

IS THE GLOBALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE  
CHANGING THE ROLE OF WOMEN? CASES OF  
TURKEY AND SPAIN

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The globalization of agriculture is referred to as the process of structural change in agri-food production and marketing systems following the generalized liberalization of international capital movements and world agricultural trade in the mid-1990s (WTO Agreements), within the framework of the information society. In particular, the dynamics of investment in export-oriented agricultural production, which emerged with globalization, tended to displace family farming units. Indirectly, does globalization change the role of women in agriculture and rural development?

The following pages review the theoretical framework related to the issues referred to above: agricultural globalization, its impact on family farms and rural women, and the differences between countries. The fact that globalization of agriculture tends to displace small farming is a trend widely studied. There are some studies that focus on the impact on political elements with food sovereignty (Barry et al., 2020; Turner et al., 2020) or even resistance through consumption. (Som Castellano,

2017). There is less available research on the specific impact of globalization on the employment of women in agriculture, considering women as the weak part of the small farm family crisis. And very few studies compare the trends of countries in agrarian globalization in correspondence with women's agricultural employment.

### 1.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF AGRARIAN GLOBALIZATION

Globalization of agriculture consists of several characteristics, such as a transition from small family-run farms to an increase in the prevalence of larger and capitalized farms, a change in food consumption patterns due to the dominance of transnational agro-food capital in the market by the increasing role of trade liberalization, an increase in the standardization of agricultural products, a wider variety of agricultural products, a reduction in the role of governments as a result of open economy, an increase in the availability of the data on the taste of consumers with price information, a growth in the interaction between technology, agricultural production and science, a great increase in agricultural productivity, and a fervent discussion on the manipulation of living materials in laboratories (genetically modified organisms (GMOs) (Coclanis, 2003; Klein & Kerr, 1995; Robinson, 2018; Tanaka, Juska & Busch, 1999; Ufkes, 1993; Whigham & Acker, 2003).

Technological advances and globalization have enhanced agricultural productivity and changed the agricultural production system (Alston & Pardey, 2014; Coclanis, 2003; Pingali, 2007). Thus, an indicator of the period of agricultural globalization in the countries is the sharp increase in agri-food production and foreign trade.

Pressure and displacement in small farmers have historical antecedents, although recent globalization may have accentuated them in an alarming way, both in terms of the reduction of peasant farms and the estimated impact on the food sovereignty of affected countries.

Since the nineteenth century, researchers have associated the development of capitalist relations of agrarian production with a regression of the position of peasants and small settlers and the strengthening of large properties (Chayanov, 1986; Kautsky, 1970). And it seems that such

displacement has been aggravated in the last phase of globalized expansion starting in the 1990's to the extent that it resulted in a recurrent situation of agrarian profitability crisis that has especially affected small producers, generating their ruin, and increasing land grab phenomena (McMichael, 2006; Otero, 2012).

Besides, the processes of agricultural modernization that took place worldwide from the 1950s onwards, based on the so-called Green Revolution, were associated with increasing environmental degradation resulting from the growing use of industrial inputs (fertilizers, pesticides, etc.), energy and water (Naredo, 2004; Altieri, 1999). Since the 1970s, there has also been a growing orientation of some middle-income countries towards exports to global markets (Bureau et al., 2006). This was accompanied by a new round of agricultural investments aimed at increasing yields based on new developments such as those derived from biotechnology (Bonnano, 1994).

But the 1990s, with the liberalization of markets, ushered in a new era of transformation of agricultural systems and employment in rural areas. Globalization of agriculture involves the worldwide demand and consumption of agricultural products. As a result, the number of intermediary businesses, the trade volume increased, and consequently, complex trade networks were born.

Global modernization of agriculture is far from sustainable and has had strong environmental and socio-economic impacts. In particular, it globalized agricultural markets, concentrated land property, oriented crops to export, led to cultivation with genetically modified seeds, and resorted to the use of abundant chemical nutrients and toxic treatments (Bello, 2012).

In the case of Spain, the process of agrarian globalization has been associated with the concentration of agricultural properties and the decline of small farms. Between 2008 and 2019, small farms decreased from 344 thousand to 278.4 thousand (EPA, INE); that is, they decreased at an average rate of 7.5 thousand fewer family farms per year (Rojo et al., 2021).

The 2008 food crisis and famine in Haiti are considered examples of the consequences of the above process at the level of some countries. Haiti importing 80% of the rice consumed when the 2010 earthquake occurred (Nelly Mitja, 2020). The problems of acute hunger in some countries and the speculation of staple food price on international markets in 2008 highlighted the importance of food sovereignty of countries and the need to maintain the productive diversity of small farmers in ensuring it.

As an alternative to mainstream actors, trade unions, fair trade movements, cooperative groups, initiatives, and nongovernmental organizations participate in agricultural production and trade by expressing their concerns about food security and keeping small producers alive (Barrientos & Dolan, 2006). In addition, some customers have been more discerning about the food system and have questioned the accountability of the food system.

Campaigning for locally produced food (local food) is one of the core elements of these alternative organizations. Local food is defined by three proximities: geographical proximity (physical distance or radius), relational proximity (relationships between farmers, distributors, retailers and customers), and value proximity (symbolic meaning of local food and environmental, social, health, safety, and ethic perspectives) (Eriksen, 2013).

## 1.2. THE IMPACT ON RURAL WOMEN EMPLOYMENT

In rural areas, employment opportunities are less than in cities, and agriculture tends to be the dominant means of income. The main employment characteristics in the agricultural sector are based on family labour (paid or unpaid); it is seasonal and affected by migration flows.

For example, regarding agriculture at the European Union (EU) level, it is estimated that 92% of agricultural work was done by family members and that only 17% of agricultural workers work full-time (Schuh et al., 2019).

In the EU, the study by Schuh et al. (2019) finds a decline in the number of agricultural workers by almost 13% from 2011 to 2017 due to

digitalization in agricultural technologies and correspondingly increased demand for high-skilled labour in agriculture, new employment opportunities for new member states due to accession to the EU (i.e., Romania), and income gap between agriculture and other sectors.

Age, education, and gender seem to be key factors in agricultural employment. In the EU, farm managers are male and relatively old, the level of education of agricultural workers is low, and there are significant gender differences (Schuh et al., 2019).

Franić and Kovačićek (2019) reported that the employment of women is still seen in rural areas in Europe, although women in rural areas have disadvantages compared to men in rural areas and people in urban areas: 40% of them work in family farms, and only 30% of farm managers are women. Furthermore, women in rural areas tend to have fewer job opportunities than men and women in urban areas (Bock, 2004).

From a gender perspective, globalization is far from supporting women's development in the agricultural sector (Abdelali-Martini, 2011; Joshi, 2015; Pande, 2000). From an ecological feminist theory point of view (see Table 1), estimated impacts include the impoverishment of family farms, a decline in women's agricultural employment, and migratory pressure led by women who have to adopt nonagricultural labour roles as "survival strategies" to continue contributing to the family unit (Canoves, Villarino, Priestley, & Blanco, 2004; Arizpe, 1986; Raynolds, 2000; Bello, 2012).

Changes in agricultural policies triggered the new migration of agricultural women from rural areas, as described in Table 1. From an ecofeminist perspective, the recent exodus of rural women is therefore part of the process of liberalization and globalization of international agricultural trade, which has led to a shift in agricultural systems towards export crops (see Table 1).

While globalization forces people to migrate to cities if they do not have enough capital to modernize agricultural technology, women who remain in rural areas face an increasing agricultural work burden. Even if people in rural areas modernize agricultural technology, the control over the means of production belongs mainly to men. In addition,

globalization increases the dependence of women on labour income, including post-harvest activities and agro-processing industries. Shifting away from local agricultural production decreases women's control over seeds.

**TABLE 1.** *From Agricultural Liberalization to the New Rural Exodus of Women*

| Agricultural Policies & Trends   | Behaviour of Farms  | Behaviour of Households and Agricultural Women  |
|--|---|---|
| Liberalization of agricultural trade and price reductions  | Impoverishment of peasant families or difficulties in surviving on small farms  | Self-exploitation of women as family support or increasing women's unpaid collaboration in family farming in an attempt to increase productivity  |
| Political pressure from governments on farms to increase their competitiveness and focus on export crops | Small farms sell, and families migrate or switch to export crops and become dependent on multinationals for seeds and phytosanitary treatments. | Farming families have to buy more expensive products on the market; malnutrition becomes a problem for families; women are employed on other farms or in other service sectors elsewhere. |

Source: Elaborated on the basis of (Arizpe, 1986; Bello, 2012; Canoves, Vilarino, Priestley & Blanco, 2004; Ramon & Ferre, 2000).

Institutional awareness of the impacts of globalization on small farming and rural depopulation of women has led to the adoption of corrective public policies in recent years in order to mitigate the negative impact of globalization regulating the relationships between the main actors of agricultural trade, such as international organizations, states, local governments, companies, and individuals (Vassileva, 2020).

At the European Union level, there are two main policies related to global agricultural trade: Common Commercial Policy (EU Trade Policy), which aims to increase the trade capacity and bargaining of the Member States, and Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which supports farmers, increases agricultural productivity, keeps the rural economy alive, and helps tackle climate change (Varela-Candamio, Calvo & Novo-Corti, 2018)

Although authors like Shortall (2015) criticized the CAP's stated commitment to gender mainstreaming as empty rhetoric. As a response, the

European Commission (2021) plans to renew the CAP in 2023 to support gender equality and increase women in agriculture.

### 1.3. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COUNTRIES

Agricultural globalization has been associated with dramatic transformations in a large number of countries (Friedman 2005; McMichael, 2009). Although it is a worldwide phenomenon, the impact on their respective agri-food markets and structures can be variable, especially with regard to the impact on women's agricultural and rural employment.

Small-holder families with relevant traits of peasantry still have a relevant role in many areas (Coq-Huelva et al. 2017; Rueda et al. 2018; Van der Ploeg, 2018). Ancient peasantries but also currently existing small-holder agrarian productions are featured by distinctive gender roles and differentiated patterns of sexual division of labour (Deere, 1995; Schwender, 2020).

Let us take Spain and Turkey, two European countries, are located on different sides of the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, they share a series of common features in terms of the development of Mediterranean agrarian specialization, weight of family farming, diet, and patterns of food demand (García-Closas et al., 2007).

However, Spain and Turkey have relevant political and socioeconomic differences as a result of the still existing disparities in terms of per capita income, the distinct evolution of their economic structures, and also some relevant institutional factors, particularly in the European Union (EU) membership: Spain (a member state) and Turkey (a candidate country).

Despite the social problems of rural Spain such as rural exodus, masculinization, and ageing (Alonso & Trillo, 2014), the role of women in the agricultural sector has stepped up (De Pablo Valenciano, Milán-García, Uribe-Toril, & Guerrero-Villalba, 2021). Camarero and Sampedro (2016) argue that the effects of women emigration from rural areas increase the masculinization of rural Spain (Rojo et al, 2021). Since some women start working in their teens, they have specific needs, such as

flexible working hours, inclusion of information, and professional orientations to continue their training (Suárez-Ortega, 2016).

A research carried out in southern Spain between 2014 and 2019 by De Pablo Valenciano et al. (2021) revealed the following findings: the level of education of women farmers was low, high school level or under; the agriculture sector consisted predominantly of male managers; although only 14% of women experienced discrimination, the leading causes were machismo, pregnancy, and mobbing; the overall level of satisfaction with the job was higher when supervisors were women.

Although the findings of Driga, Lafuente and Vaillant (2008) showed that women who live in rural Spain are less likely to participate in entrepreneurial activities and are not optimistic about improving entrepreneurial skills, a more recent study by Varela-Candamio, Calvo, and Novo-Corti (2018) found that rural women have advantages as local entrepreneurs to create new food businesses. On the other hand, entrepreneur women in rural Spain who mostly sell artisan food products suffer from the economic costs of industrial regulations and bureaucracy (Escuriol Martinez, Binimelis, & Rivera-Ferre, 2014; Rojo et al, 2021).

Unlike Spain, in Turkey, family farms are common units for agricultural production. More than half of women work, mostly as unpaid family workers, in the agricultural sector (Dayıoğlu & Kırdar, 2010; Gedikli, 2014; Gündüz-Hoşgör & Smits, 2006; İlkaracan & Tunali, 2010; Oğuz, 2015; Ozcatalbas & Akcaoz, 2010; Ozcatalbas & Ozkan, 2003).

Due to the low educational level, many rural women work informally (Gedikli, 2014). Like Spain, the control of means of production belongs to mostly male farmers in Turkey (İlkkaracan & Tunali, 2010). The findings of in-depth interviews conducted by Oğuz, Yener, and Haryad (2012) showed that Turkey's rural women are perceived as only housewives rather than agricultural workers at the same time, even though they may work harder than their male counterparts in the agricultural sector.

Women in rural areas of Turkey suffer from the consequences of the rising conservatism and patriarchy, such as honour killings due to



mostly the disapproval of premarital sexual discourse, marrying only a religious ceremony that debars from legal rights in the case of divorce, and limited freedom of movement (Gedikli, 2014; Gündüz-Hoşgör & Smits, 2006; Rad, Boz, Polatöz, & Çelik Ates, 2011). Moreover, in eastern Turkey, since many rural women who are a part of an ethnic group like Kurds and Arabs cannot speak Turkish, they are in a disadvantage position in terms of legal rights (Gündüz-Hoşgör & Smits, 2006).

Other studies on Turkey (Dudu & Rojo, 2021) highlight the wage gap between men and women as an obstacle to women's labour market insertion, since working outside the home often requires the support of a part-time partner. And if the salary is low, it will be more profitable for her to take care of her family herself, instead of working outside the home.

Having reviewed outstanding literature on the process of agricultural globalization and the impacts on family farms and women's employment, the objective of this research is to analyse the comparative pattern of evolution of globalization and women's agricultural and rural employment for the cases of the countries of Spain and Turkey, i.e., especially for the period 1996 to 2019/20.

The hypothesis to be corroborated is that there is a correspondence between the process of globalization of agri-foods and the displacement of women from agricultural employment and rural environments.

The results, as will be seen further down, confirm both the process of agrarian globalization common to both countries as well as the pattern of decline in women's participation in agricultural activities. However, the comparison between the two countries shows that, despite the decline, in Turkey the weight of women in agricultural activity continues to be much higher than in Spain and that wages in Turkey are much lower than in Spain.

## 2. METHODS & MATERIALS

The methodology applied is the comparison of the cases of two countries using statistical analysis. A historical series of indicators of agrarian globalization and displacement of the population and women from agriculture and rural areas are developed.

The cases chosen for comparison are Turkey and Spain, both European countries in which agriculture is a relevant source of income and a contribution to national wealth. Turkey is larger than Spain in terms of population and population growth in recent years. Its total Gross National Product has been approaching in recent years, but it maintains differences, especially at per capita levels (see Graph 1).

Turkey's population in 2021 was 83,614,362 people, with a density of 106 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> and in 1996 it had barely 60 million inhabitants, so it has grown by about 1 million people per year since 1996. The population of Spain was 47,326,687 people in July 2021, with a density of 94 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> and in 1996 it had 39,884,246 inhabitants (see Table 2).

Both Turkey and Spain are important agrarian countries. Agricultural production constitutes 6,5% of the Turkish economy, and it constitutes 3% of the Spanish economy (see Graph1). This rate is 1% on average in EU-27 countries and 4% in the world (OECD, 2021;FAOSTAT, 2021). So they are significantly above the average of the European Union in terms of agricultural production, both Spain in Turkey. In the agricultural sector, by 2020, it provides employment to 4.7 million people in Turkey and 765 thousand people in Spain (ILOSTAT, 2021).

TABLE 2. General Features of Turkey and Spain

| General Data  | Turkey           | Spain              |
|---|------------------|--------------------|
| Population 2021   | 83,614,362       | 47,326,687         |
| Population 1996   | 58,457,925       | 39,884,246         |
| Density 2021 (inhabitants per km <sup>2</sup> )   | 106              | 94                 |
| Human Development Index (HDI), position   | 54               | 25                 |
| GDP per capita 2020 (current US\$)  | 8,538.2          | 27,063.2           |
| The European Union membership   | Accession status | Full-member status |
| Weight of agriculture in its economy (OECD 2021, FAOSTAT 2021)  | 6,5%             | 3%                 |
| People employed in the agrarian sector (ILOSTAT 2021)   | 4.7 million      | 765 thousand       |
| Percentage of women in the total labor force (2020)   | 30%              | 45%                |
| Human Capital Index for Women (World Bank 2021) (1 equals the best use of the economic and professional potential of women) | 0,66             | 0,74               |
| Gender Inequality Index (1= Gender Equal Conditions) UN 2020  | 0,64             | 0,79               |

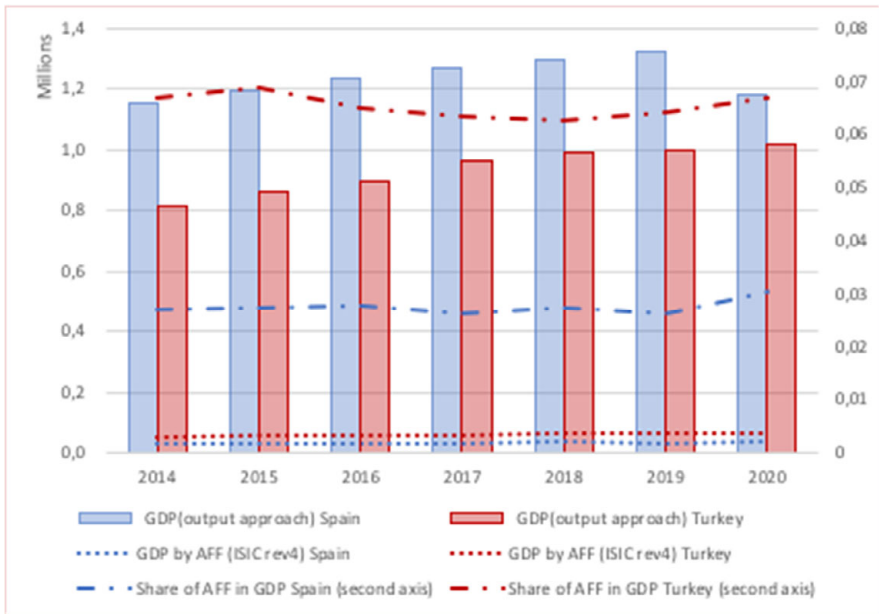
Source: (Worldbank,2021; UN, 2020; ILOSTAT,2021)

When we look at global gender statistics, Turkey ranks the 68<sup>th</sup> in the Gender Inequality Index calculated by the United Nations while Spain ranks the 16<sup>th</sup> (UN, 2020). Another index on the situation of women in a country is the Human Capital Index. According to the female HCI calculated by the World Bank, Turkey has a score of 0.66 and Spain has a score of 0.74.

The HCI female index measures which countries are best at mobilizing the economic and professional potential of their citizens. The index measures how much capital each country loses due to lack of education and health. The closer the HCI index is to 1, the more likely women are to use their full potential (World Bank, 2021).

If considered in global terms, the GDPs of Turkey and Spain show a tendency to converge, in the last six years according to the output approach (see Graph 1).

GRAPH 1. Convergence trend of total GDP in Spain and Turkey 2014-2020



Source: (OECD, 2021) (Constant prices, constant exchange rates)

Below is a breakdown of the steps followed in the aim of analysing the comparative pattern of evolution of globalization and women's agricultural and rural employment for the cases of the countries of Spain and Turkey, for the period 1996 to 2019/20.

Considering that agricultural globalization has meant an increase in both agricultural production and foreign agricultural trade, the first part of the analysis focuses on the historical evolution of the following two indicators:

- the evolution of the per capita agricultural production index from 1961 to 2019 in both Spain and Turkey compared to the European Union and the world as a whole; according to data obtained from FAO.
- Foreign agrarian trade: the historical evolution of the index of the value of agricultural imports and exports from 1961 to 2019 in both Spain and Turkey compared to the European

Union and the world as a whole; according to data obtained from FAO.

The second part of the analysis focuses on studying the evolution of the role of women in agriculture and rural areas with a view to observing whether the impacts of agricultural globalization are reflected. The historical series developed refer to the following indicators:

- The comparative evolution of urban and rural population between 1960 and 2019 in Turkey and Spain as an indicator of the rural-to-urban exodus pattern.
- Comparative changes in the overall structure of women's employment in Turkey and Spain between 1996 and 2020 with special interest in analysing the decline in women's agricultural employment and increase in other occupations or qualifications.
- The evolution of total employment and women's employment in agriculture from 1970 to 2019 in Spain and Turkey.
- Comparison of the evolution of the average monthly wage of women in agriculture between 2009 and 2019 in Spain and Turkey.

The data analysed come from international databases such as the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Bank, and the International Labour Organization, as well as national databases in Spain and Turkey.

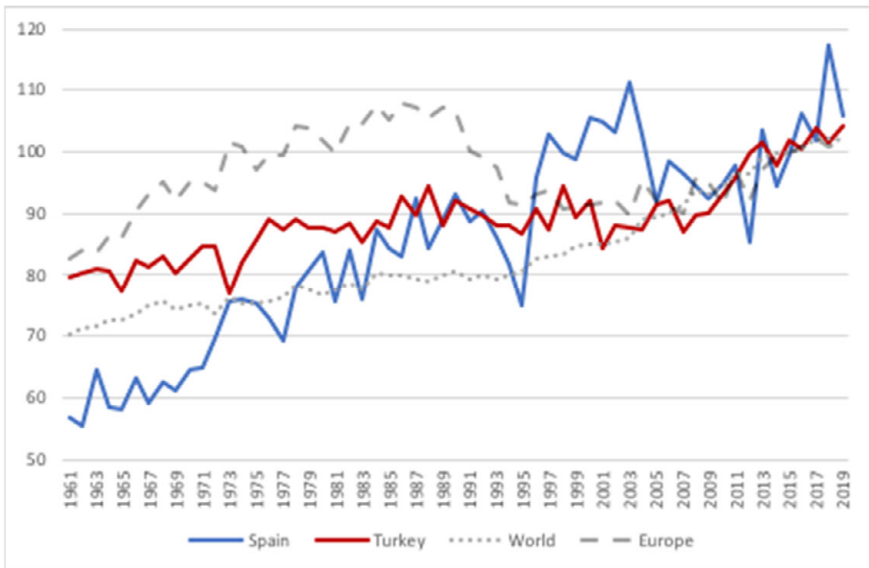
### 3. RESULTS

The results of comparative time series analyses for Spain and Turkey are presented below. They are divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to the analysis of agricultural globalization indicators. The second part is devoted to the analysis of the indicators of change of women's activity in agriculture and rural areas; as an indirect effect of the impact on small family farms.

### 3.1. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF AGRICULTURAL GLOBALIZATION IN SPAIN AND TURKEY.

The historical evolution of two indicators is analysed: the per capita agricultural production index (see Graph 2) and the foreign agricultural market (see Graphs 3 and 4). The aim is to check whether, after the liberalization of financial and agricultural markets in the 1990s, the indicators show the growth in both production and foreign trade attributed to agricultural globalization.

GRAPH 2. Evolution of the agrarian GDP per capita index 1961 to 2019, Spain and Turkey (2014-2016=100)

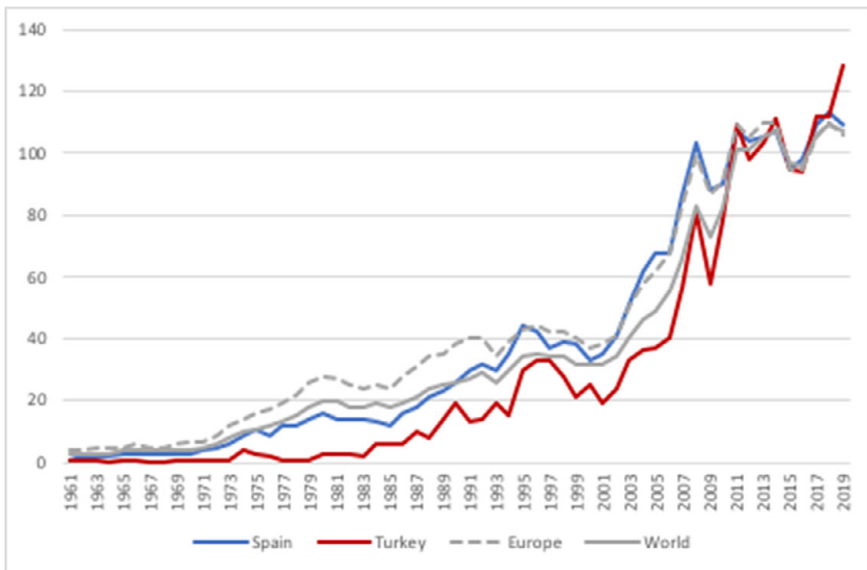


Source: (FAOSTAT, 2021)

The evolution of the per capita agricultural production index between 1961 and 2019 shows some aspects of interest (see Graph 2). First of all, it is noteworthy that since the 2008 food crisis, the growth curve of the per capita agricultural production index has accelerated for Spain, Turkey, the European Union average, and the world. It is as if the experience of the 2008 food crisis had triggered a general effort to improve agricultural production.

As for the historical trajectory, the case of Spain differs from that of Turkey in that Spain has maintained a permanent growth of its agricultural production index since 1961 and especially had a strong rebound on the occasion of the liberalization of the mid-1990s. On the other hand, in the case of Turkey, the agricultural production index has remained relatively stable since the 1970s and has only increased since the 2008 crisis.

GRAPH 4. Import Value Index (2014-2016 = 100)(Agricultural Product)



Source: (FAOSTAT, 2021)

The case of the European Union is particular in that the agricultural production index shows a very high growth, the highest of all, between 1961 and 1997, and, from those years onwards, it drops considerably to the world average level. It could be related to the European Union's abandonment of a self-sufficiency and protectionist agricultural policy in favour of an agricultural and food market more open to world-wide foreign trade.

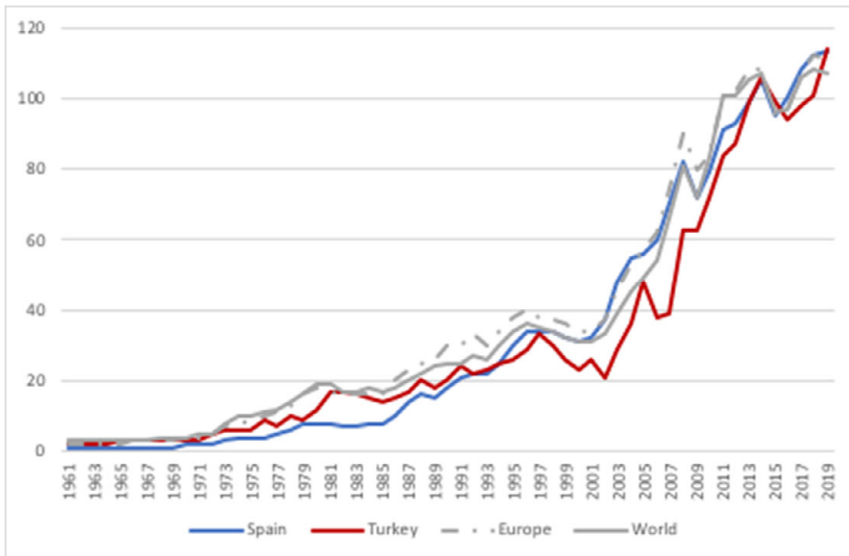
The second globalization indicator analyzed is the evolution of the value of agrifood imports and exports (see Graphs 4 and 5). It is

analyzed from 1961 to 2019 for Turkey, Spain, the European Union, and the world.

This evolution of the import and export value indexes for agricultural products is the indicator that most clearly reflects the fact that the end of the 1990s marked a turning point from which agricultural foreign trade accelerated its growth. In other words, since the world agreements on the liberalization of agricultural trade (Uruguay Round WTO).

The indexes went from levels of 40 in 2001/3 to levels of 110 in 2018/9, i.e., an increase of 70 points in 15 years, whereas between 1961 and 2000 they had increased by 40 points in 40 years.

GRAPH 5. Export Value Index (2014-2016 = 100)(Agricultural Product)



Source: (FAOSTAT, 2021)

This pattern of growth of the import and export indexes is observed to be quite similar for both Turkey and Spain, for the European Union and for the world average. Regarding the import and export value index, growth is slower between 2001 and 2011 for Turkey than for Spain or for the average of the European Union.



TABLE 3.(Agricultural Products Export Value/Total Merchandise Trade Export Value )\*100

| Year | Turkey | Spain  | World  | Europe |
|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1961 | 87.99% | 52.96% | 23.86% | 14.02% |
| 1970 | 81.74% | 32.14% | 16.50% | 11.32% |
| 1980 | 63.03% | 17.08% | 11.62% | 9.80%  |
| 1990 | 24.08% | 14.09% | 9.32%  | 8.98%  |
| 2000 | 13.04% | 12.14% | 6.42%  | 6.93%  |
| 2010 | 10.34% | 13.83% | 7.11%  | 7.85%  |
| 2020 | 11.55% | 18.36% | 8.46%  | 9.69%  |

Source: elaborated with data from FAOSTAT

In any case, despite the sharp increase as a result of globalization and trade liberalization, agricultural and agri-food exports are losing weight in total exports, both in Spain and, particularly, in Turkey (see Table 3). If around 90% of Turkish exports were agricultural products in 1961, in 2020 they will account for only 11.5%. This means that agricultural exports have increased to a lesser extent than industrial and service exports. Or, in other words, the Turkish economy has diversified and, consequently, has a much lower agricultural specialization than a few decades ago.

The Spanish pattern is similar, but with two major differences. The first is that agricultural specialization was not so pronounced in 1961, with agricultural products representing around 50% of total exports (against 90% in Turkey). The second is that currently the weight of agricultural exports in Spain is significantly higher than in Turkey. In 2020 they accounted for 18.3% of total exports compared to 11.5% in Turkey (see Table 3). Therefore, from a foreign trade perspective, agricultural specialization is currently stronger in Spain than in Turkey.

Focusing the analysis from the 1990s onwards, it can be seen that Spain has completed its process of structural transformation, in such a way that agricultural exports are around 15%, with some significant annual fluctuations. This percentage will remain constant during the following three decades, rising to 18% on year 2020 (see Table 3). In other words, the Spanish agrarian producer profile neither strengthens nor weakens in the period between 1990 and 2020. However, in the case of Turkey,

there is still a significant reduction in the share of agricultural exports in total exports, from 25% in the early 1990s to 11.5% in 2020.

### 3.2. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN

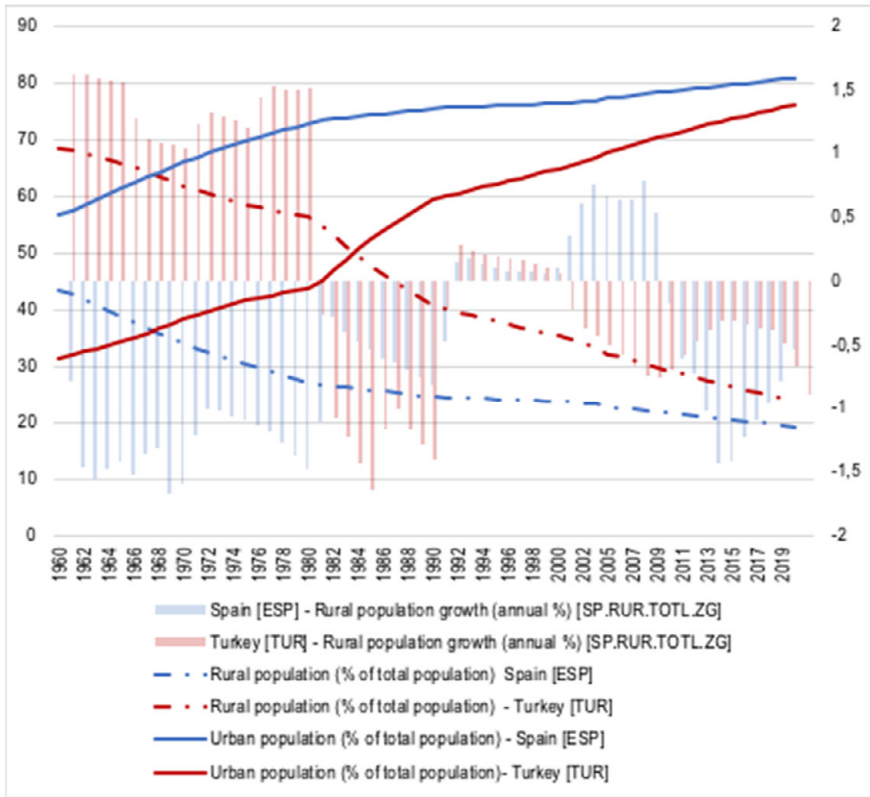
This second part contains the analysis of four indicators related to the changing trends in the role of women during agrarian globalization, in the sense of being displaced from agricultural activities as an effect of the pressure on farm families.

The indicators analysed are as follows. First, the evolution of the rural and urban population in both Turkey and Spain is analysed (see Graph 6). Secondly, changes in the structure of women's employment are analysed according to levels of education and professions, also comparatively for Turkey and Spain (Graphs 7, 8, 9, and 10). Third, the weight of agricultural employment in the total number of active women is observed, as well as in rural employment and the differences in salaries between Turkish and Spanish women in general and in agricultural work.

The evolution of urban and rural population in Turkey and Spain from 1960 to 2019 shows the pattern of rural exodus from rural areas (see Graph 6). Turkey in the 1960s had about 70% of its population living in rural areas, while in Spain it was just over 40%. In other words, Turkey was a much more rural country than Spain.

But emigration to cities followed a continuous pattern in both countries and in Turkey, especially since the 1990s. Therefore, currently the urban population of both countries is between 75% and 80% in 2019 and the rural population is between 20% and 25%. Thus, both Spain and Turkey have been transformed from mostly rural to predominantly urban societies in a relatively short time.

GRAPH 6. Evolution of Urban and Rural Population in Turkey and Spain from 1960 to 2019

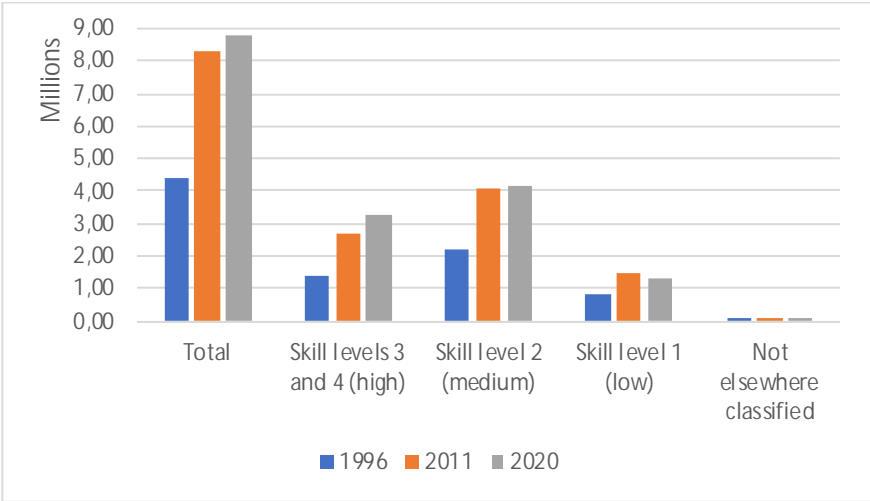


Source: Population data of the World Bank (World Bank, 2021)

These data indicate that the rural exodus has been unstoppable. In the case of Turkey, emigration from rural areas to cities is more accentuated if we consider that from 1996 to 2021 its total population increased by 15 million (in Spain it increased by 8 million).

As seen from the contributions of the authors reviewed in the theoretical part of this study, in the case of Spain in the last two decades, rural-urban migration affects women more than men. This is because men enjoy more opportunities to obtain steady jobs in rural areas during agrarian globalization.

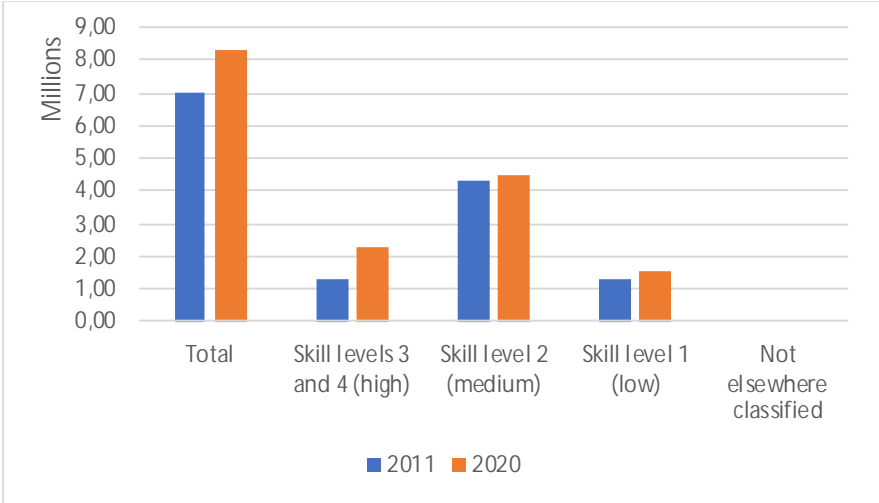
GRAPH 7. Spain Women Employment by Skill Level.



Source: (ILOSTAT, 2021)

Data on the change in the structure of women's employment between 1996, 2011 and 2020 offer an explanation for the shift of women to urban areas. The skill level that has increased the most for women in both Turkey and Spain between 1996, 2011 and 2021 is the highest level of employment. Graph 7 shows that the employment of women at the highest level of skills (3 and 4) has increased in Spain between 1996 and 2020 from 1.1 to 3.1 million jobs and in Turkey between 2011 and 2020 from 1.1 to 2.1 million jobs (ILOSTAT, 2021).

**GRAPH 8.** Turkey Women Employment by Skill Level in 2011 and 2020



Source: (ILOSTAT, 2021)

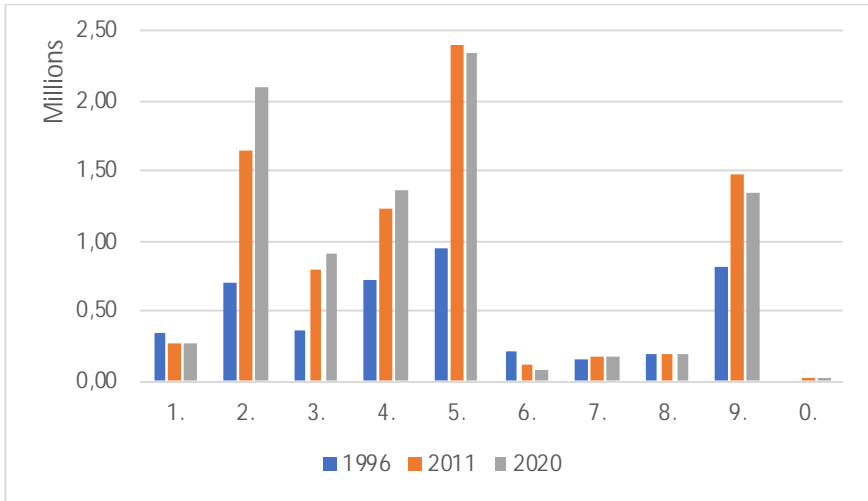
The data for Turkey show the evolution after 2011, but already confirm the trend that women are presented with increasing opportunities for highly qualified employment, which corresponds to the technological level of the information and digitalized society, as well as the increasingly higher educational level of women. While the highest levels of employment are at the middle level, four million women employed at this level in both Spain and Turkey in 2011 and 2020.

It should be noted that the trend in Turkey is to increase the presence of women in the labour market, because currently both Turkey and Spain have about 8 million women active in the labour market, but in Turkey they represent 33% of their total employment, while in Spain they represent 45%. And the trend that has been observed in advanced European countries is that women tend to equalize their presence in the labour market with that of men.

As for the changes in women's employment by profession (see Graphs 9 and 10), they confirm the decline in agricultural professions. In the case of Spain, the decline is not very striking, since women's participation in agriculture is low. On the other hand, in the case of Turkey, this

decline is very striking because between 2011 and 2020, 2.2 million women went from being employed in agriculture to 1.2 million women.

GRAPH 9. Spain Women Employment by Professions in 1996, 2011 and 2020



Source: (ILOSTAT, 2021)

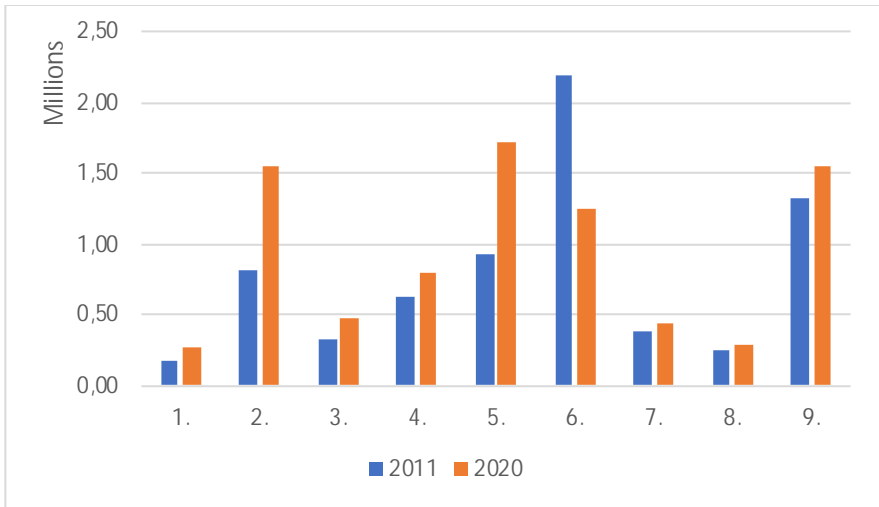
Legend: 1. Legislators, senior officials and managers, 2. Professionals, 3. Technicians and associate professionals, 4. Clerks, 5. Service workers and salespeople at the shop and market sales workers, 6. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers, 7. Craft and related trades workers, 8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers, 9. Elementary occupations, 10. Armed forces

In other words, there has been a loss of 1 million women's jobs in agriculture between 2011 and 2020 in Turkey. This is a decrease of about 100,000 agricultural jobs per year, which can be associated with globalization and new jobs related to the computerization of society and the increase in the educational level of the population, including women (see Graph 10).

But for the time being, the disappearance of agricultural jobs observed in Graph 10, is offset by the increase of almost 800,000 jobs for professional women, as well as a similar increase in jobs for women in service and trade jobs, between 2011 and 2020 in Turkey. In the case of Spain, these increases in professional jobs for women and jobs in the service and trade sector have occurred mostly between 1996 and 2011, i.e., a decade earlier than in Turkey. So, in a way, the Spanish case could be

showing the pattern that is coming for Turkey in terms of changes in women's employment.

GRAPH 10. Turkey Women Employment by Professions in 2011 and 2020<sup>1</sup>

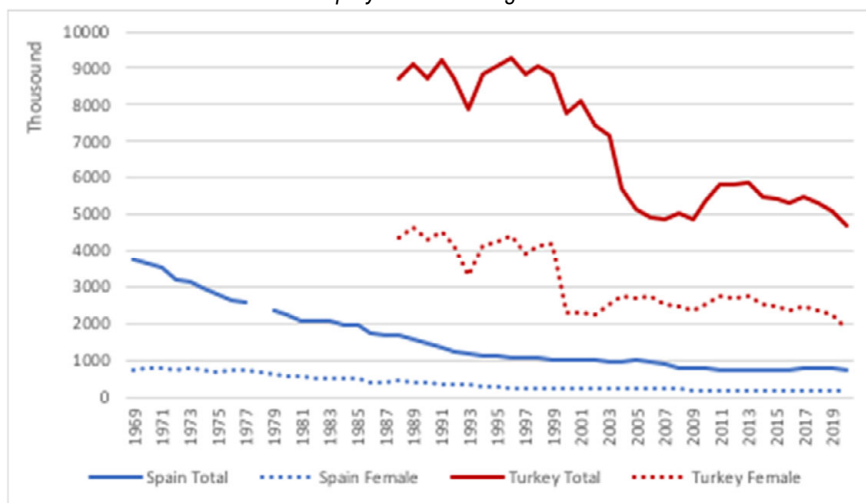


Source: (ILOSTAT, 2021)

However, in terms of employment in agriculture, the comparison between Spain and Turkey shows that both agricultural employment in general and the employment of women in agricultural work are considerably higher in Turkey than in Spain in 2019. However, both countries show a pattern of decline in this employment, which has been accentuated in the last two decades of technological innovation and globalization of markets (see Graph 11).

Graph 11 shows that the total agricultural employment in Turkey was 9 million people in 1996 and 15 years later it decreased to about 5 million people in 2021. And that women employed in agriculture in Turkey were about 4 million in 1996 and have decreased to 2 million in 2019. In the case of Spain, the total agricultural employment in 2019 is below 1 million people and shows much slower decline rates than in Turkey. But in general terms, the decline in agricultural employment in Turkey shows a correspondence with the globalization processes under analysis.

GRAPH 11. Female employment in the agricultural sector 1969-2019



Source: (ILOSTAT, 2021)

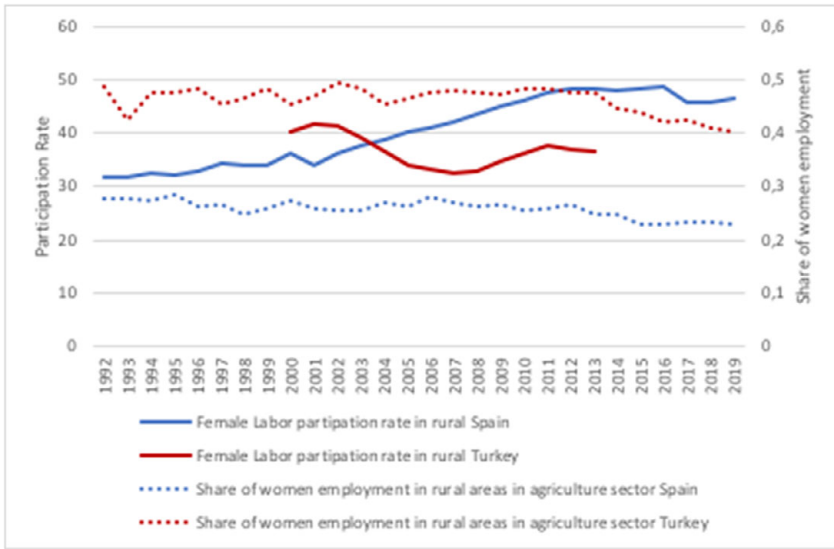
Graph 12 complements this information by indicating that the participation of women in Turkey in all agricultural work went from 50% in 1992 to 40% in 2019. And in Spain it went from 28% to 24% in the same period. In other words, in both countries, it is confirmed that women are being displaced from agricultural activities in greater proportion to men in this period of new globalization (see Graph 12). In Spain, this is translating into a masculinization of the population of small rural municipalities.

Finally, the wage differentials in women's employment in general and in women's agricultural employment in particular between Spain and Turkey are analysed. This analysis is introduced as a possible explanatory variable for women's tendencies to seek alternative employment. Graph 13 shows the evolution between 2009 and 2020 of women's average monthly wages.

The analysis shows that women's general wages are twice as high in Spain as in Turkey, but in the case of agricultural wages, they are almost half the wages in other activities in both Spain and Turkey, and in Turkey they are three times lower than women's wages in agriculture in Spain.

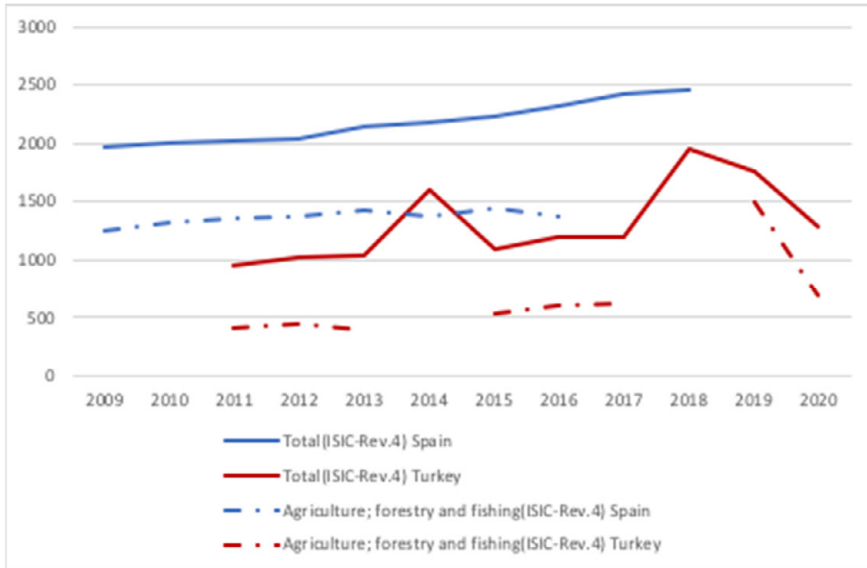


GRAPH 12. Rural agricultural female employment in total rural agricultural employment



Source: (ILOSTAT, 2021)

GRAPH 13. Mean nominal monthly earnings of women employees (Currency: 2017 PPP \$)



Source: (ILOSTAT, 2021)

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The research question that has guided this study is whether agrarian globalization is changing the role of women in agriculture and rural development. The theoretical review presented the contributions of previous studies carried out by authors from many different countries, analysing both the triggers of agricultural globalization after the 1990s and its impact on farm families and women.

In order to advance in the knowledge of these issues, the objective of the research focused on a comparative analysis of the pattern of globalization and women's agricultural employment in two countries, Turkey and Spain. The cases were chosen because they are both countries with an important agricultural sector in their economies and yet are different in terms of per capita development and gender equality.

The hypothesis to be tested was that agricultural globalization corresponds to a displacement of women from agricultural activity linked to the decline of small farms.

The results of the analysis of the statistical series carried out have confirmed first of all that agricultural globalization has been taking place in both Turkey and Spain since the beginning of the 21st century, as shown by the indicators of a strong increase in both countries' agricultural production and agricultural foreign trade. In the case of Turkey, the process of agricultural globalization has been later than in Spain.

Regarding the changes in the role of women in agriculture in correspondence with globalization, the results have shown a similar tendency between Turkey and Spain to a decrease in agricultural employment in general and in the participation of women; as well as the appearance of new qualified professional jobs and jobs in services and commerce that hire female employment.

Although the trend is common to both countries, significant differences have been found. In the case of Turkey, agricultural employment continues to have a higher proportional weight than in Spain, and the same is true for the weight of women in agricultural employment. Another major difference between the cases of the two countries lies in the fact that the wage levels in Turkey are considerably lower than the average

monthly wages in Spain, both for women in general and for women in agriculture in particular.

Thus, although the tendency for globalization to radically reduce agricultural employment in general and especially that of women, which is shifting toward employment in other activities, is confirmed, there may be factors that slow down this process, as can be seen in the case of Turkey.

Among the factors to be highlighted are: that Turkey has had a very strong population growth in recent years, which limits the capacity for labour insertion in the country's economy; that women's wages are low, so it may be more profitable to keep them employed in agricultural work than to introduce machinery; and that only one out of every three women of working age is in the labour force, which will tend to grow in the coming years.

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