2-2011

State Hegemony and Sustainable Development: A Political Economy Analysis of Two Local Experiences in Turkey

Bengi Akbulut
University of Massachusetts Amherst

STATE HEGEMONY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS OF TWO LOCAL EXPERIENCES IN TURKEY

A Dissertation Presented

by

BENGİ AKBULUT

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 2011

Economics

STATE HEGEMONY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS OF TWO LOCAL EXPERIENCES IN TURKEY

A Dissertation Presented

by

BENGİ AKBULUT

Approved as to style and content by:

_____
James K. Boyce, Chair

_____
Michael Ash, Member

_____
Krista Harper, Member

_____
Fuat E. Keyman, Member

_____
Gerald Epstein, Department Chair
Department of Economics

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have made it possible for me to produce this piece of work and contributed in different ways to its coming into being. It is impossible to acknowledge all of them, so this is bound to be incomplete.

Jim Boyce has been incredible in listening and trying to understand where I was trying to go with all this during my trial and error phase, which lasted for quite a long time. He has been patient, respectful and supportive of my attempts of finding my way, and responded in the best possible way to my demands. He has sparked the inspiration at countless instances where I thought I lost it forever, and I am infinitely grateful for that. Michael Ash and Krista Harper have always encouraged me to keep going by showing great interest in my work and lent help in all stages. Their enthusiasm has been a major driving force, especially towards the end. Finally, Fuat Keyman has kindly accepted to be a part of the dissertation committee at the last minute and kept up with all that the "last minute" implies.

Fikret Adaman is the invisible hero behind these pages. He is the unofficial committee member who has painstakingly read immature sketches of many chapters and helped me to shape them up. He is the editor who has not only tirelessly went over the whole manuscript but managed to do it humorously. He is the colleague with whom I have discussed many of the ideas that found their way in this dissertation and the mentor who literally stood by me during all stages of this work. He has been a guiding light, a very dear friend, a fierce critique and a *camarade*. He has taught me and produced with me so much that go beyond the present work.

I have relied on the generous financial support of Boğaziçi University and the Political Economy Research Institute (PERI) in UMass, and the logistical support of FREKANS Research Company in producing this work. I am grateful to Halil Agah, Suade Arançlı and Uygar Özesmi for sharing information and helping me establish valuable connections during the intial stages of my field work. I owe a lot to my guides, Ömer in Sultan Sazlığı and Asım in Köprülü Kanyon, who indeed made the entire study possible, and looked out for my well being in every step out in the field and eased a painful process. Finally, I am indebted to all the people who have shared their stories- they are the co-authors of this dissertation.

What this work signifies goes much beyond the process of writing a dissertation and extends to years spent with wonderful people in a unique department. It would not be farfetched to say that this dissertation could not have been written in any other economics department than UMass. Two professors in particular, Nancy Folbre and Steve Resnick, have contributed fundamentally to my journey towards becoming what I deem as a good economist/a critical thinker during the last 6 years. I feel lucky to have been a part of EGSO; it has been an experience that nurtured me so much, both as an inspiration and a challenge, as it concretely showed me the value in collective work towards change.

A couple of people within EGSO needs to be mentioned in particular: My comrade, and first friend in the department, Rajesh stood with me in many fights, drank with me in numerous occasions, fed me with great meals and took care of me whenever I needed it. Mike Carr has been a very dear friend who listened to me patiently during our weekly lunches and pushed me to see things that I would rather skip. Being around him provided a level of comfort that I miss deeply. I had been lucky to find Jen Cohen in my

second year and enjoy her friendship (not to mention her heroic efforts of providing me with nicotine when I broke my wrist). Armağan Gezici, Phil Mellizo and Smita Ramnarain have all been invaluable outlets of both personal and academic desparation.

Many outside of the department have been significant in sustaining me, and at times, my sanity. Aycan Kapucu is practically my sister and with her I started building a life in this country. She and Zeynep İnanç are the two people without whose soothing presence I would not be able to survive. The Noho-Amherst "gang" turned a foreign place into home and proved to be the strongest bond I have established with it. Ceren Soylu has been closer than almost anyone although she was an ocean away almost all the time. Knowing that she and I have a lot to write, talk, watch, discover and conquer together is one of the most strengthening feelings. Finally, my incredible circle of friends in Turkey, with whom I grew up and shared in a way that I have quite not with anyone else, has been the strongest support in my years away from the home they provide, with their unending confidence in me and unconditional caring.

My parents, Ayşe and Gültekin Akbulut, are the first leftists I know. From them I have learned the value in fighting for what is just and not to give up when disheartened, when to stand still and when to be angry, when to interfere and when to be patient. They have always been eager to understand what bothered me or what excited me, and lent their very much needed –critical- support. Mert Akbulut, my brother, has grown to be my favorite ally and I cannot wait to see what awaits us in the paths we'll walk together. This one goes out to them.

ABSTRACT

STATE HEGEMONY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS OF TWO LOCAL EXPERIENCES IN TURKEY

FEBRUARY 2011

BENGİ AKBULUT, B.A., BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

M.A., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor James K. Boyce

This dissertation examines state-society relationships in Turkey through the lens of efforts to promote sustainable development at the local level. To this end, it first lays out a theoretical framework to analyze the political economy of local sustainable development, for which purpose the Gramscian state theory and its applications to the political economy of the environment are deployed. The dissertation thus situates the local social-economic-environmental processes within the making of state hegemony and the uneven impacts of state behavior on the society. The dissertation employs two case studies, each based on extensive qualitative study and quantitative data from the administration of representative surveys to operationalize this framework. At both case study sites, Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, the Turkish state made explicit efforts to implement sustainable development through projects funded by the Global Environmental Facility, but failed to do so. In analyzing the reasons for failure, the dissertation documents how the Turkish state's hegemonic practices, interacting with local power inequalities, undercut the implementation of sustainable development. It further reveals how inequalities are perpetuated by the failure of sustainable development

and how they, in turn, prove to be impediments on sustainable development implementation at the local level.

The dissertation also provides a critical lens through which community-based schemes, including co-governance and participatory management, can be examined. It highlights, in particular, the role of local inequalities and anticipations shaped by the state by conducting an econometric study. It demonstrates the different channels through which exclusion from decision-making operates, impeding the democratic functioning of these institutions and undermining efforts to promote sustainable development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

A "FAILED" STATE: SETTING OUT THE AGENDA

"Is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony might leave space untouched? …
The answer must be no".
(Lefebvre, 1991, p11)

Strolling through Sultan Sazlığı (Sultan Marshes), an internationally renowned wetland complex situated at the center of the Anatolian Peninsula that was recognized in 1990 for its rich bird species, one cannot help but be unsettled by the sight of deserted wood sailboats scattered around the grayish, drought-stricken landscape. Once home to birds that departed long ago, the wetland was the sole source of livelihood for reed cutters who now struggle to feed their families. From the abandoned boats, wealthy towns surrounded by plots and orchards burgeoning with sugar beet and fruit trees are just a short drive away. The shift in color from gray to green, and the striking contrast between the rust-hued sickles of the reed cutters and trucks piled with ripe fruit, are evidence that the water lost by some was gained by others.

In a very different scenery, visitors to Köprülü Kanyon (Köprülü Canyon) in Southern Anatolia, where forests and ancient ruins are intertwined, might wonder how some families can be as destitute, living in single-room homes with outhouses, while thousands of tourists visit the area every year to enjoy one of the best white-water rafting spots in Turkey. A few minutes of conversation with the villagers, however, provide insights on the strict conservation rules that practically dictate poor living standards. Some seem to evade the rules, however: owners of the rafting facilities enjoy high profits brought by their illegally-built structures, and boast about how they managed to escape punitive court orders.

These two localities are sites that were recognized by the Turkish state for their ecological and cultural importance and granted conservation status. Yet both ended up being torn apart by interlinked environmental and socio-economic problems. What further distinguishes them from similar sites in the country is that they are both places where the Turkish state spent four years in attempts to operationalize internationally-funded, community-based sustainable development projects, only to fail in these efforts despite its seemingly enthusiastic committed to it. The degradation of natural resources today continues at both sites, and associated socio-economic conflicts are left unresolved. The making of these two wounded environments is the object of analysis in this dissertation.

That the Turkish state is ineffective in implementing sustainable development is widely recognized, a few successful instances notwithstanding. A state's failure to effectuate an equitable, environmentally-sound development path might not come as a surprise, given that many states are thought to prioritize economic growth at the expense of environmental and social concerns. What makes the Turkish case puzzling, however, is the existence of a seemingly ideal mix for sustainable development implementation: a comprehensive body of legislation, well-developed state machinery, and growing societal demands for environmental protection and social justice. Scholars who have analyzed the failure of sustainable development—despite the state's rhetorical commitment to its implementation—have approached the issue from a macro-perspective, and highlighted general features of the state and state-society relationships in Turkey. These works have made crucial contributions by drawing links between growth-oriented modernization, top-down governance and particularistic interactions, and worsening sustainable

development outcomes as proxied by aggregate environmental quality and social justice measures.

However, macro approaches and structural explanations typically fall short of painting a detailed and comprehensive picture of micro experiences. They cannot account for local deviations from the stylized failure of sustainable development in Turkey. Nor can they unveil how local dynamics (economic, social, and political) and development processes impinge on each other. They cannot narrate the story of the drying wetlands and the wealthy fruit growers in Sultan Sazlığı, or of the environmental costs of unregulated tourism and impoverished villagers in Köprülü Kanyon. A more nuanced theorization of the state-society relationship in Turkey calls for an analysis of local histories and outcomes, grasping the mediation of structural characteristics at the local scale.

The present work is situated at this junction of the structural and the local. It aims to examine state-society relationships in Turkey through the lens of efforts to promote sustainable development at the local level. To this end, it lays out a theoretical framework in which to analyze the political economy of local sustainable development, and employs two case studies based on extensive fieldwork to substantiate it. Utilizing two cases makes it possible to adopt a comparative perspective and to juxtapose different socio-economic structures, institutional settings, and historical experiences. Furthermore, the plurality of methods used in the fieldwork provides both depth and breadth to the analysis. In-depth interviews and focus groups furnish the study with details on the making of local economic, social, and environmental processes while the quantitative survey equips it with representative empirical data. The dissertation demonstrates that

characteristics of the Turkish state, and its interactions with local power inequalities that operate through class, gender, *etc*., account for failures at the local level. It unveils how the failure of local sustainable development perpetuates and reinforces inequities, and how they, in turn, hinder sustainable development implementation. It also draws policy implications, especially with regard to operationalizing democratic and effective participatory mechanisms of decision-making.

As the title suggests, the subject matter of the present work is sustainable development, now a popular term that denotes the reconciliation of sound economic development with environmental protection and social equity. Although its operationalization remains ambiguous, I deploy the term here to imply the embeddedness of the economy-society-nature relationship, where resource use and access is understood to occur in specific contexts governed by social, economic, and political relations. I regard social and environmental outcomes as being inextricably linked. In laying out a theoretical framework to analyze the implementation of sustainable development, understood in this sense, I adopt a political economy approach to depict the distribution of benefits and costs associated with resource use patterns and trace the agents and relations enmeshed in them.

This dissertation is specifically concerned with investigating the role of the Turkish state in sustainable development. A growing body of work has drawn links between the overall failure of sustainable development and prominent features of the Turkish state, such as its growth-oriented modernist vision, paternalism, the dominance of patron-client networks in state-society relationships and the weakness of civil society.

As I demonstrate in chapter 2, these aspects have proven resilient and explain much of the motivations behind state policy and state-society relationships in Turkey.

In order to understand why these features proved persistent in the face of historical changes, one must delve into the making of the Turkish state. The Turkish state, rather different from its counterparts in the West, is a patrimonial state, dominated and navigated by a group of "elites" that cut across the bureaucracy and the military. Highly disillusioned by the demise of the Ottoman Empire, the strong commitment of the state elites to modernization shaped the history of Turkish Republic with the goal of "elevating" the nation to the level of Western civilizations, and adopting a Western guise. This modernization project encompassed a series of rapid transformations in all spheres of life, with the bureaucratic-military elite acting over and above society to operationalize it.

The long-lasting modernist vision of the Turkish state materialized in two interrelated features: the prioritization of economic growth as the prerequisite to modernization, while social and environmental issues are brushed aside; and the paternalistic governance modality, reflected in top-down policy formation and implementation. The 1950s saw the erosion of the stronghold of the state elite and the roughly simultaneous rise of patronage networks. Operating through reciprocity-based exchanges and social connections, these became the main venues in which contesting voices to were handled.

The trinity of modernist vision, paternalism, and patronage has had far-reaching repercussions in society. State-building in Turkey did not result from confrontations among different socio-economic groups, but rather from the pitting of a strong state

against a weak civil society. Even when civil society began to develop, it was prevented from becoming a space of autonomy, opposition, and struggle, due to the systematic exclusion of societal demands that were at odds with the growth imperative (e.g. those related to intra-society conflicts), and the smothering effects of top-down governance and patron-client relationships. The qualitative ineptitude of civil society, marked by a general unwillingness to challenge state authority, despite its quantitative magnitude, attests to this fact.

Building on the literature on contemporary Turkey, I argue that the modernism-paternalism-patronage trinity is still operative and that it bears significant implications for sustainable development. The developmentalist agenda of the Turkish state, intensified in the era of neoliberal capitalism, renders social and environmental concerns secondary, resulting in an overall unwillingness to implement sustainable development. Although state paternalism has been increasingly under attack since the late 1980s, state policies are still largely formed independent of society and the state holds a reactive, rather than a proactive, position. Given the significant level of distrust produced by top-down governance, the implementation of any kind of policy—including sustainable development—evokes contestation. Handling cases of contestation by patronage-based measures causes considerable erosion of the public interest, and hampers the implementation of effective sustainable development, even when there is a strong impetus behind it. Finally, the emasculation of civil society translates into a political landscape where the quest for modernization is seldom questioned; an overall reluctance to mobilize even in the face of pressing environmental and socio-economic problems; and a general absence of collective action-type struggles to address such issues.

Although this dissertation is informed by contemporary scholarship on the Turkish state, it aims to push its boundaries. Most of the literature on the Turkish state is based on descriptive accounts of specific characteristics, be it patronage relationships, paternalistic governance or motivations underlying its interventions in the economic sphere. Rather than taking these accounts at face value, the dissertation adopts a theoretical framework that can address different ontologies of the Turkish state, even those that are seemingly contradictory (such as the simultaneous existence of authoritarianism/paternalism associated with the "strong state" tradition, and the predominance of patronage networks, implying a vulnerable state whose power has been eroded by clientelism). The deployment of such a framework not only allows for the analytical treatment of the linkages between stylized characteristics of the Turkish state, but also serves as a theoretical anchor that can be extended to tackle crystallizations of the Turkish state at the local scale.

This dissertation analyzes the form and the nature of the state within a Gramscian theoretical framework. In other words, I argue that powerful groups attempt to justify their dominance and gain the active consent of the ruled by various political, ideological, and social practices. Political support is acquired not only in the field of class/economic relations, but in the entire field of social relations. Antonio Gramsci, who famously formulated the concept of hegemony as "consent backed by force," emphasized that hegemonic dominance is not exercised primarily or solely from the seat of government, but also and more importantly within the sphere of civil society where consensus is generated. Accordingly, states engage in a variety of efforts to appear impartial and justify their claim to rule. In doing so, they strive to construct a national-collective

outlook to surpass multiple interests in society, fragmented along different dimensions, and to project an image representing the "universal interest".

The Gramscian perspective is apt for the purposes of the present work for a number of reasons. Since it rejects the economism/class-reductionism inherent in many Marxian treatments of the state, and sheds light on non-economic motivations behind state actions/political behavior and on non-economic dimensions of power, it is suited to tackle forms of state and political behavior that fall outside the Western capitalist world, including the particularities of the Turkish context. I stated above that the state in Turkey is quite distinct from Western capitalist states, most notably manifested in the weakness of the capitalist class to demand political power (and use the state apparatus for its economic interests) as the Republic was being founded. The modernist objectives of the bureaucratic-military elite, who substituted for the domestic bourgeoisie, went beyond economic stakes. Similarly, the struggles that surfaced after the 1950s to capture and dominate the state apparatus were not defined on strictly economic/class terms, but reflected different divisions within dominant groups. Clearly, the Turkish state defies the simplistic, economistic vision of the state as a class tool utilized for the reproduction of capitalism. It calls for a framework in which the non-economic drives of the state elite (such as the aspiration to transform society), and practices to legitimize and re-establish state dominance can be analyzed. I argue that a Gramscian treatment of the state offers such a framework.

Within this framework, I explain the persistence of developmentalism by the state's hegemonic practices to elicit consent. Specifically, I argue that achieving economic growth to modernize has been crafted as the national-collective outlook, the

universal interest through which the state elite established itself as representing the general will, legitimized its claim to rule, and acquired the consent of the ruled. The fact that the desire to modernize was not a representation of aggregate interests, nor backed by any social group (as it typically is in Western capitalist states), necessitated that the state elite act over and above society to achieve the modernization project and re/produce the paternalistic style of governance.

One result of this state form has been the lack of organic links between state and society, which are the typical mechanisms of acquiring active consent (via democratic institutions) and consolidating hegemony in Western capitalist states. Building on this insight, I argue that the Turkish case is not a "successful" consolidation of the hegemonic project. Patron-client networks have arisen at this junction as one specific type of representation, since they have served as a link between state and society, and became mechanisms of acquiring consent. Contesting voices have been muffled through patronage relationships, and threats to hegemony came to be settled this way.

The Gramscian perspective also offers an articulate treatment of the ways in which state and society interact with and shape one another. Within this perspective, both state and society are conceptualized as heterogeneous sites; the conflicts within dominant groups and the multiplicity of societal interests can be underlined. Rather than rendering Turkish society as a multitude governed by the state, the Gramscian view displays the state's uneven impact on society and the differing abilities of different groups in accessing the state.

In analyzing the historical weaknesses of the civil society in Turkey, I employ the Gramscian argument that states are structurally selective in allowing the formulation,

representation, and articulation of social demands. I demonstrate that the demands that were fundamentally in conflict with the hegemonic project of the state elite and its vision of society as an organic unity—such as those related to distribution or the politics of ethnic identity—have been systematically excluded by the Turkish state. The success of the hegemonic project in Turkey (eliciting consent via the promise of benefits economic growth would bring, backed by paternalism) is manifested in the under-questioning of the modernization imperative and citizens' overall reluctance to oppose state authority.

A significant part of this dissertation tackles with the state and the state theory, as the preceding discussion shows. However, the primary purpose of the dissertation is not to theorize the state *per se*, but rather to put together a framework in which the state-society-environment relationships can be conveyed analytically. I deploy the Gramscian state theory and its applications to the political economy of the environment to this end. I unveil the ways in which the Turkish state transforms nature via hegemonic practices; both directly, for instance by constructing dams to deliver economic growth and gain consent, enclosing conservation areas to establish territorial control, and passing environmental legislation as a means to organize collective living; and indirectly, through its uneven impact on society, for instance via state policies that alter relations surrounding resource use and access.

This makes it possible to situate the state's transformation of the environment within its broader practices to establish and justify its existence. The making of states is thus analyzed via the remaking of nature. In this framework, the environment and environment-society relationships (including sustainable development policy implementation) are arenas where constitutive practices of hegemony are exercised;

where hegemony is consolidated, maintained, and contested. Grasping the complexity and diversity of the ways in which the state and the society interact with each other, as opposed to reducing the state to a "class" tool or addressing it only in juxtaposition to the market, becomes possible. In the absence of such an analytical framework, the impact of state action on the environment appear to be haphazard repercussions of state policies, the motivations of which cannot be considered in a non-simplistic way.

The present work focuses explicitly on sustainable development implementation at the local scale. Delving into the local is essential to advance our understanding of sustainable development in Turkey since macro-level analyses are ill-equipped to depict how—and through what—structural characteristics are mediated and manifested at the local scale. Understanding local implications of the state-society-environment relationship on sustainable development can enrich macro-level analyses and help to move towards more nuanced theorizations of the state in Turkey. With these aims, the Gramscian political economy of the environment framework is extended to analyze the local.

The relational, decentralized understanding of state power in Gramsci, as opposed to a monolithic vision of power exercised hierarchically by the state apparatus, is especially suited to exploring local experiences. This framework unpacks "community": local power inequalities and the uneven impacts of the state-society-environment relationship are explicitly considered. It accounts for the distribution of costs and benefits associated with environmental processes. In a related vein, it provides a critical eye through which community-based schemes, such as co-governance and participatory management, can be examined. It rejects reducing resource-based struggles to economic

and class relations, and retains axes of divisions such as gender, source of livelihood and social status as important tools of analysis. Finally, unlike structuralist approaches, it provides space to address the issue of agency and collective action.

Two case studies are employed to operationalize the framework summarized above. At both case-study sites, Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, natural resource management projects were implemented between 2000-2007 with funds from the Global Environment Facility (GEF), a collaboration of the World Bank (WB), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). In a nutshell, the GEF projects aimed at regulation of natural resource use and biodiversity conservation while supporting environmentally-friendly livelihoods to ease the pressure on existing resources. As many of their counterparts implemented worldwide, these aims were meant to be achieved through participatory planning and decision-making mechanisms. Planning of resource use, such as rules regarding time and locality of access, was supposed to be based on participatory mechanisms wherein locals could voice opinions and take an active role in decision-making. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry was responsible for the overall execution of the projects, and local Ministry employees carried out the implementation in the field.

The first site, Sultan Sazlığı, is a wetland complex located in the middle of a large plain, surrounded by numerous dams and irrigation canals built by the Turkish state. Redirection of water to agricultural irrigation, starting in the 1970s, not only altered the ecological balance and caused serious environmental problems in the area, but also served as an implicit redistributive policy favoring the already-wealthy. Farmers have

enjoyed the profits of irrigated agriculture, while those whose lives depend directly on the marshland and the pastures have increasingly come under intense pressure.

Köprülü Kanyon, the second site, is a remarkable forest-river ecosystem, a rafting hotspot that also holds immense archeological value. Despite its designation as a national park in 1973, the ecosystem suffers from unregulated resource use—the impact of which is clearly visible but not yet pressing. The hostility felt toward the hard-park type management of the past 35 years is palpable even after spending only a few hours in the area. The state's overwhelming presence –in terms of conservation—poses an interesting contrast to its general "absence" in terms of providing public infrastructure. Although a few settlements have enjoyed benefits connected to the booming rafting tourism, the rest suffer from poor roads, inadequate health and education facilities, and limited access to water and electricity.

What makes matters more tragic, in both study sites, is the fact that the implementation of the GEF projects has not been remedy to any of the aforementioned problems. State practices have changed neither with regard to the agricultural policies pursued at Sultan Sazlığı nor with regard to the strict top-down governance of Köprülü Kanyon. Unplanned resource use, resource degradation, and the socio-economic problems to which they are linked, continue to go unresolved. These two sites exemplify the contradiction between the seeming commitment to sustainable development of the Turkish state, and its unwillingness and/or inability to implement it. This contradiction, namely the state's aversion to enact the very projects it has assumed responsibility for, constitutes the subject that this dissertation explores.

These sites should further be put into perspective in the light of recently emerging, albeit sporadic, local responses to the Turkish state's failure to implement sustainable development. A notable example is the Bergama movement of the late 1990s, where the residents of a Western Anatolian town had mobilized to resist the Turkish state's attempts to introduce gold mining, due to the risks posed by cyanide leaching. More recent incidents are witnessed today in community-based struggles against the construction of hydroelectrical power plants in the Black Sea coast. Neither in Sultan Sazlığı nor in Köprülü Kanyon, however, can one observe such collective mobilizations in the face of local failures of sustainable development.

The GEF project sites present a fitting opportunity for analyzing local sustainable development in line with the framework sketched out earlier, since they set out—at least rhetorically—by envisioning sustainable resource management by community participation, explicitly targeting the empowerment of disadvantaged communities, and supporting alternative livelihoods. In other words, they were built on the three pillars of the sustainable development concept (environmental protection, economic well-being and social equity), and aimed to address them in an interrelated manner. Furthermore, the participatory decision-making component of the projects provides an avenue for examining the extent to which effective participation was ensured, and to unpack the role local power relations play in participation. Given the worldwide implementation of such participatory schemes, the evaluation of community-based sustainable development experiences can contribute to debates on their successes and failures, and inform better policy-making.

These localities also present an opportunity to consider the role the Turkish state assumed in implementing local sustainable development in two related dimensions: in terms of the historical making of these environments, and in terms of project implementation. To this end, I explore how the structural characteristics of the Turkish state played out in these localities; historically, by examining state policies pursued in these two regions—taken as symptoms of the Turkish state—and during the GEF implementation, by examining activities undertaken on the ground, with a special focus on participatory decision-making mechanisms. Links between state policies, changing patterns of resource use, and the distribution of costs and benefits associated with resource use patterns become focal points in this exploration. Local perceptions of the Turkish state and the GEF project teams, considered here as manifestations of the state-society relationship, are also depicted. In other words, changes in resource use, local inequalities, and perceptions are the main proxies utilized in operationalizing the Gramscian political economy framework adopted here.

The methodology followed in the case studies relies on both qualitative and quantitative techniques, since delineating the complex links between state and society, and the embeddedness of social, economic and environmental processes necessitates a combination of methods and an interdisciplinary approach. The studies are based on extensive fieldwork conducted in 2008-2009. As the researcher, I stayed at the project sites for about 20 days in 2008 and visited all project settlements with a local guide. I also paid a number of shorter visits to the areas both before and after my stay. The qualitative study, comprising a total of 98 in-depth interviews (14 with state officials, and 52 and 32 with local people at Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, respectively) and four focus

groups (two at each site), made it possible to acquire detailed information on the history of the state-society relationship at the sites, map changes in resource use patterns over time, and depict the dimensions of local inequalities. It also provided first-hand information on the implementation of the GEF projects in the field, and how the projects were perceived and assessed by the local communities.

The quantitative study was based on a survey administered to a total of 778 respondents (377 in Sultan Sazlığı, and 401 in Köprülü Kanyon). The survey provided representative data on the above-mentioned proxies in some detail, and complemented the qualitative study as the survey was designed and tailored according to qualitative findings. In addition to providing descriptive quantitative data to supplement the qualitative part of the study, the survey data are used in an econometric analysis of the relationship between participation in decision-making mechanisms and the willingness to contribute to sustainable development, used as proxies of local sustainable development; and local inequalities and perceptions of the state, used as proxies of the state-society relationship.

In examining local sustainable development, how the historical context of the state-society relationship shaped local dynamics—especially in terms of resource use and local inequalities—is delineated first. In the case of Sultan Sazlığı, the promotion of irrigated farming at the expense of environmental quality and social equity—a symptom of growth-orientation—has directly benefited farmers in the broader basin, whereas the landless, who depend on the marshland and pastures, suffer from worsening environmental conditions and the lack of alternative livelihoods. In the case of Köprülü Kanyon, paternalism was embodied by strict top-down governance, yet those with

political clout (correlated with socio-economic power) and/or owners of tourism facilities have been able to enjoy lax enforcement of state regulations, owing to patronage networks and the developmentalist state's reluctance to punish the tourism sector.

As might have become apparent, the most significant axes of inequality in these areas are based on types of resource use, which largely correspond to main sources of livelihood. Socio-economic inequalities have been perpetuated as different user groups map into the "winners" and "losers" of failed sustainable development. The landless reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı were further marginalized as a result of drought, while wealthy farmers still enjoyed irrigation privileges to a large extent. In a similar vein, it was mostly the poor and subsistence-based resource users in Köprülü Kanyon who bore the burden of strict conservation practices, while owners of rafting facilities, who hold significant economic power, were able to escape rule enforcement in terms of restrictions on resource use and access.

Local inequalities are major impediments to the implementation of sustainable development in these areas, as they correlate with the extent to which different groups' voices are "heard" by the Turkish state, due to the type of demands formulated and differential accessibility of representation mechanisms. The demands of the losers often go unheard since they fundamentally contradict the developmentalist agenda of the Turkish state. On the other hand, patronage—open only to powerful winners at both sites—has been a representation mechanism by which environmental protection was resisted and undercut. Within this context, the facts that the losers have not explored other venues to voice their demands, such as engaging in local collective struggles, and

that no NGOs are taking up the issues and mobilizing on their behalf, typify the general weakness of civil society in Turkey.

Against this historical backdrop, on-site implementation of the GEF projects in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon began in 2003. Although highly promising on paper, the projects failed on several counts: no effective regulations on resource use were implemented; decision-making mechanisms lacked broad, democratic participation by local stakeholders; and efforts to promote alternative livelihoods were ineffective. Examination of these failures illustrates that the Turkish state was mostly unwilling to fulfill what was envisioned by the projects, manifested in the persistence of its structural characteristics during project implementation. Occasional genuine attempts by the project teams, on the other hand, were stifled by state inability: an overall lack of skills, funds, and staff.

The implementation of participatory decision-making mechanisms, in particular, suffered from the combination of the paternalistic gaze of the Turkish state, specific histories of the state-society relationship, and local inequalities including income and wealth, gender, age and social status. Closer examination of the design and implementation of decision-making mechanisms, as documented in Chapter 4, raises serious doubts about the state's willingness to institute such decision-making processes. In a related vein, local people's perceptions of the state proved to be central determinants of participation. Their widely shared skepticism of the fairness and accountability of decision-making processes and the implementation of decisions impinged on their participation. Many chose not to participate, simply because they lacked faith that such mechanisms would work. In the face of broad advocacy of participatory mechanisms,

these cases provide stark evidence that the mere introduction of such mechanisms does not mean they will be operationalized successfully and democratically.

Econometric analysis delves deeper into local participation in GEF's decision-making mechanisms, and into willingness to contribute to local sustainable development. I use these as two proxies for local sustainable development: the former represents both a dimension of the effectiveness of local sustainable development and time contributions to collective management, and the latter represents contributions in the form of constrained resource use. Specifically, I test the relationship between these proxies and local inequalities and perceptions of the state. Both local inequalities and perceptions of the state's priorities are found to be statistically significant in determining the commitment of an individual to local sustainable development.

The present chapter served the purpose of portraying a highly-condensed version of the arguments put forth in this dissertation. Building on this presentation, the contributions of this dissertation can be situated in three realms. First, by providing an in-depth study of the Turkish state's role in sustainable development, the dissertation aims to contribute to the body of work on state and development. It aspires to surpass simplistic treatments of the state found in much of the economics literature, and proposes a framework in which state and society are understood as mutually constituted, heterogeneous sites. This framework is supplemented by an empirical exploration of local experiences. The ways in which the Turkish state crystallizes at the local level, interacting with historically specific local dynamics, provide rich material that contributes to debates on the role of the state and state-society relationships in development processes.

Second, in a related vein, the dissertation contributes to discussions on the Turkish state specifically. Although the peculiarities of the Turkish state have been the focus of numerous studies, analyses of state-society relationships through the lens of environmental politics is being undertaken only recently. The dissertation aims to contribute to this line of work by taking local sustainable development implementation as an arena where the characteristics of the Turkish state, and the interplay between state and society, are manifested. In doing so, it aims to provide insights into theorizations of the Turkish state by taking a path that differs from most studies on the issue; namely, by focusing at the local level. By unpacking the paradox of sustainable development in Turkey, and illuminating its equity implications, the dissertation offers arguments with micro-level evidence that can feed into macro-level theorizations of the Turkish state and its role in development processes.

Third, the dissertation engages with the extensive literature on the political economy of the environment and participatory decision-making in natural resource management, by delving into the distribution of benefits and costs of environmental degradation, and into how inequalities influence effective participation in decision-making mechanisms. Despite the increasing emphasis on decentralized environmental governance based on community participation, the success of such management mechanisms in ensuring the effective participation of all stakeholders is often questionable. The growing voices among academics and development practitioners that participatory mechanisms should be approached with caution calls for more empirical work to evaluate their success in bringing democratic and effective solutions to resource management problems. This dissertation contributes to these debates. By adopting a

multi-dimensional view of effective participation, and investigating its various underlying factors, the dissertation intends to provide input to efforts aiming to operationalize democratic and effective participatory mechanisms.

The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework that situates local sustainable development in Turkey. Specifically, I discuss the features of the Turkish state that underlie its unwillingness and inability to implement an environmentally-sound and socially-equitable development strategy within a Gramscian state-analytical framework. I then complement this framework with the political economy of the environment approach and extend it to analyze the local. In Chapter 3, the first step from the theoretical/abstract to the concrete, I explain how the dissertation operationalizes this framework. To this end, I introduce the case studies and research questions, including background information on study sites, a detailed description of the fieldwork methodology, the goals of the qualitative and quantitative studies, the number of interviews and focus groups conducted, the sampling strategy followed in survey administration, and the proxies used to address concrete research questions.

Chapter 4 presents the qualitative analysis of local sustainable development, and is divided into two parts that discuss Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon respectively. Both parts begin with background information on sources of livelihood and dimensions of local inequalities to familiarize the reader with the setting. Next, I discuss the history of the state-society relationship, socio-economic inequalities, and the political economy of resource use in both locations. In this context, local manifestations of the Turkish

state's hegemonic practices, their asymmetric effects on local populations, and implications in terms of resource use patterns are described.

The chapter then turns to the implementation of the GEF projects. First, I outline what the projects promised, based on official documents, and discuss on-site activities undertaken towards their implementation. In particular, I consider project goals and outcomes in terms of implementing sustainable resource use, operationalizing participatory decision-making, promoting alternative livelihoods and realizing gender equality. This is followed by an analysis of the projects' failures to implement sustainable development considered along these four dimensions and their impacts on different groups in the local communities. I explain the failures by the manifestations of state's hegemonic practices and local dynamics, based on the qualitative findings and descriptive quantitative data. The chapter concludes by drawing out hypotheses, informed by qualitative findings, which are empirically investigated in the following chapter.

The quantitative investigation of local sustainable development is carried out in Chapter 5. An econometric study on the relationship between local sustainable development, socio-economic inequalities, and the role of the state is presented, based on the hypotheses advanced in the preceding chapter. The chapter explores the determinants of two different proxies for commitment to sustainable development to test whether different axes of power and perceptions of the state have statistically significant roles.

Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of the main arguments and findings. The chapter encapsulates the core idea put forth in the dissertation, namely that the Turkish state's hegemonic project can be read from its remaking of local environments. In doing so, it points to the necessity of broader change in the state-society nexus if an

environmentally-sound, socio-economically equitable vision of development is to be a real possibility in Turkey. The chapter also draws policy conclusions on operationalizing effective and democratic participatory decision-making mechanisms.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS A GRAMSCIAN UNDERSTANDING OF STATE-SOCIETY-ENVIRONMENT NEXUS

"The main objectives [in this period] are to reduce inequalities in income distribution and thus alleviate poverty, and enable all segments of society to receive a fair share of the increased prosperity"
8th Five-Year Development Plan of the Turkish Republic, Paragraph 910

"Everyone has a right to live in a healthy, balanced environment"
Constitution of the Turkish Republic, Chapter VIII (A), Article 56

2.1 Introduction

There are many lenses through which one can analyze the state. The case of Turkey is no exception. Indeed, the state in Turkey has been examined in relation to shifts in the economic policies it pursues (Öniş & Şenses, 2007), its relationship with the domestic capitalist class (Buğra, 1994), the paths of development it has undertaken (Keyder, 1989), its relationship with civil society (Keyman, 2005), and so forth. The present work takes a different perspective in analyzing the Turkish state: it aims to address the state-society relationship in Turkey through the viewpoint of local sustainable development.

This chapter engages in the task of articulating a theoretical framework in which the political economy of sustainable development can be studied at the local scale. I begin with an overview of Turkey in section 2.2, where I provide a snapshot of the country and argue that this general picture offers evidence of the failure of sustainable development implementation. Then, in section 2.3, I give a descriptive explanation of this failure, familiarizing the reader with the prominent characteristics of the Turkish state,

based on the recent scholarship on the issue. In doing so, I present these arguments in descriptive terms and do not engage in a theoretical investigation, i.e. I do not trace their emergence or prominence analytically, and neither do I address the links between them. Therefore, sections 2.2 and 2.3 can be thought as portraying the empirical puzzle that motivates this dissertation; namely that the Turkish state fails to implement sustainable development despite the existence of the necessary legislative infrastructure and a capable state apparatus.

The theoretical exposition of these empirical observations is offered in sections 2.4 and 2.5. Section 2.4 addresses the terrain of theoretical thinking on the state, in efforts to lay the groundwork to theoretically analyze the failure of sustainable development in Turkey. First, I provide the broad contours of the neoclassical economists and Marxian state theoreticians' take on the state question—taken to be epitomes of the individualist and the structuralist camps—and note their shortcomings. Next, I move on to discuss the Gramscian state theory and justify why it is suited to my purposes.

In Section 2.5, I then situate the stylized features of the Turkish state within a Gramscian formulation. I engage in a historical and analytical exploration, interpreting the features of the Turkish state as symptoms of its hegemonic project. Finally, in section 2.6, I deploy the Gramscian state-analytical framework as a theoretical anchor and extend it to address local sustainable development, complementing it with a political economy of the environment approach. The chapter concludes by highlighting the hypotheses that emerge from this framework.

2.2 "Turkey: A Country at a Crossroads"

The subtitle above is how a UNDP report dubs Turkey in pointing out its peculiar geographical location between Europe and Asia, where "a modern state meets deep-rooted traditions" (UNDP, 2004a). It is indeed the case that the country escapes simple dichotomies of East-West, traditional-modern, and developing-developed (Adaman & Arsel, 2005). However, the UNDP report employs the term "crossroads" to further underline the challenges the country faces in terms of socio-economic disparities and environmental problems despite the improving economic outlook. Even a brief glance at statistical indicators is suggestive: Turkey ranks 84th on the 2005 Human Development Index (UNDP, 2007), while it ranks 66th in terms of per capita GDP, PPP $8,407.

Turkey covers approximately 780,000 square kilometers and has a rapidly growing population of 73 million. The urban share of total population was 67.3 percent in 2005, a figure expected to go up to 72 percent by 2015 according to the UNDP (2007). Although the country lately has been experiencing high levels of growth, mostly export-led, its economy remains vulnerable to crises (OECD, 2006). Socio-economic indicators, on the other hand, tell a different story about how equitable the fruits of growth are shared. Although absolute and food poverty levels are low, more than 17 percent of the population lives below the national poverty line (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of State Planning Organization, 2010). Income and access to infrastructural services, such as education and health, are highly unevenly distributed across the country (UNDP, 2004a). In addition, largely unregulated economic activities, coupled with socio-economic inequalities, have taken a toll on the environment, as evidenced by intensified environmental degradation and pollution. Thus, Turkey stands at

a crossroads to implement sustainable development; that is, to enforce social equity and environmental protection while preserving a sound economic base.

It is repeatedly noted that one of the most pressing issues Turkey must deal with is lack of effective environmental protection and overall worsening of environmental quality (UNDP, 2004; 2007; WB, 2000). Turkey faces a number of environmental challenges due to unsustainable production and consumption patterns, including high material and pollution intensity of its economy, and disregard for environmental concerns in efforts to speed economic and social development, especially at the sub-national level (OECD, 2008). Environmental degradation and pollution, driven by resource overuse and waste disposal beyond the assimilative capacity of the ecosystem, have worsened especially since the 1980s. In addition to unregulated industrialization and urbanization, intensified chemical use in agriculture, large energy and irrigation projects undertaken without regard to their environmental implications, high levels of population growth, uneven distribution of income, and persistent poverty have all put increasing pressure on the environment (Adaman & Arsel, 2005). The overall performance of environmental indicators provides ample evidence in this respect: For example, 500 million tons of fertile soil is lost to erosion and 22,000- 27,000 square kilometers of forestland disappear every year (Adaman & Arsel, 2010). Greenhouse emissions per capita increased by 119 percent between 1990 and 2007, a period marked by high growth rates (Adaman *et al*., 2010). Despite the absence of reliable and comprehensive data, it is repeatedly pointed out that the loss of biodiversity is alarming (OECD, 2008; UNDP, 2004a; WB, 2000).

The second set of important challenges ahead of Turkey on the path to sustainable development is the stark inequalities indicated by measures of both economic welfare and

human development. Although the incidence of absolute poverty is low, income distribution is highly skewed, as the 2009 Gini value of 43.2 attests. While the poorest 10 percent of the population held 2 percent of GDP, the richest 10 percent held 34.1 percent in 2005 (UNDP, 2007). Similarly, aggregate indicators of health and education paint an optimistic picture that masks the highly uneven distribution of both the accessibility and quality of these services. Rural areas, especially, suffer from underequipped and understaffed schools and health facilities.

Among the multiple aspects of inequality tearing apart the socio-economic fabric of the country, regional and gender-related disparities are arguably the most significant. Regional differentials in income per capita and poverty incidence are not only long-standing, but also have been widening (UNDP, 2004a). In 2006, the average per capita income in Turkey's western provinces was more than twice as high as that in the eastern and southeastern provinces (Adaman & Yükseker, 2008). Human development indicators of health and education illuminate the multidimensionality of regional disparities. Life expectancy in the east, for instance, is eight years lower than that in the west (Adaman & Yükseker, 2008). Similarly, gross enrollment ratios in primary and secondary education are well above 95 percent in the west, while barely exceeding 75 percent in the east (UNDP, 2004b).

Although natural endowments and geographical accessibility partly account for the wide gulf between the western and eastern regions of the country, the primary reason is neglect on part of the Turkish state. Less-developed regions receive less public investment than their share of population. The persistence and widening of regional

disparities is even more striking given that the alleviation of regional disparities has been a priority issue on the agenda of the Turkish state since the 1960s (UNDP, 2004a).

Gender-related disparities, on the other hand, are most visibly reflected in the wide difference in women and men's access to economic opportunities and entitlements, and participation in political and social life. Gender-disaggregated data on indicators such as property ownership, literacy and enrollment rates, labor force participation, and political participation speak to this fact. In 2005, for instance, the female literacy rate was 79.6 percent, more than 15 percentage points lower than the male literacy rate. Female labor force participation was around 28 percent the same year, compared to male participation of 77 percent. Gender inequalities are especially amplified in rural areas, where women suffer from limited access to land, technology, extension and financial services, lack of education, limited household transfer of agricultural knowledge, intense demands on labor time, and restrictions on mobility (Akder, 2003).

This broad sketch of the failure of sustainable development in Turkey might not come as a surprise. After all, many states fail in effectuating an environmentally-sound and socially-equitable development path. In Turkey, however, the failure of sustainable development is something of a paradox, since an ideal mix for its implementation is apparently in place. Worsening sustainable development outcomes in Turkey have coincided with the continual emphasis on sustainable development by seemingly willing state officials and far-reaching legislative arrangements. As the excerpts at the beginning of this chapter suggests, environmental and social concerns seem to be integrated in different stages of policymaking.

The Turkish state has developed an impressive body of environmental legislation within the last three decades. The first institutional attempts to deal with environmental problems date back to 1978, when the Prime Ministry Undersecretariat was established to coordinate the different governmental activities in environmental protection. Comprehensive legislation has been instilled since then, which specified the duties and obligations of numerous state branches in environmental regulation and protection (Adaman & Arsel, 2005). Furthermore, the Turkish state is a party to a number of international conventions and has ratified documents that explicitly recognize and adopt a sustainable development vision, such as those produced at the Rio and Johannesburg Summits.

A second set of legislative arrangements regarding sustainable development implementation concerns socio-economic inequalities. The mitigation of inequalities has also been on the Turkish state's agenda for some years now (UNDP, 2004a), and is repeatedly identified in official documents as a priority to be addressed. In particular, the alleviation of regional disparities has been an explicit goal of the Turkish state since the 1960s, the achievement of which was attempted primarily through regional programs. The recognition of gender inequalities and attempts to tackle them through institutionalized mechanisms are more recent, as evidenced by the establishment of the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women in 1990.

The legislative infrastructure for sustainable development should be considered in conjunction with the existence of a well-developed state apparatus in Turkey. As observed by many, the Turkish state—unlike the situation in many developing countries where an effective state system is absent—exercises power through a complex and

powerful machinery. Turkey inherited from the Ottomans an omnipresent, if not omnipotent, national system that governs socioeconomic, cultural and political practices (Adaman & Arsel, 2010, forthcoming). The presence of the legislation and the apparatus, coupled with growing, albeit still weak societal demands for environmental protection and socio-economic justice, makes the failure of sustainable development in the Turkish case rather perplexing.

A recently growing literature seeks to explain this paradox (see, for instance, an edited volume by Adaman & Arsel, 2005). Scholars trying to analyze it attribute the contradiction between policy-making and implementation to enforcement failures on the side of the Turkish state, the origins and manifestations of which are multi-faceted (Adaman & Arsel, 2010, forthcoming). I take these up in the next section.

2.3 The Turkish State: Between Unwillingness and Inability

As stated above, there is now a body of work that analyzes the Turkish state's effectiveness in implementing sustainable development in general, and environmental protection in particular. The punch line of these studies is that although sustainable development is acknowledged as an imperative, the state may either be willing but lacking in capacity to effectively implement sustainable development, or unwilling to do so. The analyses within this body of work illuminate important links between stylized features of the Turkish state, on the one hand, and aggregate measures of sustainable development, such as national measures of environmental quality and inequality, on the other.

In this section, based on my reading of the literature on the Turkish state, I discuss the characteristics of the Turkish state that stand in the way of effective sustainable

development implementation. As I have stated in the introductory part of this chapter, I do not set out to address these characteristics within a state-analytical framework in this section, but rather provide a cursory understanding of the noticeable features of the Turkish state. The features I discuss below, although presented in a taxonomical format, are inter-related, as will be clarified in section 2.5. A combination of these features is often observed to account for said failures. I use the below taxonomy for the sake of presentational clarity, so it should not be read to imply that the points raised are completely independent of each other.

2.3.1 Commitment to Modernization and Growth-Orientation

A glance through the history of Turkish politics would be sufficient to recognize the preeminence of modernization as a societal goal. Achieving modernization and economic progress has indeed been a long-standing objective of Turkish policymakers.[1] In the early years of the republic, this task entailed the injection of "European" characteristics into society and the institution of strong state machinery capable of enforcing measures required for progress (Arsel, 2005). Thus, it was a project of total transformation of the entire social and political spheres rather than a mere agenda of economic catching-up. For instance, strict state control was established over religion in line with the secularist principles, a new legal system borrowed from Europe replaced Islamic law, and Islamic attires were banned in order for Turkish society to achieve a modern look. The Turkish society also seemed subscribed to this project of

[1] In fact, the preeminence of modernization as a policy goal dates back to the late years of Ottoman Empire.

modernization, evidenced by the general absence of societal contestation in the face of such rapid transformations.

Although the state's modernization project encompassed a transformation process that surpassed a solely economic one, there was a central role for economic growth within it: rapid economic growth, fueled by the application of modern science and technology to economic processes, was seen to provide support to the newly created political and social order. Economic growth was, and still is, envisaged as the precondition and the remedy for all the ills in the backward, traditional society. Growth policies were given priority, based on the assumption that their achievement would automatically resolve social and political issues as well. Thus, it is not surprising that debates on how to best promote economic growth have always been important in Turkish politics. These debates, however, never shifted from politics of "development alternatives" to politics of "alternatives to development". Thus the political landscape does not contain proto-post-developmentalist propositions in the vein of Gandhi's *hind swaraj* (Arsel, 2005). A wide range of ideologies within Turkish politics shares the common faith in economic growth as the precondition of progress. Proxies of economic growth thus continue to be the sole criteria of assessing development.

Consequently, the Turkish state's ability and willingness to address environmental and social issues, and to implement policies accordingly, is often severely limited by its growth-oriented modernist vision. The supremacy of economic growth as a goal renders other issues, such as environmental quality and social justice, secondary. On the one hand, development strategies undertaken by the Turkish state have served, among other things, to put immense pressure on the environment. On the other, even when the Turkish

state is willing and able to implement environmental protection policies, the development strategies it pursues often impedes effective enforcement of these policies.[2]

Within this context, a number of empirical studies demonstrate the implications of the Turkish state's growth-oriented modernization project on sustainable development. Tosun and Fyall (2005), for instance, provide an account of the environmental pressure that resulted from state efforts to promote tourism as the new growth industry in 1980s. The primacy of developmentalist goals over environmental issues was also evident in the lack of bans on the polluting activities of industrial firms, despite continuous lip service paid in official documents to abatement of air and water pollution, deforestation and desertification. Similarly, Çoban (2004) and Arsel (2005), in their discussions of community-based resistance to gold mining activities in Western Turkey, make the case that the Turkish state consistently ignored the environmental and social costs of mining in order to attract foreign capital and promote economic growth.

Agricultural growth policies pursued by the Turkish state arguably provide the most visible evidence of the repercussions of its modernist vision on sustainable development. Aydın's (2005) discussion of agricultural policies is especially illustrative in this regard. The agricultural sector in Turkey underwent rapid commercialization as part of the development strategy initiated in the 1950s. Green Revolution technologies and use of agrochemicals were promoted with the aim of increasing productivity, with the

[2] The Turkish prime minister's recent endorsement of hydroelectric power plants exemplifies this perfectly. In a speech at a plant opening, he criticized environmental activists who resisted the building of such power plants and stated "A country's level of electricity consumption reflects its level of development and its productive power…We cannot take advantage of [natural] resources if we do not apply science and reason to their utilization. We will use these resources and transfer them into production". (Radikal Newspaper, April 17th, 2010).

state often acting as the main supplier of agricultural inputs. Agricultural intensification was encouraged through various schemes and pricing mechanisms implemented by the state and the large-scale agricultural projects pushed by international development agencies. These processes, coupled with heightened land fragmentation and lack of off-farm employment opportunities in rural areas, led to further intensification of land use.

Another major component of the agricultural modernization policies has been monumental irrigation works undertaken in many river basins in the country. The State Hydraulic Works—the major public agency responsible for irrigation developments—strongly emphasizes the importance of dam building. The state chose to ignore problems caused by large dams, such as human displacement, loss of flora and fauna, salinization and silting problems, while the economic gains of increased irrigation and productivity were emphasized.

This strategy of agricultural modernization proved costly. Increased chemical use led to pollution, especially of groundwater resources, as well as loss of soil fertility. Agricultural intensification and chemical use have compromised the long-term productivity of the agricultural sector. In the absence of redistributive land reforms and measures to address the decreasing viability of livelihoods, the rural poor were forced to overuse natural resources, resulting in further environmental problems. Finally, large-scale dam construction has not only disrupted the natural hydrological cycle and led to biodiversity losses, but also provided incentives to increase irrigated farming at the expense of environmental quality.

To recap, the Turkish state's commitment to a modernization agenda that prioritizes economic growth results in undermining the effective implementation of

sustainable development in numerous ways. The state continues to treat the environment as a resource to exploit for economic growth. The preeminence of economic growth as a societal goal makes social and environmental concerns secondary; such issues are not critically examined in relation to the development process and the vision of development held by the Turkish state (Arsel, 2005; Aydın, 2005). The social and environmental costs of economic policies are either ignored, or the implementation of policies to address these costs is undercut by the dominance of economic policies.

2.3.2 A Paternalistic Style of Governance

Many scholars have observed that a top-down, paternalistic style of governance is the dominant way that the Turkish state relates to society (Aydın, 2005; İnsel, 1996; Keyder, 1989). This has shaped state-society relationship to be defined, more than anything, by distance. Although the paternalism of the state has been increasingly under attack after the end of 1980's, the state remains to be the main actor that defines the parameters and boundaries of Turkish politics and of the modernization project (Keyman & Öniş, 2007).[3] The Turkish state still seeks to govern its constituency in a paternalistic way where policies are formed largely independent of the society.

The predominance of paternalism as the modality of governance has two consequences relevant to sustainable development implementation. First, the paternalist gaze of the Turkish state crystallizes most visibly as a reactive, rather than proactive,

[3] Keyman and Öniş (2007) evaluate the post-1980s as a period during which state-centrism and the top-down governance modality associated with it came to be challenged by calls for greater recognition of societal demands and democratization. Others are not that optimistic; Adaman and Arsel (2005), for instance, while acknowledging that openness and dialogue have partly replaced control and domination as qualities of governance, argue that the Turkish state still seeks to govern its constituency, seen as the unitary Turkish nation, in a paternalistic manner.

stance *vis-à-vis* sustainable development implementation (Öniş & Şenses, 2007). While the state is often blind to the implications of its policies on society and the environment, it takes action when faced with acute environmental problems that have built up over time and involve life-threatening impacts that can no longer be ignored.

Second, skepticism produced by top-down governance stands as an obstacle to sustainable development implementation. Given that paternalism reigns supreme, it is not difficult to imagine that citizens' perceptions of the state is marked by distrust. The top-down, paternalistic implementation of sustainable development policies evokes political contestation, not necessarily due to any fundamental objection to the policies themselves, but rather due to the fact that the implementation of any kind of policy, environmental or otherwise, is often perceived as favoring certain social groups over others (Adaman & Arsel, 2010, forthcoming). Top-down governance, and the lack of transparency associated with it, has eroded trust in the state as a fair arbiter of conflicting interests.

2.3.3 Patronage Networks and Particularistic Interactions

Many scholars of Turkey note the dominance of patronage and particularistic interactions in state-society relations (Adaman, Çarkoğlu & Şenatalar, 2001; Güneş-Ayata, 1994; Sunar, 1996, 2004). The type of patron-client networks witnessed in Turkey is markedly different than the standard corruption/bribery activities addressed in the economics literature, i.e. where one party offers a bribe to another; not necessarily involving a personal relationship. Instead, patronage works as a reciprocity-based relationship that is not necessarily monetary. Rather, the social connection of the parties is important (e.g. a favor done for a friend of the family, or for someone who has helped

someone in the family, or someone who is from the same town, *etc.*) and these connections, unlike one-time bribe exchanges, seem to last a while.

Parties involved in these types of connections are rather unaware of the fact that what they do is wrong in the sense that they are violating the public interest (Adaman & Çarkoğlu, 2000). Yet, patron-client networks and particularistic interactions—mainly in the form of reciprocal favoritism and voluntary contributions—cause considerable erosion in the public sphere. Interactions of this type have weakened the capacity of the Turkish bureaucracy to carry out policies, and curtailed effective implementation. Environmental policy implementation and monitoring are no exceptions. Especially in cases where policy imposes costs on a small group and benefits a large group, for instance a policy that places a ban on industrial pollution, patronage severely undermines policy implementation insofar as the small groups can organize more easily and put pressure to achieve their goals. Therefore, even in the presence of a strong impetus to pursue sustainable development, the predominance of clientelist networks hampers the Turkish state's ability to effectively operationalize it.

2.3.4 Role for Inability beyond Unwillingness? Lack of Motivation and Competence

Although conceptually different than the three features of the Turkish state I have discussed so far, two additional factors have been identified as reasons for its failure to implement sustainable development: local bureaucrats' lack of motivation and incentives, and a lack of competence. Turkish state's modernist vision and paternalistic style of governance, together with the prevalence of patron-client networks, emerge as characteristics related to the state in Turkey, demonstrating its *unwillingness* to implement sustainable development. Incentive and competence problems, on the other

hand, appear more as behavioral patterns and resource issues that explain the state's *inability* to implement sustainable development in few instances where it is willing to do so.[4] Therefore, I choose to address these two factors separately.

The governance structure in place in Turkey provides few incentives for local-level bureaucrats to engage in efforts for effective implementation (Adaman, Özkaynak & Hakyemez, 2009). The system provides few payoffs for performing well. Nor does it provide a credible threat of penalty in the case of underperformance. It does not, therefore, come as an utter surprise that local bureaucrats choose to underperform, and enforcement problems arise at the local level. Environmental policy enforcement is no exception. Consequently, even when the Turkish state is willing to implement sustainable development, it might still be unable to do so due to enforcement problems at the local level.

Even if the Turkish state is willing to implement sustainable development and enforcement failures at the local level can be overcome, a lack of required competence may impede effective operationalization. Aydın (2005) points out that although the Turkish state has been active in introducing environmental laws, a lack of funds, trained personnel and resources have undermined the effective implementation of these laws. Similarly, in their case study of basin conservation in Turkey, Adaman, Özkaynak, and Hakyemez (2009) state that inadequate human capital, equipment, organizational skills, *etc*., impede the effective implementation of sustainable development.

[4] It should be noted that motivation and competence issues do not prove to be obstacles when the state shows real willingness to implement a policy. The striking level of competence displayed in dam construction and the efficiency of the State Hydraulic Works in general are excellent, yet ironic, examples.

2.4 Towards Formulating a State-Analytical Framework: Pointers from the Literature

The picture I have laid out in the previous section builds on the contemporary scholarship on the Turkish state in important ways. The present work, however, aims to diverge from this body work and push its boundaries. Specifically, I intend to formulate a theoretical framework that will both encircle the main themes within this literature and be extended to embrace their mediations at the local level. The present section constitutes the first step towards this goal.

Most of the literature on the Turkish state is based on descriptive accounts of a specific characteristic, be it patronage relationships, paternalistic governance or motivations underlying its interventions in the economic sphere. These accounts provide different ontologies of the Turkish state, which may at times look contradictory, such as the simultaneous existence of authoritarianism/paternalism associated with the "Strong State" tradition, and the prevalence of patronage networks, implying a vulnerable state whose power has been eroded by clientelism. However, rather than adopting these accounts at face value, the purposes of this dissertation necessitates the deployment of a theoretical framework, rather than the adoption of these accounts at face value, in which these different ontologies can be addressed, including those that are seemingly contradictory. Such a framework would enable me to treat the linkages between the stylized characteristics of the Turkish state analytically. It would also serve as a theoretical anchor that may be extended to attend to local-scale crystallizations of the Turkish state, one of the main themes addressed in this dissertation.

In an effort to formulate such a framework, I begin by exploring briefly how the state has been conceptualized within the traditions of neoclassical economics and

Marxian political economy. I then delve into the Gramscian scholarship on state and on the concept of hegemony. In doing so, I also explain why the Gramscian approach is well-suited to the purposes of this dissertation. This section leads to the next one, in which I employ the concept of hegemony to address different yet interconnected ontologies of the Turkish state.

My decision to focus on these two particular schools of thought was motivated by the conviction that they typify two broad camps of approaches to the state question; namely, the individualist and structuralist lines of thinking. Yet I do not intend so much to provide a comprehensive *tour d'horizon* of these undoubtedly wealthy literatures, but more to utilize them stylistically and to point out the reductionism inherent in both. More specifically, my aim in engaging with the neoclassical and Marxian traditions is to underline the shortcomings in their approaches to the state question and thereby illuminate the strengths of the Gramscian framework, which is the theoretical framework that informs this dissertation.

2.4.1 A Brief Consideration of Individualism and Structuralism

The intellectual terrain that addresses the question of state can be seen as being broadly divided between the individualistic and structuralist approaches. While the former camp views the state as arising from the rational actions of atomistic agents, the latter reduces it to a necessary product of structure, e.g. class relations. I hold that both lines of thinking reduce complex phenomena such as state behavior and state-society relationships to explanations based solely on either individuals' pursuit of self-interest or the dictates of structure, and that both largely ignore interactions between the two.

The traditional neoclassical stance is the epitome of the first camp.[5] Such treatments are based on the premise that the state is an agent of society that arose because it was optimal, required only for correcting market failures. The relationship between the state and the citizens is a market-type one, in which citizens pay taxes and the state provides services. As this formulation rests on the assumption that individuals are self-interested, utility-maximizing, rational agents, political behavior is reduced to being determined by the pursuit of (material) self-interest.[6] Within this context, state behavior has primarily been tackled in relation to rent-seeking activities, which were extended to encapsulate the nature of all governments (Krueger, 1974). Accordingly, government activity/public policy creates rents and induces private actors to engage into outlays of resources in pursuit of these rents. Subsequent neoclassical formulations of state behavior within this framework (e.g. Buchanan, Tollison & Tullock, 1980), commonly referred as Neoclassical Political Economy (NCPE), treat state power as a commodity that rational agents within and outside the state compete to capture. This formulation effectively treats rent-seeking as a "technology" and state as an input-output machine, where inputs are resources spent for rent-seeking, and outputs are rent-creating policies (Rao, 1995).[7] The ability to influence policy becomes a function of rent-seeking expenditure (i.e. economic)

[5] It should be noted that I do not explicitly address the more recent, evolutionary perspectives on institutions that may be situated within neoclassical economics here. However, I hold, however, these perspectives also suffer from the same individualist reductionism. Specifically, the explanations put forward by such approaches regarding the emergence and evolution of institutions such as the state, are based on individual behavior. The state, yet again, is reduced to a consequence of individual action alone.

[6] For instance, Downs conceptualized political parties as teams of men who seek office in order to enjoy the income, prestige and power that go with running the government apparatus; their social function is accomplished as a by-product of their private motives (Downs, 1957, as cited in Orchard & Stretton, 1997).

[7] See Rao (1995) for an eloquent treatment of theoretical inconsistencies within the NCPE framework.

power. The state apparatus thus becomes merely an arena of competition, rather than an agent in its own right.

Although there is now a recognition of the limits of these behavioral assumptions even within the individualist camp (Buchanan, 1993; North, 1993), the individualistic approach embodied in neoclassicism, and its broader ontological stance, has ramifications on its ability to deal with complexities surrounding the question of state, such as the historical and institutional contexts in which states operate; and the interaction of structural factors with individual behavior and autonomous goals formulated and pursued by states (Archer, 1995; Dequech, 2002; Hodgson, 2000)[8]. By reducing state-society relationships to isolated one-time exchange interactions, such conceptualization leaves no space to consider how society is shaped by state actions, assent to be governed is elicited, how preferences and perceptions of individuals are formed, altered or reinforced, and how, in turn, social dynamics affect state actions.

Marxian approaches, on the other hand, offer radically different treatments of the state.[9] Although the range of positions under the banner of Marxian state theory makes it difficult to proclaim a common understanding of the state, a broad consensus can be read on some aspects. One such aspect, important for the purposes of this dissertation, is the explicit assertion that there are, indeed, motives that underlie state behavior, and thus

[8] It should be noted that these are not critiques of the individualistic approach to the state question *per se*, but of individualism in general.

[9] A close and detailed reading of Marxian tradition of state theory is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Suffice it to say that some of the main works within the literature have explored issues such as the emergence of state (as a class instrument vs. state as a factor of cohesion), the institutional separation of state from society (the separation of the political from the economic), and the (im)possibility of state autonomy; different state forms correspond to different forms of capitalism and balance of class forces, structural selectivity of state's responsiveness to social demands, and state-civil society interactions (see Jessop, 1982, for a comprehensive review).

impartiality of the state is inconceivable (Marx, 1843/1970; Poulantzas, 1978). In line with the class-analytical perspective, scholars in this tradition start with the premise that society is a fragmented realm where multiple interests exist. Motives that underlie state behavior, in turn, reflect the balance of forces within society. Accordingly, the exercise of state power is geared towards furthering the interests of certain social groups, while others are excluded (Hirsch, 1978; Offe, 1974; Poulantzas, 1978; Jessop, 1982, 1985). This conception underscores the differential ability of social groups to access and shape state policy, and poses a stark contrast to the neoclassical portrayal of the state as a neutral "technology".

Although it provides an analytical ground on which the motivations and uneven impacts of state behavior can be dealt with, many Marxian treatments of the state suffer from class-reductionism. Specifically, the exercise of state power is often conceptualized as driven by the needs of capitalist reproduction, and state is reduced to a class tool, a component of the superstructure that reflects the economic base. Consequently, political struggle is reduced to a mirror of economic conflicts; the political becomes a mere derivative of the economic, while the non-economic axes of struggle, dimensions of power, and aspirations in governance are ignored.

This model has little explanatory power when we step outside the universe of Western capitalist states and encounter states that "constitute" their societies (İnsel, 1996). The structuralist line within the Marxian tradition implicitly assumes a social sphere populated by agents (e.g. classes), with practices and strategies defined by economic relations. This premise does not offer much scope to analyze the making of the social by the state, i.e. the shaping of agents, their strategies and interests in the course of

their interaction with the state. İnsel (1996) asserts that many Third World countries are characterized by states that conceive and produce their societies this way, where interventions in the economic sphere reflect the states' intentions to establish themselves and justify their existence. He claims that such state forms debunk the portrayal of the state as arising out of economic relations found in many Marxian treatments.

The Gramscian understanding of state and society is useful in moving beyond both the individualism of the neoclassical tradition, and mechanistic approaches of the Marxian tradition to address the interaction of agency and structure. It, therefore, offers more insight into how states shape the form and process of development.

2.4.2 A Gramscian Understanding of State and Society

Our thinking about state and society is often framed by the juxtaposition of the two as opposite poles. Such thinking (e.g. an "evil" state that dominates society, the arena of autonomy) bears the danger of blanketing other types of linkages between state and society, and rendering them as unified sites in our intellectual imaginations. Uncovering the links between state and society, crucial for the exercise of state power, has arguably been the most important contribution of Gramsci's thinking.

In line with the Gramscian tradition, I understand both the realm of the state and that of the society not as homogenous sites, but as sites where multiple and at most times conflicting interests exist. The premise of a divided society discredits the idea of the state as representing the "general interest". Since society is fragmented along the lines of class, gender, ethnicity, *etc*., it is impossible to envisage universal interest on the side of the society. Portraying society as a unified whole is necessary to secure cohesion and

reproduce the image of the state as a neutral actor that pursues the general interest, fully differentiated from the society (Gramsci, 1971; Jessop, 1982).

The state should also be understood as a site of plural interests and an apparatus that different groups try to capture.[10] Powerful groups that dominate the state (e.g. different factions of the bourgeoisie) are likely to have conflicting interests and push for different state policies. Unity within the "ruling bloc" does not come naturally, but needs to be constituted through the mediation of conflicts among them.[11]

It is in this context, the mediation of particular interests, where Gramsci's formulation of hegemony enters. The state's hegemonic function involves surpassing the diversity of interests and facilitating their unity; it is successfully fulfilled when the abstract problem between conflicting particular interests and the general interest is resolved. Constitution and reproduction of a collective will, a "national-popular" outlook, play a crucial role in this respect. When an effective national-popular outlook—one that different groups in society subscribe to—is fabricated, it becomes possible for the state to appear as a neutral institution embodying the general interest.[12] By cementing consensus among different groups in society, the national-popular outlook justifies the dominant

[10] Providing a definition of the state is not my intention here. Throughout this dissertation, the state is conceptualized as both a space where different groups aim to dominate to further their interests, and as an actor with its own interests.

[11] A substantial body of Marxian work, both within and outside of the Gramscian tradition, investigates the organization of unity among dominant groups and implications of its failure. I do not provide an account of that particular literature, since it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, which aims to employ the Gramscian framework to analyze state-society relationships in Turkey.

[12] Poulantzas (1978) discusses the constitution of collective interest in terms of two functions of the state: he argues that the juridico-political ideology of the state construes "people" as mutually isolated, individual citizens in a "realm of citizenship" (isolation effect), and ensures the public unity of the people-nation considered as the abstract sum of formally free and equal legal subjects (unifying effect).

groups' claim to rule. Specific forms of representation and state intervention allow the articulation of diverse interests to supplement the hegemonic project (Jessop, 1982, 1985). The state organizes and regulates the relationships among diverse individual subjects and social categories through the bureaucratic framework to secure cohesion (Poulantzas, 1978, Jessop, 1985).

Gramsci introduces the concept of hegemony as a category distinct from dominance, and emphasizes the role of organic relations between civil society (trade unions, political parties, mass education, voluntary associations, interest groups, *etc*.) and state in its exercise (Gramsci, 1971).[13] What distinguishes hegemony is the establishment of *active consent*, albeit backed by the threat of coercion, in society. Thus, Gramsci envisages state to be comprised of all practical and theoretical activities that ruling groups use not only to justify and maintain dominance, but also win the active consent of the ruled (Gramsci, 1971). The state is made up of both political society and civil society, where civil society is a field connected to the state through the rhythms of everyday life (Burawoy, 2003).[14]

Consent is never spontaneous, but needs to be formed. It is based on the intellectual, moral, and political leadership and persuasion of the dominant group(s). It is

[13] Arguably, an elaborate treatment of the ways in which various social relations are articulated by the exercise of state power has been absent from the Marxian state theory until Gramsci's work. One reason for this absence is the underlying assumption in most of this literature that economic forces, coupled with the necessary juridico-political form, can ensure expanded reproduction of capital. Gramsci, on the other hand, refuses to reduce political practice to an automatic effect of class relations (Jessop, 1982).

[14] It is important to note, at this point, how the Gramscian concept of civil society is positioned vis-à-vis the commonly held and naïve conception of civil society as a space separate and autonomous from the state, where all social demands can be organized and voiced to realize specific effects in state policy or where oppositional movements can be mounted (Buttigieg, 2005). Instead, civil society, as a domain interlinked to the state serves a vehicle of domination as well as a terrain of contestation.

organized through specific institutions, and backed by force. The attempt, however, is to always ensure that force also appears to be based on consent of the majority.

Within this context, Gramsci and Gramscian scholars (such as Nicos Poulantzas, Joseph Buttigieg, and Bob Jessop) examined how political support is established and/or undermined through economic, political and ideological practices that go beyond the field of class relations and include the whole field of social relations. These practices, instrumental in forging hegemony, can involve short-term material concessions to subordinate groups elaborated via specific forms of representation and intervention (Burawoy, 2003; Jessop, 1982, 1985). They can also be based on the inclusion of elements of alternative (e.g. petty bourgeoisie, working-class) ideologies into the dominant ideology as a condition of successfully cementing social cohesion and establishing hegemony (Poulantzas, 1978, Jessop, 1985).

Hegemony, however, is never absolute and is always prone to crises. The hegemonic function of the state breaks down when dominant groups fail to establish leadership and constitute the national-popular outlook. Gramsci (1971), for instance, discusses the Italian case where the dominant class failed to elicit the active consent of the ruled but instead relied on the continuing absorption of political and intellectual leaders of subordinate groups into the ruling class. Poulantzas (1979), on the other hand, discusses crisis of the hegemony in terms of a transition to the exceptional state form. When active consent cannot be established via organic state-society links, a repressive state apparatus, increased bureaucratization, and material concessions to subordinate classes are substituted in its place.

Gramscian scholars consider the dialectics between state and society within this framework. State form and interventions influence social/political forces asymmetrically. Fragmentation of the society by multiple interests implies that state action will benefit some and hurt others. On the other hand, as the state's hegemonic function rests upon the facilitation of diverse social interests, the state form reflects, in part, the overall structure of society—including, but not limited to, economic relations and the dominant mode of production—and the balance of power between different groups.[15] Although this is an admittedly vague formulation of the society-state link, further precision differs across contexts. The specifics of how society's configuration casts upon the state depend on its mediation: to rephrase Poulantzas (1978), state power is an institutionally mediated effect of the balance among forces within the society in a given context.

Not all forces have the same weight in the balance, i.e. states are not equally responsive to all groups in society. That is to say, demands that pose fundamental threats to the hegemonic project do not receive consideration. In addition to the selective responsiveness of the state to different interests, social groups vary in their ability to access forms of representation (e.g. parliamentary democracy or clientelism) and realize their interests through political action (Jessop, 1982). Even when access is acquired to the various forms of representation, certain demands will be taken into consideration whereas others will not. The state is not and cannot be a neutral instrument; structures of political representation and forms of state intervention involve differential access to state

[15] While many Marxian treatments of the state fall into economism in claiming that the economic base determines the state form (e.g. state interventions reflect the needs of capitalist reproduction), Gramscian scholars argue that political practice cannot be reduced to economic relations (Gramsci, 1971; Jessop, 1982).

apparatuses and opportunities to realize social demands, with further implications on future ability to form and articulate them.

To recapitulate, the Gramscian framework throws light on the multitude of asymmetric influences between state and society. In doing so, it underscores how hegemony is continually reproduced and contested by practices beyond economic relations. As such, it provides a road map in understanding the exercise of state power within, rather than towards, the social sphere. I maintain in the following section that this dialectical, non-economistic framework of the state-society relationship is well-suited to tackle the particular ontologies of the Turkish state.

2.5 The Turkish State in a Gramscian Light

The last section drew the contours of how the state is treated by two different schools of thought, neoclassical economics and Marxian tradition, and sketched the alternative Gramscian theorizations of the state in some detail. This section operationalizes the Gramscian state-analytical framework to tackle the stylized features of the Turkish state discussed in section 2.3.[16] In doing so, I trace the historical origins and persistence of these features to the building and re-establishment of state hegemony in Turkey. Furthermore, I explicitly consider the constitution of the civil society sphere *vis-à-vis* the Turkish state and point out its implications in terms of sustainable development implementation.

[16] This section is not intended to explain all aspects of the Turkish state or historically analyze changes in the composition and balance of power in the ruling groups in Turkey. See, for instance, Öncü (2003) for a Gramscian treatment of the history of the Turkish state where he traces changes in state policy corresponding to changes in the composition of the hegemonic bloc.

Specifically, I demonstrate that the persistence of modernization as a societal goal can be explained by its construction as the national-popular outlook, whereas paternalism and patronage symptomize an atypical hegemonic project marked by the absence of organic links between the Turkish state and society. That is to say, I address the links between these three prominent features within the Gramscian framework. Finally, I analyze the weakness of civil society within the context of the Turkish state's hegemonic project by exploring the dialectics of state and society in Turkey, and frame it in terms of the state's structural selectivity in allowing and responding to social demands.

The Gramscian perspective is apt for the purposes of the present work for a number of reasons. As it rejects the economism/class-reductionism inherent in many Marxian treatments of state, and sheds light on non-economic motivations behind state actions/political behavior and non-economic dimensions of power, it is suited to tackle the particularities of the Turkish context. While section 2.3 hinted at some of them, a more explicit statement of these particularities is necessary to provide the reader with a background on the Turkish state.

The state in Turkey is distinct from Western capitalist states, most notably in the incapacity of the weak capitalist class to demand political power at the birth of the republic. The motives of the bureaucratic-military elite, i.e. the elevation of Turkish society to the level of modernity, who substituted for the domestic bourgeoisie, transcended economic stakes. Similarly, struggles that surfaced after the 1950s to capture and dominate the state apparatus were not on strictly economic/class terms, but reflected different divisions within the dominant groups. Clearly, this state form defies the economistic/simplistic vision of the state as essentially a class tool utilized for

reproduction of capitalism. It calls for a framework in which the non-economic motivations (such as aspirations to transform society) of the state elites, and practices to legitimize and re-establish their dominance can be analyzed. The Gramscian treatments of the state offer this framework.

The Gramscian perspective also offers the most articulate treatment of state-society dialectics. In this perspective, both state and society are conceptualized as heterogeneous sites; the conflicts within dominant groups and the multiplicity of interests on the side of the society are underlined. The historical constitution of state and society in Turkey can be unveiled in this framework. Rather than rendering Turkish society as a multitude governed by the state, Gramscian light displays the state's uneven impacts on the society and the differential abilities of different groups to access the state.

2.5.1 Growth-Oriented Modernization

İnsel (1996), in his study of how the state strived to both radically transform the society and maintain social order in Turkey, claims that the Turkish state constituted and dominated the social sphere and the social imagery through its interventions in the economic sphere to achieve modernization. Following İnsel, I hold that the goal of achieving modernization via economic growth serves as an instrument for the Turkish state to establish hegemony over the society. That is to say, the state's motive in pursuing this goal is not merely realizing economic development, but also legitimizing and strengthening its existence.

The Turkish state achieved its power and legitimacy, first and foremost, from the promise of fulfilling the ideal of modernization. The logic of Turkish state's modernist vision, and its construction of the economic sphere (e.g. support and development of the

feeble domestic bourgeoisie; establishment of state-owned enterprises), enabled it to extend and reproduce its power over society.[17] Even after the domestic bourgeoisie gained strength, for instance, it always functioned within limits defined by the state and remained "statist;" it did not "step out of line" to demand political power and/or autonomy and remained within the paternalist ethic of the Turkish state (Keyder, 1989; İnsel, 1996).

Besides being the means through which the Turkish state directly established and reproduced its power within society, the urgency to modernize and realize economic growth constituted the national-popular outlook around which a relative unity of social forces was formed. As Eralp (1990) has observed, this was conceived as a national endeavor, a common goal, questioning of which would be unpatriotic. As such, the Turkish state was able to represent itself as a neutral institution that embodied the collective will, and to gain the consent of its constituency. My argument is not that the "real" motivation underlying the pursuit of modernization/Westernization via rapid economic growth was to consolidate Turkish state's hegemony; there are historical reasons why this motive came to be prioritized by the state elite, dating back to their disillusionment with the demise of the Ottoman Empire (Arsel, 2005). But the aspiration to modernize was effectively established as the general/collective interest of Turkish society through which the consent of the dominated classes (and of different factions within dominant classes) was acquired.

[17] İnsel (1996) analyzes the case of state-owned enterprises as an exemplar of this. He claims that state-owned enterprises served beyond mere economic purposes since, by enabling state's existence within society, they reproduced state power within the social realm.

The general absence of societal contestation in the face of such rapid transformations can be situated within this context. Although challenges to the modernization project emerged especially after 1980s, these critiques were not of modernization *per se*, but rather of its top-down implementation and, at times, its strict interpretation as a replica of the Western model (Keyder, 1997). Arsel (2005) rightly observes that although the foundations of the modern republic (such as secularism and unitary nationalism) have been challenged by different political forces at times, the connections between progress, developmentalism and economic growth have not been contested.

That the discourses of the two main parties of parliamentary politics were dominated by developmentalism is illustrative in this respect. Keyder (1989) states that the discourses of both the Republican People's Party—the traditional party of the military-bureaucratic elite—and the resurgent Democrat Party—the main oppositional party that came to power in the 1950s. These political discourses constituted economic growth as the common goal where distributional questions and social justice were left as side issues. That is to say, the clashes between the two parties were not centered on the validity of the developmentalist goals to achieve modernization nor related to distribution and social justice. The main *problématique* in the political landscape was related to how to best use state power to realize economic growth.

The constitution of this general/collective interest involved the portrayal of society by the Turkish state as a homogeneous entity with no internal divisions.[18] Since

[18] The Turkish republic inherited, from the Ottoman times, a social sphere fractured "vertically", i.e. divided not along class lines, but more along occupational and religious lines (Keyder, 1989; İnsel, 1996). The basic cleavage in Turkish polity continued to be

modernization was the prioritized concern, society was to be unified behind this goal, where even questioning its validity was considered unpatriotic (Eralp, 1990). This allowed the Turkish state to preempt opposition mobilized around issues such as social justice and distribution/redistribution. Class-based inequalities, for instance, were brushed aside since "classes" have been invisible to begin with; there were no classes, but rather a division of labor among the Turkish citizenry where each and every individual worked hard to elevate the country to the level of Western civilization. Establishing the national-popular outlook as modernization via economic growth served to unify different groups around this "universal goal" and prevented the formulation of demands arising out of intra-society divisions. Thus, I argue that Turkish state's hegemonic project was built around this outlook that could, albeit not indefinitely, resolve the conflict between particular interests and the "general interest".

The realization of economic growth was also a requisite to reproduce the hegemony of the Turkish state by enabling the distribution of material concessions to subordinate classes to ensure their consent. As mentioned in section 2.4.3, Gramscian scholars have noted that the acquisition of consent can involve granting short-term material concessions to the subordinate classes. Keyder's (1989) observation that the Turkish state managed to maintain legitimacy by its generosity as long as the urban petty bourgeoisie and rural small producers could be subsidized can be interpreted in this vein. Keyder (1989) argues that even the most impoverished groups in society were co-opted by material improvements to their living standards. He further demonstrates how, with

---

between the state and the society (Heper, 1985; Aydın, 2005). The state made use of such vertical fragmentation of the society to prevent the formation of a wide-spread and well-organized opposition movement (İnsel, 1996).

slackened economic growth during 1970s, distributional conflicts surfaced. With increased marginalization of petty bourgeoisie and heightened regional disparities, it became increasingly difficult to disguise the conflicts on how the costs of the developmentalist agenda were to be distributed. The collective interest, realization of economic growth, could no longer guarantee social cohesion and elicit the consent of the ruled. On the contrary, economic growth proved to be the main source of conflict.

As I have stated earlier, the preeminence of modernization as a societal goal and its privileged operationalization via economic growth remains largely unchallenged in contemporary Turkey. The Turkish state is reluctant to implement measures that can potentially jeopardize the realization of economic growth. In a context where economic growth reigns supreme over all other concerns, any societal demands that might conflict with the dictates of growth-oriented modernization are discarded by the state. For these reasons, the willingness of the Turkish state to implement sustainable development is, to say the least, dubious.

2.5.2 Paternalism

The paternalistic tradition of governance in Turkey is commonly traced back to the Ottoman past of the Turkish Republic.[19] The politically dominant group in the Ottoman system was a socio-cultural elite, rather than a bourgeois class, as was typically the case in its Western counterparts. This group transformed itself into the political elite that dominated the state when the Turkish Republic was born. Keyder (1989) attributes the bureaucracy's assumption of this role to the weakness of the domestic bourgeois

[19] For a detailed treatment of the linkages between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic in terms of governance style and nature of bureaucracy, see, for instance, Heper (1985), İnsel (1996), and Keyder (1997).

class. Historically, the Ottoman agricultural sector had been marked with lack of big landownership that could potentially transform into a national capitalist class. Added to that was the expulsion of non-Muslim bourgeoisie in the early years of the republic, which effectively eliminated almost all domestic bourgeoisie.

With the founding of the republic, the political elite undertook of the task of modernizing what they perceived as a culturally and economically backward society. Such portrayal of the Turkish society in the eyes of the state elite necessitated its treatment with a mixture of benevolent paternalism and contempt (Adaman & Arsel, 2010, forthcoming; Heper, 1985). The Turkish state, of which this elite was an organic part, acted almost independently of the society as the privileged and sovereign subjects of this top-down transformation.[20] Since there were no social groups that in fact demanded and/or supported the project of rapid modernization, the Turkish state relied on its own cadres in its operationalization (İnsel, 1996). That is to say, although modernization and economic growth had become the collective interest, as argued in the preceding section, it had not been constituted as an aggregation of different interests that had existed in the society.

This context produced and justified the distance between the paternalist Turkish state and society, since the state had to act autonomously in order to realize

[20] There is a broad consensus within the literature on the Turkish state that the political elite of the newly founded republic went unchallenged until at least the 1950s. During 1950s, it was clear that the power and legitimacy of the bureaucratic elite to steer social, economic and political life had weakened, as evidenced by the election of the Democrat Party to government. This is commonly attributed to the fact that national bourgeoisie had then grown powerful enough to claim political power (Keyder, 1989; Sunar, 2004). This shift in the balance of power should not be taken to imply that bureaucracy lost all grounds; as Heper (1985) observes, it still exercised considerable power in molding state policy according to its views.

modernization; it had to be capable of formulating and operationalizing goals independently of societal demands (Aydın, 2005). A paternalistic, top-down style of governance served as the driving force of modernization and paved the way to pursue policies "for society, against society" (İnsel, 1996). As such, the state continued to acquire its legitimacy not from its citizens, but from the validity of the national-popular outlook (Heper, 1985).

In a way, the modernist vision and developmentalist agenda of the Turkish state enabled the perpetuation of its paternalism. The state elite single-handedly carried out reforms in line with its modernist vision, including the adoption of the Latin alphabet, banning of Islamic attires, and establishment of a legal system borrowed from Europe. Meanwhile, the creation of a state-dependent industrial bourgeoisie preempted the bourgeoisie's potential to demand autonomy and political power. Contrary to the supposition that the bourgeoisie would demand political power and impose its values on civil bureaucracy as it grew stronger, Turkish bureaucracy remained dominant over all social forces (İnsel, 1996).[21] By disallowing any autonomy in civil society and actively interfering in the economic sphere (and constructing national unity behind the goal of modernization), the Turkish bureaucracy reproduced its position over and above society (Keyder, 1989). The "Father-state", a term used widely in Turkey, was all-knowing and all-powerful. Control, co-optation and regulation, rather than consultation and coordination, marked the way the state related to society (Sunar, 2004).

[21] Certainly, this is not to suggest that the Turkish bureaucracy could always retain its power over society. It is widely accepted that the Democratic Party's coming to power in 1950 marks the loss of power and autonomy for the bureaucratic elite.

Such authoritarian, paternalist state forms have been addressed in reference to the crisis of hegemony within the Gramscian literature. Gramsci (1971) discusses them in his formulation of the "Passive Revolution," where far-reaching modifications in a country's economic structure are made from above through the agency of state apparatuses, without relying on the active consent of the people. He distinguishes it as state domination, rather than state hegemony. Poulantzas (1979) elaborates on such exceptional state forms associated with a repressive state apparatus and increased bureaucratization, and argues that they may emerge when the bourgeoisie fails to establish its leadership and to constitute a national-popular outlook. Accordingly, this state form is reflective of the imperatives of economic intervention and the instability of hegemony, as the resulting ideological and political crisis cannot be resolved by normal democratic means.

I am reluctant, however, to interpret the Turkish state's strong bureaucratic tradition and paternalistic style of governance strictly in these terms.[22] I argue that the persistence of paternalism as a style of governance in Turkey cannot be explained only by the bourgeoisie's failure to consolidate a hegemonic project. As noted above, Gramsci used the term "Passive Revolution" to denote a variety of historical processes and contexts where authoritarian state forms emerged, but seems to have perceived it as a transitory phase. An implicit conviction or an explicit recognition that the intention of state domination is for the bourgeoisie to mature, and that it ends after it serves its purpose, can be read in his discussion. Poulantzas's arguments, on the other hand, imply a somewhat chronological transition from a "normal" state form where hegemony is

[22] Jessop (1982) claims that the state can be examined in relation to axes of determination other than class; for instance by sketching the state as a site of officialdom vs. people relations. Since the political sphere is institutionally separate from the economic, relations among political categories are relatively autonomous from class relations; it is therefore important to examine the overall structure of social formation.

consolidated (via representative democratic institutions) to an authoritarian one, when hegemonic function breaks down. He attributes this transition largely to the instability of monopoly capital, and addresses authoritarian means as the tools that the bourgeoisie resorts to in the face of economic instability.

The Turkish case eludes these formulations. As I have stated before, a national bourgeoisie that is capable of demanding political power and undertaking the hegemonic project did not exist at the time the Turkish state was founded. Even after it was created and strengthened by the Turkish state, the bourgeoisie was unable to establish hegemony over the bureaucratic-military elite. It would therefore be inappropriate, in my view, to characterize paternalism as a transitory period or situate it *vis-à-vis* the breakdown of a hegemonic function that could never be fully accomplished by the Turkish bourgeoisie.

More importantly, I hold that the Turkish bureaucratic elite had an independent motivation of positioning itself over and above the society, and reproducing its position (Keyder, 1989). Furthermore, these motivations went well beyond economic interests and embodied aspirations to be modern. The state elite envisioned and consequently rendered themselves as the privileged subjects who were capable of transforming society as a whole to this end. Therefore, it would be misleading to attribute paternalism of the Turkish state solely to class-based relationships whereby paternalistic governance and authoritarianism are reduced to reflexes against the breakdown of hegemonic function. Rather, as I attempted above, it should be considered within the historical context as a function of both economic (and class) and non-economic determinants.

To reiterate, the paternalism of the Turkish state hampers sustainable development implementation mainly in two ways; through its reactive stance against

sustainable development, and the distrust and distance it produces in state-society relationships. In addition, I hold that two factors stemming from paternalism further impinge on sustainable development implementation. The first relates to incentive issues embodied in governance structure that lead to motivational problems characterizing the local bureaucracy's performance. I argue that the paternalistic mode of governance has shaped the central bureaucracy's relationship not only with the society, but also with the local bureaucracy. This is manifested in the central government's conviction that "carrots" are unnecessary forms of encouragement; local bureaucrats should already be performing well because it is their duty. Added to this is lack of trust to local bureaucrats and reluctance to give them autonomy. Secondly, tensions associated with top-down policy implementation are usually resolved through measures based on particularistic interactions. The role and impact of such interactions are taken up in the next section.

2.5.3 Patronage

Yet another persistent characteristic of the Turkish state is the predominance of patron-client type of networks in state-society relationships. Scholars of the Turkish state agree that patron-client networks began to gain dominance in the 1950s with the dismantling of the absolute paternalism of the state, marked by the end of the single-party system and the election of the Democrat Party (DP) to power; the major opposition to the Republican People's Party (RPP) backed by the state elite.[23] There is similar consensus that the dominance of the patron-client type political dynamic is a byproduct of the top-

[23] For a detailed treatment of this issue, see, for instance Güneş-Ayata (1994) and Sunar (1990). Although patronage is usually mostly considered an instrument the DP used to consolidate social support against the ruling political elite, Güneş-Ayata (1994) demonstrates that it was also used by the RPP as a participative strategy.

down modernization process (Keyman & Öniş, 2007; Sunar, 1996, 2004). As stated in the previous subsection, patronage has been the main venue in which contestation evoked by state policies is handled.

It is worth reiterating that the type of patronage relations witnessed in Turkey cannot be grasped completely within standard formulations of the economics literature. Patron-client networks in Turkey are markedly different than corruption/bribery type activities, which has been the main topic of analysis by economics, i.e. where one party offers a bribe to another, not necessarily involving a personal relationship. Instead, patronage works as a reciprocity-based relationship, not based on calculations of the "true value" of what is being exchanged. It typically lasts over time and operates through social connections. Furthermore, the parties involved in patronage interactions are rather unaware that they are violating the public interest.

Unfortunately, the Gramscian framework does not offer much in terms of handling this issue, either. Although patron-client type relationships have never been conceptualized fully within the Gramscian literature, Gramsci considers corruption in passing, saying:

> Between consent and force stands corruption/fraud (which is characteristic of certain situations when it is hard to exercise the hegemonic function, and when the use of force is too risky). This consists in procuring the demoralization and paralysis of the antagonist (or antagonists) by buying its leaders—either covertly, or, in case of imminent danger, openly—in order to sow disarray and confusion in its ranks (Gramsci, 1971, 80n).

This observation is based on the assumption that there exists a well-organized opposition movement, whose leaders are "bought". As will be explained in detail later in this chapter, such an opposition could hardly ever be formed in Turkey. Furthermore, the contexts in which patron-client type interactions occur are far from such well-defined

situations, but rather extended in numerous spheres of policy-making and implementation. Therefore, I choose to utilize and analyze a broader understanding of patron-client networks in the case of Turkey.

The sociology literature offers more to address the type of patronage activities witnessed in Turkey. Granovetter (2007), summarizing the literature, states that definitions of "integrity" or "bribery" are elastic, time and context-dependent. He argues that groups with conflicting interests present different sets of standards for what behavior is appropriate/legitimate. What is considered "corrupt" may result from the balance of power among groups struggling to define the dominant view and label behavior that benefits competing groups as illegitimate. Judgments about what is legitimate is a part of the larger normative framework, which itself is enacted, reproduced and changed over the course of everyday life. Seen at the light of these arguments, the fact that parties involved in clientelist networks in Turkey do not recognize their actions as violations of public interest does not come as a surprise.

The literature that Granovetter summarizes provides a richer range of corruption activities (than the standard economics literature) within which patron-client networks in Turkey can be situated. He states that prevalent social principles and the particular history of an exchange relationship govern the notion of what is appropriate in that exchange relationship. Which norm applies in a certain situation and how it is to be interpreted depends on the relationship between the exchanging parties, such as the social status differential between the parties, past obligations accumulated, and the general social

milieu surrounding the transaction; the form and longevity of the flow between the involved parties are functions of these factors.[24]

Accordingly, the case of patron-client relationships demonstrates an exchange between politicians engaging in a relationship with lower-status constituents, where favors flow down (e.g. employment, public works, items controlled by those in the government) and political support flows up. This exchange is usually a long-term relationship since politicians like to ensure and sustain support. Furthermore, loyalty and subordination offered by the constituents in return can be "real", in the sense of exceeding what the incentives prescribe. Clients might not be mere utility-maximizing agents who defect when incentives change and their loyalty might stick even when the incentive structure shifts (Granovetter, 2007).

This formulation proves apt for analyzing the Turkish case. Building on this formulation and the Gramscian concept of hegemony as the combination of consent and coercion, I hold that patronage can be situated within the hegemonic function of the Turkish state since it became the primary way through which the Turkish state tried to elicit and consolidate social support. Instead of establishing *active* consent via persuasion and opening up venues for the articulation of particular interests, dominant groups relied on patron-client networks to safeguard state hegemony. As such, they replaced organic

[24] Granovetter, building on empirical evidence, underlines the importance of status differentials. Accordingly, when bureaucrats are of lower status than businessmen, the form is usually monetary exchanges, e.g. bribery. When the bureaucrats are of higher status, bribes would be considered insulting and the form is usually long-term elaborated gifts and favors.

ties and institutionalized channels between state and society, which characterize most Western capitalist states, in building consent.[25]

Seen in this light, patron-client networks emerge as a specific form of representation (Jessop, 1982).[26] Similar to formal representation mechanisms, such as parliamentary democracy or civil society organizations, they are often characterized by differential accessibility by social groups. That is to say, some groups would find it easier than others to effectively utilize patron-client networks to formulate and realize their demands. Conceivably, patronage networks would be closed to demands that are fundamentally at odds with the Turkish state's hegemonic project. It does not seem plausible, for instance, that demands for environmental protection at the expense of economic growth could make their way onto the state agenda even through patronage channels. In addition, as discussed in section 2.3.3, patronage networks operate through social connections, implying their selective accessibility.

This understanding of patron-client networks is consistent with arguments made by scholars of the Turkish state on the role and roots of such networks. Sunar (2004), for instance, states that the Turkish state desired to elicit social support consistent with the ideological core tenets of the republic via clientelism, and there was no other way to gain social support in the context of a top-down modernizing state and an unreconstructed traditional society. Patron-client type interactions are in effect mechanisms to overcome

[25] The absence of organic ties between the state and civil society should be seen in light of the Turkish state's paternalism and distance from society.

[26] Jessop (1982) states that state hegemony can be established through the use of various systems of political representation, including clientelism, corporatism, parliamentarism, pluralism, and raison d'état. In this respect, he considers how different forms of representation can be used to complement state intervention by giving the example of corporatism supplementing liberal parliamentarism under monopoly capitalism.

the distance between state and society, and were used to elicit support. Aydın (2005) argues that clientelist networks have been used to demonstrate to the masses that the state was serving their interests.

In a related vein, it has been noted that clientelism has been deployed by the Turkish state to co-opt oppositional forces and had a smothering effect on the formation of an autonomous movement within the social sphere. İnsel (1996), discussing patronage within the context of civil society, claims that while civil society began to exist as a more autonomous field in the post-1980 period, its political operationalization was dominated by patronage, where one group would acquire benefits by virtue of having a member with access to financial opportunities. Keyder (1989), on the other hand, posits that patronage and populism became channels of co-opting opposition against the state and hindered the formation of an autonomous civil society. It seems, therefore, that patron-client networks fulfilled the double function of co-opting oppositional movements and preempting any autonomy that could have been claimed within the sphere of civil society.

To summarize, patronage networks—portrayed here as an integral component of the Turkish state's hegemonic practices—persist as unevenly accessed mechanisms that link state and society. The predominance of such networks has obvious efficiency and equity implications, as they are major obstacles to effective implementation of state policies in general and sustainable development implementation in particular.

2.5.4 The Castration of Civil Society

Lastly, I consider how Turkish society was constituted *vis-à-vis* the Turkish state, as the specific articulation of civil society in Turkey by the hegemonic practices of the state emerges as another pillar in the failure of sustainable development. The qualitative

weakness of civil society in Turkey has been briefly touched upon in a couple of instances. In this section, I elucidate the ways in which state and society shape one another, and trace the implications of state-society dialectics on sustainable development implementation. Specifically, I maintain that the trinity of modernization, paternalism and patronage smothered civil society in Turkey and reinforced the failure of sustainable development implementation.

To reiterate, I hold that the state and society are constituted in relation to each other, most importantly through the state's hegemonic function. An integral part of the hegemonic project is based on the links between state and society; civil society, therefore, is not a site of complete autonomy, but rather a realm where hegemony is exercised (Buttigieg, 2005).[27] Moreover, state structure and intervention have an impact on the balance of power between different groups in society, as well as on forms of political action open to them and their future abilities to organize and realize interests (Jessop, 1982).

Such dialectical lines between state and society can be identified in the case of Turkey. I have claimed previously that modernization (via economic growth) had been the national-popular outlook through which the Turkish state elicited consent. The state envisioned society as unified around this general interest, and did not approach it as a space containing individualism, pluralism, participation and claims to difference (Keyman & Öniş, 2007). Consequently, demands associated with intra-society conflicts were consistently denied validity (Keyder, 1989); this had a further, path-dependency-

[27] This does not imply, of course, that there is no terrain of contestation within the civil society. Yet one needs to move beyond such simplistic accounts to have a more comprehensive understanding of how state and society shape one another.

like effect on which demands would acquire legitimacy and momentum in the future. Within this context, Keyman & Öniş (2007) underline the fact that only civil society activities that were constitutive of the Turkish state's organic vision of society and reproduced the state-citizen unity were permissible in the eyes of the Turkish state.[28]

I deploy the concept of hegemony and structural selectivity in explain the differential validity of societal demands in Turkey.[29] That is to say, I hold that the Turkish state systematically excluded demands that constituted threats to its hegemonic project; namely, those that were incompatible with the national-popular outlook—growth-oriented modernization—and/or the homogenous vision of society that the construction of the national-popular outlook required, such as demands related to equitable distribution and those based on identity or class politics. Demands that fundamentally challenged these two pillars of the state's hegemonic project were deemed to be unpatriotic or divisive of national unity. Thus, groups with different demands were affected differently in their ability to represent and realize them, as well as in their prospective capability to do so.

Observations of the efficacy (or inefficacy) of civil society movements in Turkey attest to the state's selective responsiveness. In general, the state's interaction with civil society movements has been marked with control and/or co-optation (Paker, 2005). This

[28] Keyman and Öniş mark the 1980s as a breaking point at which the crisis of state-centricism culminated and demands that in the past could not be situated within the organic vision of society surfaced. They argue that with the growing gap between the state and societal demands (due to a combination of market liberalization, crisis of representation and crisis of bureaucracy during the early 1980s), demands that challenge the organic vision of society became more pronounced, as demonstrated in the case of Kurdish movement questioning the notion of ethnic homogeneity.

[29] I further argue that the Turkish state was structurally selective at the stage of allowing the formulation of demands, more that their representation and articulation.

pattern can be framed in terms of the state's selective responsiveness outlined above. Arsel (2005) and Aydın (2005) observe that civil society activities in general, and environmental movements in particular, have to demonstrate their commitment to some type of modernization agenda (read: national-popular outlook) to be successful. When the activities of environmental NGO's relate environmental issues with overall development policies (read: challenge the state's hegemonic project), the state either ignores them or tries to prevent their activities.[30]

Upon this selectively colored landscape of civil society lies the paternalistic gaze of the Turkish state. It has been argued that the paternalist style of governance, conceptualized in this dissertation as a necessary practice of the Turkish state' hegemonic project, has led to the smothering of civil society autonomy and effectively prevented the formation of social opposition against the state (İnsel, 1996; Keyder, 1989).[31] The fact that the strong, centralist state had historically carried out institutional reforms, without being backed by a social movement, prevented a civic culture of opposition and struggle to develop in Turkey (Heper, 1985; Keyder, 1989).[32]

---

[30] It is worth noting that economic development is actually not envisaged as an end in itself, but rather as one—privileged—component of a larger civilizational goal. Adaman and Arsel (2005) claim that a civilizational understanding of societal development makes the introduction of new goals or the revision of existing ones possible. Therefore, they argue, the challenge lies in integrating the discourse of developmentalism with that of environmentalism.

[31] Keyder (1989) demonstrates this by using the industrial bourgeoisie's relationship with the state as a case in point. He argues that the limited domestic bourgeoisie that began to flourish under the guidance of the Turkish state avoided any conflict with the political elite; they preferred not to demand autonomy vis-à-vis the bureaucracy and failed to acquire independent political power. İnsel (1996) makes a similar argument in stating that the bourgeoisie in fact desired the guidance and guardianship of the state and did not want to move beyond state control.

[32] Keyder (1989) further observes that in the absence of an established political culture of opposition, dissent against the state was often voiced in the language of Islamic

The particular way that the state hegemony was constituted in Turkey corresponded to specific ways that state-society links have been realized. As I have noted above, the state-society relationship in Turkey was not based on eliciting *active* consent effectuated by the articulation of diverse interests through specific forms of representation; there was no space for diverse interests to arise. Organic relations between civil society and state in the Gramscian sense (e.g. mass political parties, socio-cultural movements, *etc*.) and apparatuses that would operationalize those relations were not established (İnsel, 1996).[33] The absence of such links typically found in Western capitalist states can partly be attributed to the specific way that hegemony was constituted in Turkey. A citizenship model based on the principle of national unity served as the link between state and society (Keyman & Öniş, 2007). Citizenship rights came to be conceived as being exercisable to the extent allowed by the state; this vision was deepened by the state's retrospective modifications of law, as evidenced during military coups.

Building on these arguments and Keyder's (1989) observation that reluctance to oppose state authority was historically reproduced in all social, economic and political institutions, I argue that the constitution of hegemony in Turkey relied not so much on acquiring active consent as it did on the preemption of opposition. When opposition did emerge, patron-client networks were the predominant way that it was dealt with.

---

conservatism (i.e. giving religion its former status in social life) in order to gain support and legitimacy.

[33] İnsel further argues that in the absence of hegemonic tools embedded in society, the state used state-owned economic enterprises to enforce its presence within the social sphere.

Representation and articulation of interests via patronage further thwarted civil society to become a realm of struggle and opposition.

So far, I have tried to illuminate how the Turkish state's hegemonic project moulded the civil society. The effective castration of civil society in turn reinforced the Turkish state form. İnsel (1996), underscoring the dialectics between state and society, argues that authoritarian, centralist way in which state relates to society shapes social imagery; this imagery, in turn, legitimizes the authoritarian state form and its domination over society. Heper (1985), in a parallel vein, draws links between state and society forms in different contexts, and concludes that the incapacitated civil society in Turkey reproduced the paternal, distant Turkish state.

Given that this is how the sphere of civil society was shaped historically, it was hardly ever a terrain of struggle or autonomy. The impacts of modernization in the form of the national-popular outlook, paternalistic governance and patronage emerge as important determinants of how effectively social demands can be formed and articulated. The outcome, as many have observed, is the absence of a rights-based political culture, and a qualitatively under-developed, yet quantitatively growing, civil society (İnsel, 1996; Keyman & Öniş, 2007).

The emasculation of civil society translates into a political landscape where the quest for growth-oriented modernization is rarely questioned and an overall reluctance to mobilize even in the face of pressing environmental and socio-economic problems. In the absence of effective social mobilization voicing sustainable development demands, the Turkish state has even weaker incentives to implement it.

2.6 From the Structural to the Local: A Framework to Analyze Local Sustainable Development

A significant part of this dissertation is concerned with understanding the Turkish state and its effectiveness in implementing sustainable development in particular, within an analytical framework. The preceding parts of this chapter served this purpose, firstly by accounting for the structural characteristics of the Turkish state that impinge on sustainable development, and then addressing them within a Gramscian state-analytical framework. However, the primary purpose of the dissertation is not theorizing the state *per se*, but rather putting together a framework that analytically conveys state-society-environment relationships at the local level. In this section, I engage in this task by extending and supplementing the state-analytical framework discussed so far.

Before spelling out the framework I utilize, however, let me reiterate why this dissertation adopts a micro-perspective. Contemporary scholarship on sustainable development in Turkey has undoubtedly furthered our understanding of an important paradox. However, the macro approach adopted and the structural explanations provided through this line of work often fall short of painting a detailed and comprehensive picture of local experiences. Such approaches cannot account for the existence and reasons of local deviations from the stylized failure of sustainable development in Turkey. More specifically, macro-level analyses are not equipped to depict how—and through what—structural characteristics are mediated at the local scale. Neither can they unveil how local dynamics (economic, social and political) and development processes impinge on each other. Therefore, delving into local histories and environments would enrich our understanding of sustainable development processes and the ways in which state-society-

environment relationships unravels in different contexts. It would also help produce more nuanced theorizations of the state-society relationship.

In formulating a framework to address the local, I deploy a Gramscian state theory and its applications to the political economy of the environment. That is to say, I situate the states' transformation of the environment within their broader practices to establish and justify their existence. In this framework, the environment and environment-society relationships (including sustainable development policy implementation) are arenas where constitutive practices of hegemony are exercised. States, in enacting and justifying their presence, alter the material landscape and social relations surrounding it. Consider, for instance, the construction of monumental physical structures like dams by states. These structures would both establish the state's existence most visibly, and serve to win consent via promises of benefits a dam would bring by fueling economic growth. Therefore, one of the numerous ways in which states crystallize at the local level, and impinge on sustainable development, is their transformation of local environments and the dynamics embedded within them in their hegemonic quests.

In this vein, a growing body of work from the political ecology literature provides a reading of transformations in the environment-society landscape as projects of state-formation. A number of these works addresses environmental policies, such as enclosures of protected areas and establishment of new resource right regimes, and theorizes them as claims and assertion of control over territory and citizens (Asher & Ojeda, 2009; Goldman, 2004; Neumann, 2004). These studies make the point that states come into being and establish their presence as a legitimate focus of polity through proprietary

claims, and processes of mapping, bounding, and containing the environment and the citizenry. Others, such as Loftus & Lumsden (2008) and Ekers (2009), more explicitly deploy the Gramscian concept of hegemony to pinpoint the remaking of the environment within hegemonic struggles. Loftus & Lumsden (2008) trace how the waterscape in Inanda, South Africa, was altered during the course of the hegemonic struggle between large landowners and newcomer large capital. In doing so, they demonstrate how socio-natural relations comprising the waterscape were reconfigured towards the establishment of a new hegemony based on the moral leadership of large capital. Ekers (2009), on the other hand, investigates the changes in the forestscape of British Columbia, Canada, during state attempts to re-establish hegemony via the provision of public works and training programs in 1930s. He argues that the federal and provincial states' response to the hegemonic crisis precipitated by the Great Depression was to modernize the forestry industry through public works and training programs, and to construct broad socio-natural hegemony.

The works cited above have contributed to a specific understanding of the local; namely the local manifestations of state behavior in establishing/reestablishing hegemony by changing the social-environmental landscape. The "local" in this dissertation, however, connotes more than this. It aims to account for the interplay between local differentiations and sustainable development. I hold that the Gramscian recognition of fragmented society and the multiple ways in which power operates is suited to undertake this task, but needs to be supplemented. To this end, I draw upon a different line of literature which analyzes inequalities in relation to natural resource use and access; the political economy of the environment. In doing so, I aim at connecting Gramscian

political ecology, which focuses on local hegemonic practices of the state, to the political economy of the environment literature, which more explicitly maintains the link between local inequalities and environmental processes as the object of inquiry.

The political economy approach to the environment unpacks the notion of community by delineating axes of inequality dividing communities, such as class, gender, age and ethnicity, and by documenting differing resource access and use by community members. As such, it posits an understanding of environmental processes as being enmeshed in surrounding social, economic and political relations. This literature underscores the typically uneven distribution of benefits and costs accruing from resource use. It highlights that different groups within the community hold different stakes and interests regarding resources; consequently, their incentives to commit to sustainable development differ.

In doing so, the political economy of the environment tradition situates the role of inequalities and power relations as important analytical objects; as Agrawal and Gibson (1999) state, local level processes that negotiate, implement, and resolve issues in resource management are irreducibly influenced by the existing distribution of power. Numerous studies within this tradition investigate the ways in which inequalities are reproduced by environmental degradation and become impediments to enforcing sustainable development (Baland & Platteau, 1999; Boyce, 2002). The shared recognition of the heterogeneous social sphere and focus on power relations operating at multiple scales make the Gramscian framework and the political economy of the environment approach a fitting match.

Two specific lines of work that may be situated within the political economy of the environment tradition warrant further discussion for the purposes of this dissertation. The first is concerned with how local communities overcome free-rider problems when engaging in collective action to manage resources (Ostrom, 1990). The main theme of this branch of scholarship concerns the conditions that induce individuals to cooperate for natural resource management. In addition to the private costs and benefits of cooperation, the role of trust, social norms, and values and knowledge about resources have been highlighted (Ostrom, 1990, Baland & Platteau, 1996). Although a review of this extensive literature is beyond my purposes, I hold that its importance in addressing the role of agency in local sustainable development needs to be emphasized here.

The second and related branch is concerned with participatory decision-making processes in natural resource management. Despite their worldwide implementation, the success of participatory management practices in ensuring effective participation by all local stakeholders often has been questionable. The political economy of the environment approach provides a critical lens through which the workings and outcomes of such mechanisms can be viewed. Specifically, it unveils how local relations of power, e.g. based on gender, wealth or social status, can lead to the marginalization of some groups and, thus, impede effective participation by all (Agarwal, 2001; Adhikari, Di Falco & Lovett, 2004; Agrawal & Gupta, 2005). Power inequalities translate to asymmetric incentives, opportunities and/or challenges in terms of participating in and shaping decision-making processes. Given that different groups are likely to have conflicting interests and needs regarding natural resources, both the process and the outcome of decision-making process would reflect their relative powers (Boyce, 2002). As their

policy outputs typically create winners and losers due to the diversity of interests among local groups, participatory decision-making mechanisms are prone to perpetuate local inequalities. It is, therefore, imperative to consider the political economy of participatory decision-making.

To recapitulate, the present work pulls together Gramscian state theory and the political economy of the environment tradition in formulating a framework to analyze local sustainable development. In line with this framework, I hold that the state's hegemonic practices shape local environments, both directly by altering the physical landscape, and indirectly, by influencing the relations surrounding resource use. A study of local sustainable development, therefore, should account for how the state's hegemonic project is reflected in local histories and shapes the process of sustainable development. Furthermore, I hypothesize that local histories of the state-society interaction are inscribed with asymmetric influences on local communities. That is to say, the state's shaping of the society-environment nexus has uneven impacts on different groups. These impacts go beyond economic gains and losses, and extend to differential abilities in formulating and articulating demands.

This framework unpacks "community". Local processes are imprinted with power inequalities, and that these inequalities involve axes of differentiation that cannot be reduced to strictly economic terms, such as gender, age, ethnicity and social status. Likewise, resource use and access are marked with differentiated needs and interests. Consequently, the distribution of costs and benefits associated with environmental processes are uneven. Therefore, the failure of sustainable development creates winners and losers. The ways in which winning and losing crystallize are context-dependent and

multi-faceted, such as economic benefits and losses; changes in labor time and processes; and differential exposure to environmental risk. In turn, power inequalities can be important impediments to implementing sustainable development. Specifically, power inequalities between those who benefit from worsening environmental quality and those who bear its costs can hinder effective sustainable development implementation.

Within this context, I maintain that community-based schemes of sustainable development, such as co-governance and participatory management, are arenas where local power relations would be manifested. In particular, participatory decision-making mechanisms should be critically examined since local inequalities impinge on different groups' ability to effectively participate. I argue that nominal participation, i.e. mere presence in decision-making mechanisms, veils differential abilities to voice demands and shape outcomes. Therefore, I hypothesize that local power inequalities would be embodied in all dimensions of participation and may lead to the exclusion of some groups.

I further hold that anticipations about the process and outcome of decision-making, e.g. about being taken into account, about decision implementation, *etc*. are important determinants of participation. Anticipations would bear the marks of local power inequalities. That is to say, the powerless groups are more likely to withdraw from effective participation in anticipating that their presence in decision-making mechanisms would be inappropriate or that they would not be "heard" in the decision-making process. I claim that anticipations would also correlate with perceptions of the state, as these perceptions signal the expected success with which decisions would be implemented. Local perceptions of the state can be read as products of the ways that the state relates to

society, and should be situated within manifestations of the state's hegemonic practices. Conceivably, the perception that the state is unwilling to implement sustainable development would hamper participation.

Unlike structuralist approaches, this framework provides space to address the issues of individual agency and collective action. Individuals can (and do) engage in collective action to implement local sustainable development. There are a variety of ways in which collective efforts can be carried out, ranging from contributions made to sustain a specific resource by undertaking certain actions, such as constraining resource use, to contributing to setting up and operating mechanisms for implementing sustainable development. Individual willingness to commit to sustainable development would depend on a number of factors, including cooperative norms, environmental values, and anticipated fairness and success of engaging into collective action, in addition to private costs and benefits of commitment.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has served the purpose of analytically framing the *problématique* that informs the present work; namely, the paradox of sustainable development implementation in Turkey. In doing so, it first laid out the "paradox" and pointed to growing socio-economic inequalities and pressing environmental issues in Turkey, despite the existence of a seemingly ideal mix for sustainable development implementation. It then unpacked this paradox by explaining the state's unwillingness and/or inability to implement sustainable development via its prominent features. In addressing these features within a state-analytical framework, the chapter adopted a

Gramscian formulation of the state and argued that these characteristics are rooted in the Turkish state's practices to establish and maintain its hegemony.

The final section of this chapter was devoted to formulating a theoretical framework to probe into local sustainable development. This framework draws upon both Gramscian state theory and the political economy of the environment approach. In doing so, it highlights the local reflections of the state's hegemonic practices, local social-economic-environmental dynamics and the role of individual agency. The section concluded with general hypotheses regarding local sustainable development.

In the following chapters, the framework formulated in this chapter will be put to work. In Chapter 3, I explain how I operationalize the analytical framework proposed here. I first provide an overview of GEF projects in Turkey and situate them within sustainable development efforts of the state. I also briefly introduce the two sites I have selected as cases in this part. I then explain the methodology I followed in conducting the case studies. Specifically, I discuss the research questions through which I studied local sustainable development and the methods and proxies I utilized in addressing them. The qualitative and quantitative analyses coming out of the case studies, are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 3
OPERATIONALIZING THE QUEST

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 has analytically fenced out an understanding of local sustainable development and depicted general hypotheses regarding the object of the analysis in this dissertation. This chapter presents the concrete cases by which the theoretical framework will be put to operation, and substantiates the specific questions that will be tackled with in this operationalization. To this end, the chapter discusses the details of the case studies conducted in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, including a description of the fieldwork methodology, the goals of the qualitative and quantitative studies, and specifics of the utilization of qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Section 3.2 provides information on the Global Environment Facility, the funding institution of the sustainable development projects in the case study sites, and situates its activities within the recent rise of green global governance. Section 3.3 moves onto the discussion of the Biodiversity and Natural Resource Management Project funded by the Global Environment Facility in Turkey, in which Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon were included as sites to implement prototypes for effective resource management. In this discussion, specific attention is paid to the participatory management component of the project. The setting for the case studies is completed in section 3.4, which provides brief descriptions of the case study sites.

The chapter then engages into the concretization of the framework on which this dissertation builds on. Section 3.5 puts forth the specific questions addressed in the case studies and the main parameters deployed in their investigation. The aims and specifics of

the qualitative and quantitative studies are given in sections 3.5.1, 3.5.2 and 3.5.3, including the desktop research, in-depth interviews and focus groups, and the administration of the survey. Section 3.5.4 concludes.

3.2 The Global Environment Facility (GEF)

Peet and Watts (2004), in observing the increase of attempts to relieve the tensions between economic growth and environmental degradation within the last two decades, underscore two trends in particular: the invention of "sustainable development" to bridge the (impassable, according to the authors) divide between growth and environmental quality, and the rise of global governance, marked by the displacement of environmental regulatory power to unelected and only partially responsible institutions, who are normally dominated by neoliberal growth-based regimes but have learned to turn a sympathetic eye to environmental concerns. Goldman (2005) points to the specific forms of practices (classificatory systems, regulation, use of certain methodological tools and analytical tools) and knowledges that come to be institutionalized by such governance institutions, at the expense of delegitimizing others. The Global Environment Facility is one such institution.

The Global Environment Facility (GEF) is an independent financial entity formed in 1991 as a collaboration of the WB, UNDP and the UNEP. It stands as the largest single source of funding for global environmental protection (GEF, 2005b). It unites 182 member governments to address global environmental issues and to support national sustainable development initiatives exclusively in developing countries. Specifically, the GEF functions as a mechanism of grant provision to developing countries for projects that benefit the global environment and promote sustainable livelihoods in local

communities. The funded projects, in turn, are implemented by one or more of ten designated GEF agencies, which include the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the World Bank, and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), among others. To date, the GEF has allocated $8.8 billions, supplemented by $38.7 billion of co-financing it mobilized, to support more than 2400 projects in more than 165 countries (GEF, 2010).

The GEF activities are focused on six subject areas: biodiversity, international waters, land degradation, ozone depletion, climate change, and persistent organic pollutants. The lion's share of GEF funds is directed at two among these, climate change and biodiversity, which accounted for 34.5 and 35.9 percent of grants disbursed between 1991 and 2005, respectively (GEF, 2005b). Regarding biodiversity, the GEF states its goals as the promotion of the conservation of biodiversity, sustainable resource use, and fair and equitable sharing of benefits of the utilization of genetic resources. In terms of climate change, it aims to develop and transform markets for energy and transportation in developing countries so that they graduate towards less carbon-intensive paths (GEF, 2005b).

The interlinked nature of environmental protection and socio-economic equity is repeatedly emphasized in the GEF documents and integrated (at least rhetorically) in the GEF projects. That achieving sound environmental protection is critical for alleviating poverty, improving health and remedying social inequalities is a recurring theme across pages of publications produced by the institution. The recent attempts at gender mainstreaming (GEF, 2007) and the explicit vision of contributing to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals via the GEF projects (GEF, 2005a) are illustrative in

this respect. Not only does "[t]he GEF sees environmental sustainability as a key solution for meeting economic and social needs in ways that leave a legacy of opportunities for succeeding generations" (GEF, 2005a: p.16), but it also explicitly recognizes how inequalities can lead to ineffective environmental management and protection; it underscores, for instance, the vitality of women's active involvement for efficiency and equitability of environmental management (GEF, 2007).

Parallel to its sustainable development vision is the GEF's focus on local communities and its goal to promote their livelihoods. More specifically, the GEF states its aim as reconciling the needs of local people with environmental protection and improve the quality of local lives. The emphasis on the local is reiterated in the Small Grants Programme of the GEF, administered by the UNDP, which supports community groups and local NGO's in their initiatives to reconcile environmental benefits with sustainable livelihoods. In focusing at the local, the GEF has targeted the establishment of community-based management of natural resources via the projects it has funded in numerous countries. Within the attempts to foster community-based schemes, empowering marginalized groups, such as women, and enabling their active involvement is a central stated objective of the GEF projects.

Insightful treatments of the specific understanding of human-nature relationships operationalized by institutions like the GEF and the truth/power regimes produced with the greening of global governance (or globalizing of green governance) have been undertaken (Goldman, 2005; Zerner, 1994). Engaging in their comprehensive critique is beyond the purposes of this dissertation.[34] What is of primary concern here is the

[34] See, for instance, Goldman (1996, 2005) and Neumann (1996).

effectiveness with which a specific group of GEF projects were implemented in Turkey. I introduce and discuss them in the following section.

3.3 GEF in Turkey: Biodiversity and Natural Resource Management Project

> "The project will establish mechanisms for community management of common resources, such as pastures, forest products and reeds; support sustainable management of agricultural and water resources; provide access to small grants for conservation linked development; employ local individuals, and engage local NGOs and small commercial enterprises in protected area management".
> *Turkey Biodiversity and Natural Resource Management Project, GEF Project Document, p15.*

> "More importantly, the [prescriptive] plans [developed by consultants] were developed without participation of local stakeholders living in and around the sites. Since experience in Turkey and elsewhere indicates that successful conservation management solutions must be developed through a participatory process of stakeholder involvement, management plans developed by the consultants during preparation will not be adopted at the sites but, instead, will be used as a source of background and reference material".
> *Turkey Biodiversity and Natural Resource Management Project, GEF Project Document, p11.*

The Turkish state developed a National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) in 1999 and a National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP) in 2001, with substantial support from the WB and the UNDP. Both can be situated within its recently amplified, albeit mostly ineffective, efforts towards implementing sustainable development (see Chapter 2). The plans identify natural resource management and biodiversity conservation as prioritized areas of environmental problems and identify strategies for addressing them. In particular, the establishment of protected areas and the preparation of management plans for natural resource management and conservation are emphasized. The Turkey Biodiversity and Natural Resource Management Project, funded by the GEF, was initiated in 2000 as a part of this juncture.

The project consisted of two main components, the first of which envisioned preparing a strategy for rationalization of the national legal framework for natural resource management and conservation. The major chunk of the GEF funds, however, was directed at the second component, namely, the establishment and monitoring of prototypes for effective protected area management. These prototypes would, in a nutshell, operationalize participatory planning and regulation of natural resource use. Accordingly, the National Biodiversity Steering Committee, which was formed as a part of the NBSAP, identified four sites where the prototypes would be set up: Camili Forest District, Sultan Sazlığı Protected Area, Köprülü Kanyon National Park and İğneada Protected Area. These four locations were selected since they represent four major biogeographical zones in the country, exemplify the challenges to biodiversity conservation identified in the NBSAP and the NEAP, and hold global and national significance in terms of biodiversity (WB, 2000).

The supervision and coordination responsibility for the establishment of the management prototypes lay with the project advisory committee, comprising of relevant ministries, and the project management team, operating under the Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks (DNCNP) at the national level. On-site implementation of the projects, on the other hand, was undertaken by the protected area management authorities formed in the selected sites. The management authorities were planned to be comprised of local employees of the Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, an accountant, and specialists on biodiversity, community outreach and geographic information systems. Despite the vision of setting such comprehensive management

authorities with a breadth of specialties, the project activities mostly ended up being implemented by local DNCNP employees.

The first excerpt quoted in the beginning of this section encapsulates the vision of the GEF project in setting up prototypes for natural resource management. The main objective, as the excerpt suggests, was to foster decentralized institutional arrangements for local stakeholders to develop and operate conservation and management practices. The main mechanism to accomplish this objective was the preparation and implementation of management plans for the selected sites with the active participation of local people. The GEF project aimed at formulating micro plans for specific resources, where rules and regulations to remedy ongoing environmental problems and shift to sustainable practices would be devised. The regulation decisions would be made by the participation of local people and drafts of plans would be shared with them at all stages. The micro-plans were typically based on the demarcation of resource use zones, rationalization of local use rights and access areas, and quota and time restrictions.[35] Provision of incentives, extension and training would supplement these regulatory measures in promoting sustainable resource use and management.

In addition, the management prototypes aimed to link conservation and economic development, mainly through financially supporting alternative, environment-friendly livelihoods. That addressing socio-economic issues is a prerequisite for successful conservation efforts is explicitly stated as a lesson learnt from past experience (WB, 2000). The GEF project explicitly envisioned directly benefiting the rural poor and

[35] Although the projects have closed and some of the activities listed above have been undertaken, I am reluctant to use a definitive tone and choose to frame them as "planned" not to imply fulfillment, as the cases I have studied suggest largely ineffective implementation.

women by assisting environmentally-responsible and financially-lucrative livelihood practices. To this end, a Small Grants Programme (SGP) was incorporated in the projects to support income-generating activities that would relieve pressure on the natural resources and/or counteract the impacts of use constraints brought by the management plans. Accordingly, cash grants (up to $ 10,000) were distributed upon application to individuals, partnerships and cooperatives within the populations affected by the prototype projects. Consultants and rural development experts were employed to help local people with the application process, development of proposal ideas, and preparation and submission of proposals.

Proposals to be supported by the SGP were selected by a two-stage process. Applications were first assessed by local pre-evaluation committees, comprising of the management authorities and community representatives. Those proposals that qualified after the first round were then sent to the national evaluation committee, who made the final decision. In addition to the general selection standards (contribution to biodiversity conservation, sustainable resource management, capacity development and community awareness), local pre-evaluation committees devised site-specific criteria tailored according to the prevalent issues in the sites.

Although the GEF project officially started in mid-2000, actual on-the-ground activities in line with the establishment of prototypes did not begin until 2003. The three-year delay was mainly due to staffing and capacity-building issues, since the Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks staff, who were responsible of local implementation, had little experience with participatory management mechanisms. This, unsurprisingly, led to communication problems with the local communities and thwarted

implementation. The projects ended with the completion of management plans and the termination of GEF funding in 2007.

That participatory mechanisms have been envisaged in all of the above-mentioned project activities is worth reiterating. The second excerpt quoted earlier is demonstrative of the emphasis put by the GEF on the necessity of local people's participation in the developing and implementing effective management mechanisms. Accordingly, existing resource use and dependencies were supposed to be assessed with the participation of local user groups before micro-plan preparations were initiated. Regulations regarding the use of and access to resources, as well as the institutional arrangements of management, were to be devised and operated by the local stakeholders. In general, participation of local people was to be integrated in all stages of the projects, from the formulation of micro-plans to the design of long-term management strategies, from operationalization of the SGP to the execution of the proposed management structures. It was further stipulated that the disadvantaged groups within the communities, such as women, would be empowered through taking part in project activities.

The GEF projects are by no means exceptional in this respect, given the worldwide implementation of community-based resource management schemes based on the participation of local stakeholders. The main idea behind the growing support for participatory mechanisms is that they create "win-win" situations by providing efficient and equitable solutions to the challenges of natural resource management (Holmes & Scoones, 2000). Such mechanisms are held to be efficiency-enhancing since they produce more effective management practices by incorporating knowledge of local resource users and ensuring higher compliance since rules are devised by stakeholders

(Agrawal & Gupta 2005; Holmes & Scoones, 2000). By allowing local users to voice their needs and priorities, on the other hand, participatory mechanisms are envisioned to provide equitable solutions to management issues and promote social justice.

There is, however, often not all that much flesh attached to this wide advocacy of participatory mechanisms. Although they seem, on paper, to be the panacea of sustainable and equitable resource management, the operationalization of participatory mechanisms remains problematic (e.g. Adhikari, Di Falco & Lovett, 2004; Agarwal, 2001; Agrawal & Gupta, 2005). The success of such mechanisms in ensuring effective participation by all local stakeholders is questionable. Given the fragmentation of local communities along axes of inequality based on wealth, gender, social status, *etc*., it would be naïve, to say the least, to assume that all community members face symmetric incentives, opportunities and/or challenges in terms of participating in decision-making processes.

A glance through the case studies conducted on participatory management mechanisms suggests that exclusion from such mechanisms, or "participatory exclusions" as Bina Agarwal (2001) has called them, are operative at multiple levels. Typically, not all community members hold adequate information about the existence and purpose of participatory mechanisms. In addition, uneven constraints and incentives to participate seem to correlate with local power inequalities. The poor, for instance, are likely to have binding time constraints that prevent them from taking part in decision-making. It has been extensively documented that gender norms of appropriate female behavior and work impinge on women's participation (Agarwal, 2001; 2006). Furthermore, marginalized

sections of local communities might choose not to participate, anticipating that they would not be able to voice opinions or would not be taken into account when they do so.

Local inequalities of power thus emerge as crucial barriers to democratic and effective functioning of participatory management mechanisms. Given that different local groups are likely to have conflicting stakes regarding resource use and access, the outcomes of the decision-making processes would reflect some interests more than others and imply an asymmetric distribution of costs and benefits. Such mechanisms, therefore, might not only be exclusionary, but also be prone to perpetuating existing inequalities. Building on this observation, a political economy analysis of participatory decision-making is called for.

3.4 Study Sites

The GEF project sites present a fitting opportunity for analyzing local sustainable development in line with the theoretical framework formulated in chapter 2. As I have tried to demonstrate above, the GEF project, at least rhetorically, held a vision of sustainable resource management by community participation, explicitly targeted the empowerment of disadvantaged communities, and aimed at supporting alternative livelihoods. They aimed to address the three pillars of the sustainable development concept in an interrelated manner. The participatory decision-making component of the projects provides an avenue for examining the extent to which effective participation was ensured. An analysis of such mechanisms that unpacks the role of local power relations can contribute to debates on their successes and failures, and inform better policy-making.

The fact that these localities are sites where the Turkish state attempted to implement sustainable development by way of GEF projects presents a unique opportunity. All four sites have been recognized for the biodiversity values they host and have been granted some form of protection status by the Turkish state prior to the GEF project. In other words, they represent cases where biodiversity conservation and environmental protection attempts were already made.

Two among the four sites where the GEF project was implemented, Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, were chosen for conducting case studies. There were two main reasons for selecting these sites. First, they are the sites that host the largest number of residents, and therefore possibly had impacts on a greater number of people. Second, they present the opportunity to adopt a comparative perspective since they differ significantly in terms of bio-geographical conditions, main economic activities, and causes and consequences of resource conflicts. In the following two subsections, I introduce the study sites by providing background information on their geographical and ecological features and demographic characteristics.

3.4.1 Sultan Sazlığı

Sultan Sazlığı is a large wetland complex located in Central Anatolia, between the districts of Yeşilhisar, Develi and Yahyalı, within the boundaries of Kayseri Province (see figure 3.2). It is situated at the center of Develi closed basin and surrounded by mountain ranges. The complex comprises of a combination of freshwater, brackish and saline aquatic ecosystems and saline steppes. Precipitation, streams flowing from uplands, and groundwater from springs feed the wetland. Inflows first fill up the marshlands at the southern and northern parts of the area and then flow into the salinated

Yay Lake, located at the center of the wetland. In addition to the unique combination of aquatic ecoystems, the area hosts a remarkable range of plant species and is a major feeding and resting area for birds due to its location at the junction of two main migratory flyways.

Nine settlements populate the area, of which seven (one town center and six villages) were included in the GEF project site. The number of households and population figures of the project settlements are given in Table 3.1. According to GEF project documents, the population of the area had been increasing consistently since 1935, until it stabilized in early 2000's (Rebuclic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry General Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks [MEF GDNCNP], 2007b). The protected area, surrounded by the settlements, extend over almost 25,000 hectares, the majority of which is comprised of pastures and marshland, as can be seen in Table 3.2. Pastures are used for grazing by animal owners from all settlements surrounding the wetland, whereas the marshland is accessed by reed cutters in Sindelhöyük, Ovaçiftlik, Yeşilova and Yenihayat. Around 10% of the protected area land is made up of plots used in agricultural production. These are parts of privately-owned plots (by farmers from Ovaçiftlik, Yeşilova, Çayırözü, Soysallı and Sindelhöyük), as opposed to pastures and marshland, which are state property. The residential areas of Ovaçiftlik, Soysallı and Çayırözü and temporary settlements used for seasonal grazing by villagers from Sindelhöyük also partially lie within the protected area boundaries.

Sultan Sazlığı has been assigned a number of statuses under both Turkish environmental regulations and international agreements. It was first designated as a Wildlife Conservation Area in 1971, a Strict Nature Reserve in 1984, and then a

Conservation Area of 1st rank in 1993 by the Turkish state. Under its current status, all construction activities and physical intervention are banned, and only access for recreational, educational and scientific purposes were permitted. With the beginning of the GEF project in 2003, the boundaries of the protected area were expanded. Finally, in 2006, it was also designated as a national park.[36] The area has also been recognized for its biodiversity value internationally, as it was designated as a Natural Habitat by the Berne Convention in 1984, as an Important Bird Area by BirdLife International in 1990, and as a Wetland of International Importance under Ramsar Convention in 1994.

As is the case with all national parks in Turkey, the overall administration of Sultan Sazlığı lies with the Provincial (Kayseri) Directorate of Environment and Forestry, more specifically, the Provincial Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, which holds the responsibility of monitoring resource use and rule enforcement. On the other hand, the Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, a different state office, is responsible for the management of water resources in the broader basin. This fact complicates the actual regulation of resource use in the area, since water inflow to Sultan Sazlığı, and consequently the management of the other resources (e.g. marshland, pastures), is closely connected to the management of overall water use in the Develi basin.

Statuses granted to Sultan Sazlığı under national regulations have invariably implied strict conservation practices, wherein all human intervention with the ecosystem is prohibited in designated parts of the protected area, and well-defined and stringent

[36] Parts of residential areas in three villages (Çayırözü, Soysallı and Ovaçiftlik) fell under the protection status as a result of the 2003 revision. This implied restrictions on construction activities in these areas, where such activities were now only allowed as long as certain rules about height and physical appearance were complied with.

rules govern use and access in the rest. That is to say, the area has been subject to rigorous conservation for over three decades. Degradation of natural resources could not be prevented despite these measures: Water level in the wetland ecosystem has been decreasing dramatically, most visibly since late 1990's. Lately the wetland practically dries out during most months of the year. In addition, degradation of both quality and quantity of pasture and reed area is ongoing, and loss of biodiversity of both plant and animal species is alarming (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007b).

3.4.2 Köprülü Kanyon

Köprülü Kanyon National Park is located in Southern Anatolia, to the northeast of Antalya Province. The national park lies within the catchment area of Köprü River, within two districts of Antalya (Manavgat and Serik) and one district of Isparta (Sütçüler) (see figure 3.3). The national park, ranging from an altitude of 150 to 2500 meters above the sea level, is composed of the Beşkonak area lying at the base of the canyon and rugged mountains on both sides of the river. The area contains a wide variety of natural ecosystems linked across a range of altitudes and local climates, the most important of which is the 450 hectares of pure cypress forest, the largest natural cypress forest in the entire Mediterranean region. The presence of the ancient coniferous forests-maquis formation, and the diversity of plant and animal species are other significant features. In addition to its ecological attributes, Köprülü Kanyon hosts important archeological sites, including the ruins of Selge antique city, St. Paul's trail and the antique bridges over Köprü River.

The GEF project site in Köprülü Kanyon included eleven settlements, some of which lie completely within the national park and others located adjacent to it. Data on

the population figures of the settlements is given in Table 3.3. The population trend in the area is marked by high levels of outmigration, mainly to the neighboring town, Serik and to the nearest provincial center, Antalya. Lack of job opportunities and inadequate provision of infrastructure (e.g. educational facilities, water, roads) are cited as the most important reasons for migration (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a).

Approximately 90% of the national park area, 35,777 hectares, is made up of forests. The remaining land, apart from settlements, is used for agricultural production, grazing, and tourism purposes (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a). The main use of land within the park is grazing, practiced where permitted. In addition, high plateaus in Beşkonak, Ballıbucak, Değirmenözü and Beydilli are used for summer grazing and temporary settlements. Agricultural land is highly fragmented due to the mountainous geography, and average landholding size is small. Finally, land used for tourism purposes comprises privately managed rafting bases, restaurants and B&B facilities built along the river at the lower canyon area.

Köprülü Kanyon was designated as a national park in 1973 due to its natural, cultural and recreational values. In addition, a number of sites within the national park hold special, and stricter, conservation statuses due to their ecological and/or archeological attributes. Namely, parts of Altınkaya and surroundings of the antique bridges on Köprü River are designated Conservation Status of the 1st rank for the archeological ruins they host, and the riverbanks are designated the same status for their ecological value. The immediate surroundings of these zones are also granted protection statuses (of the 3rd rank), but are subject to milder rules. The main implications of these designations are in in terms of construction activities, which are completely forbidden,

except for approved required infrastructure, within 1st rank zones. The milder 3rd rank status permits construction as long as the building complies with height and physical appearance restrictions.

The overall management responsibility of Köprülü Kanyon lies with the Provincial Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, under the Directorate of Environment and Forestry. The protection and restoration of the zones with special conservation statuses, on the other hand, are undertaken by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. There a number of additional laws that applies in the governance of the area, which often results in overlapping legislation, conflicting implementation and confusion about responsible agency for governance.

3.5 Concretizing the Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The case studies present the opportunity to operationalize the analytical framework formulated earlier in two related dimensions; the historical making of the case study sites and the implementation of GEF projects. In line with this framework, I aim, firstly, to account for how the Turkish state's hegemonic project has crystallized in the local histories of Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, by exploring the state policies pursued in these two regions and by examining the GEF implementation. I specifically probe into the local manifestations of the Turkish state in terms of growth-oriented modernization, paternalism and patronage, the building blocks of its hegemonic project identified in chapter 2, and consider their implications in terms of sustainable development implementation. In doing so, I also document local people's perceptions of the state, as I consider them as indicators of the state-society dialectics.

In addition to local materializations of the Turkish state, I retain the links between the state, society and environmental processes as the focal points in my analysis. In particular, I concretize the state-society relationship by the re/production of local fragmentations and the sculpting of incentives (e.g. regarding natural resource use) and perceptions by state action. I hold that the Turkish state shapes the local environments by forming/altering/reinforcing relations surrounding resource use via two main channels: by re/producing local inequalities and by molding incentives and perceptions held by the local people.

Building on this, I aim to document local inequalities, tackle their historical making through the uneven impacts of state policies on different groups, and delve into the implications of local inequalities and perceptions for sustainable development in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon. Furthermore, I intend to uncover the costs and benefits associated with environmental processes and reveal how their uneven distribution functions as an impediment on sustainable development implementation. I envision local inequalities to surpass economic relations and embody non-economic dimensions, such as gender and social status, and to be conveyed in a variety of ways, including different groups' relative abilities of forming, representing and articulating demands.

Within this context, the GEF projects emerge as additional arenas where the implications of state-society-environment links for sustainable development can be unearthed. I operationalize the questions laid out above in analyzing the effectiveness of the GEF projects in implementing sustainable development, concretized in the spheres of enforcing environmental protection and promoting socio-economic justice. I examine the

resource use regulations put in place, the processes by which regulations were made, their effectiveness in fostering sustainable use, the efficacy of the SGP in promoting alternative livelihoods and tackling of socio-economic inequalities in project implementation.

I pay specific attention to the functioning of participatory management mechanisms of the GEF projects, by depicting the extent and level of local people's participation in decision-making. I hold effective participation to encompass ability to voice opinions and shape decision-making processes in addition to nominally taking part in decision-making mechanisms. Building on this vision of participation, I probe into the role of two factors in particular: local power relations, such as those based on wealth, gender, source of livelihood, *etc*.; and the perceptions of the state's commitment to sustainable development, such as the importance given to environmental protection by the Turkish state and the fairness with which it treats the citizens. In doing so, I conceptualize the effective implementation of participatory management as one dimension of local sustainable development, and deploy local inequalities and perceptions as products of state-society relationships at the study sites.

I maintain that the questions I have framed around these parameters require an interdisciplinary methodology and a historical analysis. Delineating the links between the state, society and environment as concretized above necessitates the use of qualitative and quantitative techniques, since their combination would furnish the analysis with depth and breadth. The case studies, therefore, were conducted by utilizing both qualitative methods, namely in-depth interviews and focus groups, and quantitative methods, based on the administration of a survey. While the qualitative part of the study

provides depth to the analysis and furnishes it with details on the making of local economic, social, and environmental processes, the quantitative survey equips it with representative empirical data. In the following sections, I describe the details of the methodology followed.

3.5.1 Desktop Research

Extensive research on GEF documents, compiled by the WB Office in Ankara, GEF Project Coordination Unit and the individual project teams, was carried out prior to the field study. In addition, official documents to map the history of different state policies were acquired from the local directorates of relevant ministries. These documents provided data on the basic socio-economic characteristics of the sites, histories of policy-making, and prevalent patterns of resource use and pressures on the eco-systems. The project documents, in particular, supplied information on specific project goals devised for each site and mechanisms to implement them, as well as some, albeit rudimentary, data on project activities. It was thus possible to see, more clearly, what GEF projects envisioned accomplishing and the mechanisms and activities formulated with their aims.

Although the project teams held records of some activities in project villages and of SGP recipients, the records are not sufficiently informative for my purposes. For instance, no meeting minutes (or records of seminars and workshops) on the number or composition of participants, topics of discussions or decisions were taken in either site. It is, therefore, impossible to gauge the extent of nominal or effective participation in the management mechanisms incorporated within the projects, or how democratic the decision-making processes were. No written document on specific regulations devised for natural resource management could be accessed. Nor there were records of how

environmental outcomes have fared since the implementation of the projects. Even though it is stated in project documents that regular chronicles of changes in resource use patterns and in resource user groups were to be kept, there were no such records. Project teams did not compile any data on changes in socio-economic conditions in project sites either. Thus, desktop research can provide no insights on how environmental quality or well-being of local people have changed as a result of the projects.

3.5.2 Qualitative Study

The main motivation behind conducting a qualitative study was to acquire an in-depth understanding of the questions informing the case studies. An adequate understanding of the state-society interactions in the study sites necessitates a historical analysis and thorough consideration of the local dynamics. With the qualitative study, I aimed to map local stakeholders, their interests and relations to the environment, as well as accounting for different dimensions and prevalence of inequalities among them, one of the centerpieces of analysis in this dissertation. Documenting the multidimensional fashion in which I hypothesize local inequalities to be manifested required the use of qualitative techniques. I also acquired a deeper grasp of the history of state actions in the study sites, enabling me to depict the links between state behavior, its uneven impacts on different groups and its implications in terms of resource use patterns.

In addition, the qualitative study enabled me to gain important insights about the implementation of the GEF projects that would not have been otherwise possible. The interviews and the focus groups were not only intended to supply detailed information about on-site project activities, but also to draw out local people's evaluations and perceptions. Specifically, in terms of participatory decision-making mechanisms, my

objective was to illustrate if and how exclusion from participation has operated, and to delineate the factors that explain exclusion, such as information and time constraints, local inequalities of wealth, gender and social status, and anticipations about the process and outcomes.

The qualitative part of the field studies made use of in-depth interviews and focus groups. The in-depth interviews can be classified into two categories, as those held with state and project officials, and those held with local people. The focus groups, on the other hand, were only held with local people in the study sites. The logistics and the specifics of these are discussed in the following two subsections.

3.5.2.1 In-depth Interviews

The first set of in-depth interviews, a total of 14, were held with officials from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, GEF project coordinators, officials from the World Bank and UNDP, representatives of environmental NGO's, local bureaucrats in Kayseri and Antalya, and members of local project teams, during June-December 2008 (see Appendix A for a full list of interviewees).

These interviews were geared towards obtaining information primarily about the GEF projects, although I also probed into the historical backgrounds of the study sites by inquiring about the specific policies that the Turkish state pursued, both in general and in terms of natural resource management. The interviewees were further encouraged to speculate on how these policies have affected local people.

With regards to the GEF projects, I firstly aimed at obtaining data on specific on-site activities that were undertaken. Although the desktop research of project documents had provided information about the types of activities and institutional mechanisms

envisaged at the beginning of implementation, interviews proved crucial for understanding on-the-ground experiences. In particular, questions on how the decision-making processes worked (dissemination of information about decision-making mechanisms, frequency of meetings, criteria for decision-making, *etc*.), the formal decisions that were made and the policies that were put in place (e.g. micro-management plans and distribution of small grants) were asked. I also asked the interviewees to evaluate the overall level of participation in management meetings and other project activities and whether concrete attempts were made to induce participation, in particular by potentially marginalized groups such as the women and the poor.

Secondly, I tried to elicit respondents' perceptions of how successful the projects had been in fulfilling their goals, particularly in terms of the effectiveness of participatory decision-making mechanisms, sustainable resource use policies and the SGP's. These were followed up by questions on the respondents' views on potential reasons underlying the success and/or failure of these specific activities. Finally, I tried to acquire information on the respondents' evaluation of how the projects affected different local stakeholders and if they perceive project impacts to be unevenly distributed.

The second set of in-depth interviews was held with local people residing in the project settlements. I conducted the interviews in Sultan Sazlığı in October and those in Köprülü Kanyon in November 2008. I stayed for about 10 days in each project site while conducting the interviews, and had paid a number of short visits before and after the field study. I visited the project settlements with a local guide in each site. The fact that I was with one of the local people helped overcome the suspicion that villagers would potentially have had towards me as an outsider. A total of 84 interviews were held, 52 in

Sultan Sazlığı and 32 in Köprülü Kanyon (see Appendix A for a detailed listing). The interviews were semi-structured, as I tried to frame the question-answer process as a conversation and made interventions accordingly. I also had the opportunity to observe the socio-economic characteristics, prevalent livelihood activities and resource use patterns while staying in the project sites.

Interviews held with local people were intended, firstly, to acquire information about prevalent livelihood activities and local inequalities. Accordingly, interviewees were asked about local economic activities, labor use patterns and changes that have occurred in the viability of livelihood sources over time. These inquiries were supplemented by questions on the history of state policies pursued in the sites, informed by the desktop research and the first-round of interviews. In addition, the interviewees were asked about the incidence of landlessness, the distribution of income within and across settlements, gender relations, and other dimensions of inequality hypothesized to be locally prevalent.

Secondly, the natural resource use was probed into, by questions on the patterns and informal rules of resource use, composition of user groups, and changes in resource use over the years. The interviewees were further asked to speculate on the reasons and impacts of changes in environmental processes, specifically on their perceptions of the local environmental issues, whom they perceive as to contribute most to these issues, and how these issues affect different groups. Finally, the interviewees were asked to elaborate on how they think the local problems regarding the environment and the socio-economic conditions can be solved. In this set of questions, the role of the state was paid particular

attention, by soliciting the interviewees' perceptions of how the Turkish state has impacted the above-mentioned processes.

The interviews then addressed questions related to the GEF project. The respondents were asked if and how they heard of the GEF project, and if they had, if and how they have been informed of specific activities (e.g. management meetings, training activities, small grants projects, *etc.*) associated with the projects. In line with my focus on the participatory mechanisms of decision-making, the management meetings were paid special attention since they were the main channels through which local stakeholders were most likely to voice opinions and shape decisions. Questions on participation probed into the multiple dimensions of effective participation I have discussed earlier. Specifically, the interviewees were asked if they have attended meetings, followed up with questions probing into the reasons as to why or why not. Those who reported that they have attended meetings were asked to evaluate the meetings, i.e. they were asked if they spoke up and if their views were taken into account, followed up with questions on why or why not. Similar questions were asked about the SGP, which delved into reasons for applying (or not applying) for a grant.

Thirdly, the interviewees were asked to evaluate how effective specific project activities have been, such as training activities, management meetings, the SGP, *etc*. and to elaborate on their overall satisfaction with the project. Evaluation questions were followed up with inquiries on the interviewees' opinions about why or why not the projects have been successful. Finally, they were asked to evaluate how they have been affected by the project, and how they have perceived other stakeholders to be affected by the project.

3.5.2.2 Focus Groups

In addition to in-depth interviews, four focus groups with local people (two at each site) were conducted in October-November 2008. Focus groups held with 6-7 participants (see Appendix A for a list of focus group participants). Focus groups were structured around the same topics that were brought up during the in-depth interviews, but the questions were posed in a more open-ended manner and a discussion among participants was stimulated. I structured the focus group discussions around the perceptions of natural resources and environmental problems, operationalization of different dimensions of the GEF projects, why or why not they were successful, and their impacts on different local groups.

3.5.3 Quantitative Study

The quantitative part of the field study was based on the administration of a survey, which was designed and tailored according to the findings of the qualitative study. That is to say, the quantitative study complements and extends the qualitative work in investigating the questions motivating this dissertation, and provides results that will be used both descriptively and econometrically. By undertaking the quantitative study, I aimed at a more comprehensive and analytical exploration of evaluations and impacts of the GEF project, participation in the projects' decision-making mechanisms, and local venues of contribution to sustainable development. This section lays out the aims of the quantitative study more specifically, followed by the description of the sampling strategy and administration of the survey in section 3.5.3.1 and the general structure of the survey in section 3.5.3.2.

First of all, I sought to document the levels and forms of participation in different project activities, and specifically in decision-making processes, to provide a detailed and more representative picture of project effectiveness in inducing participation. In line with the hypotheses fleshed out earlier, I collected data to investigate econometrically the determinants of participation in decision-making and to explore if different axes of inequality, such as gender and wealth, and perceptions of the state, regarding its willingness to implement sustainable development, are significantly correlated with participation. Different levels of participation were captured by probing beyond presence in decision-making mechanisms and scrutinizing expression of opinions and capability to shape decisions, and by inquiring into the reasons underlying non/participation. If, in fact, the disadvantaged groups in the communities have lower levels of participation, important policy implications can be drawn. If perceptions about the state's stance are important for non-participation (both in the nominal sense of attendance and active sense of voicing opinions), it can be concluded that mistrust to state has important implications for local democratic governance of natural resources.

Secondly, I aimed at obtaining detailed information about local people's evaluation of the projects. Since the qualitative study was already completed when the survey was designed, it builds on the insights I acquired on the successes (admittedly few) and failures of the projects, and includes questions on perceptions of the project teams, project success and project ineffectiveness. These findings complement the results of the qualitative study in providing the general level of satisfaction with the projects and perceptions of why they have remained ineffective in certain respects, particularly in participatory management and environmental protection.

Although they come with the caveat of being subjective and should be approached with caution, I hold that perceptions and evaluations should be given importance. First of all, local people's evaluations of the projects, in addition to objective information on project accomplishments, should be considered as significant dimensions of project success. This is especially true for projects such as GEF that are meant to operationalize community-based management. In addition, information on locals' perceptions of the reasons why the projects were ineffective would have important policy implications for future implementations. Perceptions about underlying causes of (persistent) environmental problems and the role played by the Turkish state in bringing them about, in particular, would provide important insights since it is likely that locals' willingness to take action, via community-level mobilizations, to implement local sustainable development is in part determined by these perceptions.

Another goal of the quantitative study was to collect information on willingness to contribute to local sustainable development. Willingness to contribute is proxied by a number of different measures in the survey, discussed below. The main motivation to collect such information is to explore if local people are willing to contribute, in different ways, to realize sustainable development through formal or informal mechanisms. It is then possible to investigate the factors, specifically the role of local inequalities and the perceptions of the state, which determine willingness to contribute.

Finally, I document, albeit more descriptively, the types of inequities created by the ineffectiveness of local sustainable development. The quantitative study complements the qualitative findings on the distribution of costs and benefits of ongoing environmental degradation in the sites, as well as the distribution of the impacts of the GEF project. The

findings of the quantitative study thus feed into the political economy of the environment framework adopted in this dissertation.

As the qualitative study equips me with findings on the relationship of different stakeholders with natural resources in both sites, I can broadly differentiate between the winners and losers of the failure of local sustainable development. It is thus possible to study how the level and nature of participation, perceptions about the reasons of environmental problems, evaluations about the GEF project, and willingness to contribute to sustainable development differ across dimensions of inequalities.

3.5.3.1 Administration of the Survey

The survey was administered to in face-to-face interviews with individuals who reside in the settlements that lie within the boundaries of project sites as defined in the management plans.[37] It was pre-tested in two villages in each site prior to finalization. In general terms, the survey consists of modules on knowledge of project activities, participation in management meetings, participation in other project activities (e.g. training activities and the small grants program), perceptions of project success and impact, perceptions of the state, environmental values, perceptions of the sites, perceptions of gender norms, willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, and socio-economic status.

[37] The survey was funded with the research grant (no. 09C103B) provided by Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey, and FREKANS research company provided support during its implementation.

Seven settlements in Sultan Sazlığı and four settlements in Köprülü Kanyon were included in the population to be surveyed.[38] Only individuals of age 24 and over were included in the relevant population. This was done in order to represent the population who was of age 18 and over at the time when on-site implementation of the projects started in 2003. Sampling was clustered at the village level. Visited households were randomly selected. Randomization at the household level was also imposed. A total of 778 surveys were administered, with 377 surveys in Sultan Sazlığı and 401 in Köprülü Kanyon. These sample sizes ensure a 95% confidence interval with a 0.05 margin of error in sampling. The sample sizes for each settlement are given in tables 3.4 and 3.5.

Two different survey versions were administered in the two sites. The questions in the two versions are very similar except for modifications based on different types of natural resources and different sources of prevailing livelihoods. That is to say, while questions on participation in project activities, perceptions of the state, environmental values, *etc*. are identical, questions on perceptions about the sites and socio-economic status are constructed according to site-specific circumstances. For instance, the questions in the Sultan Sazlığı survey are predominantly about the water issue while those in the Köprülü Kanyon survey are focused on unplanned resource use.

All seven settlements were included in the population to be surveyed in Sultan Sazlığı. The relevant population figures and sample sizes in the included settlements are provided in table 3.4. Note that the population in Yenihayat is oversampled and that in Sindelhöyük is undersampled. The main reason I adopt this strategy is that the relevant stakeholders for our analysis are underrepresented in Sindelhöyük and overrepresented in

[38] Not all settlements within the project sites are included in the population. The reason for sampling only certain settlements will be explained in detail.

Yenihayat. Yenihayat is a small village that was settled mainly by reed cutters from Sindelhöyük. Sindelhöyük, on the other hand, is a larger town where a significant part of the population is working in the service sector. Thus, the proportion of population who has a direct link with the natural resources for livelihood purposes is likely to be lower in Sindelhöyük and higher in Yenihayat than they are in the other settlements.

In Köprülü Kanyon, only four settlements (out of eleven) were included in the population to be surveyed, as can be seen in table 3.5. Consequently, the sample is not representative of the entire population residing in the area. This strategy was followed due to three interrelated reasons. Firstly, included settlements are the ones where main livelihood activities involve access to and use of natural resources. While forest and pasture resources are being used for subsistence purposes in all settlemetns, these four are the ones in which resource use is more oriented towards income generating activities. Beşkonak and Karabük, lying at the base of the canyon, are villages where rafting tourism is important. A significant source of livelihood is based on tourism in Altınkaya as well. Finally, oregano harvesting is the most important income generating activity in Çaltepe.

Secondly, the types of resource use in these four villages are the ones that are associated most closely with the threats on the ecosystem in the area and/or involve serious conflicts. Forest cover and Köprü river are under pressure from unregulated and heavy tourism activities. Oregano cover has recently started degrading, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Cultural and natural resources in Altınkaya are threatened by illegal construction activities. Moreover, Beşkonak, Karabük and Altınkaya are the three villages where the conflict between local people and the national park authorities is most

visible. Finally, villages other than the four included in the sample have not really been affected by the implementation of the GEF project. Most project activities were oriented towards and carried out in Beşkonak, Karabük, Altınkaya and Çaltepe.

For the reasons discussed above, I followed a sampling strategy that would allow for capturing the most relevant information for my purposes, i.e. participation in GEF project activities, types of resource use, perceptions about the GEF project, willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, *etc*. Obviously, this strategy compromises representativeness in exchange for relevance.

3.5.3.2 General Structure of the Survey

As stated before, the survey consists of modules on knowledge of project activities, participation in management meetings, participation in other project activities (e.g. training activities and the small grants program), perceptions of project success and impact, perceptions of the state, environmental values, perceptions of the sites, perceptions of gender norms, willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, and socio-economic status. This last module includes questions on basic demographic data, household composition, household income and assets, household sources of livelihood and changes within the last six years. In this section, I lay out the structure of the survey and explain survey modules in detail.

The survey starts by two elimination questions (having resided in the area since and being older than 18 when on-the-ground implementation of the projects started) and a question on whether or not the respondent is aware that the project has been implemented in the area (see figure 3.4). Those who do not know of the project are directed to the modules on environmental values, perceptions of the state, perceptions of gender norms,

willingness to contribute and socio-economic status (Modules Z). For those who know of the project, the survey continues with a module on knowledge of various features of the projects, such as having seen a draft of the management plan, having been informed of management meetings, having been informed of training activities, *etc*.

Those who have been informed of management meetings are then asked if they have attended these meetings. Those who have not been informed of the meetings, on the other hand, are asked of their opinions on why they have not been informed and asked whether or not they would have attended the meetings if they had been informed. Both hypothetical and actual participants, as well as hypothetical and actual non-participants, are asked of reasons why they have not/participated. Specifically, respondents are asked to choose two best applying reasons for non/participation, from a list of reasons that I compiled based on the literature on participation in decision-making and the results of the qualitative study (see Appendix B for details). The list of reasons for non-participation includes not having a stake, free-riding, inappropriate meeting times and places, social norms, anticipation of not being taken into account, anticipation that project team will favor some groups and anticipation that meeting decisions would not be implemented by the state. The list of reasons for participation, on the other hand, includes having stakes in meeting topics, democratic values and skepticism. The lists provided to actual and hypothetical participators and to actual and hypothetical non-participators are identical.

Actual participants in the meetings are further asked to evaluate how effective their and other attendees' participation were, i.e. they are asked if they spoke up in the meetings and if their views were taken into consideration. With these questions, I aimed to probe beyond participation at the nominal level and explore other dimensions of

participation than mere attendance in meetings, such as voicing opinions and ability to influence decisions. If the participators state that they have not spoken up or that their views were not taken into account, they are asked to state why not. Similar to the case with participation questions, respondents are provided with a list of reasons from which they are asked to choose the two that apply the best. The list of reasons for not speaking up includes anticipation of not being taken into account, anticipation that some groups would be favored, social norms and anticipation that meeting decisions would not be implemented by the state. The list of reasons for not being taken into account includes top-down style of governance, project team's favoritism and local power relations (see Appendix B for details).

All those who are aware that the project has been implemented, regardless of whether or not they have been informed of or participated in any project activity, are directed to the modules on evaluations and perceptions of the project activities (Modules F and G in figure 3.4) after the participation module. Evaluations and perceptions modules consist of questions on participation in and evaluations of impacts of SGP and training activities, perceptions of the project team, evaluations of the success with which objectives of the projects are fulfilled and perceptions of the reasons why unsuccessful implementation occurred.

Specifically, respondents are asked to evaluate how successful the project has been, on a scale of 1 to 5, in achieving the specific goals spelled out in the management plans. Then, they are asked to evaluate the project team, where they state their level of agreement with statements about project team's effort, accessibility and honesty, on a scale of 1 to 5. Next, respondents are asked specifically about why the projects have been

ineffective in implementing environmental protection, where they are provided with statements about reasons that might be accounting for ineffective regulation of resource use and asked to assess how much they agree with the statements on a scale of 1 to 5. These statements were mainly formulated according to the findings of the qualitative study; they also map quite closely with characterizations of the Turkish state that account for its unwillingness to implement sustainable development (see chapter 2). The reasons incorporated into the statements are project team's failure to take into locals' opinions into account, favoritism, lack of adequate information and resources, local power relations and prioritizing economic growth by the Turkish state (see Appendix B for details). Finally, respondents are asked to evaluate how the project has affected different local stakeholders and themselves. This way, I tried to capture perceptions on the distribution of project impacts.

The final modules (Modules Z) are asked to all respondents to whom the survey has been administered. As stated before, the sub-modules in this part are environmental values, perceptions of and trust to state, feeling of belonging to the community, perceptions about gender norms, perceptions related to the environmental problems in the sites, willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, socio-economic status and changes within the last six years.

Environmental values are measured on a scale of 1 to 5, where the respondent reports how much s/he agrees with five statements about environmental values. These statements pose trade-offs between economic gains and environmental quality in different contexts (see Appendix B for detailed explanations). Perceptions of the state are captured in two different ways; firstly, respondents are presented statements about central state's,

provincial governors' and village heads' equal treatment of citizens, with which they are asked to report level agreement on a scale of 1 to 5. Secondly, respondents are asked to evaluate, again on a scale of 1 to 5, how much they think environmental considerations, economic growth and national security issues are prioritized by the Turkish state. In addition, they are asked, on a scale of 1 to 5, how much they trust local branches of different ministries and local governors.

Feeling of belonging to the community is also captured in multiple ways. The respondents are first asked, to evaluate on a scale of 1 to 5, how much they feel they belong to the area they live in. Next, they are asked to evaluate the frequency, on a scale of 1 to 5, with which they participate and voice their opinions in solving community-level problems. In addition, one question on having voted in local elections and one on participation frequency in informal labor sharing arrangements are posed to capture more objective information on belonging to the community and participating in community activities. Perceptions on gender norms are captured by respondents' self-reported agreements, on a scale of 1 to 5, with statements about women's outside work, gender segregation of public space, household decisions about expenditures, and sharing inheritance between female and male children.

Questions on attitudes towards and perceptions of local environmental problems are tailored to site-specific environmental problems and resource use patterns, as I have stated in Section 3.5.3.1. These questions address respondents' perceptions of local environmental problems, as well as underlying reasons and impacts of these issues. In Sultan Sazlığı, the problem of water scarcity was treated as an objective fact (since it has been persistent for the last 6 years and its effects are highly visible). In Köprülü Kanyon,

on the other hand, survey questions first inquire about whether or not respondents agree with the existence of pressures on natural resources. Consequently, while Sultan Sazlığı version of this module incorporates questions on why problems related to water use cannot be solved, Köprülü Kanyon versions include questions both on what underlies overuse of resources (asked if respondent stated there is overuse) and what underlies the prevention of overuse of resources.

These questions provide respondents with a set of choices, formulated based on both the literature on management of natural resources and the findings of the quantitative study. Reasons that potentially account for the overuse of natural resources include problems related to collective action issues, weak monitoring, myopia of resource users and local power inequalities as well as patron-client relationships at the local level, Turkish state's prioritization of growth, lack of competence and top-down governance style. Reasons that might enable sustainable resource use, on the other hand, include successful formal enforcement of resource use rules, informal arrangements among natural resource users and far-sighted resource users. The sets provided in a given site were tailored according to the factors (especially in terms of local manifestations of Turkish state's characteristics that underlie its unwillingness and/or inability to enforce sustainable development) that I have found to explain ineffective environmental protection in that specific site as a result of the qualitative study.

In Sultan Sazlığı, respondents were first asked how much they are concerned, on a scale of 1 to 5, about the water scarcity. Then, they were asked about negative effects of drought (where they were to state two worst effects) and the most important causes of it, where they were to state the two most important reasons among three (climate change,

dams constructed in the area and deep wells). Respondents were also asked about the most important reason why the water scarcity problem cannot be solved. They were provided with a list of reasons that might account for the persistence of the problem, including Turkish state's lack of interest in environmental problems, its failure to take into account local people's interests in policy making, patron-client relationships, the failure of locals to act collectively for a solution and the failure to reach consensus on who is responsible for the problem.

In Köprülü Kanyon, three different survey versions were administered based on location-specific resource uses and environmental problems. All respondents were first asked to evaluate environmental impacts of a number of activities (illegal tree cutting, overgrazing, oregano collection, construction of tourism facilities, tourism activities) on a scale of 1 to 5. I adopted this strategy since environmental problems in Köprülü Kanyon are not as visible and cannot easily be reduced to one main issue, such as the case is with water scarcity in Sultan Sazlığı. Respondents were then asked about their general level of concern with overuse of natural resources in the area. After these two questions, the survey continued with questions related to specific resource use activities, i.e. grazing, oregano picking, rafting tourism and construction. While questions on grazing were asked to all respondents, those on oregano picking are only asked in Çaltepe, on rafting tourism only in Beşkonak and Karabük and on construction only in Altınkaya.

The questions on grazing started with respondents' perceptions on the change in quantity of pastures over the last 10 years, how they would be affected if pastures were exhausted and whether or not overgrazing is prevalent in the area. If the respondent stated that overgrazing is prevalent, s/he was asked about causes of overgrazing, where a

list of reasons was provided. The list was comprised of lack of adequate monitoring of the grazing plan, heavy dependence on pastures by the poor animal grazers, myopia of animal grazers and failure of grazers to collectively limit their grazing. If the respondent stated that overgrazing is not prevalent, on the other hand, s/he was provided with a list of reasons that might account for no overgrazing, including existence of strict conservation rules, informal agreement among animal grazers about not overgrazing and far-sightedness of animal grazers (i.e. that they individually take future costs of overgrazing into account and choose not to overgraze). These respondents were then posed a scenario in which they were asked to hypothesize that pastures degrade due to overgrazing some time in the future. They were provided with a list of potential reasons that might account for overgrazing in the hypothetical case, identical to that provided to respondents who stated that overgrazing is prevalent in the area.

Questions on oregano picking, as well as the lists of reasons that might account for prevalence and absence of over-picking, were identical to those on grazing. Those on rafting tourism and construction differed, although they aimed at capturing the same underlying information about respondents' perceptions and attitudes. Questions on rafting tourism started, similarly, with perceptions on whether rafting tourism harms the environment or not. If the respondent stated that it does, s/he is asked why and provided with a list of reasons, including lack of adequate monitoring, myopia on the side of rafting companies and failure of rafting companies to collectively decide on a regulation. If the respondent stated that rafting tourism does not harm the environment, s/he was provided with a list of reasons why it does not, including strict conservation rules and far-sightedness of rafting companies. They were then posed with a scenario in which they

were asked to hypothesize that rafting activities harm the environment and provided with a list of potential reasons that might account for this, identical to that provided to respondents who stated that rafting hurts the environment.

Finally, questions on construction started with perceptions on whether or not illegal construction activities hurt the number of tourists visiting Altınkaya (by damaging cultural resources). Next, respondents were provided with a scenario in which a permit for construction activities that would improve the welfare of the villagers is passed, on the condition that no harm will be done to cultural resources, but some abuse the permit and over-construct at the expense of cultural resources.[39] They were then asked what might account for such abuse and provided with a list of reasons, including lack of adequate monitoring, myopia of villagers and failure of villagers to collectively reach an agreement to prevent illegal construction.

Note that the list of reasons for prevalence or absence of overuse for rafting tourism and that for construction overlap closely with those in grazing and oregano-picking questions, except slight modifications. For instance, the possibility of an informal agreement among rafting companies to limit number of rafting tourists to be carried was discarded since qualitative study findings indicated there was no such agreement. That poor users depend heavily on the resources, on the other hand, was not a relevant reason

[39] Given the qualitative findings on Altınkaya's context and history, instead of asking whether or not illegal construction is prevalent, I opted for presenting respondents directly with a scenario. As will become apparent in chapter 4, there is already considerable discomfort among villagers because of the construction ban, and they complain that strict enforcement of the ban does not allow them to lead decent lives. Under these circumstances, I did not want to antagonize and alienate respondents by asking about the prevalence of illegal construction.

for overuse in the case of rafting tourism (none of the rafting companies are owned by poor users) and construction (construction is not a livelihood activity).

Next, the survey presented a set of questions aimed at capturing individuals' willingness to contribute to local sustainable development. It should be noted that the notion of "willingness to contribute" operationalized here is not willingness-to-pay (WTP) employed in contingent evaluation methods. Given the widely debated shortcomings of WTP and its problematic methodology (see, for instance, Heinzerling & Ackerman, 2002), I have preferred using multiple questions (with binary outcomes) related to different types of contribution in different contexts.

While some willingness to contribute questions were identical in different survey versions, some were designed specifically for the location where the survey is administered. Five questions on whether or not the respondent would be willing to limit resource use in general, to contribute labor to a management mechanism, to contribute funds compatible with her/his income, to attend a training activity on environmental issues and to help clean up garbage in their village was asked to everyone to whom the survey is administered. If the respondent answered affirmatively to any of these questions, s/he was read out a list of possible reasons for being willing to contribute, comprised of being hurt economically by environmental degradation, environmental values and other-regarding preferences, i.e. that others in the community are hurt by environmental degradation. If, on the other hand, the respondent answered negatively to any, s/he was read out a list of reasons for not being willing to contribute, comprised of not being responsible for degradation, anticipated free-riding by others in the community, and anticipated uneven distribution of benefits of environmental quality, i.e. that others

would benefit more. These lists were compiled mainly by relying on the literature on contribution to collective action regarding natural asset use.[40]

In addition, scenario questions, tailored according to site-specific natural resource uses, inquiring about respondents' willing to limit consumption of natural resources were included in the survey. The motivation behind having the latter set of questions was my anticipation, based on similar empirical studies conducted in Turkey, that the first five measures would not show a lot of variance since they are not formulated around contributing something as pressing as foregoing current consumption. Furthermore, giving up short-term economic gains by limiting consumption of resource use might in fact be a better proxy (than, say, attending a training activity) for willingness to contribute to local sustainable development.

In Sultan Sazlığı, three scenarios were presented to all respondents in which s/he was asked to put her/himself in the shoes of a farmer, an animal grazer and a reed cutter, respectively. The scenarios, after laying out the specific trade-off between short-term economic gains and long-term environmental quality in each case, posited an informal agreement among resource users to collectively limit their use. The resource of interest in the farmer scenario is irrigation water, while that in the animal grazer scenario is pastures and that in the reed cutter scenario is reed area. The survey then asked the respondent if s/he would voluntarily join this agreement. In Köprülü Kanyon versions of the survey, four different scenarios related to animal grazing, oregano-picking, rafting tourism and construction were formulated. While animal grazing scenario was administered to all

[40] As can be imagined, some people had replied affirmatively to some questions and negatively to others. They are, therefore, provided with both lists of reasons. This will, in fact, provide me with a richer material since I will be able to explore why individuals choose to contribute in some ways and why they choose not to contribute in other ways.

respondents, the latter three were administered, respectively, only in Çaltepe, in Beşkonak-Karabük and in Altınkaya. Similar those in Sultan Sazlığı, the scenarios posited an informal agreement among resource users to collectively limit their use. Specifically, the agreement in the rafting tourism scenario was to limit the number of rafting tourists carried by each company, and that in the construction scenario was to not abuse the hypothetical construction permit (see above).

The last two sub-modules of the survey addressed current socio-economic status of the household that respondent belongs to and changes in socio-economic status since the implementation of the GEF project. Questions on socio-economic status were related to demographic characteristics of the respondent, educational attainment, demographic composition of the household, ownership of a list of household assets, monthly household income (measured in income brackets of 250 TL, $ 169 PPP), ownership of land and animals, and sources of household income (percentage share of income from different sources in household income).

Based on reported sources of income, respondents were directed to smaller sub-modules on the details of livelihood activities. Those who reported acquiring income from farming, for instance, were asked about methods of irrigation, crop patterns, subsistence vs. market production, primary decision-maker of irrigation method and crop patterns, as well as changes in irrigation methods, crop patterns, share of farming income in total household income and time spent in farming within the last six years. Analogous questions were asked for animal grazing, reed cutting, oregano-picking, and tourism employment. Finally, all respondents are asked, regardless of source of household income, of changes in the socio-economic conditions of the area they live in, in annual

household income, in household assets, in household expenditures, in the main source of household income, in hours of market work and in labor force participation of household members within the last six years.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter serves as the bridge between chapter 2, where a theoretical framework to understand local sustainable development was presented, and chapters 4 and 5, where an empirical study of two localities, Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, by combining qualitative and quantitive analyses is carried out. In connecting the abstract to the concrete by this bridge, I aimed to provide the groundwork by which abstract hypotheses about local sustainable development are concretized in the remainder of this dissertation and supply the reader with an intellectual map of how I operationalize theoretical questions in studying specific cases.

In doing so, I have emphasized the use of specific parameters in studying local sustainable development, namely, concrete crystallizations of state practices, the way state practices produce, reproduce and alter local inequalities and perceptions, and the mechanisms in which local inequalities and perceptions impinge on local sustainable development. I have also put forth how these parameters are investigated by the use of desktop research, in-depth interviews and focus groups, and a survey.

In chapter 4, I undertake a mostly qualitative examination of Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, both in terms of the process of their making and implementation of the GEF projects, by mobilizing the above-mentioned parameters. In chapter 5, I then engage into the quantitative analysis of the participatory decision-making mechanisms of

GEF and local peoples' willingness to contribute to community-level efforts to implement sustainable development.

Table 3.1 Population and number of households in Sultan Sazlığı, by settlement

Settlement	Number of Households (2003)	Population (2003)	Population over 18 (2003)
Sindelhöyük	1000	4684	2356
Musahacılı	380	1448	796
Soysallı	350	1294	757
Çayırözü	171	707	409
Ovaçiftlik	120	505	267
Yeşilova	115	477	252
Yenihayat	25	116	55

Source: Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007b; Voter Registration Records, 2009.

Table 3.2 Land use in Sultan Sazlığı, by use type

Type of Land Use	Total Area (ha)	Proportion of Protected Area	Users
Pastures	13,503	55.06%	Accessed by local livestock breeders in all surrounding villagers
Marshland	3,817	15.56%	Accessed by reed cutters in Sindelhöyük, Ovaçiftlik, Yeşilova and Yenihayat
Agricultural Land	2,340	9.54%	Sindelhöyük: 817 ha Çayırözü: 139.9 ha Soysallı: 540 ha Ovaçiftlik: 302.9 ha Yeşilova: 139.9 ha
Residential	1589	0.65%	Ovaçiftlik, Soysallı and Çayırözü
Seasonal Grazing	64	0.25%	Four temporary settlements (*mezra*) in Sindelhoyuk

Source: Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007b

Table 3.3 Population and number of households in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlement	Number of Households (2003)	Population (2003)	Population over 18 (2003)
Beşkonak	452	2408	1145
Karabük	142	710	384
Altınkaya	180	628	364
Gaziler	135	515	272
Ballıbucak	200	357	155
Çaltepe	148	578	321
Değirmenözü	175	604	291
Hasdümen	107	322	211
Demirciler	100	299	161
Yeşilvadi	70	193	116
Beydilli	60	200	321

Source: Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a; Voter Registration Records, 2009.

Table 3.4 Population and sample size in Sultan Sazlığı

Settlement	Population over 24 in 2009	Sample size at the settlement	Percentage of sample (%)
Sindelhöyük	2356	163	43
Musahacılı	796	68	18
Soysallı	757	45	12
Çayırözü	409	37	10
Ovaçiftlik	267	27	7
Yeşilova	252	22	6
Yenihayat	55	15	4

Table 3.5 Population and sample size in Köprülü Kanyon

Settlement	Population over 24 in 2009	Sample size at the settlement	Percentage of sample (%)
Beşkonak	1145	200	50
Karabük	384	69	17
Altınkaya	364	61	15
Çaltepe	321	71	18

Figure 3.1 GEF project sites

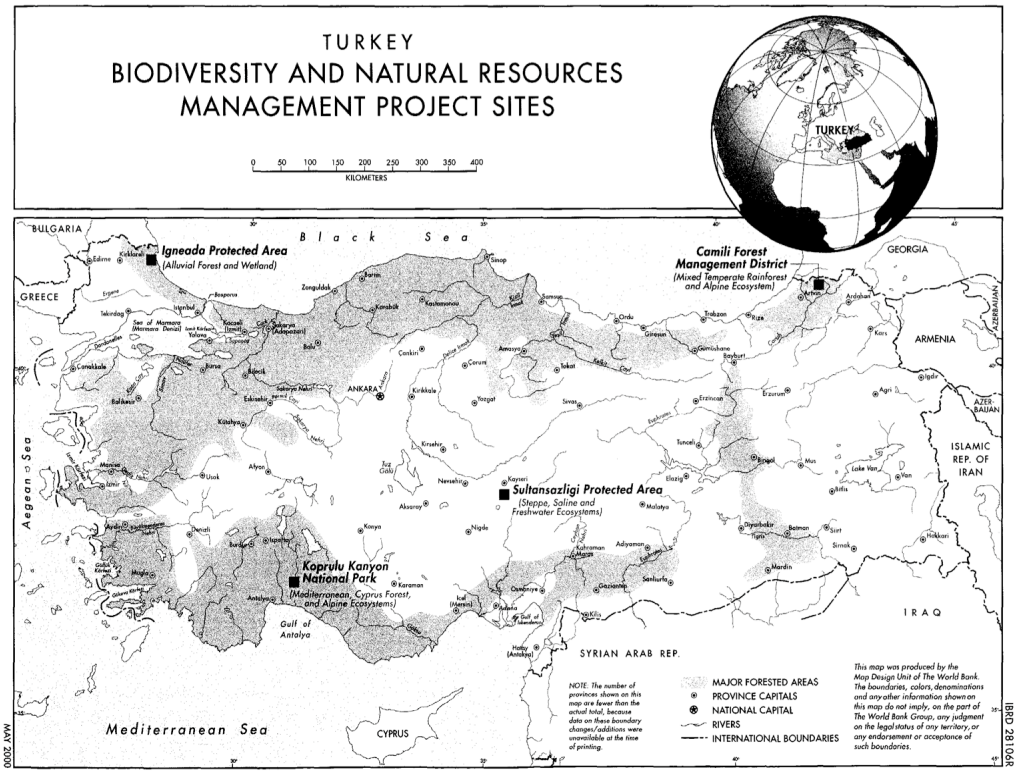


Figure 3.2 Sultan Sazlığı wetland complex

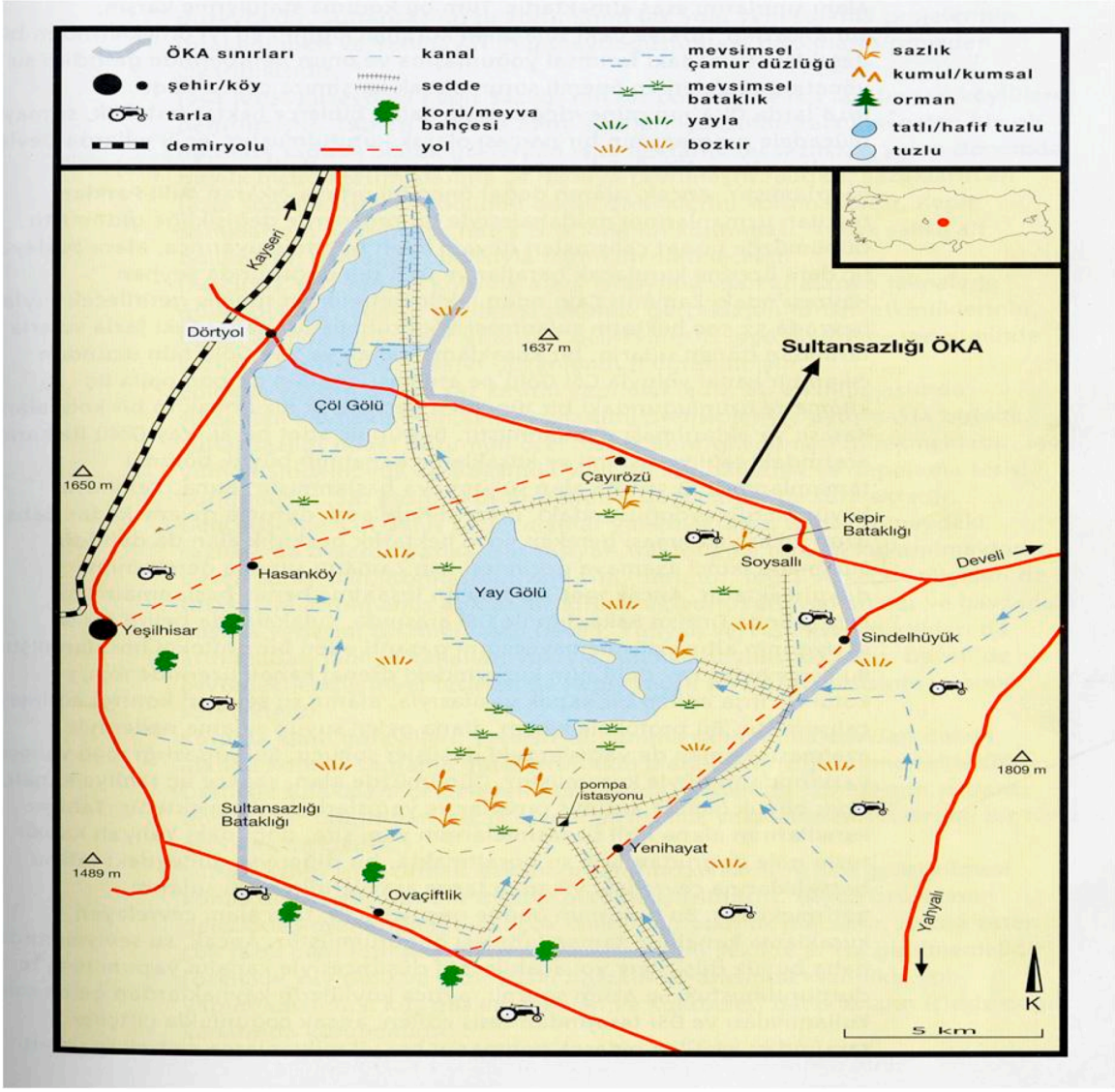
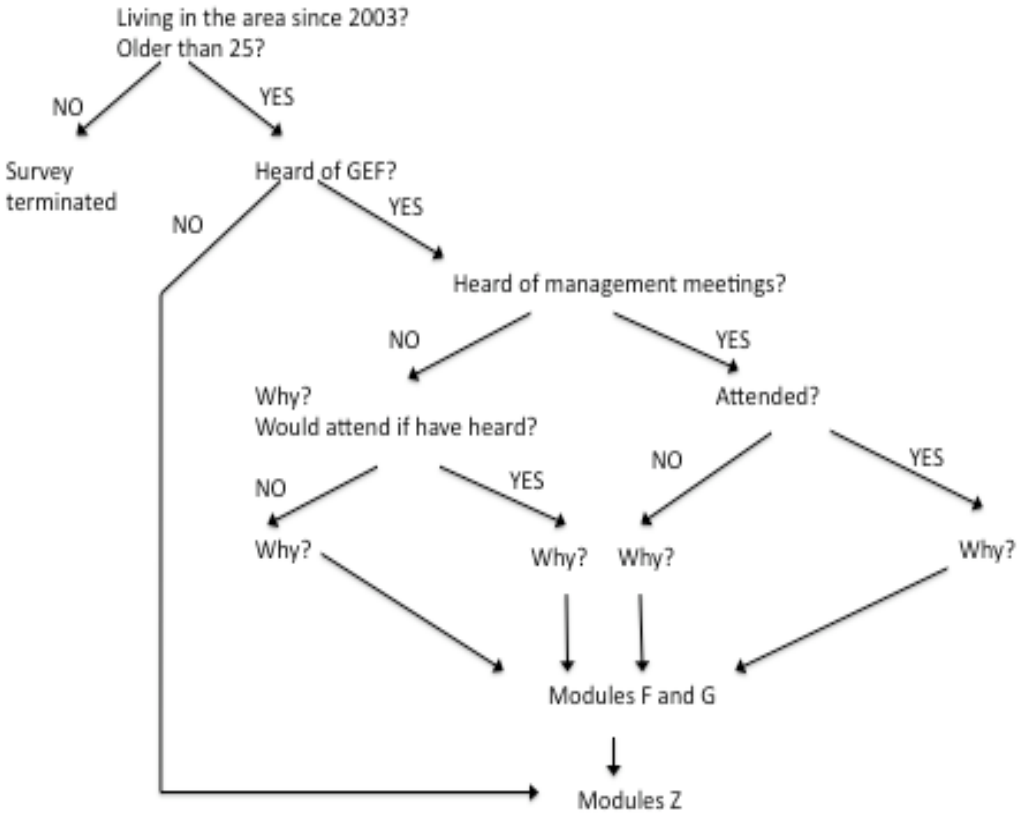


Figure 3.3 Köprülü Kanyon National Park

Figure 3.4 Structure of the survey



CHAPTER 4

SULTAN SAZLIĞI AND KÖPRÜLÜ KANYON: CONTEXTUALIZED FAILURES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the first part of the empirical analysis that informs this dissertation, namely the qualitative investigation of the failure of sustainable development in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon. I explore how the Turkish state's local manifestations and the way it has interacted with local dynamics have shaped local sustainable development, by probing into two inter-related processes in these two sites: the history of the state-society relationships and the implementation of the GEF projects. In doing so, I document the environmental processes and the local inequalities triggered by the Turkish state, and discuss how the local people's incentives and anticipations came to be shaped *vis-à-vis* the state. Furthermore, I pay specific attention to the ways in which inequalities and anticipations, conceptualized as the two indicators of the state-society relationship, impinge on the implementation of local sustainable development. Then I engage in the investigation of the GEF projects, where I demonstrate that local manifestations of the Turkish state and its interaction with the local dynamics underlie the failure of the projects.

The remainder of this chapter is made up of two main components, sections 4.2 and 4.3, where the analyses of Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon are taken up respectively. These sections are organized similarly: they first set the scene for the subsequent analyses, by depicting the prevalent dimensions of local inequalities. Then, a political economy analysis of the local environmental problems is provided, where the

state-society-environment interlinks are concretized and highlighted. Finally, the sections tackle the implementation of the GEF projects, both what they have aimed and why and how they have failed. Section 4.4 concludes by summarizing the main arguments of the chapter.

4.2 Sultan Sazlığı: Political Economy of Water Scarcity

If you pick up a guide on ecotourism in Turkey, you are not likely to miss the name Sultan Sazlığı, as it is an internationally renown "bird paradise" and wetland, attractive to birdwatchers and ecologists all around the world. If you walk into the Provincial Directorate of Ministry of Environment and Forestry in Kayseri, a colorful poster depicting the bird species found in the wetland, more than 160 in number, proudly salutes you. If you decide to visit Sultan Sazlığı, however, a drought-stricken landscape will welcome you. The rust-colored signs will direct you to a huge but empty building, meant to be a visitor center, next to which rises a tall bird-watching tower, but no birds will be in sight.

This picture becomes even more tragic when one considers the local people, populating seven settlements around the wetland, many of whom depend directly on the ecosystem for gaining livelihoods. Animal grazers complain of how their sheep got skinnier, while the reed cutters, in nostalgia, recall the days when they used to sail around the marshland. The burgeoning apple orchards and the thriving plots with ripe sugar beet in Develi plain surrounding the wetland, on the other hand, suggest who stole the water from Sultan Sazlığı.

It is staggering that such a site of international importance can be so devastated despite various conservation regulations it has been subject to for more than 40 years (see

chapter 3). What makes matters more puzzling is the fact that the environmental problems in Sultan Sazlığı have induced the Turkish state to implement a project, namely the GEF project, to ensure sustainable resource use and management in the area. The portrayal presented above is evidence enough that these attempts have failed miserably. This section provides a narrative of this failure, building on the findings of the field study conducted in Sultan Sazlığı. In doing so, it demonstrates that the rigorous pursuit of agricultural growth by the Turkish state, a constitutive practice in building its hegemony, has been the primary reason that hampered this attempt to implement sustainable development.

I start by setting the scene of the analysis in section 4.2.1, where I provide a discussion of the prevalent livelihood activities in Sultan Sazlığı. In section 4.2.2, I delve into the political economy of water use in the area, exploring how the local stakeholders, namely the farmers, animal grazers and the reed cutters, are positioned *vis-à-vis* the environment, and how they have been impacted by the prioritization of agricultural growth by the Turkish state. Finally, in section 4.2.3, I describe and unpack the failure of the GEF project, emphasizing the significant role played by the Turkish state's persistent growth-oriented logic of modernization and the local dynamics it has brought forth.

4.2.1 Setting the Scene

Sultan Sazlığı covers 3,800 hectares of marshland at the center of a large plain, surrounded by agricultural plots, orchards and pastures. This landscape is suggestive of major livelihood activities in the area, namely, agriculture, animal husbandry and reed cutting. According to 2007 records, 13% of the households in the project settlements rely on all three sources of livelihoods, whereas 22% depend on farming and reed cutting,

10% on animal husbandry and reed cutting, and 6% on agriculture and animal husbandry; 18% of the households acquire income only from reed cutting, 7% only from animal husbandry, and 9% only from farming (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007b).

Although the figures above demonstrate that most households rely on some combination of farming, animal husbandry and reed cutting, their prevalence varies geographically. More specifically, reed cutting is practiced in only four settlements (Ovaçiftlik, Yeşilova, Yenihayat and Sindelhöyük), and agricultural production is very limited in Yenihayat mainly due to unavailability of arable land.[41] Seasonal variations are added to the geographical dimension, as households adjust to changing viability of different livelihoods by shifting relative dependence on a certain activity within the mix. For instance, many households in the south started relying more on reed-cutting in 2001, a notoriously dry year, after encountering low crop yields due to insufficient irrigation (field interviews, 2008). In a similar vein, declining returns to animal husbandry, rooted in poor milk yields and increasing costs of grazing (discussed in detail later in this chapter), precipitated a shift from animal husbandry to farming and/or reed-cutting in the early 2000's (Karabaşa, 2002).

In the remainder of this section, I provide details about these three livelihood activities, such as the prevailing crop pattern, irrigation methods, types of livestock raised, *etc*. In doing so, I will set the scene for the arguments made in the rest of the chapter about natural resource use and local sustainable development. As will become obvious shortly, agriculture, animal husbandry and reed cutting are associated with different but overlapping uses of the ecosystem services. Thus, they are closely linked to

[41] Yenihayat is a small village that used to be a temporary settlement for animal grazing (*mezra*) for Sindelhöyük town.

the ongoing environmental problems and to each other, where overuse by one group might imply costs on others. The final part of the section discusses the main axes of socio-economic fragmentations in Sultan Sazlığı, by bringing together the aspects of inequality that emerge from reliance on different livelihood activities and those based on gender relations.

4.2.1.1 Agriculture

Agriculture is a major economic activity in Sultan Sazlığı, as almost half of the households in the project settlements depend on farming income (Sultan Sazlığı Management Report, 2007). Its significance, however, should be considered alongside two striking features of the agrarian structure: highly-skewed distribution of land and acute landlessness. Almost half of the households in Ovaçiftlik and Yeşilova, and more than two-thirds of those in Soysallı and Çayırözü, do not own any land (Karabaşa, 2002). Roughly 15 households (out of a total of 756 households, making up 2%) in these four villages, on the other hand, own over 20 hectares of land. Landownership structure in Musahacılı is exceptional in the sense that all households own at least three hectares of land, thanks to the land reform in 1953, but the distribution remains highly unequal with ten households (out of 380 households, making up 3%) owning over 20 hectares.

The main crops that Sultan Sazlığı farmers produce are sugar beets and sunflowers, in addition to the less extensively cultivated cereals such as wheat and barley. Table 4.1 provides a picture of agricultural production in the area by listing the crops cultivated, as well as the sizes of total arable land, decomposed at the settlement level. Although this crop pattern has persisted in the area (similar to the broader Develi plain) since the early 1970's, two recent trends should be noted: Fruit production, in particular

of apples, became important in the southern villages (Ovaçiftlik and Yeşilova) starting in the late 1990's and has spread to northern villages in the last couple of years. In addition, within the last 5 years, crop pattern has shifted, especially in Musahacılı and Soysallı, towards the cultivation of animal feed crops (mostly corn and fodder to be silaged), which replaced sugar beet and sunflower. In fact, the rising share of animal feed in the crop mix is in line with the general trend in the broader Develi plain, according to the records of Kayseri Provincial Directorate of Agriculture (Republic of Turkey Kayseri Provincial Directorate of Agriculture, 2009). This shift is mainly driven by the provision of incentives for animal feed cultivation: credit and price subsidies for seed purchasing, as well as extension support, are provided by the Turkish state in order to promote sustainable grazing via substitution of stall feeding for open grazing.[42]

As can be inferred from the prevailing crop pattern, agricultural production is mostly market-oriented. The main market for sugar beet is the processing plant in Kayseri, the provincial center. Likewise, sunflower and animal feed crops are sold to the oil processing and silage plants in the surrounding towns. Apple is sold to small merchants who visit the area during harvest time and provide the means of transportation of the product (and occasionally the labor power for apple picking). Negligible amounts of surplus vegetables and other fruits produced in the orchards are sold in village markets. Wheat and barley cultivation, on the other hand, is subsistence-based.

[42] It is ironic, however, that some animal feed crops, especially silage corn, have high irrigation requirements. I will discuss later in this chapter that an important reason underlying the environmental problems in the area is the crop pattern. More specifically, the crops cultivated both in Sultan Sazlığı area and in the broader Develi Plain are highly water-demanding. A shift towards animal feed cultivation, therefore, is potentially exacerbating the water issue in the area.

Although becoming a more frequent practice lately, most farming households do not resort to hiring paid agricultural workers and rely instead on family labor and informal labor sharing arrangements (*imece*) in agricultural production.[43] Labor sharing typically takes place between 6-10 people, usually belonging to the same neighborhood or extended family. The group collectively works on every member's plot until harvest is (or almost) done. A clear gender-based division of labor can be seen in agricultural production, as women are responsible for preparing and hoeing the land, as well as for fruit picking in orchards, while men undertake tilling and reaping.

As is the case in almost all of the Develi plain, farming is primarily irrigated. In fact, the crops cultivated in the area require quite high levels of irrigation water (Gürer, 2004). Plots in the south of Sultan Sazlığı rely on irrigation from Ağcaşar and Kovalı dams, built on two streams feeding the wetland in the1980's as a part the Develi Irrigation Project.[44] Farmers in the north, on the other hand, take advantage of the natural springs located nearby, whose water is then released to the wetland. Well-irrigation is also heavily utilized all around the wetland: Farmers in Sindelhöyük rely almost exclusively on deep wells, reported to be 28, opened by the State Hydraulic Works. Apart from the numerous deep wells that the State Hydraulic Works opened in other

[43] The notable exception to this general pattern is Musahacılı, where hiring agricultural laborers is common. Around 10% of the villagers in Musahacılı work as seasonal agricultural workers (Karabaşa, 2002).

[44] The Develi Irrigation Project, as attested by its name, is a comprehensive undertaking planned and implemented by the State Hydraulic Works with the aim of developing irrigated agriculture in the Develi basin. It started in the late 1960's and comprised of the construction of three dams and various irrigation structures. A detailed discussion of the project and its impact both on the environment and on different local groups will be presented later in this chapter.

villages (around 40), many farmers have opened, and currently rely on, illegal deep wells after experiencing a highly dry year in 2001.

The prominence of irrigated farming goes hand-in-hand with inefficient water use in Sultan Sazlığı, as attested by the widespread use of wild flooding in irrigation, where water is allowed to flow freely across farmlands. Unsurprisingly, wild flooding is preferred by farmers for its low infrastructural requirements, since it implies direct, or ditch or strip-controlled, water application to the land. Utilization of water-conserving methods, such as sprinkler and drip systems, has only started recently and remain limited in scope.[45]

4.2.1.2 Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry is practiced widely, and almost all households in Sultan Sazlığı have at least two beef cattle or a few sheep (see table 4.2 for cattle and sheep ownership by settlement). Milking and preparation of dairy products are tasks that fall exclusively within the female domain of household production. Animal products are primarily used for household consumption, while around two-thirds of animal owners in the area sell surplus production in local markets.[46] Milk is the main product marketed by animal owners, sold to cooperatives in Musahacılı and Sindelhöyük, with the exception of animal owners in Yenihayat, who rely more on selling cheese in local markets since

[45] Although there are state-led attempts to initiate a shift to water-efficient irrigation methods, they mostly fail in bringing about a change. This failure will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

[46] Market-orientation is less frequent among the animal owners in Ovaçiftlik and Yeşilova.

marketing milk, an easily perishable product, is infeasible for them due to poor transportation opportunities (field interviews, 2008).

Animal owners often make use of the pastures in the surroundings of the wetland to graze their animals. In most cases, the village herdsman takes all animals in the village to grazing in various parts of the national park and brings them back at night. In addition, some villagers use a specific type of reed after drying on rooftops for about two weeks to feed their animals. Despite the existence of various subsidies to promote it, animal feed is still rarely used, mostly by few relatively well-off animal owners.

Although animal husbandry has been the most prevalent source of livelihood in the area for a long time, its importance has been declining since the mid-80's and especially deteriorated within the last decade (Karabaşa, 2002; Şarkışla, 2002; field interviews, 2008). In addition to the detrimental effects of water scarcity on the pastures, which will be discussed in detail later, accessibility of upland meadows was severely limited by two events: meadows that were accessed free of charge by Musahacılı residents were started to be rented out by the state, which made sheep raising prohibitively costly; meadows used by Soysallı, on the other hand, can no longer be accessed since they fell within the boundaries of the protected area as a result of the 2003 revisions (see section 3.4.1 in chapter 3). Such intensified constraints on grazing translated into declining milk yields and diminishing viability of animal husbandry as a livelihood option.

4.2.1.3 Reed Cutting

Reed cutting has been practiced in Sultan Sazlığı for a long time, for both household and commercial use.[47] Until early the 1980's, cutting reed for weaving mats and baskets, stuffing pillows and making fences was widespread among the local people. These traditional activities, however, faded in time with the area's increased integration with the market economy and the degradation of the marshland (Karabaşa, 2002). Today, reed cutting is primarily done for commercial purposes. A specific, thin type of reed, suitable for roof thatching, is cut and sold to reed companies in Sindelhöyük, who then export it to European countries.

While residents of Ovaçiftlik, Yeşilova, Yenihayat and Sindelhöyük rely heavily on it, almost no one in the remaining villages engages in reed cutting (Karabaşa, 2002; field interviews, 2008). According to field interviews conducted in 2008, 80-90% of households in Ovaçiftlik, Yeşilova and Yenihayat engage in reed-cutting for generating income (see table 4.3 for more accurate figures for 2002). Reed cutters usually form groups of 4-6 people who work together and share the proceeds afterwards. In most cases, it is the male household head who goes out to reed cutting. Women do not often engage in the actual cutting of the reed, since it demands considerable physical strength, but usually help with the cleaning and bundling of the cut reed (field interviews, 2008). The exception is Sindelhöyük, where women frequently went with their husbands to the marshland to help cut, clean, bundle and carry reed.

[47] Although it is beyond the scope of the present discussion, it is worth noting that Sultan Sazlığı marshlands host a variety of reed types suitable for different uses. For a detailed description, see Karabaşa (2002).

Cutting starts around October-November, when reed plant is mature (known when it releases its leaves) and can go until February. The specific type of reed used in roof thatching is cut for about 2-3 weeks, starting in mid-November. Cutting is done primarily by hand, with sickles slightly bigger than those used in harvest reaping, though occasionally tractors were utilized until they were banned in the late 1990's. Before the wetland started to dry out completely, it was customary for reed cutters to travel around the marshland with boats and cut only the part above the water level.

As there are no individual property rights over the marshland, how much each group or individual would cut is set by the practice of "encircling" (*çevrik*), an informal arrangement according to which reed cutters (or groups of them) encircle their claimed area by cutting the reeds marking its boundaries first. A single reed-cutter can cut 75-150 bundles per day if reed is adequate; the number falls to 25-30 in times of scarcity. Cut reed is first assembled in bundles, 10-30 of which are grouped together to be carried outside of the marshland. After being transported to the villages, reed bundles are opened and cleaned out of the useless shorter reed. They are then re-bundled, put together in stacks (of 100 bundles) and left in an open area ready for sale.

Reed companies, based in Sindelhöyük, export the reed to European countries (mainly Germany) after some more cleaning and re-bundling. Since there are only three reed cutting companies to whom cut reed can be sold, reed companies have considerable power on determining the price, i.e. reed cutters face monopsonistic prices, much lower than what reed commands in international markets. Karabaşa (2002), based on the assumption that 50 bundles are cut per day, estimates that a month of reed cutting provided a net return of 1,350 TL per person (in 2010 prices) on average in 2002; given

that commercial reed cutting was being practiced for 60 days that year, this translates into 2,700 TL (in 2010 prices) of annual income, equivalent to $1,600. This compares to Turkey's annual average per capita income of $3, 311. I was told during field interviews in 2008, on the other hand, that a reed cutter earns around 1,650-2,750 TL in 2010 prices, approximately $980-1,630 per year; a close figure to Karabaşa's estimate.

As these figures suggest, those who depend on reed cutting as the primary source of income are the most marginalized and poor section of the community. Although it was used as a supplementary option in the past, today only those who do not own any land or livestock resort to reed cutting since it is a highly labor-intensive task with low returns. Stricter regulations introduced by the GEF project, as will be explained in detail, also serve as a disincentive for those who have alternative means of livelihood. Lack of alternative means of generating income, coupled with low cash returns of reed cutting, makes it virtually inconceivable for reed cutters to shift to other economic activities. Furthermore, many reed cutters are trapped into a debt cycle, as borrowing from reed companies to cover transportation and labor expenses is common. Cutters start the season indebted to the buyers, anticipating covering previous year's debt with the current year's income. Given the absence of alternative cash-generating opportunities, this debt-bondage cycle proves to be hard to break.

The impact of heightened environmental problems, linked to water scarcity, on the reed cutting practices will be discussed extensively in the following section. Suffice it to say for the present discussion that one implication of environmental distress has been the increased dependence on reed-cutting as a source of livelihood, which has produced resource conflicts among users. Disputes over use rights between cutters from

Sindelhöyük, not neighboring the marshland, and those from the remaining villages have been ongoing since the late 1990's. Until then, access rights were granted to non-neighboring settlements in exchange for a fee paid to the neighboring settlements. This arrangement disappeared, with many rejecting to pay the fee, as the number of reed cutters increased and reeds became scarcer (Karabaşa, 2002). Inequalities between the few wealthy cutters, who cut more by hiring wage laborers, and the poorer majority also spark conflicts. Karabaşa (2002) states that norms of fairness, which used to govern the practice of encircling, are increasingly replaced by self-interest. This observation is supported by my field interviews, during which locals complained that while everyone used to cut only as much as they needed in the past and respected others' right to gain livelihood, the pressing need to generate cash and competition between reed cutters made them "greedy"; not only are the poor reed cutters spiteful of the wealthy, but also they too are driven to cut as much as they can, as soon as they can, by their debt obligations to the reed companies.

4.2.1.4 Local Fragmentations: Land, Livelihood and Gender

The preceding presentation of economic activities in Sultan Sazlığı speaks foremost to the salience of land-based inequalities. Given the backdrop of striking land inequality, accessibility of income-generating opportunities varies significantly in the area. Land ownership corresponds to farming income, which is not only more lucrative but also more reliable than animal husbandry and reed cutting, as farmers face little price and market uncertainty thanks to the state agricultural subsidy policies. Landlessness, on the other hand, largely implies reliance on animal husbandry or reed cutting for gaining livelihoods.

In particular, reed cutters make up the most marginalized and poor section of the community, who lack access to land and other productive assets. The debt-bondage most of them are trapped in, as mentioned earlier, leads to heightened subsistence pressures on reed-cutting households. Virtually all reed cutters lack alternative income-generation options and depend solely on the marshland for gaining their livelihoods. Despite the fact that local people have chosen to supplement household incomes by reed cutting in the past, almost everyone who owns some land or livestock has opted out of it with the deterioration of the reed cover and access restrictions brought about by the GEF.[48] The current "pool" of reed cutters, therefore, is more deprived, in general, than before.

Variations in land ownership and corresponding sources of livelihoods undoubtedly correlate with living standards and economic power. Moreover, livelihood groups defined in terms of agriculture, animal husbandry and reed cutting signify power that comes with social status. Where farmers are overall the most respected group in the villages, reed cutters are looked down upon to be ignorant, lazy, or even lacking adequate morals (field interviews, 2008). This stereotype is especially epitomized in the narratives of farmers, who speak of reed cutters as savages and causes of discomfort; in the words of a fruit producer, she would rather the marshland was completely dried since then "the reed people would then have to leave and we'd all be better off".

Socio-economic fragmentations defined as such do not only prevail within specific settlements, but also mark inequalities, to a certain extent, across settlements, as

[48] There were no formal restrictions on reed cutting prior to the first reed-cutting plan implemented in 2001. Accordingly, cutting was allowed for three months (October, November and December) anywhere in the marshland as long as it does not exceed 30% of the total reed area and does not damage breeding areas of birds. Restrictions introduced by the GEF, however, are stricter, as will be described later.

the degree of reliance on different livelihoods differs based on location. More specifically, the settlements in Sultan Sazlığı can be broadly categorized as those on the north, Soysallı and Çayırözü, relying heavily on animal husbandry, those on the west, Musahacılı and Sindelhöyük, where agriculture is more important compared to the rest of the settlements, and those in the south, Yeşilova and Ovaçiftlik, the reed cutter villages. The farmer settlements Musahacılı and Sindelhöyük are not only wealthier than the rest, but also have better health care and education infrastructure.

Another axis of inequality, which cannot be reduced to economic relations, is based on gender. Although women seem more vocal and visible at times than what is commonly observed in rural Anatolia, gender norms of appropriate female behavior can be clearly discerned. Some places, such as village coffee houses, as well as some actions, such as traveling alone outside of their settlements, are considered to be off limits for "proper" women. Undoubtedly, such norms operate as strong constraints on women's participation in public life. Musahacılı seems to be more gender-egalitarian in this respect, as women seemed more confident and mobile.

Carrying out household chores such as cooking, cleaning, looking after children, and taking care of animals, milking and preparation of dairy products are the types labor that are almost exclusively in the female domain of work, largely undervalued by the men in the communities. Non-substitutability of female-male labor in these tasks puts significant pressures on women's labor time, as they cannot "bargain" them away, even when they have outside labor responsibilities.

Although there are no social norms that restrict it, it seems that women's outside work is usually a livelihood strategy adopted by poor households out of need. Women

from wealthy households seem to perceive paid employment to be degrading more than empowering (field interviews, 2008). Women's outside work often consists of seasonal agricultural labor with daily remuneration. It is not common, however, for women to hold onto their income; household income is either pooled or controlled by the male household head (field interviews, 2008). Building on this observation, it would not be unfair to say that women hold significantly less economic power than men.

4.2.2 The Political Economy of Water Scarcity

Sultan Sazlığı has been suffering from drought for a while, as the water level in the wetland ecosystem has been decreasing dramatically, most visibly since 1998. The problem has become acute lately, as the wetland dries out completely during most months of the year. Calculations in GEF reports state that current inflow into the wetland falls 30 million m^3 short of the amount required for the ecosystem's survival. Water shortage hurts the plant cover, as exemplified by the degradation of both the quality and quantity of pasture and the marshland. According to the records of State Hydraulic Works, the total area of Yay Lake and the marshland decreased by 20% between 1970 and 2003 (Sultan Sazlığı Management Report, 2007). According to Sultan Sazlığı Management Report (2007), the area of the reed cover fell from 3,900 to 400 hectares within the last two decades.

In this section, I undertake a political economy analysis of water scarcity and the environmental problems it causes in Sultan Sazlığı. To reiterate, I understand the resource use patterns and environmental change as embedded in social, economic and political processes. Specifically, I explore the ways in which the state's agricultural policies have shaped resource use patterns and altered local dynamics. In doing so, I demonstrate that

the benefits and costs associated with the activities that hurt the environment are unevenly distributed. My main argument is that the Turkish state's growth-oriented modernist vision, a part of its hegemonic practices, had translated into the promotion of irrigated agriculture in Develi plain at all costs. In the discussion below, I substantiate how the reproduction of state hegemony via the pursuit of economic growth has shaped the local environment, both directly and indirectly, and re/produced local inequalities.

Though I structure most of the following discussion around the main resource groups (farmers, animal grazers, and reed cutters), demarcating the boundaries between them and their interests is not always easy, since there are significant overlaps between (e.g. animal grazers and farmers, or animal grazers and reed-cutters) and heterogeneities within user groups, as will be explained.

4.2.2.1 Farmers

Farmers' main relationship with the wetland ecosystem is through their use of irrigation water, as was described in section 4.2.1.1. Not only the farmers in Sultan Sazlığı, but those in the broader Develi plain have a direct relationship with the wetland: Develi river basin is a big plain where the main source of livelihood is –mostly irrigated- agriculture. Since irrigation water is obtained either from the dams built on sources flowing into the wetland or from wells tapping into underground water, farmer practices in the broader plain have direct implications for water scarcity in Sultan Sazlığı.

Cultivation and irrigation practices in the basin need to be unpacked to clearly understand Develi farmers' relationship with Sultan Sazlığı. Farming in the plain is almost entirely irrigated: In 2003, irrigated farming was practiced in 78,000 of 81,200 hectares (96%) of all arable land (Gürer, 2004). Cereals, beans, sugar beet, sunflower,

fodder, fruits and vegetables are the main crops cultivated, though their relative importance varies across different regions. The total areas of cultivation for each crop, as well as corresponding proportion of arable land in the plain, are presented in table 4.4. As stated earlier, the existing crop pattern is skewed towards water-intensive crops and has prevailed since 1970's. Gürer (2004), after taking irrigation requirements of cultivated crops, harvesting seasons, and efficiency of irrigation methods employed in the plain into account, estimates that the existing crop pattern requires 398 million m^3 of irrigation water annually.

The infrequency of water-saving irrigation methods in the plain, a pattern echoed in Sultan Sazlığı as stated before, should be considered alongside the plain-wide tendency to cultivate water-consuming crops. Gürer (2004) states that about 90% of irrigation in the basin is based on flooding, resulting in 60-65% of water loss. It would not be wrong to claim, therefore, the burden on Sultan Sazlığı is primarily created by water used –and wasted— by farmers in the Develi plain: water diverted by dams and vacuumed out by wells for agricultural production constitute the main cause of water scarcity.

Generally speaking, Develi farmers have been enjoying, albeit to differing degrees, the fruits of irrigated farming, but not bearing most of its costs. Irrigated farming has generated high profits for landowners and fueled much of the region's economic growth. Sugar beet and sunflower, cultivated by almost all farmers in the plain, are highly marketable cash crops with high net returns. Sugar beet producers have benefited from guaranteed markets, predictable prices well above international prices, ease of credit access and technical support. Likewise, oilseed producers are supported by input subsidies, as well as premiums paid per unit of land cultivated. Fruit production, carried

out by larger landowners, is also promoted by various state-initiated support schemes and is very profitable. Lately, Develi farmers have taken advantage of subsidized fodder cultivation, which has the highest per hectare monetary returns among all the crops cultivated in the basin.

The primary implication of environmental degradation on farmers is insufficiency of irrigation water, as very few among them make use of pastures or marshland in Sultan Sazlığı; they have not been hit, therefore, by the degradation of the plant cover. Although the effects of water shortage on agricultural production are being felt recently, it does not seem to have yet posed a serious problem in terms of sustained reductions in farm output or incomes. This is mainly because the needs of agricultural production have always been, and continue to be, prioritized: the fulfillment of irrigation needs in the plain was ensured by the state even if it meant huge reductions of water inflow to Sultan Sazlığı.

Some farmers, however, feel the costs of water shortage more bitterly than others. Broadly speaking, geographical location and source of irrigation seem to be two decisive factors on how farmers are impacted. Villages in the north of Sultan Sazlığı, Çayırözü and Soysallı, rely on natural springs for irrigation and thus do not feel the burden of water shortage (field interviews, 2008). The distribution of costs on farmers who utilize dam irrigation, on the other hand, is very much related to plot locations. Water released from Ağcaşar and Kovalı dams is given to the wetland after traveling through plots in the plain. Plots in the closer vicinity of Sultan Sazlığı, by virtue of being at the end of the canal system, are the final receivers of irrigation. Consequently, they are the ones to suffer first and most of water shortage (Özesmi and Gürer, 2003; field interviews, 2008).

Those farmers who are less fortunate, and thus affected adversely, complain about the unpredictable dam irrigation and rising saline levels of underground water vacuumed out by wells. Furthermore, harsher climatic conditions brought about by the drought have affected fruit producers in the immediate surroundings of Sultan Sazlığı, but not those farther away from the wetland: fruit producers complain that quality and quantity of annual output have been hurt by wide temperature oscillations. Based on these accounts, it would not be unfair to assert that while all farmers in the broader Develi plain have been contributing to the water crisis, those in the surrounding of Sultan Sazlığı have been bearing its costs more than others.

4.2.2.2 Animal Grazers

The second group, animal owners, relates to the ecosystem through their use of the pastures in the surroundings of the wetland for grazing purposes. However, as reliance on pastures correlate with wealth, i.e. well-off animal owners do not resort to open grazing, neither the contribution by animal grazers to degradation by overgrazing, nor the impacts of degrading pastures on animal grazers are uniform, as will be elaborated below.

Although overgrazing is admittedly an issue, the primary reason for the degradation of pastures in Sultan Sazlığı is the scarcity of water. Meadows and pastures started deteriorating with reductions in both underground and surface water. This, unsurprisingly, resulted in increased pressure on the relatively intact pastures and in turn accelerated their degradation. In the face of decreasing livestock yields and falling household incomes, the landless open grazers have opted for two strategies: supplementing their livelihoods by reed cutting, which intensified the pressure on the

marshland, or stress sales of livestock. Karabaşa (2002) reports, for instance, that the number of livestock kept in Yenihayat decreased by a fifth between 1985 and 2001. The relatively well-off animal owners who are engaged in stall breeding and/or own land, on the other hand, were not affected by the degradation of pastures.

Landed animal owners, however, are contributing to the deterioration of pastures to the extent they cultivate water-intensive crops. More specifically, I argue that distribution of costs associated with the degradation of pastures, as well as that of contribution to it, is correlated with landownership. The landless, whose consumption of irrigation water is nil, bear the burnt of declining pasture quality, while the landed who have a hand in bringing about water shortage also have the means, i.e. purchasing or growing animal feed, to avoid most of its costs.

4.2.2.3 Reed Cutters

As stated earlier, reed cutters are the most marginalized and poor, with no access to productive assets.[49] It is clear that they have been the worst hit by the degradation, specifically of the marshland, since they lack opportunities to switch to other livelihood practices. Their contribution to degradation, however, is far from comparable to the costs they bear. The main mechanisms through which the reed cutters take part in the degradation of the marshland are premature reed cutting and overharvesting. Premature cutting hurts the regeneration of the resource base, whereas overharvesting leads to its depletion.

[49] As hinted earlier, it was common for local people to undertake reed cutting to supplement household incomes. In the present discussion, however, I use the term to refer to those for whom reed cutting is the primary source of livelihood and not to those who engage in reed cutting as an alternative/supplementary activity.

Field interviews with the reed cutters, as well as with the GEF project team, indicate that premature cutting is somewhat a recent phenomenon. In fact, the reed cutters were well aware of the harm premature cutting would do and they knew, based on years of experience, the best cutting time for the plant's healthy growth. They stated that the "genuine" reed cutters (who rely on reed cutting as the main livelihood activity) would never cut prematurely, since the practice would ultimately hurt their only source of livelihood. They admitted, however, that some are forced to do it because of financial hardship.

I argue that the incidence of premature cutting, in this case, typifies how inequality operates to induce degradation. It has been precipitated by the general deprivation of the reed cutters, and the structure of their relationship to the reed companies. As I described earlier, most reed cutters start the cutting season indebted to the reed companies. With progressive worsening of their economic well-being over the years with the degradation of the reed cover, the burden of debt becomes more pressing for most reed cutters. In addition, competition between the reed companies has led them to offer buying premature reed despite the agreement they had with the national park (field interviews). As a result, reed cutters who want to be freed of their debt as soon as possible cut prematurely and cause considerable damage on the long-term sustainability of the marshland.

The causes and effects of overharvesting are not as simple as they look, either. While overharvesting clearly puts pressure on the reed cover, its scope and severity seem to have varied with the composition of the reed cutter pool. Since overharvesting manually is not probable, overharvesters are often the wealthier reed cutters who own

tractors or can afford to hire additional labor. With the better-off villagers who have alternative means of generating income dropping out of the reed cutting pool, overharvesting is not a pressing issue anymore. In other words, those who rely solely on the marshland for gaining their livelihoods (the current pool of reed cutters) lack the means to overharvest. They did, however, end up shouldering its burden in the past, as a consequence of which their livelihoods suffer and standards of living deteriorate significantly.

Similar to the situation with the pastures, the primary reason accounting for the degradation of the marshland, however, is water shortage precipitated by the agricultural practices in the plain.[50] Apart from leading to substantial degradation of both quality and quantity of the reed area, the drought had hurt the marshland in three additional, more indirect, channels. Firstly, it has served to open up a larger portion of the marshland to be harvested. Secondly, it facilitated overharvesting, since the tractor use became possible only after marshland dried.

Thirdly, the drought's negative impacts on other livelihood practices, such as animal husbandry, have exacerbated the pressure on the reed ecosystem to the extent that it prompted supplementing of household incomes by reed cutting. Karabaşa (2002) states that falling agricultural productivity and degradation of pastures due to water scarcity, coupled with declining agricultural prices and the economic crisis in 2001, resulted in a steady increase both in the number of households engaged in reed-cutting and in the quantity of reed cut per household starting in early 2000's. Unsurprisingly, such

[50] In fact, the first blow on the reed area was the draining of the northern marshes by the Turkish state with the intention of opening up arable land, which was later distributed to residents of Musahacılı, in the early 1950's.

intensified pressure on the marshland led cutting area to expand. While only one-third of the marshland was accessed by reed-cutters prior to 1990's, reed was cut from the whole marshland in 2001 (Özesmi, 2002). It can be argued, therefore, that water scarcity has proved to be a double-blow on the marshland, through its direct impact on the reed cover and its effects on resource use. Shifts in the availability and viability of alternative livelihoods increased the pressure on the reed eco-system and accelerated its degradation.

As should be clear from the above discussion, reed cutters' contribution to water scarcity and the implications they are faced with are highly asymmetric. Since the reed cutters are predominantly landless, they have not been taking part in irrigation practices underlying water shortage. They are, however, forced to bear its costs since opting out of reed cutting is nearly impossible for them.

4.2.2.4 The State

I have tried to demonstrate that the environmental problems in Sultan Sazlığı, as well as the social and economic dynamics they are enmeshed within, are closely related to the agricultural practices in Develi plain. In this subsection, I discuss the role played by the Turkish state in the making of these dynamics, especially regarding its growth-orientation in promoting agricultural production at all costs, and unpack the history of sustainable development's failure in the area. In doing so, I take up two aspects of this failure in turn, the Turkish state's promotion of agriculture, and its futile attempts to enforce sustainable water use.

4.2.2.4.1 Develi Plain: A History of Growth-Orientation

Historically, a main pillar of the Turkish state's strategy to promote agricultural growth has been undertaking monumental irrigation schemes around the country. Against this backdrop, it initiated the Develi Irrigation Project (DIP hereafter) in 1960's with the intention of developing water resources and promoting irrigated agriculture, by which cash crops such as sugar beet and sunflower could be cultivated. The project comprised of two stages, during the first of which three dams, groundwater pumping facilities and irrigation and drainage structures were built. The second stage, on the other hand, was envisaged to transfer water for irrigation purposes from a neighboring basin, Zamantı. A total of 52,500 hectares was aimed to be irrigated with DIP.

It is worth noting that the original plan was to drain the entire Sultan Sazlığı wetland when DIP was first started. The plans were revised in 1976, five years after the wetland was declared as a Wildlife Conservation Area, and an agreement on the minimum quantity of water to be released into the wetland was reached between State Hydraulic Works and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

With the implementation of DIP, Akköy, Ağcaşar and Kovalı dams were constructed in 1967, 1986 and 1987, respectively. The dams alone led to a reduction of 86 million m^3 water inflow to Sultan Sazlığı. Furthermore, State Hydarulic Works drilled 390 wells with irrigation purposes between 1968 and 2002, 159 of which were drilled after all the dams became functional (Gürer, 2004). Such large number of wells drilled by the state and the lax monitoring of (illegal) personal wells led to a boom in well irrigation over the years. Gürer (2004) illustrates this with figures: Currently, irrigated farming is practiced on around 78,000 hectares in the plain, while the dam irrigation capacity is

approximately 28,000 hectares. 50,000 hectares of difference indicates the amount of land irrigated by personal wells, of which approximately one-third (by an optimistic estimation) are illegal (Gürer, 2004).

Added to the handing down of irrigation infrastructure by the state is the non-volumetric pricing of irrigation water. Accordingly, a fixed annual amount is charged per hectare of land, determined separately for each crop, regardless of how much water is actually utilized. This irrigation pricing policy has not only sparked a dramatic expansion of irrigated land, but also led highly water-wasting irrigation methods to take root throughout the plain. Since farmers perceive water to be abundant and cheap, they have virtually no incentive to undertake costly investments to deploy efficient irrigation methods, such as drip or sprinkler systems.

Yet another result of DIP and the irrigation policy, which should be considered alongside the expansion of irrigated area and water use, was the notable change in the cropping pattern. While cereals predominated in cultivation prior to the 1970's, cash crops like sugar beet and sunflower, as well as fruit production and animal feed cultivation, gained increasing importance afterwards (interviews with employees of Kayseri Provincial Directorate of Agriculture). This shift in the cultivation pattern signified a rise in the water-intensiveness of agricultural production and thus had a direct effect on plain-wide water use. I explain below that the price, credit and market incentives accompanied the readily available irrigation resources and cheap irrigation water in bringing about the change in the cropping pattern.

In line with its attempts to boost the agricultural sector, the Turkish state had a number of protective measures and subsidies in place until the recent liberalization

program of 2001.[51] In sugar beet production, state's agricultural policy translated into guaranteed markets and subsidized prices, as well as fertilizer support and access to harvesting equipment and services (EU Screening Report, 2006). Accordingly, almost all sugar beet was produced under contract with processing plants operated by state-owned or state-regulated agencies, which effectively eliminated market-related risks. In a similar vein, sugar procurement prices, well above world prices, removed price uncertainties. Sunflower production was (and still is) supported by price subsidies according to which a per-kilogram premium is paid to growers. Furthermore, state-regulated agricultural sales cooperatives provided storage, processing and marketing assistance.

More recently, animal feed cultivation and fruit production are being promoted in the basin. A number of plain-wide projects to encourage fruit production via subsidized sale of seedlings and provision of extension services are ongoing, in addition to those planned yet to be implemented (Kayseri Provincial Directorate of Agriculture Records, 2008). Likewise, animal feed crops are strongly promoted by direct support in purchases of input and farm equipment. Fruits and animal feed have both proved to command high prices in agricultural markets, which gave farmers further incentives to expand their production.

To recap, DIP and the accompanying agricultural subsidies, e.g. price and market incentives, water pricing schemes, input and extension support, demonstrate the Turkish state's growth-oriented vision, crystallized as the prioritization of agricultural production

[51] Although a comprehensive discussion of agricultural liberalization is beyond the present purposes, it should be noted that sugar beet subsidies were eliminated and supply control measures were introduced in 2001 as a part of the reform package. Their sustained existence until then, however, had shaped producer incentives and resulting cropping patterns significantly.

in the Develi plain. Unsurprisingly, this strategy led to a dramatic increase in irrigated farming and widespread cultivation of highly water-demanding crops in the last 40 years. Farmers who practice irrigated farming have been the clear winners of this agricultural policy, as they enjoyed profits accruing from subsidized production of highly marketable crops. However, altered farming practices, coupled with the predominance of inefficient irrigation methods, have put an immense pressure on the basin's water budget, whose costs were becoming clearly visible since the late 1990's.

4.2.2.4.2 Failed Attempts at Sustainability

Although the Turkish state has made attempts to conserve Sultan Sazlığı recently, it could not reverse the impacts of the past agricultural and irrigation policies. Below I describe these attempts, and demonstrate and interpret their ineffectiveness as symptoms of the Turkish state's nature. I hold that the failure of the sustainability efforts can partly be explained by the overall lack of motivation at the local level, but is fundamentally rooted in the hegemonic practices of the Turkish state, more precisely, in its persistence in prioritizing economic growth.

Ineffectiveness of the state in enforcing sustainable development has been manifested in different ways in the face of growing environmental problems. First of all, monitoring of illegal wells is virtually non-existent. It is worth reiterating that well irrigation is heavily utilized and more than one-third of the wells in the basin are illegal. There is no systematic mechanism of detecting them and action is taken only when an illegal well is reported to authorities. State Hydraulic Works choose to ignore the problem and rejected revising their water budget calculations to take illegal wells into account (field interviews, 2008). This is puzzling given the fact that the huge

discrepancy between provided irrigation (by dams and recorded wells) and the existing water requirement (under the prevailing cropping pattern and land use) is unaccounted for.

Secondly, efforts to promote efficient irrigation methods have mostly failed. As I have stated before, established practices of irrigation are closely related to past policies, which prioritized agricultural production over sustainable water use. Thus, farmers did not have an incentive to adopt water-saving methods until the last couple of years when they began to feel the costs of drought. Most farmers are still reluctant to switch to efficient irrigation methods because of their high capital costs. The Turkish state has started providing financial support for the adoption of such methods in the early 2000's, but has not been successful in initiating a change so far. The procedure and requirements for application to state support, where they need to provide legal land titles and certify source of irrigation, seem too burdensome to farmers. Furthermore, since many farmers rely on illegally opened wells or lack proper land titles, they are ineligible to apply.

Efforts to change the prevailing agricultural practices, specifically to limit the amount of irrigated land and to shift to a less water-intensive cropping pattern, were also undertaken by the Turkish state. Direct payments (based on unit of land) to farmers adopting less water-intensive production and/or giving up water-intensive crops, as well as subsidies in acquiring seeds and technical support, are provided. These initiatives are yet to bring a significant change. So far, farmers have been hesitant to alter their cropping patterns because cultivating less water-consuming crops is not as profitable. Besides, they complain that there are no markets for such crops, whereas markets for sugar beet and sunflower, for instance, had already been established.

It should also be noted that policies to promote water-saving crops are undermined by the incentives provided by existing schemes. For instance, silage corn and fruit production, both with high irrigation requirements, are being encouraged with a number of projects, as I have explained earlier.

The state initiatives' failure in addressing the water issue reflects a combination of its inability and unwillingness to implement sustainable development. Improper design of programs to promote efficient irrigation methods and water-saving crops, as well as the absence of a comprehensive strategy to tackle with illegal wells, can be taken to signify local bureaucrats' lack of motivation. Promotion of less water-consuming but marketable crops, or negotiations with the farmers to have a one-time pardoning of illegal wells with the condition of switching to more efficient methods of irrigation, stand better chances of making a difference.

The Turkish state's commitment to a growth-oriented modernization agenda, however, is tougher to break. The promotion of profitable fruit production as the engine of agricultural growth despite its water intensity, alongside the water conservation policies, attests to the economism it preserves. The reluctance to properly monitor illegal wells and to take strong action can also be seen as a part of its commitment to economic growth, as it signals hesitance to punish and disrupt irrigated farming.

Perhaps more importantly, the Turkish state has been carrying on with the second stage of DIP and framing it as the proposed solution for the water issue. As I have stated above, this stage is based on the derivation of water from a different river basin via the construction of a tunnel (Zamantı tunnel), with the primary intention of agricultural irrigation (field interviews, 2008). It is obvious that the completion of DIP will lead to

further increases in irrigated land and provide incentives to maintain current cultivation and irrigation practices. Thus, I hold that growth is still the ultimate priority over other concerns in the plain despite the implementation, albeit piece-meal, of sustainable development policies.

The growth-oriented modernization vision has implications beyond the state's current attempts to enforce sustainable development. Long-term promotion of irrigated farming via numerous measures has instigated an incentive structure which now proves difficult to alter. As I have hinted at before, water came to be portrayed as a readily available, cheap input for the farmers, at the service of agricultural production, due to uninterrupted prioritizing of agricultural growth by the state. This perception, coupled with the fact that the farmers have not fully born the costs of water scarcity, translated into lack of incentives to change irrigation methods, reluctance to adopt water-saving crops and resistance to limiting amount of irrigated land. Not only are farmers generally unwilling to sacrifice short-term economic gains in return for long-term sustainability, but also most are unaware that their production patterns are the main cause of the drought (personal interviews). The anticipation of Zamantı Tunnel and the belief that water will be abundant again perpetuate the existing incentive structure and strenghtens the inertia related to the adoption of water-saving agricultural practices. Thus, the history of state policies has shaped perceptions and incentives in ways that undermine, if not altogether halt, local sustainable development.

4.2.2.5 Tying the Threads: The Making of State Hegemony in the Develi Plain

This dissertation envisions environmental processes as embedded in the economic, social and political contexts that they occur. One of my aims in this section

was to unpack and exemplify the relationship between resource use patterns and changes in them, on the one hand, and the surrounding socio-economic and political dynamics, on the other. This subsection aims to present the arguments made so far in a condensed way and put them into the framework of state-society relationships in Turkey.

It is evident that the agricultural practices in the broader Develi plain are directly related to the environmental problems in Sultan Sazlığı. To reiterate, water use in irrigation since the 1970's significantly disrupted the water cycle in the wetland. The agricultural policy pursued in the region, which I hold to be a constitutive part of the Turkish state's hegemonic project, resulted in cultivation and irrigation patterns that relied on intensive water use. The consequences of irrigated farming in the Develi plain first and foremost were felt in Sultan Sazlığı, as evidenced by the dry wetland, degraded plant cover, loss of biodiversity, in addition to the detriment of local livelihoods.

The Turkish state's strategy to foster agricultural growth not only led to unsustainable use of water (benefits and costs of which were unevenly distributed), but was also inherently associated with favoring of the landowners over other groups. DIP implied redirecting of water resources to farmers and ultimately depriving others of water. In addition, only the landowners, who had access to assets to take advantage of agricultural policies, could benefit from investments in irrigation and subsidies provided to farming. In the absence of rural development policies to ensure the viability of non-land based economic activities and to provide adequate infrastructure for human development, the Turkish state's economism perpetuated land-based inequalities.

It is clear that the animal owners and the reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı, to the extent they are not engaged in irrigated farming, are hurt by the externality produced by

farming in Develi plain. While farmers in the broader plain have enjoyed handsome profits, animal owners and reed cutters ended up being the main bearer of costs associated with unsustainable water use.[52] Existing wealth and income inequalities between landed farmers and the landless, who rely on animal grazing and reed cutting, have been perpetuated by environmental degradation, as the latter groups faced deteriorating living standards.

However, this should not be taken to imply that resource user groups defined as such are homogenous units. To reiterate, there is considerable overlap among these groups, as many people undertake a combination of farming, animal husbandry and reed cutting. Unsurprisingly, the degree of command over productive assets becomes the decisive factor in how the costs of environmental degradation is distributed. Those who have access to productive assets such as land and livestock, i.e. the wealthier, can opt to drop a certain type of livelihood if it becomes unviable and rely more heavily on (an)other(s).

The distribution of costs and benefits within those who rely solely on one livelihood activity (such as those who rely only on farming, or on animal husbandry) also mirrors the distribution of wealth and income, but depends on geographical location as well. Obviously, the size of benefits accruing from irrigated farming correspond to the size of landholdings and the accessibility of markets, both of which correlate with economic power. Furthermore, as I have discussed earlier, farmers who have plots nearer to Sultan Sazlığı, i.e. at the end of the cannal system, are impacted more by water

[52] In fact, a short trip around the basin provides the most dramatic evidence of this: while one would see beautiful green orchards in towns and villages farther away from Sultan Sazlığı in Develi plain, the landscape changes significantly when the wetland is approached, where the effects of drought, as well as of poverty, are apparent.

scarcity. Wealthy animal owners who can afford to purchase animal feed do not rely on pastures, and thus do not feel the costs of their degradation, at least in the form of declining animal yields.

Perpetuation of inequalities based on wealth and income, and the destitution of some groups, has in turn intensified the pressures on the ecosystem and accelerated degradation. I have demonstrated that the grazing pressure on the pastures has increased as the availability of the resource base declined with drought. Similarly, the intensity of reed cutting spiked due to three inter-related reasons. Firstly, fading viability of animal husbandry and recent shocks to agricultural production due to water scarcity led more people to engage in reed cutting to supplement household incomes. This rise in the number of reed cutters accompanied a fall in the availability of reed due to water scarcity, aggravating degradation. Lately, premature cutting, which is closely related to progressive economic marginalization of reed cutters, poses a significant threat to the reed ecosystem.

In line with the Gramscian political economy framework adopted in this dissertation, the prioritization of agricultural growth in Develi plain can be seen as a part of the Turkish state's hegemonic project; specifically, the consitution of the urgency of economic growth as the national-popular outlook. The pursuit of economic growth in order to elicit consent has shaped the environmental processes in Sultan Sazlığı in particular ways. These were entailed by the direct interventions of the state, such as the building of dams and drainage canals; by types of incentives provided by state actions, such as the adoption of certain cultivation and irrigation practices, and the anticipation of future availability of irrigation water; and by inducing and/or perpetuating (mostly

economic) inequalities, as a consequence of which the pressures on the ecosystem was heightened.

A related point is the role of power inequalities between the "winners" and "losers" from environmental degradation in Sultan Sazlığı in explaining the dynamics leading to and perpetuating this degradation (Boyce, 2002). There are obvious economic inequalities between resource user groups, which shape their respective ability to influence decisions and processes that affect their lives. This is reinforced by the structural selectivity of the Turkish state in allowing the formulation and representation of societal demands and their ultimate articulation into state policy. The winners and the losers, corresponding to those who benefit from and those who are disadvantaged by the growth policies, differ in their abilities to make their demands be recognized by the state.

Questioning the underlying causes and consequences of environmental degradation in this context implies questioning of the Turkish state's modernist logic. As I have argued in chapter 2, the Turkish state never allowed the formulation of demands that are fundamentally at odds with its hegemonic project. Thus, apart from the economic disparities translating into power inequalities, the demands of the losers are threats to the collective outlook. Therefore, the winners and losers have unequal power to access and shape state policy partly as a consequence of the state's disregard of demands that contest its hegemonic practices.

A Gramscian understanding of state-society relations is also apt for analyzing the actions/struggles, or lack thereof, of the bearers of the costs. The link between prioritization of agricultural growth and the environmental problems in Sultan Sazlığı is only very recently being established. Losers from environmental degradation are not

articulating their demands for the resolution of water issue in terms of limiting growth; in fact, they do not attest its validity as a societal aim. This, in my view, speaks to the success of the constitution of the collective outlook and cultivation of consent, i.e. the promise of rising living standards as the area flourishes with agricultural growth.

4.2.3 The GEF Comes to Sultan Sazlığı: Unpacking a Failure

Against this backdrop of the relentless pursuit of agricultural growth for three decades, the Turkish state initiated the execution of the GEF project in Sultan Sazlığı in an effort to implement sustainable development, whose vision was to "[t]o rehabilitate and restore the ecological balance of Sultan Sazlığı National Park and Ramsar Site and to ensure wise use of its natural resources, through participation and support of all stakeholders" (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007b, p.17). Given the drastically low water level in the wetland and the pronounced discontent of the locals with its implementation process, it is doubtful that the project has fulfilled any part of this vision.

In general terms, the GEF project in Sultan Sazlığı aimed at regulating resource use via the preparation and implementation of micro-plans for the management of water use, grazing and reed cutting with the participation of local stakeholders, while supporting alternative income-generating activities by disbursing small grants in order to relieve the pressure on the ecosystem and to counteract the burden of constrained resource use on local stakeholders. On-site activities to implement these goals started in 2003, carried out by the GEF project team comprising three employees of Kayseri Provincial DNCNP (see table 4.5 for a list of project activities).

The project has failed, however, on all three accounts. The water level in the wetland did not recover and the environmental problems it entails, e.g. degradation of the

marshland and pastures, are ongoing. A striking number of local people have not heard of the project (or of the specific project activities) according to the field interviews, let alone having attended meetings and workshops organized as a part of the attempt to operationalize participatory management. Finally, it seems that the SGP was ineffective in promoting alternative livelihoods and its impact was very limited.

Perceptions about this failure, and the reasons accounting for it, differ significantly among different groups. The reasons for the failure to save the wetland ecosystem, according to the local people, range from the corrupt project team to the existence of dams and the promotion of irrigated farming in the plain. The project team, on the other hand, complains that the local people did not want to change their agricultural practices and were not open to new ideas, and that they refused to participate in the project because they thought their livelihoods would suffer.

The existence of multiple truths and discourses regarding the situation makes it necessary to unpack the "failure" of the GEF project and account for the underlying explanations of its different aspects. This section engages in this task and traces the role of local-level dynamics and the materializations of the Turkish state's hegemonic project. I start by presenting a stylized depiction of the GEF project in Sultan Sazlığı in table 4.6, and provide a detailed treatment of the failure embodied by the project structured around this depiction. To this end, the first subsection takes up the failure to implement sustainable resource use, followed by the subsequent considerations of the failure to operationalize participatory management, promote of alternative livelihoods and realize gender equality.

Before moving on, note should be taken that the following analysis draws mostly upon the qualitative study conducted in Sultan Sazlığı and will be supplemented by survey findings (see chapter 3).[53]

4.2.3.1 Failure to Implement Sustainable Resource Use

In regards to ensuring sustainable resource use and biodiversity conservation, the GEF project aimed at addressing the problems related to unsustainable water use, unplanned reed cutting and unsustainable grazing in particular. The conservation plans formulated during the GEF project, however, have proved to be partial and ineffective. Specifically, the way that the project has tackled with water management has been far from satisfactory, attested by the fact that the only visible proposal for saving the ecosystem is the foreseen completion of Zamantı derivation. As I have argued in detail earlier, this solution does not only fail to address the underlying reasons of degradation (i.e. the agricultural practices in the region and the irrigation methods adopted by the farmers), but also paves the way for its exacerbation, besides running the obvious risk of disrupting the water cycle of another basin. The project's accomplishments on the side of the pastures and the marshland do not look any brighter: the grazing plan has not yet been finalized, let alone implemented. Despite the fact that a reed-cutting plan was devised and implemented, the reed cover continues to diminish and illegal reed cutting is widespread.

Unsurprisingly, the project's evident failure in realizing sustainable resource management is paralleled by the local people's perceptions. Figure 4.1 depicts evaluations of the project's specific aims in terms of sustainable resource management,

[53] It should be noted that a detailed quantitative examination of the survey data, especially regarding participation in management mechanisms, is going to be provided in chapter 5.

namely, ensuring sustained water entry in the wetland, promotion of sustainable farming and grazing practices, and regeneration of the reed area. As can be seen, the majority of the survey respondents who have been aware of the project (174 people) hold that it has been ineffective in fulfilling these aims. Figure 4.2 probes the perceived reasons underlying ineffectiveness.[54] Notably, explanations related to the project team are endorsed most strongly: the frequencies of agreement with statements about the project team are higher than those of agreement with statements about local power relationships or primacy of growth orientation.

Admittedly, the GEF project's failure partly owes to the challenges presented by the impacts of the past policies in the region. Notwithstanding the difficulty of overcoming these impacts, I hold that the failure embodied in the project's approach to natural resource management cannot be solely attributed to them. I explain and analyze this failure in the spheres of water use and reed cutting in the subsections that follow.[55]

4.2.3.1.1 Water Use

Although a variety of programs to grapple with water use were envisaged at the planning stage of the project, the construction of Zamantı tunnel (see section 4.2.2.4.2 in this chapter) was envisioned to be the primary way to revive water flow into the wetland.

[54] Recall, from chapter 3, that the list of reasons presented to respondents was prepared based on the findings of the qualitative study, which are presented in the remainder of this section.

[55] Although sustainable management of pastures was another aim that went unfulfilled by the GEF project, I do not engage in its analysis. This choice is motivated by my conviction that water use and reed cutting are the most significant dimensions of the project's failure: It is imperative to take up water use as an object of analysis since efforts to sustainably manage pastures and marshland are inextricably linked to how the water issue is (not) addressed. Reed cutting, on the other hand, is the only type of resource use that a plan was formulated and implemented within the GEF project.

That water derivation by Zamantı cannot be the only solution, however, was acknowledged and the need to promote water-conserving agricultural practices in the whole plain was emphasized. In addition, the release of uninterrupted water into the wetland except during agricultural irrigation periods, i.e. between November 1st and March 31st, was to be guaranteed by an agreement between the State Hyraulic Works and the local irrigation unions, but the specifics of how to operationalize this target were left vague.

Although it was explicitly recognized, at all stages of the project, that DIP has severely damaged the water cycle in Sultan Sazlığı and plain-wide resource use practices underlie much of the environmental problems in the wetland, no meaningful strategies to address them were formulated (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007b). Ironically, the main solution proposed by the project relies on the construction of Zamantı tunnel, which most likely will exacerbate the problem rather than solving it. To reiterate, the primary aim of Zamantı is agricultural irrigation, and water transferred by it will only be released into the wetland after returning from irrigation. This, coupled with the incentives it is going to provide for expanding irrigated farming, makes clear that Zamantı tunnel cannot be a sustainable solution to the water issue. In addition, irrigation needs were given priority over the wetland's recovery in planned water use by the project. In other words, even the GEF project, whose aim was to contrive policies to remedy the environmental problems in the area, internalized the priority of agricultural production over environmental quality. I argue that this exemplifies the growth-oriented modernist logic of the Turkish state, persistent even in the midst of a growing environmental crisis.

The misconceived project scale raises curiosity, if not signals insincerity, in the face of the project's recognition that the water budget of the ecosystem depends crucially on the water use patterns in the whole Develi plain, and not only of the villages in the immediate vicinity of the wetland. For the GEF project to have attained the goal of reviving the ecosystem in Sultan Sazlığı, it should have been carried out at the plain level. Since the project did not address the practices in the broader plain, it remained ineffective in tackling with the water scarcity problem. Although the improper project design is clearly suggests lack of competence, it also reflects unwillingness to interfere with agricultural production in Develi plain.

A similar blend of incompetence and growth-orientation is manifested concerning the launching of efficient irrigation methods and promotion of water-conserving crops, two specific goals that the project aimed at in order to address the issue of water use. The implementation of these measures would have required concerted efforts at the level of the Develi plain and the collaboration of different state agencies. How the project could achieve such coordination of plain-wide practices of both farmers and state agencies was left ambigous at the planning stage.

A review of on-site project activities suggests that some, albeit mostly futile, efforts were made towards promoting water-saving crops and efficient irrigation methods. In terms of altering the crop pattern, direct payment incentives and seed subsidies provided by the project remained insufficient: it seems that more marketable crops should have been promoted, as farmers mostly complained of the lack of markets for the subsidized crops (field interviews, 2008). The attempts to initiate a shift to water-saving irrigation practices, on the other hand, were mostly halted by the ineffective

design of the support programs. The procedure and requirements of application seemed too onerous to the farmers (field interviews, 2008). Furthermore, the fact that application to support requires the source of irrigation to be certified preempted the efficacy of these programs given the prevalence of illegal wells. Although many farmers relying on water from illegal wells want to switch to efficient irrigation methods, since well irrigation is becoming pricy (due to the increase in energy prices) and salty (due to falling levels of underground water), they cannot apply for financial subsidies.

Apart from being an impediment to possible solutions, illegal wells are in fact a significant contributor to the on-going water crisis. I have explained earlier that farming in the entire Develi plain relies heavily on wells, a substantial share of which are illegal. I have also mentioned that the issue is simultaneously acknowledged and ignored by the state (see section 4.2.2.4.1). The deadlock regarding the issue of illegal wells has multiple layers: more effective monitoring and a comprehensive field study would help better enforcement of the regulations. State agencies act when a complaint is reported, however, rather than taking initiative, which can be attributed to motivational issues at the level of local bureaucrats.

More structural, and more deep-rooted, factors than unmotivated bureaucrats underlie the issue, however. Patronage-based networks hamper the enforcement of regulations even when an illegal well incident is reported (field interviews, 2008). On the other hand, the fact that the State Hydraulic Works turns a blind eye to the issue because the act is illegal to begin with, and "[the wells] should not have been drilled in the first place" (interview with official in Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works), captures the essence of Turkish state's paternalism. This vision crystallizes in the

perceived unnecessity to design a support program that would attend to the reality of the field, so to speak, such as one based on a negotiation and/or one-time pardoning of illegal wells conditional upon the adoption of efficient irrigation methods.

To recapitulate, different facets of the GEF project's failure in ensuring sustainable water use, e.g. project scale, crop pattern, and irrigation methods, can largely be read as a combination of the Turkish state's growth-oriented modernist vision and motivational problems at the local level. It reflects the state's modernist logic to the extent that it correlates with the absence of sincere willingness to undertake radical action that would disrupt agricultural production. It also reflects lack of motivation, at the local level, to undertake actions that would bring effective solutions but are admittedly challenging tasks. The prevalence of illegal wells, on the other hand, emerges as an embodiment of paternalism and patronage, in addition to lack of motivation.

Farmers have been largely unresponsive to the project's efforts regarding the adoption of efficient irrigation methods and water-saving crops. Field interviews provided three explanations underlying farmers' reluctance to alter their practices: their myopic vision, as they value short-term economic gains over longer terms costs; collective action-type problems, since most of them did not think their isolated action would make a significant action; and a more fundamental, or at least harder to alter, factor, the incentive structure instigated by the Turkish state's past policies (see section 4.2.2.4.2), rooted in the anticipation that irrigation needs would ultimately met.

4.2.3.1.2 Reed Cutting

Among the micro management plans of specific resource uses, only the reed cutting plan, put into effect in 2003, is operational. A number of meetings with the reed

cutters and the reed companies were held, with the participation of an expert in participatory natural resource management, where a compromise between the reed cutters' livelihood needs and the ecological requirements of the marshland was reached. The plan specifies restrictions on timing (between November 15th and December 31st, during day time) and locality (in designated parts of Southern marshes, which would be rotated annually) of reed cutting. It also introduces constraints on the number of reed cutters via issuing of permits.

The actual implementation of the reed cutting plan produced considerable tension. Reed cutters complain about having to purchase reed cutting permits and the strictness of regulations. Although some of them acknowledged having attended meetings where the reed cutting plan was discussed, they do not feel that the implemented plan incorporates their demands or takes their livelihood into account.[56] The resentment associated with the making of the plan translates into not feeling obligated to abide by it, and justifies trespassing in the eyes of the reed cutters. In addition, many reed cutters claimed that the project team was corrupt and accepted bribes from the reed companies, who, in turn, not only gained access to the marshland, but also utilized tractors and damaged the reed cover.

Monitoring of compliance with the plan is unsatisfactory and inconsistent, as evidenced by high prevalence of illegal cutting, which can be explained by the inadequacy of staff and equipment to effectively monitor the vast marshland area. While the southern entrance to the marshland can be monitored somewhat effectively, the northern one is subject to laxer monitoring. Reed cutters from the southern villages,

[56] The effectiveness of participatory mechanisms will be taken up in the next section.

Ovaçiftlik and Yeşilova, complain that even though they want to abide by the regulations, northern cutters from Sindelhöyük trespass and cut prematurely. They, therefore, are forced to trespass as well, since if they wait there would be no reed left for them to cut. This dynamic is suggestive of a collective action problem on the side of the reed cutters, in which rule breaking by some induces others to follow, and undermines the efforts at sustainable reed cutting.

4.2.3.2 Failure to Implement Participatory Mechanisms

As I have explained in chapter 3, the necessity of local people's participation in the regulation of resource use was repeatedly pointed out in the planning stage of the GEF project. Accordingly, participation of community members was to be ensured by direct measures, such as face-to-face interviews, meetings and workshops, where they can express opinions and ideas, as well as by indirect measures, such as interviews, meetings and workships with community representatives, union members and NGO representatives. In particular, it was envisaged that the micro-plans related to the use of specific resources would be made, revised and implemented by the participation of local stakeholders. In addition, copies of the management plan and annual progress reports were supposed to be shared with local stakeholders at all stages of their preparation and implementation, in order to incorporate their input.

In spite of the emphasized importance of local people's participation, there is surprisingly little substance attached to it. There is no elaboration, for instance, on what exactly these mechanisms would be (e.g. meetings, workshops, councils, interviews, *etc.*), other than broad statements about the utilization of a variety of mechanisms to acquire information on local people's opinions and demands. Details on the

dissemination of information, eligibility to participate (e.g. all members of the community, only resource users, one person per household, representatives elected by the community, *etc.*), decision-making rules, impact intensity of decisions made (e.g. binding or mere recommendations), *etc*. are not discussed either.

Lack of attention to these issues constitutes the first stage of the project's failure to implement participatory decision-making mechanisms. Potential difficulties that the novelty of such mechanisms for local people and their perceptions of the project team (employees of the local DNCNP) would pose were ignored, and rules regarding the process and the outcomes of decision-making were not fleshed out. A clear strategy to ensure that information regarding the project activities in general and participatory mechanisms in particular has reached community members is absent, let alone measures to induce effective participation by all stakeholders who are informed of decision-making mechanisms.

Against the backdrop of such deficiencies of institutional design, the realization of participatory mechanisms mostly depended on ad hoc measures and failed to ensure effective and democratic participation by local stakeholders. The fact that the project team had no expertise and/or experience in implementing and operating participatory mechanisms further thwarted the implementation of participatory management. The project team's inexperience translated into the reproduction of paternalism, as the tradition of the hierarchical relationships between the non-state actors and bureaucrats got reflected in how local participation was operationalized by the project team.

The project team visited the area in the first few years with the purpose of informing the local population about the project, and held a number of informational

meetings (field interviews, 2008). These meetings were announced by the village heads and fliers posted around the village, and have been held in all settlements (in coffee houses). Findings of the qualitative study suggest, however, that the extent of project awareness is generally low. In addition to the fact that many interviewees were unaware of the project, those who were aware often had inaccurate information about it, e.g. they thought its sole purpose was the conservation of wildlife or protection of the marshland, or have not been informed of specific activities, such as the management meetings and the SGP, after the initial introductory meetings. The level and extent of awareness, however, seemed to vary across settlements, highlighting the importance of village heads' role in disseminating information. For instance, almost all interviewees in Musahacılı (12 interviewees) had learned about the project, and the activities associated with it, through the village head's efforts. Residents of predominantly unaware villages, on the other hand, blamed village heads for not fulfilling their responsibilities.

It seems that visits and meetings/workshops became infrequent in the last few years of the project (field interviews, 2008). Some claimed that the team was not sincere in taking the locals' demands into account and stopped holding meetings for this reason. Others believed that the project team withheld information deliberately from those who criticized them, so that they could avoid facing negative opinions. A pronounced perception held by the local people was that the project team was corrupt and prevented broad participation to guarantee that the outcomes of the meetings would benefit the groups they favor. Most of the reed cutters, for instance, stated that they had found out about the meetings either at the last minute and could not attend or after they were held. They believed this was an intentional strategy to exclude them from the decision-making

processes, since the project team wanted to strike a deal with the reed companies behind the scenes. These perceptions were stated as powerful disincentives to participate, as they translated into anticipations of not being taken into account.

Furthermore, the majority of those who had attended meetings were dissatisfied with the process. Again, reed cutters were among the most skeptical of the decision-making processes: they stated that they were always the minority in the meetings and their voices were not heard. As a consequence, they came to believe that the meetings were a *façade* and the team had no intention of taking local people's, especially reed cutters', opinions into account; they, therefore, stopped attending. Representatives of the irrigation unions and the local gendarmerie made similar remarks about the decision-making process. They stated that although everyone was aware that the underlying issue was the water use in the plain, no one –including the project team— seemed willing to solve it. It should be noted, however, that while the reed cutters had the perception that *their* demands in particular were not taken into account, because other participants had economic power and ties with the project team, irrigation union representatives and the local gendarmerie seemed to think that the team lacked the necessary competence to provide an effective solution to the issue of water use.

The preceding argument does not imply that the local people are homogenous in their perceptions and evaluations of the project; there is indeed considerable variation. I argue that the variation of perceptions and evaluations, which correspond to inequalities in access to information and ability to participate, correlate with local inequalities based on livelihood sources. Farmers differ markedly from reed cutters both in terms of awareness and participation. They seemed to trust the team more and did not perceive of

any inequalities in terms of effective participation in decision-making. Furthermore, interviews held at Musahacılı indicate that the information regarding meetings was made widely available and everyone was invited to attend and voice opinions. When asked about the decision-making processes Musahacılı interviewees stated that everyone who wanted spoke up and was taken into account. The fact that the main livelihoods in this village are animal husbandry and agriculture (and reed cutting is not practiced) supports my argument that the main inequalities in terms of awareness of and participation in decision-making mechanisms were among different resource user groups.

Against this backdrop, I present descriptive quantitative findings on the effectiveness of participatory mechanisms. Figure 4.3, which depicts evaluations of the participatory mechanisms' success, provides a striking picture in terms of local people's perceptions. The majority of the sample assessed the implementation of participatory mechanisms as ineffective. Table 4.7 decomposes evaluations by source of livelihood. The disparity between the evaluations of the reed cutters, of 80 percent of whom thought the participatory mechanisms were unsuccesful, and the farmers, who had milder assessments, is striking. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 portray the perceptions about the project team's willingness to take locals' opinions into account and favoritism, echoing the stated skepticism during the interviews.

The objective data on the level of participation resonate with the subjective evalutions, as suggested by table 4.8 and figure 4.6. While table 4.8 demonstrates awareness of different GEF activities, figure 4.6 illustrates the prevalence of awareness and participation in the project's decision-making mechanisms. Accordingly, only 174 people in the sample (46 percent of the sample) were aware of the project, of which 55

have seen a document related to the project, 41 have seen a draft of the management plan, 67 have been informed of a training activity and 82 have been informed of meetings. Of those 82, 50 have attended meetings, among which 32 have spoken up and 19 stated that their views were listened.[57] Apart from documenting the low level of project awareness, the statistics portray the project's failure in inducing broad-based participation. In particular, the fact that only 64 percent of the meeting attendees has actually voiced opinions, and 38 percent thought they were taken into account worths attention, as it attests to failures in the process of decision-making.

Tables 4.9 and 4.10 probe the reasons underlying participation and non-participation. The conviction that the local people should be the ones making decisions about Sultan Sazlığı seems to be the strongest reason for both actual and hypothetical participation. The majority of non-participators, on the other hand, stated that the inappropriate meeting times and locations have been the major impediments on their participation. In addition, 15 percent of the non-participators stated that they were not properly informed about the meetings. These figures provide some pointers on why the implementation of participatory mechanisms have failed: it seems that if more suitable meeting times and locations were chosen, and adequate dissemination of information were ensured, participatory management could have fared better.

To recap, the implementation of participatory mechanisms has been partial and inconsistent, and largely failed to realize democratic, effective decision-making. Underlying this failure is both the lack of competence of the project team, reflected in the deficiencies of information dissemination, inadequate monitoring, and the choice of

[57] Since a thorough quantitative study of awareness and participation will be undertaken in the next chapter, I do not go into more detail here.

inappropriate meeting times and places, and the paternalistic gaze of the Turkish state, demonstrated in the project team's general unwillingness of take measures to induce broader-based participation and in the neglect of local power relations in dissemination of information about the decision-making mechanisms.

At the local level, on the other hand, the general distrust towards the project team, made up of the employees of the DNCNP, seem to have hindered participation by shaping anticipations about the decision-making process. Local socio-economic inequalities also seem to have played a major role. Their impacts are an object of separate, econometric analysis in chapter 5.

4.2.3.3 Ineffectiveness of Alternative Livelihoods

I explained in chapter 3 that the GEF projects aimed to promote alternative, environmentally-friendly livelihoods by way of distributing small grants to local stakeholders. In Sultan Sazlığı, the local committee, who held the responsibility of executing the SGP, comprised of the project team and four community representatives chosen by the local people, concentrating on agriculture, reed cutting, animal grazing and ecotourism respectively. The committee was responsible of disseminating information related to the SGP and undertaking the first round of proposal evaluation. The local committee was also supposed to monitor supported projects, regularly record their activities and prepare reports on the supported projects every six months.

Glancing at the process of information dissemination on SGP, it becomes apparent that its design neglected to take the potential role of local power relations into account. The responsibility of informing community members about the details of the SGP (its purpose, eligibility to apply, application process, selection criteria) lay primarily

with the village heads and the community representatives. This should be seen in the light of the fact that village headship often coincides with being locally powerful as it correlates with socio-economic status. In addition, details on the election of the community representatives, e.g. if and how fair election would be ensured, could be discerned neither from the project documents nor during the interviews.

In the absence of institutionalized mechanisms to guarantee and monitor effective dissemination of information to all groups in the community, one can imagine scenarios of exclusion from the SGP. Village heads and community representatives held *de facto* power to withhold information about the SGP, as they could, more or less, decide whom to share it with. Selective dissemination of information could very well perpetuate local inequalities, if the locally powerless were denied adequate information. Bearing in mind that those who lack (economic) power in the area bear the heaviest burden of degradation (e.g. reed cutters), the implications of selective dissemination become even graver.

The project, indeed, fared poorly in promoting of alternative livelihoods. A total of $199,000 was disbursed to fund 23 projects (see table 4.11). The amount of support given via the SGP in Sultan Sazlığı ranks third among the four GEF pilot project sites, which is surprising given the fact that it hosts the largest population size. It is also interesting, to say the least, that nine out of 23 projects were on education and awareness raising, as opposed to seven on rational use of water resources, and four on promotion of livelihoods that would relieve the pressure on natural resources. A quick glance at the list of SGP-supported projects, therefore, suggests that it has not been instrumental in either compensating the burden of constrained resource use on local people (e.g. reed cutters) or promotion of environmentally-friendly livelihoods.

Field interviews demonstrate the general dissatisfaction with the SGP. The exception to this general sentiment is, again, Musahacılı residents, who had been provided information and guidance by the village head. This is reflected in both the number of projects supported in Musahacılı, as can be seen in Table 4.11, and evaluation of the SGP by its residents. During the interviews, Musahacılı villagers acknowledged that extensive training services and financial support was provided to promote efficient irrigation methods and stall breeding. They held that the SGP was effective in both altering unsustainable production patterns and supporting alternative livelihoods such as beekeeping. Musahacılı village head stated that SGP support enabled the establishment of infrastructure required for switching to efficient irrigation methods and helped build community awareness.

The overwhelming majority of the rest of the locals, however, complained of inadequate provision of information and guidance regarding the goals of the SGP, eligibility rules, application procedures, and details on grant writing. Although the project team stated that village-wide announcements were made, informational fliers were posted and booklets were distributed, many locals claimed that they have not heard of the grants until after the deadline was passed or it was too late for them to put together a good proposal. General mistrust as to the project team's honesty was manifested in their perceptions of the SGP as well, as most of them blamed the local evaluation team of favoritism, both in the process of information dissemination and selection of proposals, and using the project money for their personal needs. As a result, most interviewees perceived the SGP as a mechanism that benefited the already-advantaged but did not

offer anything to the groups feeling the burden of environmental degradation and resource use restrictions introduced by the GEF project.

Furthermore, it seems that, besides failing to fulfill its aim, the SGP perpetuated local inequalities, partly due to unequal access to information and guidance by local people. The majority of the SGP recipients are either farmers or groups who do not depend on the resources for livelihood purposes, i.e. groups who are not the main bearers of the costs associated environmental degradation and/or constrained resource access. Groups who are hit worse by the degradation of the resource base, such as the reed cutters and the poor animal grazers, on the other hand, effectively were denied opportunities to shift to alternative livelihoods.

The quantitative data on the effectiveness of the SGP resonates with the qualitative findings. According to the data provided by the survey, of the 174 people who were aware of the GEF project, 111 (64 percent of those who were project-aware) was not informed of the existence of the SGP. Of the remaining 63, twelve people (19 percent of those who knew about the SGP) were not sufficiently informed about the application process and chose not to apply. These figures provide an apt depiction the project's failure at the level of disseminating information. Eighteeen people (29 percent of those who knew about the SGP), on the other hand, did not apply in anticipating that their proposals would not be selected, suggestive of the locals' mistrust to the project team. Finally, as can be seen on figure 4.7, majority of the sample have evaluated the SGP to be unsuccessful.

It seems that the major obstacle to the SGP's successful promotion of alternative livelihoods was information-related problems. In addition to the poor levels of

informedness of the programme in general, the fact that the locals were inexperienced in grant proposal applications and the absence of training given on grant application procedures have impeded the effectiveness of the SGP. This points to the lack of competence on the side of the project team, as they have not foreseen the difficulties that the application process might pose for the local people. On the other hand, the field observations indeed suggest that the SGP recipients were groups who had ties with the project team; this, coupled with the unusually low number of supported proposals and the reluctance of the project team to elaborate on the process of the SGP implementation, raises serious doubts about the fairness and honesty with which the grants were distributed.

4.2.3.4 Failure to Realize Gender Equality

Despite the lip service paid to gender equality and women's empowerment both at the level of the GEF and by the project coordinators in Turkey (field interviews, 2008), the results at the local level are quite disappointing. Very few women knew about the project, and even fewer went to meetings; notably, the only women who reported having attended meetings were in Musahacılı. No women received grant support, except few who submitted joint proposals with their husbands in Musahacılı. The exception that Musahacılı presents to the general exclusion of women from the project activities can be interpreted as a manifestation of the more egalitarian gender norms peculiar to the community, as mentioned in section 4.2.1.4.

The project team, during the interviews, acknowledged this problem and linked it to the gender norms prevalent in the area. They also stated that it had been very difficult for them to interact with women, given that all members of the project team were male.

They have not, however, taken the initiative to request the appointment of a female team member. The meetings have been held in coffee houses in the villages, which are not appropriate places for women to be. Furthermore, given their pressing (unpaid) labor burden, it is plausible that time constraints would be more binding for women then they are for men in terms of attending meetings. This is not to imply that women necessarily spend more labor time, but that it might have been harder for women to bargain away their daily responsibilities to attend project activities than for men.

In addition, women's work regarding the natural resources, as well as their unpaid labor, were rendered invisible by both the community members and the project team; thus, their attendance was not seen as crucial. Some women, for instance, stated that they were not invited to meetings because women do not go to reed cutting (field interviews, 2008). This is not completely accurate, since many women engage in reed cutting and/or undertake tasks that are integral to the reed cutting labor process (see section 4.2.1.3). More importantly, reed cutting is only one form of natural resource use, and women are heavily involved in activities surrounding other uses, such as agriculture and animal grazing. Even if one were willing to accept the premise that women of Sultan Sazlığı do not make use of natural resources, they would still have stakes in the decisions made regarding natural resources, given that the burden of constraints on resource use, e.g. financial, labor time, *etc*. is mediated at the household level, i.e. all household members will be affected by the constraints, but the relative sizes of costs shouldered by the women and men depend on household power relations.

Table 4.12 depicts the prevalence of awareness and participation among the women in the survey sample, and attest to the project's failure in realizing gender

equality at the level of inclusion. As can be seen, of the 175 women within the sample, only 35 percent were aware of the GEF project, 6 percent have seen a document related to the GEF, 4 percent attended meetings and 3 percent have seen a draft of the management plan. Strikingly, no women within the sample applied to the SGP. Table 4.13 on the other hand, underscores the role of gender norms in impeding women's participation, as 8 women (out of 13, 62 percent) stated inappropriate meeting times and locations as the main reason for non-participation, while two stated (out of 13, 15 percent) that their participation would not be considered appropriate by others.

It seems, therefore, that the women's general level of un-informedness and non-participation in project activities bear the marks of the prevailing local gender norms. The project team, while acknowledging this, did not make any efforts, such as employing a female consultant to facilitate accessibility of women, to address the issue. Moreover, by rendering women's labor regarding natural resources invisible, the team helped reproduce the very perceptions that impede on women's participation in the decision-making processes and project activities.

4.3 Köprülü Kanyon: The Political Economy of Unplanned Resource Use

After you pass through Karabük, one of the two settlements lying at the base of the canyon carved by Köprü river, it takes about five more minutes of driving to encounter possibly one of the most beautiful landscapes one can see. An ancient bridge, surrounded by the Medditerenean's largest natural cypress forests, arches over the craggy hills closing in, under which flows the glaring river. An exchange of few sentences with the street vendors positioned next to the bridge as they anticipate making sales to the tourists, on the other hand, might surprise you, as they sound almost scornful of what

surrounds them. They would, indeed, be speaking the sentiments of the majority of the locals with their portrayal of Köprülü Kanyon as a place to flee from.

Köprülü Kanyon, renowned for its ecological and archeological values, was designated as a national park in 1973, after which hard-park type governance took hold. The stringent national park regulations, however, precipitated dissent more than they have ensured effective conservation practices. The river-forest ecosystem is brought under increasing pressure by the booming rafting tourism, to whom the iron hand of the national park does not (want to) reach, as well as the unregulated use of forest products and illegal construction activities. While the degradation of resources is not yet physically striking, the conflict between the locals and the national park certainly is: the demolished fences and walls, which were built by the national park for conservation purposes, embody the reaction sparked by the paternalist environmentalism of the Turkish state.

The state's virtual non-existence in the provision of basic infrastructural services, such health care and education, on the other hand, poses a remarkable contrast to its overwhelming presence in stipulating conservation rules. The salience of outmigration brought by the inadequacy of rural infrastructure can be discerned from the numerous empty houses, particularly in settlements located on mountains surrounding the canyon.

After 30 years of ineffective conservation, the Turkish state initiated the GEF project in Köprülü Kanyon. This too has proved to be a dissappointment for both the local people and the executive team of the project. This section aims to provide an account of this two interlinked failures of the Turkish state in implementing sustainable development. It highlights, in particular, the implications of the state's paternalistic style

of governance, which has shaped the perceptions and anticipations of the local people, and the role of patronage-based relationships in thwarting local sustainable development.

I begin by presenting the prevalent livelihood activities, as well as the the main dimensions of local inequalities in Köprülü Kanyon, in section 4.3.1. This is followed by a political economy analysis of resource use in the area, where the history and implications of the national park's conservation practices are explored in detail. Finally, the GEF project is taken up in section 4.3.3, where I depict the interrelated aspects of its failure in fullfilling the aims of sustainable development, and probe into the underlying explanations, drawing upon the nature of the Turkish state's hegemonic project and the local dynamics.

4.3.1 Setting the Scene

Squeezed between rugged mountain hills, the settlements in Köprülü Kanyon are further cordoned off from the urban centers due to poor road connections.[58] Consequently, the economic activities in the area are largely resource-based and subsistence-oriented, offering limited employment and income generation opportunities. Animal husbandry and agriculture are the main sources of livelihood, while tourism, oregano harvesting, forestry and seasonal employment also prevail with varying degrees across the settlements, largely correlating with differences in geographic conditions and accessibility of resources. Table 4.14 lists the most prevalent livelihood activities for each settlement.

[58] See chapter 3 for a discussion of the settlements, demographics and administrative framework of the area.

The seclusion of Köprülü Kanyon from local markets and the consequent absence of employment opportunities, coupled with the inadequacy of infrastructural facilities, marks the area with high levels of out-migration, mostly to the neighboring towns where tourism sector has flourished. Another striking feature of the area, as hinted in chapter 3, is the vast differences among the socio-economic conditions and welfare levels of the lowland settlements, Beşkonak and Karabük, and the mountain villages, which are significantly more deprived than the rest.

This section provides background information on local dynamics in Köprülü Kanyon, by presenting the socio-economic conditions in the area. I first discuss the main livelihood activities and the availability of rural infrastructure, and attempt to depict the overall deprivation within which local people live. I then consider the prominent dimensions of local inequalities, namely, those based on location, which are reflected in disparities across settlements, and those based on gender.

4.3.1.1 Sources of Livelihood

Livestock breeding is the single most important source of livelihood in Köprülü Kanyon (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a). Approximate numbers of different types of livestock owned in each settlement are given in Table 4.15. As suggested by the reported figures, goats are preferred over other types of livestock due to harsh conditions of the landscape and inadequacy of grass pastures. Keeping large numbers of sheep or cows is out of question for most people, since vast open grazing areas, a requisite for sheep and cattle raising, are not sufficient (field interviews, 2008).

Local communities make use of the surrounding bush and forest areas, within the boundaries stipulated by the national park, for grazing. Grazing is governed by

customary arrangements; every settlement has a forest/maquis area for grazing within its boundaries, which is (informally) shared among settlement residents. In addition, upland pastures in the plateaus of Beşkonak, Ballıbucak, Değirmenözü and Beydilli are used for summer grazing by the animal owners in these settlements, who typically move to the temporary settlements in the plateaus during summer months (field interviews, 2008).

Cattle raising, as stated above, is less significant, although some villagers have recently invested in modern cattle breeds to be able produce marketable quantities of milk. As cattle need to be kept and fed in stalls, especially during the winter, and their yields are lower than those of goats and sheep, cattle is not an attractive source of livelihood for most animal owners. Only relatively wealthy households can afford to keep them, due to the costs involved with the construction of stalls and purchase of animal feed (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a).

Animal products, such as milk, cheese and butter, are used primarily for domestic consumption and not marketed. The exception to this general pattern is found in Beşkonak, Gaziler, Çaltepe and Yeşilvadi, where animal owners sell their products in local markets, mostly in Serik, the neighboring town center (Çetin, 2003). The main reason underlying the dominance of subsistence-orientation is the area's remote location and the low quality of roads, which are pressing issues especially for the marketing of animal products. Most households cannot afford to transport easily perishable products such as milk and cheese to the markets in Serik. Almost all animal owners, on the other hand, generate income, albeit meager, by selling some of the livestock they keep, especially when the Islamic holiday of sacrifice approaches, during which animals (mostly sheep) are sacrificed for God.

Similar to the case with animal husbandry, small-scale dry farming is prevalent in all settlements, practiced in small, fragmented landholdings. In addition, irrigated farming is practiced in Beşkonak, Çaltepe, Değirmenözü, Hasdümen and Demirciler, as can be seen in table 4.16. The main type of crop cultivated is cereals (wheat, barley, corn and oats), although beans, potatoes and onions are also cultivated with varying degrees, and fruits (apples, grapes, pears, fig) and vegetables (tomatoes, peppers, cucumbers, eggplant) are grown where irrigation is available. Table 4.17 presents data on crops cultivated in different settlements, as well as the average size of household landholdings.

As is the case with animal husbandry, agricultural production is subsistence based and there is little or no surplus production for marketing (Çetin, 2003; field interviews, 2008). The primary constraint on commercial agriculture, again, seems to be the distance of the markets and the difficulty of transportation. For many villagers, the costs associated with transportation are greater than the potential income they would acquire from the sale of agricultural products (field interviews, 2008). Besides, limited land availability for agricultural production presents a further constraint to production of a marketable agricultural surplus.

Against this backdrop of subsistence-based animal husbandry and agriculture, local people mostly rely on employment in forestry or tourism, or take up seasonal jobs outside the area for generating cash income. Oregano harvesting is an important source of livelihood for the residents of one settlement, Çaltepe, in particular.

Timber harvesting from the forests within the national park is permitted only under the control of the General Directorate of Forestry, undertaken either by the General Directorate itself or outsourced to private contractors. Every fall, the General Directorate

designates harvesting areas and hires workers from the surrounding settlements. Workers from outside are hired only if the labor demand cannot be met from the settlements in the vicinity of the harvesting area. Based on the field interviews, it seems that Karabük, Beşkonak and Değirmenözü are the main villages involved in forestry work.

Typically, workers form teams of 6-10 people and share the earnings. They usually stay in tents within temporary settlements in the area during harvesting, which goes on about 2 months, starting at the end of September. Most forestry workers are male, though some women also participate in harvesting, together with their husbands. While women's participation in forestry work is generally considered normal, some find it unacceptable or see it as done out of financial desperation (field interviews, 2008). Women are not usually involved in the cutting of trees, but help with carrying the wood and take care of cooking in the temporary settlements.

Payment for forestry work is based on the volume of timber harvested: In 2008, workers were paid 38 TL in 2010 prices ($22.5 PPP) per meter cube of timber harvested. A group of 10 workers harvest around 50 meter cubes per day, which makes around 190 TL in 2010 prices ($122.5 PPP) per day per worker (field interviews, 2008). The earnings provided by forestry labor, however, should be interpreted in the face of its seasonality and its risky nature. None of the forest workers have insurance against the high risks involved in tree cutting and accidents, some resulting in death, that are common (field interviews, 2008).

Rafting tourism, the major contributor to the area's renown, presents another, albeit limited, venue of employment to the local people. Of the 600,000-700,000 tourists who visit Köprülü Kanyon every year, 90 percent come for rafting, through organized

tours arranged by the rafting companies, around 40 in number, based in Karabük (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a, field interviews, 2008). Rafting companies are obliged to obtain a permit and renew it regularly in order to operate. No new permits are being issued since 2004, however, in line with the attempts to keep the pressure tourism puts on the ecosystem under control.

Rafting tourists are mostly daily visitors who have hotel accommodations in other, bigger, tourism towns. A rafting tour typically starts with visitors being picked up from their hotels in the morning, brought to the base of the canyon by buses where they get changed, transported to the upper canyon area where rafting starts, served lunch in the restaurants by the river, and taken back to their hotels after rafting ends.

Rafting-based tourism provides opportunities of employment as tour operators or service employees (waiters/waitresses, cooks, cleaners, *etc*.) in the restaurants and B&Bs along the river. Mostly the residents of Karabük and Beşkonak, located at the base of the canyon, take advantage of the jobs generated by tourism, although some residents of Çaltepe and Altınkaya are also employed in rafting or related businesses. Many villagers complain, however, that most of the rafting companies are based outside of the area and often opt for bringing their own staff rather than hiring locals of Köprülü Kanyon (field interviews, 2008). Restaurant and B&B owners, on the other hand, have different complaints, as they hold that the national park status prevents the area's tourism potential from being fully realized. They claim that the restrictions on construction in particular, hurt the local economy, as they cannot expand their facilities and many tourists who want to stay in the area cannot do so since there is not enough accommodation capacity.

In addition to rafting activities, Selge antique city located in Altınkaya attracts around 3,000-5,000 visitors annually. However, Selge lost its lure after rafting became an important touristic activity and the number of tourists visiting the site dropped considerably within the last 10 years (field interviews, 2008). Tourism, therefore, hardly makes a contribution to the economic welfare of the village today. The main benefit villagers derive from tourism is through the sale of handicrafts (necklaces, wooden spoons, *etc.*) to visitors by village women.

As should be clear from the discussion so far, one of the most pressing problems for the people of Köprülü Kanyon is the lack of employment opportunities. Many people, especially the younger generation, seek employment in seasonal jobs outside the area, as demonstrated in table 4.18. Since Antalya, the nearest provincial center, is the tourism capital of Turkey, such jobs are mostly in the tourism facilities based in the surrounding districts, Manavgat and Serik: almost half of those who work as seasonal laborers are employed as waiters/waitresses, laundry workers, *etc*. in the tourism sector (field interviews, 2008). The rest, on the other hand, are employed as agricultural wage-laborers, mostly working in the cotton fields, greenhouses and orchards around Manavgat and Serik.

Although both women and men take up seasonal employment, there seems to be a gender segregation of occupations. Fruit picking in orchards, working in greenhouses and laundry work in hotels are heavily feminized as opposed to employment in tourism, which is more gender-balanced (field interviews, 2008). In addition, women's labor arrangements seem to differ from men's, as female workers are typically organized in teams of 8-10 people, supervised by a captain. This arrangement is mostly brought by the

demands of the employers, as they first contact and access the laborers through the team captain, who then recruits and puts together the team (field interviews, 2008).

Finally, harvesting of wild oregano, the most important non-timber forest product in Köprülü Kanyon, provides a significant livelihood for the residents of Çaltepe, as it is relied upon by nearly four-fifths of the households in the village, harvesting 250-300 tons annually (field interviews, 2008). All villagers, except the elderly and young children, engage in oregano harvesting. Harvesting is done during the last weeks of August from the hills behind the village, during which villagers stay in temporary settlements they establish. Harvested oregano is air-dried for about a month, and then carried back to the village. There is no means of transportation other than mules to the oregano hills, since the path connecting the hills to the village is a dirt road in bad condition and cannot be paved because of the national park rules. Villagers reach the harvesting areas on foot, a hike that takes almost eight hours.

Dried oregano is sold to local traders, who then sell it in bigger markets. Many villagers complain that the traders dictate the purchasing price since there are so few of them (three or four). Oregano harvesters' inability to form direct links with the markets does not only imply monopsonistic prices, but also significant risks, as they have been denied payment by the local traders a number of times. The villagers had formed a cooperative and built a processing and packaging plant to produce oregano oil, but the facility has not started functioning yet because of legal problems (as of March 2010).

4.3.1.2 Rural Infrastructure

To reiterate, all settlements in Köprülü Kanyon suffer from the overall underprovision of infrastructure by the state. Tables 4.19 and 4.20 portray infrastructure

availability by settlement, including educational facilities, health facilities, phone lines, clean water, electricity and transportation.[59] As can be seen in table 4.19, health services are virtually non-existent in the area, as most villages lack health facilities, and no personnel is found where there are facilities. Those who can afford go to Serik to get medical treatment, but professional health care is mostly seen as a luxury, accessed only when a serious medical issue occurs (field interviews, 2008). Similarly, although educational facilities exist, they are usually under-staffed. In some villages, complaints were voiced that the appointed teachers do not stay and find ways to get transferred elsewhere.

As depicted in Table 4.20, infrastructure related to water and transportation is also of low quality. All villages except Gaziler and Altınkaya have access to adequate water, but its availability is interrupted during summer months. As water is obtained from Köprü River and brought to households via canals, lowland villages, usually have easier and regular access to water, while upland villages can have interruptions due to wear and tear of canals. Electricity and phone lines generally work well, although occasional outages occur during winter.

A major complaint voiced by the local people is related to the quality of roads and problems of transportation. Apart from the general remoteness of the area from urban centers, the roads connecting the upland settlement to the base of the canyon are in poor condition. While the roads to Gaziler and Ballıbucak were paved with asphalt very recently, in 2007 and 2006 respectively, those connecting Yeşilvadi and Demirciler to the base area remains to be dirt paths.

[59] Since it is not a pressing issue in Sultan Sazlığı, discussion of the availability of rural infrastructure was not presented in section 4.2.1.

Clearly, the basic infrastructure in the area in terms of education, health, water, electricity and transportation is very poor. In addition to this general inadequacy, access to such infrastructural facilities is highly asymmetric across villages, as will be explained in detail below. This can be interpreted as a part of the general failure of the Turkish state to ensure human development, especially in rural areas. The locals hold that the state officials do not pay sufficient attention to their needs and provide the necessary services although it is their responsibility. It is interesting, however, that such views and criticisms are not directed towards the Turkish State *per se*, but rather are framed as shortcomings of the local bureaucrats, the representatives of the Turkish state with whom the locals have daily interactions.[60]

4.3.1.3 Local Fragmentations: Location and Gender

I have stated earlier that Köprülü Kanyon is marked with wide inequalities, which seem to fragment the community along different settlements. That is to say, economic conditions and welfare levels vary significantly across settlements, but not so much within them. Gender, on the other hand, is a notable axis of inequality within the community as a whole. This section aims to elaborate on these two aspects of local dynamics.

The settlements located in the lower canyon area, Beşkonak and Karabük, are the closest to the neighboring urban centers and have considerably better roads. Education and health care services in these settlements are relatively better as well: the only 8-year

[60] This is similar to what Sirman (1990) argues in her case study of two villages in Western Turkey. She states that villagers' perceptions are divorced from day-to-day interactions with local bureaucrats, and the paternalistic provider image of the state is maintained. Deviations from this image, such as corruption, are seen as attributes of the individuals but not extended to the state, or even to particular governments or parties.

school and the largest health facility (albeit without doctors) in the Köprülü Kanyon area, for instance, is in Beşkonak. More importantly, better connection to the urban centers translates into easier accessibility of health and education services outside Köprülü Kanyon by the lower canyon residents.

In addition, Beşkonak and Karabük are the settlements where the benefits of the booming rafting tourism have been (somewhat) captured. Despite the fact that only four among the rafting companies are owned by locals of Köprülü Kanyon, employment opportunities (as rafting tour guides or service workers in restaurants and B&B's) provided by the rafting-based tourism sector have been mainly enjoyed by Beşkonak and Karabük residents. Indeed, the main source of livelihood in the lower canyon area is often stated to be tourism in the summer and forestry employment in the winter (field interviews, 2008). Furthermore, as the main entrance to the national park and its recreational areas lie within the boundaries of these two settlements, they end up being frequently visited by non-rafting tourists as well as rafting tourists. This has effectively established a market for the local people for the sale of handicrafts, traditional homemade food, *etc*. and created opportunities of income generation.

As opposed to Beşkonak and Karabük, Altınkaya, which is a 15-minute drive away from the lower canyon area, can easily be categorized as the poorest village in Köprülü Kanyon. As I have mentioned in chapter 3, a significant portion of Altınkaya is under 1st rank conservation, and the rest is protected by 3rd rank conservation status since the village hosts the ruins of Selge antique city. The main implication of these protection statuses for the villagers is in terms of construction restrictions, as construction activities

and modifications to existing buildings are not allowed in 1st rank conservation sites, and can only be done with the approval of designated state agencies in 3rd rank sites.

To further concretize what this entails, suffice it to say that most households in Altınkaya lack in-house toilet facilities; while village men use public areas for their needs, women are forced to wait until it gets dark (field interviews, 2008). Villagers complain that they are not allowed to build toilets inside their houses or repair their roofs, and that the state/national park (as these concepts are conflated in their accounts) does not treat them as human beings. In some cases, up to ten people live in single-occupancy houses, as they can neither build new homes nor modify the existing ones.

Added to the pressure put on the villagers by the conservation restrictions is the fact that the village is especially disadvantaged in terms of rural infrastructure. The inadequacy of the clean water supply, in particular, is a severe problem. The necessary piping infrastructure for the provision of drinking water to the households was put in place only in 2007. Water is still scarcely available, however: half of the households in the village get water until noon and the other half gets it in the afternoon (field interviews, 2008). The low living standards in the village are crystallized in the statement "this is not life", frequently made by the villagers, and their repeated claim that if the state designated an area for them to migrate to and provided adequate infrastructure, no one would stay in the village.[61]

The remaining villages fall somewhere in between the lower canyon villages and Altınkaya on the scale of socio-economic conditions. They are, in general, considerably harder to access than the lower canyon area and Altınkaya. As stated earlier, some

[61] What the villagers refer here is the Turkish government's subsidized housing program. The villagers stated that this program is being implemented in areas close to Manavgat.

(Gaziler, Ballıbucak) had paved roads constructed as recent as in 2007, whereas others (Demirciler, Yeşilvadi, Hasdümen) are connected to the lower canyon area only by a dirt road.[62] In addition, Gaziler still has no access to drinking water. Among them, Çaltepe has the most diverse sources of livelihood, where oregano harvesting, in addition to animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture, is an important source of livelihood.

Unsurprisingly, the overall absence of infrastructural services and employment opportunities in Köprülü Kanyon have produced considerable resentment among the local people and precipitated the perception that the Turkish state has "forgotten" about them. Against this backdrop, many families have chosen to migrate, especially to nearby towns where tourism provides lucrative employment opportunities. That only seven households are active in Gaziler, compared to the official number of 135, or that no one under the age of 45 is in sight in Değirmenözü, provides glaring evidence to the general destitution of the area, pushing its people to seek livelihood elsewhere.

The second prevalent dimension of inequality in the area is gender-based. Women are largely invisible in public spaces and seem highly reluctant to speak with outsiders. As opposed to the case in Sultan Sazlığı, where women were observed to have retained some public spaces, such as street corners and orchards, women in Köprülü Kanyon were strikingly absent from daily rural public life. Furthermore, women's invisibility and quietness in public spaces seem to be more pronounced in mountain villages than it is in the lower canyon area and Altınkaya.

[62] The road connecting these villages to the lower canyon area is not paved, but there is a paved road from them to the neighboring provincial center of Isparta that passes through the other side of the mountain.

The level of female education is significantly low; although there seems to be no pattern of not sending female children to primary school, girls' attendance to secondary school and beyond is seen as a luxury (field interviews, 2008). If the family cannot afford to provide education to all children in the household, girls are the first to be cut off. Even in cases where the family could afford it, it is exceptional for girls to be allowed to go to high school, since they would have to travel outside of the area.

Women are, as typical in rural Turkey, primarily engaged in unpaid household work, including household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and childcare, milking animals, preparation of animal products and taking care of orchards. Informal labor sharing arrangements are common among women in baking bread and preparation of durable food items such as jams and pickles. In land-owning households, women usually prepare the soil, hoe and reap. In some villages, women also graze the animals and cut firewood, though it has been stated that only men or men and women jointly undertake these tasks in other villages. Finally, there is no gender division of labor in oregano-picking and all household members take part in it.

Perhaps not surprisingly, women do not perceive these activities as "work" and when asked what kinds of labor women are usually engaged in, their response had consistently been that women do not work. When followed up by questions on daily activities they are engaged in, however, they describe various types of unpaid productive tasks they undertake. Furthermore, even the activities that were stated to be carried out jointly by men and women of the household, such as collecting firewood and grazing, were observed to be predominantly female responsibilities. The notion that work is

associated with earning money income, disguises and devalues women's unpaid work, and is internalized by both women and men.

Although female employment in market labor is limited in general, it seems to be attributed to the insufficiency of such employment opportunities rather than gender-based social norms (field interviews, 2008) Notably, many women in Altınkaya and some in Karabük are engaged in petty trading and handicrafts, such as selling wooden spoons, scarves and simple jewelry to the tourists visiting the area. A few women in Beşkonak and Çaltepe, on the other hand, stated that they occasionally sell surplus agricultural products in market places in Serik. As I have discussed before, some women take up outside employment in seasonal jobs, but the prevalence of female outside employment varies across villages. It seems that most women engaged in such work are from Altınkaya: female interviewees from Altınkaya stated that they take up every outside employment opportunity they get. Women interviewed in Çaltepe and Demirciler, on the other hand, stated that men would not allow a woman to undertake market work if she has to travel outside of the village.

To recap, the prominent lines of local fragmentations in Köprülü Kanyon are across settlements and gender-based. Although the whole area suffers from limited income generating opportunities and the underprovision of crucial services, villages at the base of the canyon and those in the uplands differ considerably in terms of economic welfare and availability of infrastructural facilities. The state's general neglect of rural development, given the geographical disadvantages of upland villages, led to growing inequalities. While those who can afford to migrate did so to neighboring towns and cities, those who cannot continue to lack opportunities to fulfill most of their basic needs.

Within this context of general deprivation, women are further disadvantaged, as their ability to participate in social and economic life is severely limited.

4.3.2 The Political Economy of Unplanned Resource Use

In Köprülü Kanyon, unlike Sultan Sazlığı, the pressing issues regarding natural resources have yet to materialize in heightened levels of degradation, but they are certainly visible. The most prominent problem in the area is the rampant unplanned use of forests, pastures, oregano cover and the river. While illegal tree cutting and grazing strain the ecosystem, the lion's share of the pressure on the natural resources is accounted for by illegal construction and unregulated rafting tourism.

This section explores how the problem of unregulated use comes about in a national park, governed by rigid conservation rules for over 30 years, and its unequal implications on the local people. More specifically, I argue that the paternalistic way that the natural resource management policies are formed and implemented in the area has undercut their effective implementation. Furthermore, I unpack the processes of resource use and depict the uneven distribution of their costs and benefits.

In section 4.3.2.1, I lay out the main types of resource use in Köprülü Kanyon and their impacts on the environment. In section 4.3.2.2 I portray the paternalism embodied in the history of Köprülü Kanyon National Park and discuss its implications in terms of local dynamics, paying particular attention to the state-society relationship. Finally, in section 4.3.2.3, I delve into how the Turkish state's paternalistic style of governance impeded local sustainable development in the area, specifically by the making of impractical policies, shaping perceptions and precipitating patron-client networks.

4.3.2.1 Resource Use Patterns

The relationship of the local people with the ecosystem is through their use of the pastures, collection of firewood and harvest of oregano, whereas that of rafting companies is through their non-extractive use of the natural resources. Both local people and the rafting companies, on the other hand, use Köprü river as an environmental sink, since proper waste treatment systems in the area are mostly insufficient.

There are no clear-cut boundaries between local user groups (e.g. firewood collectors, animal grazers and oregano harvesters) since many households undertake a combination of different uses of the ecosystem. Almost all households in the area collect wood for household needs, for use mainly as fuel and construction material, from parts of the national park where collection is allowed. Similarly, all households who own livestock graze their animals in the pastures found nearby their settlements.

Oregano harvesting, however, is practiced in a more geographically-confined fashion compared to the widespread use of forests and pastures. As stated earlier, oregano harvesting is practiced mostly in Çaltepe, and to some extent in Ballıbucak and Altınkaya, which are upland villages located close to oregano plateaus. There is a similar overlap between animal grazers and oregano harvesters, since most villagers who harvest oregano also own animals and make use of pastures.

The rafting companies, on the other hand, make non-extractive use of the natural resources. The fact that Köprü River is among the few rivers suitable for rafting and the beauty of the landscape in general makes the area an attractive rafting spot.

All the activities mentioned above put pressure on the ecosystem. Although degradation of resources has not yet reached pressing levels in Köprülü Kanyon, threats

to the ecosystem are visible. The forest cover is under pressure from illegal tree cutting, overgrazing of goats and illegal construction, as well as from the heavy (unregulated) rafting tourism (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a; field interviews, 2008). The national park status stipulates certain locations where cutting tree twigs and branches are permitted, but reports of trespassing and illegal cutting in protected parts of the forests are prevalent. According to national park records, illegal cutting is mostly concentrated in hills surrounding Ballıbucak, Çaltepe, Altınkaya and Beşkonak villages. Local people, on other hand, hold that the designated collection areas are located too far away from the settlements and thus difficult to access; therefore, they are forced to trespass in the national park. They also claim that the collection of firewood for household use is small-scale, so it does not harm the forest cover.

Illegal construction is arguably a more pressing issue than illegal tree cutting. It is particularly a prominent problem in Altınkaya and in the lower canyon area along the riverbanks, which not only harms the forest cover, but also disrupts the fabric of historical architecture and contributes to the decay of cultural resources. Overgrazing, especially of goats, seems to be another major threat on the ecosystem. Goats, the preferred type of livestock kept by the locals, are said to be especially harmful to the forest cover, since they feed on saplings, leading to soil compaction, erosion and suppression of natural regeneration (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a).

Köprü River is threatened by the unregulated tourism activities and the disposal of wastes from the surrounding villages. As the upper catchment of the river does not lie within the national park boundaries, concerns about the decreasing quality and quantity of water entering the area from outside cannot be addressed (Republic of Turkey MEF

GDNCNP, 2007a). The most immediate threats on the river ecosystem, however, are associated with the lower canyon area. The inadequacy of waste collection and management systems in the villages results in the use of Köprü river as a sink for waste disposal. In addition, heavy and unregulated touristic activity puts pressure on the ecosystem, as the wastes produced by the rafting centers and restaurants, which lack sufficient waste treatment systems, and the heavy inflow of tourists during peak seasons produce pollution.

Finally, it is reported that the oregano cover in Çaltepe hills is degrading, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, and that in Yeşilvadi had already depleted due to unsustainable harvesting practices (field interviews, 2008). While some oregano harvesters hold that natural reasons, such as changes in climatic conditions, are responsible for the degradation of oregano cover, others claim that harvesting of large quantities consistently over the years is the underlying reason. The oregano plan, a component of the national park regulations, governs the use of oregano cover since the mid-1990's and puts limitations on the period of harvesting, which seem to be followed, but not on the amount. Given that oregano can only be transported down from the plateaus by mules, it does not seem plausible that overharvesting at the individual level can pose a threat to the oregano cover. That is to say, difficulties associated with transportation effectively prevent large amounts to be harvested by an individual household. That a large number of households might be relying on the resource and harvesting oregano, however, might pose a threat.

As I have stated in the beginning, the effects of the degradation are not being felt by resource users yet, but are likely to have critical implications in the near future if

unplanned use persists. I have demonstrated above that there is a range of activities and incentives that contribute to degradation. The benefits associated with these activities are distributed asymmetrically across different groups. Rafting companies are able generate high profits, mostly captured by themselves and not shared by the local people, by using the ecosystem as an environmental sink. The local people's use of resources, on the other hand, are mostly subsistence-based and not associated with high material returns.

The costs of degradation will conceivably be distributed unevenly across different groups, as well. The bearers of the brunt of the degradation will be the poorer local users who do not have access to alternative livelihood options. It is likely, therefore, that their livelihoods will suffer as a consequence of degrading pastures or deteriorating oregano cover. On the other hand, rafting companies are likely to avoid bearing the costs associated with degradation, unless, of course, the pollution in Köprü River reaches levels that deter tourists from coming into the area.

4.3.2.2 Köprülü Kanyon National Park: A History of Paternalism

The national park status of Köprülü Kanyon, and the rigid conservation practices associated with it, have produced significant dissent among the local people. As a consequence, the relationship between the local people and the national park authorities has been marked with strife and distrust. This section probes into the history of the governance of the national park and its implications in terms of the state-society relationship in the area. In doing so, it paves the way to the next section, where I discuss the how the paternalism of the Turkish state, exemplified in the history of Köprülü Kanyon, hinders the implementation of local sustainable development.

Köprülü Kanyon was declared as a national park in 1973, when all lands within the national park boundaries became the property of the Turkish state, i.e. they could not be held as private property. The problems related to property rights that the national park status has fomented, indeed, are the primary reason underlying the conflict between the local people and the national park authorities. Currently, Beşkonak, Karabük, Altınkaya and Ballıbucak lack proper cadastral work and legal land titles. Residential areas, as well as agricultural plots in these settlements, fall within the boundaries of the national park, i.e. all livelihood activities carried out in these villages are, in fact, technically illegal.

According to the accounts of the local people, when the decision was first made to declare Köprülü Kanyon as a national park, government officials did not actually visit the area, but settled the boundaries of the park just by examining the maps (field interviews, 2008). That is to say, the original legislation about the boundaries of Köprülü Kanyon National Park did not take into account the settlements where people had been living for years, or even centuries. A story repeatedly narrated by the locals is that the village heads of the time were misinformed and manipulated into giving their consent for the national park to be established.[63] The overwhelming sentiment among the local people, therefore, is that since the national park status was first declared they have been subject to rules and regulations on which they had no decision-making power.

The governance structure of Köprülü Kanyon has indeed excluded local people's participation in decisions that affect their lives. To reiterate, according to the Turkish legal framework, the General Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, a

[63] In order for the area, including the settlements, to be designated as a national park, the heads of villages that would remain inside the park had to officially agree and sign official documents stating their consent.

subdivision of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, manages national parks. That is to say, Köprülü Kanyon has been managed by top-down mechanisms, with "hard-park" type policies, implemented by the central government, and with virtually no participation of the local people. Until the implementation of the GEF pilot project, local communities were never consulted on issues regarding the management of the national park or of the natural resources.

Due to the restrictions implied by the protection statuses of various locations within the national park, and the stipulations of the national parks law, construction and repair activities are seriously limited, if not altogether banned, in the settlements that fall within national park boundaries. Specifically, three documents should be presented to the relevant authorities for any type of new construction, even a single-structure restoration, to be allowed: a legal document verifying the applicant's ownership of the land on which the proposed construction is to happen (a title or a legal authorization certificate), an approved plan of the construction prepared on a topographical map, and an architectural project prepared in consistency with the codes of the approved plan. Land ownership is very complicated as discussed below, and not likely to be resolved in the near future. Therefore, acquiring permits for construction is virtually impossible, as the local people mostly lack recognized ownership rights to the land they reside on.

The impacts of these restrictions on the local people are multifold: they complain that they cannot repair their roofs or build toilets inside their houses; the implications of such restrictions on the locals' living standards are obvious, as I have illustrated in the discussion of Altınkaya in section 4.3.1.2. Many villagers complain that young people cannot get married and choose to migrate out of the area, since, according to local norms,

a man should be able to establish an independent household to become eligible for marriage. They also hold that such restrictions hurt the local economy: since no facilities can be built for the accommodation of rafting tourists, the full potential of the area cannot be fulfilled.[64] Furthermore, a number of local-owned wood workshops were closed down, as no activities other than scientific research and recreation can be undertaken inside the national park.

The national park regulations also entail absurd scenes; for instance, when a tree located in a privately-owned plot falls, even due to natural reasons, the law prohibits it to be carried somewhere else. This is because trees are under the protection of the national park, thus are the property of the state, even if they are located outside the national park boundaries. The field interviews are full of anecdotes, epitomizing the Turkish state's top-down governance style, of how plots could not be tilled for days after a tree fell, since the national park employees had to come and remove it.

Technically, the problems surrounding the property rights issue can be solved by revising the national park boundaries and declaring the residential areas as such, i.e. declare them outside the park boundaries. In order for that to happen, however, the cadastral works must be completed. Currently, most of the land that the villagers live on is "no man's land", as no one has formal property rights over them. During the cadastral process, the property rights over these lands are first assigned to the state, more precisely to the State Treasury, which then declares them, upon application and approval, as residential lands that can be held as private property. There is no guarantee, however, that

[64] This statement is not entirely accurate, as there are B&B facilities in the lower canyon, but they are reluctant to expand their business. The case of tourism facilities will be discussed in detail in the next section.

the Treasury will approve the applications once the lands are under its ownership. In other words, once the property rights over them are established, the Treasury can choose to hold onto these lands and not designate them as residential areas.

Given that their relationship with the state authorities has historically been based on mutual distrust, the local people are skeptical of the legal process outlined above. Specifically, they fear that once the cadastral process is initiated, the state would decide to introduce even more stringent protection measures, or force them out of their lands altogether. In fact, the residents of Altınkaya had agreed to start the cadastral work in the past but changed their minds when officials showed up, because they were convinced that the officials would designate the whole village as a conservation site.

It is important to note that what I describe above is the general sentiment, and does not represent the perceptions of all community members. A case in point is Çaltepe, where cadastral work was completed without any complaints from the villagers in 2005. Residents of those settlements that lack proper cadastral work also differ on their attitudes towards the national park. Although most people encountered during the field interviews expressed distrust and hostility towards the national park authorities, some claimed that the village heads are to blame for the persistence of the issue, as their approval of the official application is required for the cadastral work to start. This latter group was notably less skeptical of the national park and held that the residential areas could be designated as such if the required legal process is followed.

More specifically, some villagers in Beşkonak and Karabük reported having demanded, from their village head, to initiate the cadastral process, but their demands were rejected as the village head claimed that the national park would take all of their

lands if the cadastral work starts. When probed into why they think the village heads are blocking the cadastral work if indeed the majority wants it to be done, a satisfactory response was largely absent, but it was implied that the issue is a question of power for the village heads.[65] The insinuated link between the non-resolution of the property rights issue and the locally powerful, such as the village heads, was echoed by the national park authorities. In particular, the national park authorities held that the village heads benefit from the ongoing uncertainty surrounding the issue, as they acquire political rents by reproducing the conflict between the local people and the national park, and hold *de facto* control over land and people in the absence of formalized property rights.

It is also worth noting that the term "national park authorities" has become conflated in the local people's narratives with different public authorities that have administrative responsibilities in the area. They implicitly hold the national park responsible for the absence of public infrastructure, the provision of which is the responsibility of other offices of the Turkish state: for the inadequacy of educational and health services, for the poor quality of roads, the lack of waste disposal facilities, *etc*. It would not be unfair to say that the conflicts and deprivation they experience as citizens get projected on their relationship with the national park authorities, who are the most accessible representatives of the central government.

To recap, the non-resolution of the problems related to property rights has intensified the feelings of distrust on the side of the villagers towards the national park authorities. Restrictions on goat raising and oregano harvesting, in line with the national park stipulations, have contributed to the general feeling of hostility sparked by

[65] It should be kept in mind that the villagers might have felt intimidated by overtly stating what they think of the village heads especially on a delicate issue such as this one.

construction regulations. Hostility towards the national park grew as more rigid conservation rules were introduced; local people living in Beşkonak, Karabük and Altınkaya have at times undertaken violent actions as a reaction to the national park authorities, such as blocking a vehicle of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Altınkaya, for which they were taken to court, and destroying the walls and fences built in the lower canyon. The portrayal of the national park authorities as a manipulative group motivated to pass even more stringent conservation rules continually comes up in the local people's narratives. Added to this is the unpredictability of future policies and fear of further limitations on resource use. The history of top-down governance, under which local people have been subject to decisions made without their input (or even awareness), coupled with the overlapping and complicated legislation about different resources in the area have produced considerable uncertainty.

Many among the local people hold that the national park authorities are not needed, and that the local people themselves are the best protectors of the forests.[66] They pointed out that the local people have the best knowledge of how to take care of the forests and the incentives for sustainable use since their livelihoods depend on them. It has also been expressed, by the national park authorities and some of the locals, that the villagers' perceptions of the local environment are negatively shaped due to the strict restrictions of the national park, and that they started seeing the forest as their "enemy", as practices to conserve it threaten their livelihoods. This finding is illustrative of how

[66] Interestingly, even a field agent employed by the General Directorate of Forestry, claimed that there is no need for such a protection status in Köprülü Kanyon, and that the area has been designated as a national park in order to protect only a specific tree species.

perceptions and values about natural resources are partly determined by the types of mechanisms with which they are managed.

4.3.2.3 The Political Economy of Unplanned Resource Use: Paternalism-*cum*-Patronage

Despite the fact that Köprülü Kanyon is regulated by such seemingly comprehensive and rigid rules of conservation, rule enforcement remains inadequate and selective. In the first part of this section, I unpack the failure of local sustainable development by demonstrating, in particular, the role of the Turkish state's paternalism and the deployment of patron-client networks in handling the contestation it produces. In the second part I discuss the equity implications of this failure.

The paternalist gaze of the Turkish state is immediately detectable in the rules governing natural resource use in Köprülü Kanyon. The national park stipulations on natural resource use often materialize as impractical rules that disregard local needs, and consequently, are broken frequently. The designated forest areas where collection is permitted are distant from the settlements, which induces trespassing in the closer areas. Similarly, the restriction on the number of goats that can be kept around the national park proves untenable, as goats are the only type of livestock that is suited to the geographic conditions. The issue of the construction prohibitions is another case in point, as pressing needs, such as the repairing of damaged structures, push the local people to violate them.

The Turkish state's paternalistic style of governance impedes the implementation sustainable development not only by rule non-compliance exemplified above, but also by shaping local positions and precipitating contestation. The local peoples' positions *vis-à-vis* natural resources are in part determined by their exclusion from the making of

decisions regarding their management. [67] The perceptions that came to be sculpted this way, along with the distrust entailed by the history of top-down policy-making, sparks significant contestation against the implementation of any policy in Köprülü Kanyon, rendering the area increasingly "unmanageable" and intensifying the pressures on the ecosystem.

Heightened contestation, on the other hand, is handled by patronage-based relations. I have noted earlier that the restaurants and the B&B's along Köprü River have been constructed illegally. There are, in fact, outstanding court orders for the demolition of these facilties, but they have not been enforced yet. The account given by a B&B owner epitomizes how patronage dynamics thwart the implementation of sustainable development: the owner stated that although there was a court order for the demolition of his B&B, he had managed to postpone its execution for five years, after which the pending order became invalidated. He mentioned, with discernible pride, his "acquaintances" high up in the Turkish bureaucracy, through whose help the enforcement of the order was delayed and ultimately dropped. It is not difficult to imagine that similar processes underlie the non-execution of demolition orders for the other B&B's and restaurants.

This anecdote is illustrative of the argument made in chapter 2 that patronage is deployed as a mechanism to coopt contestation by the Turkish state, and thus an integral part of the reproduction of state hegemony via eliciting consent. I further argue that the

[67] Agrawal (2005) argues that the positions of environmental subjects (in this case, in terms of attitudes towards conservation of natural resources) are shaped by their roles in governance of the resource. He demonstrates how perceptions held by villagers in Kumaon in Northern India changed over the shift from top-down governance to community-based management of forests. The findings I report here can be interpreted in the same vein.

non-enforcement of conservation rules against the tourism sector can be read as a micro-level manifestation of the national-popular outlook constructed around growth-oriented modernization. More specifically, I hold that the fact that rafting tourism is seen as the engine of economic growth in the area and that this is another factor underlying the authorities' reluctance to take action.

The hegemonic project of the Turkish state, which has crystallized most pronouncedly as paternalist governance, blended with patronage-based prioritization of economic growth in Köprülü Kanyon, has entailed ineffective implementation of local sustainable development. The failure of sustainable development in general, and the selective enforcement of conservation regulations in particular, coupled with the existing imbalances of welfare, reproduce and reinforce local inequalities. I have demonstrated above that access to patronage-based networks correlate with political clout. Such clout, in turn, is closely related to economic and social status, i.e. such networks are selective mechanisms of representation, as I have argued in chapter 2. As a result, only the locally powerful can evade enforcement and avoid the costs implied by the conservation regulations. Although construction bans and constraints on resource use are enforced for some villagers, most visibly in Altınkaya, laws against the construction of tourism facilities along the river are not enforced, either because the owners have access to political connections who can exert pressure on the local executive bodies, or because they are a powerful business group with whom the national park authorities do not want to clash and disrupt tourism-led economic growth.

As a result, the rafting sector, having the power to evade punishment, can sustain its profits and economic power. On the other hand, the rest of the community, who

already have been disadvantaged by the strict top-down enforcement, is further marginalized, as they lack the power to access policy-making or implementation processes, whether via legitimate channels of representation or patron-client networks. Moreover, the failure of sustainable development in Köprülü Kanyon is likely to exacerbate inequalities in the future, as the poor resource users are the losers of unsustainable resource use, whereas the tourism sector is the winner.

4.3.3 The GEF Comes to Köprülü Kanyon: Unpacking a Failure

Against the backdrop of distance and distrust produced by 30 years of paternalism, the GEF project, which held a vision diametrically opposed to top-down governance, was initiated in Köprülü Kanyon in 2003. The long-term management vision devised for the area paints an ambitious, yet heartening picture, as it states: "[w]e want a place where [the] Beşkonak Basin (including the western skirts of Bozburun Mountain) is protected with all their natural and cultural values, where the problems of the people residing in the region such as settlement, education, health, transportation, livelihood and property are solved, where income obtained from the sustainable use of resources is prioritized for the welfare of the local community and where the people living in the area participate in its administration" (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a, p14). This statement encapsulates the crux of what went wrong with three decades hard-park management. What has remained of the GEF project in the area, however, hardly goes beyond the reinforced feelings of resentment of the locals, and the bitter disappointment of the project executers.

The project in Köprülü Kanyon, similar to the case in Sultan Sazlığı, aimed at regulating resource use via the preparation and implementation of micro-plans for the

management of forestry, grazing and oregano harvesting with the participation of local users, while supporting alternative livelihoods by the distribution of small grants, to remedy the threats on the ecosystem and relieve the burden of constrained resource use on local stakeholders. Furthermore, the resolution of problems related to property rights has been prioritized as an issue to be addressed (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a). On-site activities of the GEF project have started in 2003, carried out by the GEF project team comprised of four employees of Antalya Provincial DNCNP (see table 4.21 for a list of selected project activities).

The level of motivation and effort displayed by the project team pose a striking contrast to the case in Sultan Sazlığı, as they have genuinely worked towards implementing the type of development envisaged in the GEF project. This is reflected, to some extent, in table 4.21, though accurate records of project activities were not kept by the Köprülü Kanyon team, either. The team was hopeful of what could have been accomplished through the GEF project, since they were highly critical of the top-down manner by which the area has been governed. In fact, the team's demoralization at the end of the project could be read as indicative of its failure. The GEF project has not managed to effectively implement any environmental protection policy, and illegal construction activities are ongoing along Köprü River. The locals do not think they have contributed any input to the project, and the SGP remained ineffective given the infrastructural inadequacy of the area. Perhaps more importantly, no significant improvement occurred in the local people's perceptions of the national park, which, as I will illustrate below, stands out as the primary constituent of the project's failure.

I provide a portrait of the GEF project's failure in Köprülü Kanyon in table 4.22, drawing on the structural characteristics of the Turkish state and local dynamics in line with the theoretical framework informing this dissertation. Unsurprisingly, this depiction is different than that of Sultan Sazlığı, presented in table 4.6, as the most pronounced features and explanations of the "failure" differ considerably across the two sites. Specifically in the case of Köprülü Kanyon, the perceptions of the local people and the strife between them and the national park authorities seem to explain a significant part of the failure of the project in fulfilling all of its aims, which is taken up in section 4.3.3.1. Other dimensions of the failure, namely, the failure to implement sustainable resource use, the lack of holistic mechanisms, the failure to operationalize participatory decision-making mechanisms, the ineffectiveness of alternative livelihoods and the failure to realize gender equality are taken up the subsequent sections respectively. As accurate records of specific project activities and outcomes were largely absent, the analysis presented below relies heavily on qualitative findings and some descriptive data provided by the survey, and is supplemented by records kept by the WB Ankara office.

4.3.3.1 Conflict between the Locals and the Project Team

The history of the interaction between the national park authorities and the local people, discussed at length earlier, has been crucial in shaping the locals' attitude towards the GEF project as well. It was conceived to be, more than anything, a national park attempt to make their lives worse. Distrust and hostility on the side of the locals have proved to be the major impediment on the effective implementation of the entirety of the project, including the implementation of sustainable resource use, participatory decision-making mechanisms and the SGP. I hold, therefore, that this feature of the general failure

of the project warrants to be discussed separately at the outset and provide a background for the discussion in the remainder of this section.

The project team consisted of officials from Antalya Provincial DCNP, who were already employed as national park administrators. When the project was initiated, therefore, the local people already had a quite negative perception of the project team, whom they saw as responsible for the rigid conservation practices within the national park, as well as of the lack of infrastuctural services the locals expect the state to deliver. As I have noted earlier, the local people tend to blame the national park authorities for the absence of services, such as health care and education, the delivery of which is in fact not the national park's responsibility.

During the field interviews, most of the local people explicitly stated that they knew what the national park authorities were like, and that the national park would never do anything positive for the local people's well being. Some even stated that they do not want any projects and do not understand why Köprülü Kanyon was chosen to implement a project. Others asserted that no project affiliated with the national park could ever be successful unless the conflict between the people and the national park is resolved, since the locals believe that anything carried out by the national park would unexceptionally imply more constraints on resource use. The fact that the project team was made up of national park employees, about whom the locals had rigid prior negative perceptions, thus seemed to have doomed the project from the very start.

Against this backdrop, the local people regarded the project exclusively as an attempt to introduce more constraints on resource use, and either did not know about other activities associated with it, or thought of them as a cover-up of the national park's

true intentions. Consequently, they not only have rejected taking part in project activities, but have explicitly attempted to undercut their implementation, by road-blockading to prevent the project team from entering the area, sabotaging their equipment, or even being violent with the team.

Earlier in this chapter, I elaborated on how the history of top-down governance in Köprülü Kanyon has produced significant distance and distrust, aggravated by the void of services that the state is responsible of delivering. That this governance modality erodes trust in state to be a fair arbiter and evokes contestation to policy implementation is perfectly exemplified in the case of Köprülü Kanyon: the implementation of sustainable development policies associated with GEF has evoked considerable contestation, not because local people were against the policies *per se*, but they were skeptical of the intentions of the project as a whole (field interviews, 2008). The fact that the project was poorly designed, i.e. the project team consisted of the national park employees, and the project team's failure to alter local people's perceptions despite their good intentions signal lack of competency at the local level.

Even when the project team made progress towards breaking the locals' skepticism, local dynamics, especially peer pressure and the fear of being stigmatized by fellow community members, thwarted their attempts. The qualitative findings suggest that some local groups benefit by virtue of the ongoing chaotic administration and might have the incentive to reproduce the conflicts existing between the locals and the national park. I have hinted earlier that some village heads acquire political rents by virtue of the ongoing strife between the local people and the national park authorities. Rafting companies, on the other hand, are the clear winners from lax enforcement of regulations

on touristic activities in Köprü River, as argued in section 4.3.2.3. Therefore, groups who benefit from the rafting activities in the area, such as B&B and restaurant owners and employees, might also have had an incentive to block implementation of sustainable use policies.

4.3.3.2 Failure to Implement Sustainable Resource Use

As I explained in chapter 3, the GEF projects aimed at the formulation of micro-plans in order to regulate the resource use. In the case of Köprülü Kanyon, micro-plans for the use of forests, pastures, and oregano cover were supposed to be prepared and implemented. After four years of project implementation, however, it is apparent that hardly anything could be accomplished. The forestry micro-plan has been formulated but awaits approval from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. The grazing micro-plan has been rejected because it was deemed to be incompatible with the Ministry's country-level grazing plans. There is an oregano plan in place, but it will expire in 2012, and there are no foreseen plans to renew it. Rafting tourism has been tied to regulation based on the number of rafting companies permitted to operate in the area, but there are no stipulations on the environmental pressures created by it, e.g. in terms of the number of tourists that can be hosted or the installation of appropriate waste management systems in rafting bases.

Based on these observations, it would not be unfair to claim that the project has failed in planning and regulating the resource use. The resource use patterns that were held to pose threats to the ecosystem (see section 4.3.3.1) are ongoing. Recall that I have argued, in section 4.3.3.3, that the history of paternalist governance is an important factor underlying the unregulated nature of resource use in Köprülü Kanyon. The perceptions

molded by this history, on the other hand, undermined the GEF attempts to move towards an inclusive management scheme, where policies would reflect the needs of the local people and thus can be implemented more effectively. The local people have undercut the implementation of the few regulations that were made, such as on grazing, forestry and conservation of the archeological sites, by non-compliance, disputing enforcement, and engaging in petty violence.

In addition to the conflictual relationship between the local people and the project team, the selective enforcement of conservation regulations emerges as an important reason underlying the project's failure to implement sustainable resource use. The resource regulations governing the area only selectively enforced: although construction activities are forbidden in the river banks, due to their conservation status of 1st rank, there are many B&Bs and restaurants along the river. While the court orders for the demolition of these facilities are not carried out, conservation regulations are strongly enforced on ordinary residents.

The case of Köprülü Kanyon neatly exemplifies the predominance of patronage networks in handling of contestation evoked by top-down policy implementation whereby some groups' demands are fulfilled. As I have argued in section 4.3.2.3, escape from the top-down implementation of conservation regulations seems to occur by virtue of having political connections, placed higher up in the bureaucracy than the local bureaucrats. It usually involves reciprocation through gifts or a favor to be done in the future, and not a material exchange, e.g. bribery. Although having such acquaintances is not necessarily related to one's level of wealth, such political connections are correlated with socio-economic status. Therefore, the patron-client networks perpetuate pre-existing

socio-economic inequalities, since those who could form and maintain those ties, the locally powerful, are able to enjoy laxer enforcement, while the locally powerless are marginalized by strict conservation practices.

In addition, the partial implementation of resource regulations suggests that there is a general tendency to avoid punishing the tourism sector. This can be read as a reflection of the growth-orientation of the state. Tourism is seen as the sector that would realize rapid economic development, not only in Köprülü Kanyon but in the whole Mediterranean region of Turkey.[68] Given this context, state authorities may be reluctant to inflict harm on the tourism sector. Prioritizing promotion of tourism as the driving force of economic development, however, has made environmental considerations secondary.

Given the GEF project's failure to implement sustainable use of natural resources, I provide descriptive quantitative findings on local people's evaluations and perceptions in figures 4.8 and 4.9. As depicted in figure 4.8, the local people have overwhelmingly evaluated the project to be unsuccessful in ensuring the sustainable use of natural and cultural resources. Figure 4.9 demonstrates that the main reasons perceived by the locals to be underlying this failure are related to the project team, where the perception that they have not taken the local considerations into account is emphasized.

[68] In fact, the same argument is widely made for Turkey as a country as well. It is argued that Turkey's comparative advantage lies in tourism due to its geographical and historical characteristics, as well as its ability to provide tourism services cheaply. However, environmental and social costs of unplanned touristic activities are largely ignored in pursuit of this development strategy (see, for instance, Tosun and Fyall, 2005).

4.3.3.3 Lack of Holistic Management Mechanisms

As attested by its visionary statement cited in the beginning of section 4.3.3, the type of management foreseen in the GEF project incorporated many dimensions, from the resolution of property rights to the amelioration of the infrastructure, from the promotion of ecotourism to the effective conservation of natural and cultural resources. The envisaged management for the area is unquestionably a step in the right direction, as it encapsulates a comprehensive understanding of sustainable development and addresses the issues that rendered Köprülü Kanyon "unmanageable" to begin with, such as the exclusion of its people from governance, inadequacy of basic services and lack of viable livelihoods. This realization of this vision, however, called for a holistic management scheme that was never operationalized.

The project team lacked the necessary equipment and staff to effectively implement the type of management foreseen in the GEF project. The team admitted the need to administer the area with the participation of people, and that a holistic approach, one that is close to the sustainable development concept, is needed for effective management, but they stated that they lacked adequate staff. It is true that the area is vast and monitoring resource use is challenging. Furthermore, the realization of a holistic management mechanism calls for a team composed not only of forestry engineers (as was the GEF project team), but also of experts in different specialties (e.g. sociologists, geographers, political ecologists) and civil society representatives.

The project team held the central administration's traditional top-down governance style responsible for the failure to operationalize such a management mechanism (field interviews, 2008). They stated that although a participatory approach

and a holistic management were aimed at in Köprülü Kanyon, the central administration still operates by the rules of top-down governance. I have stated earlier that GEF micro-plans prepared with (some) input of the local stakeholders have been rejected on the grounds that they are not in line with country-level plans formulated by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. The team stated that proposals they brought up on the management of the area prior to the GEF project have also been rejected (or even unheard) for similar reasons; "[bureaucrats] in the central administration do not want to hear us".

I conclude, therefore, that this dimension of the failure signifies both a lack of competence (lack of funds and staff) and the paternalistic style of governance adopted by the central government. Realization of a holistic, participatory management vision at the local level depends on the fundamental reforming of the way that the central administration governs, as well as its ability and/or willingness to supply the necessary support for implementation.

4.3.3.4 Failure to Implement Participatory Mechanisms

The formulation of regulations about natural resources, such as rules on levels and periods of resource use, were supposed to be made together with resource users via regular meetings to be held with users. Copies of the management plan and official reports were to be shared with all key stakeholders, and mechanisms for individuals and stakeholders to contribute to decision-making were supposed to be implemented (Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a). There was no clear discussion at the planning stage, however, of what is implied by such mechanisms or how they will ensure the participation of local stakeholders. For instance, there was no elaboration on how the

hostility and mistrust of the local people, known as a fact by the project team, would be overcome in operationalizing participatory mechanisms. Likewise, how dissemination of information and effective participation of all stakeholders would be ensured, at the face of existing local inequalities, was not addressed during the formulation of the GEF project plans. In addition, similar to the case in Sultan Sazlığı, the specifics of the decision-making processes, e.g. rules on decision-making, how binding the decisions would be, *etc*. were not fleshed out.

During on-site implementation, the project team's strategy had been first to gain local people's trust to overcome their hostility. They frequently visited the villages in order to do so. Initially, the project team preferred to have informal conversations with local people about the project instead of holding formal meetings. This has proved successful, to some extent, in breaking local people's skepticism about the project and in changing their perceptions of the national park. The project team holds that the locals started feeling more comfortable in communicating their demands and opinions as a result of this strategy. More formal meetings at each village were held afterwards; announcement of these meetings was the responsibility of village heads, but the project team visited the area frequently to make sure that the information about the meetings (and about the project activities in general) was widely announced.

In addition to informal and formal meetings held at villages, village-level representatives, including the village head, village cooperative head, and representatives from each neighborhood, were elected. The representatives (other than the village head and the cooperative head) were chosen by the villagers themselves and the project team did not intervene in how they were chosen. Village-level representatives attended regular

meetings, usually held somewhere outside of the area.[69] At these meetings, drafts of the management plan (and associated micro-plans), guidelines on resource use, information on small grants and on project activities were shared with the representatives. Representatives participated in the decision-making process by voicing their opinions on the suggestions made by the project team. Revisions were made when a consensus among the representatives and project team was reached. The representatives were responsible of sharing information about the meetings with people in their respective villages.

Despite these formal and informal measures taken to ensure that information about the project was disseminated, field interviews indicate that most people, although aware of the existence of the project, do not have accurate information about what it aimed at. Most interviewees among the local people acknowledged that the project team frequently visited the area to hold meetings and stated that they had been informed of the meetings, but the majority reported not having attended. Some stated that they never attended the meetings because they do not want anything (from the state) other than the resolution of the property rights issue. Similarly, many stated they did not attend meetings because they were critical of the GEF project; they held that infrastructural problems should be prioritized if a project is to be implemented and that Köprülü Kanyon does not need another conservation project.

Another pronounced reason for being skeptical of the project and refusing to participate in project activities was the expectation that it would only bring additional

[69] The project team head stated that holding meetings outside of the area was a deliberate strategy. He stated that the local people affected each other's attitudes negatively and that people who were sympathetic of the project were shown hostility by fellow villagers. When meetings were held at places outside of the area, people seemed more open and welcoming.

constraints on the resource use and restrict livelihoods. It was repeated a number of times that when the team first approached local people, they only mentioned the zoning plans and failed to inform them adequately about the aim of the project or specific activities associated with it. As a result, local people's suspicion grew and they thought their expectations of more restrictions were validated. In addition, the idea of outsiders coming in to "protect the resources" further antagonized them, since they held that the local residents are the best protectors of resources.

Apart from skepticism about the project itself, mistrust of the decision-making mechanisms was a significant reason underlying non-participation by local people. The anticipation that their opinions would not be taken into account served as a deterrent, crystallized in statements such as "[The project team] would not have listened to us anyway, why should we have gone?" or "All [the project team] want[s] is to make more rules, they don't want to listen to what people think".[70] Very few among the interviewees, on the other hand, reported having attended meetings and felt that their views were taken into account.

Interestingly enough, distrust, both to the project and its decision-making processes, seemed to have motivated some participation as well as non-participation. That is to say, being skeptical of the kinds of decisions that would be made, regulations that would be passed, etc. has been an important driving force for those who participated in decision-making mechanisms. Those who acknowledged participating in management

[70] This mechanism, coined as "the rule of anticipated reaction" by Friedrich (1937), is in fact a manifestation of power relations. Accordingly, the powerless does not raise demands anticipating the likely reaction of the powerful. Akbulut and Soylu (2010) operationalize this concept in analyzing the role of power relations in participatory decision-making in natural resource management.

meetings either insinuated or explicitly stated that their motive was to "witness" the process and ensure that no decisions that would disadvantage them would come out of the meetings. This finding illustrates that multiple motivations can underlie participation, and how trust/distrust can operate in contradictory ways.

Based on these accounts it seems that the project has not been successful in operationalizing participatory decision-making mechanisms. The quantitative data provides striking evidence in line with this observation: as depicted in table 4.23, less than 31 percent of the representative survey sample in Köprülü Kanyon (123 out of 401 people) were aware of the project. Within this group, only 21 people have seen a document related to the project, and only 19 people have seen a draft of the management plan. Only 36% of the people who have been informed of the GEF project knew about the management meetings. Within this group of 44 people, 17 participated in the meetings, and only 10 spoke up to voice opinions, as can be seen in figure 4.10. Given this picture, the local people's evaluations of the participatory mechanisms, depicted in figure 4.11, are hardly surprising: they overwhelmingly stated that the project has been unsuccessful in operationalizing participatory decision-making mechanisms.

Tables 4.24 and 4.25 probe into the reasons underlying participation and non-participation: as can be seen, the conviction that the local people should be making the decisions about Köprülü Kanyon seems to be the most prominent reason for both actual and hypothetical participation. Regarding non-participation, on the other hand, inappropriate meeting times and locations is the most prevalent reason, while distrust to the decision-making mechanism is also pronounced.

The failure of participatory mechanism in Köprülü Kanyon is clearly related to the locals' skepticism, precipitated by the history of paternalist state-society relationships in the area. The failure to alter locals' perceptions and expectations was exacerbated by poor institutional design and the project team's lack of necessary expertise and experience. Although the project team undertook ad hoc and informal methods of ensuring participation by local people, sustainable and well-working participatory mechanisms could not be established. Lack of competence (in institutional design, lack of necessary organizational skills and expertise), in addition to the paternalistic style of governance of the Turkish state, was responsible for the failure of participatory mechanisms.

4.3.3.5 Ineffectiveness of Alternative Livelihoods

One of the aims of the GEF project was the promotion of alternative, environmentally-friendly livelihoods by distributing small grants to local stakeholders. In Köprülü Kanyon, information related to the SGP was to be disseminated by meetings separately held in every village. These meetings would be the first step in establishing village-related working groups, one per every settlement, whose main responsibility would be to help residents with the development of project proposals and the process of application. The groups were envisaged to comprise of two representatives from each neighborhood in the settlement, the village head, the head of village cooperative and the heads of other village associations and to work in close collaboration with the project team. Furthermore, the project team introduced additional (site-specific) criteria for the selection of proposals, which included rewarding applications submitted by women or those directly affected by grazing constraints by premium points in evaluation.

The introduction of premium criteria that rewards female applicants, or those who are negatively affected by grazing constraints, are positive steps towards ameliorating local inequalities. Some features built-in to the process of information dissemination, however, could also lead to inequitable outcomes. More specifically, there was no institutionalized mechanism set up to monitor how effectively the village working groups disseminated information about the SGP. It is conceivable that the village groups would selectively share information. If, for instance, it would not be appropriate for women to apply, according to the prevailing gender norms, they might have just disseminated the information among men.

Although it seems to have fared relatively better than in Sultan Sazlığı, the SGP could not make a significant change in local people's livelihoods or welfare in Köprülü Kanyon, either. Field interviews indicate that although many people have heard of the grants, only a few have applied despite the project team's genuine efforts to mobilize applications and by providing guidance, training and motivation (field interviews, 2008). A total of 45 projects, as listed in table 4.26, were funded with a $300,000 budget.

It was repeated a number of times that the local people did not apply to the SGP as a way of protesting the national park authorities, manifested in the words "We don't want [the project team's] money, we don't want anything from them, we just want them to leave". Furthermore, those who received grant support were subject to hostility by fellow villagers, as they were seen as "accomplices" to the national park authorities. In Altınkaya, for instance, a few applicants started the process but withdrew their applications, as they would have been stigmatized if they went ahead. It was also reported that the village heads in the lower canyon area did not share the information

with the local people, as they were on bad terms with the project team and did not want anyone to participate (field interviews, 2008). Based on these accounts, the conflictual relationship between local people and the project team seems to be responsible for the low participation in the SGP, too.

With few exceptions, grant receivers stated that they have benefited only meagerly. Beekeeping has not taken off as an alternative livelihood since most bees either abandoned the beehives or were dead by the end of the first year. Most of fruit orchards supported by the SGP dried out due to irrigation difficulties in upland villages. Although trainings were given on handicrafts and weaving, and materials were purchased, these activities failed to become sustainable livelihood options since there were no markets to sell the products. Similarly, most ecotourism projects (B&B and camping projects) could not take off financially. The recipients complained that they could attract very few tourists due to difficulties of transportation, inability to promote their facilities effectively, and lack of business connections with tourism agencies that regularly serves the area. An exception to this general feeling, however, can be found in Çaltepe, where the owners of two B&B supported by the SGP felt they have benefited greatly from the programme. In addition, an oregano festival has been organized for three consecutive years with SGP support, during which the villagers could sell surplus agricultural and animal products, as well as oregano. It seems that the oregano festival served effectively as a market and helped generate monetary income for villagers.

To summarize, although a few recipients have been quite content with the program, the overall sentiment held by the local people was that the SGP could not have been a solution unless infrastructure was established. Distance from markets, poor

transportation opportunities, and absence of advertising for ecotourism have been important reasons why supported livelihoods could not become viable, long-lived options. It seems that a more comprehensive approach that tackles especially the inadequacy of infrastructure is needed for SGP's vision to be accomplished.

The quantitative data on the SGP illustrates these points raised. Of the 123 people who were aware of the GEF project, only seventeen, less than 14 percent, applied to the SGP, among which ten actually received grant support. Among the ten SGP recipients within the sample, three stated that it had no impact on their welfare, while four stated that it had affected them negatively. Only two respondents stated that they had benefited from the SGP.

Those who have not applied, on the other hand, cited information-related constraints to be the major reason on non-participation in the SGP: 57 people, 54 percent of those who have not applied to the SGP, stated they have not been informed of it at all; and sixteen people, 15 percent of the non-applicants, stated they were not adequately informed. It is also worth noting that the conviction that the SGP was against the interests of the local people, i.e. the motivation to protest the project, has been stated as a reason by twelve people, making up eleven percent of the non-applicants. The overall dissatisfaction with the SGP is reflected in the local people's evaluations, attested by the fact that the majority of the people who were aware of the project have assessed it to be unsuccessful, as shown in figure 4.12.

To recapitulate, apart from the strife between the local people and the project team, local dynamics and the project team's failure to break locals' perceptions by adequately informing them about the SGP explain the limited interest in the program.

Lack of competence again lies behind the failure of the SGP in realizing a shift to alternative livelihoods. The program was carried out as if providing grants to local people, by itself, would be sufficient for the promotion of alternative livelihoods. Difficulties related to infrastructural facilities, such as distance to markets, poor transportation opportunities and irrigation systems, and lack of business connections with the tourism sector, were not taken into account, signaling the absence of necessary skills and resources on the side of the project team. Therefore, many of the supported projects failed to become sustainable, and locals reverted to traditional livelihood practices. [71]

4.3.3.6 Failure to Realize Gender Equality

The level of awareness of the GEF project and its activities is strikingly low among women (field interviews, 2008). Very few women knew about the project, and if so they often had partial information about it, i.e. they knew that the national park employees have frequently visited the area for some reason but did not exactly know why. None of the female interviewees attended meetings where decisions about resource use were made, although quite a few had received trainings or grants. It was clear, however, that women's involvement in project activities usually happened through initiatives of the project team, as discussed below.

The project team relied on the help of two female members, who were familiar with the area by virtue of being employees of the national park, in trying to ensure women's participation in project activities. The team was well aware of the challenges posed by the prevailing gender norms in the area, i.e. they were aware that it would not

[71] The project team holds the central state bureaucracy responsible for this. They stated that the central bureaucracy is not operating with a comprehensive, holistic approach and fail to take measure to ensure sustainability of GEF project activities in general.

appropriate for women to attend to formal meetings. Therefore, they opted to conduct informal discussions with women or held women-only activities in order to ensure women's participation. Furthermore, female applicants to the SGP was encouraged by the introduction of the premium criteria, as discussed previously, and a number of grants were distributed to female recipients, as can be seen in table 4.26. Namely, the orchard project, cotton cord weaving project and plastic arts training and production projects were directed to women.

Both men and women among interviewees and the project team members acknowledged the role played by the prevailing gender norms as obstacles to women's participation in the meetings and activities associated with the project.[72] It is not considered women's "place" to attend meetings on such matters or voice opinions. Women frequently stated that they are not educated enough to participate in meetings, or interact with national park employees, and that their husbands would know better and would represent their interests as well, evidenced by statements such as "women do not go to meetings here" or "it is men's job to make decisions, not women's". In addition, women's work regarding natural resources, such as collecting wood and grazing animals, is devalued and made invisible, which conceivably contributed to lack of women's participation. This devaluation is internalized by women; as I have discussed in section 4.3.1.3, when asked what types of work they are engaged in, most women answered they did not work, but listed the daily unpaid productive activities they undertake when

[72] One male interviewee, when asked if any women attended meetings and why they have not, replied by saying "There are women's rights in urban areas but they have not arrived in our villages yet".

prompted. Due to such perceptions about women's unpaid labor held by both men and women, women's participation in meetings was considered irrelevant.

Furthermore, the history of the relationship between the locals and the national park has exacerbated the negative impact of gender norms on women's effective participation in meetings and other project activities. Attempts at inducing women's participation were undercut by the general feeling of hostility towards the project team. An anecdote attests to this observation. A weaving training project directed to women in Altınkaya was initiated by the project team, who state that considerable progress was made in breaking women's skepticism. The group, however, withdrew from participation when the application process was about to be finalized, as the village men convinced them that the project was a strategy to co-opt them.

The quantitative data provided by the survey illustrate the poor level of women's awareness of the project and its activities, as well as their lack of participation in them. Table 4.27 depicts the prevalence of women's awareness and participation. Of the 139 women within the sample, only 32 (23 percent) were aware of the project, eleven (8 percent) have been informed of the management meetings, and nine (6 percent) have been informed of training activities. Only four (3 percent), on the other hand, have seen a draft of the management plan. Strikingly, only three (2 percent) women within the sample participated in the meetings, while none applied to the SGP.

The data on the reasons of non-participation by women demonstrate the role of time and location constraints, as well as that of distrust. As can be seen in table 4.28, 30 percent of the female non-participators stated inappropriate meeting times and locations as the reason why they have not participated. This finding is suggestive of how gender

norms can operate to impede women's participation if restrictions on women's mobility and labor responsibilities are not taken into account. On the other hand, one of the most pronounced reasons for female hypothetical non-participation was distrust to the decision-making mechanism: 31 percent of the women who declared they would not have participated even if they were informed of the management meetings.

4.4 Conclusion

The GEF projects in Turkey were officially concluded in 2007 with the termination of seven years of funding. The standing plans prepared for the management of Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon add cruel irony to their failure in accomplishing what they have promised: sustainable resource use could not be ensured in either site, participatory decision-making could not be operationalized, let alone sustained; and the efforts to promote alternative income-generating activities made no significant change in the local people's livelihood practices. This chapter delineated the failure of the Turkish state in implementing sustainable development via the GEF projects in these two localities, highlighting the local manifestation of the Turkish state's structural characteristics and their interactions with the local dynamics. In doing so, it also provided a detailed portrayal of the background of state-society relationships and sustainable development in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon.

I have argued that the Turkish state's hegemonic practices have most visibly crystallized as the persistence of agricultural growth in Sultan Sazlığı, and hindered both the formulation and the implementation of effective policies to address the issue of water scarcity. The prioritization of agricultural growth is detectable in the history of state policies pursued in the region, as well as in the GEF project. In Köprülü Kanyon, on the

other hand, the paternalistic style adopted by the Turkish state in relating to the society, together with the patronage networks it erupts, undercut the implementation of local sustainable development. While the discontent precipitated by the top-down governance has made it almost impossible to enforce any kind of policy, including those envisaged by the GEF project, the locally powerful's evasion of environmental regulations by virtue of patronage further curtailed sustainable development implementation.

The arguments I have put forth in this chapter underscore the importance of the historical making of these localities for sustainable development efforts. In the case of Sultan Sazlığı, I have demonstrated how the pursuit of agricultural growth, a symptom of the Turkish state's growth-oriented modernization project, has not only set off resource use processes that severely damaged the environment, but also instigated an incentive structure, namely of unsustainable use of water by the farmers, which now proves difficult to alter. In Köprülü Kanyon I have shown that the state's paternalistic gaze has alienated and antagonized the local people, and rendered the place "unmanageable", with important implications for the implementation of sustainable development. Furthermore, the discussion in this chapter illustrates how local inequalities are produced and/or perpetuated by the failure of sustainable development. The case of the reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı is a striking exemplar of this dimension: not only have they been hit worst by water scarcity, shouldering the burden of the deterioration of their sole livelihood, but also were subjected to the only effective restriction of the GEF project in terms of resource use, namely the stipulations of the reed cutting plan, while irrigated farming goes undisrupted.

The role of inequalities, together with that of perceptions and anticipations, were underscored in the analysis of participatory decision-making as well. A wealth of qualitative findings and quantitative descriptions show that the GEF projects in both Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon have failed to induce the effective participation of local people in decision-making processes, starting at the level of informedness; the marginalized groups in these communities have been excluded from taking part in these processes. Given that these groups are also the losers in the failure of sustainable development in the two sites, e.g. reed cutters vs. the farmers in Sultan Sazlığı, upland villagers vs. the rafting sector in Köprülü Kanyon, their exclusion from decision-making is an important obstacle to the effective implementation of environmental protection.

Against this backdrop, chapter 5 complements the present chapter by a engaging in a quantitative investigation. Specifically, chapter 5 delves into the examination of two dimensions of local sustainable development in particular: participation in the decision-making mechanisms of the GEF project, and willingness to contribute to community-level mobilizations to enforce sustainable development.

Table 4.1 Agricultural land and crop pattern in Sultan Sazlığı, by settlement

Settlement	Total Arable Land (ha)	Cereals	Sugar Beet	Sunflower	Animal feed	Fruits
Sindelhöyük	1,319	Wheat, barley	Yes	Yes	Yes	Apple
Musahacılı	1,655	Wheat, barley	Yes	Yes	Yes	Apple, melon
Soysallı	1,005	Wheat, barley, rye	Yes	Yes	Yes	Apple
Çayırözü	213	Wheat, barley	Yes	Yes	No	No
Ovaçiftlik	1,000	Wheat, barley	Yes	Yes	No	Apple
Yeşilova	1,190	Wheat, barley	Yes	Yes	No	Apple
Yenihayat	136	Wheat, barley	Yes	Yes	No	No

Source: Karabaşa, 2002; Şarkışla, 2002; field interviews, 2008

Table 4.2 Livestock ownership in Sultan Sazlığı, by settlement

Settlement	Cattle (Beef and Water Buffalo)	Sheep
Sindelhöyük	5048	13700
Musahacılı	500	3000
Soysallı	800	7000
Çayırözü	920	1600
Ovaçiftlik	500	2000
Yeşilova	500	1000
Yenihayat	200	1000

Source: Şarkışla, 2002.

Table 4.3 Prevalence of reed-cutting in Sultan Sazlığı, by settlement

Settlement	Number of Households (2002)	Number of Reed-Cutting Households (2002)	Proportion of Reed-Cutting Households (2002)
Sindelhöyük	1000	200	20%
Ovaçiftlik	120	84	70%
Yeşilova	115	83	72%
Yenihayat	25	15	60%

Source: Karabaşa, 2002; Şarkışla, 2002.

Table 4.4 Crop pattern in Develi plain

Crop Type	Area Cultivated (ha)	Proportion of Total Arable Land in the Basin
Cereals	51, 607	66%
Beans	7, 580	10%
Fruits	6, 348	8%
Sugar beet	4, 407	6%
Fodder	2, 060	3%
Sunflower	1, 800	2%
Vegetables	1, 463	2%

Source: Gürer, 2004.

Table 4.5 GEF project activities in Sultan Sazlığı

Year	Activity	Participants	Output
2002	SGP promotion meetings	Local people, project team	
2002	Awareness raising on ecotourism	Project team, tour operators	
2003	Meetings on water use and grazing plans	Project team, local administrators, municipalities, local NGOs	Stakeholder opinions collected
2004	Reed cutting plan meetings	Project team, local administrators, reed companies, consultants	Stakeholder opinions collected
2005	Reed cutting plan meetings	Project team, provincial governorships, mayors, village heads	Revisions based on stakeholder input were made
2005	SGP presentation meetings	Local people, project team, provincial governorship, local administrators	
2005	SGP local management board	Project team, community representatives	SGP local management board was established
2005	SGP assessment meetings	Project team, local management board	Selection of projects to be supported by SGP
2005	Sharing of management plan with stakeholders	Project team, general directorate of nature conservation and national parks, mayors, village heads.	
2005	Raising awareness of local administrators about the project	Project team, general directorate of ministry and environment, village heads, mayors, district governors	
2005, 2007	Bird watching day	Project team, local governors, representatives from directorate of environment and forestry, local people	
2006	Sharing of zoning plan drafts	Project team, representatives from local settlements	
2006	SGP trainings	Project team, local pre-evaluation committee, supported project participators	
2007	Monitoring of SGPs	Project team, local management board	Monitoring and assessment of SGP projects

Table 4.6 Unpacking the failure in Sultan Sazlığı

Explanations of Failure → Features of Failure		State Level				Local Level
		Growth Orientation	Paternalistic State	Patronage	Lack of motivation/ incentives/ competence	
Water Use	Scale of the project	X			X	
	Crop pattern in the plain	X				Collective action, myopic vision
	Prevailing irrigation methods	X			X	Collective action, myopic vision
	Illegal deep wells		X	X	X	Collective action, myopic vision
Reed cutting			X	X	X	Collective action, myopic vision
Failure to implement participatory mechanisms			X		X	Local power relations, perceptions
Ineffectiveness of alternative livelihoods				X	X	
Failure to realize gender equality					X	Gender norms

Table 4.7 Evaluation of participatory mechanisms in Sultan Sazlığı, by livelihood

Source of livelihood	Definitely unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Neither successful nor unsuccessful	Successful	Definitely successful
Reed cutter (20)	13 (65%)	4 (20%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	--
Animal grazer (58)	25 (43%)	12 (21%)	10 (17%)	5 (9%)	5 (9%)
Farmer (86)	36 (42%)	14 (16%)	15 (17%)	11 (13%)	7 (8%)

Table 4.8 Knowledge of GEF and GEF-related activities, Sultan Sazlığı

Dimensions of Awareness	Number of observations	Proportion (%)
Have heard of GEF	174	46.15
Have seen GEF-related documents*	55	31.61
Have seen management plan draft*	41	23.74
Have heard of training activities*	67	38.51
Have heard of management meetings*	82	47.13

Note: The sample for the asterisked dimensions consists of only those who have heard of the GEF project.

Table 4.9 Reasons for participation in management meetings, Sultan Sazlığı

	"Local people should make the decisions about the area"	"Meeting topics were concerning my interests"	"I wished to see what was going to be discussed"
Participators (50)	23 (46%)	10 (20%)	17 (34%)
Hypothetical participators (77)	31 (40%)	22 (29%)	24 (31%)

Table 4.10 Reasons for non-participation in management meetings, Sultan Sazlığı

	"Meeting topics were not concerning my interests"	"Meeting times and locations were not appropriate"	"It would be inappropriate for me to go to the meetings"	"I did not trust the meetings"	"I did not think my participation was necessary"	"I was not properly informed"
Non-participators (32)	7 (22%)	14 (44%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	5 (15%)
Hypothetical Non-participators (15)	10 (67%)	1 (7%)	4 (27%)	—	—	—

Table 4.11 SGP supported projects, Sultan Sazlığı

Project Name	Location	Objectives	Activities
Develi Plain Effective Use of Water Resources	All project villages	Promotion of water-efficient irrigation methods	Training provided to 130 farmers
Fly Birds Fly, Immigrate to Sultan Sazlığı	Develi Municipality	Biodiversity awareness raising	900 primary school kids given education
Photo Safari in Sultan Sazlığı	Develi Municipality	Promotion of Sultan Sazlığı	Photo contest
Labor Coming to Our Table From Marshes: Straw Mats	Develi Municipality	Promotion and protection of traditional reed-based livelihoods	5 women trained, mats displayed in local markets
Emek Bee Joint Venture	Musahacılı	Promotion of beekeeping as an alternative livelihood	22 people trained, beehives and equipment purchased
Training on Modern Irrigation Techniques	Musahacılı	Promotion of water-efficient irrigation methods	Training to 145 farmers (18 women), 80% of sugar beet producers switched to sprinkler systems
Fodder Plant Growing and Processing	Musahacılı	Relieving grazing pressure on pastures	Machinery purchased, fodder seeds distributed to 34 farmers
Reed Weaving Facilities	Sindelhöyük	Revival and promotion of reed weaving	Reed weaving machines purchased
Awareness Raising among the town youth	Yeşilhisar	Training and awareness raising on the biodiversity	85 people were provided education
Sultan Sazlığı Barbara Bed & Breakfast	Ovaçiftlik	Promotion of ecotourism	Purchase of equipment for the B&B
Çayırözü Primary School Environment Club	Çayırözü	Awareness raising on biodiversity	Purchase of equipment
Excursion and Training Program	Yeşilhisar	Awareness raising on biodiversity	1250 people were taken to excursions

Continued on next page

Table 4.11 (continued) SGP supported projects, Sultan Sazlığı

Project Name	Location	Objectives	Activities
Planting of Almond and Walnut Orchards	Yeşilhisar	Promotion of alternative livelihoods	Sample orchard with sprinkler irrigation, 100 seedlings distributed
Association for the Protection and Sustainability of Sultan Sazlığı	Yeşilhisar	Building local capacity and encourage local activities for conservation	Establishment of the NGO, purchase of office equipment
Documentary Advertisement Movie for Sultan Sazlığı	Yeşilhisar	Promotion of Sultan Sazlığı	Distributed to public institutions, NGOs and local TV channels
Training for Sprinkling Irrigation Piping Workmanship	Yeşilhisar	Promotion of water-efficient irrigation methods	Irrigation piping training to 30 people
Productive Irrigation Systems Training and Application	Yeşilhisar	Promotion of water-efficient irrigation methods	43 farmers received training
Development of Stock Raising and Decreasing Use of Water in Agriculture	Yeşilova	Promotion of water-efficient irrigation methods and non-land livelihoods	40 farmers received training
Yeşilova Village Sprinkling Irrigation System	Yeşilova	Promotion of water-efficient irrigation methods	Equipment purchased, demonstrative training
Sprinkling Irrigation System	Ovaçiftlik	Promotion of water-efficient irrigation methods	Switch to sprinkler irrigation system on one apple orchard
Construction of a Park Area in Ovaçiftlik Village	Ovaçiftlik	Training and awareness raising on biodiversity	Building of training and awareness raising center
Education and Enlightenment in Villages and Schools	Sindelhöyük	Training and awareness raising on biodiversity	24 people trained on biodiversity
Sultan Bed & Breakfast	Ovaçiftlik	Promotion of ecotourism as an alternative livelihood	Equipment purchased for the B&B

Table 4.12 Awareness and participation of women, Sultan Sazlığı

	Yes	No
Knows GEF	61 (35%)	114 (65%)
Seen document	11 (6%)	50 (29%)
Seen draft of management plan	5 (3%)	56 (32%)
Attended training	18 (10%)	43 (25%)
Applied to the SGP	0 (0%)	61 (35%)
Knows meeting	20 (11%)	41 (24%)
Attended meeting	7 (4%)	13 (31%)

Note: Reported percentages are of females within the sample

Table 4.13 Reasons for female non-participation, Sultan Sazlığı

	"Meeting topics not were concerning my interests"	"Meeting times and locations not were appropriate"	"It would be inappropriate for me to go to the meetings"	"I did not trust the meetings"	"I did not think my participation was necessary"	"I was not properly informed"
Non-participators (13)	2 (15%)	8 (62%)	2 (15%)	1 (8%)	—	—
Hypothetical Non-participators (10)	7 (70%)	1 (10%)	2 (30%)	—	—	—

Table 4.14 Main sources of livelihood in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlements	Main Sources of Livelihood
Beşkonak	Livestock breeding, seasonal labor and seasonal forestry, tourism
Karabük	Livestock breeding, seasonal labor and seasonal forestry, tourism
Altınkaya	Livestock breeding, seasonal labor, tourism
Gaziler	Livestock breeding
Ballıbucak	Livestock breeding, seasonal labor, some beekeeping
Çaltepe	Oregano harvesting, livestock breeding, agriculture, beekeeping
Değirmenözü	Livestock breeding, seasonal labor and seasonal forestry
Hasdümen	Livestock breeding, seasonal labor
Demirciler	Livestock breeding, agriculture, seasonal labor
Yeşilvadi	Livestock breeding

Source: Field interviews, 2008

Table 4.15 Livestock ownership in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlements	Number of Goats and Sheep	Number of Cattle
Beşkonak	3,000	1,000
Karabük	1,000	250
Altınkaya	1,000-1500	500-600
Gaziler	6,000	150
Ballıbucak	2,000	500
Çaltepe	3,000	150
Değirmenözü	5,000	450
Hasdümen	1,500	100
Demirciler	500-600	100-150
Yeşilvadi	300-350	40-50

Source: Çetin, 2003

Table 4.16 Agricultural land use in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlements	Total Cultivated Land (ha)	Area under Dry Farming (ha)	Area under Irrigated Farming (ha)
Beşkonak	1200	800	400
Karabük	700	700	-
Altınkaya	35	35	-
Gaziler	800	800	-
Ballıbucak	150	150	-
Çaltepe	150	50	100
Değirmenözü	600	450	150
Hasdümen	300	200	100
Demirciler	100	80	20
Yeşilvadi	70	70	-
Beydilli	15	15	-

Source: Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a

Table 4.17 Average landholding size and agricultural production in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlements	Average land per household (ha)	Grains	Beans	Root Vegetables	Fruits	Vegetables
Beşkonak	3	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Karabük	4-5	Yes	No	No	No	No
Altınkaya	2.5-3	Yes	No	Yes	Little	No
Gaziler	5-6	Yes	No	Yes	Little	No
Ballıbucak	3	Yes	No	Yes	Little	No
Çaltepe	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Değirmenözü	1-2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hasdümen	2.5-3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demirciler	1.5-2	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Little
Yeşilvadi	1-1.5	Yes	Yes	Little	Yes	Little

Source: Çetin, 2003

Table 4.18 Number of people employed in seasonal jobs in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlements	Number of people working in seasonal jobs	Share of population over 18
Beşkonak	100-120	9-10%
Karabük	40-60	10-16%
Altınkaya	40-60	11-16%
Gaziler	80	29%
Ballıbucak	None	__
Çaltepe	None	__
Değirmenözü	100-150	34-51%
Hasdümen	100-110	47-52%
Demirciler	30-40	19-25%
Yeşilvadi	30-35	26-30%
Beydilli	None	__

Source: Çetin, 2003

Table 4.19 Education and health facilities in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlement	Education	Health
Beşkonak	Two 5-year schools One 8-year school	One village clinic, no doctors.
Karabük	One 5-year school	No facilities.
Altınkaya	One 5-year school	No facilities.
Gaziler	No facilities	No facilities.
Ballıbucak	One 5-year school	One village clinic, no personnel.
Çaltepe	One 5-year school	No facilities.
Değirmenözü	One 5-year school	One village clinic, no personnel.
Hasdümen	No facilities	One village clinic, no personnel.
Demirciler	One 5-year school	No facilities.
Yeşilvadi	One 5-year school	No facilities.
Beydilli	One five-year school, no personnel	No facilities

Source: Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a; field interviews, 2008

Table 4.20 Electricity, water and transportation facilities in Köprülü Kanyon, by settlement

Settlement	Electricity	Drinking water	Transportation
Beşkonak	Yes	Sufficient	Private vehicles
Karabük	Yes	Insufficient in summer	Village owned bus
Altınkaya	Yes	Insufficient	Private vehicles
Gaziler	Yes	Insufficient	Other villages' buses
Ballıbucak	Yes	Insufficient in summer	Private vehicles
Çaltepe	Yes	Sufficient	Village owned bus
Değirmenözü	Yes	Insufficient	Village coop owned bus
Hasdümen	Yes	Insufficient	Village owned bus
Demirciler	Yes	Sufficient	Village owned bus
Yeşilvadi	Yes	Insufficient	Private vehicles
Beydilli	No	Insufficient in summer	Private vehicles

Source: Republic of Turkey MEF GDNCNP, 2007a; field interviews, 2008

Table 4.21 GEF project activities in Köprülü Kanyon

Year	Activity	Participants
2001	Formation of local committees	GEF project team, local people, representatives of NGO's, village heads
2001	Project promotion meeting in Beşkonak	GEF project team, local people
2002	Sustainable grazing meeting	GEF project team, goat shepherds
2003	Oregano processing factory preliminary meeting	GEF project team, flora specialist, agricultural provincial director, Çaltepe village association and cooperation presidents, villagers
2004	Meetings for the selection of stakeholders	GEF project team, village heads, local people
2005	Governance model meetings	GEF project team, stakeholder representatives
2005	Selge Cultural Management Plan meeting	GEF project team, representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, villagers
2005	Grant informative meeting	GEF project team, local people
2005	SGP promotion meeting	GEF project team, local people
2006	Zoning information meeting	GEF project team, local people
2006	Selge Cultural Management Plan meeting	GEF project team, representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, village representatives, NGO's and stakeholders
2006	Informative meeting on the project	GEF project team, local people
2006	Awareness building meeting	GEF project team, local people
2006	SGP evaluation meeting	GEF project team, grant recipients
2007	Beydilli cultural village meeting	GEF project team, local people

Table 4.22 Unpacking the Failure in Köprülü Kanyon

Explanations of Failure → Features of Failure	State Level				Local Level
	Growth Orientation	Paternalistic State	Patronage	Lack of motivation/ Competence	
1. Conflict and perceptions		X		X	Local power relations- winners of unruliness
2. Failure to Implement Sustainable Resource Use	X	X	X		Local power relations
3. Lack of holistic management mechanisms		X		X	
4. Failure to implement participatory mechanisms		X		X	Perceptions
5. Ineffectiveness of alternative livelihoods		X		X	Perceptions
6. Failure to realize gender equality				X	Gender norms

Table 4.23 Knowledge of GEF and GEF-related activities, Köprülü Kanyon

Dimensions of Awareness	Number of observations	Proportion (%)
Have heard of GEF	123	30.67
Have seen GEF-related documents*	21	17.07
Have seen management plan draft*	19	15.45
Have heard of training activities*	33	26.83
Have heard of management meetings*	44	35.77

Note: The sample for the asterisked dimensions consists of only those who have heard of the GEF project.

Table 4.24 Reasons for participation in management meetings, Köprülü Kanyon

	"Local people should make the decisions about the area"	"Meeting topics were concerning my interests"	"I wished to see what was going to be discussed"
Participators (17)	10 (58.82%)	5 (29.41%)	2 (11.76%)
Hypothetical participators (46)	30 (56.60%)	13 (24.53%)	10 (18.87%)

Table 4.25 Reasons for non-participation in management meetings, Köprülü Kanyon

	"Meeting topics were not concerning my interests"	"Meeting times and locations were not appropriate"	"It would be inappropriate for me to go to the meetings"	"I did not trust the meetings"	"I did not think my participation was necessary"
Non-participators (27)	7 (25.93%)	8 (29.63%)	3 (11.11%)	4 (14.81%)	5 (18.52%)
Hypothetical Non-participators (26)	10 (38.46%)	3 (11.54%)	4 (15.38%)	8 (30.77%)	1 (3.85%)

Table 4.26 SGP supported projects, Köprülü Kanyon

Project Name	Location	Objectives	Activities
Ballıbucak Promotional Project	Ballıbucak	Promotion of the village as an ecotourism center	5 people received training, promotional brochures were prepared
Ballıbucak Handcrafts Project	Ballıbucak	Starting wooden handicraft production	Wood and equipment was purchased, 2 people received training.
Kübülük Traditional Home Cuisine	Ballıbucak	Promotion of traditional home cooking as a touristic attraction	A stone house was repaired as a restaurant, equipment purchased
Sheep Stock Breeding Project	Altınkaya	Promotion of sheep breeding	30 sheep, fodder and hay purchased.
Selge Nature Protection and Sustainable Development Project	Altınkaya	Promotion of Selge antique city	Promotional material was produced (brochures, website)
Village Home B&B Project	Çaltepe	Promotion of ecotourism	Training, purchase of supplies
Köprülü Kanyon Accomodation Project	Çaltepe	Promotion of ecotourism	Training, purchase of supplies
Stone Houses B&B Project	Demirciler	Promotion of ecotourism	Training, purchase of supplies
Cotton Cord Weaving Project	Demirciler	Promotion of alternative livelihoods	Training given to 12 young women, yarn and weaving lathes purchased
Çaltepe Beekeping Development Projects	Çaltepe	Promotion of beekeeping	Training given to 4 people, hives and bees purchased
Beekeping Production and Marketing Project	Hasdümen	Promotion of beekeeping	Training given to 4 people, hives and bees were purchased
Ballıbucak Beekeping Project	Ballıbucak	Promotion of beekeeping	Training given to 18 people, hives and bees were purchased
Demirciler Cherry Orchard Project	Demirciler	Promotion of organic fruit production	Training given to 14 people, purchase of saplings

Continued on next page

Table 4.26 (continued) SGP supported projects, Köprülü Kanyon

Project Name	Location	Objectives	Activities
Walnut Tree Orchard Project	Hasdümen	Promotion of organic fruit production	Training given to 3 people, purchase of saplings
Demirciler Vineyard Project	Demirciler	Promotion of organic fruit production	Training given to 6 people, purchase of saplings
Demirciler Apricot Project	Demirciler	Promotion of organic fruit production	Training given to 4 people, purchase of saplings
Yeşilvadi Apricot Project	Yeşilvadi	Promotion of organic fruit production	Training given to 2 people, purchase of saplings
Altınkaya Vineyard Project	Altınkaya	Promotion of organic fruit production	Training given to 25 people, purchase of saplings
Ballıbucak Camping Project	Ballıbucak	Promotion of camping as an eco-touristic attraction	Purchase of tents, installment of electrical and sanitation system, training
Karabük Village Home B&B Project	Karabük	Promotion of ecotourism	Training and purchase of supplies
Beşkonak Village Home Project	Beşkonak	Promotion of ecotourism	Training purchase of supplies
Plastic Arts Training and Production Project	Karabük, Beşkonak, Selge, Çaltepe	Promotion of handcrafts as an alternative livelihood	Training and capacity building, purchase of supplies
Beydilli Culture Village Project	Beydilli	Promotion of local culture and architecture as a touristic attraction	Model homes were chosen and repaired, B&B equipment purchased

Table 4.27 Awareness and participation of women, Köprülü Kanyon

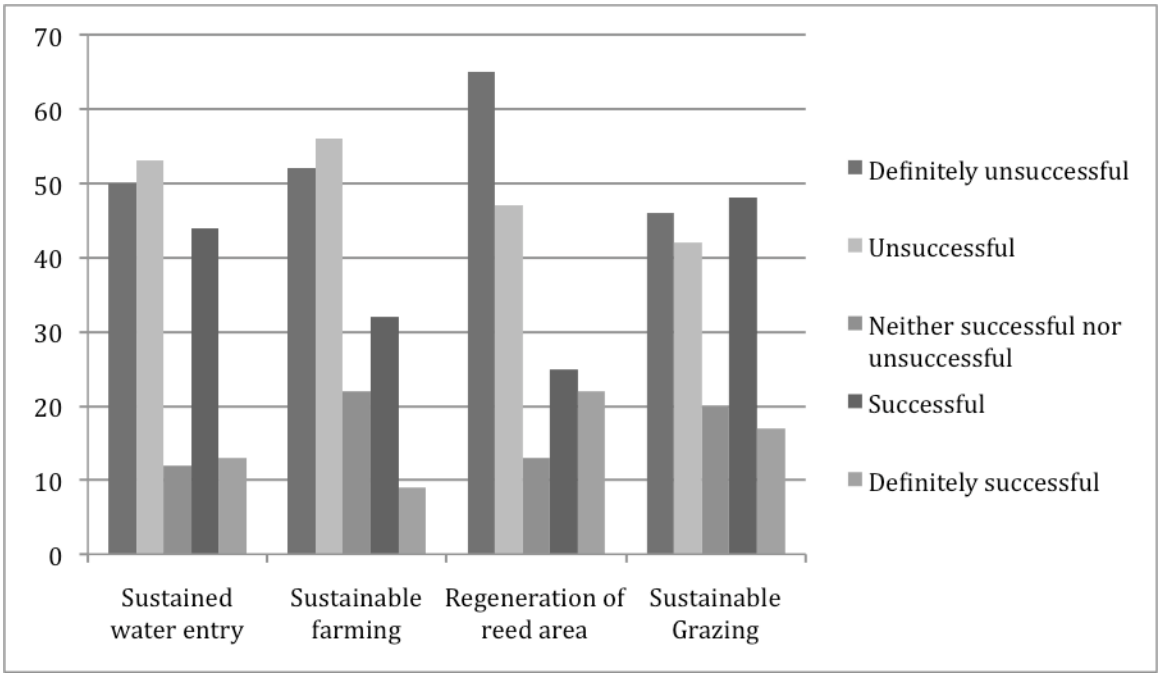
	Yes	No
Knows GEF	32 (23%)	107 (77%)
Seen document	5 (4%)	27 (19%)
Seen draft of management plan	4 (3%)	28 (20%)
Attended training	9 (6%)	23 (17%)
Applied to the SGP	0 (0%)	32 (23%)
Knows meeting	11 (8%)	21 (15%)
Attended meeting	3 (2%)	29 (21%)

Note: Reported percentages are of females within the sample.

Table 4.28 Reasons for female non-participation, Köprülü Kanyon

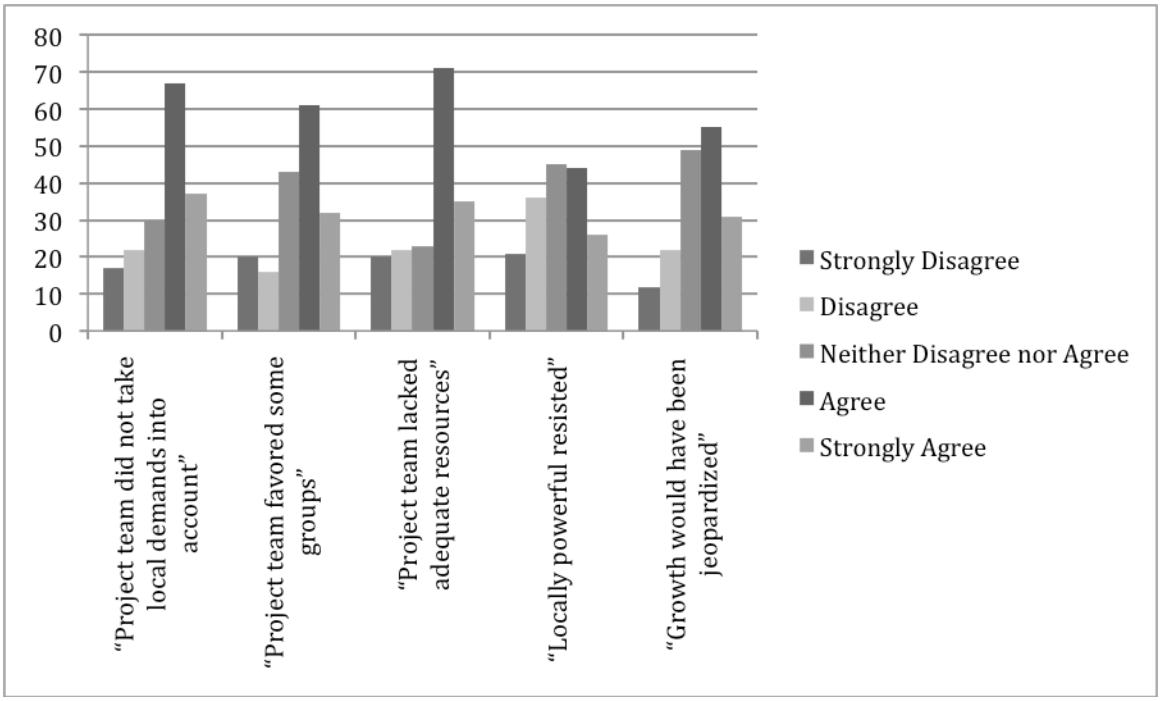
	"Meeting topics not were concerning my interests"	"Meeting times and locations were not appropriate"	"It would be inappropriate for me to go to the meetings"	"I did not trust the meetings"	"I did not think my participation was necessary"
Non-participators (27)	7 (26%)	8 (30%)	3 (11%)	4 (15%)	5 (19%)
Hypothetical Non-participators (26)	10 (38%)	3 (12%)	4 (15%)	8 (30%)	1 (4%)

Figure 4.1 Evaluation of sustainable resource management, Sultan Sazlığı



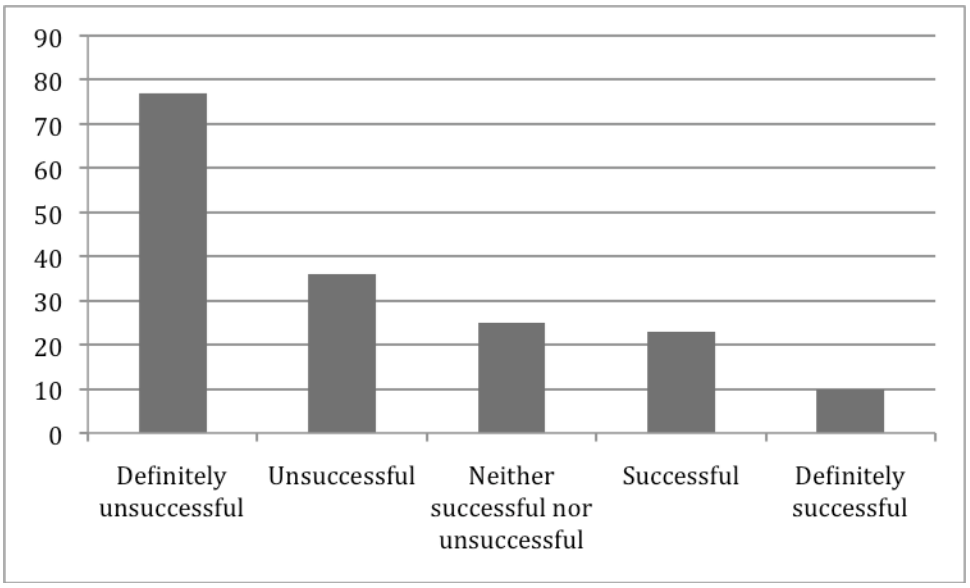
Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.2 Perceptions about explanations of ineffectiveness, Sultan Sazlığı



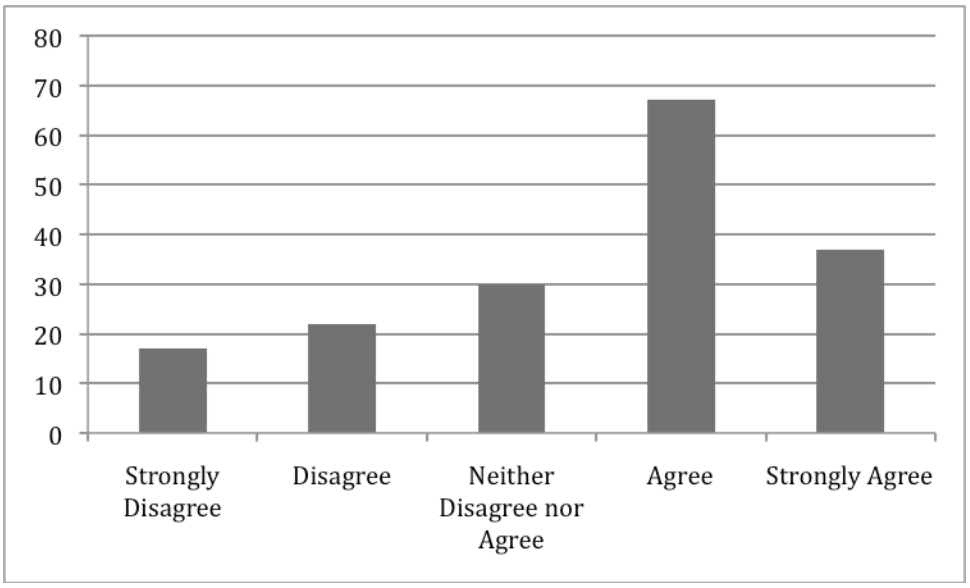
Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.3 Evaluation of participatory mechanisms, Sultan Sazlığı



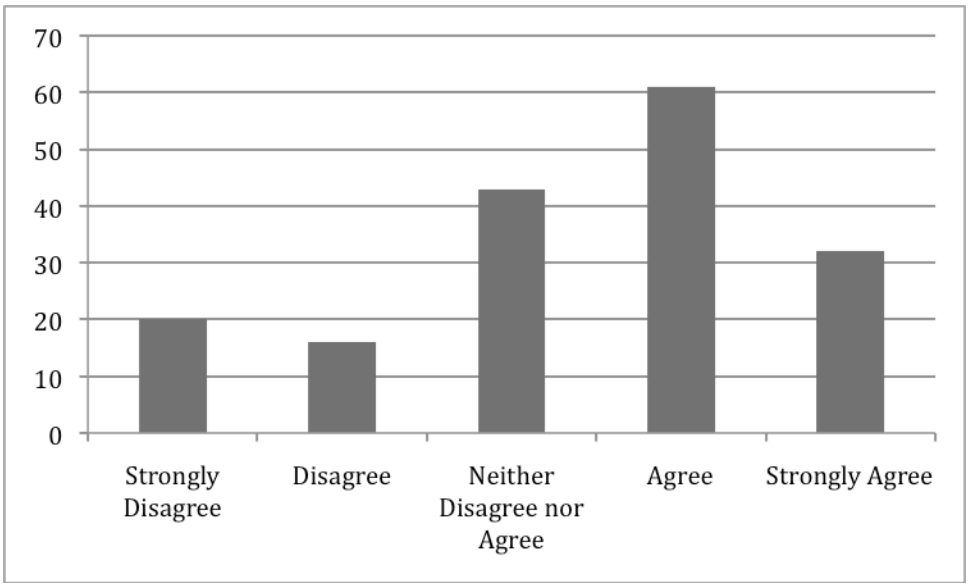
Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.4 Evaluation of the project team's willingness to take locals into account, Sultan Sazlığı



Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.5 Evaluation of the project team's favoring of some groups, Sultan Sazlığı



Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.6 Awareness and participation in the GEF project, Sultan Sazlığı

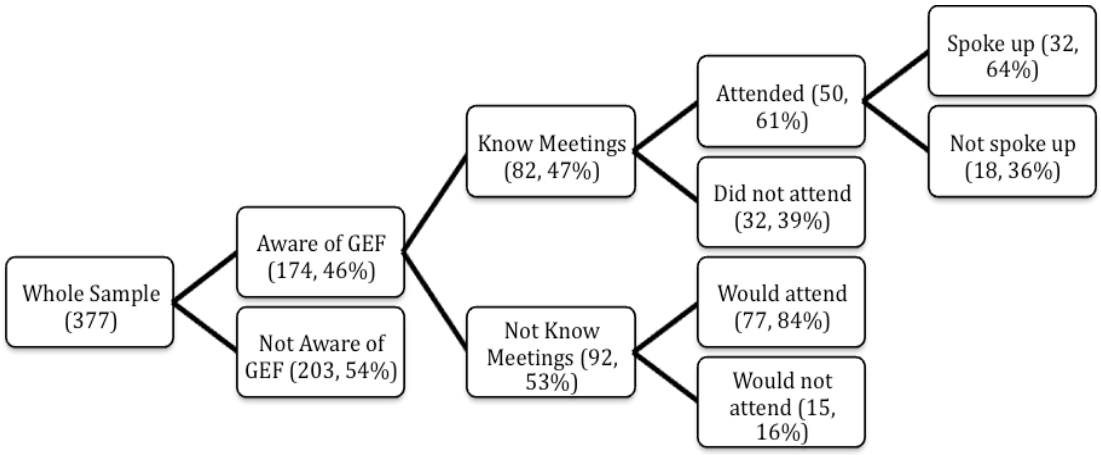
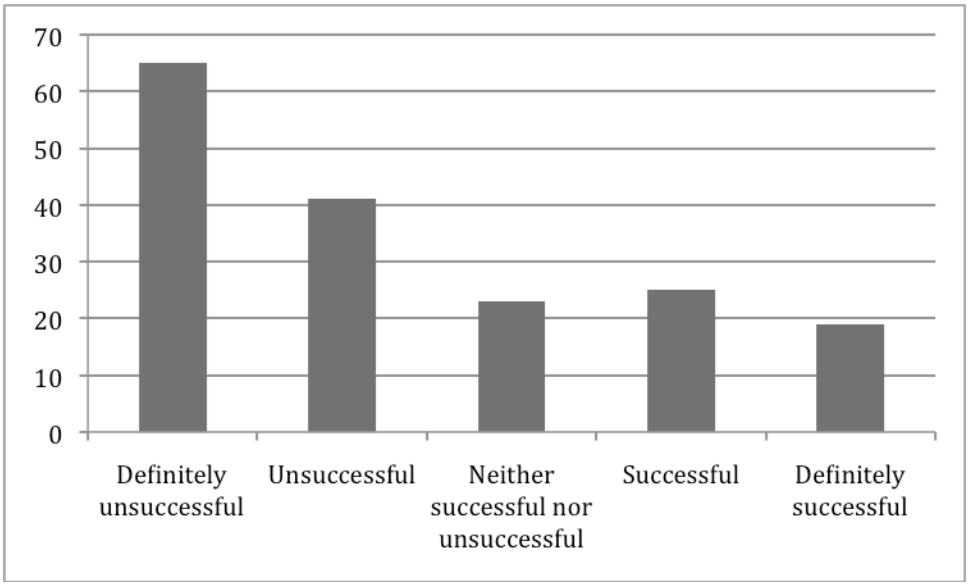
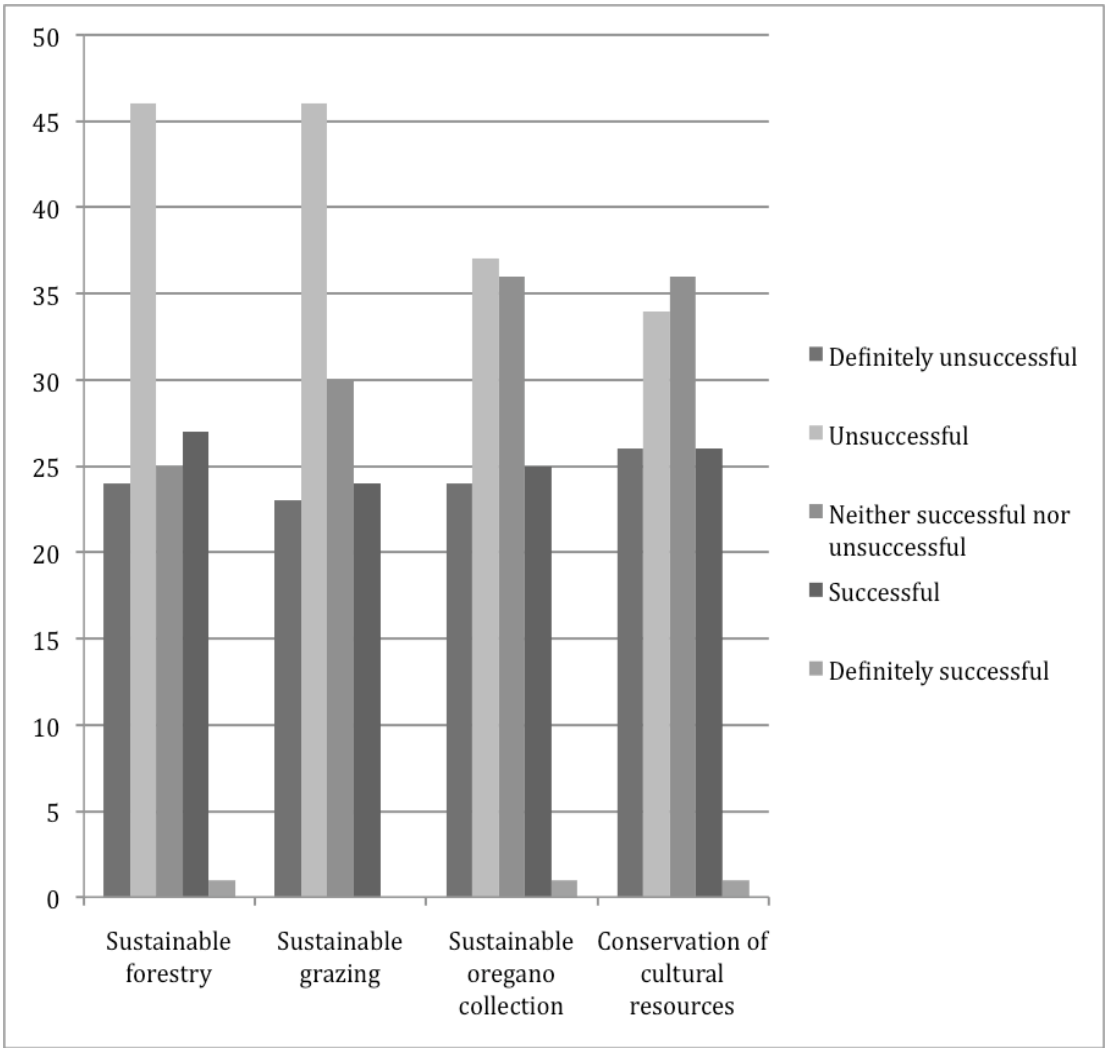


Figure 4.7 Evaluation of the SGP, Sultan Sazlığı



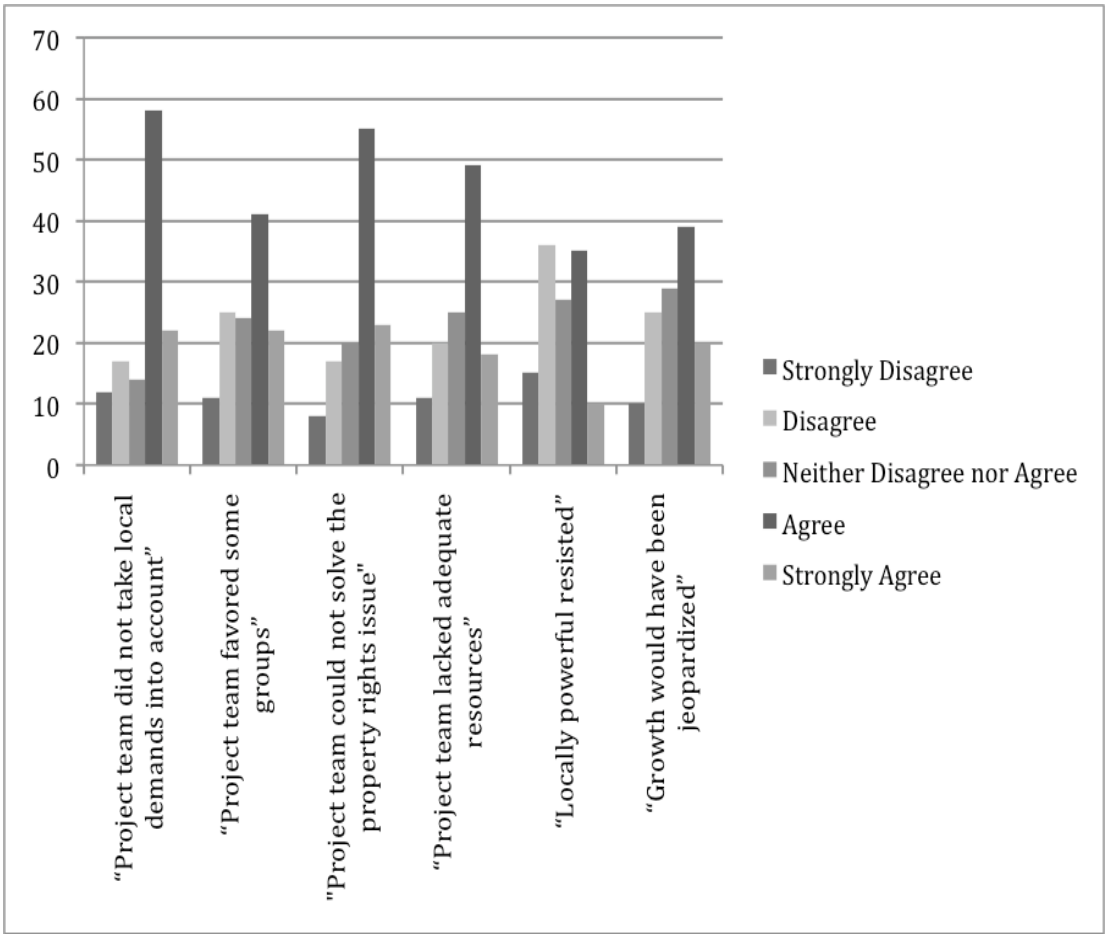
Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.8 Evaluation of sustainable resource management, Köprülü Kanyon



Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.9 Perceptions about explanations of ineffectiveness, Köprülü Kanyon



Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.10 Awareness and participation in the GEF project, Köprülü Kanyon

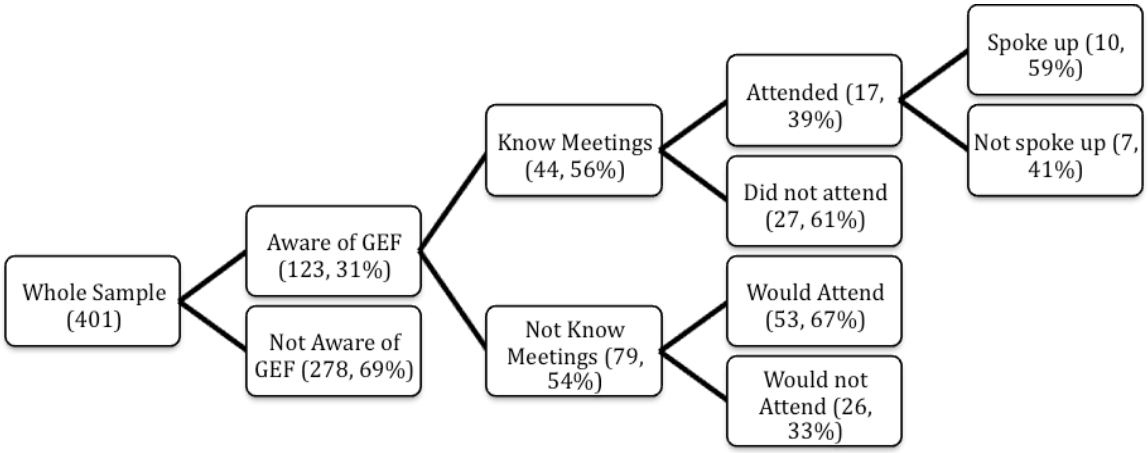
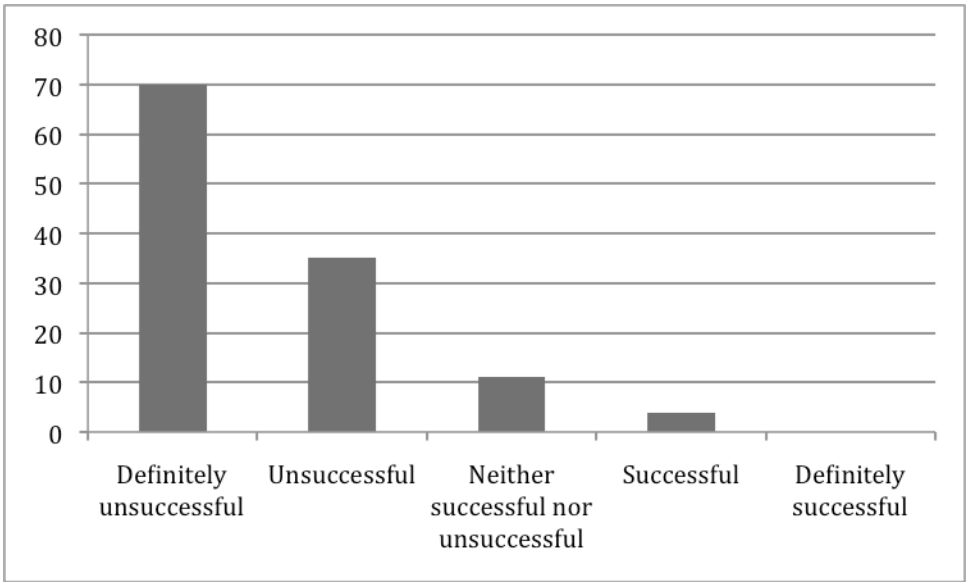
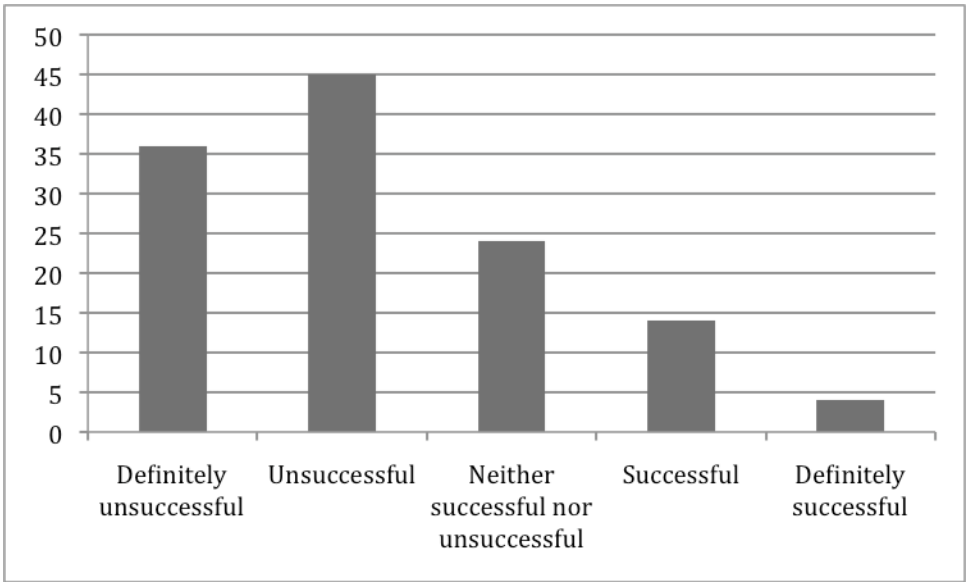


Figure 4.11 Evaluation of participatory mechanisms, Köprülü Kanyon



Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

Figure 4.12 Evaluation of the SGP, Köprülü Kanyon



Note: Y-axis denotes number of people

CHAPTER 5

FROM THE QUALITATIVE TO THE QUANTITATIVE: AN ECONOMETRIC INVESTIGATION

5.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this dissertation is to explore the role of the state-society relationship in sustainable development in Turkey. The preceding chapters have undertaken a variety of tasks towards this end, such as the articulation of a theoretical framework, the formulation of a methodology to study local sustainable development, and conducting qualitative analyses of local sustainable development via case studies. This chapter constitutes the quantitative operationalization of the questions informing this dissertation.

The present chapter delves deeper into participation in GEF's decision-making mechanisms, and willingness to contribute to local sustainable development. These two proxies are used as qualitatively different measures of local sustainable development; the former represents both a dimension of effective local sustainable development and time contributions to collective management, and the latter represents contributions in the form of constrained resource use. These two measures also epitomize community-level mobilizations, and capture the civil society pillar of sustainable development implementation.

In particular, this chapter intends to further probe into the Turkish state's role in shaping local sustainable development. I hold that the particular histories and manifestations of state-society relationship can thwart or facilitate both participation and willingness to contribute. I further postulate that local inequalities and local people's

perceptions of the state are two channels in which state-society relationships operate to shape participation and willingness to contribute. Chapter 4 demonstrated that the specific histories of state-society relationships in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon (including the state's failure to implement sustainable development) have produced and/or reproduced socio-economic inequalities at the local level. These specific histories have shaped local people's perceptions of the Turkish state as a fair arbiter of conflicting interests and of its priorities in policy-making. Building on these arguments, I see local inequalities and perceptions as two instances where the state and the society "touch" each other, so to speak.

In this chapter, I deploy the survey data collected in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon to explore empirically the relationship between local inequalities and the perceptions of the state, on the one hand, and participation in decision-making and willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, on the other. Building on the insights gained from the qualitative study, I utilize socio-economic characteristics, such as age, education, gender, wealth and source of livelihood, as variables capturing different dimensions of local inequalities. The perceptions of the state, on the other hand, are proxied by perceived equal treatment of citizens by the Turkish state, and perceived priorities given to economic growth and environmental protection in policy-making.

In the following section, I provide an overview by depicting sample characteristics, and then engage in an in-depth descriptive analysis of the informedness of the GEF project in general, and of the decision-making mechanisms in particular. In section 5.3, I undertake an econometric study of the determinants of participation in decision-making to provide a comparative analysis of Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü

Kanyon. In section 5.4, I tackle willingness to contribute to local sustainable development and investigate the factors underlying it econometrically. In section 5.5, I summarize the main findings and conclude.

5.2 Sample Characteristics and Descriptive Statistics

5.2.1 Overview of Data and Variables

The sampling process and measurement issues have been explained in detail in chapter 3, where the structure of the survey was also discussed at length. To reiterate, the sample size in Sultan Sazlığı is 377 and that in Köprülü Kanyon is 401, both of which are representative of the underlying populations with a 95% level of confidence interval and 0.05 margin of error. A detailed listing of the variables utilized in the present analyses is given in table 5.1.[73]

Sample characteristics and descriptive statistics for Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon are provided in tables 5.2-5.8. Statistics based on complete samples are reported first to familiarize the reader with sample characteristics. As can be seen in proportions of households earning income from different sources of income, the Sultan Sazlığı sample is predominantly made up of farmers. The average size of landholdings in the sample is 15.7 hectares; the median value and the spread of landholding size, on the other hand, is suggestive of land inequality. Köprülü Kanyon sample also consists mostly of farmer households, although the sample average of landholding size is much lower.

[73] All indexed measures are constructed by using a Principal Component Analysis, where index I over variables X is defined as $I = \sum_{i=1}^{I} PC_i(X_i - meanX_i)/StdDevX_i$, where PC_i is the first principal component of the variable X_i.

In table 5.4, a comparison of the two samples in terms of means and proportions of select variables is reported, and differences significant at 95% confidence level are asterisked. A quick glance suggests notable differences especially in sample means of community participation proxies. While frequency of participation in labor sharing is one scale point higher in the Köprülü Kanyon sample on average (corresponding to move from, say, not participating at all to occasionally participating), all other variables have higher mean values in the Sultan Sazlığı sample.[74] Recall, however, that these variables are frequency measures on a scale of 1 to 5; therefore, 0.1 points in participation in village decisions, even if statistically significant, signifies a small difference in sample means.

Differences in sample means of state perception variables, on the other hand, are both statistically significant and large. Again, the differences in sample means should be interpreted on the scale in which these variables are measured (of 1 to 5). On average, the level of trust to the national park and the belief that the state treats citizens equally are much lower in Köprülü Kanyon. This descriptive picture can be interpreted as suggestive of how perceptions and trust are shaped by the history of state-society relationships, i.e. rigid conservation rules and overall deficiency of infrastructural services in Köprülü Kanyon have produced visible skepticism towards the national park and the state's fairness in serving its citizens.

Finally, the proportion of females in the Sultan Sazlığı sample is significantly lower than that in the Köprülü Kanyon sample. This is not surprising given that women are more visible and vocal in Sultan Sazlığı and given the sampling procedure

[74] Although I provide descriptions of variables in table 5.1, more detailed discussion of variable definitions and measurements can be found in chapter 3.

followed.[75] Furthermore, the proportion of people from households whose monthly incomes are below 250 TL ($159 PPP) is higher in the Sultan Sazlığı sample, by almost 10 percentage points.

5.2.2 Levels of Awareness

This section decomposes sample characteristics by different levels of awareness. Apart from the general ineffectiveness of the project team in disseminating information about the project, there are likely to be individual, household and community level characteristics that explain the degree of awareness, such as education, gender and wealth. Findings of the qualitative study presented in chapter 4 lend support to this argument. For example, most female interviewees were unaware that a project had been implemented in the area, stating that information on such issues was never shared with them, since women were considered to be ignorant on those issues and it is not their business to get involved. Many among the reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı and some villagers, particularly among the residents of Altınkaya, in Köprülü Kanyon, have claimed that the project team provided insufficient information to certain groups on purpose because they did not want to face negative opinions. I utilized quantitative survey results to demonstrate local people's perceptions about why they might not have

[75] Specifically, random sampling at the village and household level were imposed. A different household member was selected as a respondent if the original randomly selected household member rejected response. As is typical in rural areas in Turkey, differential rejection rates between men and women resulted in underrepresentation of females in sampling.

been informed in chapter 4. Here I undertake a more detailed descriptive analysis of awareness.[76]

It is conceivable that factors that impinge on being informed of the project and its activities might be reflected on sample characteristics at the following dimensions, which were discussed in chapter 2:

- Education: In general, it would be expected that higher level of education would be positively correlated with awareness. More educated people would find it easier to access information about the project and activities related with it. It is also possible that dissemination of information was biased towards the more educated. That is to say, those responsible for spreading information (e.g. village heads, project teams) might have specifically targeted the more educated within the community with the assumption that their involvement in the project is more important or valuable.
- Involvement in the community: Those who are more involved in community level activities or more attached to their communities would be more likely to get exposed to information related to the project and project-related activities.
- Socio-economic power: Certain groups in the community, such as women, the landless and the poor, are expected to be less likely to be exposed to information about the project and specific project activities due to local power relations.

[76] I have opted for a descriptive analysis, rather than empirically modeling the relationship between being aware and these characteristics, primarily because being aware is not a choice, but a matter of being exposed to information. That is to say, awareness is different, for instance, than participation, which ultimately is an individual choice. A significant part of being aware, on the other hand depends on other agents' choices. Since I cannot theoretically model the determinants of awareness, as I do with participation, I confine this analysis to a descriptive level.

Information about the projects and/or decision-making mechanisms might not have been shared with such groups (either by the project team or by the village heads/locally powerful) if their participation was not considered necessary, leading to their explicit exclusion from such mechanisms. In addition, time and locality constraints might be binding for those groups, impeding on the flow of information and leading to their implicit exclusion, e.g. information about the project and project activities might have been shared at times and places that effectively prevented some groups from acquiring information.

- Trust in the state: Although theoretically there are no reasons to expect project awareness to vary systematically with the level of trust in the state (since awareness is mostly a matter of exposition to information), it is conceivable that the project team (employees of the national park) might have chosen not to share information about the project with the more skeptical among the local people. Or, the skeptics might be more withdrawn from interacting with state officials in general, which makes exposition to information less likely. Perhaps more importantly, it is possible that trust in the state varies with power inequalities and brings about the powerless' exclusion from information. On the other hand, the measure of trust in national park authorities in particular might vary among the subsamples due to differential exposition to the project activities; the qualitative findings suggest that the projects came to be perceived as exclusively a national park endeavor. Observed failure (or success) of the projects was thus reflected on local people's evaluations of the national park employees, but did not significantly alter perceptions of the central state or other local state agencies.

In the following two subsections I undertake awareness-based decompositions of the Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon samples, respectively. I first tabulate descriptive statistics on the characteristics of the subsamples of those not aware of the GEF project and those aware; then I tabulate statistics related to the characteristics of those who have heard of the meetings and those who have not, among all who are aware of the project. As before, characteristics whose mean values are statistically different across the relative subsamples at 95% confidence level are asterisked. An accompanying depiction can be found in figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3, where I provide an overview of sampling stages and different levels of awareness corresponding to these stages in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon. I also tabulate the decompositions at different levels of awareness based on gender, landownership and poverty in figures 5.2 and 5.3 to provide a preliminary view on how these dimensions of inequalities affect awareness.[77]

5.2.2.1 Sultan Sazlığı

Table 5.4 depicts the decomposition of sample characteristics with respect to being informed of the GEF project. Note that this decomposition corresponds to the comparison of boxes 2 and 3 in figure 5.1. As I have stated above, it would be expected that higher level of education and more involvement in community activities would be positively correlated with awareness. The comparison of the means across project-aware and -unaware samples confirms this expectation: as can be seen, those who are aware of GEF within the Sultan Sazlığı sample, on average, have 0.5 more years of education and

[77] The category of the "poor" is defined loosely as those whose monthly income is below the national rural poverty line for a 4-person household.

are more involved in community activities, as the 0.6 point difference in community participation index suggests.

I have speculated above on why the level of trust to the state might be different across the project aware and project unaware samples. In the case of Sultan Sazlığı, many people had claimed that they were not adequately informed because they were critical of the national park. The comparison of mean values of state perceptions, however, depicts an opposite pattern: the project-aware subsample, on average, has a lower level of trust in the national park (0.3 points on a 5-point scale). The project-unaware in this sample are also less likely to think that the state treats citizen equally (0.5 points on a 5-point scale). Although these statistics are silent on how the underlying relationship between trust in state and awareness operates, the correlation between the two is interesting. The fact that those who have been informed of GEF has a lower level of trust in the national park might be interpreted to support my expectation that being exposed to GEF led some to downwardly adapt their perceptions of the national park.

I have made a case above that measures of socio-economic power might correlate with awareness. In the case of Sultan Sazlığı, in addition to power dimensions such as wealth and gender that seemed to correlate with awareness, sources of livelihood emerged as an important dimension of socio-economic inequality, where farmers possess significant power and reed cutters are marginalized. Being a reed cutter largely implied being denied information on management meetings, rather than the project. Therefore, wealth and gender, but not prevalence of livelihood sources, differ significantly across GEF awareness subsamples.

The comparison of project-aware and unaware subsample in terms of socio-economic power suggests a mixed pattern. As can be seen in table 5.5, although those who are aware of the project within the Sultan Sazlığı sample have larger landholdings (almost eight hectares) on average, the difference is not statistically significant. The difference in the shares of the landless within the subsamples is not statistically significant, either. Similarly, neither the differences in the mean values of shares of types of incomes (in household income) nor those in the prevalence of different livelihoods (measured by proportions of people depending on different livelihood sources) across subsamples are statistically meaningful; this, as I stated above, is expected since we are more likely to see livelihood-based differences at the level of meeting awareness or participation. Note, however, that the project-aware subsample is composed of significantly fewer women and more farmers. These two findings are in line with my expectation that the marginalized sections of the community, such as women and the poor, might have been uninformed.

Descriptive statistics of subsamples based on awareness of management meetings are tabulated next. The comparison presented in table 5.6 corresponds to boxes 4 and 5 on figure 5.1. Note that these subsamples are not drawn from the relevant subpopulations directly (i.e. from the meeting aware vs. meeting unaware population), but correspond to a second level of subsamples within the original sample. That is to say, the descriptive characteristics depicted here do not relate to meeting awareness in general, but to meeting awareness for those who have been informed of the GEF projects to begin with.

Contrary to my expectations, mean years of education do not vary significantly across meeting awareness subsamples. The difference between the average frequencies

in taking part in informal labor sharing (0.5 on a 5-point scale) is not statistically significant, either. The mean values of the other two proxies of involvement in community activities are, however, significantly different across the meeting-aware and unaware subsamples. On average, those who are aware of the management meetings within the Sultan Sazlığı sample have a higher level of feeling of belonging to the community; the difference is small (0.2 on a 5-point scale), but statistically significant. The mean value of community participation index is also 0.6 points higher for the meeting aware subsample. When seen within the spread of values this variable takes (-5.5 to 1.7), it is apparent that although both subsamples are marked with high levels of community participation on average, those who have been aware of the meetings within the project aware subsample participate more frequently in community-level activities. It can be argued, therefore, within the project-aware subsample, those who have a feeling of attachment to and are more involved in the community have been more likely to be informed of management meetings.

Although the level of trust in the state shows significant variation at the level of project awareness, this does not seem to be the case for meeting-awareness level among the project aware subsample. That is to say, within the project-aware subsample, the average level of trust in the state does not differ significantly across those who have been informed of meetings and those who have not. Thus, even if the project team had indeed deliberately denied information to the skeptics among the community, this has not been reflected on descriptive statistics.

Proxies of local power relations, however, are suggestive of the power dimension of exclusion from information. Within the project-aware subsample, average size of

landholdings is higher in the meeting-aware subsample but not statistically different than that in the meeting-unaware subsample. However, the share of the landless, the group most marginalized in the Sultan Sazlığı, within the latter group is much higher (by 17.5 percentage points) and the difference is statistically significant. This pattern is echoed by the larger share of farmers, who are the locally powerful, within the meeting-aware subsample. In addition, the share of women within the meeting-unaware subsample is lower by 20 percentage points.

Variations in the prevalence of livelihoods pose a contrast to the picture portrayed above. The average share of reed income in household income is higher among those who are aware of the meetings and the difference is statistically significant. Furthermore, the proportion of reed cutters is also higher, albeit not statistically significantly, within the meeting-aware subsample. Given that reed cutters make up the most marginalized section of the community (and have repeatedly claimed that they were denied information on purpose), this finding looks counter-intuitive. One explanation for this pattern is related to the nature of the tabulated statistics. That is to say, the data reported here do not provide information on the share of reed cutters who were informed (versus not informed), but the share of reed cutters within the subsample of those informed. [78]

5.2.2.2 Köprülü Kanyon

Descriptive statistics on the characteristics of project awareness subsamples in Köprülü Kanyon, corresponding to boxes 2 and 3 in figure 5.1, are reported in table 5.7. To reiterate, it is conceivable that the educated within the community were better

[78] The share of informed reed cutters among all reed cutters within the sample is indeed lower than that of uninformed reed cutters.

informed of the project. The descriptive statistics on years of education are in line with this: the project-aware subsample has a higher level of education (almost one more year) on average. The probable correlation between community involvement and project awareness can be observed as well, as the differences in the mean values of frequency of participation in labor sharing, the community participation index and the feeling of belonging suggest. It should be noted, however, that these differences are not very large in size despite being statistically significant: the difference in the sample means of feeling of belonging is 0.2 (on a 5-point scale), that of participation in labor sharing is 0.3 (on a 5-point scale) and that of index of community participation is 0.3 (on a spread from -5.2 to 2.1).

I have stated earlier that level of trust in the state would be expected to show variation across project-awareness subsamples. In the case of Köprülü Kanyon, however, I do not expect to see a significant pattern, since the qualitative findings did not suggest such a correlation. Although the level of trust in the state is overall very low in the area, it did not seem to vary with project awareness; this can partly be explained by the genuine efforts on the side of the project team to disseminate information. Given this, the descriptive statistics are a bit surprising: the measures of the level of trust in the state differ significantly across subsamples based on project awareness, though the sizes of the gaps are small (0.3 points on a 5-point scale). As was the case with Sultan Sazlığı, the project-aware subsample, on average, has a lower level of trust in the national park. In contrast, those uninformed of the project within the Köprülü Kanyon sample are, on average, more skeptical of equal treatment by the state. That higher skepticism of equal

treatment correlates with unawareness of the project is silent about the underlying relationship between the two, but it is an interesting observation nonetheless.

The role of local power relations in being exposed to information about the project might be reflected in significant variation in mean values of socio-economic variables across samples. I specifically expect gender and wealth to correlate with project awareness. The descriptive statistics, again, provide a mixed picture: the average number of cattle and size of land owned by the household, two most important assets in Köprülü Kanyon, do not differ across project-awareness subsamples. The average share of household income from farming does, however, although the difference is small in size. The same pattern is suggested by the fact that the proportion of those who earn income from farming is significantly greater (by almost 10 percentage points) in the project-aware subsample. Since most farming is done at the lower canyon area and implies access to productive inputs in addition to land (sharecropping is not prevalent and farming income does not include agricultural wages), a higher share of farming income overlaps with higher economic well-being. Thus, it seems that project awareness correlates with economic power. It also correlates with gender, as women account for a significantly lower proportion of the project unaware subsample. While women make up more than 38% of the project-unaware sample, only 26% of the project-aware sample are women.

Finally, table 5.8 tabulates mean values of Köprülü Kanyon sample characteristics decomposed at the level of meeting awareness. As can be seen, those who have been informed of meetings within the project-aware subsample have less years of education on average, which is somewhat surprising, but the difference is not statistically significant.

In addition, none of the proxies of community involvement are significantly different across the subsamples. It seems, therefore, that the meeting-aware and unaware subsamples in Köprülü Kanyon do not differ, at least statistically significantly, in terms of average levels of education and community involvement.

Based on my qualitative findings, I do not expect to see a correlation between perceptions of the state and awareness in Köprülü Kanyon. Mean values of state perception proxies, however, do differ significantly across meeting awareness subsamples. Specifically, those who have been informed of the meetings with this sample have higher levels of trust in state agencies in general (0.6 difference on a 7.3-point spread), and are more likely to think that the state treats the citizens equally (0.5 points on a 5-point scale). This pattern might be driven by location (some villages are pronouncedly more skeptical of the state and were visited less frequently by the project team) or other socio-economic characteristics, such as gender or source of livelihood.

Finally, contrary to my expectation, there is no significant difference between the proportion of women among those who were informed of meetings and those were not within this sample. This is partly due to the fact that most women have not been aware of the project to begin with; it seems that the gender dimension of awareness had operated mainly at the level of project awareness and not at that of meeting awareness. Meeting-awareness subsamples do not differ significantly in terms of mean values of most economic indicators, either. Household ownership of cattle is one notable exception, as the average number of cattle owned by the household is lower in the meeting-unaware subsample.

5.2.3 Awareness as a Dimension of Exclusion

Being informed is not a choice, but rather a matter of exposure. An important component explaining the extent to which local people have been exposed to information about the project and the management meetings is the project team's effectiveness in disseminating such information. In this section, I have tried to demonstrate that there is more to awareness. Specifically, I have argued that there are likely to be individual and household-level characteristics that explain differential degrees of awareness among the local people.

Characteristics depicted by decomposing Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon samples suggest that being exposed to information about the project and project activities is not random, but rather correlated with socio-economic characteristics such as education, gender, wealth and source of livelihood. I have demonstrated that there are notable differences in the composition of subsamples based on the levels of awareness of GEF and management meetings. As I expected, those who have been aware of the project and its related activities in both of the samples are more likely to be involved in community activities and local problem solving, as captured by the community participation proxies. This pattern is more visible in the case of Sultan Sazlığı. On the other hand, local power relations along the lines of gender and wealth seem to differ significantly at different levels of awareness, again more pronouncedly in Sultan Sazlığı.

The descriptive findings reported so far suggest that accessibility of information is systematically related to local power inequalities, manifested in dimensions such as gender, wealth, social status, etc. The failure of the project teams to adequately disseminate information should be interpreted in the light of their failure to take such

local dynamics into account. I hold that local inequalities could be a major factor underlying the level of awareness of the existence of decision-making mechanisms, and consequently participation in them; being uninformed about the mechanisms results in implicit exclusion from taking part in them. Thus, socio-economic inequalities operate in multiple levels of informedness, prior to actual participation, in impeding democratic functioning of decision-making mechanisms.

5.3 Participation in Decision-Making Mechanisms

This section investigates econometrically the determinants of participation in decision-making mechanisms. As I have stated earlier, I hold that the operationalization of democratic, effective decision-making mechanisms in which local people can participate and voice opinions is one of the main pillars of sustainable development implementation. Participation in mechanisms for making decisions about natural resource use and access can be envisioned as a measure of an individual's commitment to sustainable development as it indicates labor contribution to collective management.

Two types of participation are considered in the empirical investigation presented here: actual and hypothetical. Actual participation indicates whether or not a person who has been informed of GEF's management meetings attended or not. Hypothetical participation, on the other hand, indicates whether or not a person would have attended the meetings if s/he has been informed of them. These variables are admittedly very limited measures of participation since they only capture the nominal dimension of participation, i.e. attendance in meetings, and do not integrate the ability to voice opinions or the extent to which voiced opinions are taken into account. Therefore, they do not account for the multidimensionality of effective participation. However, utilizing a

more comprehensive proxy of participation was not feasible due to the small sample sizes.

The econometric analysis is intended to test two hypotheses about participation in particular; namely, about the role of local power inequalities, based on wealth, gender, social status, etc., and the perceptions of the state. I deploy local inequalities and the perceptions of the state as two indicators of the state-society relationship. I hypothesize, based on both the empirical literature on participatory decision-making mechanisms and the qualitative findings presented in chapter 4, that socio-economic inequalities are significant impediments on participation. These inequalities would not only imply different needs and interests regarding the decision-making mechanisms, but also are associated with different abilities to attend meetings and voice opinions, and anticipations about being taken into account. Secondly, I hypothesize that local people's anticipations about the process and outcomes of the decision-making mechanisms are shaped by perceived fairness of the Turkish state, perceived priorities of state policies and the level of trust in the state to effectively operationalize these mechanisms. Thus, the perceptions of the state are expected to be significant determinants of effective sustainable development implementation at the local level by thwarting or facilitating participation.

In section 5.3.1, I present the empirical model deployed to analyze participation (both actual and hypothetical) in decision-making. In doing so, I discuss the dependent and independent variables utilized, and state my hypotheses more explicitly. In sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 I present the results of the econometric exercise outlined here.

5.3.1 Empirical Model

Building on the empirical investigations of the determinants of participatory decision-making in natural resource management (Agrawal & Gupta, 2005; Bandyopadhyay & Shyamsundar, 2004; Lise, 2000), I propose to estimate the following probit model:

$$\Pr(Y_i = 1 \mid I_i^1,...,A_i^p) = F(\sum\nolimits_k \theta_k I_i^k + \sum\nolimits_l \gamma_l C_i^l + \sum\nolimits_m \lambda_m H_i^m + \sum\nolimits_n \phi_n S_i^n + \sum\nolimits_p \psi_p A_i^p),$$

where Y_i is a binary variable that equals 1 if the individual attended management meetings or stated that s/he would have attended if was informed and 0 otherwise, *F(.)* is the standard normal distribution, and *i* denotes individuals. The error term is assumed to be independent across individuals. The explanatory variables are grouped into five categories: (i) *I* are *k* individual characteristics that include age, gender, education and an index measuring environmental values; (ii) *C* are *l* measures of the individual's frequency of participating in different types of community activities; (iii) *H* are *m* household characteristics, including both demographic (household size, number of children under 14) and economic (household wealth, size of household landholdings, sources of household income) characteristics of the household that individual *i* belongs to; (iv) *S* are *n* variables that proxy perceptions of the Turkish state, including perceived priority given to environmental protection and economic growth, the level of trust to a number of state branches, and perceived equality in treatment by a number of state branches; (v) and *A* are *p* variables proxying anticipations about the decision-making mechanisms, namely, expected attendance by others in the community and expected effectiveness of management meetings in enforcing environmental protection.

The list of explanatory variables included in the model, together with motivations of including them in the model and their hypothesized impacts are given in table 5.9. I utilize the same empirical model in analyzing both actual and hypothetical participation. This is based on my conviction that there is no reason to assume that the underlying relationships governing actual and hypothetical participation are different.

Below, I restate my hypotheses regarding participation (both actual and hypothetical) in a more concretized fashion:

- Age and education are correlated with power and social status, they are expected to have a positive effect on participation.
- Gender-based norms are also an important dimension of power relations; thus, I hypothesize that being a woman would be negatively correlated with participation. I have demonstrated in chapter 4 that women have been excluded from decision making-mechanisms via a number of ways; meetings were held in village coffee houses (not appropriate places for women to go), women's responsibilities usually conflicted with meeting times, and many women stated that it would not have been appropriate for them to have attended. Building on these observations, I hold that gender norms would be operative in negatively shaping women's hypothetical participation.
- Household assets and household land size are included as measures of household wealth. Theoretically, the impact of wealth on participation can both be positive and negative. Since wealth signifies power, the wealthier might find it easier to attend meetings and voice opinions, while the anticipation of not being taken into account might be binding for the poor and lead to withdrawal from participation. I

have demonstrated that this has been the case for the reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı and poor upland villagers in Köprülü Kanyon. Wealth, however, can also indicate lower dependence on natural resources, and thus less stakes to participate. The resource-dependent poor might be valuing the benefits from natural resources more than the rich, especially if they do not have access to alternative livelihood options. On the other hand, the costs of participation (in terms of time contributions, for instance) might be more binding for the poor than they are for the rich.

The fact that the prevalent dimensions of wealth inequality differ across the two sites further complicates the picture. While land-based inequalities are more pronounced in Sultan Sazlığı, landholdings do not vary as much in Köprülü Kanyon (land is mostly fragmented due to geographical conditions), and household ownership of non-land assets is more important. On the other hand, the motivations of the wealthy also differ across the sites. While in Sultan Sazlığı, landowning farmers have been more inclined to participate in decision-making and shape the process in line with their interests, the wealthy in Köprülü Kanyon (e.g. the farmers in the lower canyon area and the rafting facility owners) have not attended meetings in order to resist regulation since they benefit from chaotic regulation.

I introduce two measures of household wealth in an attempt to delineate these contradictory channels in which wealth impacts participation: an index constructed on ownership of non-land household assets and the size of household landholdings. Although this strategy may pose multicollinearity problems and

hence might result in statistically insignificant estimates, the motivation is to be able to control for land and non-land wealth separately. Specifically, I hypothesize that land-based wealth both in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon would be positively correlated with actual participation, since land is associated with considerable economic power. I hold, however, that non-land-based wealth would be negatively associated with participation, since it signals lower dependence on natural resources in Sultan Sazlığı and stronger motivation to resist environmental regulation in Köprülü Kanyon.

- Source of livelihood: The motivation to include household dependence on different livelihood activities is to account for the role of resource dependency in determining participation. Dependence on different livelihood sources (farming, animal ownership, reed cutting, oregano harvesting and tourism) is proxied by shares of income accruing from them within household income.

  Different livelihood activities imply differential levels of resource dependency and stakes; reed cutters and oregano harvesters, for instance, depend directly on the resource base, while farmers' and tourism facility owners' dependence is through a more indirect channel. In a related vein, reliance on different resources signal uneven costs and benefits associated with environmental processes; the negative externality produced by farmers' water use on animal grazers and reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı is a case in point. Different source of livelihoods map roughly onto socio-economic status in the cases analyzed here, as I have argued in chapter 4. Measures of reliance on livelihood sources can thus be considered as indicators of power. Note that these two effects can work in opposite ways, e.g.

reed cutters have the highest stakes in environmental protection and thus would be expected to participate, but they are also the most marginalized and might find it harder to participate than others.

Theoretically, inclusion of other proxies for socio-economic power should control for the "power" dimension that livelihood sources signify. However, even after household land and assets are controlled for, household reliance on different livelihood activities might have a significant power-related impact on participation. This especially holds in the absence of reliable data on household income.[79] In the specific cases I analyze, different sources of livelihoods, such as reed cutting vs. farming, or tourism vs. animal grazing, correlate with household income level and reflect household economic welfare. They also signify social status, a dimension of power that economic variables might not capture, and different time-use patterns that might pose constraints on participation.

Specifically, I hypothesize that reed cutting income would be negatively associated with actual but positively associated with hypothetical participation in Sultan Sazlığı. In other words, I hold that the power dimension would dominate the dependency dimension of being a reed cutter. This hypothesis is largely based on the qualitative findings, which suggest that actual non-participation of reed cutters was driven by their inadequate informedness of the specifics of the decision-making mechanisms. On the other hand, I hypothesize that acquiring income from oregano harvesting and tourism would be positively associated with

[79] Although survey data includes a categorical measure of monthly income, given the difficulties of capturing in-kind income prevalent especially in rural areas, I hold that it is rudimentary at best, and choose not to include it as an explanatory variable.

participation in Köprülü Kanyon.[80] This expectation is motivated by the fact that oregano harvesting and tourism are the two resource-based income generating activities in the area. Those who rely on these sources of livelihood, therefore, would have higher stakes to be involved in decision-making.

- Perceptions of the state: Perceptions that are hypothesized to affect participation through anticipations about the decision-making process and outcomes are perceived equal treatment by the state, perceived importance given to economic growth and environmental protection, and expected effectiveness of meetings. Similar to the role of wealth, the role of these perceptions might work in contradictory channels. This is partly due to existence of different motives behind the decision to participate, and partly due to different types of behavior that these perceptions may prompt. I try to delineate these channels below and draw concrete hypotheses about them by deploying the findings of the qualitative study. Theoretically, the perception of equal treatment and the perceived importance given to environmental protection would be expected to correlate positively with participation, while the perceived importance of economic growth would be expected to have a negative impact on it. Those who anticipate to be taken into account and to be treated equally are likely to participate. Similarly, those who hold that the state prioritizes environment are likely to participate since they expect the outcomes of decision-making mechanisms to be implemented. Motivations underlying participation, however, might not be that straightforward.

[80] As I will explain in the next section, I only analyze hypothetical participation in Köprülü Kanyon since the sample size is too small to conduct a meaningful econometric analysis of actual participation.

It is possible, for instance, that those who are more skeptical (of state agencies or of the state's intentions of implementing environmental protection) choose to participate precisely because they are skeptical; the motivation, therefore, is similar to "monitoring" and making sure the decision-making processes operate as they are supposed to.

Building on the argument made above, I hold that observed participation does not imply identical underlying processes and institutional channels of decision-making can be accessed for different, and even contradicting, reasons. It becomes ultimately an empirical question as to which of these effects dominates in a given situation. However, it is also conceivable that different types of behavior prompted by perceptions such as those mentioned above are not completely random, but rather context-dependent. In my analysis, I try to delineate the contradictory ways that perceptions affect participation by drawing hypotheses based on supplementary information provided by the qualitative findings.

Based on the insights provided by the qualitative study, I hold that the first channel dominated in Sultan Sazlığı, namely, that trusting the decision-making mechanisms and expecting the implementation of their outcomes induced participation, while skepticism discouraged it. Within the context of Köprülü Kanyon marked with considerable distrust both to the state, however, the second channel seemed to dominate. Although the qualitative study does not provide evidence that those who trusted state's fairness and/or willingness to enforce environmental regulation chose to free ride on others' participation, it demonstrated that skepticism of the decision-making mechanisms and of state's

intentions in implementing the GEF project was an important motivation to participate.

To recap, I hypothesize that perceived equal treatment and the importance of environmental priority to be positively and the importance of growth priority to be negatively associated with participation in Sultan Sazlığı. I hold, however, that these variables would have the opposite signs in Köprülü Kanyon.

Before moving onto the empirical analysis, two potential problems with the empirical strategy proposed here need to be discussed. The first concerns multicollinearity among the explanatory variables, as the phenomena they aim at capturing are closely related. I demonstrate in the following sections, however, that correlations among the explanatory variables are not that severe with a few exceptions. Expectedly, proxies of state perceptions are correlated, so are some measures of economic power. High correlation among explanatory variables would result in statistically insignificant estimates, and I interpret the empirical results with this caveat in mind.

The second problem is related to the endogeneity of the explanatory variables, which would lead to biased estimates. Potential endogeneity of environmental values and perceptions of the state, in particular, poses a serious problem: it is conceivable that being exposed to the projects, e.g. having attended project activities, has a significant impact on environmental values. Similarly, having experienced an unsuccessful project implementation might have shaped local people's perceptions of the state.

Although it is not possible to entirely rule out endogeneity threats due to the nature of the phenomenon that is analyzed here, a number of precautionary measures

have been taken. As I explained in chapter 3, environmental values were proxied by the degree to which the respondent agrees with statements that essentially posit the necessity of environmental protection even at the expense of economic growth. These statements were constructed so that they do not relate to issues or resources specific to the sites, and were phrased in hypothetical terms so that some type of "distancing" could be possible. Under the assumption that being exposed to GEF projects would mainly (or at least, in the short-term) affect one's concern about the local environment (e.g. GEF's training and awareness activities were specifically about the local environmental problems), the proxy of environmental values deployed here should be exogenous to participation.

I maintain that the proxies of state perceptions also hold up against the issue of endogeneity. Recall from chapter 3 that the proxies of state priorities capture information specifically about the central state, while that of equal treatment is about the central and local administrative agencies. The GEF projects, on the other hand, were seen primarily as the responsibility of the national park employees. Locals seem to have attributed any favoritism or lack of commitment to the national park employees rather than to the central state. I argue, therefore, that any influence of having experienced the project would be reflected on evaluations of the national park administrations, and not of the Turkish state *per se.*

A final problem concerns the validity of analyzing hypothetical participation, more specifically, the issue of over or understatement of how individuals would "really" behave if they were in fact informed of management meetings. It is conceivable that respondents have misstated how they would actually have behaved. However, if individuals' over or understatements are not correlated with the explanatory variables, i.e.

the richer, or women, or the less educated systematically tend to over or understate what they would have done in the counterfactual, misstatement does not pose a threat to identification. There is obviously no way to directly observe the incidence of misstatement or if it is endogenous. I hold, however, that there is no reason to assume that misstatement is correlated with the explanatory variables.

5.3.2 Actual Participation in Decision-Making

In this section, I first present a descriptive analysis of (actual) participation in decision-making by comparing subsamples of participators and non-participators in both sites. I then undertake an econometric analysis of the determinants of participation in decision-making mechanisms in Sultan Sazlığı. I do not, however, conduct an econometric analysis of the Köprülü Kanyon case. Note that the sample size of those who have been informed of meetings in Köprülü Kanyon is only 44, of whom seventeen attended meetings, too small to conduct a meaningful econometric analysis.

The following analysis was conducted by utilizing the subsample of those who have been aware of management meetings in Sultan Sazlığı. This strategy poses problems in terms of sample selection bias since meeting-aware subsample (box 4 in figure 5.1) is not randomly selected but rather is a subset of the project-aware subsample (box 2 in figure 5.1), which is in turn a subset of the original (random) sample (box 1 in figure 5.1). I have demonstrated in the last section that the double-stage selection underlying the sample is not random, but rather correlated with a number of individual and household-level characteristics. Therefore, the estimation strategy I adopt bears the risk of under/overestimating the effect of those characteristics on participation.

My main aim in undertaking this analysis, however, is not to make inferences that apply universally, but rather to investigate the factors that determine participation in decision-making mechanisms for those who are informed of their existence. Specifically, among those factors, I am interested in the role of local power relations and the perceptions of the state. That is to say, I set out to explore if power inequalities and perceptions related to the Turkish state are significant determinants of whether or not an individual participates in decision-making mechanisms given that the individual is aware of these mechanisms. Therefore, I hold that my strategy is appropriate for the present purposes.

5.3.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 5.10 provides descriptive statistics on the characteristics of those who have been informed of management meetings in the Sultan Sazlığı sample, decomposed by participation. The pattern revealed by the descriptive statistics on individual characteristics seems consistent with the hypotheses drawn in section 5.3.1. Specifically, participators within the meeting-aware subsample have higher levels of education and participate in informal labor sharing arrangements more frequently on average. Positive correlation between education and participation is expected, since higher level of education is likely to be associated with greater knowledge about the issues discussed at the meetings, self-confidence and leadership traits. More frequent participation in informal labor sharing arrangements, on the other hand, proxies involvement in community activities and is likely to correlate with participation. Furthermore, participators within the meeting-aware subsample are more concerned for the environment on average, as suggested by the environmental values index. This is also in

line with the expectation that greater concern for the environment implies higher stakes, thus encourages participation.

The comparison of the sample means of local power proxies depicts a striking picture. The proportion of women within the participator subsample is lower by more than 35 percentage points, suggesting that gender-based power relations and norms might have played an important role in individual participation. Land-based inequalities are also very pronounced, as expected. While the average size of landholdings within the participator subsample is close to 41 hectares, it is approximately 15 hectares within the non-participator subsample. This pattern is echoed by the significant difference (33 percentage points) in the incidence of landlessness between the subsamples. Note also that the livelihood-based dimension of participation mentioned earlier can be detected; the proportion of reed cutters in the participator subsample is 10 percent, while that in the non-participator subsample is 25 percent.

The hypothesized variation in state perceptions across the participator and non-participator subsamples is somewhat visible in table 5.10. The only significant difference is manifested in the perceived importance given to environmental protection. The participator subsample, on average, perceives the state to prioritize environmental protection more (0.6 points on a 5-point scale) than the non-participator subsample. The differences in the sample means of the other two proxies of state perceptions are not statistically significant.

Table 5.11 documents the descriptive statistics on the same characteristics for the meeting-aware subsample in Köprülü Kanyon, decomposed by participation. At this point, it is worth reemphasizing that the sample analyzed here is very limited; the

subsample of non-participators is made up of 27 individuals while that of participators is made up of 17.

This caveat in mind, as expected, age and frequency of participation in informal labor sharing is positively correlated with participation in management meetings. To reiterate, I had hypothesized that older individuals in the community might have been more likely to attend meetings since older age signals social status and confers power. Participation in informal labor sharing, on the other hand, proxies overall involvement with and concern for the community. The average age of participators in the Köprülü Kanyon sample is almost 18 years older than that of the non-participators. The difference in the frequency of taking part in labor sharing is also sizable; 0.8 points on a 4-point scale.

I have argued, based on the qualitative study, that women's participation in the management meetings was almost zero in Köprülü Kanyon. This argument is not endorsed by the descriptive findings, as they indicate that the 10 percentage point-difference between the proportions of women within the participator and non-participator subsamples is not statistically meaningful. Land-based inequalities, however, seem to differ significantly across the participator and non-participator subsamples. Landless make up a higher share of non-participator subsample and the average size of their landholdings are smaller. Statistics on the prevalence of different types of livelihood are in line with the landownership statistics: farmers make up a significantly larger proportion of the participator subsample, while differences in the proportions of animal grazers and oregano pickers are not statistically significant.

5.3.2.2 Econometric Analysis

This section presents the results of the probit estimation of determinants of participation in decision-making in Sultan Sazlığı. Before presenting the findings of the econometric study, the measures of correlation among groups of explanatory variables (based on the subsample of those aware of management meetings) are provided in tables 5.12, 5.13 and 5.14. As can be seen, the correlation between the perceptions of the state is severe. That between measures of economic power, especially proxy of reed cutting income and proxies of wealth, are also high. High levels of correlation among these explanatory variables suggest that multicollinearity will pose a problem in estimation in terms of inflated variances of estimates. The estimates should therefore be interpreted accordingly.

Table 5.15 presents the results of the probit estimation of the determinants of participation in decision-making for Sultan Sazlığı. None of the individual level variables hypothesized to have an impact on participation are found statistically significant. Thus, the significant variations in average years of education and shares of females across the participator and non-participators subsamples (see table 5.10) seem to have been driven by other explanatory variables. A notable exception is the environmental values proxy, which is positively correlated with participation. Since this proxy is an indexed measure of environmental values, taking on values between -4.1 and 2.8, its interpretation is not very straightforward. Accordingly, one point increase in the value of the environmental values index is associated with approximately 24 percent increase in the probability of participation. Expected attendance at the meetings, included as a proxy of anticipated free-riding by others, is also positively associated with

participation, as the estimated effect of expecting one additional person (out of 10) to attend increases the probability of participation by 7.5 percent.

Estimates of the effect of measures of household wealth have the expected signs, although only that of household land is statistically significant. Recall that I have included two different measures of household wealth in an effort to delineate the contradictory ways that greater wealth might affect participation. Specifically, I had argued while household land would be positively associated with participation since it signifies power, non-land household wealth would be negatively associated since it signals lower resource dependence. The results confirm these hypotheses: one additional hectare of land owned by the household is estimated to increase the probability of participation by 0.80 percent. The estimated effect is not very sizable, but suggestive nonetheless.

Proxies of dependence on different livelihood activities, measured as shares of income from farming, animal husbandry and reed cutting within household income, are included in the model to control for different types of resource uses. I have argued, in section 5.3.1, that these proxies are also correlated with socio-economic power and that I expected to see a negative association between being a reed-cutter and probability of attending meeting even after controlling for household wealth land. However, the estimated coefficients of the livelihood variables are not statistically significant in general, with the exception of animal income. This is not surprising given the high correlation between these variables and other proxies of economic power, which has likely led to inflated estimate variances.

Proxies of perceived priorities of the Turkish state, however, are both statistically significant and have the expected signs. Among those who were aware of the management meetings, those who hold that the state prioritizes economic growth more have been less likely to attend them, holding all other variables constant. A one-point increase in the perceived importance of economic growth is associated with more than 20 percent decrease in the probability of participation. Those who hold that environmental protection is prioritized, on the other hand, have been more likely to attend; a one-point increase in the perceived importance of environmental protection is estimated to increase the probability of participation by 28 percent.

To recapitulate, the results of the empirical investigation of actual participation in Sultan Sazlığı illustrate both the role of socio-economic inequalities and the importance of local people's anticipations of the process and the outcome of decision-making mechanisms. The findings demonstrate, first of all, that land-based inequalities in Sultan Sazlığı have been operative in shaping participation: larger household landholdings are associated with a higher probability of participating, holding other characteristics constant. I have demonstrated in chapter 4 that these inequalities have been perpetuated as a result of the policies pursued by the Turkish state in the area. Secondly, the findings underscore that anticipations regarding the enforcement of the intended outcomes of decision-making (regulation of resource use) are important determinants of participation. I envision the extent to which local people are able to take part in decision-making mechanisms as an integral component of local sustainable development implementation; thus, I hold that the empirical evidence presented here, in particular of the impact of

inequalities and perceptions on participation, attests to how the state's failure in implementing sustainable development crystallizes at the local level.

5.3.3 Hypothetical Participation

This section is aimed at conducting an econometric analysis of hypothetical participation. Given that many people have been uninformed of the decision-making mechanisms implemented by the projects, an important question then becomes whether or not they would have participated in them if they had been informed of their existence. This, certainly, is a counterfactual analysis. I hold, however, there are important insights to be gained since hypothetical participation provides an additional arena in which factors shaping participation, more specifically, the role of local inequalities and perceptions of the state, can be investigated.

There is one potential endogeneity threat to the validity of this analysis, as I have mentioned in section 5.3.1. People may over or understate what they would "really" have done if they were informed of the management meetings, i.e. reported levels of hypothetical participation is an over or underestimation of actual behavior. If the incidence of misstatement is systematically correlated with explanatory variables, e.g. if women, or the poor, or the skeptical are more likely than others to misstate how they would have actually behaved, the estimated effects of these characteristics on participation would be biased. It is conceivable for the powerless within the communities to systematically overstate their actual behavior; women, for instance, might be overstating participation more than men, which would result in an upward bias in the coefficient of the female dummy. If the skeptics, on the other hand, are more inclined to

understate participation, the coefficient of the equal treatment index would be overestimated.

I hold, however, that this is not the case. My conviction on this issue is primarily based on the interviews and focus groups I conducted during the qualitative study, where the issue of hypothetical participation was delved into with more detailed follow up questions. My observations during the interviews and focus groups are not suggestive of a systematic correlation between misstatement of actual behavior and the explanatory variables included in the empirical model. Still, as incidence of misstatement cannot be observed and there is no way of determining the existence or absence of its endogeneity with certainty, the empirical results should be interpreted with this caveat in mind. A final note should be taken of the potential statistical insignificance of the estimates due to multicollinearity, since the measures of state perceptions are highly correlated in both subsamples, as depicted in tables 5.18-5.23.

The remainder of this section is comprised of two parts. In the first part, I provide a descriptive picture of the subsamples used in the analysis, decomposed by hypothetical participation. Note that these decompositions correspond to the comparison of boxes 5a and 5b in figure 5.1. In the second part, I present the results of the probit estimation of the empirical model proposed in section 5.3.1 and discuss the findings.

5.3.3.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 5.16 depicts decomposition of the meeting-unaware subsample in Sultan Sazlığı by hypothetical participation. The expected pattern of more involvement in community activities by participators is visible: the hypothetical participators within the meeting-unaware subsample, on average, participate more frequently in labor-sharing

activities (0.7 points on a 4-point scale) and in community-level activities (1 point on a spread from -5.5. to 1.7). The differences in the sample means of the perception measures and household landholdings, on the other hand, are contrary to my expectations, but not statistically significant. Similarly, that the hypothetical participator subsample has, on average, more household assets is surprising in the face of the hypothesized role of non-land wealth on participation. Finally, women make up a significantly larger proportion (by 26 percentage points) of the hypothetical non-participators, as expected.

Table 5.17 tabulates the descriptive statistics on the same characteristics for the decomposition of the meeting-unaware subsample in Köprülü Kanyon. As can be seen, sample mean values of most variables are close, with a few notable exceptions. The mean value the environmental values index is significantly higher in the hypothetical participator subsample by 0.7 points (on a spread between -4.3 and 3.7). The only other significant variation across the subsamples is the average perception of growth priority; accordingly, the hypothetical participators within the project-unaware subsample, on average, are more likely to think that the state prioritizes economic growth. This pattern is in line with the argument I made earlier, where I suggested that the mistrust is an important motivation for participation in Köprülü Kanyon.

5.3.3.2 Econometric Analysis

As I have stated earlier, the same empirical model is utilized in analyzing actual and hypothetical participation. Consequently, the explanatory variables included in the empirical investigation of hypothetical participation are identical to the ones included in the analysis of actual participation, with two exceptions: while the actual participation

model had a measure of anticipated success of meetings in producing solutions to the resource management problems, the hypothetical participation model does not, since being uninformed implies no such anticipation can be formed.

In addition, a proxy for the perceived severity of the conservation status is included in the Köprülü Kanyon model with the aim of controlling for the mistrust produced by the history of conservation policy in the region. The proxy is a dummy variable which equals 1 if the conservation status of the area is listed as the most pressing problem of the area. The motivation to include this additional control was to see if the hypothesized relationship between perceptions and participation still hold after accounting for the general level of skepticism in the area.

The probit estimates of the determinants of hypothetical participation are reported in table 5.24. The set of estimates for Sultan Sazlığı demonstrate the expected impacts of gender relations and community involvement on participation. Accordingly, being a woman is associated with a 15.8 percent decrease in the probability of hypothetical participation, holding other characteristics constant. This finding suggests that gender-based relations impinge on women's hypothetical participation as well. On the other hand, one point increase (on a 4-point scale) in the frequency of participating in labor sharing raises the probability of hypothetical participation by approximately 5 percent, while that in the community participation index, which takes on values between -5.5 and 1.7, raises the probability of hypothetical participation by 3.5 percent.

Contrary to my expectations, the coefficient estimate of household landholdings in the Sultan Sazlığı model is negatively correlated with hypothetical participation. I have argued that larger landholdings would have a positive impact on participation since land-

based power relations are highly pronounced in Sultan Sazlığı. The results of the probit estimation suggest, however, that one additional hectare of land owned by the household, holding everything else equal, decreases the probability of hypothetical participation by 0.4 percent. Although the size of the estimated impact is small, it is significant at the 5% level. I interpret this finding to be driven by the lower resource dependency effect signified by landownership.[81] Another dimension of local power relations that I expected to be significant, as can be recalled, was reliance on reed cutting. Specifically, I had made the case that the share of reed cutting income in household income would be positively associated with hypothetical participation. The proxy of reed cutting income, however, is dropped from the specification since it predicts hypothetical participation perfectly.

Finally, the estimated impacts of perceptions of the state have the expected signs, but only that of environmental priority is statistically significant; this is not surprising given the high correlation between the measures of state perceptions. Accordingly, one point increase in the perceived importance given to environmental protection by the state is estimated to be associated with a 4.3 percent increase in the probability of hypothetical participation.

The set of estimates for Köprülü Kanyon portrays quite a different picture than Sultan Sazlığı, which is not that surprising given the uniqueness of the site. First of all, the level of education is estimated to have a negative impact on hypothetical participation. This is counter-intuitive at first sight, since education would be expected to have a positive impact on participation. I argue, however, that the negative relationship

[81] It should be noted that the negative relationship between larger land size and lower participation might also have been driven by a systematic correlation between landownership and understatement of participation, though I hold that it is highly unlikely.

implied here is driven largely by the negative correlation between years of education and having stakes in the protection of the local environment in Köprülü Kanyon. I make this argument based on the qualitative study, which suggests that the majority of the educated people in the area tend to (or want to) immigrate to neighboring cities to get employment; thus, they are likely to have lower stakes to participate in decision-making mechanisms.

Another counter-intuitive result is the negative coefficient estimate of the labor-sharing variable. Accordingly, one point increase in the 4-point scale of labor sharing frequency is associated with a 14.7 percent decrease in the probability of participation. In general, taking part in community activities is expected to be associated with higher likelihood of participation since it signifies trust, norms of sharing and reciprocity, and concern for fellow community members. In this specific context, however, the sign of the estimated coefficient might be picking up the role of distrust, which is hypothesized to dominate as a motivation to participate. The estimated impact of higher environmental concern, on the other hand, has the expected sign: one point increase in the value of environmental values index is associated with approximately 15 percent rise in the probability of hypothetical participation.

Before moving onto the discussion of the estimated impacts of the state perception variables, it is worth reiterating the argument made in section 5.3.1, where I put forth a modified version of the hypotheses regarding the role of perceptions for the case of Köprülü Kanyon. I claimed that skepticism of the process and outcome of the decision-making mechanisms, produced by the strict conservation history in the area, was in fact a strong motivation for participation (both actual and hypothetical) in management meetings. This claim is somewhat supported by the positive, albeit not statistically

significant, coefficient of the conservation problem dummy. Accordingly, those who hold that the conservation status is the most pressing problem of the area would have been more inclined to participate if they had been informed of the meetings.

More specifically, I hypothesized that the perception of growth priority would be positively correlated with participation, while that of equal treatment and environmental priority would be negatively correlated. As can be seen in table 5.24, the estimated coefficients of the perception variables have the expected signs, though only that of perceived importance of growth priority is statistically significant. Accordingly, one point increase in the perceived importance given to economic growth by the state is associated with almost 30 percent higher probability of hypothetical participation, holding other variables constant.

Finally, note that none of the measures of socio-economic power are statistically significant at the 10% level, most probably due to multicollinearity of the proxies used in the model. The coefficient estimates, however, have the expected signs: the coefficient of the female dummy is estimated to be negative, while that of household landholdings is positive.

5.3.4 Power, Perceptions and Participation

The empirical picture portrayed above has limitations, notably in the way participation is operationalized: the independent variables are proxies for participation (actual or hypothetical attendance in meetings), but not participation in the sense of voicing opinions or of shaping outcomes. This measure, therefore, is silent about the ability with which the "participators" could (or would have) effectively participate. The qualitative findings presented in chapter 4, however, demonstrate that few among the

participators in fact took active parts in the decision-making processes, and even fewer feel that their opinions were taken into account.

The econometric exercise presented in this section is nevertheless illustrative of the significance of power relations and perceptions for participation, in addition to highlighting the role of factors such as environmental values, norms of sharing, and overall involvement in the community. I have demonstrated that proxies of socio-economic power, such as gender, land, and source of livelihood, and anticipations of state behavior, in particular of the state's fairness and willingness to enforce environmental regulation, are systematically correlated with participation. In doing so, I have drawn upon the qualitative findings to inform both the hypotheses motivating the questions addressed here and the interpretation of empirical results. The qualitative study has provided insights on the variety of motives underlying participation, and thereby illuminated the often-contradictory channels through which individual and household characteristics affect participation.

The two cases analyzed here provide an interesting comparison of how the same institutional mechanism can have different, context-dependent, connotations. While Sultan Sazlığı represents a "normal" case, where trusting fellow community members and the decision-making mechanisms translates into incentives to participate, it seems on the contrary that skepticism mobilizes people in Köprülü Kanyon. Given the history there and the overall level of deprivation, the context is marked with constant fear that the state will introduce regulations at the expense of people. The locals, therefore, approached such mechanisms as some kind of conspiracy, and participated in them primarily to

discover the "real" intention. This is manifested in the positive association between distrust, both towards community members and the state, and participation.

Of course, this observation does not imply that the state should treat citizens unequally to induce participation, nor that intra-community level of trust is detrimental for participation, but rather that the specific contexts in which participatory decision-making mechanisms are operationalized are crucial for understanding how they function. The same argument applies to the case of local power relations, as well. Context-specific power inequalities related with income, wealth, gender, *etc*. should be at the center of an analysis of such mechanisms, can be important impediments to democratic and effective decision-making.

5.4 Willingness to Contribute to Local Sustainable Development

The second question that I address in this chapter is related to the extent to which local people would be willing to take action to remedy the ongoing problems with natural resource management. There are two motivations for analyzing willingness to commit to local sustainable development: Firstly, I hold that community members' willingness to take such actions is a signifier of the possibility of community-level mobilizations and an important component of local sustainable development. Therefore, I investigate if local inequalities and perceptions of the state, conceptualized as indicators of how state-society relationships materialize at the local scale, are significant factors underlying it. This formulation can also be considered as a quantitative operationalization of how the Turkish state's smothering of the civil society impinges on sustainable development implementation (see chapter 2).

Secondly, by delving into the question of local people's willingness to contribute, it is possible to gain insights on factors that would facilitate community participation in solving economic and environmental problems. Given the failure of the Turkish state in implementing sustainable development, it is worthwhile to investigate what kind of cooperative outcomes and alliances have potential to facilitate solutions at the local level.

Chapter 3 discussed the proxies used to capture local people's willingness to contribute to sustainable development. To restate, eight binary variables in Sultan Sazlığı and nine in Köprülü Kanyon are utilized to capture willingness to contribute. Five among these variables are identical, namely; willingness to constrain resource use in general, willingness to work for a management mechanism, willingness to donate funds to a trusted institution, willingness to attend an educational activity about the environment, and willingness to collect neighborhood garbage. The remaining variables capture willingness to contribute by refraining from site-specific activities found to put pressure on the ecosystem (reed cutting, grazing and irrigated agriculture in Sultan Sazlığı, and grazing, rafting tourism, oregano harvesting and illegal construction in Köprülü Kanyon). Listed below are the six measures of willingness to contribute constructed based on these variables:

- Willingness to contribute by constrained resource use: An index measure composed of willingness to constrain resource use and scenario measures of contribution in the hypothetical cases of collective action.[82]

[82] All indices are constructed by using a Principal Component Analysis, where index I over variables X is defined as $I = \sum_{i=1}^{I} PC_i(X_i - meanX_i)/StdDevX_i$, where PC_i is the first principal component of the variable X_i.

- Willingness to contribute by non-resource use: An index measure composed of willingness to contribute work for a management mechanism, to donate funds, to attend educational activity and to collect neighborhood garbage.
- Willingness to contribute labor: An index measure composed of willingness to work for a management mechanism, to attend educational activity and to collect neighborhood garbage.
- Willingness to contribute funds: Binary variable capturing willingness to contribute funds to a trusted institution for environmental protection.
- Scenario-based willingness to contribute: An index measure composed of the willingness to contribute in the collective action scenarios (three in Sultan Sazlığı and four in Köprülü Kanyon).
- All measures of willingness to contribute: An index measure composed of all willingness-to-contribute variables discussed above.

The following section lays out the empirical model and concretizes the hypotheses regarding the role of local inequalities and state perceptions.

5.4.1 Empirical Model and Hypotheses

Building on the literature on collective action in natural resource management (e.g., Baland & Platteau, 1996; Heltberg, 2001; Ostrom, 1990, 1996; Wade, 1987), and the findings of the qualitative study, I propose to estimate the following OLS model:

$$WTC_{ij} = \alpha_0 + \sum_k \theta_k I_i^k + \sum_l \gamma_l C_i^l + \sum_m \lambda_m H_i^m + \sum_n \phi_n S_i^n + \sum_p \psi_p A_i^p + \upsilon_i ,$$

where WTC_{ij} are the index measures of willingness to contribute discussed above, i denotes individuals, j denotes different measures of willingness to contribute included in

different specifications, and υ is the error term. For willingness to contribute funds, on the other hand, the following probit model will be estimated:

$$\Pr(WTC_i = 1 \mid I_i^1,...,A_i^p) = F(\sum_k \theta_k I_i^k + \sum_l \gamma_l C_i^l + \sum_m \lambda_m H_i^m + \sum_n \phi_n S_i^n + \sum_p \psi_p A_i^p),$$

where WTC_i is a binary variable which equals 1 if the individual is willing to contribute funds, *F(.)* is the standard normal distribution, and *i* denotes individuals. The error term is assumed to be independent across individuals. The explanatory variables are grouped into 5 categories: (i) *I* are *k* individual characteristics that include age, gender, education and an index measure of environmental values; (ii) *C* are *l* measures of the individual's frequency of participating in different types of community activities; (iii) *H* are *m* household characteristics, including both demographic (household size, the number of children under 14) and economic (household wealth, the size of household landholdings, sources of household income) characteristics of the household that individual *i* belongs to; (iv) *S* are *n* variables that proxy perceptions of the Turkish state, including perceived priority given to environmental protection and economic growth, level of trust to a number of state branches, and perceived equality in treatment by a number of state branches; (v) and *A* are *p* variables proxying anticipations, namely of other community members' commitment to sustainable development, and expected distributional impact.

The list of explanatory variables included in the model, together with motivations for including them in the model and their hypothesized impacts, are given in table 5.25.[83]

[83] Note that informedness of GEF or participation in its decision-making mechanisms are not included as an explanatory variable. Although being exposed to GEF-related activities is likely to have an impact on willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, its inclusion would pose endogeneity threats. In the absence of a variable to instrument for exposition to GEF, I hold that the best strategy is to exclude it.

Specifically, I hypothesize the following in terms of the role of local dynamics and perceptions of the state:

- Gender-based power relationships might be important impediments on willingness to contribute in collective-action type mobilizations. Although the collective action literature suggests that women are more likely to be cooperators than men (see, for instance, Molinas, 1998), I hold that women might be less inclined to commit to actions that necessitate public mobility and visibility, such as attending educational activities and taking part in a management mechanism. I expect the gender effect to be more pronounced in Köprülü Kanyon, where norms of appropriate female behavior are more repressive, as argued in chapter 4.
- Wealth-based inequalities are proxied by household landholdings and ownership of household assets, as before. As argued to be the case with participation in decision-making mechanisms, wealth can have an ambiguous effect on willingness to contribute: On the one hand, it might be signifying the costs of engaging in collective action; the poor might find it more difficult to contribute due to labor or income constraints. It might also be signifying the viability of exit options and lower dependency on natural resources, and consequently, the wealthy might have more outside options and choose not to contribute.

  Wealth, however, signifies more than dependency on natural resources. As I have illustrated in chapter 4, wealth is significantly correlated with the distribution of costs and benefits of environmental degradation and, consequently, different incentives to contribute to sustainable development. More specifically, in Sultan Sazlığı, wealthy farmers have been enjoying the profits accruing from irrigated

farming, whereas reed cutters and animal grazers have been the primary bearers of costs associated with water scarcity. In Köprülü Kanyon, on the other hand, the tourism sector (and the lower canyon villages in general) have been benefiting from unregulated resource use, while the poor whose livelihoods are directly dependent on the natural resources have started to feel the brunt of environmental degradation. The benefits of committing to local sustainable development differ considerably across these groups.

In the light of these arguments, I hypothesize that both proxies of household wealth would be negatively correlated with willingness to contribute in Sultan Sazlığı (possibly except the case of material contributions): while land-based wealth signifies "winning" from degradation, non-land-based wealth captures lower reliance on natural resources and greater viability of outside options. I posit a negative relationship between household wealth and willingness to contribute in the case of Köprülü Kanyon as well, since both signify "winning" from unregulated resource use.

- Sources of livelihood are included as additional controls of different stakes regarding sustainable development implementation. I argue that even after controlling for land-based inequalities, household dependence on natural resources would vary with reliance on different livelihood activities, and consequently, incentives to contribute to local sustainable development.

  In addition, the sources of household livelihoods connote the dynamics specific to the cases analyzed here. First of all, they are associated with how binding labor constraints are, and therefore expected to have a significant impact on ability to

commit to labor-intensive types of contributions. Reed-cutting and oregano harvesting, for instance, are highly labor-intensive, but seasonal, productive activities. Animal grazing, on the other hand, is both labor-intensive and practiced year-round. Furthermore, particularly in the case of Sultan Sazlığı, reliance on different livelihood activities overlaps with perceptions of responsibility; more specifically, reed cutters hold that they are not responsible for the ongoing degradation and thus would be less likely to contribute to local sustainable development. I expect this effect to be more pronounced in resource use-based contribution: the qualitative findings have been indicative on the strong conviction held by reed cutters that their practices do not hurt the viability of the reed cover. I hold that the same argument applies to the tourism sector in Köprülü Kanyon, since tour operators and employees were insistent that rafting tourism does not pose a threat to the ecosystem.

Building on these observations, I hypothesize that income from animal husbandry, reed cutting and tourism would be negatively associated with willingness to contribute.

- The final set of hypotheses regarding willingness to contribute is related to the role of perceptions held by the local people. The proxies used for state perceptions are perceived equal treatment by the state, and perceived importance given to economic growth and environmental protection by the state. To reiterate, I hold that the perceptions of how the state would behave can facilitate or thwart community-level mobilizations towards sustainable development. Specifically, perceived equal treatment is hypothesized to have a positive impact on

willingness to contribute, since the anticipation of some group's favoring would lower incentives to commit to local sustainable development. If, for instance, the state is believed to systematically favor the rafting sector or the irrigated agriculture, the anticipated effectiveness of local contributions in implementing sustainable development would be discounted. In a similar vein, the perceived priority of environmental protection vs. economic growth signals how viable and effective community-level mobilizations would be. For instance, the expectation of state to prioritize economic growth and obstruct local contributions to implement sustainable development would be a disincentive to commit to sustainable development.

The discussion of the hypotheses presented above concludes this section. The next section provides a descriptive picture of willingness to contribute. In particular, the tabulation of willingness to contribute by levels of exposure to the GEF project activities (i.e. awareness of the project, awareness of the management meetings, attendance to management meetings) is depicted in order to detect if there is a systematic correlation between experience with GEF and willingness to engage in community-level mobilizations towards sustainable development implementation. Finally, section 5.4.3 presents the results of the econometric exercise.

5.4.2 Descriptive Statistics

Tables 5.26, 5.27 and 5.28 display descriptive statistics on willingness-to-contribute variables in the Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon samples. Given the history of strict conservation policy of the national park in Köprülü Kanyon, it is expected that the overall level of willingness to contribute would be significantly lower in the latter

sample. As discussed in chapter 4, the hard-park style of governance produced considerable skepticism, not only of the intentions of the national park administration, but also of the genuineness of the environmental problems. This expectation is reflected in the relative prevalence of willingness to contribute in the two samples, where the proportion of those who are willing to contribute by all measures is significantly lower in Köprülü Kanyon, most severely in the case of willingness to limit resource use and to contribute funds. Figures 5.4 – 5.13, which depict frequencies of the five index measures of willingness to contribute, are suggestive of the same pattern.

Tables 5.27 and 5.28 depict the average levels of willingness to contribute by different layers of exposure to the GEF project, namely, project awareness, management meeting awareness, and participation. I hypothesize that having experienced the project, e.g. being exposed to information about its goals, attending meetings, etc., would be positively associated with willingness to contribute to local sustainable development. I have noted in the previous section that although participation in GEF's decision-making mechanisms is an explanatory factor of willingness to contribute, it is not included in the empirical model due to issues of endogeneity. It is likely that the factors underlying participation and willingness to contribute are correlated, so delineating a unidirectional causation between the two is not possible. Since I lack a good instrument of participation to include in the empirical model, I simply exclude it as the safest strategy.

Tables 5.27 and 5.28 reveal a positive correlation between involvement in the project and willingness to contribute in both samples. Asterisks denote statistically significant differences across corresponding subsamples, i.e. subsamples of project awareness, meeting awareness, and participation. Accordingly, within the Sultan Sazlığı

sample, those who have been aware of the project, on average, are more likely to contribute by constrained resource use and providing labor, than those who have been unaware of the project. The same pattern holds for subsamples based on meeting awareness. The positive correlation between exposure to the GEF and willingness to contribute is pronounced in the Köprülü Kanyon sample as well, albeit manifested mostly at the layers of project awareness and participation. Accordingly, those who have been informed of the project within this sample, on average, are more likely to contribute according to four of the six measures tabulated, than those who have not been informed. Similarly, the participator sample, on average, has higher levels of contribution in four out of six measures, than the non-participator sample.

5.4.3 Econometric Analysis

Tables 5.35 and 5.36 tabulate the empirical results of the econometric analysis of willingness to contribute for Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, respectively. The results of six specifications, which incorporate different dependent variables, are reported in the tables. Since the dependent variables utilized in the analysis are index measures, the interpretation of the sizes of coefficient estimates is tricky and not especially meaningful. Thus, I discuss the signs and significance levels of the estimates, rather than estimated coefficients in this section.[84] Another caveat to note before moving onto the discussion of results is the high correlations between state perception variables and measures of economic power as exhibited in tables 5.29- 5.34, which has likely lead to a low statistical significance of estimates.

[84] Only those estimates that are statistically significant at the 95% level are reported in the tables. Full list of coefficient estimates can be found in Appendix C.

As can be seen, the proxies of community involvement and environmental values have the expected signs in the specifications they are statistically significant, in both Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon. The expected positive correlation between concern for the community and the environment and willingness to take action for local sustainable development is illustrated by these findings. The findings here pose an interesting contrast to the estimated negative relationship between participation in labor sharing and hypothetical participation in Köprülü Kanyon presented in section 5.3.3. I interpret this pattern as further evidence of the dominance of the distrust motive of participation in state-initiated channels. That is to say, the findings are suggestive that while distrust of other community members, proxied by infrequent participation in labor sharing, is associated with participation in GEF's management meetings, trust and sharing with fellow villagers are associated with higher willingness to commit to community-level initiatives of sustainable development.

The hypothesized impact of more repressive gender relations in Köprülü Kanyon is displayed by the signs of the female dummy's estimated coefficient. Women are more likely to contribute to local sustainable development (by constraining resource use in particular) in Sultan Sazlığı, as the positive sign of the female dummy in specifications (3) and (6) indicates. In Köprülü Kanyon, in contrast, being a woman is associated with lower levels of contribution by non-resource use type activities and by labor. This demonstrates that the gender norms of appropriate female behavior can be important impediments on women's willingness in Köprülü Kanyon.

Although I hypothesized that the proxies of household wealth would be negatively associated with willingness to contribute in both sites, their estimated effects

are overall statistically insignificant. This is not wholly unexpected given the high correlation between measures of economic power. One notable exception is the coefficient estimate of household asset index in the willingness to contribute funds specification in Köprülü Kanyon. I hold, however, that this result is driven largely by the nature of the contribution measure used, as it is conceivable that the wealthy has a higher willingness to contribute by monetary means.

Having income from animal husbandry and reed cutting in Sultan Sazlığı are negatively correlated with willingness to contribute, as hypothesized. To reiterate, I had argued that reliance on animal husbandry signals binding labor constraints; this is confirmed by the finding that it is associated with a negative impact especially on the measure of non-resource use and of labor contribution. I had also asserted that reed cutters, in particular, would be reluctant to contribute since they do not assume responsibility for the ongoing environmental problems. This claim is supported by the estimated negative impact of having reed income on resource-based measures of contribution. In Köprülü Kanyon, on the other hand, having income from farming is associated with higher levels of labor contribution, which can be interpreted as the impact of labor availability in farming households.

The hypothesized effect of perceived equal treatment is manifested in all specifications for both Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon. As can be seen, the perception that the Turkish state treats its citizens equally is associated with higher willingness to contribute. This can be interpreted as evidence that skepticism of equal treatment produces disincentives to contribute. Perceived importance given to economic growth also has the expected negative impact in Sultan Sazlığı, though statistically

significant only in two specifications. Accordingly, holding other variables constant, perceiving the Turkish state to be more growth-oriented is associated with lower non-resource use and labor contributions. The same variable, however, has a significant and positive estimated effect on willingness to donate funds for environmental protection in Köprülü Kanyon. Although the latter finding is counter-intuitive, it might be suggestive of the relationship between hostility felt towards the rigid environmental conservation practices and environmental values discussed in chapter 4. Accordingly, those who perceive the state to be more growth-oriented might in fact be less skeptical of the state and more willing to contribute to local sustainable development.

Finally, it is notable that the anticipation of commitment by other community members, proxied by the variable capturing expected number of contributors within the community, is positively correlated with all willingness to contribute in all specifications both in Köprülü Kanyon and Sultan Sazlığı. Furthermore, the anticipated impact of succesful implementation of local sustainable development on the household welfare, measured on a scale of 1 to 3, is associated with higher willingess to contribute in all specifications in Sultan Sazlığı. These findings further underline the role of anticipations in motivating contribution to local sustainable development.

5.5 Conclusion

A number of important findings have been presented in this chapter, in particular about the role of inequalities based on wealth, gender, social status, etc., and perceptions of the state in operationalizing effective sustainable development at the local level. First, I have scrutinized different layers of exclusion from participatory decision-making processes by delving into multiple levels of informedness. In doing so, I have depicted

that awareness of such processes, which is a prerequisite of taking part in them, is systematically correlated with local power relations in both Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon. In particular, I have found that gender and source of livelihood to be significantly correlated with being aware of the GEF project and its decision-making mechanisms. Given that gender and livelihood are the most pronounced axes of inequality in both sites, this finding demonstrates that the locally powerless have been more likely to be denied opportunities to participate in the decision-making mechanisms.

Secondly, by undertaking an econometric analysis of the factors that can thwart or facilitate participation in the GEF project's decision-making mechanisms, I have shed light especially on the role of power relations and anticipated state behavior. In addition, the comparative perspective of this analysis enabled me to illuminate different, and at times contradictory, motives behind participation. I attempted to delineate these motives by supplementing the empirical analysis by the qualitative findings. Specifically, I found that gender, wealth and livelihood-based inequalities are pronounced impediments on participation. The perception of the Turkish state to be unfair or growth-oriented, on the other hand, operates in context-dependent ways, as it can induce participation *qua* monitoring. In particular, while these perceptions seem to thwart participation in Sultan Sazlığı, they are found to induce it in Köprülü Kanyon. This finding illuminates the how perceptions, and the historical processes by which they are formed, can entail significantly different lines of actions.

Finally, I explored the local people's willingness to take action, such as limiting their resource use or contributing labor or funds, for implementing sustainable development and showed that perceptions of the state, again, emerge as significant

factors. Perceived fairness of treatment by the state, in particular, has a marked impact in facilitating local-level initiatives for implementing sustainable development. The results of this exercise have also illuminated the role of importance of intra-community trust and anticipated commitment by the community members.

Table 5.1 Discussion of variables used in empirical analysis

VARIABLES	EXPLANATION
Individual Level Variables	
Demographics	
Age	Age of the respondent
Gender	Female dummy
Education	Years of education received by the respondent
Community Participation Measures	
Participation in labor sharing	Self-reported frequency of participation in informal labor sharing arrangements in the community, measured on 1-4 scale
Participation in village decisions	Self-reported frequency of participation in village-level decision making, measured on 1-5 scale
Participation in problem solving-1	Self-reported frequency of participation in village-level problem solving, measured on 1 -5
Participation in problem solving-2	Self-reported frequency of voicing opinions in village-level problem solving, measured on 1-5 scale
Community participation index	Index constructed on 3 self-reported measures of community participation listed above
Feeling of belonging	Self-reported measure of feeling of belonging, measured on 1-5 scale
Environmental values and concern	
Environmental values index	Index constructed on self-reported level of agreement, measured on 1-5 scale, with statements on environmental protection vs. economic growth
Local environmental concern	Self-reported measure of concern for local natural resources, measured on 1-5 scale
State Perceptions	
Trust to the National Park	Self-reported measure of trust to the national park, measured on 1-5 scale
Trust to state index	Index constructed on self-reported measures of trust, measured on 1-5 scale, to 4 local state agencies
Equal treatment by central state	Self-reported evaluation of equal treatment of citizens by the state, measured on 1-5 scale
Equal treatment index	Index constructed on self-reported evaluation of equal treatment by the central state, local government and the village head
Importance of growth priority	Self-reported perception of priority given to economic growth by the state, measured on 1-5 scale
Importance of environmental priority	Self-reported perception of priority given to environmental protection by the state, measured on 1-5 scale
Anticipations	
Expected attendance by others	Expected attendance to management meetings by the respondent when s/he first heard of the meetings, measured by number of people out of 10
Expected meeting success	Anticipated success of meetings to produce solutions to resource use before attending the meetings, measured on 1-5 scale
Expected commitment by others	Expected number of people who would join collective actions to implement sustainable development, measured by number of people out of ten
Expected distributional impact	Expected distributional impact of a conservation mechanism on the respondents' household, measured on a scale of 1 to 3

Continued on next page

Table 5.1 (continued) Discussion of variables used in empirical analysis

VARIABLES	EXPLANATION
Household Level Variables	
Household size	Number of people living in the respondent's household
Children under 14	Number of children younger than 14 living in the respondent's household
Monthly income	Monthly income bracket of the respondent's household, measured on 10 brackets of 250 TL ($159 PPP)
Source of income	Share of household income from different sources of livelihood, measured as percentage of total household income
Household land size	Size of land owned by the household, measured in hectares
Household asset index	Index constructed on ownership of 10 household assets
Awareness of GEF	Indicates if the respondent has heard of the project, binary variable
Awareness of meetings	Indicates if the respondent has heard of management meetings, binary variable
Participation	Indicates if the respondent has attended management meetings regularly, binary variable
Hypothetical participation	Indicates if the respondent would attend meetings if s/he has been informed, binary variable
Willingness to limit resource use	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to limit own resource use for local sustainability, binary variable
Willingness to contribute labor	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to work for a mechanism set up to manage resources, binary variable
Willingness to contribute funds	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to contribute money (an amount according to his/her budget) to an institution s/he trusts to be used for environmental protection, binary variable
Willingness to attend education	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to attend environmental training activities, binary variable
Willingness to collect garbage	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to collect others' garbage to keep the environment clean, binary variable
Willingness to limit water use	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to limit use of irrigation water for local sustainability if s/he was a farmer, binary variable
Willingness to limit grazing	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to limit use of pastures for local sustainability if s/he was an animal owner
Willingness to limit reed cutting	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to limit amount of reed cutting for local sustainability if s/he was a reed cutter, binary variable
Willingness to limit oregano harvesting	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to limit amount of oregano harvesting for local sustainability if s/he was an oregano harvester
Willingness to limit tourism	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to limit number of tourists hosted for local sustainability if s/he was a rafting tour operator
Willingness to limit illegal construction	Indicates if the respondent would be willing to abide by construction laws after a hypothetical one-time pardoning of illegal buildings if s/he was living in a strict protection zone

Table 5.2. Sultan Sazlığı sample characteristics, whole sample

	Whole Sample (377)				
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Age	47.6	46	12.7	25	80
Education, years	4.7	5	2.4	0	13
Participation in labor sharing	1.8	1	1	1	4
Feeling of belonging	4.8	5	0.6	1	5
Participation in village decisions	3.2	4	1.4	1	5
Participation in problem solving-1	4.3	4	0.8	1	5
Participation in problem solving-2	4.2	4	0.9	1	5
Community participation index	0	-0.1	1.4	-5.5	1.7
Environmental values index	0	0	1.2	-4.1	2.8
Trust to the National Park	3.2	4	1.3	1	5
Trust to state index	0	0.2	1.4	-5.5	2.0
Equal treatment by central state	2.8	3	1.5	1	5
Equal treatment index	0	0.2	1.3	-6.2	2.7
Importance of growth priority	3.5	1.2	4.0	1	5
Importance of environmental priority	3.5	1.2	4.0	1	5
Household Level Variables					
Household size, number	4.3	4	1.7	1	9
Children under 14, number	1.2	1	1.2	0	4
Household asset index	0	0.2	1.5	-22.4	0.6
Monthly income, category	2.1	2	1.3	1	10
Household land size, hectares	15.7	0	35.5	0	500
Farm income, %	24.6	0	36.5	0	100
Animal income, %	13	0	26.4	0	100
Reed income, %	5.9	0	20.4	0	100
Proportions					
Female	46.2%				
Landless	52.0%				
Farm income	44.0%				
Animal income	34.5%				
Reed income	9.8%				
Income <250TL ($159 PPP)	37.4%				
Income 250-500 TL ($ 159-319 PPP)	31.6%				

Table 5.3. Köprülü Kanyon sample characteristics, whole sample

	Whole Sample (401)				
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Age	46.1	43	15.3	25	84
Education, years	4.2	5	4	0	25
Participation in labor sharing	2.8	3	1	1	5
Feeling of belonging	4.6	5	0.8	1	5
Participation in village decisions	3.3	4	1.2	1	5
Participation in problem solving-1	4	4	0.8	1	5
Participation in problem solving-2	3.8	4	1	1	5
Community participation index	0	0.3	1.5	-5.2	2.1
Environmental values index	0	0	1.4	-4.3	3.7
Trust to the National Park	2	2	1.1	1	5
Trust to state index	0	0.4	1.5	-4.3	3.0
Equal treatment by central state	2.3	2	1.1	1	5
Equal treatment index	0	-0.1	1.4	-2.6	3.7
Importance of growth priority	3.3	4	1	1	5
Importance of environmental priority	3.3	3	1	1	5
Household Level Variables					
Household size, number	4.1	4	2	1	15
Children under 14, number	0.9	0	1.3	0	7
Household asset index	0	0.4	1.5	-4.6	2.3
Monthly income, category	2.5	2	1.6	1	10
Household land size, hectares	7.6	0	20.2	0	300
Number of cattle	5	0	19.2	0	500
Farm income, %	14.2	0	28.5	0	100
Animal income, %	8.6	0	22.5	0	100
Oregano income, %	3	0	14.6	0	100
Tourism income, %	13.9	0	31.9	0	100
Proportions					
Female	34.7%				
Landless	50.1%				
Farm income	42.4%				
Animal income	32.7%				
Oregano income	8.7%				
Tourism income	20.0%				
Income < 250 TL ($159 PPP)	28.7%				
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	29.2%				

Table 5.4 Comparison of select sample characteristics, Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon

	Sultan Sazlığı	Köprülü Kanyon
Individual Level Variables	Sample Means	
Age	47.6	46.1
Education, years	4.7	4.2
Participation in labor sharing *	1.8	2.8
Feeling of belonging *	4.8	4.6
Participation in village decisions *	3.2	3.3
Participation in problem solving-1 *	4.3	4
Participation in problem solving-2 *	4.2	3.8
Trust to the National Park *	3.2	2
Equal treatment by central state*	2.8	2.3
Importance of growth priority *	3.5	3.3
Importance of environmental priority *	3.5	3.3
Household Level Variables		
Household size, number	4.3	4.1
Children under 14, number *	1.2	0.9
Monthly income, category *	2.1	2.5
Household land size, hectares *	15.7	7.6
	Proportions	
Female *	46.2%	34.7%
Landless	52.0%	50.1%
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP) *	37.4%	28.7%
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	31.6%	29.2%

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.5 Sultan Sazlığı sample characteristics, decomposed by GEF awareness

	Not Aware of GEF (203)			Aware of GEF (174)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age	47.3	46	13.1	47.9	47	12.3
Education, years *	4.5	5	2.3	5	5	2.4
Feeling of belonging	4.8	5	0.6	4.8	5	0.6
Participation in labor sharing	1.8	1	1	1.9	1.5	1.1
Participation in village decisions	2.9	3	1.4	3.6	4	1.3
Participation in problem solving-1	4.2	4	0.8	4.4	4	0.7
Participation in problem solving-2	4.1	4	1.1	4.3	4	0.8
Community participation index *	-0.3	-0.1	1.5	0.3	0.4	1.2
Environmental values index	0	0	1.1	0	0	1.3
Trust to the National Park *	3.3	4	1.3	3	4	1.4
Importance of growth priority	3.6	4	1.1	3.5	4	1.2
Importance of environmental priority	3.5	4	1.2	3.4	4	1.2
Trust to state index	0.1	0.2	1.3	-0.1	0.2	1.4
Equal treatment by central state *	3	4	1.4	2.5	2	1.5
Equal treatment index	0.1	0.2	1.3	-0.1	-0.2	1.3
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number	4.2	4	1.8	4.3	4	1.7
Children under 14, number	1.2	1	1.2	1.1	1	1.2
Household asset index	0	0.2	1.7	0	0.2	1.1
Household land size, hectares	12	0	21.8	19.9	3.5	46.3
Farm income, %	23.6	0	37.8	25.7	0	35
Animal income, %	12.3	0	26.7	13.7	0	26.2
Reed income, %	4.6	0	17.9	7.4	0	23
Proportions						
Female *	56.2%			35.1%		
Landless	55.2%			48.3%		
Farm income *	39.4%			49.4%		
Animal income	35.5%			33.3%		
Reed income	8.4%			11.5%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	39.4%			35.1%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	35.5%			27.0%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.6 Sultan Sazlığı project aware subsample characteristics, decomposed by meeting awareness

	Not Aware of Meetings (92)			Aware of Meetings (82)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age	48.2	45.5	13.1	47.6	49	11.4
Education, years	4.9	5	2.3	5.1	5	2.6
Feeling of belonging *	4.7	5	0.7	4.9	5	0.3
Participation in labor sharing	2	2	1.1	1.8	1	1
Participation in village decisions	3.4	4	1.2	3.9	4	1.2
Participation in problem solving-1	4.2	4	0.8	4.6	5	0.6
Participation in problem solving-2	4.2	4	0.8	4.4	5	0.7
Community participation index *	0	-0.1	1.2	0.6	0.7	1.1
Environmental values index	0.1	0	1.3	-0.1	0.1	1.3
Trust to the National Park	3.1	4	1.3	3	4	1.5
Importance of growth priority	3.6	4	1.1	3.4	4	1.3
Importance of environmental priority	3.5	4	1.2	3.3	4	1.3
Trust to state index	-0.2	0.2	1.5	0	0.2	1.4
Equal treatment by central state	2.6	2	1.4	2.4	2	1.5
Equal treatment index	-0.2	-0.2	1.3	0	-0.1	1.3
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number	4.3	4	1.6	4.4	4	1.8
Children under 14, number	1	1	1.2	1.3	1	1.3
Household asset index	0	0.2	1.4	0.1	0.2	0.8
Household land size, hectares	10.4	0	16.1	30.6	13	63.8
Farm income, %	21.8	0	34.5	30.2	20	35.2
Animal income, %	13.4	0	26.3	14.1	0	26.3
Reed income, % *	2.6	0	10.6	12.8	0	30.8
Proportions						
Female *	44.6%			24.4%		
Landless *	56.5%			39.0%		
Farm income *	41.3%			58.5%		
Animal income	32.6%			34.2%		
Reed income	7.6%			15.9%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	37.0%			32.9%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	28.3%			25.6%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.7 Köprülü Kanyon sample characteristics, decomposed by GEF awareness

	Does not Know GEF (278)			Knows GEF (123)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age	46.5	43	15.7	45.2	44	14.6
Education, years *	3.9	5	4	4.8	5	3.9
Feeling of belonging *	4.6	5	0.9	4.8	5	0.7
Participation in labor sharing *	2.7	3	1	3	3	1
Participation in village decisions	3.3	4	1.2	3.5	4	1.3
Participation in problem solving-1	4	4	0.8	4.1	4	0.9
Participation in problem solving-2	3.8	4	0.9	4	4	1
Community participation index *	-0.2	0.3	1.5	0.1	0.3	1.6
Environmental values index	-0.1	0	1.5	0.1	0	1.3
Trust to the National Park *	2.1	2	1.1	1.8	1	1.1
Importance of growth priority	3.3	4	1	3.2	4	1
Importance of environmental priority	3.2	3	1	3.3	3	0.9
Trust to state index	0	0.4	1.5	0.1	0.4	1.5
Equal treatment by central state *	2.3	2	1	2.6	2	1.2
Equal treatment index *	-0.1	-0.1	1.3	0.2	0.1	1.5
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number	4.1	4	1.9	4.3	4	2.1
Children under 14, number	1	0	1.3	0.9	0	1.2
Household asset index	0	0.4	1.6	0	0.3	1.4
Household land size, hectares	8.2	0	23.4	6.2	1.5	9.7
Number of cattle	5	0	21.4	5	0	12.8
Farm income, % *	12.6	0	27.9	17.9	0	29.6
Animal income, %	7.7	0	22.2	10.8	0	23.2
Oregano income, %	2.3	0	13.2	4.5	0	17.5
Tourism income, %	14	0	31.6	13.7	0	32.6
Proportions						
Female *	38.5%			26.0%		
Landless	52.2%			45.5%		
Farm income *	39.6%			48.8%		
Animal income	30.2%			38.2%		
Oregano income *	6.3%			13.0%		
Tourism income	20.9%			17.9%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	28.4%			29.3%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	29.5%			28.5%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.8 Köprülü Kanyon project aware subsample characteristics, decomposed by meeting awareness

	Does not Know Meetings (79)			Knows Meetings (44)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age *	42.8	39	13.7	49.5	52	15.4
Education, years *	5.2	5	4.3	4	5	2.8
Feeling of belonging	4.7	5	0.8	4.9	5	0.5
Participation in labor sharing	3	3	1	3	3	1.2
Participation in village decisions	3.5	4	1.2	3.6	4	1.4
Participation in problem solving-1	4.1	4	0.7	4	4	1.2
Participation in problem solving-2	4	4	1	3.9	4	1.1
Community participation index	0.1	0.3	1.4	0.1	0.4	2
Environmental values index	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.1	0	1.5
Trust to the National Park	1.9	2	1.1	1.8	1	1.1
Importance of growth priority *	3.4	4	0.9	2.9	3	1.2
Importance of environmental priority	3.2	3	0.8	3.4	4	1
Trust to state index *	-0.1	0.1	1.5	0.5	0.8	1.5
Equal treatment by central state *	2.4	2	1.2	2.9	2	1.2
Equal treatment index *	-0.1	0.1	1.4	0.7	1	1.6
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number	4.5	4	1.9	3.9	4	2.5
Children under 14, number	0.9	0	1.2	0.9	0	1.3
Household asset index	0.1	0.6	1.4	-0.2	-0.1	1.4
Household land size, hectares	5.9	1	9.4	6.7	2	10.2
Number of cattle *	3.4	0	8.1	8.2	0	18.5
Farm income, %	15.8	0	28.8	22	2	31
Animal income, % *	8.3	0	21.2	15.5	0	26.3
Oregano income, %	4.3	0	18.6	4.9	0	15.2
Tourism income, %	16.1	0	34.5	9	0	28.2
Proportions						
Female	26.6%			25.0%		
Landless	45.6%			45.5%		
Farm income	44.3%			56.8%		
Animal income *	31.7%			50.0%		
Oregano income *	8.9%			20.5%		
Tourism income	20.3%			13.6%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	24.1%			38.6%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	27.9%			29.6%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.9 List of explanatory variables and hypothesized impacts on participation

Explanatory Variables	Hypothesized Impact
Individual Characteristics	
Age	Positive; older age might confer power
Education	Positive; more knowledge, self-confidence and leadership traits.
Gender (female dummy)	Negative; gender-based norms and power relationships
Environmental values index	Positive; implies higher stakes
Participation in Community	
Feeling of belonging	Positive; implies concern and higher stakes.
Participation in labor sharing	Positive; history of participation has positive spillovers, implies other-regarding motivations.
Community participation index	Positive; history of participation in community decision-making has positive spillovers.
Household Characteristics	
Household size	Positive if it signals resource need or labor availability, might be negative due to increased labor burden and time constraints
Children under 14	Negative; increased labor burden and time constraints
Source of livelihood	Different resource use signifies different stakes in decision-making and level of dependency on natural resources
Household assets index, household land size	Positive since signifies power; might be ambiguous if signifies less dependence on natural resources
Perceptions of the State	
Equal treatment index	Positive if anticipation of equal treatment implies expectation of being listened; negative if anticipation of unequal treatment motivates to "monitor" the process.
Importance of growth priority	Negative if anticipation of non-implementation of meeting decisions discounts benefits of attending, positive if motivates to "monitor" the process.
Importance of environmental priority	Positive if anticipation of implementation of meeting decisions discounts costs of attending, negative if motivates to free-ride.
Anticipations about the Process	
Expected attendance by others	Positive; anticipated free-riding would discourage participation.
Expected meeting success *	Positive; anticipation of producing solutions would encourage participation

Note: Asterisked variable is not included in the hypothetical participation model.

Table 5.10 Sultan Sazlığı meeting-aware subsample characteristics, decomposed by participation

	Did not Attend Meetings (50)			Attended Meetings (32)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age	48	49.5	12.4	47.3	49	10.8
Education, years *	3.8	5	2.5	5.9	5	2.3
Feeling of belonging	4.9	5	0.3	4.9	5	0.4
Participation in labor sharing *	1.5	1	0.8	1.9	2	1
Community participation index	0.4	0.4	1	0.7	1.1	1.1
Environmental values index *	-0.6	-0.3	1.1	0.2	0.4	1.4
Importance of growth priority	3.2	4	1.4	3.5	4	1.1
Importance of environmental priority *	2.9	2	1.4	3.5	4	1.1
Equal treatment by central state	2.3	1.5	1.6	2.4	2	1.5
Expected attendance, out of 10	4.6	4.5	2.1	5.4	5	2.8
Expected meeting success *	3.3	4	1.5	4.1	5	1.3
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number	4.1	4	1.7	4.6	4.5	1.9
Children under 14, number	1.2	1	1.1	1.3	1	1.4
Household asset index	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	1
Household land size, hectares *	14.8	0	28.9	40.8	25	77
Farm income, %	16	0	29.8	39.2	40	35.7
Animal income, %	8.4	0	24.9	17.7	0	26.7
Reed income, %	19.4	0	35.6	8.6	0	26.8
Proportions						
Female *	40.60%			14.00%		
Landless *	59.40%			26.00%		
Farm income *	37.50%			72.00%		
Animal income	25.00%			40.00%		
Reed income *	25.00%			10.00%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	31.30%			34.00%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	25.00%			26.00%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.11 Köprülü Kanyon meeting-aware subsample characteristics, decomposed by participation

	Did not Attend (27)			Attend (17)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age *	42.7	40	14.2	60.5	58	10.0
Education, years	4.6	5	2.2	2.9	0	3.3
Feeling of belonging	4.8	5	0.7	5	5	0
Participation in labor sharing *	2.7	3	1.2	3.5	4	0.8
Community participation index	-0.1	0.4	2.2	0.4	0.3	1.6
Environmental values index	0	0	1.5	0.1	-0.2	1.7
Importance of growth priority	2.7	3	1.3	3.3	4	1.2
Importance of environmental priority *	3.1	3	1.1	3.8	4	0.8
Equal treatment index	0.4	1	1.7	1.2	1.1	1.2
Expected attendance, out of 10	4.6	4	2.9	5.9	5	2.9
Expected meetings success *	2.2	2	0.8	3.3	4	1.3
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number *	4.5	4	2.7	3	3	1.7
Children under 14, number	1.1	1	1.4	0.5	0	1.1
Household asset index	0.1	0.4	1.3	-0.6	-0.2	1.5
Household land size *	4.9	0	9.8	9.7	4	10.5
Farm income, % *	13.1	0	24.8	37.2	20	35.2
Animal income, %	11.9	0	23.5	21.6	2	30.2
Oregano income, %	5.2	0	17	4.2	0	11.8
Tourism income, % *	14.3	0	34.6	0	0	0
Proportions						
Female	26.6%			17.7%		
Landless *	45.6%			11.8%		
Farm income *	44.3%			82.4%		
Animal income	31.7%			52.9%		
Oregano income	8.9%			23.5%		
Tourism income *	20.3%			0.0%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	33.3%			47.1%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	22.2%			41.2%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.12 Correlation between measures of community participation and environmental values, Sultan Sazlığı meeting-aware subsample

	Belonging	Labor sharing	Participation	Environmental Values
Feeling of belonging	1			
Participation in labor sharing	-0.0258	1		
Community participation index	-0.0271	0.1920	1	
Environmental values index	0.0841	-0.057	0.1239	1

Table 5.13 Correlation between measures of state perceptions and anticipations about meetings, Sultan Sazlığı meeting-aware subsample

	Equal	Growth	Environment	Attendance	Success
Equal treatment index	1				
Importance of growth priority	0.4557	1			
Importance of environmental priority	0.5048	0.7414	1		
Expected attendance	0.1167	0.3912	0.2822	1	
Expected meeting success	0.1475	0.158	0.1237	0.3145	1

Table 5.14 Correlation between measures of economic power, Sultan Sazlığı meeting-aware subsample

	Asset	Land	Farming	Animal	Reed
Household asset index	1				
Household land size	0.1508	1			
Farming income, %	0.1474	0.2012	1		
Animal income, %	0.1206	0.0378	-0.0115	1	
Reed income, %	-0.4246	-0.1974	-0.3150	-0.2242	1

Table 5.15 Participation in decision-making mechanisms, Sultan Sazlığı

Meeting-aware subsample Dependent variable: Participation in management meetings	
Age	-0.22
	(1.31)
Female	-31.98
	(25.62)
Education, years	5.88
	(4.88)
Feeling of belonging, scale	-22.48
	(22.30)
Participation in labor sharing, scale	17.31
	(11.12)
Frequency of community participation, index	10.46
	(10.74)
Environmental values, index	**23.86 ****
	(8.52)
Household size	-9.43
	(8.46)
Children under 14	7.52
	(10.52)
Household assets, rank	-6.09
	(4.44)
Household land size, hectares	**0.80****
	(0.32)
Farm income, %	0.43
	(0.37)
Animal income, %	**0.89 ****
	(0.41)
Reed income, %	-0.01
	(0.40)
Equal treatment, index	-1.35
	(8.04)
Importance of growth priority, scale	**-20.66 ***
	(11.43)
Importance of environmental priority, scale	**28.23 *****
	(11.99)
Expected attendance, number out of 10	7.54 *
	(3.72)
Expected meeting success, scale	-6.30
	(7.95)
Observations	75

Notes: (1) Marginal effects at the mean of explanatory variables reported, standard errors in parentheses, results are multiplied by 100 (2) *, **, *** denote 10%, 5%, and 1% levels of significance (3) Scales are 5-point-based, except 4-point scale for feeling of belonging (4) Rank (1-10) based on the index value of household assets (5) Village controls are included but not reported

Table 5.16 Sultan Sazlığı meeting-unaware subsample characteristics, decomposed by hypothetical participation

	Would not attend if knew (15)			Would attend if knew (77)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age	50.3	50	15.2	47.8	45	12.8
Education, years	4.5	5	1.6	4.9	5	2.4
Feeling of belonging	4.9	5	0.3	4.7	5	0.8
Participation in labor sharing *	1.4	1	0.6	2.1	2	1.2
Community participation index *	-0.8	-0.4	1.7	0.2	0.2	1
Environmental values index	0.2	0.2	1.3	0.1	0	1.3
Importance of growth priority	3.5	4	1	4.8	4	10.9
Importance of environmental priority	3.2	4	1.1	3.6	4	1.2
Equal treatment index	-0.5	-0.3	1.3	-0.1	-0.2	1.3
Expected attendance, out of 10	4.9	5	2.4	6.3	5	11
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number *	3.5	4	1.4	4.4	5	1.6
Children under 14, number	0.7	0	1	1.1	1	1.2
Household assets index *	-0.6	0.3	3.1	0.1	0.2	0.7
Household land size, hectares	15.3	5	19.8	9.5	0	15.3
Farm income, %	12.7	0	26	23.5	0	35.8
Animal income, %	6.1	0	15.9	14.8	0	27.7
Reed income, %	0	0	0	3.1	0	11.5
Proportions						
Female *	66.7%			40.3%		
Landless	40.0%			59.7%		
Farm income	40.0%			41.6%		
Animal income	20.0%			35.1%		
Reed income	0.0%			9.1%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	26.7%			39.0%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	40.0%			26.0%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.17 Köprülü Kanyon meeting-unaware subsample characteristics, decomposed by hypothetical participation

	Would not attend if knew (26)			Would attend if knew (53)		
Individual Level Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age	42.7	40	14.8	42.8	38	13.3
Education, years	6.0	5	3.6	5.4	5	4.4
Feeling of belonging	4.8	5	0.8	4.7	5	0.8
Participation in labor sharing	3	3	0.8	3	3	1
Community participation index	0	0.3	1.5	0.4	0.3	1.3
Environmental values index *	-0.3	-0.3	1	0.4	0.3	1.1
Importance of growth priority *	3.0	3	1	3.6	4	0.8
Importance of environmental priority	3.2	3	0.8	3.2	3	0.9
Equal treatment index	-0.2	-0.4	1.3	0	0.1	1.5
Expected attendance by others	2.8	2	3.0	3.6	3	3.2
Household Level Variables						
Household size, number	4	4	1.8	4.6	4	1.9
Children under 14, number	0.8	0	1.0	0.9	0	1.3
Household asset index	0.3	0.8	1.1	0	0.3	1.5
Household land size, hectares	4.7	0	10.1	6.6	2	9.3
Farm income, %	18.9	0	34.9	14.2	0	25.5
Animal income, %	6.8	0	15.3	9.2	0	23.7
Oregano income, %	4.4	0	18.3	5.7	0	21.5
Tourism income, %	11.5	0	32.6	17.9	0	35.2
Proportions						
Female	30.8%			24.5%		
Landless	57.7%			39.6%		
Farm income	42.3%			45.3%		
Animal income	26.9%			34.0%		
Oregano income	7.7%			9.4%		
Tourism income	11.5%			24.4%		
Income <250 TL ($159 PPP)	15.4%			28.3%		
Income 250-500 TL ($159-319 PPP)	30.8%			26.4%		

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.18 Correlation between measures of community participation and environmental values, Sultan Sazlığı meeting-unaware subsample

	Belonging	Labor sharing	Participation	Environmental Values
Feeling of belonging	1			
Participation in labor sharing	-0.0443	1		
Community participation index	-0.1402	0.1981	1	
Environmental values index	-0.0016	0.2032	0.1787	1

Table 5.19 Correlation between measures of state perceptions and anticipations about meetings, Sultan Sazlığı meeting-unaware subsample

	Equal	Growth	Environment	Attendance
Equal treatment index	1			
Importance of growth priority	0.3964	1		
Importance of environmental priority	0.3684	0.5536	1	
Expected attendance	0.1351	0.0789	0.0543	1

Table 5.20 Correlation between measures of economic power, Sultan Sazlığı meeting-unaware subsample

	Asset	Land	Farming	Animal	Reed
Household asset index	1				
Household land size	0.104	1			
Farming income, %	0.0457	0.4381	1		
Animal income, %	-0.0591	0.068	-0.1102	1	
Reed income, %	0.0448	-0.067	-0.0669	0.0983	1

Table 5.21 Correlation between measures of community participation and environmental values, Köprülü Kanyon meeting-unaware subsample

	Belonging	Labor sharing	Participation	Environmental Values
Feeling of belonging	1			
Participation in labor sharing	-0.1749	1		
Community participation index	0.0186	0.2025	1	
Environmental values index	-0.0477	0.3681	0.1901	1

Table 5.22 Correlation between measures of state perceptions and anticipations about meetings, Köprülü Kanyon meeting-unaware subsample

	Equal	Growth	Environment	Attendance
Equal treatment index	1			
Importance of growth priority	0.3323	1		
Importance of environmental priority	0.2463	0.4634	1	
Expected attendance	0.1991	0.3218	0.2459	1

Table 5.23 Correlation between measures of economic power, Köprülü Kanyon meeting-unaware subsample

	Asset	Land	Farming	Animal	Oregano	Tourism
Household asset index	1					
Household land size	0.1706	1				
Farming income, %	0.1034	0.3099	1			
Animal income, %	-0.2584	-0.0417	0.0822	1		
Oregano income, %	0.1299	-0.094	-0.0672	-0.0603	1	
Tourism income, %	0.2819	-0.113	-0.1752	-0.1273	-0.1201	1

Table 5.24 Hypothetical participation in decision-making mechanisms

Dependent variable: Hypothetical participation in management meetings		
	Sultan Sazlığı	Köprülü Kanyon
Age	-0.09	0.11
	(0.27)	(0.60)
Female	**-15.80 ****	-30.55
	(8.79)	(26.09)
Education, years	-1.22	**-3.66 ***
	(1.47)	(2.09)
Feeling of belonging, scale	-6.97	8.82
	(5.39)	(10.17)
Participation in labor sharing, scale	**4.82 ***	**-14.76 ***
	(3.38)	(8.49)
Frequency of community participation, index	**3.55 ***	1.10
	(2.39)	(6.16)
Environmental values, index	-2.60	**14.88 ****
	(2.40)	(7.25)
Household size	2.06	2.36
	(2.27)	(4.26)
Children under 14	-1.61	4.39
	(3.04)	(5.90)
Household assets, rank	0.81	-3.41
	(1.93)	(3.31)
Household land size, hectares	**-0.41 ****	0.91
	(0.23)	(0.76)
Farm income, %	**0.14 ***	-0.12
	(0.10)	(0.30)
Animal income, %	0.17	0.04
	(0.14)	(0.36)
Oregano income, %		0.42
		(0.42)
Tourism income, %		0.42
		(0.26)
Equal treatment, index	0.67	-5.57
	(1.95)	(5.07)
Importance of growth priority, scale	-3.96	**29.37 ****
	(3.20)	(12.12)
Importance of environmental priority, scale	**4.32 ***	-17.44
	(2.86)	(12.09)
Expected attendance, number out of 10	-0.01	-0.27
	(0.10)	(2.98)
Conservation problem, dummy		22.71
		(13.13)
Observations	85	79

Notes: (1) Marginal effects at the mean of explanatory variables reported, standard errors in parentheses, results multiplied by 100 (2) *, **, *** denote 10%, 5%, and 1% levels of significance (3) Scales are 5-point-based, except 4-point scale for feeling of belonging (4) Ranks (1-10) based on the index value of household assets (5) Village controls included but not reported (6) Reed income dropped as it predicts hypothetical participation perfectly.

Table 5.25 Explanatory variables and hypothesized impacts for willingness to commit to sustainable development

Explanatory Variables	Hypothesized Impact
Individual Characteristics	
Age	Negative; the young are more inclined to mobilize
Education	Positive; correlates with awareness and responsibility
Gender (female dummy)	Ambiguous; women are often better cooperators but gender norms might be binding for some types of contribution
Environmental values index	Positive; implies concern and higher stakes
Participation in Community	
Feeling of belonging	Positive; implies concern and higher stakes.
Participation in labor sharing	Positive; implies other-regarding and reciprocity
Community participation index	Positive; implies concern for the community
Household Characteristics	
Household size	Positive if it signals resource need or labor availability, might be negative due to increased labor burden and time constraints
Children under 14	Negative; increased labor burden and time constraints
Source of livelihood (dummy of having income)	Signifies level of dependency; correlates with power and perception of responsibility
Household assets index, household land size	Signifies power and different incentives to contribute
Perceptions of the State	
Equal treatment index	Positive; anticipated success of mobilization
Importance of growth priority	Negative; anticipated failure of mobilization
Importance of environmental priority	Positive; anticipated success of mobilization
Anticipations	
Expected commitment by others	Positive; anticipated free-riding would discourage participation.
Expected distributional impact	Positive; incentive to contribute if will win from sustainable development

Table 5. 26 Descriptive statistics on willingness to contribute measures

	Sultan Sazlığı (%)	Köprülü Kanyon(%)
Willingness to limit resource use *	78.0	48.6
Willingness to contribute labor *	91.5	77.1
Willingness to contribute funds *	86.5	70.8
Willingness to attend education *	83.3	57.4
Willingness to collect garbage *	93.6	88.5
Willingness to limit water use	84.6	
Willingness to limit grazing	81.2	
Willingness to limit reed cutting	80.4	
Willingness to limit oregano harvesting		92.2
Willingness to limit tourism		95.8
Willingness to limit illegal construction		86.9
Willingness to limit grazing		90.3

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.27 Descriptive statistics on willingness to contribute dependent variables, Sultan Sazlığı

Willingness to contribute indices	Knows GEF	Knows meetings	Attended meetings	Min.	Max.
By constrained resource use	-0.11	-0.21	-0.18	-4.16	0.96
By non-resource use	0.20 *	0.45 *	0.54	-5.89	0.70
By labor	0.22 *	0.46 *	0.51	-5.51	0.56
By funds	0.84	0.87 *	0.90	0	1
Scenario-based measures	-0.10	-0.21	-0.15	-3.71	0.81
All measures	0.06	0.17	0.25	-7.07	1.18

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.28 Descriptive statistics on willingness to contribute dependent variables, Köprülü Kanyon

Willingness to contribute indices	Knows GEF	Knows meetings	Attended meetings	Min.	Max.
By constrained resource use	0.29 *	0.37	0.46	-4.65	0.58
By non-resource use	0.18	0.18	0.91 *	-3.57	1.21
By labor	0.18 *	0.23	0.82 *	-3.4	0.91
By funds	0.59	0.55	0.76 *	0	1
Scenario-based measures	0.28 *	0.33	0.44	-4.55	0.44
All measures	0.20	0.15	0.91*	-4.34	1.47

Note:* denotes difference statistically significant at 95% confidence level

Table 5.29 Correlation between measures of community participation and environmental values, Sultan Sazlığı whole sample

	Belonging	Labor sharing	Participation	Environmental Values
Feeling of belonging	1			
Participation in labor sharing	0.0268	1		
Community participation index	-0.0414	0.1677	1	
Environmental values index	-0.007	0.1309	0.0969	1

Table 5.30 Correlation between measures of state perceptions, Sultan Sazlığı whole sample

	Equal	Growth	Environment
Equal treatment index	1		
Importance of growth priority	0.3838	1	
Importance of environmental priority	0.3225	0.6059	1

Table 5.31 Correlation between measures of economic power, Sultan Sazlığı whole sample

	Asset	Land	Farming	Animal	Reed
Household asset index	1				
Household land size	0.0733	1			
Farming income, %	0.0594	0.3306	1		
Animal income, %	0.0334	0.0231	-0.0948	1	
Reed income, %	-0.0682	-0.1096	-0.1634	-0.089	1

Table 5.32 Correlation between measures of community participation and environmental values, Köprülü Kanyon whole sample

	Belonging	Labor sharing	Participation	Environmental Values
Feeling of belonging	1			
Participation in labor sharing	0.006	1		
Community participation index	0.0532	0.3781	1	
Environmental values index	0.0062	0.3466	0.1287	1

Table 5.33 Correlation between measures of state perceptions, Köprülü Kanyon whole sample

	Equal	Growth	Environment
Equal treatment index	1		
Importance of growth priority	0.3323	1	
Importance of environmental priority	0.2463	0.4634	1

Table 5.34 Correlation between measures of economic power, Köprülü Kanyon whole sample

	Asset	Land	Farming	Animal	Oregano	Tourism
Household asset index	1					
Household land size	0.139	1				
Farming income, %	-0.0688	0.2683	1			
Animal income, %	-0.0642	0.0516	0.0035	1		
Oregano income, %	0.0148	-0.0101	-0.0373	0.0009	1	
Tourism income, %	0.2092	-0.0478	-0.1351	-0.1313	-0.0953	1

Table 5.35 Willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, Sultan Sazlığı

Dependent Variable: Willingness to contribute	Sultan Sazlığı					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age	- 0.02*					
Female	0.32*					0.38*
Education, years						
Feeling of belonging, scale						
Participation in labor sharing, scale			0.13*			
Frequency of community participation, index		0.16**				0.18**
Environmental values, index	0.33***			0.05***	0.28***	0.32***
Household size						
Children under 14						
Household assets, rank						
Household land size, hectares						
Farm income, dummy						
Animal income, dummy		-0.34*	- 0.36**			-0.44**
Reed income, dummy	-0.59**				-0.48*	
Equal treatment, index	0.16**	0.15**	0.11*	0.04**	0.15***	0.22***
Importance of growth priority, scale		-0.15*	-0.15*			
Importance of environmental priority, scale						
Expected commitment by others, number	0.08***	0.10***	0.07***	0.03***	0.06**	0.13***
Expected distributional impact, scale	0.60***	0.27**	0.22*	0.05***	0.47***	0.62***
Observations	375	375	375	375	375	375

Notes: (1) OLS regression estimates reported in all specifications, except probit estimates in (4) (2) Signs of significant estimates reported (3)*, **, *** denote 10%, 5%, and 1% levels of significance (4) Dependent variables are willingness to contribute indices based on resource, non-resource, labor, funds, scenario and all measures (5) Scales are 5-point-based, except 4-point scale for feeling of belonging and 3-point scale for expected distributional impact (6) Rank (1-10) based on the index value of household assets.

Table 5.36 Willingness to contribute to local sustainable development, Köprülü Kanyon

Dependent Variable: Willingness to contribute	Köprülü Kanyon					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age						
Female		-0.43***	-0.41***			-0.41**
Education, years						
Feeling of belonging, scale						
Part. labor sharing, scale	0.20***		0.13**		0.18***	
Fr. community participation, index		0.20***	0.18***	0.05**		0.21***
Env. values, index		0.22***		0.06***		0.22***
Household size						
Children under 14						
Hhold assets, rank				0.02**		
Hhold land size, ha						
Farm income, dummy			0.25*			
Ani. income, dummy						
Ore. income, dummy						
Tour. income, dummy						
Equal treatment, index				0.04*		
Importance of growth priority, scale				0.10***		
Importance of environmental priority, scale				-0.06*		
Expected commitment by others, number	0.04**	0.09***	0.07***	0.03***	0.04**	0.10***
Expected distributional impact, scale						
Observations	401	401	401	401	401	401

Notes: (1) OLS regression estimates reported in all specifications, except probit estimates in (4) (2) Signs of significant estimates reported (3)*, **, *** denote 10%, 5%, and 1% levels of significance (4) Dependent variables are willingness to contribute indices based on resource, non-resource, labor, funds, scenario and all measures (5) Scales are 5-point-based, except 4-point scale for feeling of belonging and 3-point scale for expected distributional impact (6) Rank (1-10) based on the index value of household assets.

Figure 5.1 Overview of sampling stages

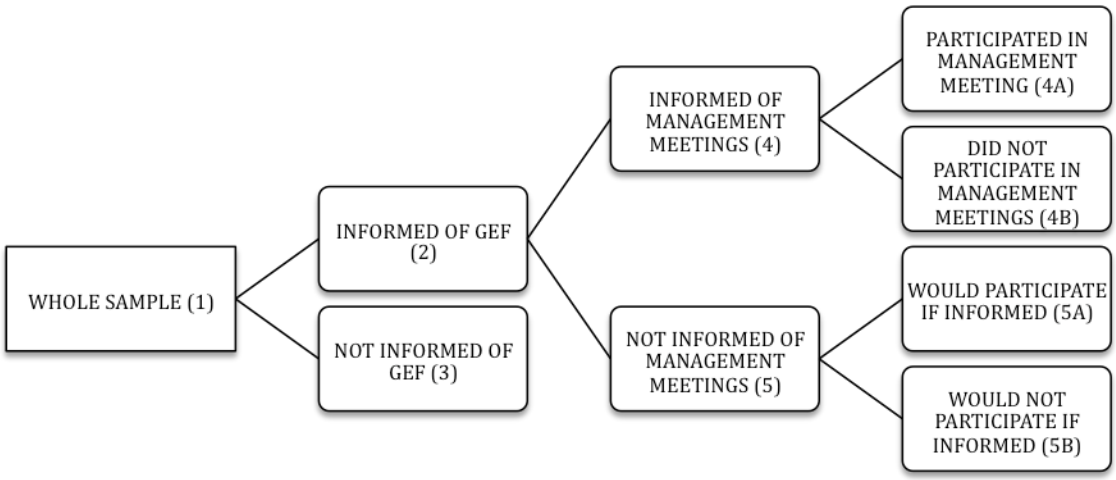


Figure 5.2 Overview of awareness levels, Sultan Sazlığı

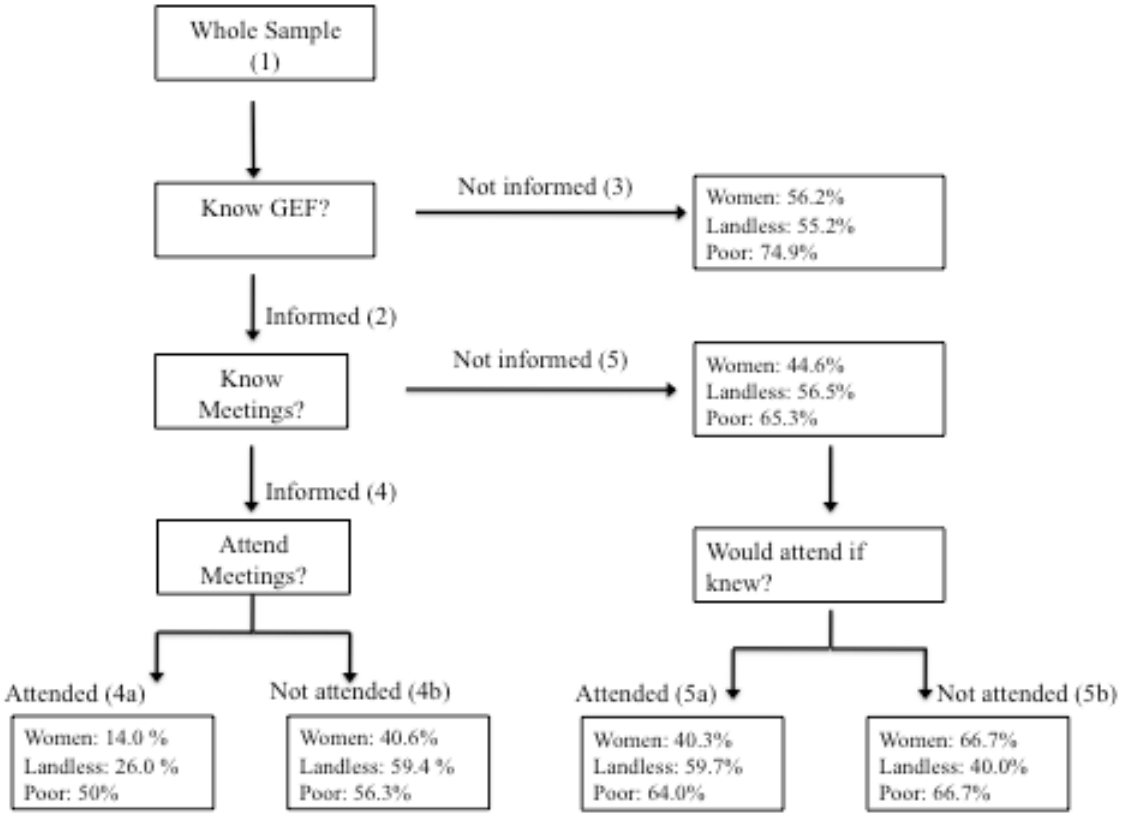


Figure 5.3 Overview of awareness levels, Köprülü Kanyon

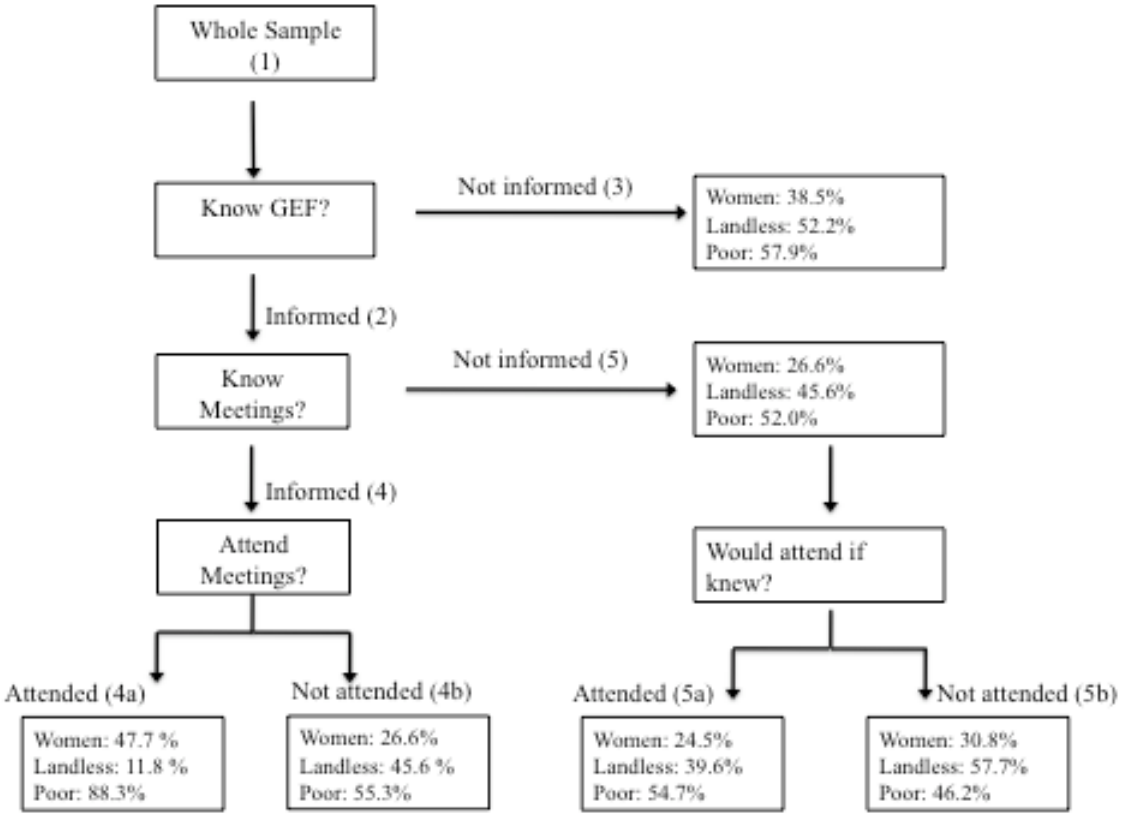


Figure 5.4 Frequency distribution of willingness to contribute by resource use, Sultan Sazlığı

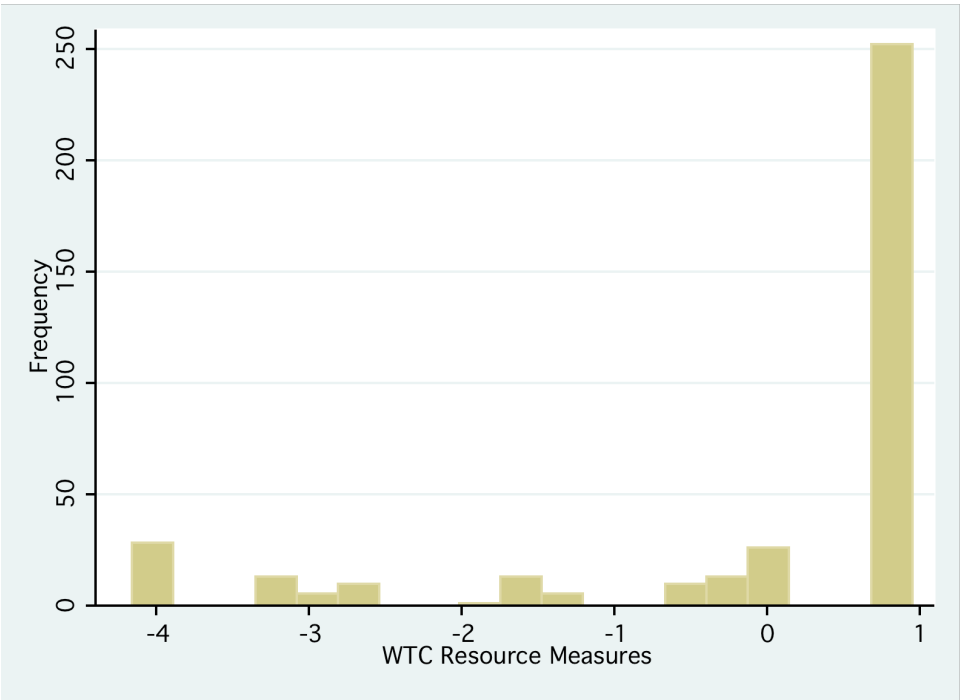


Figure 5.5 Frequency distribution of willingness to contribute by resource use, Köprülü Kanyon

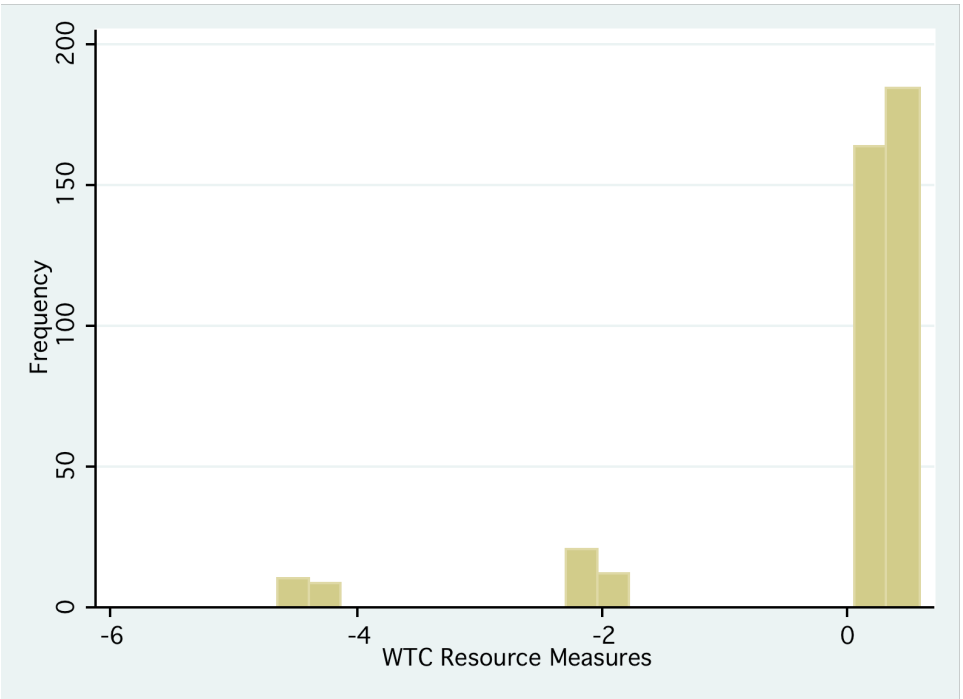


Figure 5.6 Willingness to contribute by non-resource use measures, Sultan Sazlığı

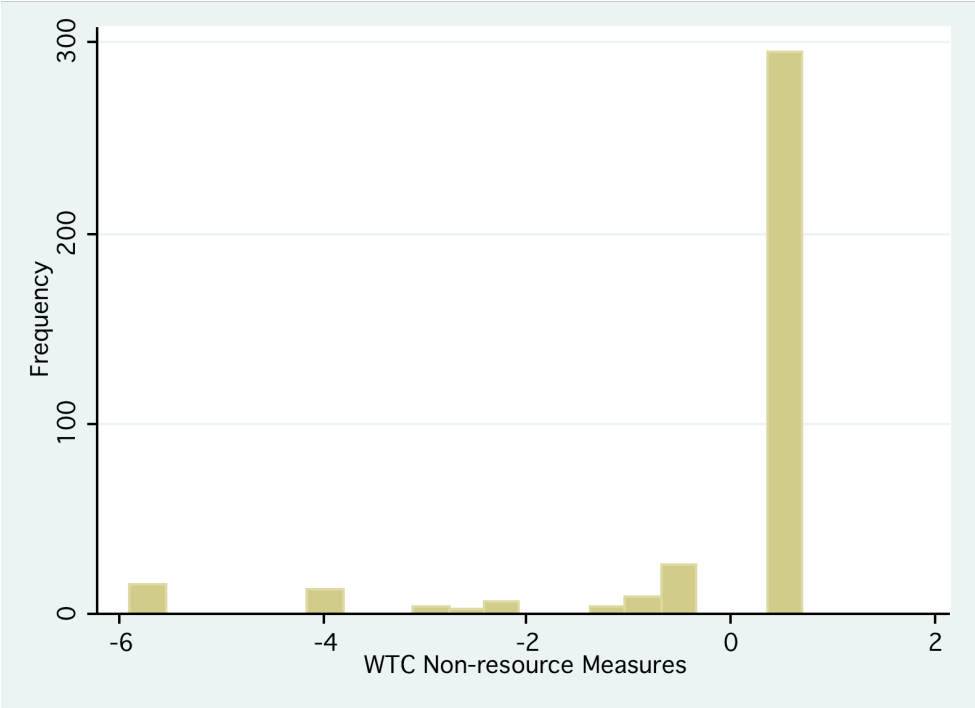


Figure 5.7 Willingness to contribute by non-resource use measures, Köprülü Kanyon

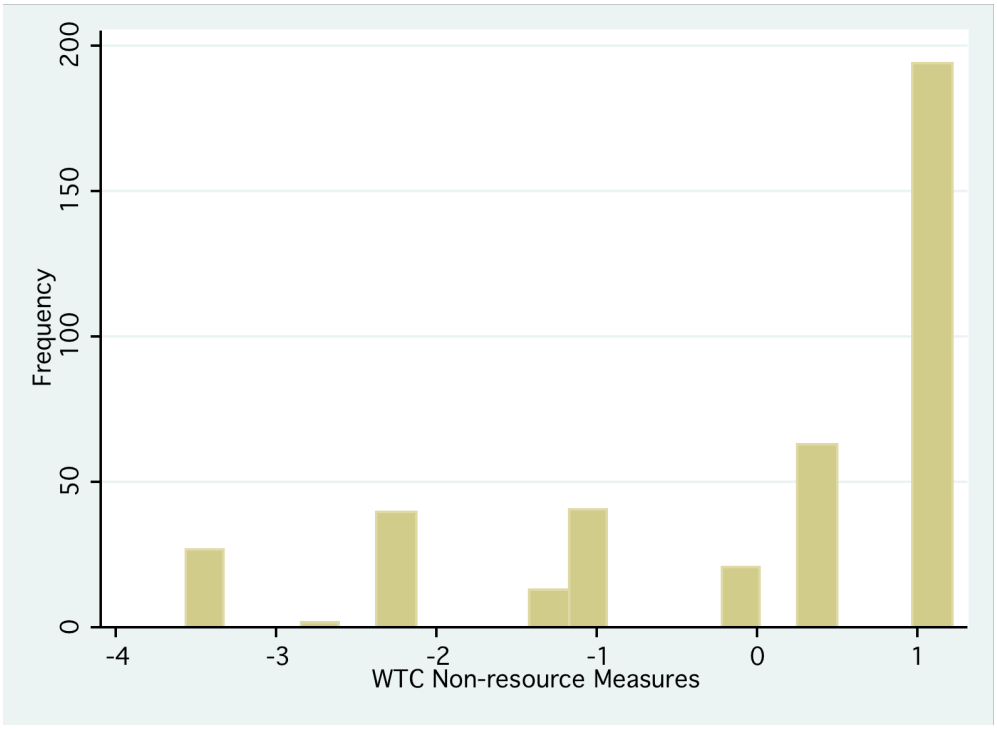


Figure 5.8 Willingness to contribute by labor, Sultan Sazlığı

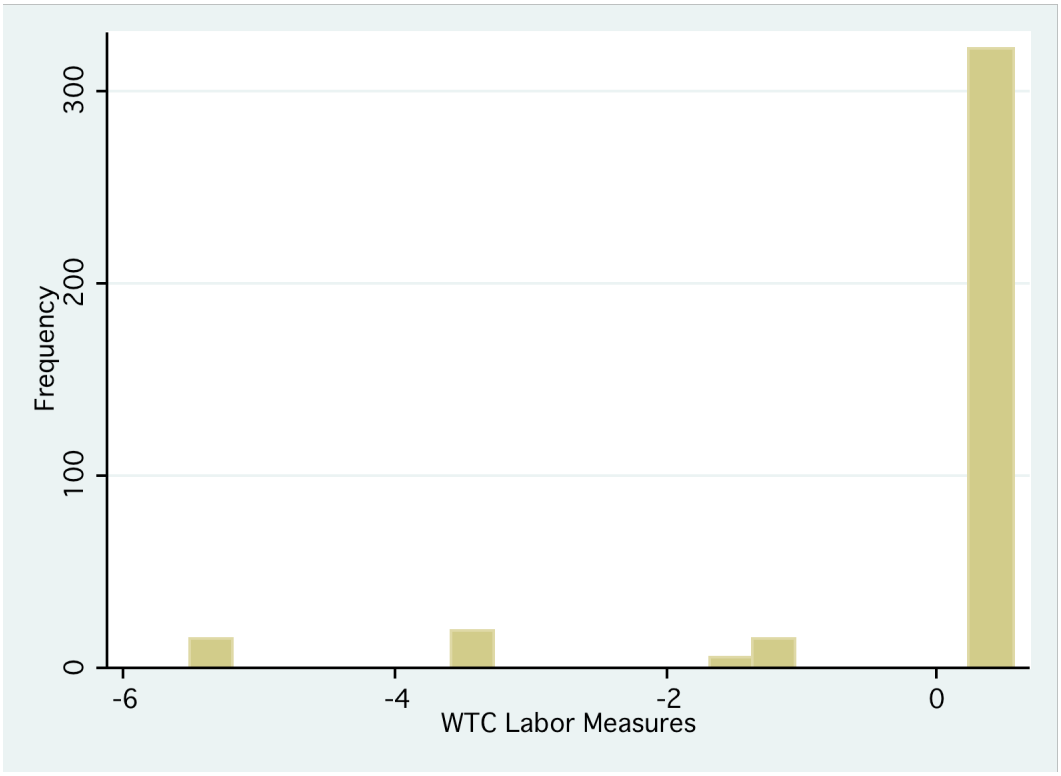


Figure 5.9 Willingness to contribute by labor, Köprülü Kanyon

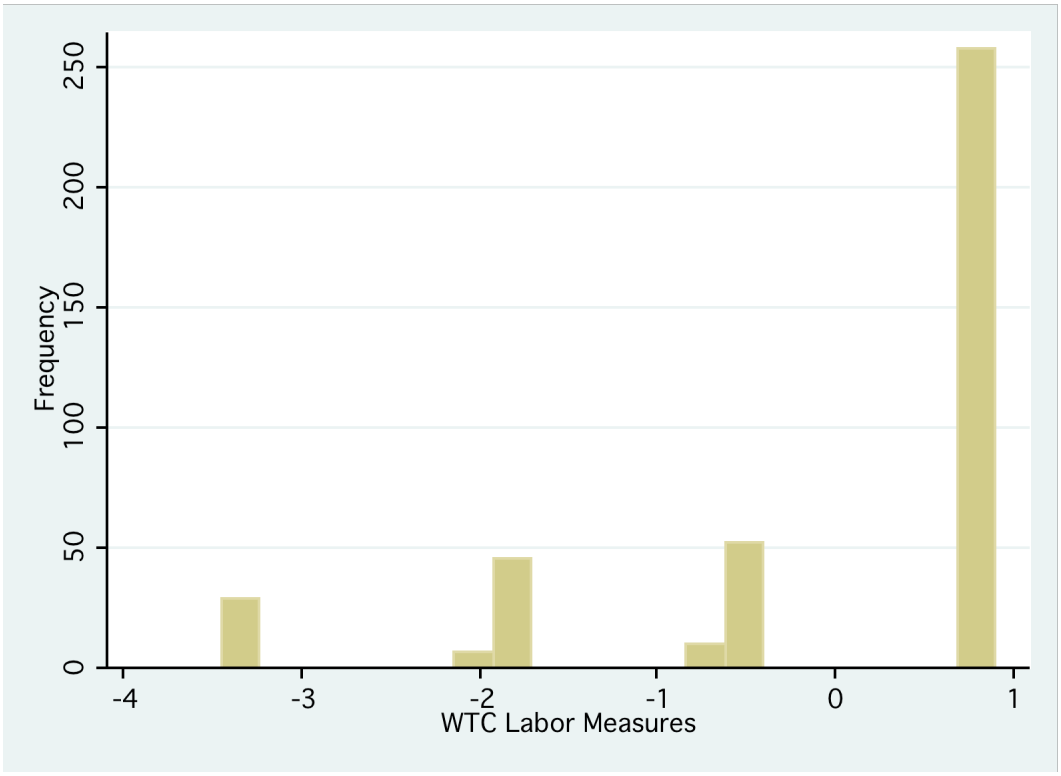


Figure 5.10 Willingness to contribute by scenario measures, Sultan Sazlığı

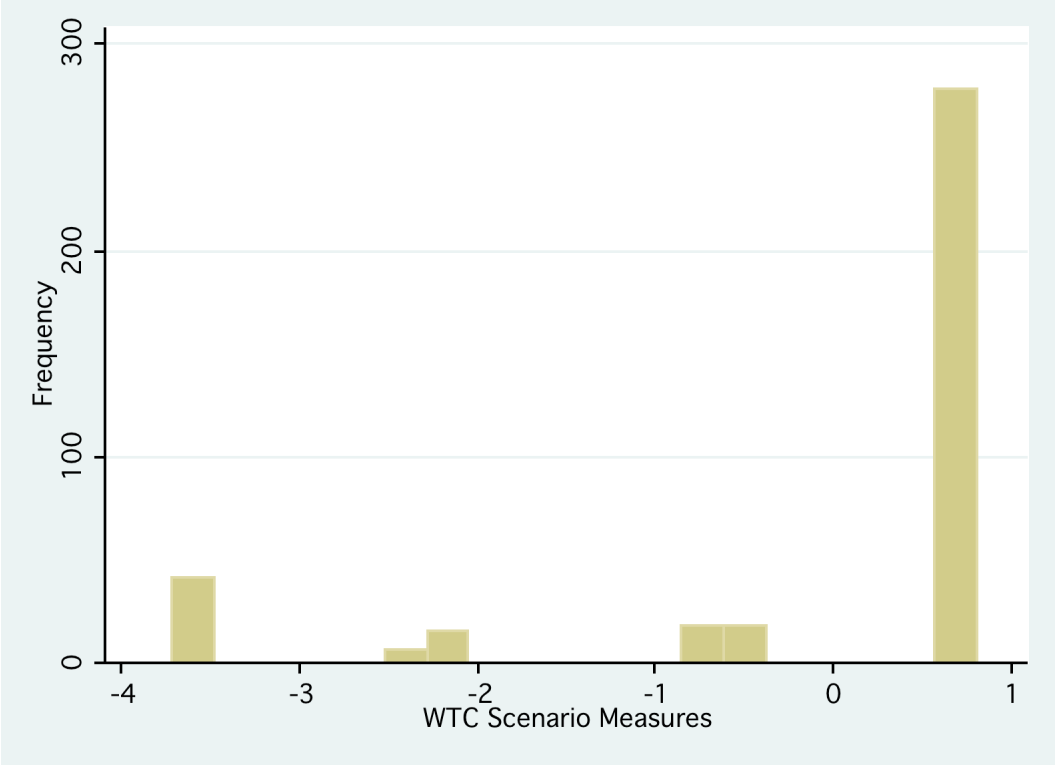


Figure 5.11 Willingness to contribute by scenario measures, Köprülü Kanyon

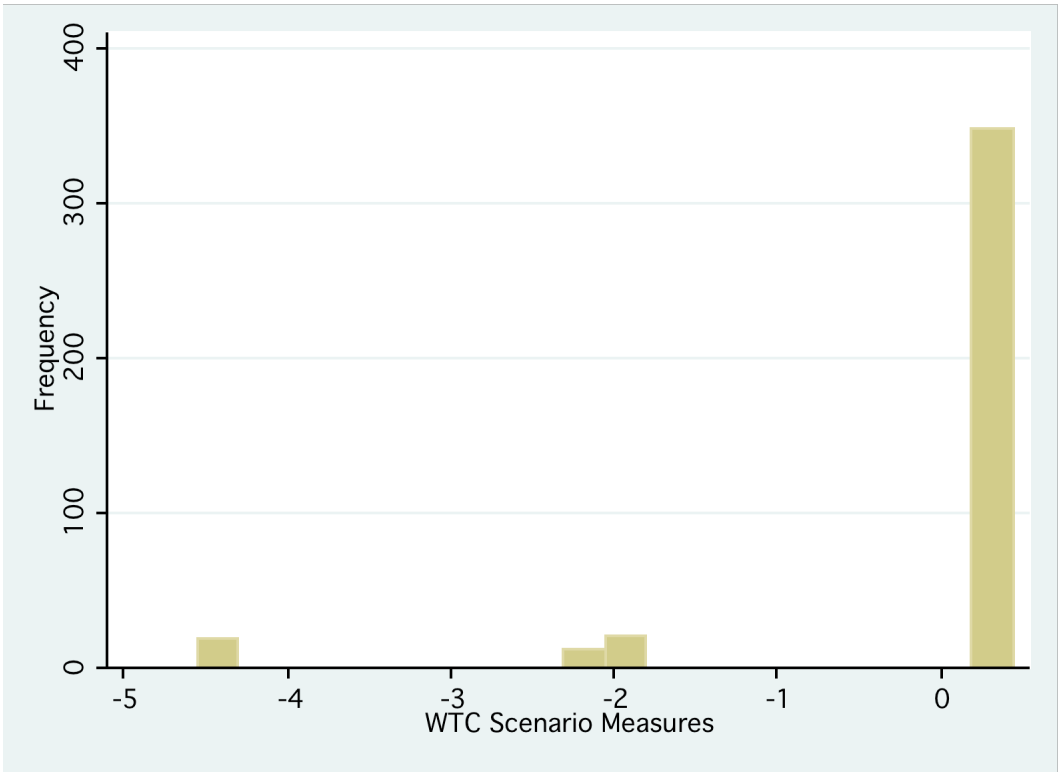


Figure 5.12 Willingness to contribute by all measures, Sultan Sazlığı

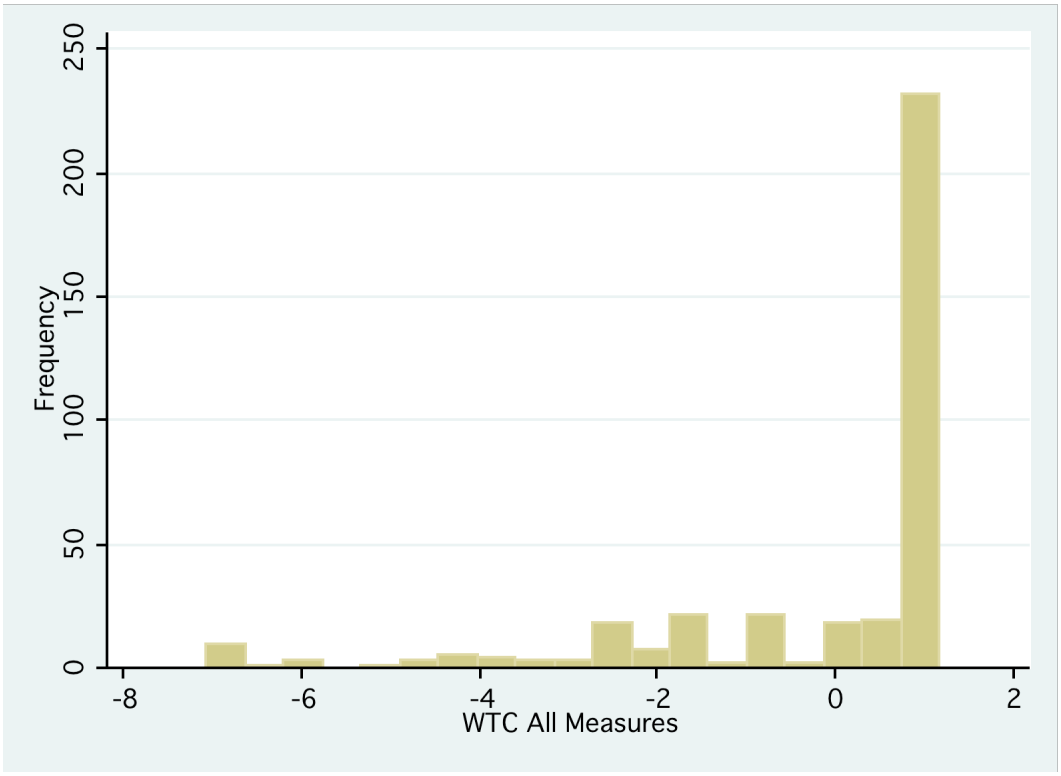
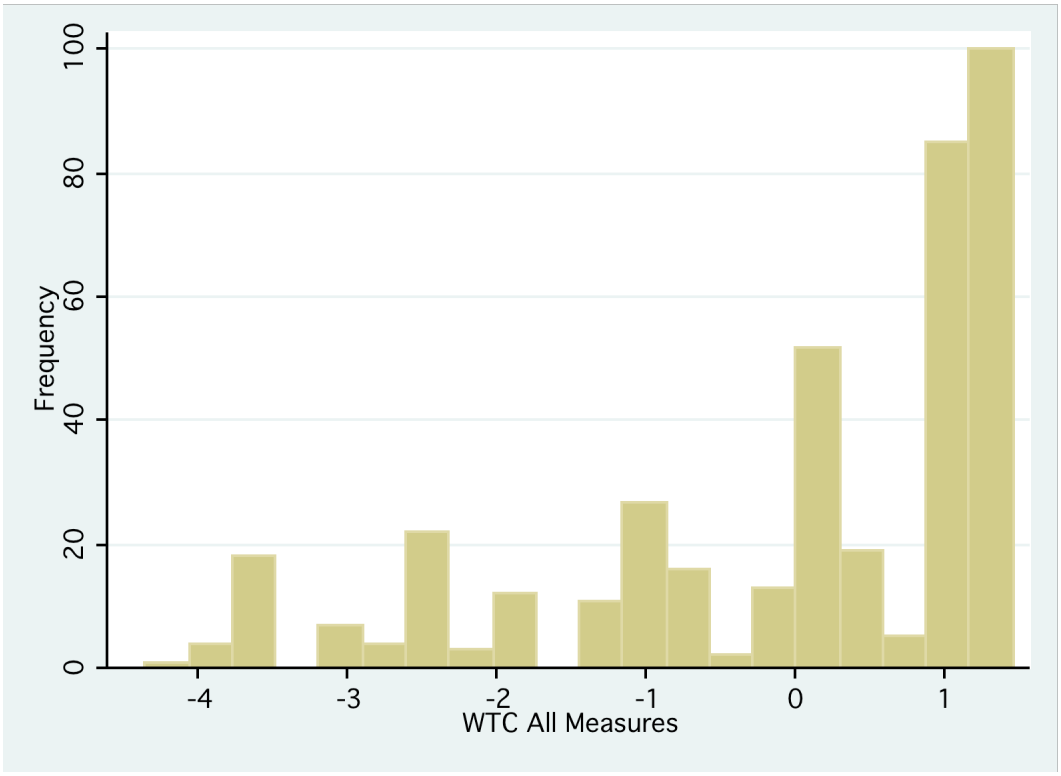


Figure 5.13 Willingness to contribute by all measures, Köprülü Kanyon



CHAPTER 6

SEARCHING FOR LOCAL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: PREREQUISITES

As the present chapter is being written, the Turkish state has initiated the process to pave the way for the construction of eight hydroelectric power plants in Macahel valley, a treasury of biodiversity that was declared a Biosphere Reserve by UNESCO in 2005. Ironically, Macahel was one of the four sites where the Turkish state executed the GEF Biodiversity and Natural Resource Management Project, the very project whose implementation in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon has been an object of analysis in this dissertation.

The present work has hopefully equipped the reader with an analytical explanation for this incident, one that connects the Turkish state's practices to establish and justify its existence with local-level dynamics. In this dissertation, I have carried out an investigation of state-society relationships in Turkey through the lens of efforts to implement local sustainable development. In formulating a theoretical framework and mobilizing it to analyze two case studies, I have sought to demonstrate that the specific way that the state hegemony is configured in Turkey, interacting with local power inequalities, accounts for the failure of local sustainable development.

The *problématique* that motivated this dissertation was the observation that the Turkish state failed in effectuating the vision of environmentally-sound and socially-equitable development despite its apparent commitment to these goals and seemingly-high capability to pursue them. More specifically, the dissertation aimed at understanding the state in Turkey, and the way it relates to the society, through the lens of its efforts to

implement sustainable development at the local scale. The choice of sustainable development as the object of analysis, rather than, say, economic growth, carries with it a certain notion of development that I hold to be "desirable"; namely, a path of human betterment that incorporates economic well-being, environmental quality and social equity. Exploring sustainable development implementation *vis-à-vis* state-society relationships, on the other hand, denotes an analytical focus on the question of the state.

While I have not engaged in a theoretical problematization of the former, i.e. sustainable development, I have undertaken a detailed exposition of the latter. Given that it holds remarkable power in navigating the social and environmental spheres in Turkey, the state and its relation to the society emerge as domains that need to be examined in understanding how processes of sustainable development are molded. In taking the state-society relationship as the entry point of this project's investigation, I aimed to surpass reductionist approaches. Rather than portraying the state as a neutral technology utilized for the fulfillment of individual economic interests, or alternatively reducing it to the superstructure of class relations, I deployed a Gramscian understanding of the state and the way it relates to the society.

Within this understanding, I have paid attention, expecially, to the constitution of hegemony, the uneven impacts of the state on the society, and the differential abilities of social groups to access the state. To recapitulate, I deployed the Gramscian argument that states attempt to justify and reproduce their claim to rule and to acquire the consent of the ruled by a variety of social, political and ideological practices. In this respect, they strive to construct a national-popular outlook, through which they can appear as its impartial embodiment, and elicit consent. States, however, are not impartial, and their inter-

relations with the society are marked by asymmetries in both directions: social groups differ in the ways they are impacted by state actions and in their ability to formulate demands and access the state.

In mobilizing the Gramscian framework to analyze the making and reproduction of the state in Turkey, I have argued that the urgency to modernize via rapid economic growth has been contrived as the national-popular outlook and utilized to acquire the consent of the society. Its operationalization depended on, and served to, reinforce the paternalist way that the state relates to the citizens: as the goal to modernize was not an aggregation of social interests, but rather reflected the motivations of the state elites, they assumed the role of fulfilling it by top-down policy making and implementation.

Paternalism, however, brought patronage relations with it. That patron-client interactions dominate state-society relationships in Turkey and curtail effective policy implementation is widely acknowledged. In the absence of organic links connecting the sphere of the society to the state, largely due to the distance inherent in the Turkish state's paternalistic governance, contestation came to be handled by way of patronage networks. That is to say, in constituting its hegemony, the Turkish state did not so much rely on the acquisition of active consent, but rather on the cooptation and preemption of dissent by patronage.

The trinity of modernization, paternalism and patronage, summarized above, is the foundation of state hegemony in Turkey and has remained largely resilient in the face of historical changes. It has, on the other hand, had definite repercussions on the sphere of civil society. I have underscored two mechanisms, in particular, in discussing how the civil society was smothered against by the state's hegemonic practices. Firstly, demands

found to be incompatible with the growth-oriented modernization project, such as those related to intra-society conflicts, were denied validity and consistently excluded, as threats to the hegemonic project. In other words, the Turkish state was structurally selective, to use the Gramscian term, in allowing the formulation and representation of social demands, translating into varying ability of social groups to access the state. Secondly, the fact that contestation was predominantly handled by patronage has prevented civil society from becoming a domain of effective opposition and struggle.

I have argued that these state-society features, which embody the specific way in which the state hegemony was constituted in Turkey, hinder the implementation of sustainable development. The strength of the modernization impetus brushes social and environmental concerns aside. Paternalistic governance evokes contestation, while patronage-based handling of contesting voices further hampers the implementation of effective sustainable development. Finally, the emasculation of civil society translates into a political landscape where the quest for modernization is rarely questioned and there is an overall reluctance to mobilize even in the face of pressing environmental and socio-economic problems.

With this analytical map of state-society relationships, I embarked upon tackling state-society-environment interlinkages at the local scale. In doing so, I have extended the Gramscian framework by building on its premise of the social as a fragmented sphere and complementing it with the political economy of the environment approach. More specifically, by pulling together the Gramscian state theory and the political economy of the environment literature, I have argued that states, in relating to the society and re/constituting their hegemony, shape local environments, both directly by altering the

physical landscape, and indirectly, by forming/altering/reinforcing the relations surrounding resource use. In more concrete terms, I identified two ways in which the state-society interaction would mold local environments: by re/producing local inequalities, and by shaping incentives and anticipations. I have further emphasized that environmental processes are associated with costs and benefits, which are distributed unevenly across different groups, and underscored the ways in which the inequalities among these groups can perpetuate the failure of sustainable development.

In chapters 4 and 5, I substantiated the framework outlined above by empirical input from qualitative and quantitative analysis of two case studies, Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon. I have shown how the local manifestations of the Turkish state's hegemonic practices undercut the implementation of sustainable development, both in the history of these locations, and during the implementation of the GEF projects. This way, I provided a reading of these localities, and of the social-economic-environmental processes they exhibit, where the reproduction of the Turkish state is manifested. In this reading, local inequalities have been focal points, and I investigated their dynamics and implications in detail.

In the case of Sultan Sazlığı, I have illustrated how the constitution of the national-popular outlook *qua* growth-orientation has been translated into the relentless pursuit of agricultural growth via the provision of irrigation infrastructure and financial support for the cultivation of water-intensive cash crops. The consequent expansion of irrigated farming and the prevalence of inefficient irrigation methods have resulted in heightened environmental degradation in the wetland. The environmental costs were mainly shouldered by the landless reed cutters and animal grazers who faced

deteriorating living standards. The resulting perpetuation of inequalities had in turn intensified the pressures on the ecosystem and accelerated degradation, as decreasing viability of reed cutting and animal husbandry led to heavier reliance on the existing resource base.

Against this backdrop, the GEF project's attempts to promote sustainable resource use were stifled above all by the persistent unwillingness to interfere with irrigated agriculture and the incentive structures established by the history of growth prioritization. More specifically, the project suffered from reluctance to take radical measures to constrain water use in irrigation. Actions that were taken, on the other hand, were either futile, as the three decades of available cheap irrigation water made farmers lethargic to change their cultivation practices, or were hindered by patronage networks, as attested by the salience of illegal well irrigation.

In Köprülü Kanyon, the story was one about the Turkish state's paternalism, crystallized in the 30 years of hard-park governance. The failure of top-down decision-making and the imposition of conservation policies have been manifested in two features of implementation: the infeasibility of regulations, as they are cut off from the reality of the local people's daily practices; and the bitter contestation they invoke, as local users explicitly refuse to comply by regulations that were made somewhere, by someone, without their input. Within this context, patronage acts as a selective mechanism of representation, whereby the locally powerful can access the state and make their demands heard—thus the ability of the rafting companies to evade environmental enforcement.

The failure of the GEF project in Köprülü Kanyon was not so much about the unwillingness implicated in the undertaken actions, but about the local reaction

precipitated by them. The marked distrust and hostility on the side of the local people, a legacy of rigid national park regulations, coupled with the lack of rural infrastructure and income-generating opportunities, hindered the project at every step. Not only have villagers refused to take part in it, but also they have tried to (re)actively sabotage it.

Throughout this dissertation I have conceptualized local inequalities as one of the mechanisms in which the state shapes the local. Building on this, I have underscored the role of local inequalities in a number of ways in chapter 4, in relation to how they were brought about or perpetuated by the Turkish state and the failure of local sustainable development. I have made the case that the pursuit of agricultural growth in Sultan Sazlığı has perpetuated land-based inequalities, as it has not only favored landed farmers by directing resources to them, but also has triggered patterns of unsustainable water use, which ultimately hurt non-land based rural livelihoods. Develi plain farmers enjoy the profits accruing from highly lucrative sugar beet and apple production, while the reed cutters suffer not only from the degrading resource base on which they struggle to survive, but also from the restrictions introduced by the GEF project. Ironic does not quite describe the fact that the only regulation that the project has fully enforced is related to reed cutting, while irrigated farming goes undisrupted.

In Köprülü Kanyon, on the other hand, the absence of the Turkish state in providing vital rural infrastructure, in contrast to its overwhelming presence embodied in national park stipulations, has contributed to the deprivation in upland villagers, while those in the lower canyon can capture the benefits of unchecked rafting tourism. The escalating pressure on the ecosystem is likely to hurt upland residents even more as most of them depend directly on natural resources for their livelihoods.

Aggravated local inequalities are not only the outcomes of failed sustainable development, but also its perpetuators. Given the unquestioned subscription to the necessity of economic growth, the demands of the reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı go unheard by the Turkish state, while those of illegal well owners find their way through patronage networks. The ability of the rafting sector, the engine of economic growth in the Köprülü Kanyon region, to evade enforcement, likewise is a major obstacle standing in the way of sustainable development, while the local people are impoverished by the severe underprovision of basic services. Therefore, local inequalities in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon operate through two channels in impeding the resolution of the interlinked social and environmental problems in these areas. As they correlate with the types of demands formulated by different groups, local inequalities imply differential accessibility of the state for their realization: the demands of the losers pose fundamental threats to the hegemonic project of the Turkish state. Furthermore, patronage has been a representation mechanism open only to the powerful, who win from the failure of sustainable development, by which environmental protection was resisted and undercut.

Yet another way in which the role of local inequalities has played out was in the implementation of participatory management by the GEF projects. I have illustrated, first with qualitative evidence, and then with quantitative data, that the projects failed to effectively implement participatory decision-making mechanisms, despite the lip service paid to their necessity. Local inequalities have been important determinants of one's ability to participate in the decision-making processes. This was manifested, firstly, at the level of awareness. Apart from the dismal failure of the projects in disseminating information about such mechanisms—only 22 percent and 11 percent of the

representative survey samples were aware of the management meetings in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, respectively—being exposed to information was correlated, most pronouncedly, with gender, wealth, and livelihood-based inequalities. For those who were informed of participatory mechanisms, similar type of inequalities, in addition to the anticipations of the decision-making processes, emerge as significant determinants of participation, as shown in chapter 5.

Against the backdrop of the Turkish state's failure to implement local sustainable development, the dissertation took steps towards exploring what the local actors are willing to do. Within the context of growing socio-economic and environmental problems, an overall reluctance to take local action marks both areas. In Sultan Sazlığı, the imperative of agricultural growth, the major factor underlying the socio-economic and environmental problems that the area suffers from, is not being questioned. The losers' grievances are mostly materialized in non-compliance--thus the illegal reed cutting. In Köprülü Kanyon, reactionary politics as "weapons of the weak" is the main venue used by the local people to voice demands, as attested to by their wall demolishing and road blockading. I hold that the types of actions, or inactions, resorted by the local people are reflections of the general stifled nature of civil society, and are shaped in important ways by the perceptions of the state. That is to say, anticipations of state behavior, its policy priorities and fairness to be specific, mold incentives to mobilize to address sustainable development. Building on this observation, I empirically investigate the factors underlying local people's willingness to contribute to community-based mobilizations to implement sustainable development, and find that the perceived fairness of the state, in particular, has a facilitating impact.

Arguably, this dissertation took the easy way of analyzing a failure that it had predicted at the outset. I elaborated in chapter 2 on how the specific configuration of state hegemony in Turkey undercuts the effective implementation of sustainable development. The failure of the GEF projects could have been anticipated in this sense. Their initiation and the occasional genuine attempts in their implementation, however, cannot be explained by resorting to the structural accounts of state behavior in Turkey. This is where the contribution of analyzing the local experiences, the "terrain of the conjunctural" as Gramsci calls it, comes in.

Notwithstanding that they are both embodiments of ineffective implementation of sustainable development, the failures manifested in Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon are notably different. An unwillingness to undertake what effective implementation called for could be intimated at almost every step of the GEF project in Sultan Sazlığı, from the planning stage to the on-site activities. It was implied, in the narratives of the project team and government officials alike, that the enforcement of measures to hurt irrigated farming was out of the question to begin with. This was aggravated by the local political economy dynamics, as the irrigated farmers hold considerable socio-economic power *vis-à-vis* the landless group. Consequently, the unwillingness of the project to ensure sustainable water use went uncontested. A similar pretense was manifested in the operationalization of participatory management mechanisms, since no sincere attempts were made to induce the participation of all local groups and render the decision-making process democratic. They ultimately became venues where the locally powerful dominated (and shared the grant money, according to the field interviews). They also

serve as the scapegoats for the failure of the project, for which the executors deny responsibility since it was based on "participation".

The case of Köprülü Kanyon is sad, when juxtaposed to that of Sultan Sazlığı, which is frustrating if not infuriating. The team in Köprülü Kanyon indeed made genuine attempts not only to address the rampant chaos in resource use, but also to make up for the deficient rural infrastructure in the area as much as they could. They were fighting a deeply-rooted enemy with few weapons, however. It was clear that the feelings of antagonism had to be overcome for the implementation of the project, which the project team held could only be achieved by a full-fledged attendance to the needs of the local people. They were well-aware that the resolution of property rights and the provision of basic services were prerequisites to be fulfilled if the locals were to assent to the implementation of a project in their villages. Their attempts were not only impeded by the lack of funds and staff, but also sabotaged by the winners of chaotic resource use: those who acquire the profits of rafting tourism and the political rents of perpetuated conflict.

The preceding argument underscores the importance of looking at the local. Although this dissertation has been primarily concerned with the Turkish state, from its inception in formulating the research questions to its theoretical exposition, it also sheds light on the ways in which the local is implicated in the failure of sustainable development in Turkey. In this sense, it demonstrates why situating the question of the state next to that of the society is needed. The way that the state has been addressed in the present work surpasses its monolithic and simplistic treatments found in the development and political economy of the environment literatures and highlights its

different manifestations across contexts and the ways it relates to different groups in the social sphere.

This dissertation has also taken a somewhat easy path in criticizing what went wrong by analyzing the "failure". The answers it provided are more in terms of what should not be done, rather than what should be done, whose examination would be a different project altogether. One such answer lies in why addressing inequalities and ensuring effective and democratic participation are requisites in implementing local sustainable development. In both Sultan Sazlığı and Köprülü Kanyon, lack of broad participation by all stakeholders in decision-making processes contributed to the failure to tackle the environmental and socio-economic problems marking these areas. The exclusion of the powerless reed cutters in Sultan Sazlığı from decision-making not only reproduced land-based inequalities, but also entailed ineffective environmental protection. In Köprülü Kanyon, lack of formal voice given to the local people goes hand-in-hand with the informal voice of patronage networks, with adverse equity and efficiency implications. It would not be far-fetched to suggest, therefore, unless there is genuine democratization of state-society relationships in Turkey, we are likely to witness more stories of failure than of success in sustainable development implementation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

In-Depth Interviews

Suade Arançlı, GEF Coordinator
Hatice Arslan, Köprülü Kanyon Project Team
Halil Agah, WB
Güray Çayır, Köprülü Kanyon Project Team
Serra Çetin, Köprülü Kanyon Project Team
Orhan Ceylan, Sultan Sazlığı Project Team
Erdoğan Ertürk, GEF Coordinator
Özge Gökçe, UNDP SGP
Kuddusi Karabulut, Sultan Sazlığı Project Team
Aysin Tektaş, Sultan Sazlığı Project Team
Mustafa Yılmaz, Sultan Sazlığı Project Team
Osman Yöntem, Köprülü Kanyon Project Team
Official, State Hydraulic Works, Kayseri Local Branch
Official, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Kayseri Local Branch

Sultan Sazlığı
B&B owner, 42, Male, Ovaçiftlik
B&B owner, 40, Male, Ovaçiftlik
Reed cutter, 38, Male, Yeşilova
Reed cutter, 28, Male, Yeşilova
Farmer and retired teacher, 56, Male, Yeşilova
Farmer, 45, Male, Yeşilova
Farmer, 42, Male, Yeşilova
Reed company employee, 53, Male, Ovaçiftlik
Reed cutter, 24, Male, Ovaçiftlik
Reed cutter, 34, Male, Ovaçiftlik
Reed cutter, 34, Male, Ovaçiftlik
Reed cutter, 26, Male, Ovaçiftlik
Reed cutter, 38, Male, Sindelhöyük
Reed cutter, 32, Male, Sindelhöyük
Reed cutter, 33, Male, Sindelhöyük
Reed cutter, 28, Male, Sindelhöyük
Reed cutter, 44, Male, Yenihayat
Teacher, 28, Female, Yenihayat
Farmer, 51, Male, Musahacılı
Farmer, 40, Male, Musahacılı
Farmer, 43, Male, Musahacılı
Farmer (village head), 36, Musahacılı
Farmer, 33, Female, Musahacılı
Farmer, 35, Female, Musahacılı

Farmer, 52, Male, Musahacılı
Housewife, 62, Female, Ovaçiftlik
Housewife, 54, Female, Ovaçiftlik
Housewife, 44, Female, Ovaçiftlik
Housewife, 48, Female, Ovaçiflik
National park guide, 45, Male, Sindelhöyük
National park guide, 38, Male, Sindelhöyük
Reed cutter, 36, Male, Sindelhöyük
Reed cutter, 48, Male, Sindelhöyük
Reed cutter, 45, Male, Sindelhöyük
Housewife, 25, Female, Sindelhöyük
Housewife, 67, Female, Sindelhöyük
Housewife, 37, Female, Sindelhöyük
Housewife, 72, Female, Sindelhöyük
Housewife, 58, Female, Sindelhöyük
Engineer in irrigation union, 40, Male, Yahyalı
Farmer, 42, Male, Soysallı
Farmer, 57, Male, Soysallı
Housewife, 59, Female, Soysallı
Housewife, 27, Female, Soysallı
Housewife, 46, Female, Soysallı
Housewife, 54, Female, Soysallı
Farmer (village head), 55, Male, Soysallı
Farmer (village head), 53, Male, Çayırözü
Farmer, 34, Male, Çayırözü
Farmer, 45, Male, Çayırözü

Köprülü Kanyon
Housewife, 29, Female, Beşkonak
Housewife, 25, Female, Beşkonak
Farmer, 60, Male, Çaltepe
Animal grazer, 64, Male, Ballıbucak
Farmer (village head), 65, Male, Beşkonak
Farmer, 67, Male, Beşkonak
Ex-village head, 80, Male, Çaltepe
Housewife, 52, Female, Çaltepe
Service sector employee, 27, Male, Çaltepe
Animal grazer (village head), 38, Male, Ballıbucak
Teacher, 40, Male, Ballıbucak
Animal grazer, 53, Male, Ballıbucak
B&B owner, 37, Male, Çaltepe
Housewife, 45, Female, Çaltepe
Farmer, 53, Male, Çaltepe
Teacher, 30, Female, Yeşilvadi
Housewife, 31, Female, Demirciler
Housewife, 55, Female, Demirciler

Housewife, 22, Female, Demirciler
Animal grazer, 56, Male, Değirmenözü
Animal grazer, 65, Male, Değirmenözü
Teacher, 25, Male, Değirmenözü
Tourism employee, 37, Male, Altınkaya
Farmer, 54, Male, Altınkaya
National park guard, 66, Male, Altınkaya
Street vendor, 43, Female, Altınkaya
Street vendor, 33, Female, Altınkaya
Street vendor, 76, Female, Altınkaya
Restaurant owner, 32, Male, Karabük
Employee of Ministry of Environment and Forestry, 31, Male, Karabük
Farmer, 56, Male, Karabük
Farmer (ex-village head), 57, Male, Karabük

Focus Group Participants

Sultan Sazlığı Focus Group 1

Reed cutter, 36, Male, Yenihayat
Housewife and reed cutter, 33, Female, Yenihayat
Farmer, 46, Male, Sindelhöyük
Farmer, 44, Male, Sindelhöyük
Housewife and farmer, Female, 38, Sindelhöyük
Housewife, 25, Female, Yeşilova
Farmer, 33, Male, Yeşilova

Sultan Sazlığı Focus Group 2

Farmer, 55, Male, Musahacılı
Farmer, 35, Female, Musahacılı
Farmer, 55, Female, Musahacılı
Farmer, 36, Female, Musahacılı
Farmer, 30, Female, Musahacılı
Farmer, 42, Female, Musahacılı

Köprülü Kanyon Focus Group 1

B&B owner, 29, Male, Karabük
Carpenter, 33, Male, Karabük
Farmer, 48, Male, Beşkonak
Farmer, 40, Female, Beşkonak
Farmer, 42, Male, Beşkonak
Farmer, 46, Male, Beşkonak

Köprülü Kanyon Focus Group 2

Street vendor, 45, Female, Altınkaya
Street vendor, 28, Female, Altınkaya
Street vendor, 33, Female, Altınkaya
Street vendor and agricultural worker, 35, Female, Altınkaya
Farmer, 37, Male, Altınkaya
Tourism employee, 24, Male, Altınkaya

APPENDIX B

SELECT SURVEY QUESTIONS

Reasons for participation:
1> The residents of Sultan Sazlığı/Köprülü Kanyon themselves should make decisions about how to manage the area
2> The decisions made in the meetings were/could be in my and my family's interests in the long term
3> It is important to monitor the decision-making process for it to be trustworthy
4> I am concerned about the environmental problems of Sultan Sazlığı/Köprülü Kanyon

Reasons for non-participation:
1> I had no interest in the subject matter of the meetings
2> Meeting times and places were not/would not be appropriate for me
3> It would not be appropriate for me to attend or voice opinions in the meetings
4> I doubted/would have doubted that the views of the participants would be taken into account. I thought/would think that the project team would make decisions themselves.
5> I doubted/would have doubted the project team would respect everyone's opinion equally.
6> The project team did not work hard enough for Sultan Sazlığı/Köprülü Kanyon
7> I doubted/would have doubted that the state would enforce any decisions made at the meeting

Reasons for not speaking up:
1> I doubted that the views of the participants would be taken into account. I thought/would think that the project team would make decisions themselves
2> I doubted the project team would respect everyone's opinion equally
3> It would not be appropriate for me to voice opinions in the meetings
4> I doubted that the state would enforce any decisions made at the meeting
5> I could not get the opportunity to voice opinions during the meetings

Reasons for not being taken into account:
1> My opinions conflicted with the interests of some participants
2> The project team had no intention of taking participants' opinions into account
3> The project team did not respect everyone's opinion equally

Evaluation of the project team:
1> Project team worked hard to ensure wide participation in management meetings
2> Project team was accessible by the local people
3> I trust the project team to have worked honestly

Reasons underlying ineffective environmental protection:
1> Because the project team did not take local people's opinions into account
2> Because the project team favored some groups over others
3> Because the project team lacked necessary information and resources
4> Because powerful local groups resisted environmental regulations
5> Because environmental regulations would have hurt the local economy

Environmental values:
1> It is known that synthethic fertilizers, insecticides and pesticiders are harmful for the environment. However, they should be used in Turkey since they can ensure higher levels of output.
2> It is known that dams have detrimental effects on the environment, such as loss of biodiversity, soil salination, etc. Still, I support building more dams to provide more irrigation water that is needed to have higher levels of output.
3> Environmental protection should be prioritized in Turkey even if it slows down economic growth and leads partly to unemployment.
4> I would assent to paying higher taxes if I was sure they were going to be used for environmental protection
5> Even if economic returns would be high, I am against turning land that has environmental value into agricultural land.

Perceptions of the state:
1> In TURKEY, the state treats everyone equally when providing services.
2> In TURKEY, the state favors certain provinces and towns when deciding on investements such as building roads, opening schools, etc.
3> In SULTAN SAZLIĞI/KÖPRÜLÜ KANYON, provincial government treats everyone equally when providing services.
4> In the VILLAGE I LIVE IN, village head treats everyone equally when providing services.

APPENDIX C

WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE COEFFICIENTS

Table A.1 Willingness to contribute coefficients, Sultan Sazlığı

Dependent Variable: Willingness to Contribute in Sultan Sazlığı						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age	-0.02	0	0	0	-0.01	-0.01
Female	0.32	0.22	0.18	0.05	0.28	0.38
Education, years	-0.05	0.01	0.02	0	-0.04	-0.02
Feeling of belonging, scale	-0.07	-0.01	-0.03	0.01	-0.08	-0.06
Participation in labor sharing, scale	-0.13	0.1	0.13	-0.01	-0.12	-0.02
Frequency of community participation, index	0.09	0.16	0.16	0.02	0.06	0.18
Environmental values, index	0.33	0.11	0.05	0.05	0.28	0.32
Household size	0.07	0.02	0.04	-0.02	0.05	0.06
Children under 14	-0.08	0	-0.04	0.03	-0.06	-0.05
Household assets, rank	-0.01	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03
Household land size, hectares	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm income, dummy	-0.1	0.11	0.05	0.06	-0.1	0.01
Animal income, dummy	-0.29	-0.34	-0.36	-0.03	-0.22	-0.44
Reed income, dummy	-0.59	0.24	0.37	-0.06	-0.48	-0.26
Equal treatment, index	0.16	0.15	0.11	0.04	0.15	0.22
Importance of growth priority, scale	-0.05	-0.15	-0.15	-0.01	-0.05	-0.14
Importance of environmental priority, scale	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.02	0.08	0.12
Expected commitment by others, number	0.08	0.1	0.07	0.03	0.06	0.13
Expected distributional impact, scale	0.6	0.27	0.22	0.05	0.47	0.62

Table A.2 Willingness to contribute coefficients, Köprülü Kanyon

Dependent Variable: Willingness to Contribute in Köprülü Kanyon						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age	0	0.01	0	0	0	0.01
Female	0.03	-0.43	-0.41	-0.08	0.04	-0.41
Education, years	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
Feeling of belonging, scale	0.1	-0.09	-0.09	-0.01	0.09	-0.09
Participation in labor sharing, scale	0.2	0.12	0.13	0	0.18	0.1
Frequency of community participation, index	0.06	0.2	0.18	0.05	0.07	0.21
Environmental values, index	-0.04	0.22	0.19	0.06	-0.03	0.22
Household size	-0.02	0	0	0	-0.03	-0.03
Children under 14	0.05	0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.05	0.04
Household assets, rank	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04
Household land size, hectares	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm income, dummy	0.13	0.21	0.25	-0.02	0	0.24
Animal income, dummy	-0.11	0.11	0.04	0.1	0	0.09
Oregano income, dummy	0.07	0.16	0.26	-0.08	0	0.15
Tourism income, dummy	0.01	-0.16	-0.16	-0.02	0	-0.16
Equal treatment, index	0.06	0.02	-0.02	0.04	0.05	0.02
Importance of growth priority, scale	-0.01	0.11	0.03	0.1	0.02	0.13
Importance of environmental priority, scale	-0.05	-0.07	-0.02	-0.06	-0.08	-0.11
Expected commitment by others, number	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.03	0.04	0.1
Expected distributional impact, scale	-0.04	-0.12	-0.14	0	0	-0.1

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adaman, F., & Çarkoğlu, A. (2000). *Reform, Patronage Networks and Satisfaction from Public Services at the Local and Central Levels: The Case of Turkey.* İstanbul: TESEV.

Adaman, F., & Arsel, M. (2005). Introduction. In F. Adaman, & M. Arsel (Eds.), *Environmentalism in Turkey: Between Democracy and Development?* (pp. 1-11). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Adaman, F., & Arsel, M. (2010). Globalization, Development and Environmental Policies in Turkey. In T. Çetin, & F. Yılmaz (Eds.), *Understanding the Process of Economic Change in Turkey: An Institutional Approach* (pp. 329-345). New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Adaman, F., & Arsel, M. (forthcoming). Political Economy of the Environment in Turkey. In M. Heper, & S. Sayarı (Eds.), *Handbook of Modern Turkey.* London: Routledge.

Adaman, F., & Yükseker, D. (2008). Editors' Introducion: Special Issue on Poverty and Social Exclusion in Turkey. *New Perspectives in Turkey* (38), 19-27.

Adaman, F., Çarkoğlu, A., & Şenatalar, B. (2001). *Corruption in Turkey from the Perspective of Households.* İstanbul: TESEV.

Adaman, F., Karalı, N., Kumbaroğlu, G., Or, İ., Özkaynak, B., & Zenginobuz, Ü. (forthcoming). What Determines Households' Willingness to Pay for CO2 Emission Reductions in Turkey: A Contingent Valuation Survey.

Adaman, F., Özkaynak, B., & Hakyemez, S. (2009). The Political Economy of a Ramsar Site Conservation Failure: The Case of Burdur Lake, Turkey. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy , 27* (5).

Adhikari, B., Di Falco, S., & Lovett, J. C. (2004). Household Characteristics and Forest Dependency: Evidence from Common Property Forest Management in Nepal. *Ecological Economics , 48* (2), 245-257.

Agarwal, B. (2001). Participatory Exclusions, Community Forestry and Gender: An Analysis for South Asia and a Conceptual Framework. *World Development , 29* (6), 1623-1648.

Agarwal, B. (2006). Gender, Inequality, Cooperation and Environmental Sustainability. In J.-M. Baland, P. Bardhan & S. Bowles (Eds.), *Inequality, Collective Action and Environmental Sustainability* (pp. 274-313). New York: Russell Sage.

Agrawal, A. (2005). *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Agrawal, A., & Gibson, C. (1999). Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation. *World Development , 27* (4), 629-649.

Agrawal, A., & Gupta, K. (2005). Decentralization and Participation: The Governance of Common Pool Resources in Nepal's Terai. *World Development , 33* (7), 1001-1014.

Akbulut, B., & Soylu, C. İ. (2010). *An Inquiry on Power and Ecological Economics*, unpublished manuscript.

Akder, H. (2003). Rural Poverty and Women. In F. Acar (Ed.), *Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey: A Milestone towards Faster Socio-economic Development and Poverty Reduction* (pp. 119-141). Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Archer, M. S. (1995). *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Asher, K., & Ojeda, D. (2009). Producing Nature and Making the State: Ordenamiento Territorial in the Pacific Lowlands of Colombia. *Geoforum , 40*, 292-302.

Aydın, Z. (2005). The State, Civil Society, and Environmentalism. In F. Adaman, & M. Arsel (Eds.), *Environmentalism in Turkey: Between Democracy and Development?* (pp. 53-69). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Baland, J.-M., & Platteau, J.-P. (1996). *Halting Degradation of Natural Resources: Is There a Role for Rural Communities?* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Baland, J.-M., & Platteau, J.-P. (1999). The Ambiguous Impact of Inequality on Natural Resource Management. *World Development , 27* (5), 773-788.

Bandyopadhyay, S., & Shyamsundar, P. (2004). Fuelwood Consumption and Participation in Community Forestry in India . *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No.3331* . Washington, DC.

Bardhan, P., & Udry, C. (1999). *Development Microeconomics.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Boyce, J. K. (2002). *The Political Economy of the Environment.* Northampton, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar.

Buğra, A. (1994). *State and Business in Modern Turkey: A Comparative Study.* Albany: SUNY Press.

Buchanan, J. M. (1993). Public Choice after Socialism. *Public Choice , 77*, 67-74.

Buchanan, J. M., Tollison, R., & Tullock, G. (Eds.). (1980). *Towards a Theory of the Rent-Seeking Society.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Burawoy, M. (2003). For a Sociological Marxism: The Complementary Convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi. *Politics and Society , 31* (2), 193-261.

Buttigieg, J. A. (2005). The Contemporary Discourse on Civil Society: A Gramscian Critique. *Boundary 2 , 32* (1), 1-33.

Çetin, S. (2003). *Köprülü Kanyon Milli Parkı Hızlandırılmış Kırsal Değerlendirme Raporu (Köprülü Kanyon National Park Expedited Rural Assessment Report).* Antalya Provincial Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Antalya.

Çoban, A. (2004). Community-based Ecological Resistance: The Bergama Movement in Turkey. *Environmental Politics , 13* (2), 438-460

Deaton, A. (1997). *Analysis of Household Surveys: A Microeconometric Approach to Development Policy.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dequech, D. (2002). The Demarcation Between the "Old" and the "New" Institutional Economics: Recent Complications. *Journal of Economic Issues , 36* (2), 565-72.

Ekers, M. (2009). The Political Ecology of Hegemony in Depression-Era British Columbia, Canada: Masculinities, Work and the Production of the Forestscape. *Geoforum , 40*, 303-315.

Eralp, A. (1990). The Politics of Turkish Development Strategies. In N. Sirman, & A. Finkel (Eds.), *Turkish State, Turkish Society* (pp. 219-258). New York: Routledge.

Güneş-Ayata, A. (1994). Roots and Trends of Clientelism in Turkey. In L. Roniger, & A. Güneş-Ayata (Eds.), *Democracy, Clientelism and Civil Society* (pp. 49-64). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Gürer, İ. (2004). *Water Resources Management and Use.* Gazi University Faculty of Engineering and Architecture, Department of Civil Engineering, Ankara.

Goldman, M. (1996). Eco-Governmentality and Other Transnational Practices of a "Green" World Bank. In R. Peet, & M. Watts (Eds.), *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements* (pp. 166-192). London: Routledge.

Goldman, M. (2005). Eco-Governmentality and the Making of an Environmental State. In M. Goldman, *Imperial Nature: The World Bank and Struggles for Social Justice in the Age of Globalization* (pp. 181-220). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks.* New York: International Publishers.

Granovetter, M. (2007). The Social Construction of Corruption. In V. Nee, & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *On Capitalism* (pp. 152-172). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Green, C., Joekes, S., & Leach, M. (1998). Questionable Links: Approaches to Gender in Environmental Research and Policy. In C. Jackson, & R. Pearson (Eds.), *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy* (pp. 259-284). London and New York: Routledge.

Heinzerling, L., & Ackerman, F. (2002). Pricing the Priceless: Cost-Benefit Analysis of Environmental Protection. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review , 150* (5), 1553-1584.

Heltberg, R. (2001). Determinants and Impacts of Local Institutions for Common Resource Management. *Environment and Development Economics , 6*, 183-208.

Heper, M. (1985). *The State Tradition in Turkey.* Walkington, UK: The Eothen Press.

Hirsch, J. (1978). The State Apparatus and Social Reproduction: Elements of a Theory of the Bourgeois State. In J. P. Holloway (Ed.), *State and Capital: A Marxist Debate* (pp. 57-107). London: Edward Arnold.

Hodgson, G. (2000). What is the Essence of Institutional Economics? *Journal of Economic Issues , 34* (2), 317-329.

Holmes, T., & Scoones, I. (2000). Participatory Environmental Policy Processes: Experiences from North and South. *IDS Working Paper*.

İnsel, A. (1996). *Düzen ve Kalkınma Kıskacında Türkiye: Kalkınma Sürecinde Devletin Rolü.* İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Jessop, B. (1985). *Nicos Poulantzas: Marxist Theory and Political Strategy.* London: MacMillan.

Jessop, B. (1982). *The Capitalist State: Marxist Theories and Methods.* New York and London: New York University Press.

Karabaşa, S. (2002). *Sultan Sazlığı ve Saz Kesimi (Sultan Sazlığı and Reed Cutting).* Research Report, Ankara University, Ankara.

Keyder, Ç. (1989). *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Keyder, Ç. (1997). Whither the Project of Modernity? In S. Bozdoğan, & R. Kasaba (Eds.), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (pp. 61-84). London: University of Washington Press.

Keyman, E. F. (2005). Modernity, Democracy and Civil Society. In F. Adaman, & M. Arsel (Eds.), *Environmentalism in Turkey: Between Democracy and Development?* (pp. 35-50). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Keyman, E. F., & Öniş, Z. (2007). *Turkish Politics in a Changing World: Global Dynamics and Domestic Transformations.* Istanbul: Bilgi University Press.

Krueger, A. (1974). The Political Economy of the Rent-Seeking Society. *American Economic Review , 64*, 291-303.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Lise, W. (2000). Factors Influencing People's Participation in Forest Management in India. *Ecological Economics , 34*, 379-392.

Loftus, A., & Lumsden, F. (2008). Reworking Hegemony in the Urban Waterscape. *Transactions of the Institute of British Georgraphers , 33* (1), 109-126.

Marx, K. (1978). *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (J. O'Malley Ed.) (A. Jolin & J. O'Malley Trans.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Neumann, R. P. (1996). Nature, State, Territory: Toward a Critical Theorization of Conservation Enclosures. In R. Peet, & M. Watts (Eds.), *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements* (pp. 195-217). London: Routledge.

North, D. (1993). What Do We Mean by Rationality? *Public Choice , 77*, 145-150.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2008). *OECD Environmental Performance Reviews: Turkey 2008.* OECD. Paris: OECD.

Offe, C. (1974). Structural Problems of the Capitalist State; Class Rule and the Political System. On the Selectiveness of Political Institutions. *German Political Studies , 1*, 31-57.

Orchard, L., & Stretton, H. (1997). Public Choice. *Cambridge Journal of Economics , 21*, 409-430.

Ostrom, E. (1996). Crossing the Great Divide: Co-Production, Synergy and Development. *World Development , 24* (6), 1073-1087.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Öncü, A. (2003). Dictatorship Plus Hegemony: A Gramscian Analysis of the Turkish State. *Science & Society , 67* (3), 303-323.

Öniş, Z., & Şenses, F. (2007, October). Global Dynamics, Domestic Coalitions and a Reactive State: Major Policy Shifts in Post-War Turkish Economic Development. *METU Economic Research Center Working Paper No. 20636* . Ankara.

Özesmi, U. (2002). *Sultan Sazlığı Reed Cutting Plan.* Erciyes University, Department of Environmental Engineering, Kayseri.

Özesmi, U., & Gürer, İ. (2003). Sultan Sazlığı: Biodiversity and Natural Resources Management Pilot Project in Turkey (GEF 2). In *Assessment and Provision of Environmental Flows in Mediterranean Watercourses: Basic Concepts, Methodologies and Emerging Practice, Mediterranean Case Study.* IUCN-The World Conservation Union. Retrieved from http://www.iucn.org/themes/wani/flow/cases/Turkey.pdf

Peet, R., & Watts, M. (2004). Liberating Political Ecology. In R. Peet, & M. Watts (Eds.), *Liberation Ecologies:Environment, Development and Social Movements, 2nd Edition* (pp. 3-47). London: Routledge.

Peet, R., & Watts, M. (1996). Liberation Ecology: Development, Sustainability and Environment in an Age of Market Triumphalism. In R. Peet, & M. Watts (Eds.), *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements* (pp. 1-45). London: Routledge.

Poulantzas, N. (1978). *State, Power, Socialism.* London: New Left Books.

Poulantzas, N. (1979). *Fascism and Dictatorship.* London: Verso.

Rao, M. J. (1995). The Market for the State: Rules, Discretion, Rent-Seeking and Corruption. Amherst, MA.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry General Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks. (2007a). *Köprülü Kanyon National Park Management Plan*. Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry General Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks. (2007b). *Sultan Sazlığı National Park and Ramsar Site Management Plan*. Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

Republic of Turkey Kayseri Provincial Directorate of Agriculture (2009). *Kayseri İli Tarım Master Planı (Kayseri Province Agricultural Master Plan)*. Kayseri: Provincial Directorate of Agriculture.

Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of State Planning Organization. (2010). *Millenium Development Goals Report: Turkey 2010.* Ankara: Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of State Planning Organization.

Sirman, N. (1990). State, Village and Gender in Western Turkey. In N. Sirman, & A. Finkel (Eds.), *Turkish State, Turkish Society* (pp. 21-51). London and New York: Routledge.

Sunar, İ. (1990). Populism and Patronage: Democrat Pary and Its Legacy in Turkey. *Il Politico , 4*, 745-757.

Sunar, İ. (1996). State, Society and Democracy in Turkey. In V. Mastny, & C. Nation (Eds.), *Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power* (pp. 141-154). Boulder: Westview.

Sunar, İ. (2004). *State, Society and Democracy in Turkey.* İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press.

Şarkışla, A. (2002). *Sultan Sazlığı Tabiatı Koruma Alanı Sosyal Değerlendirme Raporu (Sultan Sazlığı Protected Area Social Evaluation Report)*. Kayseri Provincial Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Kayseri.

The Global Environment Facility. (2005a). *Achieving the Millenium Development Goals: A GEF Progress Report.* Washington, DC: Global Environment Facility.

The Global Environment Facility. (2005b). *GEF Annual Report 2005: Fertile Ground: Seeding National Actions for Global Environment.* Washington, DC: The Global Environment Facility.

The Global Environment Facility. (2007). *Mainstreaming Gender at the GEF*. Washington, DC: The Global Environment Facilty.

The Global Environment Facility. (2010). *What is the GEF: Global Environment Facility*. Retrieved October 7, 2010, from The Global Environment Facility: Investing in Our Future: http://www.thegef.com

Tosun, C., & Fyall, A. (2005). Making Tourism Sustainable: Prospects and Pitfalls. In F. Adaman, & M. Arsel (Eds.), *Environmentalism in Turkey: Between Democracy and Development?* (pp. 249-262). Aldershot: Ashgate.

United Nations Development Programme. (2004a). *Country Evaluation: Assessment of Development Results, Turkey.* New York City: United Nations Development Programme Evaluation Office.

United Nations Development Programme. (2004b). *Human Development Report: Turkey 2004.* New York City: United Nations Development Programme.

United Nations Development Programme. (2007). *Human Development Report 2007-2008.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wade, R. (1987). The Management of Common Property Resources: Finding a Cooperative Solution. *The World Bank Research Observer, 2* (2), 219-234.

Yaşamış, F. D. (2008). Assesing the Institutional Effectiveness of State Environmental Agencies in Turkey. *Environmental Mangement , 38*, 823-836.

Zerner, C. (1994). Telling Stories about Biological Diversity. In S. Brush, & D. Stabinsky (Eds.), *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People and Intellectual Property Rights* (pp. 68-101). Washington, DC: Island Press.