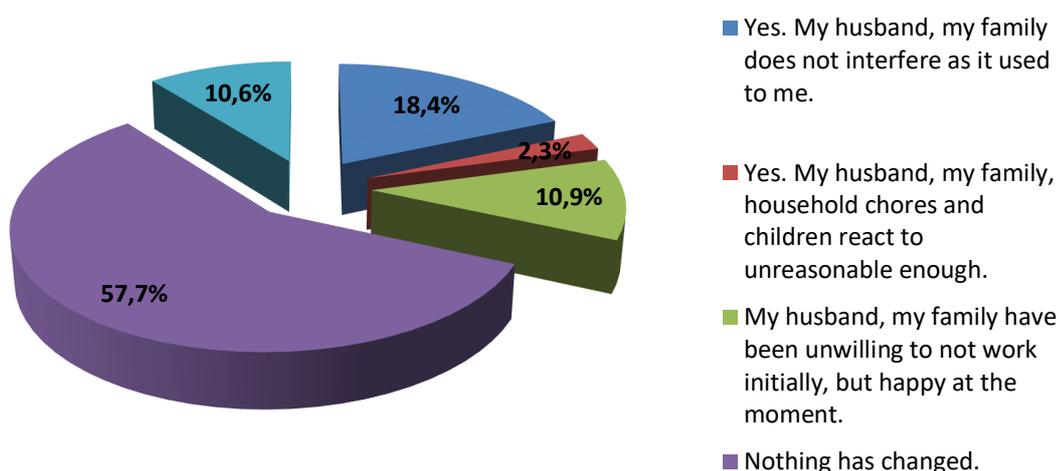
The working reasons of the women at the enterprises give some significant clues about economic situation in the rural area and the proceeding feature outside the house of the women’s traditional status and roles. The farmers not possessing their own lands or running their small family business are in debt. One of the leading reasons to work at these enterprises for the women is to pay their debts (44,4 %). The other reasons of them are to meet basic needs (27,3%), to save money (11,2%), to meet their children’s needs (8,8 %), not to have anything to do (8,3 %) and to make preparations for marriage (6,0 %).



Graph 7: How Do You Spend Your Earnings?

The estate and any earned value in the rural family within the traditional social structure are of the men. Thus, the spending authority of them is in the hands of men. One of the reasons of this man-dominant situation is that the woman does not have a direct income. However, that the woman works at a business in return for a specific salary except for the traditional in-house/family businesses does not trigger any significant change in their familial status. The female labour interpreted as contribution or support to the family within the traditional structure is valid for the gains made by the women working at the enterprises, and these gains have been viewed as a kind of contribution to the familial budget. These women have not freedom to manage their own gains. They give all or some of their gains to their husbands/families. The percentage of the women managing all their gains is quite low (2,6%).

That the women work at a business with a specific income does not make any change in their social status and roles. They were asked whether their families and ones around them changed the behaviors and attitudes in a positive way towards themselves since they work at the enterprises during the day and get a specific gain. More than half the women (64,5 %) have responded that they did not observe any change, 20,6 % of them have stated that their husbands/families began to behave themselves more considerately, and 2,3 % of whom has said that they were criticized because they could not care about their housework/children sufficiently.



Graph 8: Did You Recognize Any Change In Attitudes Of Your Family/Husband When You Start Working And Earning Money?

The women over 18 have the right to vote at general and local elections. They primarily make their political preferences based on their free-will (52,1 %). The effect of husband/father is lower (5,2 %).

The women do not seem to be satisfied with the current agricultural policies. They consider that the politicians remember themselves solely on the election days (50 %) and that any beneficial step has not been taken in favour of farmers (36,2 %). The percentage of those who have found the current agricultural policies successful (3,4 %) and those thinking of a positive change towards the better even if not to be satisfying yet seems to be quite low (10,3 %).

It is worth that there are too many expressions emphasizing the secondary position of the women in the society when looked into the responds by the women working at the enterprises to the question ‘What is your the most urgent matter as a woman?’ being secondary in the society and not experiencing sufficient love/respect seem to be the most important problems. When the men attempted to attend the interviews made with the women during the breaks or lunches, or intended to listen to what was spoken because they wondered, the warnings like ‘These questions interest us, so be away from here, please’ of the women and their sincere responds display how valuable it is to be considered important for the women.

The women are not in comfort in their businesses and bilateral relations, as much as the men are. It has been stated that a woman should be moderate in their ways of speaking and behaving, and what is expected of a woman is to be moderate, and expressing one’s real feelings and opinions is not always good, and even doing so is an indicative of being a bad woman.

One of the other significant problems uttered by the women is of education. That the families do not give permission, or the opportunities are not sufficient, or the girls’ attending the school are not welcomed are the other sources of discomfort for the women.

The women have not sufficient fields of work. The temporary, seasonal an unguaranteed businesses on farms or at the enterprises have not been viewed as satisfying. While some of the women complain about unemployment, some are not happy about having to work. Both having to work at home and on farms or at the enterprises have been considered a thing enhancing the burden on the women.

Conclusion

The agricultural enterprises are feminine-character. The tasks of selecting and packaging fresh fruits and vegetables especially seedless fresh grapes have been viewed as the business for the women. This situation can be associated with the roles attributed to the woman in gender terms.

The female labour has been devalued from two sides. The tasks expected due to their gender in family and extra working hours and lower wages at the enterprises are efficient in this trivialization process. The working conditions of the women working without any social security and in return for lower wages reflect their social status. The traditional status and roles of the women have been transformed and emphasized, and their extra working at lower wages has been praised as diligence and devotion.

The women work at the grapes enterprises with their own desire. However, this desire of them is up to the permission of their husbands/families. The women work in order to make contribution to the family budget. The most important factor for them to work is paying their families’ debts. The women give the income they gain to their husbands/families. The number of the women spending they earn for themselves is quite low.

The level of awareness of women about their secondary position within the society seems to be very high. Thus, being secondary in the society is a source of dissatisfaction and disturbance for them. The women think of being subject to a kind of trivialization away from such values as love and respect. However, their social status and roles have been internalized by the women.

When compared with the process of making decisions on other issues, the women are more independent in determining their political preferences. In other words, they make decision of which

political party they support on their own. The women are not happy about the current agricultural policies. They think of the politicians to remember themselves solely just before the elections.

In conclusion, that the women work at enterprises and earn money does not make any change in their social status and roles. The status and roles based on gender include some comprehensive and complex processes which cannot be explained solely according to economic reasons.

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