AGRO FOOD SYSTEM TRANSITIONS? EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE AGRO FOOD INITIATIVES IN IZMIR, TURKEY

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Emel KARAKAYA

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İZMİR

We approve the thesis of **Emel KARAKAYA**

Examining Committee Members:

Assist. Prof. Dr. Güldem ÖZATAĞAN
Department of City and Regional Planning, İzmir Institute of Technology

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Semahat ÖZDEMİR
Department of City and Regional Planning, İzmir Institute of Technology

Prof. Dr. Sadi Tayfun ÖZKAYA
Department of Agricultural Economics, Ege University

Assist. Prof. Dr. Esin CANDAN
Department of İzmir Multidisciplinary Vocational School of Economics and Administrative Programme, Dokuz Eylül University

Assist. Prof. Dr. Hasan Engin DURAN
Department of City and Regional Planning, İzmir Institute of Technology

21 July 2016

Assist. Prof. Dr. Güldem ÖZATAĞAN
Supervisor, Department of City and Regional Planning,
İzmir Institute of Technology

Prof. Dr. Serdar KALE
Deputy Head of the Department of
City and Regional Planning

Prof. Dr. Bilge KARAÇALI
Dean of the Graduate School of
Engineering and Sciences

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ABSTRACT

AGRO FOOD SYSTEM TRANSITIONS? EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE AGRO FOOD INITIATIVES IN IZMIR, TURKEY

This dissertation investigates emerging Alternative Agro Food Systems (AAFSs) in Turkey and does so by focusing on three niche initiatives in İzmir. Building on Regime Theory and the Multi-Level Perspective, it views these initiatives as strategic niches and explores their development processes by documenting their socio-technical practices. Thus, this thesis fulfills the understanding of newly emerging alternatives and their transformation in Turkey with regard to their development processes in İzmir.

Through exploratory qualitative multiple case study, this dissertation provided a meso-level investigation, documentation of the agro food system and micro-level investigation of Alternative Agro Food Initiatives in Turkey. A micro-level exploration is undertaken by three niche initiatives in İzmir; (a) producer initiated Alternative Agro Food Niche- Gödence Cooperative, (b) consumer initiated Alternative Agro Food Niche-BİTOT and (c) producer-consumer collaborated Alternative Agro Food Niche-Foça Earth Market. Case studies, which are explored in İzmir, have provided a city-level investigation through examination of role of İzmir in the emergence and development of alternative agro food niches.

Case studies reveal characteristics and development processes of alternative food initiatives. Gödence revealed a niche that shows a degree of compatibility with the incumbent regime. This compatibility blunted the innovative capacity of the niche due to several structural reasons and path-dependencies. Stabilizing path-dependencies created tendencies which restrain the diffusion of socio-technical practices. On the other hand, BİTOT and Foça Earth Market formed new niches. The creativity, talent to widen voluntarism and existing networks of Buğday Association provides BİTOT a web of volunteers to create, design and apply socio-technical practices. Foça Earth Market's unique innovation capacity is lying under its artifice to use incumbent regime institutions to create alternative socio-technical practices. The flexibility in the Foça Niche to motivate actors including those from mainstream regime has contributed to the innovative capacity of the initiative.

ÖZET

TARIMSAL GIDA SİSTEMLERİNİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ? İZMİR, TÜRKİYE'DEKİ ALTERNATİF TARIMSAL GIDA GİRİŞİMLERİNİN KEŞFİ

Bu tez çalışması Türkiye'de yeni ortaya çıkmakta olan Alternatif Tarımsal Gıda Sistemlerini İzmir'deki üç adet niş inisiyatife odaklanarak incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, Rejim Teorisi ve Çok-Düzeyli Perspektif çerçevelerine dayanarak, ilgili inisiyatifleri birer stratejik niş olarak ele almakta ve bu nişlerin gelişim süreçlerini soruşturmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu tez, Türkiye'de yeni ortaya çıkmakta olan alternatifleri ve bu alternatiflerin dönüşümünü nişlerin İzmir'deki gelişmeleri ile bağlantılı biçimde ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu tez, keşifçi niteliksel çoklu vaka araştırması ile; bir mezo-seviye inceleme, tarımsal gıda sistemi belgeleme ve Türkiye'deki Alternatif Tarımsal Gıda İnisiyatiflerine yönelik bir mikro-seviyede inceleme sunmaktadır. Mikro-seviye soruşturması İzmir'deki üç ayrı niş inisiyatifte yapılmaktadır; (a) üretici inisiyatifi olarak Gödence Kooperatifi, (b) tüketici inisiyatifi olarak BİTOT, ve (c) üretici-tüketici müşterekliği olarak Foça Yeryüzü Pazarı. Vaka çalışmalarının İzmir'de yer alıyor olması, nişlerin ortaya çıkışı ve gelişimi bağlamında kentsel seviyede bir sorgulamaya olanak tanımıştır.

Vaka çalışmaları alternatif gıda inisiyatiflerinin niteliklerine ve gelişme süreçlerine ilişkin bulguları ortaya koymaktadır. Gödence 'yerleşik rejim' ile uyumluluk gösteren bir niş olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu uyumluluk hali çeşitli yapısal nedenler ve izlek bağımlılıkları nedeniyle nişin yenilikçi kapasitesini köreltmiştir. İzlek bağımlılıklarının sabitleşmesi, sosyo-teknik pratiklerin yayılmasını engeller nitelikte bir eğilim yaratmıştır. Diğer taraftan BİTOT ve Foça Yeryüzü Pazarı yeni nişlerin oluşumuna kaynaklık etmiştir. Buğday Derneği'nin yaratıcı kapasitesi, gönüllülüğü genişletmekteki becerisi ve mevcut ağları, BİTOT için sosyo-teknik pratikler yaratacak, tasarlayacak ve uygulayacak bir gönüllüler ağı sağlamıştır. Foça Yeryüzü Pazarı'nın kendine mahsus yenilikçi kapasitesi, alternatif sosyo-teknik pratikler yaratırken yerleşik rejimin kurumlarını ve aktörlerini maharetli biçimde kullanmasının altında yatmaktadır.

Dedicated to peasants
and in the memorium of my mother and my father

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACTPN : Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations

AAFN : Alternative Agro Food (Agri-food) Network

AFN : Alternative Food Network

AAFS : Alternative Agro Food (Agri-Food) System

AFS : Alternative Food System

AMAP : Associations pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne [Associations for the maintenance of peasant agriculture]

AOFGS : Australian Organic Farming and Gardening Society

ARIP : Agricultural Reform Implementation Project

ASCU : Agricultural Sales Cooperative Unions

BİTOT : Batı İzmir Topluluk Destekli Tarım Grubu [West İzmir Community Supported Agriculture Group]

BÜKOOP : Boğaziçi Mensupları Tüketim Kooperatifi [Boğaziçi University Members Consumption Cooperative]

CAP : Common Agricutural Policy

CFN : Civic Food Network

CSA : Community Supported Agriculture

DIS : Direct Income Support

DÜRTÜK : Direnen Üretici Tüketici Kolektifi [Resisting Producer Consumer Collective]

EBK : Et ve Balık Kurumu [Meat and Fish Authority]

ECVC : European Coordination of La Via Campesina

ESSEDRA : Environmentally Sustainable Socio-Economic Development of Rural Areas

ETO : Ekolojik Tarım Organizasyonu Derneği [Association of Ecological Agriculture Organization]

EU : European Union

FAO : Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

FIMARC : International Federation of Adult Catholic Farmers' Movement

FSC : Food Supply Chain

GAS : Gruppo di Acquisto Solidale [Solidarity Purchase Groups]

GATT : General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

GETO : Gediz Ekoloji Topluluğu [Gediz Ecology Community]

GI : Geographical Indication

GMO : Genetically Modified Organism

GVC : Global Value Chain

IAASTD : International Assessment of Agricultural Science and Technology

ICSFW : International Collective in Support of Fisher Workers

IFAP : International Federation of Agricultural Producers

IFOAM : International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements

ILO : International Labour Organization

IMF : International Monetary Fund

IPARD : Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance [Avrupa Birliği Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı- Kırsal Kalkınma Programı]

IPC : International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty

IUF : International Union of Food, Agriculture, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers

KİTO : Kiraz Ekoloji Topluluğu [Cherry Ecology Community]

LAS : Localized Agro food System

LAFS : Localized Agro food System

LPS : Local Production System

MLP : Multi-Level Perspective

MST : Landless Workers Movement [Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra]

NGO : Non-Governmental Organization

OECD : The Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development

PDO : Protected Designation of Origin

PGI : Protected Geographical Indication

PGS : Participatory Guarantee System

ROPPA : Networks of Farmers' and Agricultural Producers' Organizations of West Africa

SFSC : Short Food Supply Chain (or Shortened Food Supply Chain)

SYAL : Systèmes Agro-Alimentaires Localisés [Localised Agro-Food Systems]
SNM : Strategic Niche Management
TAM : Transnational Agrarian Movement
TMO : Toprak Mahsülleri Ofisi [Soil Products Office]
TSG : Traditional Specialty Guaranteed
TRIP : Trade Related Intellectual Property Right
TURKSTAT : Turkish Statistical Institute
UNCTAD : United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP : United Nations Development Plan
UPOV : International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants
URGENCI : The International Network for Community Supported Agriculture
WB : World Bank
WFF : World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fishworkers
WFFP : World Forum of Fisher Peoples
WTO : World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Recent trends and official statistics shown that we are living in a rapidly urbanizing world with not only respect to its politics and economics, but also to its spatial and demographic components (Keyder & Yenal, 2013). This injection of urban bias approaches into each and every earth piece of earth is the most threatening practice in today's world. The ongoing changes have also penetrated to academic studies where urban is prioritized against rural (Keyder & Yenal, 2013; Özuğurlu, 2011). İslamoğlu et al. (2008) claim that migration from rural to urban will have a decreasing trend since, (1) mass migration waves have discharged rural population, (2) most fragile groups have already migrated to urban, (3) the rural population is aging not only in Turkey, but in the world (4) and the rest still living and surviving in rural are relatively upper income groups and more capable to survive. On the other hand, Keyder and Yenal (2011) have asserted that the literature on modernization and development assumes that rural migration will be unabated so that urban populations will continuously increase.

The most important factor that links rural and urban is undoubtedly food. Ongoing trends in the world show that the food is so popular and diversified than ever before. In Turkey, as in the rest of the world, consumption practices are much more visible in the contemporary era. The general economic structure in neoliberal era in Turkey witnessed rapid and massive integration of agricultural production to global agro food chains. Along these processes, the distance between farmland and our dinner table is growing. At the same time, contemporary consumer movements are combining their focus and practices in terms of concerns on peasantry, environment and climate change, animal welfare, ethical working conditions for rural workers, public health and increasing unevenness in obesity and malnutrition. In one sense, ethics of working conditions for agricultural workers are not molding public opinion in Turkey unless tens of seasonal workers die in an accident while being carried on tractors (Keyder & Yenal, 2013). Besides, environmental concerns, health concerns, diminishing trust to the food consumed, animal welfare standards and the contemporary poor conditions created by incumbent food regime for the producers have awakened consumers in Turkey since mid-2000s especially

in metropolitan cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. For instance, with the declaration of Beypiliç General Director Sait Koca as "There is GMO reality in the world. We have to get accustomed to GMO products not only for ending hunger in the world, but because GMO products are healthier" in social media in Turkey, people were irritated (GDO'ya alışmamız gerekiyor, 2016).

The emergence of Alternative Agro Food Systems (AAFSs) occurs in diverse forms of activism. The new phase of world capitalism since the 1980s, that of globalization or neoliberal globalization (Friedmann, 2005), and the emergent mainstream food regime since late 1980s is now in tension with a variety of forms of activism; food miles, mass production and consumption, global environmental challenges, global climate change, obesity and malnutrition, health problems, and so on. In this era, Alternative Agro Food Systems covering emergent grassroots movements such as Food Sovereignty, Slow Food, Community Supported Agriculture, and small-scale organic producers expand their social base on the grounds of democracy, ecology and quality (McMichael, 2009). Farmers increasingly go on to face input costs, globalized competition, and pressures of food processors and retailers to reduce purchase prices (Weiler et al., 2016). Amidst this "cost-price squeeze" created a dynamism and new, novel ways as a survival strategy. Thus, the increasing distance between the farmland and the dinner table in terms of prices and miles, increasing environmental and health concerns created by the incumbent industrial production practices arose consumer awakenings. Moreover, post-structural researches revealed the emerging symbolic meaning of food within the third food regime (Goodman et al., 2012) that "what you consume turned to be a state of being" and an indicator of defining identity. Cultural discourse and meaning raised as consumer-led activism emerged after 1980s and gained power in the 1990s in which Alternative Agro Food Systems emerged in the world within consumer movements. The increasing mobilization, communication and transportation technologies, urbanization of rural etc. have provided transformation of social life and daily life practices in rural areas. These are the factors providing the emergence of Alternative Agro Food practices worldwide including Turkey. I think that Alternative Agro Food Systems are operating as a survival strategy for producers, a state of being for consumers and a linking element between urban and rural in Turkey. Transformations which created consumer awakening in Turkey and combined them with producer struggle since 1990s, generated the emergence of Alternative Agro Food Niches at the second half

of 2000s. This thesis investigates emergence, development and the characteristics of Alternative Agro Food Initiatives in Turkey.

The conventional production system (the incumbent production system) has emerged through the second food regime and gained a global corporate form within the third food regime (mainstream regime). Alternative Agro Food Systems (AAFSs) emerged as a new, novel and alternative phenomenon within the mainstream regime beginning from the early 1990s in the world as an encompassing literature. In Turkey, Alternative Agro Food Initiatives emerged in the second half of 2000s and have provided the agenda of grassroots innovations for a decade.

Some AAFS scholars claim that these systems have a normative contestation role within incumbent agro food production and consumption practices and are regarded as against, oppositional or countering to industrial agro food system. Others, on the other hand, have shown that all AAFS advocates are not oppositional, but rather are seeking to create alternative systems that can coexist within the incumbent regime as an autonomous structural organization with its own production and consumption practices. Either way, their common objectives may be summarized as the redistribution of value, the reestablishment of trust between producers and consumers while decreasing the distance between them, the innovative forms of sustainable collective action, having accessibility to healthy agro food, improvement of marketing channels for small scale producers, conservation of rurality and rural livelihoods, consolidation of environmental concerns, prevention of the massification of agro food and so on.

Along the practices of incumbent production system, problems of health, environment, rurality and rural livelihoods, marketing, loss of culture and so on have emerged. This has triggered the increasing contestation and given way to the rise of environmental movements and consumer movements which have transformed and taken a wider form. On the other hand, tools and apparatuses of the mainstream regime that are corporatization, mass production and consumption, and market-led practices caused the birth and/or the strengthening of both the civil society mobilization and new global forms of peasant movements. In other words, the mainstream regime transformed mainstream civil society movements into a collaborated form of environment, production and consumption through engagement of environmental movements, producer movements and consumer movements. In practice, this integration has given birth to Alternative Agro Food Systems.

In this respect, sustainability and sustainable forms of food production, consumption and procurement have been a core concern of a variety of perspectives. These are new peasantries, new consumer practices, and new ways of food supply chain practices through grassroots innovations. Among these, one line of research, the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) has shown that agro food producers, consumers and activists have given rise to institutional innovations in agro food provisioning which oppose to the industrial logic of incumbent food regime (Goodman, 2009). In this respect, this line of research provides in depth explorations for Alternative Agro Food Systems and focuses on niche innovations, transition of socio-technical regimes and the change of socio-technical landscape within the effects and pressures of new, alternative socio-technical regimes. This frame provides a useful language to investigate and explore AAFSs, as well as exploration of narratives with respect to unfolding processes, event sequences, timing and conjunctures (Geels, 2011); how do the social learning processes proceed, networking processes and development expectations operate (Seyfang & Longhurst, 2013); explore how different groups and contexts develop different grassroots and niche solutions to different problems of agro-food systems (Geels & Schot, 2007).

Using a broad, embracing but blurry and slippery term such as 'Alternative Agro Food System' (Slee & Kirwan, 2009; Goodman, 2004; Qazi & Selfa, 2005; Sonnino & Marsden, 2006), the query that what is meant by 'alternative' is highly contextual (Goodman, 2004). AAFS cover newly emerging producer networks in global, national and local scales such as International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP), Networks of Farmers' and Agricultural Producers' Organization of West Africa (ROPPA), consumer networks such as Community Supported Agriculture (CSAs and URGENCI), global peasant movements such as La Via Campesina, global agro food movements such as Fair Trade and Slow Food, localized and relocalizing food networks such as Localized Agro food Systems (LAS), organic movement and International Foundation of Organic Agriculture (IFOAM), re-regionalizing food networks, new peasantries and so on. In fact, all these groups, concepts, niches, organizations and so on claim that they are 'alternative'. AAFS literature encompasses certified production, such as organic certification and Fair Trade labels, non-certified organizations and alternative certifications such as PGS- participatory guarantee systems. It is clear that being alternative within agro food systems is a discourse providing advantages in the market (Fuller et al., 2010). The ways in which AAFSs have been examined differ significantly and these differing conditions have made it difficult to decide what is included and what

is not, within Alternative Agro Food Systems. Moreover, the literature provides us sub-conceptions of Localized Agro-food Systems, Shortened food supply chains and new nested markets, civic food networks and new peasantries. These sub categories reveal;

1. Localized agro food systems (LAS): a model for local rural development by developing small and medium enterprise strategies derived from industrial districts. This approach does not centralize ecological production patterns and centralizes rural economic development through market-oriented practices for producers (Muchnik, 2009).

2. Short(ened) food supply chains (SFSC) and new nested markets: SFSC is both the identification of providing physical short distances for food procurement and reducing the distance between producers and consumers- intermediary and middleman free chains (Renting et al., 2003). As a developed and further discussion of SFSC, new nested markets clarifies specific places where specific transactions take place between specific suppliers and specific consumers (Van der Ploeg, 2015). They are forms of interlinking patterns of production and consumption and, civil society and producers.

3. Civic Food Networks (CFN): is the form of producer and consumer cooperations to create a new-novel way of production and consumption practice (Renting et al., 2012). The examples of this sub-conception are food communities, CSA groups, consumer cooperatives, buyer groups, collective urban gardening, grow it yourself groups and other relative examples.

4. New Peasantries: This sub-conception centralizes peasants' new, novel, grassroots practices against the Empire (the corporate global food regime). It encompasses a coordinated, organized, multifunctional and cooperated forms of socio-technical practices; non-industrial, ecological forms of agriculture; qualified, value-added products; shortened forms of supply chains and other emancipatory practices for producers from the Empire (Van der Ploeg, 2008; 2010b). This view centralizes role of new socio-technical practices of peasants in AAFSs.

These sub categories reveal one sided approaches for AAFS. LAS identifies a local rural development model, SFSC reveals market governance, CFN clarifies changing power relations and changing role of society and new peasantries conceives new and alternative peasant practices. Although these sub conceptions concentrate on and reveal different aspects of Alternative Agro Food Systems, they have three common points as follows;

1. *New Actors* versus market actors: role of civil society as a governance mechanism for agro food networks has increased in significance compared to market

2. *New Values* versus market values: the expression of "value" through environment, sustainability, quality and collective production for agro food networks as an alternative to market values.

3. *New Expressions*: expressions of food citizenship, food democracy and food sovereignty as a state of being that reshape relations between food practices and the market.

However, the literature on sub concepts has deficiencies through a comprehensive structural analysis. The Multi-Level Perspective frame investigates system transitions within agro food systems by identifying three levels, namely; socio-technical landscape as macro-level, socio-technical regime as meso-level and niche innovations as micro-level. By searching on Alternative Agro Food Systems as an alternative to the mainstream regime, the Multi-Level Perspective provides a pattern which is characterized by transitions resulting from the interaction between processes at those different levels. The macro level creates new environments of macro-economics, deep cultural patterns and macro-political developments by changing landscape in a long period of time. Socio-technical regime as the meso level identifies a broader community of social groups and their alignment of activities. It establishes the 'deep structure' to reproduce the elements of socio-technical systems. Therefore, it provides a co-evolutionary, co-productive system through new regime rules. Micro-level niche innovations act as 'incubation rooms' that protect novelties against mainstream market governance by small networks of actors. Niche actors work for radical innovations which deviate from incumbent regime practices. Niches are protected spaces and they are crucial for transition that they provide seeds for systemic change. The ability to replace incumbent regime depends on the weakening of mainstream regime through bottom-up pressures from niches, grassroots innovations, and internal tensions within regimes, global social-environmental or economic crisis, cultural shifts and so on. In this perspective, systemic innovation drives transitions which can emerge and be developed within niches.

The literature on Multi-Level Perspective represents that there is a lack of micro-level investigation. Niche initiatives are sources of innovation with the potential of transforming mainstream regime. Moreover, in the process of breaking path dependencies and creating new paths, niche development processes play a crucial role. However, studies on the Multi-Level Perspective have mostly focused on transitions at meso level

socio-technical regimes and macro-level socio-technical landscape that display a 'Niche Innovation Gap' and deficiency in micro-level investigation in the literature (Belz, 2004; Geels, 2011; Kirwan et al., 2013). Additionally, as Marques et al. (2012) assert that the literature on alternative agro food niches underestimate actor involvement, which need further examination for a better understanding of the emergence, development and characteristics of alternative agro food niche initiatives. According to this view, a niche can be defined as a specific domain within which actors take risks. Geels (2004b; 2011) emphasizes such underestimation as the actor-level gap in the literature.

1.1. Problem Statement

Niche initiatives which have emerged as part of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey have largely been ignored, leaving AAFS research undeveloped in Turkey[1]. There is no exploration, explanation, critique and discussion of AAFS in Turkey. There is no relevant data or database revealing alternative agro food niches in Turkey. This study is the first and only research on AAFS in Turkey. There are some related studies that have secondary relation with AAFSs- among many related examples. Some examples of those are about seed saving and seed problem (Çelik, 2013; Özkaya, 2007; 2009; 2014), ecologic production through community capacity building (Dinç, 2005; Karanlık, 2012), organic bazaars, organic production and procurement (Demir, 2013a; 2013b; Demir & Demir, 2014) and sustainable local development (Doğan 2015a; 2015b). While these studies have provided an introduction to AAFS literature in Turkey, exploration, explanation, discussion and critique of AAFSs within the contextual dynamics of Turkey is yet to be developed.

This dissertation aims to fulfill these gaps by searching Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey and emerging niche initiatives in the city of İzmir. I am making an exploration on the conditions of emergence and development of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey and the characteristics of the niche facilitate development processes.

[1] There are a number of studies that have relation with Alternative Food Systems literature in Turkey. Firstly, master thesis prepared by Alkan Karanlık (2012) very briefly mentions the issue by identifying AAFS as "Environment and Producer Friendly Production Systems". He shortly gives different examples of Civic Food Networks and peasant movements from the world and very briefly says that there are some similar examples in Turkey. Moreover, Demir (2013a; 2013b) and Demir &Demir (2014) are researchers that concentrate on İstanbul organic markets. These studies identify organic bazaars as a form of Alternative Food Systems.

By exploring niche initiatives in İzmir, I am also revealing a city-level investigation of niche initiatives in İzmir.

MLP literature does not provide a "micro-level niche innovation" exploration for alternative agro food practices rather "meso-level socio-technical regimes" and "macro-level agro food systems" are the level of concern in the literature (Belz, 2004; Geels, 2011; Kirwan et al., 2013). My case studies during intensive research provided an in-depth exploration of niches, reveal practices, transitions, grassroots innovations, social network building practices and socio-technical practices within mainstream regime in İzmir. In line with the Multi-Level Perspective framework, I provide a meso-level investigation of the emergence and evolution of Alternative Agro Food Systems and a micro-level investigation of three different cases with regard to the contemporary macro-level organizations of agro food systems. This dissertation draws a map of different actors involving in alternative agro food niches. I, further, contribute to the literature by clarifying a short and incomplete history of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey, which fulfils the gap resulting from a lack of a meso-level exploration of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey. Through the selection of the city of İzmir for micro-level research, I also exhibit the inability/ insufficiency of the "bifurcation between alternative and conventional" frameworks in categorizing the contemporary examples in Turkey and, therefore, I provide the new form by including traditional systems practices in Turkey. Revealing the persistence of traditional agricultural system practices in Turkey context, this examination questions the efficiency of the bifurcation between 'alternative' and 'conventional' that prevails in the literature. Another meso-level description that I have introduced in this study is initiator framework. These meso-level investigations of alternative agro food system is complemented by a micro-level investigation through case study research in three emerging alternative agro-food initiatives in İzmir.

Both Multi-Level Perspective literature and Alternative Agro Food Systems literature make a twofold distinction between Conventional Food Systems and Alternative Food Systems in order to characterize the structure of food systems. Nonetheless, such distinction is insufficient that there are countries - including Turkey- in which traditional agriculture, traditional agro food systems and indigenous production techniques still may prevail. I make a reinterpretation of distinction between "alternative and conventional" that there is a threefold distinction existing in Turkey; traditional, conventional and alternative. Then I am writing a short history of AAFS in Turkey with reference to the milestones and contemporary organizations.

I attempt to make a definition of AAFS, and reveal the framework of AAFS, in Turkey. To do so, I have developed Table 1 below during the first phase- extensive research phase of the study. This clarification of such bifurcation and its components are not provided by the literature in the form that I asserted in Table 1. I define **Alternative Agro Food Systems** as production, procurement, marketing and governance systems that compromise complex and wide networks, complex sets of organization and operation. These systems maintain ecological production and organic production (non-industrial organic) mostly in small scale land by using polyculture cropping, being in harmony with nature and with ecosystem, using local (non-GMO, non-hybridized) seeds and non-chemical and non-synthetic fertilizers, traditionally embedded, indigenous techniques and/or ecological techniques in pest control instead of chemical pesticides. These systems prioritize the foundation of local and re-localized agro food systems by providing short food supply chains and nested markets. The philosophy and the motivation underpinning these systems are the right to live, food sovereignty and consumer-producer cooperation. Such a definition that emphasizes ecological production requires excluding LAS as a sub category in this thesis.

One of the aims and outputs of this research is to identify different types of Alternative Agro Food Initiatives. In the exploration of different types of AAFNs, this thesis employs what I call the 'initiator framework' which identifies different type of niches with respect to the initiator. I intend to clarify the alternative forms of niches; their production, consumption, marketing, distribution and retail practices; their socio-technical innovations as well as an actor level analysis. In this respect, I have made an abstraction that I am identifying as the **"Initiator Framework"** (see Chapter 5) through exploring 40 different alternative agro-food initiatives in Turkey**.**

Table 1. Distinctions between Conventional Agro Food Systems and Alternative Agro Food Systems [2] (Source: Author)

	ALTERNATIVE	CONVENTIONAL
PRODUCTION	Organic, sustainable, ecological in production	Industrial, conventional, industrial organic in production
	No synthetic chemical, synthetic fertilizers (or very low in parctice)	Use synthetic chemicals, chemical fertilizers, pecticides in production
	Extensive farming	Intensive farming
	Low rates of tillage or no tillage	High rates of tillage
	Diversified production in land; "small-scale"	Production in "big lands", technology use
	Limited use of agricultural machinery	Intensive use of agricultural machinery
	Family farming (generally)	Use of wage labour (generally)
	Traditional techniques and knowledge, use of permaculture techniques / maximization of production diversity	Energy input to produce the highest possible yield of crops/ maximization of potential yield of crops
	Efficiency in harmony with nature	Efficient farming
	Variable seed use: non-hybrid, non-GMO, not-standardized or local-peasant seeds	Use of standardized, patented or GMO seeds or certificated company seeds
	Policulture in production	Mostly monocropping/ uniformity in production
	Fair relations/ Fair trade	Market-driven trade
	Animal welfare	Animal welfare in question
	Healthy, nutritious products	Nutrition levels in question
ECOLOGY-ENVIRONMENT	Methods used to minimize intervention to ecosystem and nature	Methods used are altering ecosystems; deteriorates soil quality, eliminates biodiversity
	Localization-regionalizations arguments included to emphasize low transport costs	Higher transport costs both in production and procurement
	More resilient to natural vulnerabilities such as drought	Vulnerable to climate change
	Higher levels of biological activity and biodiversity	Loss/transformation of biodiversity due to intensive pest use
	Better soil quality and fertility	Diminishing soil fertility in long term
	Lower levels of water use	Higher levels of water use
	No chemical input to ecosystems: the idea of not killing but removing instects or weeds	Chemical inputs to kill instects and weeds
ECONOMY	SFSC, Consumer-oriented	GVC, Market- oriented
	Slow food	Fast food
	Cost internalized	Cost externalized
	Quality of product as economic value	Quantity of products as economic value
	Diversified market, local market	Supermarketization (Reardon et al., 2005), Food miles

(cont. on next page)

[2] *The global characteristics of the Conventional Food Systems depend on the politics and policies went into operation since the Uruguay Round of GATT continued between the years 1986-1994, which later created WTO. Trade liberalization agreements in agriculture were first incorporated into the GATT system through this round that one of the main conclusions was that developing countries have to buy their agricultural products from US rather than producing for economic efficiency (Morgan, et al., 2008).

Table 1 (Cont.)

	ALTERNATIVE	CONVENTIONAL
CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS	Food sovereignty, food democracy, food citizenship	Food security
	Seed sovereignty	Seed security
	The right to live	-
	Local	Global*

After opening up 40 cases and identifying initiator framework, I have attempted to reveal a short story of alternative agro food system in Turkey. I have examined those 40 cases according to their level of voluntarism and organization and I eliminated cases that do not provide socio-technical practices (innovation development). The concentration and focus on the cases located in İzmir is not realized by coincidence. Throughout my research on alternative agro-food systems in Turkey, İzmir emerged as the pioneer city in organic agriculture, and as the contemporary hotspot of alternative agro-food initiatives, providing a diversity of different alternative agro food practices. In this respect, the evaluation of the 40 cases which emerged in Turkey as alternative agro-food initiatives in terms of representing the socio-technical practices level, indicated that İzmir provides cases for three different categories of the initiator framework. İzmir, as the only city that a variety of different Alternative Agro Food Initiatives exist and operate, and therefore, the only city that encompasses three types revealed in the initiator framework pave the way for exploring all types of AAFNs. Through the exploration of three different niche initiatives in the city of İzmir, I also provided a city-level investigation of Alternative Agro Food Systems. The emergent discussions on MLP and sustainability transitions literature underlines the role of the cities, notions of space as being relational, fluid and contested by institutionally situated actors, geographical aspects of sustainability transitions, the role of city regions in the governance of transitions pathway and the role of cities to shape socio-technical transitions (Coenen et al., 2012; Coenen & Truffer, 2012; Eames et al., 2013; Hodson & Marvin, 2010; Raven et al., 2012). I am exploring the role of the city of İzmir in the emergence, development and characteristics of niche initiatives.

For producer initiated alternative agro food practices, Gödence Cooperative is the case study. For consumer initiated alternative agro food practices, BİTOT group is chosen as the case and; for producer-consumer collaborated alternative agro food initiatives

category, Foça Earth market is the case study. I have conducted in-depth qualitative exploratory research and divided my empirical research into two phases.

This dissertation does not provide a normative exploration of what is more alternative than others. I am centralizing ecological, non-industrial/conventional production (for organic certificated ones non-industrial-organic production) and exploring alternative forms of niches. I am revealing alternative forms of production, marketing, distribution, retail and consumption, alternative forms of social organization, grassroots innovations within these niches and their socio-technical practices. I am not attending a role to this dissertation as finding out a solution for the problems of rurality or I am not providing a solution to the problems induced by the mainstream regime and its incumbent system practices. Nor does this thesis provide a measured potential of alternative agro food niches to transform incumbent system. Because the movement has emerged one decade ago in Turkey, such generalizations would highly be under the risk of overgeneralization. If I do so, my generalizations will be "giving a Trans-historical, pan-cultural character to the phenomena which are actually historically specific or culture-bound" (Sayer, 2003: 100). This dissertation does not provide a model for alternative agro food practices that the very nature of such practices as well as the systems themselves are ongoing unfinished transitions (Elzen et al., 2011). I am providing a screenshot for the present day, current alternative agro food niches with reference to the short history of the phenomenon and undergoing mainstream regime practices, in İzmir.

1.2. Research Questions

Alternative Agro Food Systems' practices and its literature are new and novel. As I have discussed above, the main gap in the literature is micro-level investigation. There is a big gap of AAFS literature; its history, forms, practices, etc. in Turkey. Furthermore, MLP literature on Alternative Agro Food Systems is lacking a city-level examination. Hence, I am asking the question below to make an exploration and reveal my findings to fill these gaps.

The thesis asks the main question of *How niche initiatives within Alternative Agro Food Systems emerge and develop; which characteristics of the niche facilitate niche development processes?* By focusing on niche practices;

By which grassroots innovations?

By which socio-technical practices?

By the involvement of which types of actors?

To reveal Alternative Agro Food Systems and the emergent niches within them in Turkey, I am attempting to answer these questions.

1.3. Research Methodology

I am applying exploratory qualitative multiple case study research in this dissertation. I am using Multi-Level Perspective framework to examine the socio-technical regime and niche initiatives with the diverse and favorable conceptualization that the framework provides me. I have selected my cases in the context of the initiator framework that I have developed in the scope of this thesis.

I have made my research in two different phases. During the first phase of my empirical study, I examined 40 cases in Turkey and developed "initiator framework" through the findings of this exploration. This frame identifies organized, cooperating solidarity groups, thus, personal attempts and efforts of individual producers and consumers are out of the scope of this abstraction. This frame is derived from the first phase of my research, in which I have collected 40 examples of different, diverse alternative agro food networks in Turkey. By doing so, I have reached an abstraction which clarifies three categories of alternative agro food networks in Turkey. Initiator Framework identifies three categories of alternative agro food initiatives as follows;

1. *Producer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Initiatives* are initiated by a producer, a group of producers or in the leadership of a committed idealist in a territory like a village or a basin. Alternative production practices through local seeds or ecological agricultural techniques are applied, traditional production techniques are re-discovered; alternative direct- shortened- marketing ways are developed; making institutional designs within their organization and re-define regime rules. To do so, they apply socio-technical practices and step by step develop their organization through (a) initial cooperation- grassroots innovation, (b) organized cooperation- social network building and (c) innovation development- socio-technical practices.

2. *Consumer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Initiatives* reveal consumer groups founded by a group of consumers (ethical consumers and concerned consumers) and enthusiastic activists and initiated by a committed idealist. Producers in this type are

making ecological production –to their group either by traditional wise peasant agriculture techniques or by more institutional permaculture and organic production techniques- to their group, and consumers control and monitor producers. The producers in this group are diverse; peasant producers, urban rooted producers, entrepreneurial producers and so on. Consumers in that initiative are ethical consumers and concerned consumers at most. The practice itself is a direct marketing channel for producers. The level of volunteerism determined the emergence of socio-technical practices and implementation of regime rules about alternative agro food production practices (with non-hybrid, non-GMO local seeds, non-chemical, non-synthetic, polyculture production). In this case, the group is developed through (a) initial cooperation- grassroots innovation, (b) organized cooperation- social network building and (c) innovation development-socio-technical practices.

3. *Producer-Consumer Collaborated Alternative Agro Food Initiatives* are groups organized through the cooperation of producers and consumers to establish a bazaar with the participation of producers (including enthusiastic actors), a committed idealist and a group of voluntary consumers. Diversifying types of bazaars define their territory, rules, production types (certified or not) and the scale of the bazaar in different ways. Producers are also diversified in different types of bazaars that in some cases only peasants are producers. In some of the examples, both producers and intermediaries are operating counters/stands in the bazaar. Also, the scale of the land ownership of the producers is diversifying in different bazaars. The development of niche practice is similar to the niche practices of previous two types, (a) initial cooperation- grassroots innovation, (b) organized cooperation-social network building, and (c) innovation development- socio-technical practices. These three phases are only and only observed in Earth Markets case.

The Initiator Framework allowed me to make case study selection that I found out each categories defined by the Initiator Framework in İzmir. During the first phase of my research, I attended an education program on rural and local development, conducted six in-depth semi-structured interviews, ten in-depth complementary non-structured interviews, four short contacts, two participatory observations and an observation regarding La Via Campesina. While doing so, I asked open ended questions to the interviewees.

In the second phase-intensive research phase, I made in-depth examination of the three case studies. So as to operationalize my research questions, I have interrogated the

characteristics which facilitate niche development relevant to the Multi-Level Perspective literature in three case studies. During field study of the second phase of my research, I have conducted fifteen in-depth semi structured interviews with open ended questions. Six in-depth interviews in Gödence case, seven in-depth interviews in BİTOT-GETO groups and 3 in-depth interviews in Foça Earth Market have been conducted. In addition, I made non-structured short interviews; three in Gödence, two in BİTOT-GETO and four in Foça Earth Market. At last, I have conducted non-structured complementary short contacts; two in Gödence and five in Foça Earth Market. Furthermore, I have made three participatory observations; one in BİTOT, one in GETO and one in Foça Earth Market.

During the two phases of my research, I have conducted twenty two in-depth interviews in total. As complementary in-depth interviews, I have completed nineteen short interviews and twelve short contacts. In total, I have conducted five participatory observations, an observation of La Via Campesina meeting and participation to an education program.

1.4. Outline of Chapters

This dissertation is composed of eight chapters. The current chapter gives introductory remarks, problem statement, research questions and two phases of the research.

Chapter Two is putting the transforming food regime in a historical perspective and the current mainstream food regime- the corporate global food regime as well as the Agrarian Question. In this respect, Chapter Two discusses peasant movements and consumer movements and their relation with the emergence of Alternative Agro Food Systems.

Following, Chapter Three explains theoretical and conceptual underpinnings, contemporary discussions and four sub conceptualizations of Alternative Agro Food Systems. These four sub conceptualizations handle the issue with its diversifying perspectives and varying emphases. Although different sub-conceptions focus on different aspects of AAFSs, they have common points on the emergence of new actors, new values and new expressions in the system transition processes of AAFSs.

In Chapter Four, I execute Multi-Level Perspective framework that provides a structural explanation of the alternative agro food niches in reference to transition of

socio-technical landscape. I discuss three levels that MLP execute and the characteristics that niche initiatives possess for system transitions.

In Chapter Five, I am revealing the methodology of this dissertation. I am conducting exploratory qualitative multiple case study research in this dissertation. I express Multi-Level Perspective that I have adopted in my analysis and the Initiator Framework that I have developed in Chapter Five. I further explain my two research phases, data sources, interviews conducted and the secondary data used in this study. Then I discuss the limitations of the research.

In the Chapter Six, I focus on to the irreversible process of restructuring which has undergone especially after the 1980s in agriculture and food sector. I attempt to briefly present the historical background of this global restructuring with an emphasis on Turkish context. By doing such a representation, I describe threefold distinction in agro food systems in Turkey that I classified as traditional systems, conventional systems and alternative systems. Then I am introducing a short and incomplete history of Alternative Agro Food Systems in reference to the milestones of the movement. I am also introducing the history of organic agriculture in Turkey. Then I am writing the narratives of cases in reference to my research questions.

Chapter Seven displays my case studies; Gödence, BİTOT and Foça Earth Market. I am displaying the development process of alternative agro food niches and the socio-technical practices applied in these processes. Focusing on case studies of three niche alternatives, I aim at analyzing the characteristics that niche initiatives, exploring the processes through which niche alternatives emerge and develop.

Chapter Eight gives concluding remarks about this thesis in general and in cases specifically.

CHAPTER 2

FOOD REGIME RESEARCH: CHANGING AGRO-FOOD REGIMES

2.1. Introduction

The socio-economic focus of agrarian political economy concerned the disappearance of the peasantries and the transformation of peasant class to other classes through dispossession and proletarianization along 1960s in the course of capitalism (Araghi, 2003; 2009a; 2009b; Aydın, 2010; Bernstein, 2006/7; 2015; Friedmann, 2003; 2005; Friedmann & McMichael, 1989; Karapınar, Adaman & Özertan, 2011a; Keyder & Yenal, 2013; McMichael, 2009; 2013). Thus, the key questions were around capitalist landed property, agrarian capital and agricultural labor whether driven by 'accumulation from below' (peasant capitalism) and 'accumulation from above' (through extra-economic coercion exercised by 'bureaucrat capital') (Bernstein, 1979; Bernstein, 2015, 2016, Bernstein & Byres, 2001). However, more recent debate on food regime analysis opened up a diverse theorization and conceptualization of world food systems history and the evolution of the agrarian question.

Food regime analysis explains the role of agriculture in the construction of the world capitalist economy. It portrays periods of capital accumulation which is related to geopolitical power, contingent to forms of agricultural production and consumption relations within and across national spaces. Incompatible relations occur in food regimes and produce crisis, transformation, and transition to successor regimes. In this respect, this part gives us insight to understand the historical factors that prepared the emergence of current food regime and the emergence of AAFS within current food regime, namely the Global Corporate Food Regime.

In this part, I am putting the historical development of agro food systems and its transformation processes. In reference to regime theory, I am revealing transformation of agro food systems which by itself transforming peasantry, production, consumption, procurement, retail and marketing systems. In this respect, I am firstly revealing transforming food regimes in history, namely the first food regime- the Colonial Food

Regime- and the second food regime- the Development Food Regime. Then I am deeply examining the third food regime as the contemporary mainstream regime, namely the Global Corporate Food Regime. I am secondly discussing the Agrarian Question in transformation and the current agrarian question. In this part, I am also discussing the emergence, historical development and contemporary situation of agrarian movements, consumer movements in the context of their background role that caused emergence of AAFS. I further introduce Multi-Level Perspective framework that provides a structural explanation of the emergent alternative agro food niches that construct new, novel socio-technical agro food regime and the role of socio-technical system in transition of socio-technical landscape. Multi-level perspective ensures to understand and analyze the emergent sustainable niches within the mainstream regime- the third food regime- and their role and potential to create transition in socio-technical landscape.

2.2. Food Regimes in Modern Capitalism

Agrarian political economy has considered food regime analysis since 1870s with the questions of place and actors of food production and consumption, social and ecological effects of international relations of food production and consumption within different food regimes (Bernstein, 2015; Friedman; 1987, 2009). Earlier colonial trade, in this view, represents the 'pre-history' of food regimes (McMichael, 2013). This view is reflecting emergence of plantations rather than the peasant existence in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The term of "Food Regime" was firstly used and developed by Harriet Friedmann, "one of the great contemporary scholars of agrarian political economy" (Weis, 2007: 175), in her study in 1987[3] and this theorization was complemented by her another study in 2005, as well as McMichael's (2009) food regime genealogy, food regime and agrarian question (2013), Magnan's (2012) food regime and Bernstein's studies in 2015 and 2016 that summarize the history and development of the issue. Food regime discussions concentrate a list of factors that form the characters of the food regime which are as follows;

- International State System
- Dominant forms of capital (and modalities of accumulation)

[3] Friedmann (1982) previously was defining the idea with the term of "International Food Order".

- International Division of Labor and Trade
- Rules and Legitimation (of Different Food Regimes)
- Technical and Environmental Change in Farming (of which relations between agriculture and industry)
- Social forces (other than capital forces and state forces)
- Tensions and contradictions
- Transition between different food regimes

Friedmann (2005) conceptualized three periods of food regimes as follows; the diasporic-colonial food regime of 1870-1914, mercantile-industrial food regime of 1947-1973 and the new food regime since mid-1980s. McMichael (2009) extends the first food regime till 1930s by combining colonial tropical imports, livestock imports from settler colonies, provisioning emerging European industrial classes, and underwriting the British 'workshop of the world'.

"The first food regime grew up in response to working class movements in Europe, and created a historically unprecedented class of commercial family farmers" (Friedmann, 2005: 227). After the collapse of world markets, class of commercial family farmers transformed to the mercantile-industrial food regime of 1947-1973, of which McMichael (2009) dates to 1950s-1970s period. The industrial food regime is based on audit mechanism on quality and ways of production by supply chain which brought about discussion on food standards. These standards, the most primary versions such as ISO, created impasse led by food retailers and appropriated demands of control over environment, sustainability, food safety, animal welfare, trade fairness and so on. Furthermore, the comprehensive industrialization of agriculture existed strongly in the second food regime, and is a central focus of political ecology today. Therefore, according to Friedmann (2005), the new food regime, namely corporate- environmental food regime emerged after 1980s upward and onward promises to change balance between public and private regulation, providing conservation for environment and resource management, and enlargement of the gap between privileged and poor consumers. The reason lying under this idea is that new food regime is making commercialization and marginalization of existing peasantries deeper. In addition, social movements, peasant movements are already regrouping which provides the consolidation of the regime to remain uncertain. In the third food regime, I think the greatest tension occurs between pressures of neoliberal policies, financialization of food regime, oligopoly corporatization of natural

capital of protection facing grassroots agrarian movements, consumer movements and the innovative solutions of the systems through localization debate and "green capitalism".

Green environmental regime, in other words green capitalism (Friedmann, 2005), have risen as a response to pressures of social movements such as the demands and concerns of consumers on food safety, quality and effects of industrial farming and rapid growth on environment. The responses to such concerns firstly emerged as the introduction of organic food as a labelling scheme. According to Friedmann (2005: 231); "the response is selective, choosing those demands that best fit with expanding market opportunities and profits". It is critical that the farm crisis in 1980s articulated with environmental concerns and the pursuit of local tastes of consumer caused many farmers to shift from ecological production to organic production (Guthman, 2004a).

The question whether green capitalism is contradicting with itself that imperative grow or die principle contrasts with environmental concerns arises here. According to Friedmann (2005), green capitalism is not a contradiction in terms. Bernstein (2015) adds that green capitalism is selective and can adapt its strategies to pretend facing demands of environmental movements for pollution and environmental degradation.

McMichael (2009) also made a comprehensive and programmatic reinterpretation of food regime analysis. He detects primary conceptions of food regime were structural and the evolution was stylizing periodization of moments of hegemony in the global order and should be better *refocused through moments of transitions and social forces that are constructing and reconstructing the food regimes* (McMichael, 2009). He redeveloped the concept of food regime to the notion of 'The Food Regime Project' (McMichael, 2013). He distinguishes the agrarian history into three periods which are 'The Colonial Project'[4], The Development Project' and 'The Globalization Project' as the projects of capital and the state. I, in this part, provide a brief of theorization and the characteristics of these three periods, or historical periods of world agriculture (McMichael, 2007) distinguished in the literature namely;

2. The First Food Regime (1870-1930)- The Colonial Food Regime
3. The Second Food Regime (1945-1973)- The Development Food Regime
4. The Third Food Regime (since late 1980s)- The Global Corporate Food Regime

departing from the formulation of Friedmann and McMichael (1989).

[4] The term 'project'is referring and pointing 'The Colonial Project', the first food regime manifested.

These list of factors of food regimes primarily depend on Bernstein (2015, 2016), which I have used the summary tables in the following parts of this section in a re-arranged form. Departing from his summarizing, I also examine the first and the second food regimes by using these list of factors item by item. There are two reasons lying behind this. The first is that Bernstein's conceptualization let me to prepare a satisfactory examination of the previous food regimes. The second is that the conceptualization provided me to relate food systems research not only in economic terms but also in social, cultural and governing terms. On the other hand, I do not prefer to use the same formulation while discussing the third and latest food regime. Because, I do not want to restrict the ongoing transformations and anticipations to list of factors, rather I deepen the debate through its internal tensions, which require more than summarizing.

2.2.1. The First Food Regime: The Colonial Food Regime

The first food regime was mostly depending on European imports of meat and wheat from colonial world- the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and partly Latin America- for providing cheap food to develop industrialization of Britain and other European Countries. The period of the first food regime is defined between 1870-1914 by Friedmann and McMichael (1989), while McMichael (2009) extends the period until 1930s, related to 1929 Great Depression, The World Wars and including the period of signals of international exchanges between Nation States. In this period, cheap colonial agro food provided British and European capital to regulate accumulation through imposing under consumption on generation of labor forces (Araghi, 2003).

- International State System: Friedmann and McMichael (1989) formulated first regime as a state-focused, capital centric and absent agrarian capital. Starting with the history of colonization, Britain and Europe were still taking the advantages of natural and rural sources at the end of the 19th century and at the first two decades of the 20th century. In Africa and in Asia, the golden age for colonists were provided thanks to settler states.
- Dominant Forms of Capital: The first food regime introduced an important dialect of national and international dynamics. Friedmann and McMichael (1989) introduced that the financing of international trade was done through the gold standard and operated by the City of London. Its market links to industry clearly enframed

agriculture as a capitalist economic sector and caused mechanical and chemical inputs' use in farming and advances in railway transport.

Table 2. Summary of First Food Regime
(Source: Adapted from Bernstein (2016: 6) and rearranged by the author)

International state system	Formation of state system: State-Focused - Britain and Europe - Settler states: settler-colonial food regime or the colonial-diasporic food regime (Friedmann, 2005) - 'Culmination of colonialism' (Asia and Africa)
Dominant forms of capital	- British (and other European industrial capital) - Gold standard in international trade (London-based, hence British finance capital) - British-centered Food Regime (McMichael, 2009)
International division of labor/trade	- British hegemony in world market - settler states: wheat exports to Europe - crisis of European grain production - colonial exports of tropical products (Europe and elsewhere) - grain and meat exports- large scale international trade from settler states
Rules/legitimation	- 'rhetoric of free trade' - Expansion of institutional forms due transoceanic transport - Notorious exploitation of agricultural wage workers- slavery
Social forces	- European working classes - Labour struggles (Harvey, 2003) returned with Keynesian welfare solutions - Family farmers in settler states
Technical and environmental change	- Expansion of farming frontier in settler states (and soil mining) – extension of cultivated area - Discovery of food staples to carry large amounts of production for transoceanic distances
Tensions/contradictions	- Rural out-migration due colonial surplus - Contradictory determinations of world markets expanded class agents, and institutional forms (Bernstein, 1996/7)

- International Division of Labor: According to Bernstein (2016), colonization and occupation of land and the rise of the nation state provided a political basis for international division of labor which occurred in three zones; colonial settlements as neo-Europes, agrarian crisis in Europe due low prices of food provided by colonial world causing increase in rural out-migration and specialization in tropical export crops in colonial Asia and Africa. Later, the national framework of capitalism, which is contingent itself, became the base to replace colonial food system with international specialization.

- Rules and Legitimation: Friedmann (2005) framed first food regimes rules and legitimation within the general rhetoric of free trade and the actual workings of the

gold standard. She later used terms of the settler-colonial food regime (Friedmann 2004) and the colonial-diasporic food regime (Friedmann 2005).

- Social Forces: Friedmann and McMichael's unique contribution for the first food regime was the revealing of 'a new class of farmers dependent on export markets from the European immigrant Diasporas of settler colonies' (Friedmann and McMichael 1989, 100). Friedmann (2005) later defined this new class as an innovative result of the colonial-diasporic food regime with the term of commercial farm based on family labor. While the family farmers emerged in settler colonies, the working class was dominant in Europe through industrialization. As Bernstein (2009) stated, emergence of farm based family labor created the longstanding and continuing debate about the relative 'efficiency' in price terms of 'family'/small-scale vs capitalist/large-scale farming, given the capacity for 'self-exploitation' of the former.
- Tensions and Contradictions: Although it is not underlined by Bernstein (2016), the tension that have diminished and disrupted the national production of European colonist countries was due to agricultural surplus provided by colonization. This, with other structural changes through industrialization, accelerated rural out-migration.
- Technical and Environmental Change: In the late 19th century, international trade between settler states and Europe mediated three basic relations between agriculture in the world industry. According to Bernstein (2015), these were emergence of product variety thanks to accessibility of different climates and social organizations caused competitiveness in the market. Moreover, the availability of more and wider land in the colonized geographies provided extension of cultivated area.

Before ending the first food regime, the literature points to the end of the first food regime and start of the first food crisis with the beginning of World War I in 1914 except for Magnan (2012) and McMichael (2009). Magnan locates the crisis of first food regime between 1925 and 1945, the period when the world grain prices collapsed as the most distinguished product of the trade, as well as McMichael remarks the Great Depression of the 1930s which was followed by The World War II. The end of the war would be the start of the second food regime, which I investigate in the following headline.

2.2.2. The Second Food Regime: The Development Food Regime

1945-1973 period became the era for completion of the international state system. In this period, independent states of the former colonies in Asia and Africa became Global South producers. In my opinion, the second food regime has critical specificities both for the world history of capital accumulation and for the emergence of third food regime. The second food regime provided re-transformation of flows of food surplus from the United States to its informal empire of postcolonial states on strategic periphery of the Cold War years (McMichael, 2009) and US hegemony took form in this period that the capitalist world economy and the US dollar became the medium of international trade and financial transactions (Friedmann & McMichael 1989).

The second food regime is more likely to be a model of an internally articulated national economy. The key feature lying behind the model is based on the dynamic exchanges between the agriculture sector and industry sector as a postwar development project to create national development model in the postcolonial world (McMichael, 2009). In this respect, cheap labor force was provided through subsidies including food aid and cheap food, promoting food dependency in the long run. According to Tubiana (1989), agricultural commodity prices were stabilized by state managed trade and, followed by the introduction of Green Revolution technologies and multilateral agreements, Third World became food suppliers.

According to Bernstein (2015), the second food regime brought about various effects for the capitalist countries of the North (First World) and South (Third World). It is important that the crisis of the second food regime was manifested in rapid price inflation in the early 1970s. Although Friedmann and McMichael (1989) analyzed the end of second food regime through the decline of national agricultures, with reference to Nation States, they lost the critical point that 1973 food crisis prepared the real basis (Bernstein, 2015).

Among several developments in the North, overproduction and its pressures on prices and thus on farm incomes became the factor for the emergence of subsidy policies. In this context, food aid subsidized wages promoted Third World industrialization (Bernstein, 2016) and guaranteed the States to internalize national agro-industrialization, adopting Green Revolution technologies, and installation of land reform to persuade peasant unrest and extend market relations into the countryside (McMichael, 2009).

- International State System: The rules of the second food regime build a new pattern of intensely national regulation in Friedmann's (1993) point of view. She expresses a key turning point as the corporate organization of a transnational agro food complex centered on the Atlantic economy, which she named Atlantic Pivot (ibid: 36). Following Atlantic pivot and with the influences of price supports and export subsidies, a competitive dumping and trade wars would occur between European economy and the US economy.

International competition in agricultural commodity trade intensified with the entry or increased fame of New Agricultural Countries (NACs)[5] in world markets. Friedmann states that Brazil, as an example to this, clearly replicated and modernized the US model of "state organized agro food production" (1993: 46). NAC prominence is the revival of intense export competition on world markets prior to the postwar food regime. As Bernstein (2015) ascertained, right after Friedmann's work in 1993, World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995 as the upgraded version of General Agreement on Tariffs (GATT), which was founded in 1946. GATT did not include agricultural trade, however, was highlighting global Keynesian solutions as international trade and their bearing on economic development in the South. According to Avery (1993), in most instances, farm interests are extravagantly represented in international trade policy processes. Though agricultural trade was excluded from GATT- while efficient use of agricultural sources included-, WTO made agricultural trade one of the most contested areas as competition of world markets for agricultural commodities focused, of which became the driving force of the third food regime in world market liberalization (McMichael 2013, Bernstein, 2016).

- Dominant Forms of Capital: Friedmann and McMichael claim that rising separation and mediation by capital of each stages between raw material and final consumption characterized the transnational restructuring of agriculture sector among other sectors under the stimulus of increasing global agribusiness corporations and their role in creating agro food complexes. This characterization also includes global sourcing. Their manifestation of this process emerges under three headlines in practice; massive production and consumption of meat and revival of intensive agricultural production complexes (selective for industrial products), manufactured food complexes, and use and

[5] By the analogy with New Industrial Countries (NICs).

replacement of soybean oil and grain with tropical sugars (namely to synthetize sugar and vegetable oils).

- International Division of Labor: For the demands of the industrializing world, Third World had to be guaranteed. Therefore, US wheat exports (and soybean oil) subsidized through Public Law 480 to provide 'cheap' food to help fuel industrialization and proletarianization at the cost of producers' domestic food farming (Bernstein, 2016). However, this process had the marks for many countries that Global North was import dependent to South. The alternative solution, Green Revolution, led to some notable advances in national self-sufficient grain production, which is especially became very successful in South and Southeast Asia. Hereby, the developments central to second food regime constructed industrialization of plantation and livestock production both in the North and South. According to Friedmann & McMichael (1989), the World War II onward and upward, the North experienced increase of incomes and the growth of mass consumption. They call European policy as renationalization of domestic agriculture, a replicate of the US pattern. It is obvious that, European surplus would be sought in the international markets but not as raw materials. Raynolds, et al. (1993) discovered that agribusiness detailed and varied transnational linkages between national farm sectors that were diversified with specialized agriculture linked by global supply chains. More clearly, this process universalized the national economic development model complementary to the state system and hence decolonization was replaced by new international division of labor formed around transnational commodity complexes.

- Rules and Legitimation: The new pattern of intensely national regulations, established by the US policy arrangements, provided the second food regime to be surplus regime (Friedmann, 1993), the mercantile-industrial food regime (Friedmann 2004) and the US centered intensive food regime (McMichael 2013). At the center of the rules and regulations of the second food regime, there was a combination of comprehensive technological change, industrialization of agriculture and the foreign policy in the form of food aid to succeed in production and productivity growth. According to Bernstein (2016), the food aid firstly helped to dispose grain surpluses and at the same time facilitated postwar recovery of Europe through Marshall Aid, and secondly in the Third World under Public Law 480 (PL 480) enacted in 1953. I need to point that this provided emergence of powerful agribusiness corporations, industrialization of agricultural production, dependence of the Third World on food imports and import of agricultural technology.

- Social Forces: Bernstein (2015) puts that social movements only make a full appearance in considerations of a third food regime. On the other side, Magnan (2012) claims that social movements were key players of the second food regime that many movements occurred in US food lobbies. In this view, because of the ongoing controversies between farmers and the state in postwar period, lobbies for public spending on agriculture succeeded in the North America. However, lobbying between the state and the farmers and subsidy policies are not the best examples of the social forces in my opinion. Because, the same period witnessed the fragmentation and marginalization of farm politics and the differentiation of farmers by size and commodity as well as decreasing number of farmers (Magnan, 2012).

- Technical and Environmental Change: It is obvious that, massive industrialization, mechanization and 'chemicalization', hence intensification of cultivation as well as meeting the demands of agro food industries both in animal feeds and for the manufacture of durable foods advanced the external links of farming with industry in the second food regime. Indeed, external links with industry transformed the labor processes in the US and in the North. On the other hand, lying back the "food safety", the Green Revolution with its technology transfer, genetic modifications, hybridized seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticide inputs and so on mostly and massively applied in the South especially after 1960s. Although the innovation promised to secure food, the mostly cited critique came from Amartya Sen that increasing food production in number is not synonymous of food security (Burchi & De Muro, 2012; Devereux, 2001; Sen, 1981).

Griffin's (1979) study gave evidence from Asia, Mexico and Columbia that accompanying technology neither led to increase in agricultural production per head, nor led to reduce malnutrition. On the other hand, the beneficiary of the green revolution was prosperous landowners resulting in income inequality and polarization of social classes.

- Tensions and Contradictions: Friedmann (1993) makes a fixing of tensions in the second food regime. These are replication and integration of national agro-food sectors. The problem is inherent in US farm programmes' chronic surpluses that;

(i) The replication is contributing to competition and potential trade wars through regression of the US dollar as international trade currency and

(ii) The integration of US farming model, which depends on problems of transnational corporations, especially in Global South.

Table 3. Summary of the Second Food Regime
(Source: Adapted from Bernstein (2016:10) and rearranged by the author)

International state system	- Completion of state system with decolonization in Asia and Africa [Cold War, US and Soviet blocs] - State protectionist regime (Friedmann, 1993; McMichael, 2009) - New pattern of intensely national regulation (Friedmann, 1993) - US centered Food Regime (McMichael, 2009)
Dominant forms of capital	- Growing power, and transnationalisation, of agribusiness capital - Surplus Regime (Friedmann, 1993)
International division of labor/trade	- US hegemony in world capitalism- US model - Interlinkages with global supply chain - In USA food economy -- 'meat/soy/maize complex' -- manufacture of 'durable foods' both with some sourcing of 'inputs' from South - In Europe (EU): 'replication' of US model of national regulation of agriculture, including support prices and export subsidies - In South --US food aid to help 'national development'- Third World food import dependence, Marshall Aid (McMichael, 2009) --loss of export markets with substitution of sugar and vegetable oils --new 'non-traditional' agricultural and horticultural exports
Rules/legitimation	- 'Mercantilist' model of national regulation of agriculture (Friedmann, 2004) - 'National development' in South, assisted by especially US food aid- Marshall Aid- Third World Public Law - Surplus Regime (Friedmann, 1993) - US centered intensive food regime (McMichael, 2013) - Multilateral Accords (Tubiana, 1989)
Social forces	- Emergence of environmental and other 'social movements' (especially affecting the movements in the third regime) - International social movements against race, ethnicity, gender, etc. discrimination and poor working conditions (influencing agricultural production conditions)
Technical and environmental change	- New stage of industrialization of farming in North; mechanization and 'chemicalization', hence intensification of cultivation (and environmental effects) - Green Revolution
Tensions/ contradictions	- Replication/integration - Results of environment and health problems
'Alternatives'	- Localization of food production and distribution (preliminary) - Emergence of consumer movements and environmental movements - Democratic food policy

Friedmann identifies the problem of transnational corporations as the obstacles, rules and national regulations that were limiting these corporations to integrate to potential global agro food sector. The restriction of the trade and the freedom of the capital were contradicting, which would generate the rise of the third food regime (Friedmann, 2004). Moreover, fluctuations in the sector due to massive grain deals between the US and the USSR created a sudden shortage of grain and black-market in prices (Friedmann,

1993). This brought about changing power balance among states (McMichael, 2013) which might be pointed as one of the factors the need of transnational corporations to integrate in a potential global market.

- Alternatives: While the changing balance of power among states caused an erosion in US hegemony in the postwar capitalist world economy, one hypothesis marks globalization and the other mark localization of food production and procurement (Bernstein, 2016). Furthermore, Friedmann (1993) termed that the social basis of democratic food policy was developed 'democratic public regulation' of food production and trade emerged at the end of the second food regime.

The end of the second food regime is dated to early 1970s crisis. The most obvious symptoms were start of a period of great instability in world market prices, increasing difficulties with multilateral accords and the increased competition with the export markets (Tubiana, 1989).

2.2.3. The Third Food Regime: The Global Corporate Food Regime

Global corporate food regime has crystallized as a new moment with politics of neoliberalism in the history of capitalism since 1980s (Friedmann & McMichael, 1989; Friedmann, 1993; Bernstein, 1996/7; Bernstein & Byres, 2001; Çakmak & Akder, 2005; Friedmann, 2005; McMichael, 2005; Born & Purcell, 2006; McMichael, 2009; Çalışkan & Adaman, 2011; Çakmak & Dudu, 2011, Bernstein, 2015, 2016). The original text of food regimes of Friedmann and McMichael was depending on a sequential formulation of hegemony of Britain and USA in governing the capitalist world economy (McMichael, 2009). In this respect, food circuits in each regime promoted the power exercises of the dominant state. As I have stated above, in the first food regime, American family farming provided lower cost wheat than European capitalist farms. However, the third food regime opened up new debates for change of power relations through declining hegemony of US and Britain and increasing hegemony of trust agricultural input companies (Tubiana, 2989). The corporate-environmental food regime (Friedmann, 2005) conceptualization synthesized the turn of the food regime through a green capital. The turn depends primarily on the obligations occurred due industrialization of agriculture and environmental deterioration that have already exceeded, in short.

McMichael (2009; 2013; 2014) makes a tentative assessment of the third food regime. In this respect, I am going to follow this comprehensive conceptualization at this part of the study. In McMichael's view (2009), the global food regime is a key vector for the corporatization of global development, agriculture and agro exports; deregulation of financial relations; privatization due indebted states and world scale casualization of labor (McMichael, 2005). The corporate food regime provides to materialize these dispositions through putting a truss span between world prices and costs of agricultural commodities.

In this part, I am revealing the debates, discussions and features of the third food regime. Differing from the previous sections of this chapter, I am not defining the key features of the third food regime articled but rather attempt to deepening the debate. I firstly give some key features of the third food system, then make a mention of global movements. Following, I scrutinize corporate-environmental food regime conceptualization.

2.3.1.1. **Key Features of Corporate Global Food Regime**

The first of the key features of corporate food regime is its position in market liberalization and privatization of former public functions and services at the core of neoliberalization (Harvey, 2003). According to McMichael (2009), states follow the rules imposed by ideology of the market and became facilitator of global capital. Thence, states are working as agents to make "a set of rules to institutionalize corporate power in the world food system (McMichael, 2009: 153).

To continue with the second key feature, corporate globalization has priority under favor of "accumulation by dispossession", the process that wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few privileged by dispossessing people of their land and other assets (Harvey, 2003; 2004). Such dispossession finds body via global displacement of peasant cultures (Araghi, 2009a) of provision by conventional systems of provision, the supermarket oligopoly, and conversion of land for agro-export products (McMichael 2005), with 'a state-financed capital nexus dedicated to constructing new frontiers of accumulation' (McMichael 2013: 130). Global corporate agriculture involved in accumulation by dispossession become concrete by the integration of commodity circuits with food relations and transnational space of corporate agriculture (McMichael, 2005). In this respect, the division of labor as well as markets continued from the first regime

bringing about Northern grain traded for Southern high-value products such as meat, fruit and vegetables (McMichael, 2009), appropriation of massive areas of land in the South as land grab (Corson, et al., 2013; McMichael, 2013, Bernstein, 2015). McMichael (2011) explains the reason for such land grab that these land are appropriated for the production of raw material which are not produced for direct consumption but for being industrial inputs, production of animal feeds, which are not economically desirable and for biofuels. The production of agro fuels and biofuels is a project that represents the ultimate fetishization of agriculture through conversion of food sources of human into an energy input for the latter's increasing prices (McMichael, 2009). Another issue for land grabbing is what McMichael terms as 'agro security mercantilism' (2009) that foreign states use their sovereign wealth to produce export food on large scale farms for their domestic consumption.

Additionally, international trade in leading agricultural commodities increasingly came into existence through global commodity chains dominated by agribusiness. This is why this food regime is called as shift from productivist to postproductivist food regime (Ilbery & Bowler, 1998; Schucksmith, 1993). The evidences for this are coming from Latin America; with international trade of grape and mango in Brazil (Souza & Neto, 2012), relation between smallholder farmers and GVC in raspberry production in Chile (Challes & Murray, 2011), agro-exports in cut flower sector in Colombia (Patel-Campillo, 2010), as well as the Europe; (Patel-Campillo, 2011) in Dutch flower cut sector; from Africa with labor standards (Riisgaard, 2009) and so on. Indeed, leading agricultural commodities have a large range from grain and oil seeds to traditional exports of the South such as coffee and cacao and to non-traditional high-value exports such as fresh fruits and vegetables, cut flowers and so on. Domination of Global Commodity Chains in international trade can be organized either directly or indirectly, such as contract farming.

Thirdly, the corporate global food regime raised questions for the place, actors and way of production and consumption. Araghi (2009a) identifies the process of global depeasantization with deruralization and related hyper urbanization. These questions have seven debates under the production, procurement and consumption patterns of the third food regime;

a. Placeless foods of conventional production, procurement and consumption systems- or 'food from nowhere' (Bernstein, 2015) debate.

b. Corporate food regime encompasses a central contradiction between a world agriculture of conventional systems and a place-based form of agro ecology- food from somewhere (McMichael, 2009) debate.

c. Increasingly transnational classes of rich and poor consumers (Friedmann, 2003); the debate on branded by source or place of origin, GI label, certification, organic production, fair trade label, etc. (Such products may have travelled long distances and are not always affordable).

Table 4. Undernourishment around the world in number and percentages
(Source: FAO, 2015:8)

	1990-2 No.	1990-2 %	2014-6 No.	2014-6 %
World	1,010.6	18.6	794.6	10.9
Developed regions	20.0	<5	14.7	<5
Developing regions	990.7	23.3	779.9	12.9
Africa	**181.7**	**27.6**	**232.5**	**20.0**
Sub-Saharan Africa	**175.7**	**33.2**	**220.0**	**23.2**
Asia	741.9	23.6	511.7	12.1
Eastern Asia	295.4	23.2	145.1	9.6
South-Eastern Asia	137.5	30.6	60.5	9.6
Southern Asia	**291.2**	**23.9**	**281.4**	**15.7**
Latin America & Carib.	66.1	14.7	34.3	5.5
Oceana	1.0	15.7	1.4	14.2

d. Global hunger- unevenness debate; conventional food systems' claim on "feeding the world" through food safety discourse fail both in distribution of food and accessibility of food among world population- the extreme inequality of income distribution in contemporary capitalism.

e. Health and environmental concerns debate; industrially produced foods with high levels of toxicity, GMOs, damaging ecological footprint and "hoof print"[6] (Weis, 2007) stirred Alternative Agro Food Systems up.

f. I assert that, the debate on smallholder/small-scale producer versus large scale conventional producer rises a tension for market dependency, production relations and means of production; the scale of production debate.

[6] Hoofprint, increasing due high rates of meat consumption, has some of the largest impacts on almost every environmental problem including climate change, biodiversity loss, overuse of natural resporces and environmental pollution.

g. I also contribute to this issue that oligopoly debate in agents of production through construction of oligopoly seed market by distraining property rights and therefore inherent markets of chemicals, fertilizers and mechanization.

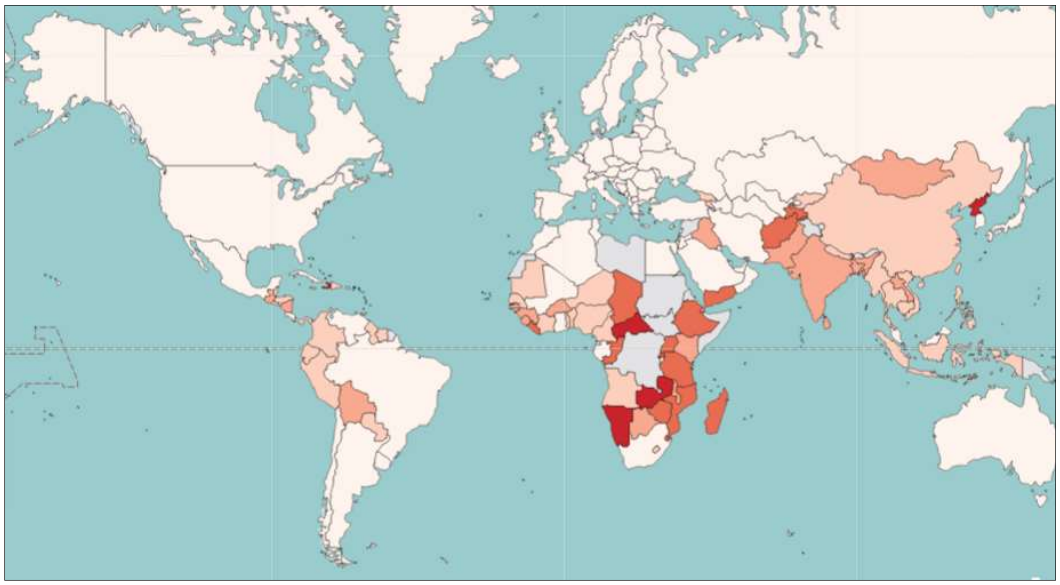


Figure 1. World hunger map 2015 (Source: FAO, http://www.fao.org/hunger/en)

Fourth key feature of the corporate food regime engenders an accelerating ecological deterioration by virtue of industrialization of agriculture causing destruction of biodiversity, greenhouse emission, intensive dependence on fossil fuels, soil degradation and exhaustion of knowledge of environment and ecology with natural cycles "by wiping out smallholder diversified farming" (McMichael, 2009). Such process of neoliberalization of nature (McMichael, 2013), not only mechanize, chemicalize and industrialize the production but also pursuit the property rights of genetic qualities of biological instruments of production, namely seeds and animal races. The critical position of WTO is identified by Bernstein (2016: 14);

> This is the new frontier of GMOs (genetically modified organisms), sometimes drawing on the (re-)engineering of existing plant species appropriated through practices of 'bio piracy' and then patented under the provisions of the WTO's TRIPS (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights).

Lastly, McMichael claims that 2008 food crises proved the crises of third food regime with an agflation representing the end of so called cheap food era (2013). He identifies the reasons for the "end of the third food regime" under three main headlines as follows;

1. Long term crisis of industrial agriculture owing to declining productivity and increasing production cost of grain farming (due input costs and fuel dependency in production)
2. Allocation of crop land for biofuel production as the prevail of energy market to food market
3. Deepening crisis of agro fuels project sponsored by the governments by means of legitimizing grab

   I need to add two more ones to these headlines;

4. Long term crisis of soil corrosion, nonproductiveness and ecosystem destructions
5. Increasing land grabbing of agricultural land for construction (encompassing housing and tourism purposes) and energy sector purposes.

McMichael's study (2013) on third food regime does not only summarize and conceptualize the third food regime, but also expresses resistance to current regime by giving clues of radical progressive alternatives to it (Bernstein, 2016). Moore (2010a, 2010b, 2011) also puts the same claims. McMichael (2013), the third food regime fastened dispossession of small-scale farming, smallholder farming and peasants, especially in the global South by contributing to liberalization of agricultural trade in favor of US and EU thanks to WTO and UN. In his view, La Via Campesina and "food sovereignty" paradigm have come into existence as the alternative of such system. There I see a bifurcated conceptualization of actors of the third food regime, 'capital and peasants' in McMichael's terms (2013). Such bifurcation is theorized as turn of the third food regime through corporate-environmental food regime and movements are put as the manifestations against symptoms of relevant food regime which I am adverting in the following part.

Table 5. Summary of Corporate Global Food Regime (since 1980s)
(Source: Adapted from Bernstein (2016:17) and rearranged by the author)

International state system	- Reconfigured by 'politics of neoliberalism' [boosted by end of USSR]; states as instruments of corporate capital - Neoliberal globalization (Harvey, 2005) - Supra National Organizations in Policy Making
Dominant forms of capital	- (Financialized) corporate agribusiness capital - Agro security mercantilism (McMichael, 2009) - Accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003) - Accumulation by displacement (Araghi, 2009b) - Market oligopoly in agricultural input (Özkaya, 2007; 2009) - The "Empire" (Van der Ploeg, 2008)
International division of labor/trade	- Northern grain exports to South - Southern export of 'exotics' to North - New frontiers of production of bulk staples in some parts of South (and 'land grabbing' to effect this) - 'integration of food and energy markets'
Rules/ legitimation	- Markets rule: increasing role of WTO, EU and UN - Certification, GI - Deactivation (Van Der Ploeg, 2008) - Ideology of ecological 'modernization' - 'Westernization' of diets?
Social forces	- Environmental and other oppositional social movements, newly emerged producer- consumer collaborated movements - La Vía Campesina, MST and other agro ecological smallholder/ peasant movements
Technical and environmental change	- Ongoing mechanization and chemicalization of farming, with intensifying fossil fuel usage (and pollution) - GMOs, bio piracy, 'neoliberalization of nature' through private property rights in biochemistry of organisms (Goodman et al., 1987) - Biogenetic revolution - Mounting ecological devastation
Tensions/ contradictions	- Ecological crisis - Annihilation of space and time - Volatility of food markets and prices - Widespread (and increasing?) hunger - Crises of profit and accumulation - Resistance spawned by expanded reproduction rather than labor struggles (Harvey, 2003) - De-commoditization (Van Der Ploeg, 2010b)
'Alternatives'	- A Corporate Environmental Food Regime (Friedmann, 2005) - 'civilizational movement' of La Vía Campesina, and allied and similar movements - Slow Food Movement - Food sovereignty - Localized production, distribution and consumption; 'food from somewhere' *versus* 'food from nowhere' (?) - AAFSs - Repeasantization (Van Der Ploeg, 2008)

2.3. Changing Food Regimes and the Agrarian Question

> Land, wealth and power in the hands of large land owners and transnational corporations unjustly denies peasants and farmers the possibility of controlling their own destinies. The policies of dumping, endemic situations of poverty and marginalization, increased in the third world by foreign debt, are destroying the hope of millions. Serious social deficiencies and lack of basic services together with the oppression of ethnic minorities and indigenous populations aggravate situations of injustice and frustration. The prevalent and increasing incidence of racism in the rural world is unacceptable (International Conference in Mexico, La Vía Campesina, 1996).

The classical key questions to peasantry involves struggles against feudalism, imperialism, capitalism and their role on everyday forms of resistance by peasants against those political authority (Bernstein, 2016). Agrarian studies examining colonial history were interested in peasants that are contingent upon imperialism and grabbing of imperialism for primitive accumulation in Europe. In such academic discussions, one of the most fertile contributions to political economy of agrarian studies was Friedmann and McMichael's (1989) foundational conceptualization of food systems and with respect to the role focusing on agriculture in the development of the capitalist world economy and in the direction of the state system. Shifting from regulation school (Bernstein, 2016), the notion of food regime correlates 'international relations of food production and consumption to forms of accumulation broadly distinguishing periods of capitalist accumulation' (Friedmann & McMichael, 1989: 95).

Agrarian change has been investigated through internal and external determinants. Transition to capitalism in Europe was examined as an internal factor while colonial histories were figured out as external determinations in relation to first food regime. After the end of colonialism and rise of nation states, internal focus became seperations; agriculture and industry, countryside and city, nation states easing or blocking industry (Friedmann & McMichael, 1989). De Janvry (1981) identified the change of agrarian question through disarticulated accumulation, political economy of reformism, types and consequences of land reform and the strategy of integrated rural development and found out that the agrarian question of the second food regime was non-agrarian.

According to Friedmann (2005: 231) "if successful, a new (third) regime promotes a new round of accumulation as a specific outcome of the standoff between 'conventional' and 'alternative' food systems". McMichael (2008) also claims that contrary to orthodox Marxist agrarian question querying agrarian evolution in capitalist societies as a labor problem and further conceptualizations on Global North-South divide of neoliberal policies, the new agrarian question is totally different in that to explore the new peasant

question, we need to shift our lenses to epistemological gears and examine the peasant movements.

The mechanization of agriculture caused the decrease in the number of people working in agriculture through displacement of machinery and labor force. This displacement causing migration of rural population to urban did not only bring about de-humanization of the rural but also caused depeasantization. According to Amin (2004), 3 billion people are living in urban slums primarily in the global South as a result of de-humanization and depeasantization processes. Further, according to International Labor Organization's statistics in 2009, farmers constituted 33.5% of the world's working population while the share of service sector workers and industrial working class are 43.3 and 23.2 respectively (Karapınar, et al., 2011). On the other hand, Van Der Ploeg (2008: xiv) declares, "there is an empirical reality in which there are far more peasants than ever before; 1.2 billion peasants, small farm households, the two fifth of humanity".

The inconsistency in statistics of peasants lies in two reasons the first of which is the casualization of agricultural labor worldwide. As it is emphasized, "The paradigm shift entailed in the European repeasantization has never been clearly articulated at institutional level" (Van Der Ploeg, 2008: 155). The second is that marginal, landless, small scale farmers or smallholders are statistically out of the corporate global system but in the middle of peasant movements (Borras, et al., 2008). As Van Der Ploeg (2008) stated majority of these farmers are smallholders, in some estimates producing 70 percent of the world's food, with international trade accounting for only 10 percent or so of total world agricultural output.

Engagement of food systems with capitalist narratives and their enabling policies got the response in the form of peasant movements. Clearly, McMichael is pointing out producer initiated alternative food systems associated with the new agrarian question.

To conclude, contemporary agrarian question, which is framed by an economic reductionism through neoliberal and orthodox Marxist perspectives on the temporality of peasantry (Araghi, 1995)," contemporary agrarian resistance challenges this ontology by confronting real material constraints, policy-driven assaults and the ideologies that inform and and legitimize this constraints and policies" (McMichael, 2007:5). Contrary to classical agrarian question, of which capital on the grounds that globalization involves centralizing capital and fragmenting labor under conditions of 'massive development of

the productive forces in capitalist agriculture and under the role of "the Empire"[7]. That is, the material question of food supply is resolved, even as global labor is impoverished by tenuous employment conditions. But social question is still unsolved that the 'agrarian question of labor' is now 'manifested in struggles for land against 'actually existing' forms of capitalist landed property (Bernstein, 2008). This type of struggle combines class, ethnic, gender and ecological perspectives in a solidarity attempt to reframe the debate and material relations of development (McMichael, 2007). The single-point perspective to challenge corporate food security with the unifying principle of food sovereignty is uprising to enable the realization of a multiplicity of social and ecological relations together to survive and transcend against crisis of the neoliberal project.

2.4. Challenges to the Incumbent Food Regime and the Rise of Peasant Movements

Neoliberalism has made significant changes in the dynamics of agricultural production and exchanged relations between countries across the north-south divide. There have been processes occurred simultaneously as globalization from above, partial decentralization from below and privatization from the side of the central state (Edelman, 1999). The most recent and broadest processes of agrarian restructuring provided great power for transnational and domestic capital to dictate terms of agricultural production and exchange (Borras, et al., 2008b). Access and control over land resources are redefined and landed property rights are restructured to favor private capital (World Bank, 2003; 2008). The need and potentiality of preceding exchange value consensus applied to food systems and dynamics of capitalism implicit in the third food regime has been propounded as *the antithesis* by McMichael. In this respect, McMichael (2009) underlines the acknowledgement of peasant movements. In his view, the concentration on peasant mobilization is an approval of the human and ecological awakening built by contradictory 21st century global food system. Peasant movements are making another way possible for a healthy logic of reproduction of social and ecological relations. In this respect, peasant movements in relation to consumer movements, which I am examining in the following

[7] Empire is used in the meaning that Van Der Ploeg (2008) identifies that it is new and powerful mode of ordering. It increasingly reorders large domains of social and natural worlds, subjecting them to new forms of centralized control and massive appropriation.

part, pave the way for emergence and genesis of Alternative Agro Food Systems as an antithesis of the mainstream global corporate food regime. In this respect, I am evaluating the rise of peasant movements and the contemporary peasant movements as an antithesis.

I observe that until the first issue of Journal of Agrarian Change which was published in 2001, there was not much studies in literature on rural politics confronting the peasant movements, which the second half of the 20th century faced. Borras, et al. (2008) puts the most comprehensive list of peasant movements. To mention some of the underlined movements among many, the largest agrarian based transnational network is International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty (IPC) encompassing more than 500 rural social movements and NGOs. There are also transnational movements in fisheries sector which are World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fishworkers (WFF), World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP) and International Collective in Support of Fisher Workers (ICSFW), while agricultural workers are organized under International Union of Food, Agriculture, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers (IUF).

According to Borras et al. (2008b), although the history of movements date back to late 19th century and there are many movements active for more than 50 years such as Campesino a Campesino (peasant to peasant) in Mezo-America, La Via Campesina (the peasant way) has had much attention in academic studies by following neoliberal dynamics. The exceptional cases were struggles over land, as in Peru in the 1960s; widespread local land seizures in the Philippines in the 1985s in conditions of political crisis, Portugal in 1974–1975 and Indonesia in 1964–1965 (Bernstein & Byres, 2001). It is important that the land occupations of the Landless Workers Movement MST (Movimiento Rural San Terra) in Brazil based to local resistances to land grabbing since 1940s and found form in the late 1970s, got a vision in 1984[8] (MST, 2003). Although some agrarian-based movements are relatively contemporary, some other are founded decades ago, such as International Federation of Adult Catholic Farmers' Movement (FIMARC) in 1950s and International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP) in 1940s. If we have a look at peasant movements, it is clear that they turn out to be movements of agricultural wage workers, landless peasants, small-land owner peasants or poor peasants. In this part, I am making a brief examination of peasant movements in the rural studies literature without a chronological sorting of approaches along second and third food regimes with some of the examples.

[8] MST is defined as 'the most dynamic social movement in Latin America', but not a 'peasant movement in the traditional sense' (Petras, 1998).

2.4.1. Subaltern Studies

The first approach I observed is based on analyzing peasant movements under subaltern studies. The reason of examining peasant movements of subalterns studies- under the risks of imputing an attitude of despising- derives from the division of subaltern and elite, and the aim of writing history from the peasants' and workers' point of view (Bernstein & Byres, 2001). In this view, to be subaltern is not to be powerless but it is rather an identification of class struggle (Hobsbawn, 1973). According to Davidson (1984), peasants and workers are not victims or followers, on the contrary they are autonomous agents that create their own oppositional culture and ideas. In this respect, departing from shifting views of Gramsci on peasantry, subaltern studies on peasantry advocated that ideas of peasants should not be represented by elites but by themselves.

2.4.2. Everyday Forms of Resistance

Another approach was 'everyday forms of resistance' claimed by Scott and Kerkvliet in mid 1980s (Bernstein & Byres, 2001) defines; social and cultural predicaments that peasants have long been subjected to create a resistance as we call everyday forms of resistance. Scott (1985) contributed to this view by identifying 'weapons of weak', for instance with the changing behavior of peasants in colonial plantations, which have a greater cumulative effect than dramatic and powerful rebellion. Korovkin also pointed a recent shift as 'hidden resistance' in Ecuador under increasing democratization conditions in 2000 (Bernstein & Byres, 2001).

Global-local complex processes have had effects on agrarian movements in diverse ways. Many agrarian movements localized their resistance and continue to operate within local and national borders in response to decentralization, privatized activities akin to state substitution while many other agrarian movement have internationalized their struggle in response to global agrarian restructuring (Borras, et al., 2008b). In 1980s, a massive new farmers movements emerged in India under the conditions of declining profit rates, increase in accumulation of capitalist farmers, growth of agricultural industrialization with impacts of rural labor market (Brass, 1994). There increased a campaign on price supports and subsidies to agriculture by using populist

slogans claiming unity of all farmer classes and agricultural wage workers. These movements were criticized by Marxist side while contributors of the issue raised discussions on complex class and caste in Indian rurality and politics (Bernstein & Byres, 2001). In Turkey, introduction of IMF policies enkindled a number of peasant movements across Anatolia in 1990s and continued along 2000s (Aysu, 2014).

2.4.2.1. **Communist and Socialist Political Engagements**

Lastly, communist and socialist political engagements with political movements came to agenda in the late 19th century in Southern Europe; Sicily, anarchist rural women collectivization in Spain (Bernstein & Byres, 2001) and global movement of La Via Campesina; born in Belgium in 1993 (La Via Campesina, 2011). Moreover, other movements that have political and ideological orientations are IFAP[9] and Asian Peasant Coalition (APC). However, many local movements have been internationalized, the best known example of these TAMs (Transnational Agrarian Movements) is being La Via Campesina. La Via Campesina also has fraternal relations (Borras, et al., 2008b) and consist mainly on poor peasants and small farmers, differing from IFAP in which medium and large farmers were dominant (Reardon et al., 2009).

On the other hand, Aysu (2014) gives a much earlier date than 19th century for peasant movements in Anatolia. This research reveals that Şeyh Bedrettin- and related Börklüce Mustafa- riots are the first peasant movements emerged as a form of social struggle and against inequalities at the end of 14th century. After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, 1960s witnessed peasant movements against exploitation of peasantry. In 1970s urban-rural hand by hand movements emerged. The latest movement, Çiftçi-Sen has made a long way struggle to gain its legitimacy. The latest situation realized in 2008. Right after the declaration of the establishment of the Union, the establishment of Farmers' Union was litigated by Ankara Governorship to be abolished. This lawsuit continued till 2013 that Supreme Court dismissed the action. Union is still under organization and struggle process.

[9] IFAP was founded in 1946 in France and had more than 600 million farm family members grouped in 120 national organizations in 79 countries (FAO, n.d.). The organization was liquidated by French Tribunal de Grande Instance in 2010 after an economic and political crisis.

2.4.2.2. **Engagement with Consultive Bodies**

Agrarian movements are also consultative bodies of some United Nations (UN) agencies such as Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) according to ICP (2013). They negotiate about the terms of funding, governance and partially La Via Campesina is undermining the previous hegemony in FAO (Borras, et al., 2008a).

2.4.2.3. **Representative Capacity of Transnational Agrarian Movements**

Although there are far more studies on agrarian movements today, there are still lacking points about the peasant movements in literature. According to Borras, et al. (2008), few studies provide an understanding of the internal dynamics of agrarian movements, how they ally or compete each other; dynamics of interconnectivity between international, national and local levels of contemporary agrarian movements; and the role of contemporary movements in global trade negotiations.

I need to make some headlines about the effect and representative capacity of TAMs here. First of all, although they have had great impact for national rural poor, their representational capacity is very limited at the international level (Borras et al. 2008a). Among all movements, La Via Campesina is the most politically coherent one (Borras, et al. 2008b). La Via Campesina, as a union of national agrarian movements, includes MST in Brazil as the largest and most politically coherent agrarian movement within itself. On the one hand, their impact is still very limited. According to Mariana Dos Santos (2016, February), there are more than 2 million peasants struggling within MST is a movement that have taken position against dispossession, agro-industrial production, supra- national organizations' hegemony and monopolization of property rights in Brazil. Even the last member of European Coordination of La Via Campesina (ECVC) and Turkey's delegate of La Via Campesina, Çiftçi-Sen [Coordination of Farmers' Unions], which could gain its juridical status in 2009 and still struggling for this status and founded with seven Farmers' Unions in Turkey have members in marginal numbers (**EI-1**, personal communication, December 12, 2015), nonetheless, their struggle cannot be evaluated with the quantities (Çalışkan, 2015). It is obvious that there are numerous

peasant movements organized locally, united nationally and involved together globally comprising every geographies and countries among the world. In this respect, it is important to underline that total effect of peasant movements cannot be counted with the numbers of members –quantitatively- but it has rather qualitative impact.

2.4.2.4. **Globalization of Peasant Movements**

It is obvious that in the very nature of capitalism, capital drive to commodify all the conditions, activities and all apparatuses to expand exchange value, profit and accumulation (McMichael, 2013; Moore, 2010a; 2010b; 2011). According to Moore (2011), this is very well typified by food, which is the fundamental product of relations between human society and (extra) human nature. Along the history of food regimes, the third food regime in the neoliberal globalization was the most intensified period of social and ecological destruction (Harvey, 2005). As I have included above in the peasant question part, "the contemporary agrarian question" now concerns how to transcend the exchange-value consensus, as applied to agriculture (McMichael 2013).

As I have discussed in the agrarian question, peasant movements have arisen as an antithesis within the third food regime. In this respect, we need to understand the conditions and contemporary situation in which peasant movements have been struggling in. Through peasant mobilization, which is defined as an approval of human and ecological awakening built by contradictory 21st century global food system (McMichael, 2009), Van Der Ploeg (2008) made one of the most comprehensive research on those mobilized peasantries as "new peasantries" and named a distinct form of farming akin to ecological value as "peasant farming". Apart from modernist terms and way of production (for accumulation and surpass of nature), peasant farming centralizes labor (Van Der Ploeg, 2008) and aims at maximizing its ecological capital to reproduce and improve its sustainability. By doing so, there are three essential features of production and production process. These are *labor intensity, knowledge of commons and peasant community*.

Labor intensity means centrality of labor in regeneration, maintenance and restoration of soil fertility and water sources, which has been deteriorated by industrial farming, and practicing polyculture agriculture instead of monoculture production.

Knowledge commons arises over against the neoliberal global food systems drive of capital to enclose or privatize all aspects of production (Bernstein, 2015; 2016) and

accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2004; 2005). “Cultural and intellectual commons are often not subject to the logic of scarcity and exclusionary uses of the sort that apply to most natural resources” (Harvey, 2011: 103). Departing from cultural commons, eating culture requires the conservation of local tastes and production of local species, while intellectual commons encompasses the knowledge of production accumulated for centuries. A knowledge commons is share of results of experience or experiment.

Peasant community generally means culture of cooperation and solidarity. Van Der Ploeg (2008) observed that the way he defines as peasant farming also reduce the dependency of commodified inputs (seeds, chemicals, fertilizers and fuel) and strengthens their position to find alternative forms of marketing their products. Van Der Ploeg’s longitudinal researches revealed three processes in farming system; deactivation, industrialization and repeasantization.

I am making this reveal more clearly in Chapter Three, however, it is important to underline one point about repeasantization process here. Peasants are market producers, nonetheless, they are not petty commodity producers constituted within capitalism providing that decommodification characterize repeasantization (Van Der Ploeg, 2008). In other words, repeasantization can be exemplified through existing agro-ecological practices of small-scale farmers and the entry of new farmers committed to agro-ecological principles. Contrary to the food safety discourse to feed the world, “several studies conclude that the relative yields of organic/agro-ecological friendly are sufficient” (Van Der Ploeg, 2008: 151) to meet global food needs, in other words to feed the world. La Via Campesina, “the peasant way” an international peasant movement arose as a civilization movement defending food sovereignty with its principle of ‘democratic rights for and of citizens and humans (*sic*)’ (*What is La Via Campesina?,* 2016). In the official website of the movement, “Food Sovereignty” is that “prioritizes local food production and consumption and gives a country the right to protect its local producers from cheap imports and to control production”. In other words, it is the way to ensure the rights to use and manage lands, territories, water, seeds, livestock and biodiversity in the hands of those who produce food and not of the corporate sector.

1989 study of Friedmann and McMichael proposed two ongoing complementary alternatives within these property battlefield for onset of globalization. The first is relate to founding rationale of UNCTAD (1967) through regulation of accumulation by global institutions. The second is the promotion and redirection of regional, local and municipal politics of decentralization to reconnect local production and consumption. Although the

first proposal has a wider dimension that global institutions are directly related to the nation states in law and regulation making, and application, the second debate on relocalization has wider echoes together with advocacy of small scale farming directing us to AAFSs, which I am discussing in the following part as form of consumer movements and awakenings.

Shortly, millions, or according to some tens of millions, of small farmers have shown that another way is possible, unless they are dispossessed by land grabbing or by the politically constituted market forms and effects of the third food regime (McMichael, 2011).

2.5. Challenges to the Incumbent Food Regime: The Rise of Consumer Movements and the Emergence of Organic Agriculture as a Sustainable Niche

The introduction of the second food regime and the green revolution, industrialization of agriculture, global division of labor and other structural changes in the agricultural production, food production and procurement processes caused loss of local tastes and emergence of massification of tastes, diminishing trust to the healthiness and nutritiousness of food and agro food, chemicalization of production, distrust to production systems, GMO discussions and biotechnology revolution, food miles, disappearance of small scale producers and all other processes that I have explained below. The third food regime have went further through monopolization of all factors of production and channels of consumption in global scale. These conditions did not only create peasant awakenings- producer movements-, but also exhilarated consumer movements and consumer awakenings (Arfini et al., 2012; Fischer, 2012; Guthman, 2008; Holt & Amilien, 2007; Slee & Kirwan, 2009); Therefore, peasant movements did not always and not only emerge in the form of peasant movements, but also emerged in the form of consumer movements or producer-consumer cooperated movements within AAFSs, which are global movements in fragmented, varied and sometimes hybrid forms.

Eco-gastronomic movements such as Slow Food (Holt & Amilien, 2007), local food movements (Hinrichs, 2000; Grauerholz & Owens, 2015) such as civic agriculture (Lyson, 2004), ethical consumerism and ethical consumer groups, Community Supported Agriculture- CSA groups (for detail see sub section 4.3.3.1), urban gardening (Lawson,

2005), permaculture practices, food justice movements such as Fair Trade (Bacon et al., 2008; Hutchens, 2009), organic movement and post-organic movement (Guthman, 2008; Holt & Amilien, 2007), re-localization movements (Marsden & Franklin, 2013), food miles movements (Harris, 2009), back to the nature movement (Goodman, 2003), back to the land movement (Guthman, 2004b; Halfacree, 2007; Woods, 2011) and numerous other concepts, grassroots movements and civil society organizations constitute and generate consumer movements within Alternative Agro Food Systems (AAFSs). As it is obvious, these movements are innumerable, departmentalized and scaled out that the ones I mentioned below are globally spread and locally accepted ones. In this part, I am discussing a short history of consumer movements with reference to certain examples diachronically.

2.5.1. Post-War Period: Consumer Movements against the Global Corporate Food Regime

1940s, the post-War era, brought the inventions on biochemistry and engineering that developed agricultural techniques and started to change farming through industrial agriculture especially in the US and the UK (Robinson & Sutherland, 2002). Because the agricultural production was directed to increase fertility, the development in scientific techniques provided applications of hybrid plants, pest use and synthetic fertilizers, monocrop production, and so on through the "Green Revolution" campaign in underdeveloped countries such as US plantations in Mexico (Robinson & Sutherland, 2002). All these applications and intentions of the second food regime created tensions (McMichael, 2009). Following the second food regime, the third food regime, which introduced corporatization and internationalization patterns, have been witnessing the transforming and diverse relations of the movements with the incumbent regime as well as emergence of new movements. Production patterns of the incumbent system caused tensions for trust of consumers to the agro food products, increasing health issues owing to the consumption of conventional agro foods, environmental problems and global climate change and the oligopoly of corporate companies of seed, agricultural chemical and pharmaceutical industry created tensions.

These tensions provided the introduction of first use of the term "organic farming" which was derived from the farm as an organism in 1940 with the book "Look to the

Land" published in London by Lord Northbourne (Paull, 2006b). Northbourne introduced the concept as opposed to chemical farming. In the same years, organic food-growing concepts were also being promoted by Lady Eve Balfour and Sir Albert Howard in the UK (that later founded Soil Association-1946) and they who theorized the preservation and improvement of human health, restoration and protection of the natural health of the soil (Rodale Institute, n. d.). These studies of the 1940s, opened up a movement through the bifurcation between conventional farming and organic farming. At that period, charity based organizations such as Swedish Biodynamic Association (in 1940), Australian Organic Farming and Gardening Society (AOFGS in 1944), Soil Association (in 1946)[10] and Rodale Institute in the USA (in 1947) in the UK were founded as response to these developments.

A radical change to the philosophy and structure of unfairness in agricultural production practices has emerged in the following decades as a global movement called Fair Trade. Emerged as a charity advocated by religious organizations, this organization has had a radical change in its philosophy and structure compared to baseline (Hutchens, 2009; Low & Davenport, 2005; Moore, 2004; Raynolds & Long, 2007). The organization was initially founded to develop fair trade supply chains in developing countries and to provide fair trade between Global North and Global South. This later turned to a labelling that feeds the international division of labor of the mainstream regime.

The 1950s have emerged as the era of networking and academic writing for agricultural movements such as organic movement. In 1950s England, sustainable agriculture became a research topic that Rodale Institute started to press publications and make campaigns to popularize organic gardening through Rodale Press and Rodale Institute (Rodale Institute, n.d.). Organic movement was introduced as an ecological production way that has harmony with nature, using traditional practices of agriculture by systematizing them and providing least damage to the environment.

[10] These associations, founded in 1940s as a single farm and a small group of pioneers, are still two of most powerful Civil Society Organizations of organic agriculture worldwide. They have grown and gained power even to make changes in the mainstream food regime (Durant, 2014). Today 70% of organic food are certified by Soil Association in UK (Soil Association, n.d.).

2.5.1.1. Coalescence of Agricultural Movements with Environmental Movements

The organic movement has coalesced with the environmental movement in 1960s with Rachel Carson's bestseller "Silent Spring" that she introduced the scientific results of chronicle effects of DDT and other pesticides on environment (Paull, 2013). This provided the ban of DDT use in agriculture in 1972. Furthermore, the French national farmer organization, Nature et Progrès was founded in 1964 by a group of agronomists, doctors, farmers and consumers (Paull, 2010). At the birth of environmental movements in the 1960s, Fair Trade movement got its modern shape in Europe as a political gesture against neo-imperialism (Raynolds & Long, 2007). Post-Keynesian ideals and multinational corporations within the second food regime came under attack during this period and the popular discourse was given fair and equal access to the markets with the slogan "Trade not Aid" (Redfern & Snedker, 2002).

In the 1970s, the organic movement gained momentum through the "local food" discourse. This debate is still contemporary that "local food is seen greener than organic now" (Holt & Amilien, 2007) and localized agro food systems (LAS) approach developed at the onwards which has popularized through the 1980s and lived its golden age after the 1990s. In the 1970s, the institutionalization of organic agriculture was also achieved by the foundation of International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM). Parallel to the institutionalization of IFOAM, Fair Trade movement grew and institutionalized in the 1970s. As the demand grew in Europe, the opportunity for the producers in Global South grew too, thus, the mission was identified as supplementing the income of subsistence farmers and rural people by developing the sale of traditional crafts (such as coffee and cocoa) and folks arts (Redfern & Snedker, 2002).

Organisation	Country
Nature et Progrès	France
Rodale Press	USA
Soil Association	UK
Soil Association of South Africa	South Africa
Swedish Biodynamic Association	Sweden

Figure 2. The five founding organizations of IFOAM (Source: Paull, 2010: 95)

IFOAM, *The International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements*, was founded at Versailles, France, in 1972 by five organizations (See Figure 2) and since then organic food and farming got a powerful trajectory (Paull, 2010).

1970s became the era for emergence of another sister movement, **permaculture,** (derived from permanent agriculture) that applies natural farming techniques with no tillage, no pesticide use depending on the traditional techniques of indigenous cultures. According to Paull (2006a), "Permanent Agriculture" is a concept that predates Bio-dynamic and Organic Agriculture, and similar to them, emerged as a response to the governmental agricultural orthodoxy. In fact, the traces of permaculture is older than organic agriculture. According to Paull (2006a), permaculture is the precursor of organic farming and has emerged a century ago. American soil scientist, Franklin Hiram King, wrote a book on permaculture depending on his observations on a journey to the East (Paull, 2006a) where the practice was known as humus farming (Kuepper, 2010). "The resulting book, Farmers of Forty Centuries, or Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea and Japan, (1911), has been described by the founder of Organic Agriculture as a classic" (Paull, 2006a: 19). However the resound to these prints came from the civil society in the 1970s.

Masanobu Fukuoka[11], a Japanese philosopher, published his book *The One-Straw Revolution*[12] in 1975. His philosophy has very similar traces with permaculture system, which was developed by Bill Morrison in the USA in 1978 and was inspired by Fukuoka. It is not only a production system, but also involves a re-designing potential for quality of life, lifestyle and natural landscape (Grayson, 2007). There are twelve principles of permaculture that intends to form sustainable life systems as a science (Türkiye Permakültür Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2016), the most remarkable of which is making production in raised beds, and have three ethical principles, namely earth care, people care and fair share. With the introduction of "Alternative Economic Summit" in 1984, the movement turned to permaculture economics and grew (Grayson, 2007).

The innovation of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is also dating to 1970s. The modern CSA originated in Japan in 1971 with the name of Teikei (partnership) by a philosopher and a leader of agricultural cooperatives, Teruo Ichiraku (Henderson, 2010). Ichiraku alerted the consumers for dangers of chemicals used in agriculture. Along

[11] Fukuoka is accepted as one of the pioneers of organic farming among the world by IFOAM (Pioneers, n.d.). He was also named Lao-Tzu

[12] The book is translated to Turkish as "Ekin Sapı Devrimi".

1970s, Teikei groups increased in Japan that in 1975 there were ten groups. At the end of 1970s, "farmers and consumers formed remarkably similar organizations" in Switzerland, in Geneva, Chile and France (Henderson, 2010) but these groups could not organize and be a network until 2000s. One of the groups that was established in France in Les Jardins de Cocagne with 50 members was formed by consumers to make production. In the first years, they had poor tools, rented land, no irrigation and the members that do not pay their workforce for the production was paying money.

2.5.1.2. The Rise of Ethical Consumerism and Slow Food Movements and the Globalization of 'Organic Certification'

1980s became turning point for consumer movements. Until that time, the center of the movements were either agricultural production techniques or environmental deterioration and human health. In the 1980s, "voting with mouths" introduced as a paradigm which means responding to the incumbent system with preferring on the food to be consumed. Ethical consumerism movement and Slow Food movement are also established in this period in 1989 by Carlo Petrini. McDonaldization, massification of tastes and fast food which were the products of mainstream regime were reacted by consumer movements. In 1986, Slow Food movement emerged to resist the opening of a McDonald's restaurant in Italy "with the initial aim to defend regional traditions, good food, gastronomic pleasure and a slow pace of life" (Slow Food, 2015b). Right after this, in 1989, international Slow Food movement was officially founded and Slow Food Manifesto was signed in Paris. The Slow Food movement intends to save nature and biodiversity, to be in harmony with the rhythm of life, conservation of cultural heritage, to prioritize the traditional knowledge, to support local small scale producers, to access special products produced by peasant, artisan and farmer, to gain knowledge about food and production processes, to make taste educations, to found local networks of producers and to cooperate with other relevant movements and groups in local. The same year, another international movement ethical consumerism, started to publish UK magazine *Ethical Consumer.* Along the 1980s, ethical consumerism movement turned to be used as a wider term meaning different things to different people that even conventional and industrial global suppliers use the term as a marketing strategy. Ethical consumerism's core philosophy was depending on animal rights, human rights and pollution and toxics.

The 1980s have seen a shift to expansion for organic movement. IFOAM united aspirations and disparate groups and carried movement from disparate National struggles to a global arena. At the birth of IFOAM, advocates of organics were viewed as "marginal and eccentric" (Geier, 1998:1). However, the movement gained power after 1980s with an accelerating number of components and organizations as can be seen in Figure 3. The reason behind rapid expansion is defined by Geier (1998:3) as following;

> The next five years was a period of dramatic expansion with the IFOAM membership growing to 500 and spanning 75 countries. This rapid expansion was put down to, firstly, IFOAM overcoming its "merchantophobia" and accepting many new processor and trader members and, secondly, from 1986 onwards, to an influx of members from the "third-world".

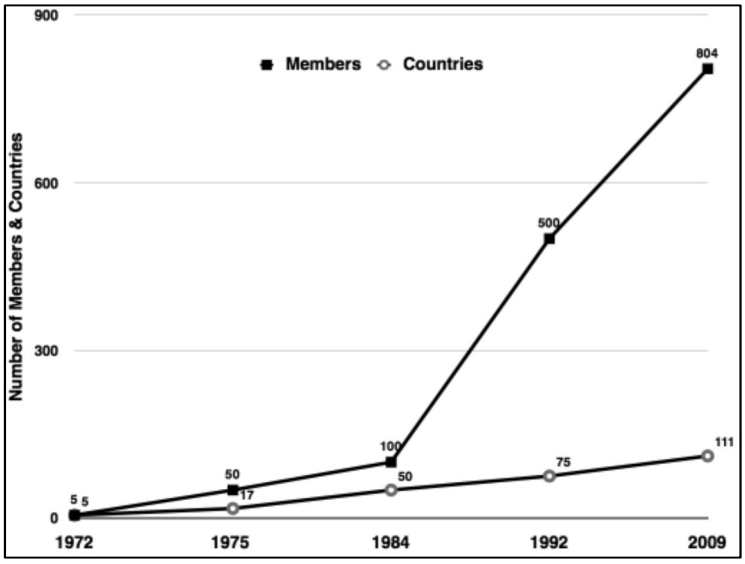


Figure 3. The growth of IFOAM from 1972 to the present, by number of countries (Source: Paull, 2010: 97)

The Permaculture movement consolidated and expanded in the 1980s especially in Australia. The first permaculture course was given at that period which is seen as permaculture penetrated into urban after rural (Grayson, 2007). Along 1980s and 1990s there were crucial progresses for permaculture movement that (1) first eco village was founded, (2) community-based urban agriculture was promoted and was being operated by Australian city farms and community gardens network, (3) permaculture design courses became wide, (4) Permaculture manual, Introduction to Permaculture, was published by Mollison, (5) National Seed Savers Network was established in Australia (Grayson, 2007).

Like the other movements, Teikei of Japan was widespread in the world in 1980s. "In 1985, Jan Vandertuin brought the CSA concept from Topinambour near Zurich to the

United States where Robyn Van became its most enthusiastic proponent, spreading the word at conferences of Biodynamic and organic farmers" (Henderson, 2010: n.p.). This development became the beginning of the introduction of CSA to intellectual world and to publishing world. Also, CSA groups have very fastly became popular in the USA and in Canada then.

2.5.1.3. Compatibility of the Organic Food Regime with the Global Corporate Food Regime

According To Smith (2006), the organic agriculture emerged as a green niche in sustainable agriculture and it has entangled with the mainstream food regime starting from 1990s and accelerating in 2000s. There is a dialectical relationship between the corporate global food regime, as the incumbent regime, and the organic agriculture that organic agriculture has created change in the landscape of mainstream food regime as well as organic agricultures' and movements' compatibility with the mainstream food regime blunted the movements' innovative capacity.

After the institutionalization of the organic movement through the establishment of IFOAM, the movement gained dynamism that the organization became an important actor for regulation making in collaboration with global and national policy institutions in the 1980s (History, n.d.). Right after this, the 1990s has seen regularization of organic standards in various countries. These regulations are pioneered by the USA and the EU that EU IFOAM group has also been institutionalized in the same period. Regulations brought the certification and standardization in organic agriculture in 1990s. According to Smith (2006: 450), "In 1996, policymakers began funding an expansion of organic advise services which helped farmers pick up the new skills and knowledge required for producing organic food (a service previously provided by organic institutions)". Throughout the 1990s, demand for consumer products has also increased which made the products a well-marketed property with the collaboration of supermarketization (Reardon et al., 2005). According to Soil Association (2001), By 1997, 67% of organic sales were through supermarkets and supermarkets required most of the organic supplies of local production and overseas imports, which in total accounted for 80% of the organic market in the UK (Soil Association, 2001). Therefore, organic food turned to a market phenomenon targeting middle and upper income consumers.

In a parallel line to IFOAM, Fair Trade became the labelling initiative in 1997 with the foundation of Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO) as an umbrella organization, which developed at the first half of 2000s.

Figure 4. IFOAM logo (Source: IFOAM, 2009)

In 1990s, permaculture was an intercontinental phenomenon that permaculture has been adopted on small scale lands such as backyard landscapes, as well big scale lands as regions or countries. Cuba, for example, turned to permaculture after the collapse of its main trading partner, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and the United States tightened embargos on food imports to Cuba. According to Roberto Perez (The Permaculture Research Institute, 2013), Cuba turned to sustainable farming and now leads the world in permaculture owing to the hunger crisis it faced. Furthermore, Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) was founded in 1995 and were first officially named among the United Nations' top 100 listing of Best Practices, as excellent models of sustainable living in 1998 (GEN, 2014). GEN is not a certification or institutional labelling, but works as an authorized network to label a village or settlement of a small community that "is an intentional or traditional community using local participatory processes to holistically integrate ecological, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of sustainability in order to regenerate social and natural environments" (GEN, 2014). These villages which have non-market, non-money economy apply sharing economy and collective work principles. In other words, they have the character of ecology collectives.

1990s became the era of the international expansion of Slow Food and the foundation of *Ark of Taste* [Nuh'un Ambarı] project that aims at restorating, revitalizing and regenerating local species and local tastes in agro food production. Salone del Gusto, in which the Ark of Tastes project operates, is a biennial fair "dedicated to artisanal, sustainable food and small scale producers which safeguard local traditions and high quality products" (Slow Food, 2015b). Furthermore, Cittaslow, which is developed in 1999 as a Municipalities Union, that strengthened the movements' philosophy through a state of being and a lifestyle as well as strengthening its spatial references.

Through the 1980s and 1990s, CSAs as a form of non-profit organizations, multiplied slowly but steadily across North America reaching over 1000 projects by the end of the millennium (Henderson, 2010). Small family farms growing agro foods in organic or biodynamic ways recruited members in the urban areas near rurality. The average number of groups started to evolve to be between 30-50 and the product variety started to increase. Mexican migrant movements and rural-urban mobility increased the number of the groups (Henderson, 2010). Furthermore, the introduction of Nature & Progrès Participatory Guarantee System in France emerged at that period. It was the first, and still only, alternative-non corporate certification that institutionalized CSA groups.

2.5.1.4. The Market Expansion of Organic Production as a Challenge to Alternative Food Movements

Throughout the 2000s, the market share of organic products has also rapidly grown globally. Membership of IFOAM is continuously growing, with 804 member organizations in 111 countries in 2009 (Paull, 2010). I think, the most critical criterion for production became certification that are authorized by government regulations and the emergence of corporate certification, corporate input production (organic seeds, organic fertilizers, etc.) and corporate marketing. It is obvious that the history of organic agriculture have been the history of IFOAM after 1970s. More clearly, Freyer and Bingen (2015) asserted that current rationale of the organic farming and IFOAM turned to "certification" that constructs its philosophy, ethics and marketing principles.

Another labeling initiative, Fair Trade, launched a new Fairtrade International Certification Mark in 2002 the core aim of which was to improve the visibility of the products in supermarket shelves (Hutchens, 2009; Klein, 2010). Between 2002 and 2007, the sales value and retail value of Fair Trade products grew more than ten times[13]. "Since the launch of the UK's first Fairtrade coffee in 1988, Fairtrade has grown its share to reach over a quarter of all roast and ground coffee sold in the UK, and sales growth has continued to be strong through the wider economic downturn" (Brightwell, 2012: 7). According to Low and Davenport (2005), the pressures for Fair Trade to increase market access for marginalized producers moved the movement out of the niche into mainstream markets that it lost its radical innovativeness.

[13] The data is derived from the Annual Reports of Fair Trade Labelling Organization International (FLO).

IFOAM is now engaged with many multilateral organizations including the United Nations, ECOSOC Status with the United Nations General Assembly, The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Codex Alimentarius Commission (FAO and WHO), World Trade Organization (WTO), United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the International Labor Organization of the United Nations (ILO) (IFOAM, 2009).

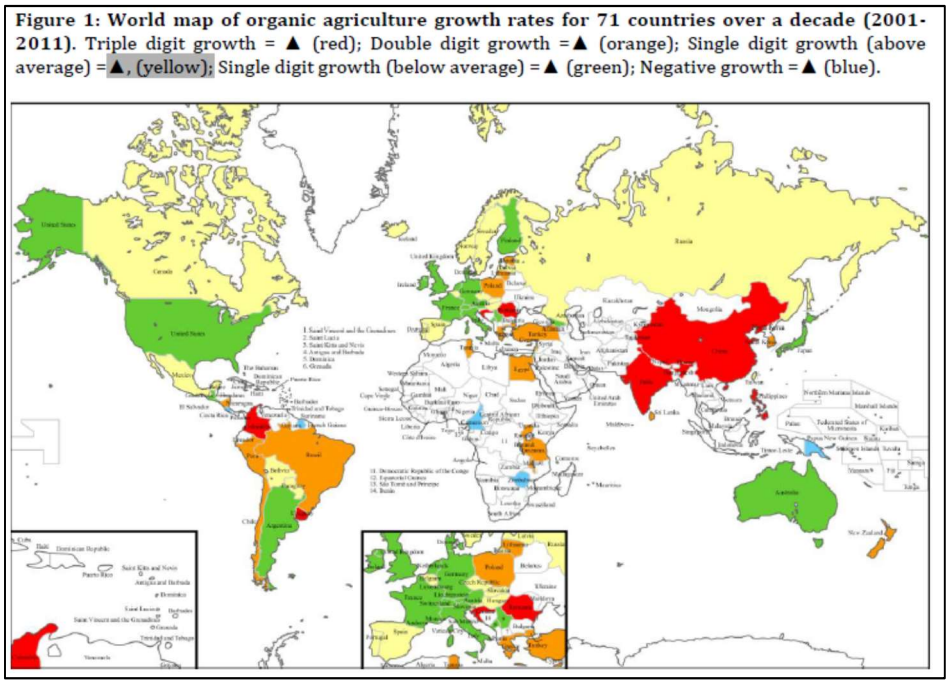


Figure 5. Organic Agriculture Growth Rates among world 2001-2011
(Source: Paull, 2011: 118)

At the heart of IFOAM today are its 800 Affiliates in more than 100 countries. IFOAM Europe, which was founded in 1990, has more than 160 member organizations in the food chain and has high level influence on EU policies and institutions (IFOAM EU Group, 2015). Because of diminishing trust to organic labeled food, IFOAM EU Group introduced "Ecolabel for food" in 2012 as a new and upgraded label for organic products claiming to be "most environmentally friendly" and sustainable food system (IFOAM EU Group, 2015). Organic labeling, today, is a market-phenomenon and a conventional marketing mechanism. As it can be seen in the Figure 5, it has been growing since 2000s in the Global South as an export good to be consumed in the Global North.

Figure 6. Where Fair Trade Works (Source: Fairtrade, 2016)

Fairtrade is working as a business model with with over 1,65 million farmers and workers in 1226 producer organizations and 74 countries across the Fairtrade system today. The organization has academically been one of the mostly discussed example for Global South- North divide and as a marketing model canvassing fairness. Although it has emerged as a niche, it is claimed that Fair Trade transformed to a business model subsequently move out of niche into mainstream markets (Low & Davenport (2005).

2.5.2. Contemporary State of Consumer Movements and Emerging Sustainable Niches

Slow Food movement expanded globally and founded many national networks among 2000s. Moreover, academic milieu is developed along 2000s in Italy that the Master of Food programme is launched for adults in 2002 and University of Gastronomic Sciences is established in Pollenzo in 2004 as the first gastronomy university in the world. Slow Food Congress introduced in 2002 and held annually. One of the most important developments of 2000s became design of Earth Markets, a global network of farmers' markets right after 2008 food crisis that have expanded among world rapidly. Another important creation was celebration of Terra Madre [Mother Earth] Day and foundation of food communities within Slow Food movement.

Figure 7. Logo of URGENCI (Source: Retrieved from http://urgenci.net/)

With the rising the locavore movement during 2000s by many popular books and films. Along 2000s, the international network of CSA Groups, URGENCI, was established and this was very important for the institutionalization of the movement. According to the by-laws, "The Mission of the Urgenci Network is to further, on the international level, local solidarity-based partnerships between farmers and consumers" is the declared mission of URGENCI in its official website (urgenci.net). After 2000s, CSA Groups organized an international symposium held in 2004 in Aubagne, France. Since then there were for more symposia in 2005, 2008, 2010, 2013 and 2015. Along 2000s, Africa and Asia groups increased and the countries in these continents started to enter in the network. The economic pressures of global competition and the European Union's Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) in started to resemble the forces that have brought so many French farmers to adopt AMAP along 2000s (Henderson, 2010).

Slow Food movement today has more than 100.000 members worldwide in 130 countries. Its local organizations/chapters are called Convivium (1300 convivia among the world and 250 convivia in the USA in 2011) and local bazaars Earth Market. According to Lotti (2009), the products and their values, which Slow Food has identified for their singularity, are commoditized through a variety of mechanisms. On the other hand, Morgan et al. (2008) cited that Slow Food and other proponents of local and regional foods aim to challenge the diffusion of a fast food culture by asserting alternative cultures of food. Similarly, Murdoch and Miele (2004) highlight the response of the Slow Food to the crisis of trust in the food sector through non-materialization and non-commodification of the products. In addition, Geoff (2008) emphasized that the Slow Food movement grown globally and rapidly, it has retained a coherent philosophy. The contemporary campaign of the movement is ESSEDRA (Environmentally Sustainable Socio-Economic Development of Rural Areas) project as a natural result of the growing and strengthening of Terra Madre Balkans network. Launched in 2012, the project aims to support the integration process of the Balkan countries and Turkey into Europe by creating conditions for these countries to preserve their identity, their amazing food

diversity and artisanal food (Slow Food, 2015c). In 2010s, Slow Food USA was founded and became wide in a short time. Since 2013, one of the core organizations of the movement is struggling for a better Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) by uniting farmers, citizens and youth to present requests to the European Parliament.

Today, there are more than 10.000 ecovillages among the world. The applications of permaculture among the world have important echoes that Grauerholz and Owens (2015: 570) asserted that

> Green deserts through basic permaculture in the Middle East and the success of similar programs, their focus on sustainability are likely to make permaculture one of the most important global food movements of the future, spurred on by grassroots activists working to help communities ravaged by war, poverty, and environmental degradation, or cut off from the land by urban development and industrial agriculture.

Permaculture finds respond especially for urban dwellers that the philosophy systematizes traditional indigenous agriculture techniques. It also helps urban dwellers to found urban gardens and balcony gardening.

CSA groups are in Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America and North America today. Today CSA groups are also formed for rural poor (Mexican migrants in the USA), rehabilitation of prisoners, creative teaching for children for mental disabilities. They produce and they have CSA groups buying their production.

> Unable to compete with large-scale industrialized farms, farmers in periurban areas are selling their land to developers. In more isolated rural areas, the younger generation is abandoning their elders on their subsistence farms to seek opportunity in the cities. CSA Groups provides markets for these farms and new hope that may give farm children reasons to stay in their villages (Henderson, 2010: n.p.).

The largest CSA known is based on a single farm is Honey Brook Organic Farm in New Jersey with over 3000 shares in the Philadelphia region, in the USA (Henderson, 2010). CSA today is identified as new forms of property ownership, new forms of cooperation and new forms of economy.

In my opinion, the consumer movements that have especially emerged or expanded along 1980s have a claim and the state that they are beyond a consumer movement but they are movements of producers and movements. They provide the direct relation and cooperation of consumers and producers by constructing Alternative Agro Food Systems and alternative agro food networks. The common states of La Via Campesina, Slow Food and URGENCI is strengthening producers by the demands, consciousness and therefore votes of consumers intervening the mainstream regime to make a challenge and change. By doing so, it is claimed to conserve, preserve and

maintain environmental sources, ecosystem and nature. They identify the nature and the ecosystems as common-pool resource. This state of mind asserts that Alternative Agro Food Systems as a product of producer-consumer cooperation and a new, newly emerging, novel form "consumer-producer movements", is a key component for the protection of ecosystem and nature. The aim of these movements are to create an alternative agro-food systems which emerge as new sustainable niches. They have also arisen the phenomenon of co-production. Co-production involves the initiation of consumers to agricultural production. Co-producers, in this context, are emergent new actors taking role in the re-organization of governance of agricultural production.

2.5.2.1. **Discussion: Certification, Labelling and Organic Production**

Alternative Agro Food Systems (AAFS) are contemporary conceptualization for the different, organized forms of consumer initiatives and peasant initiatives that producers and consumers together initiate alternative market mechanisms, production patterns and control systems underpinning embedded knowledge of peasantry, relations of trust and quality conventions. AAFS literature reveals a producer-consumer collaborated production and consumption system that emerged within the third food regime. Indeed, AAFS literature concentrates on issues of environment, non-toxic agricultural production, public health (including GMO related diseases, obesity, hunger and so on), and mass consumption culture and so on. AAFS departs from criticizing such problems and inequalities. These problems are emerged as a result of the second food regime and biotechnological developments that are provided in the third food regime accelerated unification of producer movements and consumer movements as well as environmental and health concerns came together under the umbrella of AAFS literature.

AAFS as a phenomenon can be seen a multi-stranded counter culture challenging the hegemony of corporate food sectors and oligopoly giants of the food system (Slee & Kirwan, 2009), which recognized with the incumbent-third food regime. The earliest literature and organization for AAFS was on organic agriculture and have developed through different production and consumption themes of ecological production and its relation with market in time. It is obvious that organic farming is still labeled under ecological production schemes, which cause it to be identified an alternative form of production. IFOAM is still one of the biggest global AAFS organizations.

However, Guthman (2007) identifies many ecological, social, political 'alternative' certification schemes as marketing tools under neoliberal policies. In this respect, Slee and Kirwan (2007, 2009) claims that the early origins of many AAFSs were extra-market phenomena aiming at the pursuit of self-sufficiency through organic farming. Furthermore, Whatmore et al. (2003) identify Fair Trade as one of the AAFSs. However, wider discussions (Bacon et al., 2008; Hutchens, 2009; Hutchens, 2011; Kleine, 2010; Low & Davenport, 2005) show that Fair Trade, as a labelling institution, has blunted its niche character while transforming to a socio-technical innovation and have failed to alter mainstream "unfair" conditions for agricultural workers, for environment and for human health, on the contrary, it transformed to a market phenomenon. I think, organic certification has also followed a similar path.

Nonetheless, at the first half of 2000s, AAFSs were still theoretically underdeveloped (Goodman, 2003) and it is obviously hard to identify what is alternative and what is not or either organic farmers are benefiting AAFS schemes by benefiting the marketing opportunities of organic certification or they are evidencing their sustainable production techniques. Furthermore, Goodman (1999) asserted that AAFNs are closely aligned with an *organic farming movement*. As earliest forms of AAFSs came to the agenda through organic production schemes and quality food production, it is still registered as 'alternative' production scheme by the registration of IFOAM, one of the greatest authorized certification institutions and former global agricultural production-consumer movements. These alternative organizations and new practices of producers, consumers and co-producers are emerging as new actors in the re-governance of agro food systems. Such actor involvement emerges new alternative forms of agro food production, consumption, marketing, retail, distribution and new forms of grassroots action in which I identify within Alternative Agro Food Systems in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

ALTERNATIVE FOOD SYSTEMS: AN ELABORATION OF DIFFERENT APPROACHES

3.1. Introduction

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, contemporary state of producer movements and consumer movements have came into collaboration against the hegemony of the Global Corporate Food Regime that involved in food systems to provide systems transitions within the incumbent regime. This transformation came about the emergence of alternative agro food initiatives, new and emergent actors within mainstream food regime, new values, new expressions and the increasing tensions within incumbent food systems. With the involvement of new actors; producers, consumers and co-producers as well as a variety of civil society actors, Alternative Agro Food Systems emerged as a novel literature to identify changing food systems through Alternative Agro Food Initiatives.

AAFS is a wide and embracing term to define newly emerging networks of producers, consumers and other related actors that embody alternatives to the more standardized mainstream industrial mode of food supply (Renting et al., 2003). It can be defined as an umbrella term encompassing a variety of different types of initiatives against conventional (or industrial) production and conventional procurement systems which are labeled under mechanisms of mainstream regime in this sense. AAFS emerged as a grassroots movement and a niche innovation within mainstream regime and its incumbent conventional food systems. The peasant movements and consumer movements that have taken their global form emerged different and diverse forms of niche innovations which at total constructed alternative agro food networks as new, novel socio-technical regimes and Alternative Agro Food Systems that claim to be the candidate of transition for new socio-technical landscape[14].

Whatmore et al. (2003) describes AAFS as a series of non-identical collective nouns composed of organic production, fair trade networks, artisanal networks, local or

[14] This idea is limited to approximately 30 years history of Alternative Agro Food Systems and networks.

regional networks, and urban agricultural networks and so on. This encompassing and confusing[15] situation of AAFSs make it difficult to distinguish what is 'alternative' and what is not alternative. In Holloway et al. (2007), the clarifying idea about the alternative as a slippery concept points us that despite the powerful discourse of alternativeness in unjust economic relations, attempts are made it tie down. I think this discourse is revealing big questions for who is alternative or more alternative than the other, if localization debate brings an alternative or should alternatives be tied to peasant movements.

3.1.1. Bifurcation between 'Conventional' and 'Alternative'

Alternative agro food systems are generally characterized through their relation with social movements related to the environment, sustainable agriculture, rural social justice or consumer health and safety concerns (Allen et al. 2003; Atkins and Bowler 2001; Barham 2002; Qazi & Selfa, 2005; Whatmore and Thorne 1997). The primary challenge, therefore, is the normative content of the concept itself. In my opinion, it is agreed that the Alternative Agro Food Systems are distinguishing themselves from industrial, mainstream, conventional food systems as well as encompassing small scale production, smallholders and yeoman. As Venn et al. (2006) cited, AAFSs' apparent capacity is to 'resocialize' and 'respatialize' food. It is obvious that they see a critical difference between conventional networks and alternative networks. Another difference between these two are asserted by Renting et al. (2003) as that in AAFSs and/or SFSCs food reaches consumer embedded with information. Moreover, information about product including quality indications and communication between producer and consumer in terms of value and specificity of food, place and type of production are attached (Marsden et al., 2000). In this perspective, AAFSs have great potential concerning agricultural reform to evolve consumption culture and paths to future rural development (Venn et al., 2006).

However, whether there exists a bifurcation, such differentiation for economic, ecologic, political conditions, or there exists hybrid forms akin to motivations and organization is a controversial issue. Obviously, in agro food systems research, the use of

[15] I have discussed the confusing questionmarks about organic agriculture and Fair Trade in Consumer movements' part.

the term hybridity is useful to understand relation between different FSCs (Ilbery, et al., 2006; Slee & Kirwan, 2007; 2009). In this respect, the bifurcation of conventional and alternative is not useful in marketing terms that many producers clearly sell their products to both supply chain.

Table 6. Distinctions between conventional and alternative food supply systems (Source: Adapted from Ilbery & Maye, 2005: 804)

CONVENTIONAL	**ALTERNATIVE**
Modern	Postmodern
Manufactured or processed	Natural or fresh
Mass (large-scale) production	Craft or artisanal (small-scale) production
Long food supply chains	Short food supply chains
Costs externalised	Cost externalised
Rationalised	Traditional
Standardised	Different and diverse
Intensive	Extensive
Monoculture	Biodiversity
Homogenisation of foods	Regional palates
Hypermarkets	Local markets
Agrochemicals	Organic, sustainable farming
Nonrenewable energy	Renewable energy
Fast food	Slow food
Quantity	Quality
Disembedded	Embedded

However, the idea of Ilbery et al. (2006) goes further for the methods used to produce 'local' or 'alternative' foods. I think, the idea has some inconsistencies that they first of all defining alternative as a synonym of local. At second, production method is inherent to AAFSs that for instance if there is use of chemicals in production then the production cannot be identified as 'alternative'. At third, the Slow Food organization puts that the richness and aromas of local cuisines is a challenge for industrial and standardized food chains and what real culture is all about developing tastes rather than demeaning it (Slow Food, 2015). Thence, alternative food systems have further missions such as continuity of culture, information and tastes. Goodman (2004) also refuses such a binary opposition between conventional and alternative because it is difficult to do so. In his view, they are inevitably interlinked in agro food systems and there are hybrid food spaces which have blurred edges especially in FSCs. On the other hand, when the problem is defined around supply chains, Morgan et al. (2008) point a very interesting issue that there is the hard power of conventional systems especially in retailer-led supply chains emasculate producers that in some cases buying from supermarket is cheaper than producing.

Horlings and Marsden (2011) make a broader scope of AAFSs as a complex networks of viable economic activities to utilize diverse forms of ecological resources in ecologically efficient ways. In their view, main characters of ecological modernization are as follows; qualitative, economic growth; realization of ecological goals; modern technologies which have enormous potential for stretching the ecological boundaries and reduce negative environmental effects; a steering governmental role; and scientification (community capacity building and awareness raising) of society. In this context, AAFSs' complex networks of viable economic activities utilize diverse forms of economic, ecological, social and political lenses.

3.2. Types and Related Topics of AAFSs: Complementary Conception

Departing to types and related topics of AAFS in literature, a myriad studies provide us a broad range of ideas interlinked to AAFSs. The debate has been researched with regard to shortened value chains (Ilbery & Maye, 2005; Marsden et al., 1998; Marsden et al., 2000; Renting et al., 2003), entrepreneurship (Marsden & Smith, 2005; Migliore, 2015), issues of 'quality' turn (Goodman, 2003; Marsden & Acre, 1995; Marsden & Smith, 2005; Mutersbaugh et al., 2005; Sonnino & Marsden, 2006), sustainable development (Doğan, 2015b; Friedmann, 2007; Marsden & Smith, 2005; Marsden et al., 1999; Renting & Wiskerse,2010; Requier-Desjardins, 2010b; 2012) and rural development (Marsden, 1998; Morgan et al., 2008; Renting et al., 2003; Sonnino & Marsden, 2006). Among many other scholars on issues, studies focusing on social justice and unevenness provide discussions on food justice and right to food (Agyeman & McEntee, 2014; Allen, 2008; Amin, 2004; Bedore, 2010; Shillinghton, 2013), movements (Allen, 2008; Bernstein & Byres, 2001; Borras, et al., 2008a).The studies on localization-opening up the discussions on scale- and embeddedness (Born & Purcell, 2006; Bowen, 2010; Dupuis & Goodman, 2005; Feagan, 2007; Gaicomini & Mancini, 2015; Hinrichs, 2000; Holt & Amilien, 2007; Marsden & Franklin, 2013; Muchnick, 2010; Winter, 2003) exhibit another dimension of AAFSs.

Over time AAFSs have substantial development and branched through Civic Food Networks (CFNs), LAS and relocalization debate and Short Food Supply Chains (SFSCs), variegated its schemes in different geographies in different ways. According to

Slee and Kirwan (2009), AAFSs have developed as market phenomena, driven by the antagonism of some consumers towards large scale food production with the motto of 'voting with their mouths' to prefer alternative production and procurement models. Similarly, Fernandez-Armesto (2001: 250) claims that industrial standardized food production is at the end of its history and manifests that "an artisanal reaction is already underway, local revulsion from pressure to accept the products of standardized taste has stimulated revivals of traditional cuisines". Environmental concerns, concerns for preservation of local- territorial tastes, preservation of biodiversity, survival of smallholders and small scale agricultural producers, concerns on health, and so on became motivations for emerging AAFSs.

3.2.1. Localized Agro Food Systems (LAS)

Localized Agro food Systems (LAS) approach emerged in late 1990s as an approach derived from industrial districts, clusters of Porter (1998) and local productive system (LPS) approach (Muchnick, 2009; Muchnick, 2010; Requier-Desjardins, 2012) or local food systems (LFS) (Hinrichs, 2000; Fonte, 2008) as a similar approach. LAS primarily based on finding certain specific assets like knowledge, territorial institutions, coordination methods, and so on to allow them to produce external economies and improve marketing position. The niche emerged at the onset of 1990s to represent an effort to drive forward "local" within the mainstream conventional food systems in which global actors are prominent. It can be seen as an incomplete search before the systemic emergence of AAFS. It uses the tools and discourses of industry sector and tries to collaborate local, global and state actors. However, this niche cannot provide and centralize sustainability. Instead, it turns its lenses to local development in its transition to socio-technical regime.

It refers to geographical proximity of specialized farms, social proximity of public and private entities in territory, social proximity of food-processing units and networks of distribution (Muchnick, 2009; Muchnick, 2010; Requier-Desjardins, 2010a; Requier-Desjardins, 2012; Sforzi & Mancini, 2015), as well as redefinition of the role of small and micro scale firms in agriculture and food commodity chains in developing countries (Requier-Desjardins, 2010a). The relation between;

(a) Production activities and service organizations including agro food production units, gastronomy, marketing, procurement and other related enterprises and

(b) The characteristics of these activities and the operational ways of these specified in a territory are important components of LAS. In other words, as Muchnick (2009) defines; LAS is a type of organization of agro food activities that the coordination of stakeholders and the development of production activities can be achieved through territorial dynamics' decisive role. By doing do, one of the main strategies of LAS is evaluating small scale and medium scale producers which are operating as "backward industries" to territorially specified production units.

The research and concept was manifested as application of Marshall's "industrial districts" or more generally Local Production Systems (LPS) to LAS and this debate "has so-to-speak fertilized the former one on small food-processing units, given the similar situation of geographical concentration of specialized activities" (Requier- Desjardins, 2010a: 2). Although the idea has emerged as an application of LPS to rural areas, it has evolved in time through cases and practices especially in Latin America, Africa and France. Indeed, the first identified abbreviation of the concept was SYAL (Systèmes Agro-Alimentaires Localisés), the French version of LAS (or as in the other identifications and abbreviations as LAFS, LFS, etc.) in 1996 (Muchnick, 2009; Requier-Desjardins, 2010a). I am using the abbreviation of LAS to identify localized agro food systems in this thesis.

Despite claim of Sforzi and Mancini (2015) that it is not wide to apply industrial theory concepts to local food production systems and they are the first to reveal this relation, it is obvious that the emergence of LAS depends primarily on the application of Marshall's industrial clusters theory to rural local systems. However, it is important to note here that applying LPS to agriculture appears like;

> A transition from the 'industrial world,' with its heavily standardized quality conventions and logic of mass commodity production, to the 'domestic world,' where quality conventions embedded in face-to-face interactions, trust, tradition and place support more differentiated, localized and 'ecological' products and forms of economic organization (Goodman, 2004: 5).

The emergence of the concept of LAS came as a consequence of rural society crises in 1996 when the problems of food and environment discussions were growing. Emerging as a tool, concrete object and as an approach, LAS literature claims to offer togetherness of the environment, products, people, institutions, know-how, tacit knowledge and codified knowledge and networks within a territory to produce a type of

agricultural and food organization as well as integration of diversified sectors in a given spatial scale.

There has passed two decades with dynamism since the emergence of LAS and the concept has been evolved through cases, research and application. The dynamism of LAS is discussed by Murdoch and Miele (1999) through positioning LAS. In this view, there is a bifurcation that as producers respond to changing demand patterns by moving between the 'two main zones of production: standardized, industrialized global food networks on the one hand, localized, specialized production processes on the other'. The arrival of LAS not only opened up a discussion on reconceptualization of rural and regional space but also deepened resource potentials of localities as well as social and natural potentials (Sonnino & Marsden, 2006).

Slee and Kirwan (2009) propose that LAS is positioned as a non-standardized, non-industrialized and non-global category under the umbrella of AAFSs. However, the examples and LAS literature is not quite clearly positioned. However, I assert that LAS is positioned under standardized niche quality production and both local and global procurement strategies.

While understanding the evolution of concept and its applications, firstly, we need to understand how LAS operate as a matter of fact that LAS debate built itself up in a parallel line with LPS debate. LAS uses the methods of LPS for application to agro food sector, for innovation process and for characterizing production structures to link and integrate itself to Global Value Chains. Another setting up of LAS is geographical indications (GI) that is a marketing strategy for geographically specified products. According to Mancini (2012), GI is factor for changing power relation of LAS in favor of global actors rather than local ones. Similarly, Belletti, et al. (2009) points out that GIs have critical role in the internationalization process of agro food products. Further, it is far from being an innocent technical arena, food labelling policy is a key site of 'the quality battleground' in the contemporary food chain (Marsden, 2004).

3.2.1.1. **Why not local but localized in LAS conception?**

The 2005 issue of online Journal of Anthropology of food was on local food and highlighted that local food is a wide term concerning many dimensions between place and space. According to Holt and Amilie (2007), the space and place aspect of local food

generally headlines social, historical and cultural factors when physical space is concentrating on typicality of the products from a specified place. On the other hand, localization discourse reinforces a set of perspectives. Short chain idea is the central to the discourse. In terms of its economic perspective, localization of food continues the tradition of analyzing decentralization of power and bureaucracies (Holt & Amelie, 2007).

Differing from the commitment of Holt and Amelie, when French LAS group GIS LAS was created in 2001, the discussion on the choice of "local" or "localized" terms emerged (Muchnick, 2009). LAS groups define the terms of local and localized. The term 'local' refers to an inherent quality at any given moment, while the term 'localized' relates to a process, a system that has been localized, which was not always in that place and with no guarantee that it will remain there forever. The point for localization is obviously referring to the definition of territory. The term territorial anchorage describes a journey of people, knowledge, products and skills that a deeply-rooted local product can disappear. More clearly, Muchnick (2009: 9) details difference between local and localized as follows;

> Many products, which seem so typical today - meats from the Argentinean *pampas*, Bordeaux wines or Italian polenta - were also localized once upon a time. At a given time, human beings adapted and created the skills and technology to anchor products like this locally. It has been historically documented that the opposite process is also possible: apparently deeply-rooted local products can disappear. For this reason we prefer the metaphor "territorial anchorage" to describe the incessant journey of humans, products and skills.

Proponents of alternative food systems place a heavy emphasis on educating people to the provenance of their food and promoting the development of LAS (Guthman, 2008). On the one sense, localization discourse promises reproduction and re-revealing of embedded products that have been produced in important amounts but have been lost or remarkably decreased in a territory. For instance, the cultivation of quinoa gradually decreased after the Spanish conquest until it disappeared in certain regions like North East Argentina, until it was rediscovered approximately 15 years ago by North American and European consumers due its nutritional qualities. South America LAS group labeled it with 'fair trade' to sell in supermarket aisles (Muchnick, 2009). In LAS approach, consumer tastes provide "new and potential valuable markets".

3.2.1.2. **Territorial Links of LAS**

Territorial links of a product in LAS is defined as an attribute that can be created, transformed, redefined, remarketed or dismissed. In this approach, the local character of a product or the absence of local character is not a fixed attribute. As Muchnick (2009) asserts, for different activities in a given space at a given time, the territorial variable can either be significant or negligible, depending on the case.

Muchnick (2009) makes a categorization for links of LAS approach with territorial based issues figured as (i) historical links, (ii) material links and (iii) immaterial links. Actually, these links are working as strategic starting points and regime rules for rural development objectives of LAS.

Historic links refers to common references of identity which are constructed through historic-cultural processes. The feeling of common belonging for a place or a common history generates an emotional basis for the emergence of leaders, projects, entrepreneurs and volunteers orienting the 'territorial anchorage' of production activities (Muchnick, 2009). However, I think, if the common identities and therefore territorial anchorage does not exist, top-down or communized projects and geographical proximity creates conflict rather than cooperation. In other words, if historical links are not embedded or lost in time, "created" links does not operate.

Material links, which are soil type, climate, landscapes, food products, mostly encompasses the materials of nature. This linkage underlines the role of material conditions for localization or delocalization processes. Muchnick (2010) asserts that environmental impacts of production processes and the reproduction of natural resources is one of the LAS specificities in comparison to other production sectors. Material links, in this view, are remarks of the nature on a product that the specificity and quality of Turkish nuts cannot be provided if production is delocalized (or decentralization of production in industrial terms of LPS). To provide localization of specified quality food, geographical indications (GI) are useful tools in LAS approach. However, GI is making limited contribution for products, as, it is not easy and sometimes not possible to have GI registry.

Moreover, given that local products were increasingly destined for consumption outside the territory, the certification of origin emerged as a significant problem. European regulations are sometimes difficult to apply within different institutional

contexts. This is particularly the case for products not destined for *export* (Muchnick, 2009; Muchnick, 2010). Although, LAS approach base many arguments upon alternativeness and shortened supply chains, certification and export also take part within the system which makes the approach inconsistent in this respect.

Besides the importance of material links on product quality and the attributes and gifts that different natural conditions donate to different agricultural products, I think LAS is converging to materialization of nature and marketable potentials gifted by nature and diverging to ontological entity of nature. Corson, et al. (2013) conceptualizes use of 'the environment' instrumentally by various actors for capital accumulation under the auspices of being green. By using the expression 'green grabs', they add that studies of 'grabbing green,' then, complement studies of localized grabs by analyzing the inter-relations, logics, and mechanisms used to extend the possibilities for accumulation through green grabs" (Corson, et al., 2013: 5).

To continue, culture, skills, knowledge, tastes and traditions, through the 'intangible heritage', Muchnick (2009) expresses immaterial links with examples from different territories. In her view a territory can establish and preserve the image of a product based on material conditions, even though material conditions may change drastically in time. Immaterial links are constructed images by the existence or pre-existence of material links and can be preserved as intangible heritage such as traditional festivals, local dishes or traditional techniques. The idea of Corson, et al. (2013) perfectly matches at that point. In my opinion, LAS approach clearly predicates that marketable natural, cultural and social sources may be materialized and utilized for "rural development" through Alternative Agro Food Systems, even if not those sources exist.

3.2.1.3. **Principles and Strategies of LAS**

To make a clarification of LAS as an approach, I may make an emphasis on Muchnick's (2009) clarification of LAS concept. As LAS concept have evolved in time since 1990s, she makes one of the latest interpretations of the concept in two ways:

(i) Territorially established visible agro food activities- as a concrete object

(ii) A way of tackling the development of local resources, even if the "system" does not exist as such- as an approach.

Moreover, quality and embeddedness are also central to the approach. Nonetheless, Sonnino and Marsden (2006) claim that those concepts of quality, transparency and locality are variously and loosely defined. It is obvious that LAS either represents a completed action or an approach that may strengthen local resources or "create" local resources even if does not exist as such.

LAS, departing from localization discourse, develops strategies to diversify territorial activities such as agricultural or agro food enterprises, gastronomic, tourist or cultural activities and so on for the territory to serve as an assembly factor. In this respect, it has similarities with multifunctional farming approach of the EU policy that multifunctional farming identifies a way to manage entrepreneurship of farms while LAS's management responsibility is for a "territory". In other words, it is the territory and not the product that determines the LAS. It takes variety of different sectors into account in territorial activities. Therefore, integration of a variety of activities becomes one of the aims of the approach.

LAS as an Institutional Tool

"A third meaning of LAS has begun to emerge: LAS as an institutional tool, which can be used by **administrative bodies in their planning programs**" (Muchnick, 2009: 4). LAS is signaling a shift away from the industrialized and conventional food sector, towards a re-localized food and farming regime through policy formation either or not it still serves for conventional production systems (Sonnino & Marsden, 2006). It is obvious that LAS offers sectoral development within a territory, which may vary from a small village to a region or nation, offering interlinkages and assembly between different sectors, marketing strategies and different agro food chains- local or global.

LAS and Sustainable Development

Although LAS approach adopted resource conservation point of view, "sustainable development issue did not emerge prima facie as a building block of LAS approach" (Requier- Desjardins, 2010a: 9). Its main focus raised in reference to local development of marginalized areas. To illustrate, Requier-Desjardins and Rodriguez-Borray (2004) exhibit deforestation in Colombia in the case of Panela that have been the negative effect of geographical concentration of food-processing on environment.

Another point of view emerges as economic valorization of resource management. According to Requier- Desjardins, et al. (2003) natural resource management, protection areas and conservation concerns increase economic valorization of biodiversity and living resources that natural resources economics have commons with LAS issue, in terms of qualification processes or collective action. When similar examples such as mono-cultivation of organic/fair trade production are taken into consideration, it can be claimed that local economic development sometimes has superior priority in comparison to environmental issues in LAS applications.

Food Processing in LAS

LPS studies have been focused on various branches such as textile, machinery, furniture and so on, but, along 1980s and 1990s, agricultural production was out of the focus of LPS studies. The developments in the academic discussions such as "industrial district" concept as a model of production for small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (Sforzi & Mancini, 2015), Porter's "industrial clusters" idea that he exemplified California Wine Cluster as a food processing example, the emergence of Slow Food movement in Italy at the very late of 1980s and early 1990s have triggered more emphasis on food processing and its relation to industrial systems in theory and in practice (Requier-Desjardins, 2010a). On the one hand, the most obvious common point between LAS, LPS, industrial districts and clusters is that they all depend on place-related organizational pattern and geographical proximity. Moreover, they all aim at upgrade and integrate to Global Value Chains.

In LAS approach, the main aim departs from reconverting of non-competitive SMEs in agriculture and names the non-competitive enterprises as a potential backward industries. To do so, the capacities and potentials such as variety of products, specialized products, links of the territory with history, cultural entities, original production techniques and so on within a "local" territory have been revealed and developed in the context of interacting and combining with proximate other potential areas. In short, I can identify LAS strategy as revealing and developing all marketable input for consumer initiation and market profit within a defined territory. Furthermore, LAS initiations make networks which have grown and increased since mid-1990s. However, while LAS networks were increasing and growing, delocalization of agriculture and global food systems also expanded. The current context is characterized by pressure of global food

systems, volatile prices, social, economic and financial crises, the phenomena of the delocalization of agricultural and agro food activities emerge as an economically efficient priority. In this context, LAS networks tend to upgrade to GVCs, which I have already mentioned. It is not a normative construction but an empirical fact that the postulation of new rural paradigm of OECD depends primarily on the relocalization of food supplies (Slee & Kirwan, 2009). It is accurate that the competitiveness of many rural areas will be contingent on the valorization of local assets (OECD, 2006) and have reconstructed local assets through LAS operating.

Operation of LAS Approach

I can define the operation of LAS system under four categories. The first category is how territory is defined and territory related strategies. The second is specification and activation of resources. The third one is linking territorial strategies and specifications. The last is linking LAS territory to markets.

Firstly, LAS approach does not offer strict limits for territory. Though conceptual base of LAS as a tool is depending on assembly of proximities, the concept of geographical proximity has less impact on the development of LAS activities than "territorial proximity" (Giacomini & Mancini, 2015). In other words, the territory of a LAS is not a continuous space but a combination of different activities. It is remarkable that Muchnick (2009) defines territory of LAS as a combination of different activities that can be carried out in areas that are often physically far apart. Thus, rural, urban and peri-urban dynamics can be integrated with this approach. This is making LAS a very proper tool for metropolitan cities and their administrative bodies to apply. According to Sforzi & Mancini (2015:14), "the use of the variable 'territory' for the study of local production initiatives led to the proliferation of classifications".

Secondly, specification and activation of resources is achieved through mobilizing subsystems. The relation between agro food system and territory provide us to distinguish the agro food system into constituent subsystems which are production, consumption, institutions and territory. According to Sforzi and Mancini (2015), specification of each subsystem includes reveal and activation of potentials of the type of firm, characteristics of products, variety of services, and type of institutions and so on. For instance, geographical indications and some certification schemes are very important strategies of LAS. Moreover, it is also necessary to qualify the function of the subsystem that

productive, cultural, social, political, landscape and to specify the relation between these aspects. In short, there is not just one single agro food system but there are many different systems, and each one is defined and reproduced according to characteristics and links among the subsystems.

Territorial specification may be concerned around differentiating the offer. LAS offers a number of labeling such as quality assurance labels and identity labels; using know-how for construct classification methods such as origin references, production standards and commercialization; rural landscape and heritage development and conservation for interlinking different sectors to production such as tourism.

Furthermore, increase of the value of local resources involves dynamic processes such as reinventing modern technologies, involving processes of innovation on a technical, social and economic level. These reinvention processes are handled as projects that require territorial partners to join together around projects so as to determine the management of projects and redefinition and renegotiation of objectives.

Thirdly, with reference to linking territorial strategies and specifications, LAS literature refers to "territorial proximity", in order to include what certain authors distinguish as "geographic proximity" and "organizational proximity". From a conceptual point of view, "LAS territory" may link different activities that take place in discontinuous spaces. Territory does not define production system, yet, spatial dynamics mainly characterizes "modern" agro food systems as a means of and as a result of social, cultural, economic and technological change (Sforzi and Mancini, 2015). The way in which agro food systems reorganize to manage change underlies their spatial dynamics, and is a cause rather than an effect of the current globalization.

Fourthly, linking LAS territory to markets has both aims to provide conventional supply chains and alternative supply chains. In other words, all potential markets are available markets. In this context, retailers, intermediaries, supermarkets, local buyers are all identified as local food supply chain. According to Sforzi and Mancini (2015:18);

> The appearance of alternative consumer goods such as green foods, health foods and local specialty foods in supermarkets implies that modern retail standards today are used both in alternative and conventional supply chains in developed and developing countries.

LAS's market strategy does not provide an alternative to vertical governance and control in food retail chains and strengthens supermarket oligopoly (Campbell et al. 2006).

3.2.1.4. Critique of LAS approach: Alternative or Developmentalist?

Localized agro food systems are headlined under AAFS literature as a means of creating an alternative to conventional systems in the literature. Proponents and creators of LAS approach have made important case study contributions to the literature by concentrating on mostly Global South (examples in France are excluded) as well, this approach was one of the niches within AAFS practices. However, in its role in transition, LAS excluded sustainability in relation to agro-food systems. I declare that LAS or LAS as an institutionalized tool, method and approach provides the continuum of ongoing market relations, international division of labor and global corporate food regime just in a "localized context". I am manifesting this and other controversial issues about LAS below.

First, the operation, starting point and many tools used by LAS are departing from LPS, industrial districts and clusters. In other words, agriculture sector and rural areas are handled by the tools and instruments of industry sector. According to Sforzi and Mancini (2015), the LAS has a multi-localized nature with regard to territory, which is typical of a sectorial approach. First of all, it is open to discussion that rural development cannot be degraded to the development of appropriate or adaptable tools for economic development excluding natural attributes, human and non-human factors and attributes of social ecosystems of rural (Goodman, 1999). It is obvious that rural space as well as agricultural sector has its own dynamics, ecology, sociology, crises and so on. Following, LAS approach has great emphasis on local context and the own dynamics of local context. However, local governance or vertical governance mechanisms are at the very center of LAS. On the other hand, the relation between LPS and LAS and the assets they share such as place-related competitiveness, conversion of resources to specified assets and activation of resources accomplished through a set of actors controlling resources. This might bring about "domination effects" within the system. The link with external actors related to market exists and involve local actors to make privileged links with non-local ones.

Second, "the qualification of food" became a component of the conception through the evolution of concept. It was not in the base of LAS approach but indeed it later emerged as a requirement that qualification and sustainability discussions entered in

the agenda of consumers in the mid-1990s and 2000s and to the agenda of Supra National organizations in 2000s (FAO, 2013; 2015; World Bank; 2003; 2008). Clearly, market forces introduced the dimensions of sustainability and qualification of food to the approach in which GI is stemming from through promotion of "local".

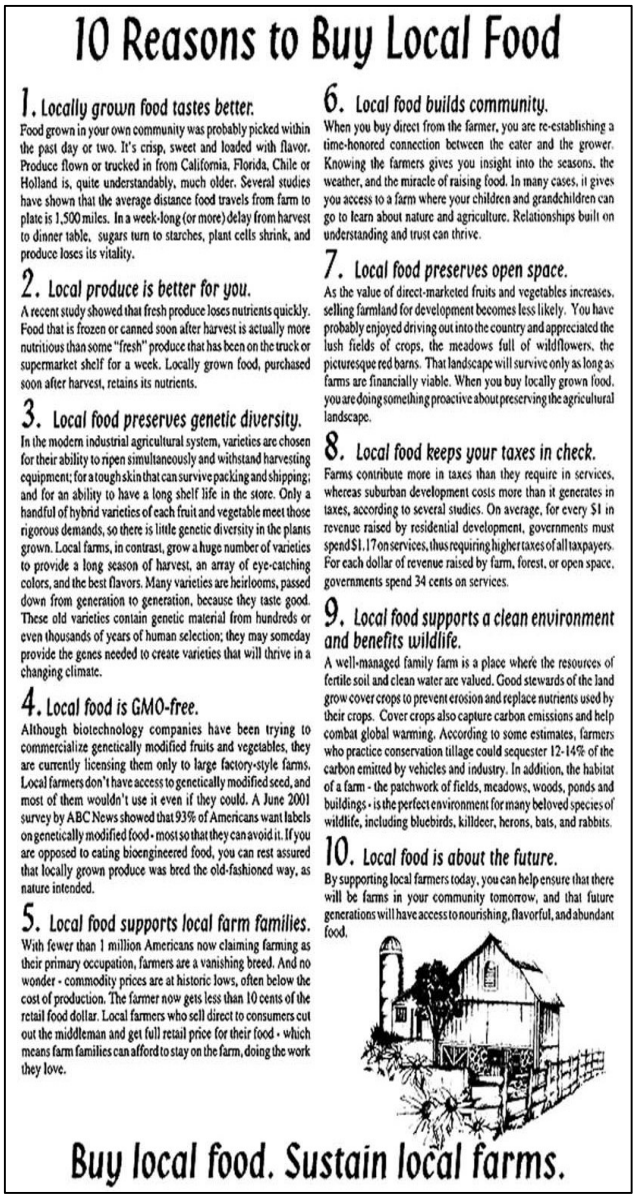
Figure 8. Local food promotional material
(Source: Maye, Holloway & Kneafsey, 2007: cover)

Third, the approach and its "success" stories depends primarily on a series of "successful" case studies of agro food local production systems. In this respect, the approach and its conceptualization lacks abstraction. Common properties of generalization through case studies are concerning common properties of marketed localities (Goodman, 2001). Moreover, impact of globalization on system resilience is based on degree of integration to global value chains and one of the factors of success is depending on relation with GVCs.

Fourth, as I have mentioned above, one of the core aims of LAS is capacity development of small scale and micro scale producers which are operating as "backward industries" of specified production units. According to Requier- Desjardins (2010b), small-holder local actors in food-processing activities might not be allowed to mitigate risk and improve the resilience in turn of that most of the value-added will accrue to non-local actors. In this respect, the approach also fails in one of the core aims, too.

Fifth, "localization" debate has ontological problems both as a development paradigm and an alternative food systems paradigm (Edmund, 2009). According to Dupuis and Goodman (2005), localization is far from contributing to a more sustainable production system, but it can reinforce local elites at the expense of other actors (Feagan, 2007). The increasing importance of localization and delocalization processes that has been course of academic researches and policymakers has provided the third methodological development of LAS by which the organization surrounding a local resource moves from being purely agricultural to becoming multi-functional (Mancini,

2012). In this respect, place is an assembly factor and localization is a powerful tool for creating policy agenda in LAS.



10 Reasons to Buy Local Food

1. Locally grown food tastes better.
Food grown in your own community was probably picked within the past day or two. It's crisp, sweet and loaded with flavor. Produce flown or trucked in from California, Florida, Chile or Holland is, quite understandably, much older. Several studies have shown that the average distance food travels from farm to plate is 1,500 miles. In a week-long (or more) delay from harvest to dinner table, sugars turn to starches, plant cells shrink, and produce loses its vitality.

2. Local produce is better for you.
A recent study showed that fresh produce loses nutrients quickly. Food that is frozen or canned soon after harvest is actually more nutritious than some "fresh" produce that has been on the truck or supermarket shelf for a week. Locally grown food, purchased soon after harvest, retains its nutrients.

3. Local food preserves genetic diversity.
In the modern industrial agricultural system, varieties are chosen for their ability to ripen simultaneously and withstand harvesting equipment; for a tough skin that can survive packing and shipping; and for an ability to have a long shelf life in the store. Only a handful of hybrid varieties of each fruit and vegetable meet those rigorous demands, so there is little genetic diversity in the plants grown. Local farms, in contrast, grow a huge number of varieties to provide a long season of harvest, an array of eye-catching colors, and the best flavors. Many varieties are heirlooms, passed down from generation to generation, because they taste good. These old varieties contain genetic material from hundreds or even thousands of years of human selection; they may someday provide the genes needed to create varieties that will thrive in a changing climate.

4. Local food is GMO-free.
Although biotechnology companies have been trying to commercialize genetically modified fruits and vegetables, they are currently licensing them only to large factory-style farms. Local farmers don't have access to genetically modified seed, and most of them wouldn't use it even if they could. A June 2001 survey by ABC News showed that 93% of Americans want labels on genetically modified food - most so that they can avoid it. If you are opposed to eating bioengineered food, you can rest assured that locally grown produce was bred the old-fashioned way, as nature intended.

5. Local food supports local farm families.
With fewer than 1 million Americans now claiming farming as their primary occupation, farmers are a vanishing breed. And no wonder - commodity prices are at historic lows, often below the cost of production. The farmer now gets less than 10 cents of the retail food dollar. Local farmers who sell direct to consumers cut out the middleman and get full retail price for their food - which means farm families can afford to stay on the farm, doing the work they love.

6. Local food builds community.
When you buy direct from the farmer, you are re-establishing a time-honored connection between the eater and the grower. Knowing the farmers gives you insight into the seasons, the weather, and the miracle of raising food. In many cases, it gives you access to a farm where your children and grandchildren can go to learn about nature and agriculture. Relationships built on understanding and trust can thrive.

7. Local food preserves open space.
As the value of direct-marketed fruits and vegetables increases, selling farmland for development becomes less likely. You have probably enjoyed driving out into the country and appreciated the lush fields of crops, the meadows full of wildflowers, the picturesque red barns. That landscape will survive only as long as farms are financially viable. When you buy locally grown food, you are doing something proactive about preserving the agricultural landscape.

8. Local food keeps your taxes in check.
Farms contribute more in taxes than they require in services, whereas suburban development costs more than it generates in taxes, according to several studies. On average, for every $1 in revenue raised by residential development, governments must spend $1.17 on services, thus requiring higher taxes of all taxpayers. For each dollar of revenue raised by farm, forest, or open space, governments spend 34 cents on services.

9. Local food supports a clean environment and benefits wildlife.
A well-managed family farm is a place where the resources of fertile soil and clean water are valued. Good stewards of the land grow cover crops to prevent erosion and replace nutrients used by their crops. Cover crops also capture carbon emissions and help combat global warming. According to some estimates, farmers who practice conservation tillage could sequester 12-14% of the carbon emitted by vehicles and industry. In addition, the habitat of a farm - the patchwork of fields, meadows, woods, ponds and buildings - is the perfect environment for many beloved species of wildlife, including bluebirds, killdeer, herons, bats, and rabbits.

10. Local food is about the future.
By supporting local farmers today, you can help ensure that there will be farms in your community tomorrow, and that future generations will have access to nourishing, flavorful, and abundant food.

Buy local food. Sustain local farms.

Figure 9. Buy local food promotional (Source: Born & Purcell, 2006)

Holt and Amelie (2007) asserted that in many cases the globalization process does not eradicate, but stimulate the rebirth of local and regional values and the construction of localized food is stimulated by global markets. Moity-Maïzi (2011) remarks that localization has not been conceived as an oppositional movement to globalization. It is interesting that Brunori and Rossi (2000) identify the phenomenon of patrimonialization as being closely related to relocalization, which has been a common strategy in agricultural policy.

3.2.2. Re-governing Supply Chains: Short(ened) Food Supply Chains (SFSCs)

Short food supply chains, (or shortened food supply chains as well as alternative supply chains) (SFSCs) are defined as a result of the forms of producer and consumer resistance examples against agricultural modernization, industrialization and globalization of food systems of whom depending trade primarily on long distance based and multi actor faceted supply chains (Van Der Ploeg et al., 2002). In this respect, SFSCs are thought to be a very proper tool for organic producers, sustainable production, and ecological production or locally produced specific products as well as convenience for benefit of smallholders. The very basic reaction operates in the bypass of intermediaries or middleman and direct procurement of food from producer to consumer. The concept of proximity takes a significant importance in SFSC and composed of geographical proximity, social proximity and economic proximity. Geographical proximity is the key dimension for measurement of distance while social proximity expresses proximity within relations of producer and consumer as a trust-dependent relation. Economic proximity is directly related to locality debate that money circulates within a local community in this system.

The geographical proximity arisen with the questions of spatial scales within Food Supply Chains (FSCs). According to Sonnino and Marsden (2006), although the diversity of the phenomenon has been empirically objectified, there has been a distinct lack of theorization concerning the dynamics of SFSCs, their evolution across the full range of spatial scales within FSCs. The reason behind the lack of theorization is likely to be much contextualized nature of AAFSs and thus SFSCs. In this respect, the search for AAFS and related short supply chain models might be seen defensive- defensive localism- and as a survival mechanism against the seemingly inhumane forces of globalization, industrialization of markets exacerbated by the new global policy settlement (Guthman, 2008; Marsden et al., 1999; Slee & Kirwan, 2009; Winter, 2003).

The problem of scale unsolved, Sonnino and Marsden (2006) focus on the notions of quality and the concept of embeddedness examine the relationship between food and territory. Similarly Van Der Ploeg (2010a) found out that new forms of multifunctionality and embedded new networks bring about farmers' innovativeness and rural development.

Goodman (2004) emphasizes quality turn and repeasantization of territorialized, farm-centric value added strategies forerunners of "paradigm change" related to AAFSs with ecologically-embedded successor to the modernization paradigm of rural development. In this respect, quality conventions embedded in face-to-face interactions, trust, tradition and place support are necessities of proximity.

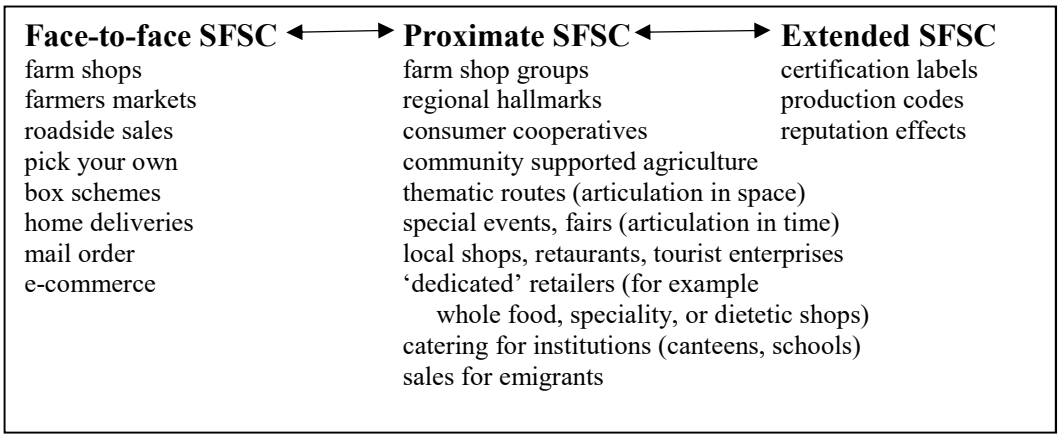


Figure 10. Different mechanisms for extending SFSCs in time and space (Source: Renting et al., 2003: 399)

SFSC debate and debates of Alternative Agro Food Systems (AAFSs), alternative agro food chains (Ilbery & Maye, 2005) or sustainable food chains have concomitantly contributed each other. One of the crucial characteristic of SFSCs is directly reaching food from initial producer to final consumer through embedded value-laden information, quality assets and information of provenance (Renting et al., 2003). The other important feature is introduced by Marsden et al. (2000) that the relationship between producer and consumer has a role of building value and meaning. According to Renting et al. (2003), SFSCs develop and upgrade through extension of organization in time and through extension of space in locality. In this respect, starting with small scale individual farms shops, home deliveries or roadside sales, the scheme can extend to production codes and certification labels, which can be examined in Figure 10 showing the extension in space and time.

3.2.2.1. **New Nested Markets**

The contemporary discussions on SFSC has brought the introduction of "nested markets" conception to the literature. Nested markets are "specific places where specific transactions take place between specific suppliers and specific consumers" (Van der

Ploeg et al., 2012: 141). This idea is depending on the argument that rural development can be viewed as an evolving set of responses to market failures of the incumbent regime and the response is that they are unfolding through construction of new nested markets (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012). Contemporary rural development practices literally shift its previous boundaries as can be seen in Figure 11.

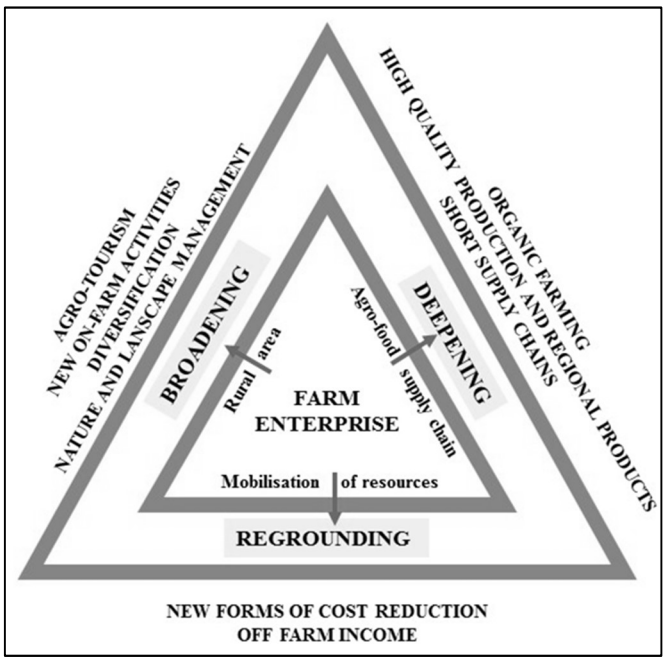


Figure 11. Boundary Shifts
(Source: Adopted from Van Der Ploeg, 2012 and Redrawn by the Author)

The process of regrounding in this perspective involves reconstruction of resource-based production, reducing dependence to external resources and inputs, increasing dependence to internally available resources. In short, regrounding is de-commoditization (Van Der Ploeg, 2010b) by taking many forms such as engagement in non-agricultural jobs- pluriactivity[16] (Van Der Ploeg, 2008). In other words, it is composition of standing out of Banking Credits Circuit, low-external input agriculture and forms of local and regional cooperation result in considerable cost reduction. New peasantries are forms of new and current forms of rural development practices together with deepening, broadening and regrounding.

In the current situation, there are two rural development practices among world, the first of which is boundary shifting and the second is industrialization of agriculture.

[16] According to Van Der Ploeg (2010), pluriactivity, transnational migration and/or multiple job holding provide creation of savings that allow for investments in the agricultural production instead of entering in the dependency on "Banking Credit Circuit".

The second practice is the outcome of the second food regime and caused de-activation in agriculture in the third food regime (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012). These processes brought about a transformation in the rural development policies that current rural development policies do not only aim at strengthening agricultural growth, they also aim at redefining the role of agriculture in society and the role of society choices in agriculture (Hebinck et al., 2015). The social relations between the actors and the adopted governance structures are not merely of economic value, rather nested markets often emerge out of a critique on the relations that dominate incumbent regimes' food markets, which can be defined with "niche markets versus bulk markets" (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012). Role of civil society penetrated to global level rural development policies that comprehensive character of current boundary shifting and nested markets are reflected in the recent "New Delhi Declaration" signed by Brazil, China, India and South America in 2010 (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012).

Those policies and practices that basically redefine and reorient the development of countryside through the development of new nested markets (as complex forms of SFSCs) as a result of voluntarism with a mix of following elements (Hebinck, et al., 2015);

- Demonopolization of existing markets
- Construction of new connections between existing markets
- Creation of new markets
- Development of new governance structure for new and existing markets.

As a wider form of SFSC, nested markets creates by-passes for the space created by increasing gap between the prices taken by agrarian producers and the prices paid by consumers (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012). These markets are not anonymous markets, they are rather markets with particular focus underpinned by specific brands, quality definitions, relations of solidarity or specific policy objectives and so on (Oostindie & Van Broekhuizeb, 2015). Thus, these are very much about morality and voluntarism. These markets are related to local and regional resources and are embedded in normative frameworks which are rooted in social movements, institutional frameworks and policy programs (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012). By interlinking patterns of production and consumption, civil society and producers turn to modern gatekeepers of access to consuming public (Lang, 2010).

Table 7. Flows of net value added that contribute to overall agrarian income in 2000 (Source: Adapted from Van der Ploeg et al., 2012:143)

Engagement in classical production of agricultural commodities	86 Billion Euros/year
Engagement in newly emerging nested markets	10 Billion Euros/year
Engagement in non-agricultural labour markets	24 Billion Euros/year
Partial distantiation from main upstream markets	8 Billion Euros/year

Since 2000, new nested markets have grown considerably in Europe absolutely and relatively as it can be seen in the Table 7. The most important nested markets in Europe are as follows (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012);

1. High quality products,
2. Organic products,
3. Regional specialties,
4. Direct selling: Although it has a varying degree, ecologically produced products and other high quality products are traded by big retail chains and the resting part is sold through SFSCs; on farm shops, buyer clubs, CSAs, box systems and so on,
5. Agro-tourism services,
6. Care facilities,
7. Decentralized energy production,
8. Maintenance of landscape and nature,
9. Traditional diversification activities.

Common features of nested markets are their specificity (of product and style of farming), connectedness (of producers and consumers) and rootedness (of socio-material network) in general. Specifically, these nested markets tend to interact and intertwine with other nested markets as it can be seen in Figure 12 and Figure 13. This creates synergy and contribute for the robustness of each other (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012).

Lastly, Van der Ploeg et al. (2012) add that new nested markets is grounded on common-pool resources. This embraces three basic elements of new nested markets. Because common-pool resources encompass knowledge, capacity, collectively constructed social capital and collective innovative capacity of the niche development, Van der Ploeg et al. (2012; 2015) expresses the first one as *the capacity to produce qualities* that are distinctively different than the anonymous markets. This capacity is not privately owned or strictly individual attribute, rather they are jointly shared by involved producers (and co-producers-consumers) as a complex process of socialization, communication, learning and experimentation. The second common-pool resource has a wider impact including non-agrarian segments and extended to a regional geography (or

a territory). *Recognition* is a strategically important common-pool resource that supplied products and services are distinctive in terms of their quality (Van der Ploeg, 2012). Relevant to the second one, *the trust* is the third common-pool resource that ties together.

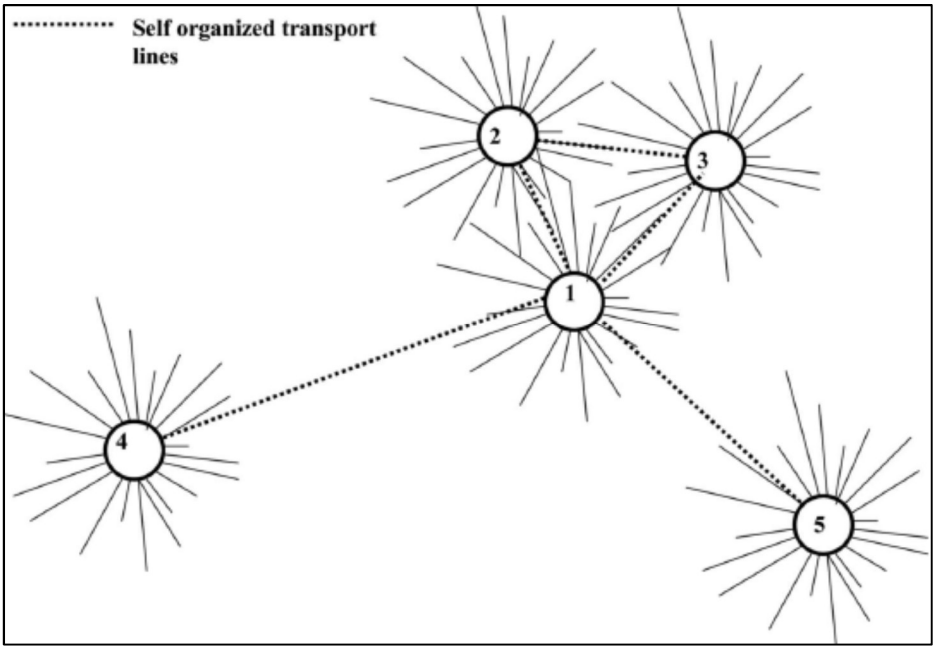


Figure 12. Newly connected local markets in Brazil
(Source: Adapted from Van der Ploeg et al., 2012: 158).

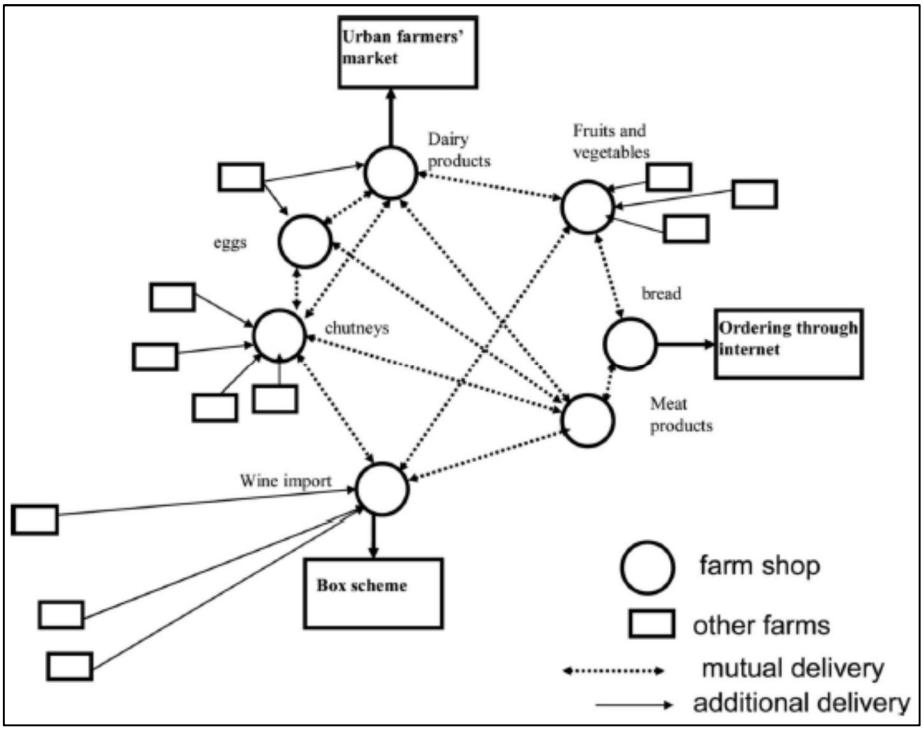


Figure 13. Interconnected farm shops in Netherlands
(Source: Adapted from Van der Ploeg et al., 2012: 161).

3.2.3. Re-Defining Changing Consumer Roles in market governance: Civic Food Networks (CFNs)

Civic Food Networks (CFNs) defines producer-consumer cooperations in food networks run parallel and oppositional to dominant globalization and trends of the global food systems. This view is developed by the researches of Renting et al. (2012) and identified with examples of food communities, CSA groups, consumer cooperatives, buyer groups, collective urban gardening, grow it yourself groups and other relative examples such as AMAP and Solidarity Purchase Groups by emphasizing the role of consumer in AAFSs by criticizing the earlier literature focusing on roles of producers and sustainable consumption.

3.2.3.1. Types and relevant Examples of Civic Food Networks

Food communities basically identify access to ecologically grown local agro food directly, without middleman. It represents many groups such as CSAs, buyer groups, AMAP and urban gardening. I am reviewing these conceptions in this part.

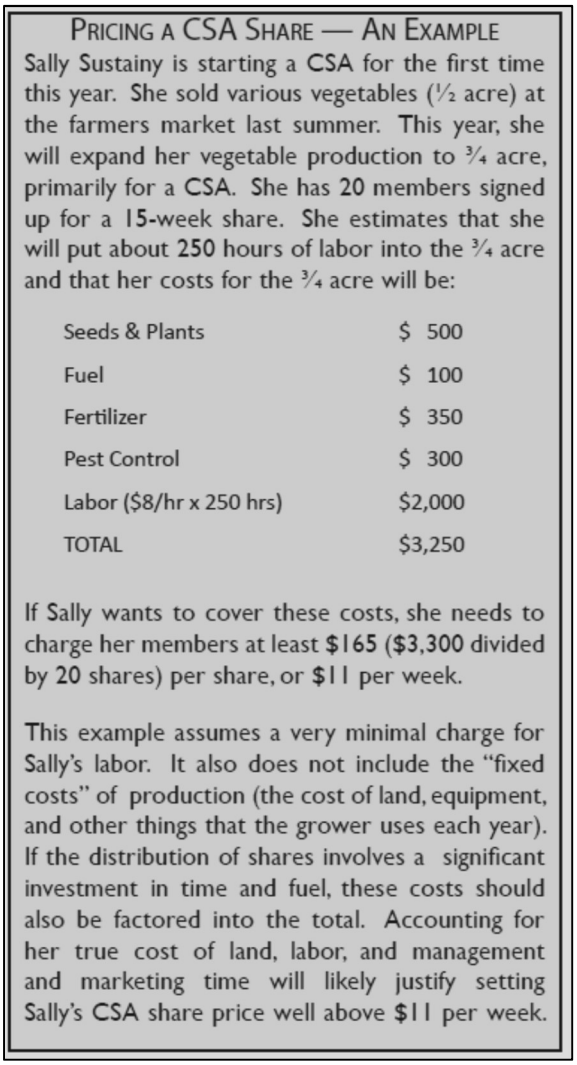
CSA was coined in the North Eastern USA in 1980s by influencing the ideas of Rudolf Steiner, who formulated biodynamic agriculture in Europe (McFadden, 2003a). IFOAM describes CSA as a partnership of mutual commitment between one (or more) farm and a supporter consumer community providing direct link between agro food production and consumption (IFOAM, 2014). Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is a term that define a number of direct farm marketing practices with certain common characteristics (Ernst, 2013). These characteristics include:

- Emphasis on community and/or local production and consumption
- Shares that are sold before the production season's beginning
- Periodical (mostly weekly, once in two weeks or monthly) deliveries to members/subscribers.

The movement started in the USA in 1986. In 1990, there were 60 CSA farms, 1150 in 2005 and it was estimated to be more than 4000 CSAs in the USA in 2013 (Ernst, 2013). In the USA and Canada characteristic, CSA members pay up prior to the production for the whole season and the farmers do their best to provide an abundant box of produce with diversity of products each week. If the total product crop is low, the farm

does not reimburse but share the crop whole season. This provide risk sharing between producers and consumers. Risk sharing can be formally, by a contract, or informally, by a verbal agreement, signed (McFadden, 2003a).

CSA movement has different names and different forms in different countries. It does not have a standard formula and standardization is also not intended due social and cultural differences of different countries and geographies (Temürcü, 2014) as it can be seen in the Figure 15.



PRICING A CSA SHARE — AN EXAMPLE

Sally Sustainy is starting a CSA for the first time this year. She sold various vegetables (½ acre) at the farmers market last summer. This year, she will expand her vegetable production to ¾ acre, primarily for a CSA. She has 20 members signed up for a 15-week share. She estimates that she will put about 250 hours of labor into the ¾ acre and that her costs for the ¾ acre will be:

Seeds & Plants	$ 500
Fuel	$ 100
Fertilizer	$ 350
Pest Control	$ 300
Labor ($8/hr x 250 hrs)	$2,000
TOTAL	$3,250

If Sally wants to cover these costs, she needs to charge her members at least $165 ($3,300 divided by 20 shares) per share, or $11 per week.

This example assumes a very minimal charge for Sally's labor. It also does not include the "fixed costs" of production (the cost of land, equipment, and other things that the grower uses each year). If the distribution of shares involves a significant investment in time and fuel, these costs should also be factored into the total. Accounting for her true cost of land, labor, and management and marketing time will likely justify setting Sally's CSA share price well above $11 per week.

Figure 14. An example of CSA share pricing in the USA (Source: Ernst, 2013)

In Japan, it is described as "Teikei", and is well developed. Teikei (partnerships with local farmers through annual subscriptions) is a mature movement, reportedly with millions of members (McFadden, 2003b) was founded in 1971 with the idea of founding an alternative distribution system, driven by environmental issues and diminishing trust to conventional food systems (Kondoh, 2015). In France, it is emerged in 2001 and

identified as AMAP with around 2700 groups[17] (Temürcü, 2014). 19 regional networks, 1 interregional network (MIRAMAP) and an international network (Aubagne centered URGENCI) are established further. In principle, AMAP groups are independent individually and in average numbers composed of a producer serving 30 consumers for fruit in 1 hectare land, 70 consumers for vegetables in 2.5 hectares land and more than 400 consumers for meat in more than 100 hectares land (AMAP, n.d.). There are some groups working with more than one producer (David-Leroy & Girou, 2009).

	NAME	WRITTEN CONTRACT	TIMING OF PAYMENT	ORGANIC CERTIF.
JAPAN	TEIKEI	NO	Order	YES
US	CSA	YES/NO	Order, 6 months, 1 year	YES
QUEBEC	ASC	YES	6 m	YES
GERMANY	SOLAWI	YES	6 m, 1 y	YES
ITALY	GAS	NO	3 m, semi order	NO
FRANCE	AMAP	YES	6 m, 1 y	NO, PGS
ENGLAND	CSA	YES	6 m, 1 y	NO

Figure 15. Different CSA types with different characteristics and operations (Source: Parot, 2015: 10)

AMAP gained its legitimacy and legal status through a struggle in 2012 and still struggling to change its approved status. According to Parot (2015), AMAP was objected by two deputies from the opposition in March 2012 with the question of whether AMAP is a business model to be taxed or a social movement. She identifies the struggle as follows;

> The purpose of these interventions were mainly to push for a derogatory tax exemption for the AMAP. The driving forces behind these initiatives are difficult to map. But one could think that the deputies had been invited to act in this way by short supply chains intermediaries claiming to do AMAP, although not strictly following the AMAP Charter. AMAP is indeed an association (and not a business) that supports the relationship between a consumers' group and a local producer. These two part, the producer and each consumer, are linked through a contract -based direct selling system (Parot, 2015: 1-2).

The answer of the Government brought up on April by defining the fiscal status of AMAP with a surprising decision. It was claimed that an AMAP guarantees a professional to sell a product and therefore contributes to economic development of the farm, which makes it a profitable activity and subject to commercial taxes. MIRAMAP reacted with a press release and still struggling against the decision (Parot, 2015).

[17] The number of consumers was at least 180.000 in 2011 (Parot, 2015).

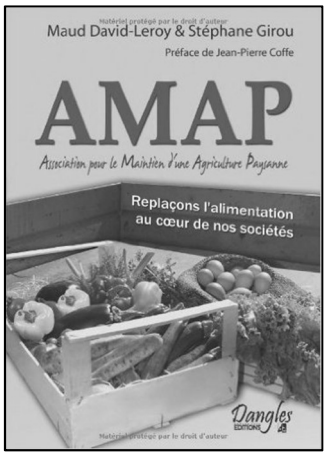


Figure 16. AMAP Brochure Cover Page (Source: David-Leroy & Girou, 2009: cover)

In Italy, Solidarity Purchase Groups emerged as another form of consumers' choice and resistance within conventional food systems and against the corporate global food regime (Grasseni, 2013; 2014). Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale (GAS) in Italian, Solidarity Purchase Groups are also driven by desire to show their agreement with ethical issues in addition to increased awareness of food sovereignty and environmentally friendly food processes (Schifani & Migliore, 2011). GAS consumers identify themselves as co-producers that they position themselves more than consumers. They are called *gasistas* that provisioning activism is something different to mere ethical consumerism (Grasseni, 2014). They engage in a concurrent rethinking of the social, economic, and ecological aspects of provisioning that make them "critical" consumers;

> The economic crisis and the decreasing purchase power of salaries are leading most people to look for more advantageous purchase opportunities (local markets, discount shops etc.). Despite this and in opposition to the economic theory of the consumer (which is based on the utilitarian model of choices), in recent years a new kind of "critical" consumer is asserting himself. He is more and more aware of his choices, and through socially responsible behavior he tries to play an active role in society (Schifani & Migliore, 2011: 26).

In Turkey, food communities are (1) CSA (Community Supported Agriculture) groups- called as TDT [Topluluk Destekli Tarım] in Turkey- and PGS (Participatory Guarantee System) groups- called as KOS [Katılımcı Onay Sistemi] in Turkey. There are also Consumer Cooperatives identified as TDT groups. Consumer Cooperatives are buying products from a number of producer (or producer group), organizing the products and packing them, preparing a standard package for consumers and delivering them to orderers. In this respect, their organization have similar aspects with buyer clubs.

Buying clubs (buyers' clubs, buyer clubs or buyer groups) differ markedly from CSAs – including all relevant groups such as AMAP, Teikei, GAS and TDT. An ordinary buying club has the objective of making economic advantage of collective buying form a

"purely utilitarian point of view" (Schifani & Migliore, 2011: 27). Buyer clubs are working in two ways the first of which is a farm selling products to consumers directly either by direct delivery or by cargo deliveries. The second is that a group of consumers that have geographical proximity order food from one or more farms and the delivery is made to a single address and shared (according to ordered products) by consumer group.

Lastly, collective urban gardens, urban farms and urban orchards are another example of CFNS that consumers practice cultivating, processing and distributing food in urban and peri-urban lands. These processes transform consumers to co-producers by collective production or by co-producing with producers that have continuing their production in urbanized land. In global north, it often takes the form of a social movement for sustainable communities that organic growers, foodies or locavores form social networks and these networks are institutionally supported that they are integrated into local town planning (FAO, 2012).

3.2.3.2. Renewed Role of Citizen and New Networks of Proactive Production-Consumption in Food Systems

Consumers, in this view, are defined as proactive citizen-consumers while producers are citizen-producers. In the view of Renting, et al. (2012), what is especially needed is to address renewed role of citizens, consumers, producers and civil society for the distinctive nature and characteristics of social and economic relations.

This citizen producers and citizen consumers are direct actors in changing the meaning of food that meanings of food goes beyond a mere commodity to and object of economic transaction (Renting, et al., 2012; Psarikidou & Szerszynski, 2012). This citizenry reshapes the traditional governance mechanisms to a dynamic structure that associational principles and participatory forms of self-management revaluate role of civil society-driven governance mechanisms – in relation to crisis of market driven and government based governance- as a source of innovation and transformation of agro food systems (Wiskerke, 2010).

This conception, very like SFSC and LAS, is a complementary category of AAFS (Renting et al., 2012). The approach encompasses;

- New relations developed between producers engaged together in new forms of food citizenship,

- Wide networks rather than narrowly engaged cases in food production-consumption- distribution practices, and new forms of cooperation between different actors
- Changes in agro food governance mechanisms by the increasing roles of civil society
- Correspond to a considerable degree to and coincide with changing relations between agro food networks and urban-rural relations. Including peri-urban forms of agriculture and urban gardening, re-invention of rural-urban relations and innovation of AAFS from production/countryside to consumption/city
- Different discourses, new knowledge and new symbolic frameworks developed and shared through interaction amongst involved actors like new preferences and practices like permaculture and grow it yourself
- Develop and build upon linkages with other new social movements and conceptual innovations related to different societal and economic spheres.

3.2.3.3. **Operationalizing Concepts**

CFN conception is theorized through food democracy, food sovereignty and food citizenship to operationalize the concept. Food democracy response to increasing corporate control and lack of consumer participation in the food system. Food as a locus of democratic process is essential to rise the role of active and informed citizens in the management and control of the food system. Food sovereignty concept is developed by international farmer movement La Via Campesina from 1996 onwards meaning that the people who produce, distribute, and consume food should control the mechanisms and policies of food production and distribution, rather than the corporations and market institutions they believe have come to dominate the global food system (*Food Sovereignty,* n.d.). It has strong right-based concentration from producer perspective but also encompass consumer perspective that defined as the right of people to determine their own food and agricultural policies (Patel, 2009). Food citizenship, commonly depending on USA and Canada scholars' studies, reveals a locally organized agriculture system and food production characterized by producer networks connected to place and citizenship.

3.2.3.4. **Operationalizing Mechanisms**

There are three basic mechanisms that CFNs operationalize, namely, flexible forms of coordination, social learning, and new forms of engagement: producer-consumer engagement and political engagement. In this part, I am clarifying these operationalizing mechanisms.

Flexible Forms of Coordination

Flexible forms of coordination are shared characteristics of diverse AAFS schemes that they promote agro-ecological production (either have formal organic certificate or not), promotion of local and seasonal goods and avoiding food miles and excessive consumption. These systems provide fair pricing, innovative SFSCs and remuneration both to producers and to consumers, access to quality and nutritious food for all income levels and not for wealthy citizens (Psarikidou & Szerszynski, 2012). The critical feature in control system is integrated in the nature of criteria applied. According to Renting et al. (2012), criteria apply ecological, social and other ethical concerns with informal definitions of food quality, flexible forms of coordination and control systems depended on direct face to face relations and mutual trust are preferred to formal arrangements. Further, food plays social and recreational function.

Social Learning

Social learning process is total of mutual processes interesting consumers, producers and also public institutions. Civil society groups define concrete plans of action to improve AAFSs at the local level and governments take up a role as market party through creating local demands for sustainable food (Morgan & Sonnino, 2008). Especially in France, MIRAMAP have power to make lobbying against CAP, policy agendas, make press on local governments. Similarly, in Italy, there are nine hundred registered two thousands unregistered groups struggle against dominant conceptions of conventional food systems in terms of social, economic and cultural norms.

New Forms of Engagement: Consumer-Producer Relations

New forms of engagement in terms of consumer-producer relations can be exemplified with CSA groups. This provides a proof for the emergence of producer-consumer engaged movements. In these groups, sustaining farm activities, sharing production risk, co-owner systems for farm land and production, paying in advance and similar innovative experiences are spreading among Global North (Renting et al., 2012). These systems provide transformation of consumers to producers that also can be seen in Paysans-Artisans Group in Belgium as a "food team". Producers' roles are also transforming to involvement in distribution and marketing that Renting et al. (2012) conceptualize as co-production or co-sumption. This can take the form of real negotiation and engagement. Another critical perspective is that "the end of traditional distinction between producer and consumer" becomes increasingly obsolete through producership. New forms of engagement in terms of political engagement is referring to power emerge through active participation of citizen, community organization and local food movements. CFNs might exert power by active participation, proactive role of society towards public and institutional spaces and encourage new types of policy initiatives (Psarikidou & Szerszynski, 2012). Further, civil society mobilization creates new forms of opposition and protest that growing dissatisfaction with legal institutions provokes demonstrative protests or acts of resistance, such as land occupations ('reclaiming the fields'), energy enterprises in rural and fragile geographies, food awareness campaigns or support for political protest campaigns.

3.2.4. Endogenous Development: New Peasantries and Sustainable Niche Innovations

The use of local resources is at the heart of sustainable endogenous development patterns and strategies (Van der Ploeg and Long, 1994; Van der Ploeg and Van Dijk, 1995). Agro-technical manifestation of endogenous development (Van der Ploeg & Long, 1994; Van der Ploeg & Saccomandi, 1995) interrelated with issues such as farming styles research (Van der Ploeg, 2010a), multifunctionality (De Rooij et al., 2013; Van der Ploeg et al., 2009) and conceptualized by new peasantries as a struggle against "the empire" (Van Der Ploeg, 2008; Van der Ploeg, 2009) are the basis of endogenous development.

The endogenous development emplaced as a survival strategy and a development option for farmers against "modernization model". It is a bottom-up development model built on local, nuanced and ingenious farming systems, value-added production, distinctive production and alternative organization.

Endogenous development provided theoretical underpinnings as an anti-thesis of the modernization. Its intellectual underpinnings can be seen in new European paradigm of rural (Van der Ploeg & Renting, 2004), as an alternative model of developed country rural development by promoting policy level and theory level (Slee & Kirwan, 2009). The anti-thesis/alternative is identified in two different agro food paradigms by departing from a dualism idea by Wiskerke (2010); a) the agro-industrial paradigm, and b) the integrated territorial paradigm. It provides contradictory milieu to devastating effects of agro-industrial paradigm via the integrated territorial paradigm. According to Renting and Wiskerke (2010), agro-industrial paradigm and related processes were strongly supported by the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Agriculture. The integrated territorial paradigm, on the other hand, supposing a rupture with principles and policies of agro-industrial paradigm, reinforced the capacity of food systems to valorize specific territorial resources and social relations of proximity (Wiskerke, 2010). Margarian (2011) shows that the idea of endogenous development became a ruling paradigm for targets of European Rural Development Policies. Thence, the endogenous development allowed for a positive opinion with its concentration on local actors as well as showing compatibility with incumbent regime and being influential. The argument here has arisen from the rural development role of endogenous development as a supported policy by European Rural Development Policies.

Van der Ploeg, who is the key researcher that theorized European ruralities, rural development schemes, grassroots resistance of peasants -against the practices of the third food regime and conventional agro food system- and 'repeasantization', developed the idea of '**new peasantries**' (Van der Ploeg, 2008), which has close relation to endogenous development perspective but encompassing specific contingencies and necessities of rural and agriculture. In his view, the empire, is identified as the agro-industrial empire of new and powerful mode of ordering. It is reordering large domains of social and natural worlds, is subjecting them into new forms of centralized control and massive appropriation (Van der Ploeg, 2008). This view identifies the corporatization within the third food regime and the industrialization of agriculture as the "Empire" created. In this context, there are three processes concerning agriculture namely industrialization,

deactivation and repeasantization. Repeasantization is the establishment of sustainable green niches through bottom-up grassroots innovations of peasantry.

Industrialization have important constituents that corporate farming is the main laboratory, 'Empire' is the main driver and parts of entrepreneurial segment is the contributor of the process of industrialization (Van der Ploeg, 2008). In the respect, industrialization represents a disconnection of the food production and consumption from time and space. Neither spaces of production and consumption- the specific localities nor the interrelations between these two matter. Therefore, food empires may be said to create 'non-places' (Van der Ploeg, 2008).

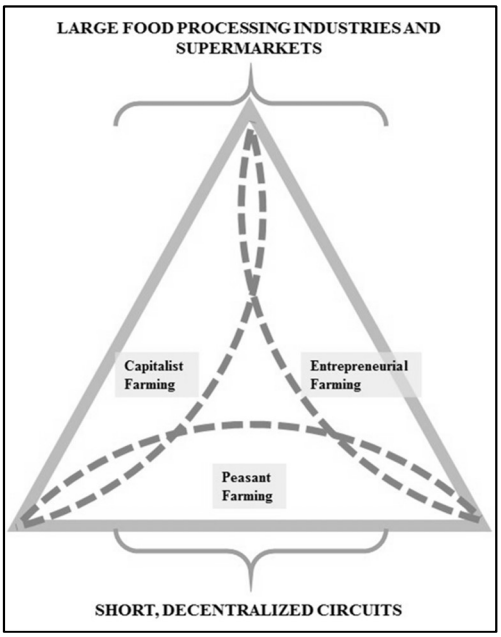


Figure 17. Patterns of connectivity
(Source: Adopted from Van Der Ploeg (2008: 5) and Redrawn by the Author)

Repeasantization process encompasses grassroots innovations and foundation of AAFS (Van der Ploeg, 2008), adaptation of modern techniques and traditional techniques of farming and development of socio-technical innovations (Van der Ploeg, 2010a), developing the market potential of endogenous enterprise and alternative forms of marketing (Van der Ploeg and Long, 1994) and so on. Repeasantization requires *direct marketing innovations by unmediated farmers' markets, buyer clubs, farm tourism, CSAs, pick your own networks.* In other words, it requires founding innovative niches, to established short food supply chain niches, new and novel marketing channels. In short, it is composed of a scope for a range of value-adding, differentiated forms of production and marketing as well as direct procurement. This insight provides reference to

transaction costs, new market opportunities provided by rural tourism, development of local niche markets, socio- technical practices and providing rural repopulation, reactivation and new survival strategies. According to Slee and Kirwan (2009), particularly in areas with residual traditional agricultures and less penetrated by industrialization process, a significant proportion of the food system may revolve around AAFSs.

Following the idea of endogenous development, the idea of neo-endogenous mode of production asserted a distinctive regional provenance for any development actors, whether or not they are associated with traditional modes of production (Ray, 2003). This conceptual policy method is derived by another EU project, LEADER, depending on combining endogenous material with cultural potential in order to develop social capital in business, entrepreneurship schemes, professional and organized networks, and local participation (Tolón-Becerra & Lastra-Bravo, 2009). On the one hand the scale of endogenous and non-endogenous development debates is designed for a Europe-centered rural development paradigm. It has got critical presumptions on the continuity of local agricultural knowledge and techniques, the existence of social capital and a European rural Rural Development Policy support through subsidies.

Besides, the scale of endogenous and neo-endogenous enterprise do not have been a major driver of rural change in north-west Europe that it figures out traditional agricultural production practices (Slee & Kirwan, 2009), which are implicit in Turkey case. These approaches also supports rural areas as places for sustainable tourism to provide a survival strategy of peasants. In these perspectives, Slee and Kirwan (2007; 2009) identify it as a meta-theory[18]. In my opinion, there is no claim of the new peasantries for theorization of rural or peasantry, it is more like a combination of achieved alternative, non-industrial, ecology based examples as sustainable niches as it can be seen in Figure 18 as an example of successful model of new peasantries.

[18] Jean-François Lyotard defines **meta-theory** as a totalitarian way of providing stability through telling big narratives. Meta-theories in this identification legitimizes themselves by explaining a discipline or a practice of universally accepted narration.

Figure 18. Alternative Patterning in Catacaos
(Source: Adopted from Van der Ploeg, 2008: 84 and Redrawn by the Author)

CHAPTER 4

FOOD SYSTEM TRANSITIONS IN THE MULTI-LEVEL PERSPECTIVE

4.1. Introduction

The discussions on the history of food regime and food system analysis have run a milestone through "the corporate environmental food regime" (Friedmann, 2005) in mid-2000s. This milestone depends primarily on a controversy. International Assessment of Agricultural Science and Technology (IAASTD, 2008) makes this controversy clear as follows;

- The limits of industrial agriculture have been reached
- The undermining of ecosystem integrity now threatens the social and material relations of present societies.

The challenge of the global corporate food regime was suggested by Friedmann (2005) and carried a step further by Weis (2007). After a decade change, a new round of accumulation appears to be emerging (Bernstein, 2015) with the selective appropriation of pressures and movements by the fact of environmental degradation, consumer health and animal welfare activism (Friedmann, 2005) in the form of green capitalism (ETC Group, 2011).

This view puts the green environmental regime to center and hence green capitalism emerges as a response to pressures by social movements that came into the agenda in the interstices of the second food regime and in the round of the third food regime. On the other hand, Friedmann (2005) turns the lens to the relatively incoming standoff between alternative food systems and conventional food systems. She declares that a third regime promotes a new round of accumulation as a specific outcome if it becomes successful. It is clear here that, she is mentioning an internal feud or an internal fracture within the third food regime. The "Green Economy" emerges within conventional systems and the mainstream regime, as well as the governments' preparation to sanction a green economy at RIO+20, the green economy provides an update on

corporate power that the control of biomass will perpetuate not the Green Economy but the Greed Economy (ETC Group, 2011).

Following the guidance of Friedmann for standoff between alternative food systems and conventional food systems, in which she executes corporate-environmental food regime and represents convergence of environmental politics of repositioning supra-national organizations such as WTO and EU, the convergence of environmental politics repositions through retail-led reorganization of food supply chains such as supermarket revolution (Reardon et al. 2003) and global value chain displayed and fed by the rise of privileged consumers in the global North and the rise of rich consumers in large countries of global South (Friedmann, 2005). Furthermore, alternative discourses may evolve in the process of economic change and the role of different social movement actors in the evolutionary process to take large scale market outcomes (Hutchens, 2009). In short, Friedmann asserts that supra-national organizations, retail-led organizations of food supply chains and global value chains are challenges for emerging Alternative Agro Food Systems that the practices of global corporate food regime are blunting the phenomenon to a Greed Economy.

In this perspective, this era witnessed very important changes in power relations that US hegemony declined and key role of the nation states continued in regulating aspects of food and agriculture (Friedmann, 2005). The role of the nation states, to put it more explicitly, continued through operating judgements of supra-national organizations such as WTO in conditions of production in land use, labor markets and consumption patterns. The private capital alone did not regulate, but regulated via new emerging mechanisms and modalities including application of standards, thrusts in production input markets and deepening processes of dispossession and marginalization of peasants, in my opinion. According to Moore (2010), market mechanisms and institutional mechanisms essential for flows of food, energy, and raw material and labor surpluses to organize centers of world accumulation are reasons lying behind emergence of environmental regime. In every phase of capitalism, new possibilities for the expanded accumulation of capital have emerged via a revolution in nature–society relations (Moore 2000).

Food Systems scholars identify newly emerging changes in the food systems towards an alternative as a form of green economy that lays the groundwork of a new round of accumulation. Moreover, Alternative Agro Food Systems literature tackle the issue by fragmenting it into sub-conceptions. Although the subconceptions of Alternative Agro Food Systems literature concentrates on different aspects of the phenomenon, the

common opinion displayed in this literature shows that there emerged three common points related to food systems; new actors, new values and new expressions. Related to the transitions in food systems, Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) literature provides tools to understand the structure, mechanisms and events in the transitions of food system. The system transitions discussion related to sustainability oriented innovation and technology studies have received increasing attention over the past 10–15 years (Markard et al., 2012). In this part, I execute the transitions of mainstream food regime towards sustainable socio-technical transitions and the relevant MLP literature.

4.2. Understanding Emergent Niches and the Potential Transition from the Global Corporate Food Regime to an Alternative Agro Food Regime

> Whichever spectrum of food systems and lifestyles might emerge in the next future, sustainability and globalization will be among their key organizing principles as we aim to show with the help of both the theoretical and empirical arguments (Spaargaren et al., 2013: 4).

I have discussed on how the mainstream food regime develops maneuvers to transform all encountering constituents. Environmental awareness, sustainability[19] concerns and standoff between conventional food systems and alternative food systems paved the way for corporate environmental food regime as an apparatus of corporate global food regime. According to Smith (2006), the case of organic food that emerged as a green niche for seeding radical transformation and showed compatibility with the mainstream regime to be more influential have blunted the innovative potential of organic agriculture; and turned organic production to a regime re-orientation role (Durant, 2014). As I have discussed in the Chapter 2, organic agriculture certification and fair trade labelling schemes are questionable that the mainstream regime forces to absorb the tensions within the regime and puts effort to make niches emerging from tensions to its apparatus along their transition. On the other hand, the same discussions on the literature show that there are ways of transforming the mainstream regime through sustainable socio-technical regimes.

[19] Sustainability, in this thesis, used to identify sustainable agro food production systems, rural livelihoods and consumption patterns.

These discussions in food regime analysis are formulated through 'Sustainability Transitions' (Markard et al., 2012) frame and systemized by Frank Geels through **Multi-Level Perspective** (MLP). This field provided in-depth explorations of transitions in food systems. The "system transitions" phenomenon within the field provided scholars to clarify potential transitions and blunting of alternative agro food niches within the mainstream food regime by deeply examining green niches (or sustainable niches), socio-technical regime and socio-technical landscape related to sustainable development and grassroots movements. Therefore, this frame also provided a method to investigate and explore AAFSs.

The common claims in the field focus on how fundamental structural changes in transitions (known as socio-technical systems) have come about in the past, and how these structural changes may be directed through sustainability in the future (Durant, 2014). In this view, a transition or a socio-technical system involves many changes on technological, material, organizational, political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions (Markard et al., 2012). Here, technology does not necessarily imply material technology, it is concentrating on procedures and related knowledge. Socio-technical refers to the interrelatedness of social and technical aspects of organization or the society as a whole (Cooper & Foster, 1971).

Transitions comprise **the success of niche initiatives, a variety of actor involvement** in a **long time span** and new products, models, services, and organizations emerge, complement and partly replace existing ones. In this context, institutional and technological structures as well as perceptions of consumers vitally change (Markard et al., 2012). These transitions result path breaking or systemic innovations that oppose to the dominant dynamics of change in socio-technical systems (Kemp et al., 1998) and specific configurations of technologies and social arrangements, which are called as **socio-technical regimes** (Geels, 2002).

4.3. The Transformation of Mainstream Regime towards Sustainable Socio-Technical Transitions

Contemporary environmental problems that have shown destructive results on resource depletion, loss of biodiversity, climate change and pollution created societal challenges inherent in deep-structural changes in agro food production and consumption,

transportation, energy systems, etc. (Elzen et al., 2011; Geels, 2011). These systemic changes are called "socio-technical transitions" that they involve change in the overall configuration of the systems (such as agro food system) by altering technology, consumer practices, policies and markets infrastructure, cultural meaning and scientific knowledge (Geels, 2004a; 2011). In this perspective, the emergence of AAFS is a socio-technical transition and AAFS is the new socio-technical regime (in transition).

Characteristics of new socio-technical regimes and how the ways in which they penetrate into incumbent socio-technical regime (conventional agro-food systems) are as follows (Geels, 2002; 2004a; Geels & Schot, 2007; Kemp et al., 1998; Smith et al., 2005);

- Sustainability transitions are **goal oriented and purposive**

- Step-by-step improvements by a variety of actor involvement provide progress within a largely unchanged mainstream regime,

- Systemic innovation drives transitions: these can emerge and be developed in **niches,** which offer systemic innovations and protection from pressures of **incumbent socio-technical regimes**

- Socio-technical regimes can be configured or replaced by **alternative configurations**

- The ability of the new socio-technical regimes to replace incumbent regime (or mainstream regime) is contingent upon the weakening of mainstream regime through **bottom-up pressures from niches, grassroots innovations, internal tensions** within regimes, global social-environmental or economic crisis, cultural shifts, etc.

- The alternative regimes for achieving transition must come into **collision** with developments in the incumbent regime and incumbent socio-technical regime.

In this thesis, **the incumbent regime identifies corporate global food regime-and the mainstream food regime defines the third food regime.** Further, the incumbent socio-technical regime practices identify conventional socio-technical practices.

4.4. Multi-Level Perspective

The multi-level perspective (MLP) has emerged as a fruitful middle-range framework to analyze socio-technical transitions to sustainability (Geels, 2011) and applied to agro food field through organic food (Smith, 2006; 2007), power relations in Alternative Agro Food Systems (Grin et al., 2010), animal welfare in pig farming (Elzen

et al., 2011), Fair Trade (Hutchens, 2009; 2011), alignment of actor roles in innovative processes in family farming (Marques et al., 2012) and the Civil Society Organizations' roles to form Alternative Agro Food Systems (Durant, 2014). These scholars make explanations for the green niche-innovations and socio-technical regimes through analyzing the learning processes, network dynamics, actor roles and struggles against mainstream regimes on multiple dimensions.

Socio-technical transitions safeguard processes driven by transformations through; (a). Niche innovations, (b). Socio-Technical Regime and (c). Socio-Technical Landscape as can be seen in Figure 20. Multi-Level Perspective, concerning how transitions have been driven by sustainability, has relation with Transition Management (TM) and Strategic Niche Management (SNM) frameworks, which analyze dynamics of contemporary systems in relation to food systems, energy systems, housing and infrastructure systems and emphasize that sustainability transition in these systems are **ongoing unfinished transitions** (Elzen et al., 2011). With respect to food, Spaargaren et al. (2013) have shown potential pathways towards sustainability transition. Further, Smith (2006; 2007) developed arguments on green niches in food sector in relation to SNM framework while the studies of Geels provide evolutionary perspective of transition and different socio-technical regimes in progress.

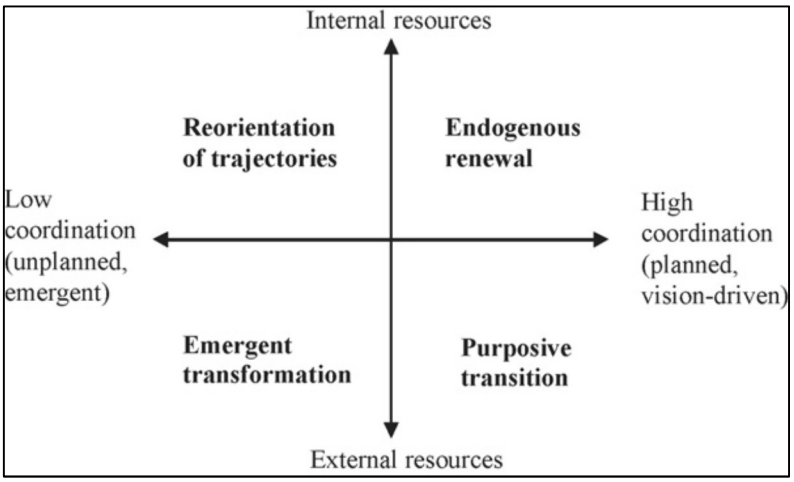


Figure 19. Typology of transformation processes
(Source: Adapted from Berkhout et al., 2004: 67)

SNM is developed in mid 2000s as a policy approach that is significantly seeded radical transformations in socio-technical regimes in general and transitions to environmentally-sustainable regimes in particular (Smith, 2006). According to Durant (2014), contemporary studies **explore actor-level and systemic views to explain actions**

and intentions in transition studies. Literally speaking, MLP literature in relation to SNM literature had accomplished to focus on processes (Brown et al., 2000) and relations between niche practices and the incumbent regime (Smith, 2006), to discover drivers behind destabilization of incumbent regimes (Durant, 2014), multiplicity of interpretations of it and the roles of different actors within it (Smith, 2012) as well as step by step improvements of niche innovations within the incumbent regime (Geels & Schot, 2007).

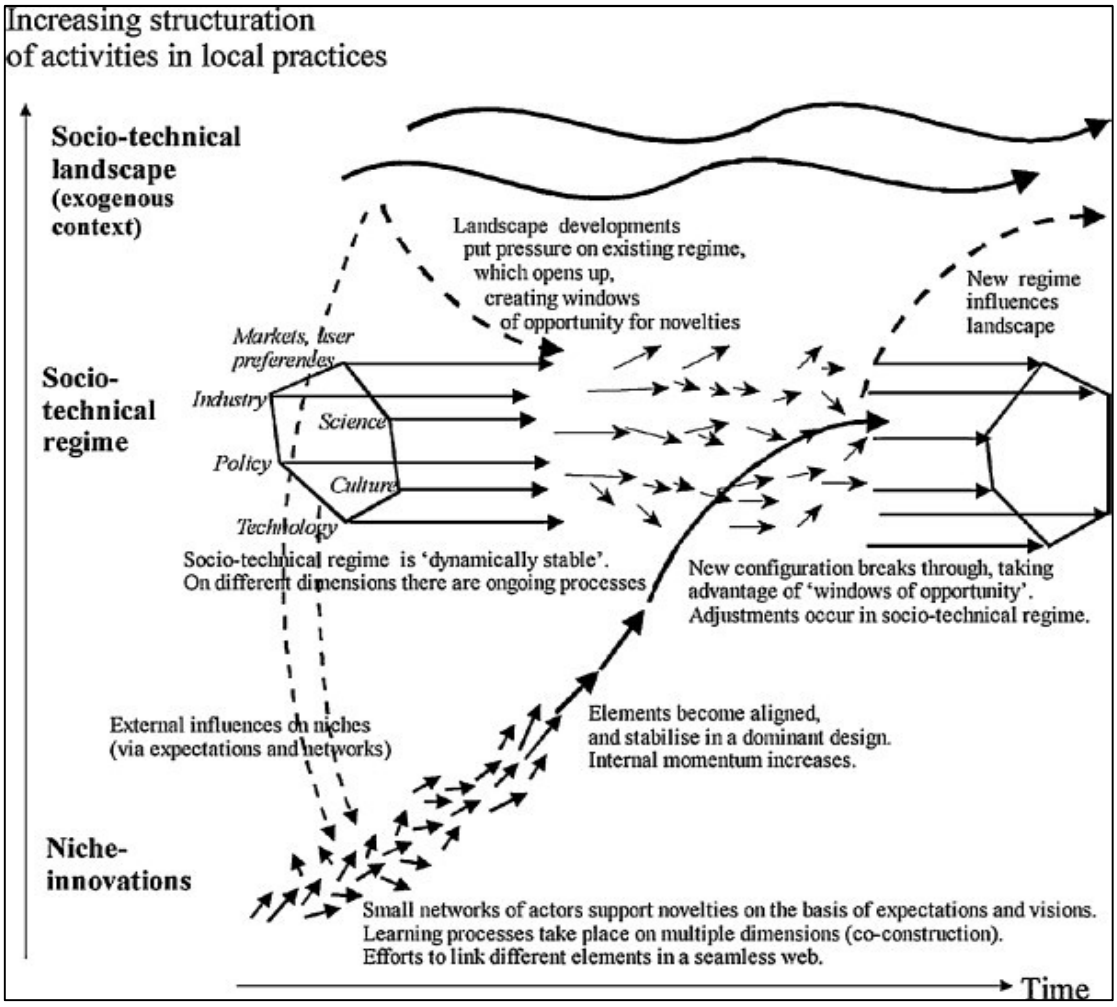


Figure 20. Evolutionary perspective: the transition from one socio-technical regime to another as a consequence of exogenous niche innovations and landscape changes (Source: Adapted from Geels, 2002; Geels and Schot, 2007)

Figure 20 shows us three "system transitions" to create change within the incumbent regime that I am explaining above.

(1) Niche-innovations emerge through small networks of actors support basis of expectations and visions. Co-construction appear in learning processes that take place on multiple dimensions. Lastly niche-innovations put efforts to link different elements in a

seamless web. Niches act as **'incubation rooms'** that protect novelties against mainstream market governance (Kemp et al., 1998). "Niche-innovations are carried and developed by small networks of **dedicated/committed actors, not necessarily but often outsiders or fringe actors"** (Geels & Schot, 2007: 400). Niche actors work for radical innovations that deviate from **incumbent regime practices** and expect to change the incumbent regime practices. Geels (2011) finds this very difficult due to existing lock-in mechanisms and the mismatching characters of niches to the incumbent regime. Nonetheless, niches are crucial for transition that they provide seeds for systemic change (Kemp et al., 1998). In this respect, niches are **protected spaces** such as small market niches in which consumers have special demands and are eager to support emerging innovations (Geels, 2011). The articulation of expectations and visions (as the discourse) intends to attract attention and funding of external actors. **Social network building** and new actors' enrolment are also another important requirement of niches. According to Geels (2011) the achievement of this depends primarily on resource base of the niche innovation. Crucially, for the niches to gain momentum, it is needed to **make expectations more clearly and more broadly accepted**, make learning process results in a stable configuration (Geels, 2004a; Geels & Schot, 2007; Smith, 2012). In other words, a **'dominant design'** is required (Geels, 2011).

(2) Socio-Technical Regimes are an extended version of Nelson and Winter's technological regimes that was introduced in 1982 (Geels & Schot, 2007). This concept accommodates **broader community of social groups and their alignment of activities.** Socio technical regimes stabilize existing trajectories that regulations and standards, adaptation to lifestyles of new technical systems and investments in infrastructures and machines are exemplified as cognitive routines (Geels, 2011). The socio-technical regime establishes the **'deep structure'** which accounts for the stability of and existing socio-technical system (Geels, 2004a). More clearly, it means to the semi coherent set of rules orienting and coordinating social groups' activities to reproduce the elements of socio technical systems (Geels, 2011). The duality of the structure works in the regime that regime rules are medium and the outcome of action. To illustrate, in concrete actions of local practices; actors perform, show evidence and utilize the rules while rules at the same time configure actors (Elzen et al., 2011).

Regime rules are cognitive routines, shared visions and beliefs, legally binding contracts, lifestyles and user practices, institutional arrangements (Smith, 2012). These trajectories do not only work in technology but penetrate into cultural, social, scientific

and political structure of the socio-technical regime (Geels, 2011). Therefore, it provides a co-evolutionary co-productive system. The co-evolutionary system can be seen in Figure 21 that there is a continuous evolution constructing new socio-technical regimes on the way to evolve as an ongoing and continuous process.

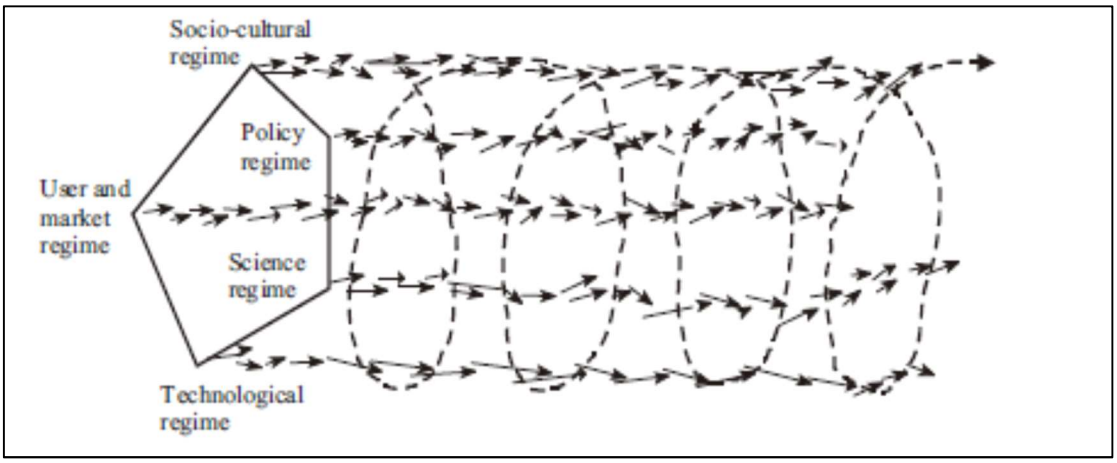


Figure 21. Alignment of ongoing processes in socio-technical regime
(Source: Adapted from Geels, 2004: 912)

(3) Socio-technical Landscape forms an exogenous environment and milieu beyond the direct influence of niche and regime actors and their actions (Geels & Schot, 2007). It creates new environments of macro-economics, deep cultural patterns and macro-political developments by **changing landscape** level in a long period of time taking decades. According to Kemp et al. (1998), the socio technical landscape is the wider context that influences niche and regime dynamics. This level is "not only the technical and material backdrop that sustains society, but also includes demographical trends, political ideologies, societal values, and macro-economic patterns" (Geels, 2011: 28). The actors and networks in the niche and in the socio-technical regime cannot influence the socio-technical landscape in the short run (Geels, 2004a) that the change in the landscape level is characterized by transitions resulting from the interaction. Geels (2011) explains these interaction processes as follows;

> This varied set of factors can be combined within a single 'landscape' category, because they form a pattern is characterized by transitions resulting from the interaction between processes at different levels: (a) niche-innovations build up internal momentum, (b) changes at the landscape level create pressure on the regime, and (c) destabilization of the regime creates windows of opportunity for niche innovations (Geels, 2011: 28-29).

As Multi-Level Perspective does away with simple causality in transition, there is no single cause or driver, rather there are processes in multiple dimensions and at different

levels that contact and consolidate each other (Geels, 2005). This is identified as circular causality by Geels (2011) in Figure 21.

There is not a linear or Euclidian relation between transitions to/between these regimes but the initial regime mostly emerges as niche innovations. If elements of niche-innovations become aligned and stabilized in a design then internal momentum increases. In this respect, niche may be in transition to a new socio- technical regime. Along the ongoing transition, socio-technical regime might be influenced by socio-technical landscape. Along the number and power of socio-technical regimes increase, there occurs a new regime influence that form new socio-technical landscape. Emergence of new socio-technical landscape provides landscape developments, puts pressures on incumbent regime and its practices, and opens up creating windows of opportunity for novelties. These three processes are mutually feeding each other.

Since 2010, the scholars that are interested in MLP literature point out the role of micro-level niche innovations in potential system transitions. Niche initiatives are sources of **innovation** that have the **potential to transform mainstream regime**. In the processes of breaking path dependencies and creating new paths, niche development processes play a crucial role. According to Geels (2011: 27), "Niches are crucial for transitions, because they provide the seeds for systemic change". However, MLP literature does not provide an exploration of "micro-level niche innovations" for alternative agro food practices, rather "meso-level socio-technical regimes" and "macro-level agro food systems" are the level of concern (Belz, 2004; Geels, 2011; Kirwan et al., 2013). Additionally, the lack of agency, which is one of the core critiques directed to MLP, can be overcame through researches on niche innovations with regard to bounded rationality (routines, search activities, trial-and-error learning) and interpretive activities within niches (Geels, 2011).

4.4.1. Role of Niches in Sustainable Transitions and Characteristics of Niche Development

According to Spaargaren et al. (2012), innovative practices emerging in niches have the potential to affect the future regimes handling food. In this view, alternative food regimes emerge in the **grassroots level** and develop **networks** as incubation rooms of the regime**.** However, the 'novel practices' or 'innovative practices' are not exclusively studied at the niche level (Grin, 2012). According to Spargareen et al. (2012: 11), the

scholars select and analyze niche level initiatives only for that niches preshadow the rules and resources of a new regime-in-the-making.

Niche innovation is an analytical concept to describe socio-technical dynamics, not as an ontological description of reality or a functional and well defined part of a system (Marques et al., 2012). Niches are protected spaces that have been deliberately created and they nourish to become successfully ripe and formation of a new niche (Hoogma et al., 2002), their development means exposing the novelty step-by-step to the real world consitions (Wiskerke, 2003).

Kemp et al. (1998) suggest three internal processes for the development of the niches. In their view, niches can be distinguished by the presence of these three processes as follows;

a. The Articulation of Learning Processes
b. The Establishment of Social Networks
c. The Development and Alignment of Strategies and Expectations.

Further, there are three levels identified through interlinkages and interactions between developments (Smith et al., 2010);

a. Rise of strong socio-technical alternatives in niches
b. Favourable openings in regime section environments
c. Unsettling of regimes arising from mainstream landscape developments

Crucially, these transition processes provide involvement of purposeful actors in normative questions operating through structural relations (Smith et al., 2005; Geels and Schot, 2007). These processes do not only guide the innovation niches, but also are indicators for evaluating the success of the niches (Wiskerke, 2003). In the establishment of the niche, which is defined as **grassroots level**, niches move towards core members, non-core members and **outsider actors** (Smith et al., 2005). Moreover, "at times when the normal functioning of the regime is under extreme stress, peripheral members or outsider actors may be able to intervene" (Smith et al., 2005: 1507). Outsider actors are assumed to be the key actors in the establishment of the niche (Smith, 2006) and in the **formation of new niches** from the existing ones (Smith, 2007). If the niche can not compete with **internal tensions or tensions within the mainstream regime**, it can fragment as I have discussed in the example of organic certification.

The success of the niche is directly related to its **compatibility with the mainstream regime**, but it also has the risk of blunting the niche (Smith, 2006). **Multi-scale networking** and **learning by system builders** are other key components for the

regimes (Markard et al., 2012). According to Geels and Raven (2006), through processes of social learning by system builders through multiple experiments and articulation of heterogenous social networking, niche innovations gain momentum and can eventually compete with the incumbent regime.

According to Durant (2014), niches and civil society organizations which have gained a normative contestation role organize **activities oriented to change the regime**/ putting social pressure (lobbying champaigning). Moreover, niches that aim at forming a protected space from the mainstream regime practices often apply **persuasion of policy makers and awareness raising** activities.

Lastly, one of the most critical characteristics for the development of niche lies in the **flexibility in the niche to motivate actors including those from the mainstream regime** (Smith, 2006). Such capability lets the niche to be legitimized and develop more socio-technical practices.

4.4.2. Role of Cities in Sustainable Transitions and Niche Development

MLP researches present that socio-technical regimes are often too homogeneous or monolithic (Geels, 2011; Smith et al., 2005). According to Geels (2011), this constructive critique is true for the studies that focus on niche-innovations and the struggle of those innovations against existing regimes. However, regimes are coherent blocks from the outside and there are **mainstream regime tensions, internal tensions of the niche, disaggreements, conflicts of interests and shared rules.** The MLP studies handle socio-technical regimes as homogenously reigning and recognizable coherent blocks. "By not paying enough attention to local diversity, interpretations and institutional contexts (on a regional, city or neighbourhood level), the MLP has difficulty explaining why niches emerge in one place and not in others" (Raven et al., 2012: 67).

Nevertheless, since 2010, the role of place has gained importance in the identification of contingencies in alternative system transitions (Coenen & Truffer, 2013; Coenen et al., 2012; Eames et al., 2013; Hodson & Marvin, 2010; Raven et al., 2012). In this respect, cities which have been transformed through their 're-emergence', 'renaissance' and 'entrepreneurialism' (Hodson & Marvin, 2008), represent different potentials and structures for the emergence of niche initiatives and the relation between niches and the regime. Eames et al. (2013) discusses the issue on socio-technical regime

of energy systems that the role of cities as major centres of human population, innovation and governance capacity is increasingly seen as central to scaling up existing ad-hoc and piecemeal retrofit activities.

Coenen and Truffer (2012: 368) claims that;

> Questions concerning **where** sustainability transitions take place and why have thus remained largely off the radar in this otherwise burgeoning field of studies. As a result, the existing literature remains insufficiently equipped to assess the advantages, conflicts and tensions that are constituted by the economical, institutional, social and cultural territories in which transitions dynamics and pathways by default are embedded, except as passive contexts. There is a risk it fails to recognize why certain transformative instances of institutional, entrepreneurial and innovative interactions occur where they do and for what reason unless it develops a more *spatially sensitive perspective or geographical lens on transition pathways*.

The increasing interest on geographical aspects of sustainability transitions and the governance in urban context (Smith et al., 2010) is an invitation to fulfill the spatial level investigation gap (Coenen et al., 2012). According to Hodson and Marvin (2010), cities are important scales to understand the transitions, review strengths and shortcoming and to understand the role of system transitions in urbanization trends. Cities are spaces that respond to climate changes, leading in the development of new styles of development, develop strategic concerns on systemic changes and have ability to quarantee resources into strategies. In this respect, city-scale investigation is crucial in MLP researches to understand systemic change (Hodson & Marvin, 2010).

4.4.3. Role of Multiplicity of Actor Involvement in Niche Development and Types of Actors

MLP provides an explanation of actor roles and how these roles strive for change. Technology theorists refer to socio-technical regimes by emphasizing the key role of human actors and their values to cause transition (Spargareen et al., 2012). In this perspective, **private actors have limited incentives** to address sustainability transition (Geels, 2011), but the public authorities and civil society are crucial to support green niches (Elzen et al., 2011). According to Durant (2014), the MLP framework offers a multiplicity of actors and multiplicity of interpretations and multiplicity of actor-networks. She also asserts that these actor-networks are necessity for the transition that the strategic activities must both possess certain endogenous characteristics and have power to catalyze-engage-influence wider niche, regime and landscape processes (Durant, 2014). However, MLP literature seems to be regarding human actors as a

second-order phenomenon, the key role of human agents as the prime and ultimate carriers of transition receives minor attention (Spargareen et al., 2012). The earlier formulations of transition theory has manifested human actors as ultimate sources of transition (Schot et al., 1994; Geels, 2002). In this respect, to achieve transition, different roles (both human actors, civil society organizations and regime actors) must have specific **context-dependent** characteristics and have relation and solidarity with each other.

As the critiques of MLP provided that this frame is underplaying the role of agency (Genus & Coles, 2008; Smith et al., 2005), Smith et al. (2005) emphasizes that MLP is descriptive and structural leaving little room for greater analysis of agency. On the other hand, Genus and Coles (2008) claim that MLP should have concern for actors and alternative representations. In turn of these critiques, as Geels (2011) emphasized that routines, trial activities, learning by system builders and so on requires more attention to overcome the underplaying role of agency. To reveal those bounded rationalities, the socio-technical practices and the actors playing roles in those practices have importance. Geels (2011: 30) highlights bounded rationalities as follows;

> Because the MLP is based on crossovers between evolutionary economics and Socio-technical Systems (constructivism), it aims to bridge the social science divide between 'materialist' and 'idealist' theories. From evolutionary economics it includes **materialist aspects** (such as prices, capital stocks, investments, resources, competition, market selection, and struggle for survival) and from Socio-technical Systems it includes **idealist aspects** (such as interpretations, visions, beliefs, networks, framing struggles, debate). So, the MLP accommodates agency in the form of bounded **rationality** (routines, search activities, trial-and-error learning) and **interpretive activities**.

Grin et al. (2010) draw on political science theories to develop the role of power in the MLP as seen in the Table 8. This proposal characterize the focus of actors and type of power in different MLP categories that (1) "Experiments" identify niche-innovations, (2) "Regime" means Socio-Technical Regime and (3) "Slowly changing Landscape" means Socio-Technical Landscape.

Table 8. Three Layers of Power (Source: Grin et al., 2010: 283)

Type of Power	**Focus**	**Level in MLP**
Relational	Achievement of outcomes by agents in interaction, differences in competencies and ability.	Experiements
Dispositional	Positioning of agents in a regime, comprising rules, resources, actor configurations and dominant images of the issue involved.	Regime
Structural	Structuring of arrangements from changing orders of signification, domination and legitimisation	Slowly Changing Landscape

Actor Types within Sustainable Niches

The MLP literature identifies certain types of actors involving in niche initiatives such as outsider actor, committed idealist and idealistic enthusiast. However, it is not clear that how those actors are involved in the niche and to what extent their contribution to niche development is. There is a remarkable and comprehensible study that identifies different actor types in alternative agro food studies belong to Anna Hutchens. Hutchens (2009; 2011) asserts that institutional and organizational studies have been expressing a growing interest in the dynamics of agency and institutional change by capturing the concept of institutional entrepreneurship. In her study, she examines governance of Fair Trade[20] and she identifies different actor types in her study. Although Fair Trade and its practices are under conversation and questionable (See Chapter 2 Part 2.5), the frame that Hutchens developed along her research fulfills a very important gap in the literature. In this respect, I am including her findings and the frame that she provided in this dissertation. Her actor identifications are comprehensive and appropriate for MLP framework.

She inserts a complex set of "**movement actors**" composed of individual actors and collective actors (such as initiatives) as follows; Producer group, Commercial trader, Independent actor, Ethical consumers, Movements' institutional designers, Labelling Initiatives, Committed consumers and activists (according to Geels and Schot (2007) and/or committed idealists, Ethical investor partners.

Geels and Schot (2007) claims that Niche-innovations are carried by small networks of dedicated actors, often outsiders or fringe actors. Moreover, Smith (2007) identifies idealistic enthusiasts. In this respect, I need to add;

- Outsider actors
- Idealistic enthusiasts.

Some other studies such as Smith (2006; 2007), Geels and Schot (2007) identifies some of the same actor roles in their studies.

[20] Fair Trade has the claim to be an alternative approach to conventional trade based on a partnership between producers and traders, businesses and consumers. The international Fairtrade system - made up of Fairtrade International and its member organizations - represents the world's largest and most recognized fair trade system (Fairtrade, 2011). In the official webpage of Fairtrade, it is identified that "When farmers can sell on Fairtrade terms, it provides them with a better deal and improved terms of trade". This allows them the opportunity to improve their lives and plan for their future. Fairtrade is claimed to offer consumers a powerful way to reduce poverty through their every day shopping" (Introducing Fairtrade, 2011). However, it is frequently become the center of conversations in the literature that Fair Trade is not an alternative model including the study of Hutchens (2009).

Commercial Trader identifies traders that are not bound by contractual agreements to abide by and support the principles defined by related Alternative Agro food system, which is exemplified by Hutchens (2009) with Fair Trade.

Independent actors are identified within the story of Italy centered biggest Fair Trade organization, CTM Cooperative, which markets Fair Trade products as a pioneering organization. Within the corporate governance structure of CTM Cooperative, there a is a project committee that submits projects to CTM Board and the members of the committee are identified as independent actors due their independent character within the Board of CTM.

Ethical consumerism, which is also called as ethical consumption, green consumerism, ethical sourcing, moral purchasing, ethical shopping or ethical purchasing, is emerged as a type of consumer activism that encompass all consumption patterns such as food, clothing and energy claims to be voting against the incumbent regime by "mouths" or by "pockets" (The vote in your pocket, 2016) for ethical and environmental concerns; animal rights, human rights and pollution and toxics. However, this actor does not necessarily be the follower or member of the related international movement, it rather represents consumers that have ethical concerns that ethical consumerism introduced.

The **institutional designers (or redesigners)** pursue transformative change to redistribute market power and value in the hands of small-scale producers (Hutchens, 2011). They continuously create and explore new potentials of the existing models and different possible models. They seek to make market power relations work in a different or a better way.

Labelling Initiatives, different than commercial trader and institutional designer, seek to work with the systems among large scale companies and promote this system among large-scale companies. They intend to provide "mainstream" market access to producers that these actors in the movement are described as "market pragmatists" (Hutchens, 2011). They attempt to seek higher price returns for small farmers as a less ambitious and more compromised goal.

Committed consumers and **committed activists**, which are also defined as **committed idealists**, are "grassroots" actors that operate in civil society arenas to drive change towards sustainability (Durant, 2014). While doing so, they generate diverse social innovations, innovative socio-technologies, new organizational arrangements and new tools (Seyfang & Smith, 2007). The more radical practices, which are essential for niches to be radical and reforming to prevent mainstream regime to appropriate niche

elements and to form a first step for more sustainable reforms, will continue be pursued by committed actors within a renewed niche (Smith, 2006). **Dedicated actors** are sometimes outsiders or fringe actors in the niche. However, being outsider is not a necessary condition, the necessity is being dedicated. This role is revealing the same role as committed idealist.

Outsider actors are outsiders of the community that they are enthusiastic to create a grassroots innovation or niche innovation. These actors may keep outsiders or can merge with the community/locality that innovation emerges.

Idealistic enthusiast plays a great role in the *creation* of sustainability initiatives in niches against tensions of incumbent socio-technical regimes. Their effect is not as much as the committed idealist but they are also key in the level of volunteerism.

Lastly, **ethical investor partners'** role is only observed in the studies of Hutchens in the literature. A farmer-owned banana and fresh fruits company and cooperative that spread across Ghana, Ecuador and Costa Rica, Agro Fair, shares its 50% profit with cooperative members and the other half is shared with its non-governmental organization (NGO) and ethical investor partners (Hutchens, 2009). This experience is important through its knowledge-developing capacity that producers gain direct experience and skills in value-added activities such as sales and marketing. Agro Fair producers share ownership of the company's equity and they get Fair Trade minimum prices and premiums (Hutchens, 2009).

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

As I discussed, Alternative Agro Food Systems are unproblematized in the literature, the conception is blurry and the phenomenon is context-dependent. Additionally, there is not much available data, developed database or just exceptional cases are available in Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey. In this respect, the phenomenon requires exploratory research. According to Gray (2014:36), "exploratory studies seek to explore what is happening and to ask questions about it, which are particularly useful when not enough is known about a phenomenon". Therefore, exploratory research seeks to identify themes if little is known about the subject and it is conducted to clarify and define the nature of the problem. Vogt (1999: 105) identifies exploratory research as follows;

> Social science exploration is a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or physiological life…The emergent generalizations are many and varied; they include the descriptive facts, folk concepts, cultural artifacts, structural arrangements, social processes, and beliefs and belief systems normally found there.

According to Gerring (2012) exploratory study enables one to gain in-depth knowledge of the issue as well as one or a few cases that are adequate to exemplify key features of a topic. It provides the researcher to find a number of varieties. Moreover, exploratory case studies allow researcher either to begin with a dataset *or to construct his/her own truth-table* focusing on a small number of cases (Gerring, 2012). In fact, the exploratory nature of much case-based research is one of the strengths of such research design (Gerring, 2007).

Thus, I am making **exploratory qualitative multiple case study research** in this dissertation. The empirical research is based on an in-depth qualitative study, which includes investigation of 40[21] cases in Turkey and selection of 3 of these 40 cases for intensive research. I have implemented my empirical research in two phases. The first phase- *extensive research phase* aimed at revealing what Alternative Agro Food Systems and networks are in Turkey and how they are emerged. Moreover, how these systems are

[21] For detailed apprehension of 40 cases in Turkey, see appendices and Chapter 6.

operating and how they are differentiating in their operations; in production, procurement, marketing, organization, and recognition and so on in Turkey were other research fields to be explored. The differences between conventional food systems and alternative food systems, the public and professional perception of AAFSs in Turkey and finding different examples of Turkish AAFSs was at the core of the first phase of my research.

Although exploratory research is criticized and found unqualified, Sayer (2003: 4) claims that identifying exploratory research as unqualified is a form of methodological imperialism;

> Although methodology needs to be critical and not merely descriptive I intend to counter various forms of methodological imperialism. The most important kind, 'scientism', uses an absurdly restrictive view of science, usually centering around the search for regularities and hypothesis testing, to derogate or disqualify practices such as ethnography, historical narrative or *explorative research*, for which there are often no superior alternatives.

Exploratory research provided me the questions and the problematique that I have defined and reached during the first phase of my research. I designed first phase of my research to explore an un-problematized, fragmented issue composed of different groups and initiatives (as well as a limited number of local governments) claiming to be 'alternative' of/to 'conventional' food systems with the discourses of "Another X is possible", "The end of X as we know it"[22], "Resisting Producers", "Local Food is Healthy", "buy local food", etc.. Furthermore, it is advantageous in market for every single producer, farmer to claim that they are producing "natural products", "local products", "and organic products" and so on. To be able to problematize the issue, to make generalizations[23] and decide on the clarification of conceptions, I made research on the distinguishing characters of AAFS, the ways that AAFS emerged and actors actively involved in the system. To explore AAFS in Turkey, I have conducted the first phase of my research. By exploration, I have developed the **Initiator Framework** which abstracts

[22] We can put economy, production, consumption, agriculture, peasantry and so on to the place of X.

[23] The AAFSs are very new and emergent entities in Turkey, as well as in the world. Turkish AAFS has not been academically studied and this dissertation is the first in this respect. Therefore, the generalizations in this study are to be further studied, examined and developed. Furthermore, the examples collected in the scope of this study are the ones that have strong linkages with other AAFNs, have visibility in different media channels such as bulletins, social media, local gazettes, and those groups have websites, blogs, etc. The further examples collected- but could not be contacted or not responded- are not included in the scope of this study. Therefore, this study does not reflect each initiative that was offered to me, but rather a number of initiatives about which I became sure that they are a component of AAFS in the context of the re-definition of AAFS that I have attempted to do in this dissertation. These interpretations are based on my field study, observed reality in agriculture system in Turkey, information provided by some significant, influential and founder actors of Turkey AAFS.

the sprawled, diverse, uncategorized AAFN groups within Turkey AAFS (see Research Design).

Then, to find out the answer to my research question, *how niche initiatives within Alternative Agro Food Systems emerge and develop; which characteristics of the niche facilitate niche development processes?,* I have selected my case studies in relation to the initiator framework. İzmir, as the only city that a variety of different Alternative Agro Food Systems exist and operate, and therefore, the only city that encompasses three types revealed in the initiator framework pave the way to me for exploring all types of AAFNs and for making a city-level investigation. In the forthcoming part, I am opening up two research phases that I conducted during my study. Following, I am revealing my data sources, and finally discussing on the limitations.

5.1. Research Design

This thesis does not seek the answer for a question like "how much sustainable niche innovations drive potential" or "What is the degree of the potential of niche innovations to drive change in Turkey". I also do not look for the relative power and chance of Alternative Agro Food Systems against mainstream regime and incumbent system. I am not providing or aiming to construct statistical comparison between alternative systems and incumbent system. I am using MLP framework to better analyze niche innovations and to structure and to open up the narratives of cases with respect to conceptualizations.

The Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) is a fruitful middle-range framework to make analysis on socio-technical transitions to sustainability (Geels, 2011) and applied to agro food field. The studies of Smith (2006; 2007) on organic agriculture, Smith et al. (2010) on sustainability studies; Grin et al. (2010) on power relations in Alternative Agro Food Systems, Elzen et al. (2011) on animal welfare, Hutchens (2009; 2011) on Fair Trade and by Durant (2014) on the Civil Society Organizations' roles are MLP researches in agro food research field. Although it is a new framework and recently used in alternative agro food studies, MLP makes me to comprehensively analyze the dynamics of contemporary systems including Alternative Agro Food Systems and the niches emerging within these systems. It provides an understandable way to order and to simplify complex analysis, large-scale structural transformations within AAFS, which makes MLP alluring for

AAFN studies (Smith et al., 2010). Through the increasing concerns on sustainable development, the demands on innovation increases that "sustainable development can be explained as a process of linking broader analytical frameworks to successively larger problem framings, which MLP satisfies this logic" (Smith et al., 2010: 441).

The main argument of MLP departs from that **innovation patterns reproduce socio-technical regimes**. Innovation patterns might be exemplified through green niches or niche innovations of/within alternative agro food systems, and socio-technical regime might be exemplified as AAFS in Turkey. In the literature of MLP, socio-technical regime examples are organic agriculture and certification (Smith, 2006;2007), international labelling schemes such as Fair Trade (Hutchens, 2009;2011), Slow Food Movement (Tukker et al., 2008) and so on. The alternative agro food practices and alternative agro food networks emerging within socio-technical systems are identified as green niches or niche innovations. In this respect, I am making an in-depth analysis of three niche initiatives in Turkey; Gödence Cooperative, BİTOT and Foça Earth Market.

MLP literature presents that there is a **micro-level investigation gap** in the literature, which I aim to fulfill. While doing so, the development stages and characteristics of the niches are level of concern in this dissertation.

MLP's capacity to conceptualize specific innovation activities and ability to link them are configured in niches with structural transformations in regimes. The terminology that of niche-regime-landscape frame provides a systemic way and a language to organize a wide collocation into narrative accounts of transitions (Smith et al., 2012). Nevertheless, such *abstract parsimony* carries potential traps which have to be approached with care (Smith et al., 2012). According to Sayer (2003), abstraction that can account for substantial relations between concrete phenomena requires a qualitative research design. In this respect, I have conducted qualitative exploratory research in two phases in this dissertation. In the first phase of the research, I designed my study to reach required abstraction, I have developed the Initiator Framework that identifies the commons and relations between different, diverse alternative agro-food groups in Turkey.

I have developed "Initiator Framework" during the first phase of my research by examining all the accessible AAFN groups in Turkey (examples are detailed in Chapter Six). Then I have distinguished them according to their characteristics, commons and relations. By doing so, MLP frame drive me to provide four main headlines which are as follows;

- Alternative forms of grassroots action

- Alternative forms of production, consumption, marketing, distribution and retail
- Alternative forms of socio-technical practices
- Alternative forms of social organization.

The MLP literature has emphasized the importance of spatial scale investigation of socio-technical regimes since 2010. In this respect, İzmir provided me to make an exploration of **city-level investigation**. Furthermore, I have examined a diversity of actors. I am asserting this initiator framework below. In this part, I am firstly identifying MLP frame that I am using in this thesis. I am re-revealing MLP frame to clarify the context of MLP used in this thesis. Then I assert initiator framework. Following, I insert research phases in relation to selection of cases and the importance of İzmir. Fourthly, I explain my data sources and finally I insert limitations of the research.

5.1.1. Multi-Level Perspective Framework: Niche Innovation

According to Geels (2004b), if one can provide a multi-level, multi-actor and multi-aspect analytical framework that integrates structuralist elements from the Multi-level Perspective, the critiques and lacks of multi-level perspective can be proposed by a complementary combination.

Within the scope of this dissertation, Multi Level Perspective provided me a language with its diverse and favorable conceptualizations for characteristics, development stages, practices, actors, transitions, innovations and dynamics of Alternative Agro Food Systems. In this framework, examples of socio-technical regime that strengthened and pervaded to grassroots are organic agriculture, Slow Food movement, Fair Trade labeling. I, in this respect, define alternative socio-technical regime as Alternative Agro-food Systems (AAFSs) in Turkey in the scope of this thesis. In this regard, niche innovations are examples of alternative agro food practices. The mainstream regime is identified as the third food regime and the incumbent system is conventional food systems.

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the MLP literature identifies characteristics of niches under certain headlines. The literature provided me to operationalize my abstraction, the Initiator Framework, through the interrogation of characteristics of niches as follows;

- Outsider Actor

- Common Vision
- Compatibality with the regime
- Multi-scale networking
- Learning by system builders
- Activities oriented to change the regime/ putting social pressure (lobbying champaigning), persuasion of policy makers, awareness raising
- Tensions (a). in the mainstream food regime (b). within the niche
- Flexibility in the niche to motivate actors including those from the mainstream regime

I am discussing the validity of these characteristics in my cases and putting my novel and context-dependent findings. Depending on the MLP literature, I have operationalized three headlines that identify the development stages of the niches observed in Turkey. These three stages allow the interrogation of characteristics above and relating to the development stages defined by Kemp et al. (1998); a. The Articulation of Learning Processes, b. The Establishment of Social Networks and c. The Development and Alignment of Strategies and Expectations. The three stages, which do not identify a sharp distinction for the development processes of the niches but rather emphasize possible development stages, are *Grassroots Innovations, Social Network Building and Innovation Development* as I have explained below.

5.1.1.1. Grassroots Innovations

Niche-innovations are emergent small networks of actors emerging as a form of grassroots innovations which ensures initial cooperation. In the emergence of such network, there are common visions and life expectancies that it forms a state of being. Grassroots innovations are operations emerge to drive change towards sustainability with social innovations, new organizational arrangements and new tools (Seyfang & Smith, 2007). In the view of Seyfang and Smith (2007) grassroots innovations are novel bottom-up solutions for sustainable development which respond to the needs of a local situation, interests, values and needs of communities and actors involving. They are constructed through a cooperation fed by learning together, applying together and developing together (Smith, 2013). There are a diversity of actors take role in the grassroots innovation mostly carried by committed idealist, and in particular types, with the help of idealistic

enthusiasts. Grassroots innovations are like incubation rooms that provide a protected space for novelties of grassroots innovations from mainstream regime practices and incumbent system.

Grassroots innovations are seeds of systemic change and therefore very important for transition. Reactions and redirections amongst grassroots activists keep open the search for more transformative innovations (Smith, 2013).The articulation of visions and common ideals involve a diversity of actors to the niche by social network building which provides organized cooperation.

5.1.1.2. Social Network Building

Along the development of social network, niche innovations develop new socio-technical practices such as a dominant design, re-design, innovation development or new regime rules which provides innovation development. Socio-technical practices provide momentum to the niche innovations. At the end of these socio-technical practices in social network building, **niches form[24] another niche developments** or it develops its capacity to upgrade the influence of the niche for further innovations. The novelty of the niches lies in socio-technical arrangements that they are running tools that are creating and designing technical, social and cognitive practices. Social network building causes transition within the niche and emerge to develop out of accumulated experience of innovative projects within the niche (Smith, 2012).

Socio-technical practices and arrangements are reinterpreting elements of lesson transformations. According to Hess (2005), socio-technical practices are technology and product oriented arrangements. If innovation developments within the web of niches turns to systemic innovations, they can re-create socio-technical arrangements for defining new regime rules in socio-technical system. Niche innovations can be improved step by step by the involvement of a variety of actors. I summarize the actors involved in the observed alternative agro food groups in Turkey below.

[24] MLP Literature uses two identifications for division of a niche innovation; formation and fragmentatiton. Formation means to give birth of a new niche. Fragment means split up due to conflicts or disagreements (see Smith, 2007).

5.1.1.3. Innovation Development

Throughout the innovation development practices, niches either form another niche, become an influential example in the establishment of new niches or otherwise it upgrades its capacity. The upgrading includes both the new socio-technical practices within ongoing institutional design of the niche or it might run the tools to expand the niche through new and novel practices of sustainability. These practices are related stands of green niches such as eco-innovation (Kemp, 2010), far reaching systemic views on different sectors or production patterns and transformation processes of socio-technical systems (Markard et al., 2012).

5.1.1.4. Actor Roles

Due to the context-dependent character of sustainable niches, the actor variety and types are also context-dependent. These roles may be matching and an actor may have more than one role. The role(s) of actor depends primarily on the actions they are practicing. I adapted actor types identified by Hutchens (2009; 2011), Geels and Schot (2007) and Smith (2007) by re-defining existing definitions of some actors and by defining new actors for my framework that are observed in 40 cases examined.

Producers are including four main types of producers namely;

a. ***Peasant producers*** (primary income is agriculture), rural rooted and have been practicing agricultural production. Some are ***wise peasants.*** Wise peasants have extensive tacit knowledge on indigenous production techniques, ecosystems and nature.

b. Rural rooted ***entrepreneurial producers*** (primary income is agriculture and related activities) - had education, performed entrepreneurial activity or intellectual activity in an urban area in a part of her/his life. The entrepreneurship does not necessarily mean a capability/intention for marketing and increasing income, the entrepreneurship may also be working in the capacity of creating socio-technical innovations.

c. Rural Rooted ***Part Time Producers*****;** (primary income is non-agricultural activity) rural rooted and have been born to a world of

agriculture. Working in a non-agricultural sector to gain main income and resuming production, for instance, at the weekend.

d. ***Urban rooted part time producers*** *and* ***urban rooted full time producers*** (primary income is non-agricultural activities or salary such as retirement salary).They also might also be identifying themselves as *türetici*, as a state of being.

Consumers are including four main types of consumers namely;

a. Co-producers that they identify themselves as ***Türetici***[25]**.** The word türetici is created by Buğday Association Activists. The association members have been using the identification for some time and it is derived in reference to global ecological movement literature, in reference to co-producer. Türetici has the claim to transform themselves to producers along their practices within alternative agro food networks. Some of türeticis turned to urban rooted producers and others still have the intention to apply. Their normative distinctions are not depending on urban/rural or peasant/urban but rather on producing/not producing. Türetici is a word play that means "inventor" in English, but is composed of the words tüketici (consumer) and üretici (producer) which are compounded to give the meaning of co-producer in Turkish. It is like c-roducer or pro-sumer.

b. ***Ethical consumers*** that have ethical traits about all consumption patterns such as food, clothing and energy claims to be voting against the incumbent regime. They are contesting consumption practices, changing their consumption practices and put effort on consuming less. They are applying these ethical consumption practices to their daily lives.

c. ***Concerned consumers*** that have concerns on environment, health, nature and/or have quality food and -individually or collectively- contesting to incumbent regime.

[25] There is only one türetici cooperative in Turkey, Kibele Ecological Life Cooperative. It was unofficially founded in 2004 and officially founded in 2008. The producers, türeticis, are located in different parts of Anatolia and sprawled from Kars to Çanakkale. The center of the Cooperative is İstanbul.

d. ***Beneficiary Consumers*** are those involving in the system to take the benefit of accessing quality and healthy food with cheaper prices, or socializing, or both.

Institutional designers follow transformative change to redistribute market power and value in the hands of small-scale producers. They continuously create and explore new potentials either for the existing models or for different possible models. They seek the possibilities to make market power relations work in a different or a better way.

Committed idealists are "grassroots" actors that operate in civil society arenas (but not necessarily linking to a Civil Society Organization) to drive change towards sustainability. To do so, they generate diverse social innovations, develop innovative socio-technical practices, and seek new organizational arrangements and new toolkits. They have a philosophy and they act in this way, organize their life practice and daily actions in this direction. They have fundamental role in the development of niche(s).

Outsider actor in the niche reveals the activist role involved in grassroots innovation as an actor out of the existing community. This role is a complementary role that explain the out of community background of the actor.

Idealistic enthusiast plays a great role in the *creation* of sustainability initiatives in niches against tensions of incumbent socio-technical regimes. Their effect is not as much as the committed idealists but they also play a key role in the level of volunteerism.

5.1.2. Initiator Framework

In this part, I am clarifying initiator framework that I developed in the scope of this dissertation. Initiator framework contains different alternative agro food niches, the organization and operation of these niches, the transformation processes of niches, as well, the web that these niches establish in the form of nested markets. I am revealing phases of innovation, a variety of actor involvement in different phases of innovation, relations of niches within the nested market and finally, different alternative forms of marketing in that different types of niches.

5.1.2.1. Producer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Initiatives

This category reveals AAFN that are initiated by a producer, a producer group, or by a producer group in the leadership of a committed idealist, an outsider actor which are, not necessarily but generally, entrepreneurial farmers. This category presents a similar character to identification of Van der Ploeg; "new peasantries", but producer initiated agro food practices rather identifies organized peasant groups. This group is organized in a well-defined geography such as in a village, in a territory, or in a basin, etc. Proximity and/or clustering of the members is essential. Producers in this group change their production practices into ecological production (if organic **not** industrial-organic production) and integrate into alternative agro food networks under the umbrella of an organization in some cases. In other cases, their ongoing traditional production- *wise peasant agriculture practices*- is integrated into alternative agro food networks by entering the web of an organization. They either and mostly apply their traditional techniques learned from ancestors or from wise peasants, or apply more institutionalized, systematically documented methods of organic production. The use of traditional techniques is not hindering to have organic certificate in practice, therefore, some peasants in this group have organic certificates by using traditional techniques. Their primary income is agriculture and try to find new ways of cooperation with consumers or direct ways of marketing.

The marketing channels of these producers are diverse. Since their primary income is agricultural production and the type of their activity is commercial farming, they seek different ways of marketing their surpluses by finding new and diverse marketing channels especially like by opening up buyer clubs, box schemes, and CSA groups and so on. Furthermore, they attract attention of ethical consumers and concerned consumers. However, alternative marketing channels are not so diversified and total market share of AAFN in Turkey is in very low. This situation creates, for this group, a duality in marketing. By virtue of the requirement of cash right after harvesting, these producers are dividing and directing their production to different marketing channels. In order to meet the requirement of cash, they are (1) selling their surplus to conventional markets; middleman, intermediaries, suppliers, supermarket chains, or for very special products (such as Kars Kaşarı cheese, Ayaş tomatoes, flower mountain honey or Erkence olive oil) to chain restaurants as wholesale. They are marketing their products in (2)

marketing their products in alternative agro food networks; to CSA Groups, buyer clubs, box schemes, etc. They are, in short dividing their production between wholesale marketing and retail marketing. If the products are not perishable in short terms (such as cheese, olive oil and honey), and if they are not in immediate need of cash, their marketing strategy is turning to keep the products waiting for higher prices -in conventional market or by marketing their products in alternative marketing channels.

The individual entrepreneur farms that are making ecological production and founding shortened supply chains are out of the scope of this group (such as box schemes of individual farms). In this group, I am centralizing the organization, cooperation and solidarity between producers. The organization in this category is generally has the legal identity of either a cooperative or an association.

There are three phases of innovation in this type. The first one is **initial cooperation.** This reveals the emergence of grassroots innovation by cooperation of a group of producers/ peasants and a committed idealist within an explicit territory (that I have explained above) to identify socio-technical practices. They are organized to define new regime rules and introduce and/or develop socio-technical practices. The committed idealist might be outsider activist. On the other hand, committed idealist might be a member of the group with a profile that well educated or the one have gained urban experience, capabilities for networking, capabilities of social and economic entrepreneurship and capabilities of good communication and dialogue. The second stage is **organized cooperation.** During this stage, new and novel socio-technical practices are applied and by consent more peasants and producers are integrated into the niche innovation. In this stage, the institutionalization of the cooperation is provided through establishment of an association, a cooperative or re-organization of the existing institutions. The last stage is **innovation development** that new socio-technical innovations are practiced, new alternative marketing channels are developed and through branding, local stores are opened. Moreover, sustainable non-agricultural sector development is attempted in this stage. All these stages and the innovations within the stages might not occur in niche development, but the explanation of these stages identify different and diverse innovations that have been observed within producer initiated AAFS niches.

5.1.2.2. Consumer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Initiatives

This category reveals AAFNs that are initiated by a committed idealist (consumer), a consumer group with enthusiastic activists, or by a consumer group in the leadership of a committed idealist and supported by enthusiastic activists. Consumers in this group are including ethical consumers and concerned consumers. They choose their producers either through an existing network, with the help of a guarantor (mostly committed idealist) or by making researches. In more organized groups, the producers are controlled and monitored, but, the primary choice and aim is to be able to establish a strong relation of trust and explicitness.

In this category, there are CSA groups, consumer cooperatives, Participatory Guarantee Systems [Katılımcı Onay Sistemi] and buyer clubs. These are typical cases of consumer initiated alternative agro food niches. Box schemes, which are subscriber systems of individual farms or producer initiated alternative agro food practices, are categorized under this group, but they are rather examples of face to face SFSCs. There are also non-typical cases within consumer initiated practices. On account of the co-producer actors, which I have explained in actor roles part of this chapter, the motivation of consumers is upgrading their practices to make production and to consume the agro food products they produce. Therefore, urban agriculture practices, urban farming and ecology collectives are non-typical cases in this category. Typical cases seek for and organize autonomous configurations to reach healthy, environment-friendly, ecological food and to support producers by providing shortened food supply chains, beside non-typical cases also initiate grassroots innovations for making production.

The producers in these groups are diverse. There are three groups of producers. The first group is peasant producers of whom primary income is agriculture. Within this group there are cooperated groups and individual producers. Cooperated groups might be producer-initiated alternative agro food niches, cooperatives or associations. The individual peasants are mostly rural rooted that (1) either born in a rural area in a farmer family or has a relation with agricultural production, (2) or was born in a rural area in a farmer family, gained urban experiences through education or work experience but never lost her/his roots, has relatives continuing to farming practices in rural area. The second group of farmers is urban rooted farmers. Urban rooted farmers does not mean that agricultural practice is held in an urban area. It means these people had different

occupations (mostly well educated), lived in an urban metropolitan city, had education there and they had no or very little relation with agricultural practices until they settled in an urban area, which I called urban rooted part time farmers and urban rooted full time farmers. In this group of farmers, ecology collectives and retired professionals are mostly observed, but, there are young individuals or couples that are settled to the rural area to make agriculture during their search for an autonomous, healthy, nature-oriented, non-mass consumptive life practices. The mostly observed primary income sources in this group are non-agricultural activities. They are earning their primary income from non-agricultural sectors by part-time working, or they have retirement salary, or by home-office working or by making division of labor within family that one of the individual of the couples are working in a full time service or industrial type of professional occupation. Urban rooted farmers are also two type that (1) part-time urban rooted farmers that are dealing with their intellectual activities or working for their primary income (home office or not). The remaining half of the day, or at the weekends, they are dealing with their farms. One of the examples of this group is ecology collectives. (2) The other group of urban farmers are those have settled and survived in rural area with their savings, and/or with a regular income such as retirement salary.

Rural rooted producers making production for consumer initiated groups either and mostly apply their traditional techniques learned from ancestors or from wise peasants. Urban rooted producers mostly apply more institutionalized methods of organic production, permaculture, etc. Rural rooted farmers are more familiar to traditional techniques, they have more knowledge and more accessibility to knowledge sources. Urban rooted farmers, on the other hand, are mostly applying institutionalized-documented techniques such as permaculture and organic production. Because the use of traditional techniques is not hindering to have organic certificate, some in this group have organic certificates by using traditional techniques. Their primary income of rural rooted peasants is agriculture and they try to find new ways of cooperation with consumers or direct ways of marketing. The individual entrepreneur farms that are making ecological production and are in search of shortened supply chains are out of the scope of this group (such as box schemes of individual farms). In this group, I am centralizing the organization, cooperation and solidarity between producers.

Consumer profiles are also diverse but have a common characteristic that they are the concerned consumers and mostly from middle and upper income groups. There are also consumers that are interested in the benefit from direct access to quality food with

cheaper prices. Women, especially with children or babies, are mostly the ones that constituted the concerned consumer group in this type. Some consumers identify themselves as ethical consumers. Consumers in CSA groups that are mostly composed of Buğday Association members are identifying themselves as türetici, an identification similar to Italian Solidarity Purchase Group members- *gasistas*.

There are three phases of innovation in this type. The first one is **initial cooperation.** This reveals the emergence of grassroots innovation by cooperation of a group of consumers, enthusiastic producer(s) and a committed idealist. They first of all develop the grassroots innovation as a socio-technical practice. In the second stage, that is **organized cooperation,** this group identifies meetings and gatherings with the participation of new consumers and the producers into the niche. They define new regime rules in this stage by identifying rules and regulations for meeting, production, distribution of food and pricing rules. The last stage is **innovation development** within which new socio-technical innovations are created. In this stage, the organization and work sharing are re-organized, tasks are shared and auditing is re-identified/re-systematized. The level of volunteerism increases by the redefinition of roles in this stage. Moreover, new socio-technical practices are developed and practiced in this stage. The desired products, for instance, are produced by the farmers with the guarantee and pre-payment of the consumers for the desired products. Furthermore, when the group starts to grow, a new group is formed by the existing one. All three of these stages may not have been taken place within different examples, however, consumer initiated groups are generally upgrading in this way.

5.1.2.3. Producer-Consumer Collaborated Alternative Agro Food Initiatives

This type of AAFN is organized by consumer- producer cooperation around a bazaar initiation. I identify committed idealists and enthusiasts here as the consumers. In that type, consumers mostly undertake more role in organization, however, producers also play key roles in such cooperation. In short, this category reveals AAFNs initiated by a diversity of enthusiasts in some cases leaded by a committed idealist to organize a local, ecological bazaar for a defined territory.

There are in general three sub-types within producer-consumer collaborated initiatives. The first one covers *"Organic Bazaars and Ecological Bazaars"*. Market sellers of these bazaars are two type. The first group is producers. Producers might be (1a) urban rooted or (1b) rural rooted. The second market vendor type, indeed, is not producers, they are rather (2) intermediaries and middleman that are marketing the products of producers with a profit on the counters. Organic bazaars and 100% ecological bazaars are working in this system. In this group of bazaars, territory is not clearly defined. It is context-dependent that İstanbul 100% ecological bazaars (there are 5 bazaars in İstanbul) define its territory as Turkey (**EI-3**, personal communication, 2016, January 22). Ankara organic bazaars (there are 2) and İstanbul organic bazaars (there are 3) also define their territory as Turkey. On the other hand, 100% ecological bazaars in Kayseri (there are 2) define the territory as Kayseri. Similarly, İzmir organic bazaars (there are 2) define territory as İzmir. All the producers or sellers must have organic certificate to be accepted to these bazaars.

The second type is "*Ecological Peasant Bazaars*". They are ecological peasant bazaars that *ideally* are all composed of peasant producers- included in rural rooted producers- marketing their products in the counters. In practice there are also intermediaries and middleman (Gündüz, 2012; **SI-7**, personal communication, 2016, May 30; **EI-9**, personal communication, 2016, June 11; **EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). The territory is more clearly defined in this type than organic bazaars and 100% ecological bazaars, however, the territory is still flexible. These bazaars are established for the producers making ecological production in the environs of a locality. Such locality is generally a semi-rural area such as Fethiye and Seferihisar or urbanized area with rurality in its territory such as Bodrum. Peasants' bazaars are founded in the medium scale or big scale districts that have considerable urban population or the place of attraction for urban consumers. They are established either by the support of a local government in the leadership of a NGO or directly founded by a local government.

The other and last example of this type is *"Earth Markets"* that are most generally composed of rural rooted (peasants and urban-experienced peasants) producers and there are also a few number of urban rooted producers. However, the only bazaar that is all composed of producers and not intermediaries are Earth Markets. Earth Market is a Slow Food movement's local market. The rules and regulations of the bazaar are identified by Slow Food movement and applied by a local Convivium (local organizations of Slow Food Movement). The international rule of Earth Markets is that they are farmers'

markets providing local tastes, healthy, ecologically produced food to consumers and operate as a place of socialization and as a "social meeting point". The producers of the bazaar must be making production within a 40 kms radius. Therefore, the territory definition is clear in this type. The "social meeting points" work as an incubation room for the education of producers and consumers through workshops, educations, taste educations, community awareness raising activities.

There are three phases of innovation in this type. The first one is **initial cooperation.** This reveals the emergence of grassroots innovation by cooperation of a group of producers and enthusiastic producer(s) and a committed idealist. This group first of all come together and develop grassroots innovation by actualization of the socio-technical practice by founding the bazaar. In the second stage, **organized cooperation,** this group identifies production, exhibition and pricing rules and regulations. In this phase, the group seeks new producers to diversify the products in the bazaar and to provide alternatives for consumers. To attract the attention of the consumer and to provide education and knowledge sharing activities between producers, they provide social organizations, workshops and related activities. In the **innovation development** stage, organized groups develop projects for the development of knowledge sharing, development of local tastes and species, etc. These activities are implemented as new socio-technical practices. Indeed, third stage is only and only observed in the Earth Markets in this type.

5.1.3. Research Phases

Empirical research of this dissertation is composed of two phases both of which are in-depth qualitative research. The first phase conceived the abstraction, initiator framework, in relation to 40 cases examined in Turkey. In the first phase, I conducted extensive research on Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey and reach the abstraction that I have revealed in the previous part in this chapter. This abstraction is developed in relation to niche innovations conceptualization of Multi-Level Perspective Framework and is fruitful to represent nested markets founded by those niches. In the second phase of my research, I carried out intensive research on the selected three cases, namely Gödence Cooperative, BİTOT and Foça Earth Market. The main determinants are level

of organization, diversity of actors, level of innovation and socio-technical practices in the selection of the cases.

5.1.3.1. First Phase of the Research

In the first phase of my research, I have examined 40 alternative agro food cases in Turkey. Some of the examples are examined through primary sources, some are examined through secondary sources and a group of examples are examined by the use of both primary and secondary sources. In fact, I have reached **40 examples** by eliminating the whole example set that I have collected. By opening up initiator framework, there are 7 examples of producers initiated alternative agro food practices in Turkey as can be seen in the Table 9.

Table 9: Data sources of Producer Initiated Niches

Name of the Niche	**Location**	**Established**	**Data Sources**
Gödence Cooperative	İzmir	1974(1) 1992(2)	primary and secondary sources
Çıralı Ulupınar Eco-Cooperative	Antalya	2000	secondary sources
Boğatepe Environment and Life Association	Kars	2002	primary and secondary sources
Nallıhan Tourism Voluenteers Association	Ankara	2002	primary and secondary sources
Vakıflı Village Cooperative	Antakya	2004	primary and secondary sources
Nusratlı Village Association	Çanakkale	2005	secondary sources
Datça Sındı Cooperative	Muğla	2006	secondary sources

Among numerous groups of consumer initiated alternative agro food niches, Table 10 shows the data sources of the niches. There are 17 CSA groups, PGS groups and consumer cooperatives; 6 ecology collectives and eco villages, and 4 urban agriculture niches.

There are 21 producer-consumer collaborated initiatives observed in Turkey as can be seen in Table 11. These can be categorized under three main groups. The first group is 100% ecological bazaars and organic bazaars where sellers are producers and intermediaries. They are organized under the leadership of a civil society organization. There are 7 100% ecological bazaars, 5 in İstanbul and 2 in Kayseri. There are 9 organic bazaars Turkey wide; 2 in İzmir, 2 in Ankara, 3 in İstanbul, 1 in Eskişehir and 1 in Bursa. I have made in-depth examination of 100% ecological bazaars in İstanbul and organic

bazaars in İzmir. Therefore, within the total number of 40 cases, ecological bazaars and organic bazaars represent only one for each. The second group is ecological peasant bazaars and the third group is Earth Markets.

Table 10: Data sources of Consumer Initiated Niches

CSA GROUPS, PGS GROUPS AND CONSUMER COOPERATIVES			
Name of Niche	**Location**	**Year**	**Data Sources**
Bir Umut Association- Working Group	İstanbul	2005	secondary sources
BÜKOOP- Boğaziçi University Consumption Cooperative	İstanbul	2008	secondary sources
DBB- [Natural Conscious Nourishment	Ankara	2009	secondary sources
Yeşil Tabak [Green Plate]	İstanbul	2011	secondary sources
DÜTEG- Group of Natural Product Demanders	Eskişehir	2012	secondary sources
Yaşam Dostu Ürün Grubu- Life Friendly Product Group	Balıkesir	2012	secondary sources
Yeşil Ev	Gaziantep	2012	secondary sources
Yeryüzü Association [Consumer Association]	İstanbul	2012	primary and secondary sources
EGE University CSA Groups (4 groups)	İzmir	2013	primary sources
Kadıköy Consumption Cooperative	İstanbul	2014	primary and secondary sources
Seferihisar Orhanlı Nature School	İzmir	2014	secondary sources
BİTOT (West İzmir CSA)	İzmir	2014	primary and secondary sources
Dürtük [Resisting Producer- Consumer Collective]	İstanbul	2015	secondary sources
Local Seed Association CSA Groups (3 groups)	İzmir	2015	primary sources
GETO [Gediz Ecology Community]	İzmir	2015	primary and secondary sources
KİTO (Kiraz Ecology Community)	İzmir	2016	primary sources
East İzmir Ecology Community	İzmir	2016	primary sources
ECOLOGY COLLECTIVES- ECO VILLAGES			
Hocamköy	Kırıkkale	1997	secondary sources
Güneşköy Cooperative	Ankara	2000	secondary sources
Marmariç Permaculture Institute&Ecologic Life Association	İzmir	2004	primary and secondary sources
İmece Evi [Co-op House]	İzmir	2007	primary and secondary sources
TADYA- Tahtacıörencik Natural Life Collective	Ankara	2009	secondary sources
Başka Bir Gıda Mümkün [Another Food is Possible]	Balıkesir	2009	secondary sources
URBAN AGRICULTURE			
Buğday Association Garden Project	İstanbul	2005	secondary sources
Güneşköy Our Garden Project	Ankara	2006	secondary sources
Çiğdemim Association Urban Garden	Ankara	2011	primary and secondary sources
Seferihisar Ulamış Urban Garden	İzmir	2015	primary sources

Table 11. Data sources of Producer-Consumer Collaborated Niches

Name of the Bazaar	Location	Bazaar Type	Foundation	Data Sources
100% Ecological Bazaar	İstanbul	Organic Bazaar	2006	primary and secondary sources
Seferihisar Sığacık Peasant Bazaar	İzmir	Ecological Peasant Bazaar[26]	2009	primary and secondary sources
Organic Bazaars	İzmir	Organic Bazaar	2010	primary and secondary sources
Peasant Bazaar Fethiye	Muğla	Ecological Peasant Bazaar	2012	secondary sources
Foça Earth Market	İzmir	Earth Market	2012	primary and secondary sources
Peasant Bazaar Bodrum	Muğla	Ecological Peasant Bazaar	2014	secondary sources
Şile Earth Market	İstanbul	Earth Market	2015	secondary sources

During the first phase of the research, I conducted interviews and made secondary research. To be able to problematize the issue, to make abstraction, and finally to decide on which of the examples are in and which are out of the scope of this study, I asked the following questions;

- What is conventional production, what is alternative production schemes?
- What is AAFS in Turkey, how it is distinguished from conventional/industrial production systems? What are similarities and differences between organizations of these two schemes?
- What are examples of AAFS in Turkey? What kind of AAFS schemes does exist in Turkey? By which means different kind of AAFS are initiated?
- What is the extent of AAFS schemes in Turkey? How are they changing and if so, what are their potential?
- Among all motivations, what is the essence of AAFS for diversifying actors?
- If exists, what is the role of AAFS systems in migration dynamics?
- Does non-agricultural sector relations exist in AAFS schemes?

To find answers to these questions, I have conducted interviews, which I am explaining in detail below.

[26] Ecological Peasant Bazaars are composed of peasants that practice conventional production and peasants that practice ecological production. All the producers in those bazaars (generally) are not ecological producers.

5.1.3.2. Selection of Cases in İzmir

Within the all observed examples and depending on to the initiator framework, İzmir is the only city that provided me all of the typical examples. I have to state that I do not claim to have reached all of the alternative agro food niches emerged and practicing in Turkey. However, I have included all of the accessible examples. Because of the context-dependent nature of different alternative agro food niches in different localities, the geographical /spatial proximity of the chosen cases was an important criterion. The MLP literature currently points out the importance and the role of cities, in the emergence of niche initiatives and in transitions of socio-technical regimes (Eames et al., 2013; Hodson & Marvin, 2010) and the contribution of "space" and geography to sustainability transitions (Coenen & Truffer, 2012; Coenen et al., 2013; Raven et al., 2012). In this perspective, İzmir provided me this criterion. There are two reasons for such situation. First, I have more access to the developments, different groups and networks in İzmir that provided me a wider dataset of examples. Second reason is the explicit justification of case study selection which I am explaining below.

First of all, consumer initiated and producer-consumer collaborated alternative agro food niches are novel grassroots innovations that have especially emerged in the metropolitan cities, of whom experienced conventional food consumption practices. Moreover, consumer initiated niches emerge where there is considerable potential of civil society mobilization. Among the examples examined; İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir are becoming prominent in this respect. These three cities are also the most populous and mostly urbanized urban centers in Turkey. Furthermore, there is well-known reality that İzmir is the "dream" of back to the land and back to the rural dreamers. With its rurality near urban, landscape and nature, it is attractable for those living in İstanbul and Ankara, as well, for smaller urban metropolitan dwellers with its colorful social life. Additionally, the rural dwellers' attitude towards outsider actors in İzmir is relatively more welcoming in Turkey. According to statistics of TURKSTAT, the demand on domestic migration from İstanbul and Ankara to İzmir is increasing. İzmir was the third city that allowed domestic migration in 2015 and Istanbul immigrants had the highest rate (İzmir'e en çok İstanbul'dan göç edildi, 2016).

Secondly, producer initiated niches are observed in the cities in which agricultural production is still continuing in periphery and in semi-periphery. According to Boran and

Sevilmiş (2012), İzmir is the second in total agricultural production, fourth in plant production, first in organic production and third in livestock in Turkey. Additionally, although the city is the third most populous[27] city, it is the seventh in total agricultural import. In other words, the city is self-sufficient in agro food production and an important agricultural city. Moreover, the city is surrounded by semi-rural areas, rurality near urban that the agricultural production is still going on. In these respects, the city is providing producer initiated agro food practices in rurality near urban[28]. Additionally the consumer consciousness and demand for consuming healthy food is relatively high in İzmir. According to Azak and Miran (2015), İzmir middle income dwellers are also enthusiastic to consume organic food and ecological food.

Lastly, producer-consumer collaborated alternative agro-food niches are diverse and includes different types within it. Earth markets are most-organized, have most clear rules and regulations examples within all examples. During case study selection, I eliminated the bazaars that are accepting intermediaries and middleman. The 100% ecological bazaar, which is the first organic bazaar in Turkey constructed by Buğday Association in 2006, is composed of producers (53%), middleman (38%), importers and organic shop owners (Demir, 2013b). According to Mehmet Gürmen (Board Member of Buğday Association), the aim of all 100% ecological bazaars is to provide increase the percentage of producers to 70 % in all ecological bazaars (**EI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 14). In İzmir organic bazaar case, 70% of agricultural products are sold by producers and 30% by middleman while all packaged agro food products and second products are sold by middleman **(SI-8,** personal communication, 2016, May 31; Yıldırım, 2015). Seferihisar peasant bazaar case represents a similar situation that 40% of the benches are used by the middleman and intermediaries in the bazaar (Gündüz, 2012). Seferihisar peasant bazaar was founded as an ecological bazaar in 2009, however, during the bazaar has grown, the primary aim for the ecological bazaar was left and it is recently composed of conventional producers and ecological producers.

[27] 2015 population of İstanbul is 14.657.434, Ankara is 5.270.575 and İzmir is 4.168.415 according to TURKSTAT.

[28] Despite Ankara Nallıhan example is also a producer-initiated example, Nallıhan is 160 kilometers away from Ankara urban center. Moreover, Nallıhan example is not a typical example that the initial cooperation and intention of the grassroots innovation was ecotourism. The tourists that demanded local food, non-conventional agro food products in their visits to the ecotourism niche, peasants started to change their production practices and started to make ecological production for consumer demands. Therefore, example is not typical.

Earth Markets, which are domestic bazaars of Slow Food movement are peasant bazaars and all the sellers in the bazaar are producers.

In this respect, I selected my cases from İzmir province. Gödence cooperative reveals producer-initiated alternative agro food niche. Within typical consumer-initiated groups in İzmir, there are 11 CSA groups could be identified under four main groups; Ege University CSA groups (4 groups[29]), Local Seed Association Groups (3 groups), BİTOT groups (GETO and 1 group under construction) and KİTO[30]. Ege University groups' working principle is depending one main producer and 10 more supportive producers, two of which are cooperatives. They are organized around their workplace and producer is making periodical deliveries to this workplace. Similarly, Local Seed Association CSA groups are organized around workplace[31]. Their producers are members of the Association and the Association provide seed, chick, hive etc. for their initial production. They are also similar to buyer clubs. KİTO is established in Turgutlu (Manisa) but encompassing Kemalpaşa (İzmir), Turgutlu and Salihli (Manisa). It is established in the interface of İzmir and Manisa and it is now regarded as a new group. BİTOT and GETO[32] are the most organized group that are making task-sharing, founding boards within coordination team, making activities and projects. These groups are the cases of consumer-initiated agro food niches in this dissertation.

5.1.3.3. Second Phase of the Research

After developing initiator framework and selecting my cases, I made intensive research in the second phase of my research. By using Multi-Level Perspective, I have reached definitions and conceptualization as well as abstractions. I made semi-structured in-depth interviews with diverse actors within three cases by open-ended questions, which I explain in the following part. Additionally, I made complementary non-structured short interviews and short contacts. Furthermore, I have made three participatory observations one in each case study. During my field study, I have explored a variety of actors that provided me a diverse types of actor roles that I portray in this thesis.

[29] The first group was established in 2013 and the last group is established in 2016.
[30] Although KİTO and BİTOT have close relationship, KİTO and BİTOT are not derived from eachother, they are separately founded groups. KİTO and BİTOT are mostly composed of Buğday Association members or those familiar with Buğday movement.
[31] Bornova Municipality and two hospitals, Eşrefpaşa Hospital and Suat Seren Hospital.
[32] GETO group is derived from BİTOT when the number of consumers increased in BİTOT.

The second phase of the research aimed to present the narrative of the niche innovations in three terms; grassroots innovation as the initial cooperation, social network building as the organized cooperation and innovation development as the socio-technical practices. Moreover, while doing so, innovations in the typology and multiplicity of actors is examined. Thus, I attempted to take a screenshot of the contemporary agro food niche innovations with reference to their considerably short history.

5.2. Data Sources

During this research, I have drawn on a diversity of data sources as can be seen in the below table. My main primary source is interviewing. I have conducted three types of interviews. I firstly, made semi-structured in-depth interviews that approximately took one and a half hour. Secondly, I conducted complementary interviews. Short interviews are non-structured interviews that approximately took 30 minutes. Short contacts are non-structured conversations up to 15 minutes. I also made participatory observations and observations.

Table 12. Data Sources

METHODS	FIRST PHASE SOURCES	SECOND PHASE SOURCES
In- depth Interviewing	6 individual semi-structured interviews	16 individual semi-structured interviews
Short-Interviewing	10 individual non-structured interviews	9 individual non-structured interviews
Short-Contacts	4 individual non-structured interviews	7 individual non-structured interviews
Participatory Observation	2 Participatory Observations; 1 in BİTOT food delivery and metting, 1in İzmir CSA Groups focus group meeting	3 Participatory Observations; 1 in BİTOT Meeting and delivery, 1 in GETO Meeting and delivery and 1 to Earth Market
Observations	La Via Campesina Mid-Term Conference Closing Session- General Assembly of La Via Campesina	-
Social Media and Blog Mining, Web Mining	Revealing social media web of alternative agro food niches in Turkey with the help of two main websites; Aracısız Ürün Dağıtım Ağı & Gıda Toplulukları	Following blogs of committed idealists within cases, the social media pages of niches, web pages of the niches
Literature Review	Review of historical studies and other secondary sources	Review of historical studies and other secondary sources

Secondary sources I used in the thesis are blog mining and social media mining. Because there is no policy documents associated with Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey, the only source to obtain information about different alternative agro food niches are social media accounts of the groups, blogs and the web pages of the niches.

Furthermore, there is an evolving on-line activism in Turkey (Şen & Şen, 2015) that the social media accounts of the niches play a great role in the organization and information sharing. According to Schumilas (2014), the conversational nature of blogging and social media provide opportunities for monitoring a community's on-line exchanges in a similar way to monitoring in-person conversations.

5.2.1. Interviews

During the two phases of my research, I have made in-depth interviews with various actors. At total I have completed 22 semi-structured in-depth interviews of approximately one and a half hour duration, 19 non-structured short interviews having approximately half an hour duration and 12 non-structured short contacts having approximately 15 minutes duration (See Appendix A & B). I have introduced the question guide of the first phase of the research in 5.1.3.1. Part in this Chapter. With semi structured interviews at the second phase of the research, it was intended to cover the specific topics I have discussed in this study. At the same time, I wanted to hear respondents' stories and used an interview guide to help direct the conversations.

5.2.2. Observation and Participation

First of all, I have attended an education program which provided me to meet with a plenty of key actors and I have been informed about various examples of alternative agro food niches and this education became an introductory to meet different actors. I had met four committed idealist and one initiator within different alternative agro food initiatives. This enabled me to start the first phase of my research.

Table 13. Education Program on Rural and Local Development in Turkey

EDUCATION PROGRAMME	DATE	ACTIVITY	CODE	THEME
Özyeğin University Rural and Local Development Programme	10.08.2015-15.08.2015	Certification Programme	PD-1	Panels on; Local Rural Organization Schemes and Local Governments, Rural Development in Turkey

Secondly, while conducting the first phase of my research, I have collected information and contacts from significant/important actors who appear in the organization of AAFS Turkey. I have started "example collecting" through this and started the first

phase of my research. So, I have participated Closing Session of General Assembly of La Via Campesina, which held in İzmir. Furthermore, I participated one delivery meeting of BİTOT. Following a focus group meeting was realized in İzmir aiming to (1) share knowledge and experience of Paysan Artisan alternative agro food niche and collective in Belgium, (2) found a web of İzmir CSA Groups. There were 21 participants, including me, in the meeting (See Appendix F). I made participatory observation during the meeting and discussions.

Table 14. Observation and Participatory Observations in the First Phase of Research

TYPE OF OBSERVATION	DATE	ACTIVITY	CODE	THEME
PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION	22.1.2016	BİTOT Meeting	PO-1	Delivery Meeting
PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION	25.1.2016	Focus Group- CSA	PO-2	Upgrading and organizing CSA groups in İzmir
OBSERVANT	28.2.2016	La Via Campesina Mid-Term Conference Closing Session- General Assembly of La Via Campesina	AO-2	Food Sovereignty

At the second phase of my study, I have made participatory observations in different activities conducted by the cases. I attempted one delivery meeting of BİTOT, one delivery meeting of GETO and one bazaar activity of Foça Earth Market.

Table 15. Participatory Observations in the Second Phase of Research

TYPE OF OBSERVATION	DATE	ACTIVITY	CODE	THEME
PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION	11.6.2016	BİTOT MEETING	PO-3	Delivery Meeting
PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION	13.6.2016	GETO MEETING	PO-4	Delivery Meeting
PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION	19.6.2016	Foça Earth Market	PO-5	Bazaar Activity

5.2.3. Secondary Data

Two main websites steered me to find out different alternative agro food niches in Turkey. The first of these is Aracısız Doğal Ürün Ağı- ADA[33] [Unmediated Natural Product Network]. This website is not active right now (since 2013), however as they cited "to constitute similar initiatives, the website is not closed". It was founded as a draft platform by the producers making "nature-friendly" production. In the website, they reveal a list of "eco-consumer" groups. The website was designed to provide exchange

[33] Available at https://ekoada.wordpress.com/.

for the needs of producers, a producers' page for consumers, explanations and information about "what is being a conscious producer and a conscious consumer", and so on. However, the website could not perform these and is not active now. The second website is Gıda Toplulukları[34] that was prepared by Buğday Ecologic Life Association and last update was made in 2014. It is established as a project for supporting unmediated food communities and giving information about how to establish a food community (CSA Groups, PGS Groups, Consumer Cooperatives and buyer clubs).

The groups declared in these websites provided me the initial information about different alternative agro food niches, through which I found out new ones by with snowball technique. I made social media mining, web mining and blog mining of those groups provided by these two websites. Then I discovered new groups emerged after 2014 in social media and in web mining.

5.3. Limitations

As I have explained in the introduction, the new Alternative Agro Food Systems movement in Turkey and this thesis does not provide a normative explanation of the level of "alternativeness". Being "alternative", organic, and natural and ecological is also a market phenomenon and a marketing strategy. Therefore, the nature of the topic limits researchers to seek what is in and what is out. I have surpassed this limitation by attempting to make a clear re-definition of Alternative Agro Food Systems in terms of;

- Alternative forms of niches and grassroots innovations
- Alternative forms of production, consumption, marketing, distribution and retail
- Alternative forms of social organizations.

The movement has emerged a decade ago in Turkey. Therefore, the short history of movement creates a number of limitations. Firstly, there is the problem of existing generalizations and this study is the first that handles Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey. Such limitation can be surpassed by further studies. Moreover, the movement is very partial and fragmented in Turkey which causes difficulties in the determination of reaching and/or being rooted from a common idea. However, this thesis does not aim at measuring the potential of Alternative Agro Food Systems to transform the incumbent

[34] Available at http://gidatopluluklari.org/.

system and the mainstream regime. Moreover, I do not have the claim to provide a common model for these systems, I rather identify them as ongoing transitions in reference to Multi-Level Perspective Framework.

These limitations are resulted from the nature of the phenomenon. The nature of AAFS is partial, fragmented and diverse and considerably new. There are also limitations of my field research and limitations in data collecting. There is no database, dataset or available information about Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey. There are no academic discussions on the issue[35]. This makes the processes of data collecting and data processing very hard and labor-intensive. Moreover, I do not claim to be succeeded in collecting the information about each alternative agro food niches in Turkey. In this respect, I have collected all accessible information about different, diverse, fragmented examples of the niches in Turkey. Furthermore, absence of database results in the necessity of depending on in-depth interviews while collecting data about the stories and the history of the case studies. Committed idealists play a great role in the grassroots innovation, organization, networking development socio-technical innovations and so on. Therefore, the committed idealists are those dominating the knowledge within the niches, which might cause biasedness problem. I have surpassed this situation by diversifying the actors I have communicated within the groups to justify the narrative of the niches. I have made in-depth interviews with the actors that have different roles within the niche innovations.

[35] The only issue discussed by scholars in Turkey is organic agriculture as a production and market phenomenon.

CHAPTER 6

AGRICULTURAL RESTRUCTURING AND CHANGING FOOD SYSTEMS IN TURKEY

Founding Chairman of the Confederation of Farmers' Union Abdullah Aysu describes the process regarding the loss of their sovereignty over what as farmers they are doing;

> In traditional farming we were harvesting fewer yield. Those were healthier than today's. We were happy. Our earnings were more. The ecological cleavage was begun after the entrance of tractors. Feed industry enters. Animal husbandry then could not been done at pasture areas. It started to be done at sheds. When after the rupture of relations between husbandry and planting, there appeared a need for chemical fertilizer. Because of the usage of chemical fertilizers, we need much more water. With more water there grown much more weeds in our lands. Insects breed up at those weeds. Then much more disinfection was needed. Herbicides were used for weeds. We, as farmers, have become money payer machines to companies (Aysu, 2011: 5).

Actually, this reflects the story partially. During this long running process in all over the Earth, Özkaya (2009) adds that, about 75% of the world's biological diversity has been lost during last century according to the report of FAO in 1996. In short, while in developed countries, farmers wrapped up by the hegemony of seed companies, consumers have been obliged to consume junk and tasteless food which can only be grown with the assistance of pesticides and chemical fertilizers. Per decare productivity could increase in some cases but the damage was enormous for farmers, consumers and nature (Özkaya, 2009).

Especially since the 1980s, agriculture and food sector has been undergoing an irreversible process of restructuring and it is asserted that a transition is inevitable from *"a figure of peasant under the aegis of the state to a farmer producing under the ambivalent market conditions"* (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2008: 25; Keyder &Yenal 2004; Keyder & Yenal, 2013). The rationale behind this coercive transformation stems from the original neoliberal critique of state-led interventionist policies in the agricultural sector which emphasizes lack of innovation, efficiency problems, over-bureaucratization, and the existence of corruption (Çalışkan & Adaman, 2011). During the transformation period in agriculture and food sector, unlike the homogeneous structure of national developmentalism which was the general economic and political paradigm before the 1980s in agriculture, more heterogeneous and even polarized 'stratified structure' of

production, distribution and consumption have arisen (Keyder & Yenal 2013 : 105). State's role and intervening activities in sector has been diluted through the engagement by the international treaties. Dominance of multinational enterprises in collaboration with large national companies in agricultural production has become the fact either by direct control through contract farming or by indirect way through the submission of hybrid seeds and the necessary production inputs that those hybrid seeds oblige farmers to use. Ultimately, the aim of the process is argued as to constitute a flexible and efficient agricultural enterprise type which operates in accordance with market conditions in rural area (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2008; Keyder & Yenal, 2013). This transformation signals a state of integration of the rural and the urban in economic manner. Considerable developments in transportation and communication technologies made 'the World flat' (Friedman, 2006) and demographic structure and mobility of things over space become more and more unsteady. While Hobsbawn in his one of the prominent book *The Age of Extremes* (1994) declares that "the most dramatic change of the second half of this century, and the one which cuts us forever from the world of the past, is the death of the peasantry", especially in the years of new century after 2000s both de-peasantization and re-peasantization tendencies in different parts of the world have been argued. 'The new peasantries' are also evidenced as a peasant way of resistance to the Empire (Van der Ploeg, 2008).

The reason for the tension among the players of the agriculture and food sector actually is the lack of democratization of power, as Çalışkan and Adaman (2011: 93) indicates, "The inability or unwillingness of big farmers and agribusiness to adjust their positions of power in the rural sector". Since power is unevenly distributed in the sector, it is very likely that those with power will have benefited but those with limited power will have suffered under this circumstances.

One line of opposition is targeting to a decentralized model where production, processing, distribution and consumption are substantially controlled by the communities, not by multinational corporations. This oligopoly market is trying to find new ways of transforming to a monopolistic hegemony that Syngenta and Monsanto were bargaining for an amalgamation of business last year and "the company that bought Syngenta, ChemChina, has bought more than 40 seed firms in the Europe" (**SI-3**, personal communication, 2016, April 10). Moreover, many rural social movements emerged especially in Latin America, such as La Via Campesina or Movimento dos Trabalhadores

Rurais Sem Terra (MST), whose aims were to defend and struggle for the peasant way of life and livelihood.

As Van der Ploeg (2012) states that while 'food empires' dominates agricultural markets that are sustained by huge investments in advertising and lobbying to legitimate their position and the standards of quality, safety and sustainability to which they adhere, one another opposition germinates among consumers, let's say bourgeoisie[36]. In order to form an organization of alternative production and distribution, urban middle and upper classes has grown their demand, and attempted to construct a regenerative relation between the rural and the urban. According to Van der Ploeg (2012), the process of social struggle does not only aim at transforming the role of the agriculture, but rather aim at trying to redefine the role of agriculture in society.

In this chapter of the thesis, I am briefly presenting the historical background of the agricultural restructuring with an emphasis on Turkish context. The political and economic paths emerging through and by multi-level and multi-actor struggles especially after 1980s, which I am arguing, will give rise to Alternative Agro Food Systems in 2000s. This chapter puts forward the changing agriculturural systems and agro food systems and the emergence of Alternative Agro Food Systems within this changing structure.

6.1. The Global Outlook and Main Discussions

Although there had been technological developments starting from the 1930s in agricultural production, of which the speed up was started after the Second World War. Nevertheless, the contribution of agriculture to development in the post-war era, was assessed as a source of food and labor rather than a source of growth. The economical rationale of the time saw economic development as a growth process of relocating the factors of production from agricultural sector assessed as having low productivity with the use of traditional technologies to highly productive modern industrial sector. Agriculture's contribution to development was regarded as passive, however, agricultural development was necessary from industrial-bias viewpoint for ensuring the supply of food and preventing the rise in food prices and utilizing land as a free source of growth which would not be in competition with the resources for industrial growth (Byerlee et

[36] In the meaning of 'Middle class urban dwellers'

al., 2005). Since it was thought that it would slow the expansion of industry, reducing the level of agricultural production was not desirable.

In the 1960s, a more positive attitude about agricultural sector was beginning to emerge. Emphasis was on the 'role' rather than the 'contribution' of agriculture to development. Five roles are propounded for agriculture in economic development; increase the supply of food for domestic consumption, release labor for industrial employment, enlarge the size of the market for industrial output, increase the supply of domestic savings, and earn foreign exchange (Timmer, 2002).

By the emergence of the considerable technological developments in agricultural production processes and presentation of 'miracle' seeds which are very sensible to irrigation and chemical fertilizers by United States, then called the 'green revolution', the classical view of agriculture as a passive contributor to the development had changed dramatically. Agriculture was then seen as an 'engine of growth' in the early stages of development since it has high share in economy and it has strong growth linkages with the rest of economy, including the rural non-farm economy. There were considerable increases in the production of yield from which regions of the third world countries, especially in Asia and to a lesser degree in Latin America, benefited from the new grain varieties, where the exception was Africa. Developed countries were also increasing their production significantly by the end of 1970s. With the help of interventionist policies on market prices as well as financial supports and import-restrictive policies within their domestic markets, there was an oversupply of agricultural products. Demographic stabilization in developed countries was another reason for the surplus, therefore, 'market war' was started among EC, Japan and USA (Kazgan, 2013).

Coming up to the 1980s, power and technology struggles for capturing the newly emerging markets started up. It was partly because of the rapid increases in population in developing countries, whereas, developed countries was facing with a stagnant type of demographic structure. While subsidizing their decreasing number of efficient producers with great deal of financial instruments, the basic motive was to liquidate their surplus through benefiting from this newly emerging potential markets. In the meanwhile, in collaboration with the international funding agencies, most Third World governments promoted new production systems through extension programs and by subsidizing agricultural chemicals, tractors, irrigation investments and credits (Kazgan, 2013). Although the major populated countries like China and India had largely overcome their self-sufficiency problems by those productivity enhancing developments, there were still

many as a target for the developed countries. Growing surplus at their hand and the struggle for reaching to the consumer markets of the Third World countries resulted in a rapid fall in prices.

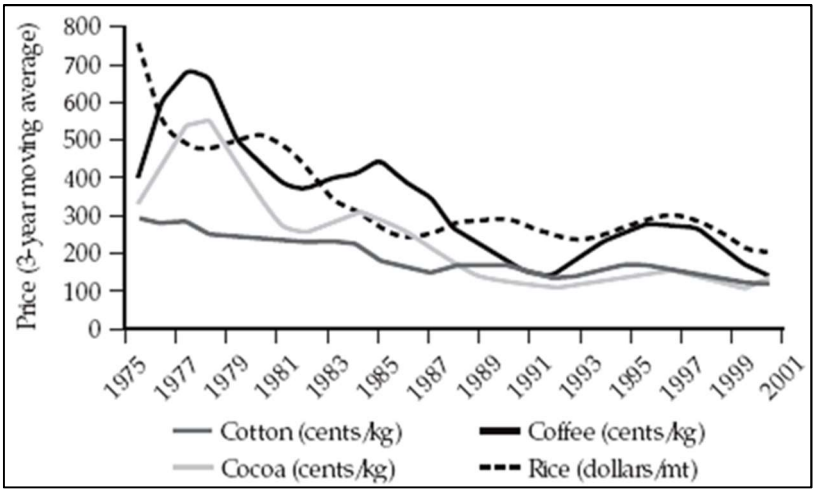


Figure 22. Real Commodity Prices, 1975–2001 (Source: World Bank, 2005)

Agricultural policy then became a global issue rather than being within local framework. There appeared a contradictory situation that governments have been forced to introduce supportive policies for their agricultural sector (due to, for instance, non-agricultural employment could not be expanded quickly), then this was resulted in international trade wars because of low permeability of the economical borders. Consequently, this time, governments were under the increasing pressure for abandoning their supports in the sector.

Dispute among developed countries in order to invade the markets of the developing world has entered into another stage by the 'Biogenetical Revolution' by 1980s. Under the leadership of the United States General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Uruguay Meeting was held in 1986, negotiations continued for seven years and two years after that time in 1995 came into effect. EU, Japan and United States kept going supporting their agricultural sector with billions of dollars and implement policies with regard to export/import protectionism (Kazgan, 2013). For developing countries GATT-UR agreement allow longer durations and lower rates for decreasing their production and export subsidies. However, through not only World Trade Organization (WTO) which replaces GATT after 1995, but also IMF and the World Bank, enforcement for immediate practice of the policies for open and unprotected agricultural markets came, in return for credit demands of these developing countries. Privatization or even elimination process

for the institutional instruments of the developing countries' agriculture was brought forward.

Discouraging rest of the world from maintaining their agricultural production, neoliberal discourse was proposing especially to the least developed countries to not to deal with modernizing their sector. Instead, they could depend on their labor-intensive manufacturing exports in order to import food. Boratav (2004) told the case through the experience of Malawi that, they had around 2.5 million tons of huge corn harvesting in 2000. The objection came from IMF by suggesting Malawi to sell out their stock. The rationale of this advice was that stocking such an expensive and abundant yield is such a kind of dissipation. In case of a need, they offered, purchasing from world market would be more rational economical decision. In 2001, after selling out the stocks, Malawi yield far less harvest, therefore constrained to import from 255 dollars, though they had exported the same yield in the former year about 45 dollars.

The figure below is also briefly representing the evolution of the conditions of agricultural trade for the group of least developed countries.

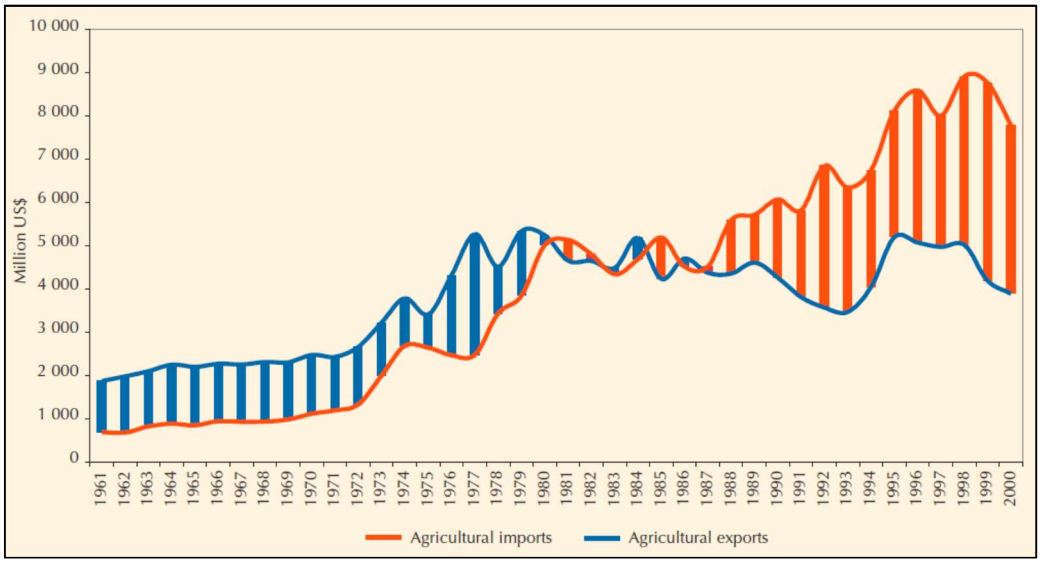


Figure 23. Least developed countries (LDCs) have become major net importers of agricultural products (The data based on the group of 49 LDCs) (Source: FAO, 2003)

The most important factor at the global scale with respect to the struggles that have been ongoing within and between multiple levels and multiple actors since the early the 1980s is called the biogenetic revolution[37]. Biogenetic revolution is different from

[37] Principle areas of biotechnological research are *claimed to be* on yield improvement, achievement of nitrogen fixation in non-leguminous crops, enhancement of photosynthetic activity, manipulation of growth

Green Revolution in terms of the conditions of the times that it was born and the way it sprawls (Kazgan, 2013). While green revolution was developed and deployed by governmental bodies of the United States, biogenetic revolution was performed by US private enterprises. Inventions were patented and the rights of the products and/or processes were strictly protected. Oligopolistic pricing and the intention of capturing the domestic markets of the others have been the characteristics of the new era.

The study of Friends of the Earth International in 2001 focused on property rights, patents and developments in biotechnology. In that report the winners of the new era were announced as transnational companies against local farmers and citizens of the developing world. It is estimated that about 750,000 patents are granted annually and 90% of technology and product patents are possessed by transnational enterprises. Through the possession of biotechnology, the United States maintained its position as the world leader in the sector. It is asserted that the formal consultative committees create links between the administration and different sectors of business and society. This is how the system works;

> The President's Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations (ACTPN) gives recommendations on US Trade Policy. Robert Shapiro, former chairman of Monsanto (now non-executive chair of the recently merged company Pharmacia/Upjohn/ Monsanto), is a member of this important body, directly nominated by the President of the United States. Similarly, the US Trade Representative for much of the Uruguay Round, Mickey Kantor, is now a board member of Monsanto (Friends of the Earth International, 2001: 22).

Expropriation of local farmers' and indigenous peoples' knowledge through patenting under the legal engagements with suchlike WTO's Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) Agreement and with regulatory organizations such as UPOV[38] most of which are more or less under the latent direction of transnational companies results in an alienation. Whenas, they could be regarded as cultivators, researchers and protectors of plants for thousands of years in their lands. The promotion of patented varieties, backed by legal engagements, then extended a significant threat to food security and quality in the developing world.

For Turkey, the 2000s brought along an uneasy transformation process in agriculture through within the economic adjustment and reform program, commitments made within EU's cohesion policy framework and WTO discussions.

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regulators, improved stress tolerance (to cold, moisture, drought, salinity, and other soil conditions), **pest and pathogen resistance**, and plant architecture.

[38] For the critic of UPOV membership of Turkey and its possible implications see Özkaya, T. (2009).

6.2. A Brief History of the Turkish Context

Until the 1980s, agricultural employment comprised more than half of the labor force in Turkey and only after the year 1996 this ratio gone below the level of 40%. The dominance was also valid for the country's exports, as could be seen at the table below.

Table 16. Main Indicators in Agriculture (1925-1983), Turkey
(Source: Adapted from Kazgan, 2003 by compiling from various tables)

Years	The Rural Population (Agrarian) in the Active Population [%]	Years	The Share of Agrarian Income in GDP [%]	Years	The share of agricultural products in total exports [%]
1935	80.0	1925-44	46.5	1925-40	87.0
1955	77.4	1945-54	45.0	1950	93.0
1960	75.0	1955-64	40.0	1960	85.3
1970	67.6	1965-74	29.5	1970	75.2
1980	55.1	1975-80	24.5	1980	57.4
		1981-83	21.8	1981	47.2
				1982	37.3
				1983	32.9

The sector had been not only supported but also protected by the governments since agriculture maintained its importance till the second half of the 1970s by providing three fourth of the export revenue and with its share in GDP and contribution to the growth of the economy.

In the first years of the foundation, until the Great Economic Crisis of 1929, liberal policies were preferred with an intention to become a part of the capitalist economy in the world. After the crisis, State controlled industrialization and the intervention of the State over the markets and prices were the policy choice of the inward-oriented economic behavior of the state in order to prevent the negative impacts of this crisis. Between 1920 and 1929, two main programs enforced. At first, Civil Code enacted in 1926[39] in order to abolish the Ottoman agricultural institutions by which restrictions on the private ownership in land was removed. Secondly, new institutions of the new Republic were established; The Agriculture Bank in 1924, Agriculture Credit Cooperatives in 1935 and Turkish Grain Board is founded in 1938 as a state economic enterprise (Kazgan, 2003).

[39] Land Legal Code in 1858 in the Ottoman Empire enabled private land ownership in agricultural land.

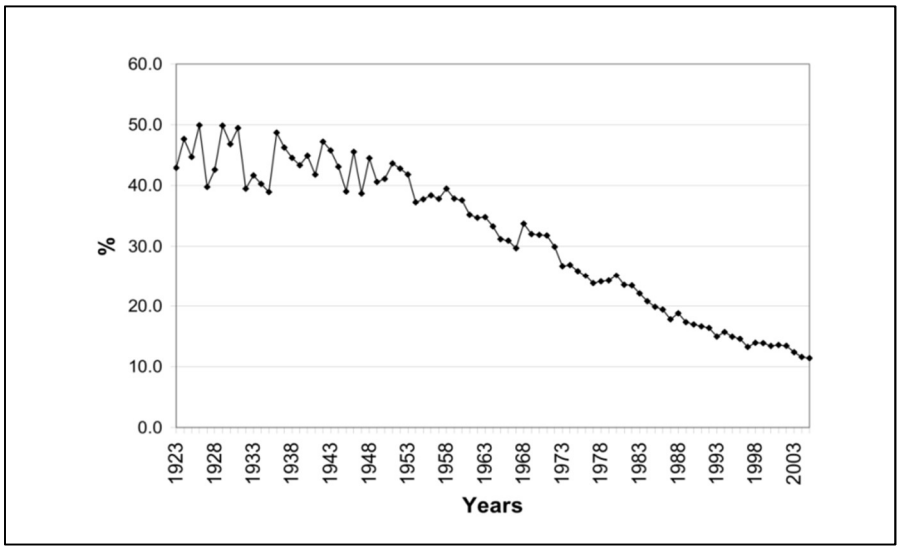


Figure 24. Share of Agriculture in total GDP, 1923-2005
(Source: Adapted from Eruygur, 2006)

During the Second World War period the economy was stagnating, however, in the post-war era, agriculture sector became one of the most important issue in the economy. The intention was the modernization of the sector. The technical developments in farming and financial assistances for the producers were the prevailing reality of the time. During the 1950s, the policies put into practice with the 'facilitative' effect of Marshall Credits and aids resulted in rapid mechanization[40] and the socio-economic outcome was the migration from rural regions to urban areas. Commercialization of agriculture accelerated the changes in land-use and tenure patterns. Most large holdings were converted to modern farms especially the ones that were on the coastal plains of the Aegean and Mediterranean Sea. These agricultural enterprises benefited from the irrigation projects and they specialized in high value fruits or industrial crops at the times when Green Revolution had been in progress.

Almost during two decades between 1960 and late 1970s national development through planning and industrialization was the priority in order to ensure to sustain an internal market. Foundation of the state economic enterprises in agricultural sector was continued to be conducted. After the foundation of TEKEL for tobacco, alcoholic drinks and salt and TZDK for fertilizer and other inputs in the 1940s and the EBK for meat and fish and the Feed Industry Corporation (YEMSAN) in the 1950s, the following ones during this period were SEK in milk industry in 1963 and ÇAYKUR for tea sector in

[40] There was considerable increase in the number of the tractors. Additionally and by the help of this increase, the share of the cultivated lands increased from 18% to 30% in total during this period.

1971 (OECD, 2011). The government intervention in agriculture was covering agricultural price supports and market guarantees, agricultural input production and distribution, agricultural commodity trade by state-owned or state-controlled marketing institutions, input price subsidies, export subsidies, exchange rate controls, and import and export licenses, food price controls.

Agricultural policies prior to the 1980s could be grouped under two distinct categories. The first one is the 'productive policies' by which the governments were aiming to increase the efficiency both for production and consumption. Increasing yields through the expansion of cultivated lands, promotion of the use of chemical inputs and extensive public investments for irrigation systems were the elements of these productive policies. The second group was the 'allocative policies' consisting price supports, deficiency payments, input subsidies, subsidized credits, by which wealth and income are transferred to agricultural producers from the rest of the economy. The economical rational behind this support was to maintain income stability and to bring the agricultural per capita income to a level which is compatible with the rest of the economy. Under the historical perspective, governments in Turkey tend to choose the second group of policies with clientelistic and populist attitude in order to strengthen their political power (Akder & Çakmak, 2005; Eruygur, 2006; Keyman, 2011, Keyder & Yenal, 2013).

In order to figure out the change during the whole period until 1980s, the total population grew from 16 million in 1935 to 45 million in 1980. The share of rural population diminished from 76,5% to 56% during the same period of time. The share of agricultural labor force within the total decreased from 80% to 55% while the sector share was 47% and 23% in GDP in respective years. Although the indicators seem relatively downward, this does not mean that agricultural sector became a 'stepchild' for the country. The trend was expectable since those were the days of rapid industrialization, rapid urbanization and rapid mechanization in the sector. Therefore, agricultural sector was counted as taking an important account, however, so far distinct from the preceding years, with the 1980s, a new era was opening for the sector. Turkey witnessed a severe transformation from an inward-oriented economy to a more market-directed and exported-oriented system during the 1980s.

As I summarized early in this chapter, agriculture and food sector has been undergoing an irreversible process of restructuring since 1980s. The change in state's policy scheme originated from the penetration of neoliberal understanding in which there was the determination of the critique of state-led interventionist policies in the agricultural

sector which stresses lack of innovation, efficiency problems, over-bureaucratization, and the existence of corruption (Çalışkan & Adaman, 2011). Globalization process has intensified the neoliberal transformation in the world. The governments of the states was no longer the indisputable sovereign, Turkey for instance, had to obey the series of rules and regulations of the WTO and EU.

Populist and clientelistic agricultural policies in the meaning of being the supporter and ministrant of the peasants (not exactly the sector) from the very beginning of the new republic would portray the general attitude of the state also during the 1980s and the 1990s (Akder & Çakmak, 2005; Eruygur, 2006; Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2008; Keyman, 2011, Keyder & Yenal, 2013). This political choice also reflects the socio-economic priorities in order to keep peasants down on their villages at the times of rapid urbanization (Ayalp, 2007).

Table 17. Basic Indicators (1980-1997), Turkey (Source: Adapted from Çakmak, 1998)

	1980-85	**1986-89**	**1990-92**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**
Growth Rates of (%)								
GDP	3.65	4.72	5.39	8.04	-5.46	7.19	7.01	7.23
Agricultural GDP	0.24	1.34	3.40	-1.28	-0.72	1.96	4.40	-1.97
Shares of Agriculture in (%)								
GDP	22.47	18.35	16.67	14.97	15.72	14.96	14.59	13.34
Employment	52.5	48.3	46.9	45.4	45.7	47.6	46.2	44.0
Terms of Trade (1987=100)	99.66	96.33	94.54	103.49	98.04	105.85	118.65	115.42
Labour Productivity								
Agriculture (1987=100)	93.72	100.52	102.85	106.06	101.80	96.10	102.32	107.00
Non-Agriculture / Agriculture	3.83	4.17	4.42	4.73	4.52	5.17	5.02	5.10
Agricultural Fixed Investment (%)								
Share in Total	9.49	6.11	5.35	5.02	4.10	5.50	5.90	5.99
Share in Private	9.77	4.64	3.28	3.30	2.56	4.11	4.72	4.53
Share in Public	9.12	8.76	9.89	9.60	10.19	12.00	10.51	10.98
Growth Rate	6.32	1.74	3.38	24.48	-28.75	41.79	19.80	9.05

Until the 2000s, agricultural GDP grew at a slower rate with respect to the overall economy, resulting in a declining share of agriculture in GDP from 22.47% in 1980 to 13.34% in 1997 (See Table 17). The share diminished below 10% already in the year 2000. Following the historical trend in most developing countries, the share of agricultural labor in total labor force has declined to 44% in 1997 whereas it was 55% in 1980. Despite the decrease in the share of employment the level of agricultural

employment is almost constant till the 2000s (Akder, 2005). Labor productivity shows an upward trend, however growth rates declined steadily. Growth of land productivity showed a similar trend. Yields are still increasing but at a decreasing rate.

As being an important indicator of the extraction of economic surplus from agriculture, terms of trade[41] indices gives us important information. In consequence of the short-term structural adjustment program which was not take so long once again because of the oncoming general elections (Keyder & Yenal, 2013 : 196), cutbacks in support prices and export incentives directed almost exclusively to manufacturing caused a substantial fall in the relative net prices of the agricultural sector. Terms of trade showed strong recovery in the early 1990s, and back to the level of the pre-structural adjustment period till the end of 1990s. This recovery happened mainly through government intervention.

During that period, after 1980, the import and export regime was relaxed step by step. Exchange transfers were facilitated and a value-added tax introduced. Most of the state-owned companies privatized and the private sector was allowed to be much more involved in agricultural input production, importing and distribution, such as seeds and live animals.

The global economic and political conjuncture till 2000s could be regarded as a transition period. This was also valid for Turkey, especially with respect to the policy scheme in agriculture. Although there were commitments of Turkish Government with IMF, for maintaining the political stability and guaranteeing the support of the citizens, the government was not so voluntary to make the necessary reforms in agricultural sector. After the debates and negotiations in WTO, the result was the exclusion of agriculture. In the meanwhile, EU and the United States had left subsidizing production, instead they introduced direct income support policies for their producers. However, supports through tariffs and direct subsidies were on the stage, which means that they were still enforcing the protection of their domestic markets. Therefore, external political pressure for Turkey could not be regarded as influential during this period. Moreover, Turkey was not in negotiations with EU for CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) till 2000s. All these international conditions allowed the governments in Turkey behave more freely, with

[41] Terms of trade is an index of the price of a country's exports in terms of its imports. The terms of trade are said to improve if that index rises. An improvement in a nation's terms of trade is good for that country in the sense that it has to pay less for the products it imports, that is, it has to give up fewer exports for the imports it receives.

respect to the forthcoming years, by satisfying the domestic demands towards a clientelistic way rather than putting a comprehensive reform program on to the agenda.

According to the Total Support Estimate by OECD, total support to agriculture was 4.4% at the 1987-1990 period, and it is estimated 6% at 1996-1999. This amount of support constituted almost one quarter of the total income of the farmers (Keyder & Yenal, 2013). The burden of support to agricultural sector became heavier and as a result of the budget pressure public investments decreased. During 1998-2001, on the other hand, the share of private agricultural investments decreased around 50% within the total investments (Kazgan, 2003).

While an elimination process was progressing for most of the agricultural public institutions, emptying the territory for the private entrepreneurship, positive policy changes also performed with respect to confirm economic efficiency which had been distorted for so long through support purchasing operations. Incentives for alternative planting and restrictions on area planted were introduced for three commodities (hazelnuts, tobacco and tea) in the mid-1980s, under the authority of the relevant Agricultural Sales Cooperative Unions (ASCU) or State Economic Enterprises (OECD, 2011).

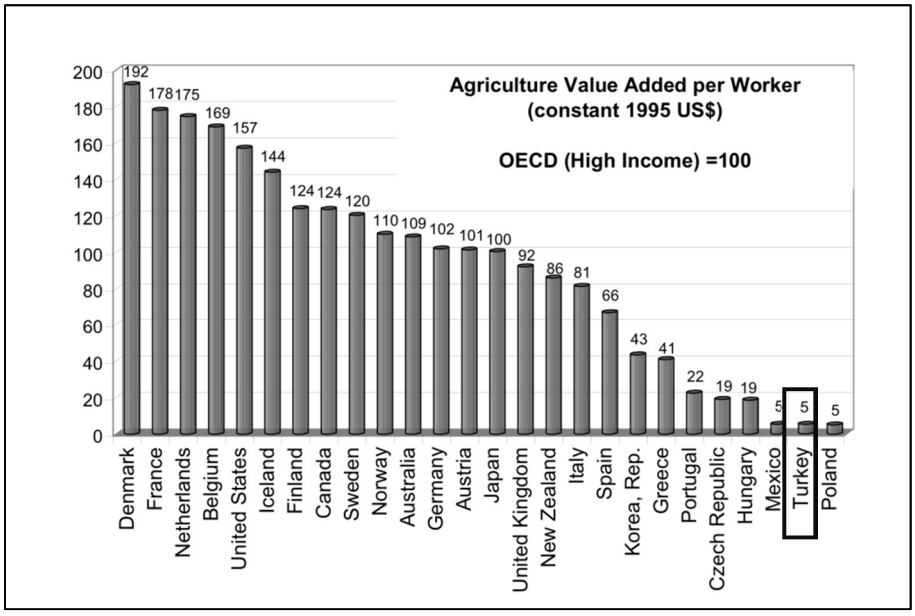


Figure 25. Agricultural Productivity (Source: Adapted from Eruygur, 2006)

Under a general evaluation, Keyman (2011) stated that, the conduction of the agricultural policies since the 1980s could be regarded as a case of poor governance. The governments failed to develop policies in order to improve productivity. Increasing

reliance on the market mechanism in managing the agricultural sector during this period, did not seem bringing productivity and efficiency from a comparative perspective (See Figure 25).

Under the intensive pressure of the commitments with IMF for agricultural reform interventions, to giving a start to the EU candidacy process at Helsinki Summit, and lastly but not the least, the great influence of the 2000-2001 global economic crisis, ARIP (Agricultural Reform Implementation Project) which was produced by the World Bank was approved. ARIP consists of four major components as follows;

i. Design and implementation of the DIS system with a view to introduce a unified national program of direct income support, *ii.* Farmers' transition towards more profitable crops namely "the alternative crop program", *iii.* Restructuring of Agricultural Sales Cooperative Unions (ASCUs) in order to turn it into private sector, and *iv.* Linking domestic prices to world prices and reduce the intervention stocks, however, the last two component did not started at once (Akder, 2011).

In the World Bank's documents the advantages of the reform was mentioned as: 'increased efficiency of resources devoted to agriculture', 'reduction in food prices', 'better budget planning and execution' , 'better predictability of income for farmers', 'better targeting of the support', and 'low distribution costs of the subsidies' (Akder, 2011; cited from Nash, 1998). According to Akder, it is obvious that the expected advantages were not necessarily to the direct benefit of the farmer. DIS (Direct Income Support) Payment[42] was the exception. The consumer would be benefited through the price falls as a result of phasing out price support. Targeting poor farmers reflected the understanding as approaching to the issue from the perspective of poverty rather than targeting farm problems. While the producers of particular products such as hazelnuts and tobacco had been supported by guarantee purchases at 'artificial prices' by favor of SEEs and ASCUs (Fiskobirlik, TEKEL), new conditions were forcing them either to decide their production decisions under market conditions or to switch to an alternative crop. Yet another way was to quit farming. This was what happened in tobacco sector that is, between 2000 and 2010 the number of tobacco producers decreased from 500.000 to 60.000, yield was almost halved and the cultivated lands decreased to one third (TZOB, 2011). In Turkey, in general, the outcome of the reform programme under the deep effect

[42] Payments were done to the landlord, with reference to the number of eligible cultivated hectares of registered land owned, independent of the agricultural activities performed (or not) on the land.

of the economic depression was the quit of almost 3.5 million peasant from agricultural employment, from 8 million in 2001 to 4.5 million in 2007.

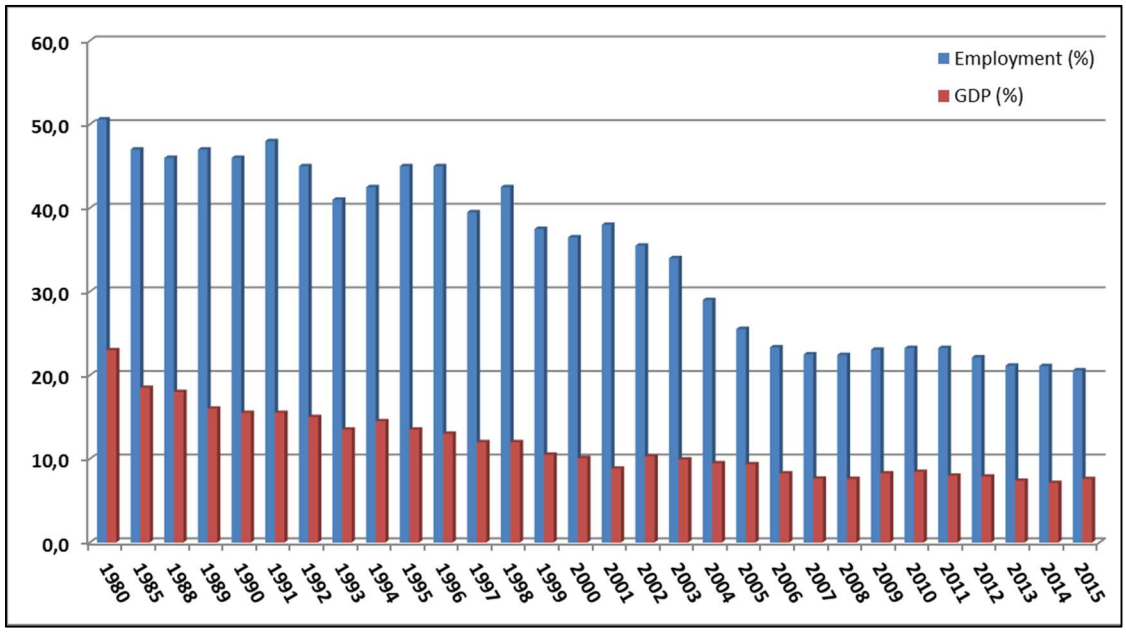


Figure 26. Contribution of Agriculture to the Economy, 1980-2015
(Source: Prepared by the Author from the data provided by OECD, 2011; TURKSTAT)

Since, the agricultural direct supports are an important political tool for the governments, the rising negative consequences of the reform programme was loosened. When it was 2005, most of price subsidies were put into operation again, input subventions were back and some of the debts and accrued interests were wiped out (Keyder & Yenal, 2013). The general support level started to rise again, indicating the coming elections in 2007.

According to the OECD evaluations, only 5% of the transfers to the agricultural sector was for infrastructural necessities. This results in that, 95% of the support went directly to the farmers' account wherein this amount is 68% in OECD country average. This again imply that the state policies had not been for efficiency and recovery but for increasing the incomes and treat the farmers well (Keyder & Yenal, 2013; Akder, 2011). Akder (2011) stated further that;

> There is a need for vocational training, agriculture- and food-related research, infrastructure, land transfers, drainage, soil improvement, re-parceling and irrigation, as well as social security schemes. These policies may be labeled as "productive," in contrast to the "predatory" policies that currently prevail in Turkey. ...productive policies have neutral distributional effects but enable rural development through the support of local entrepreneurial initiatives and the generation of new markets (Akder, 2011: 61).

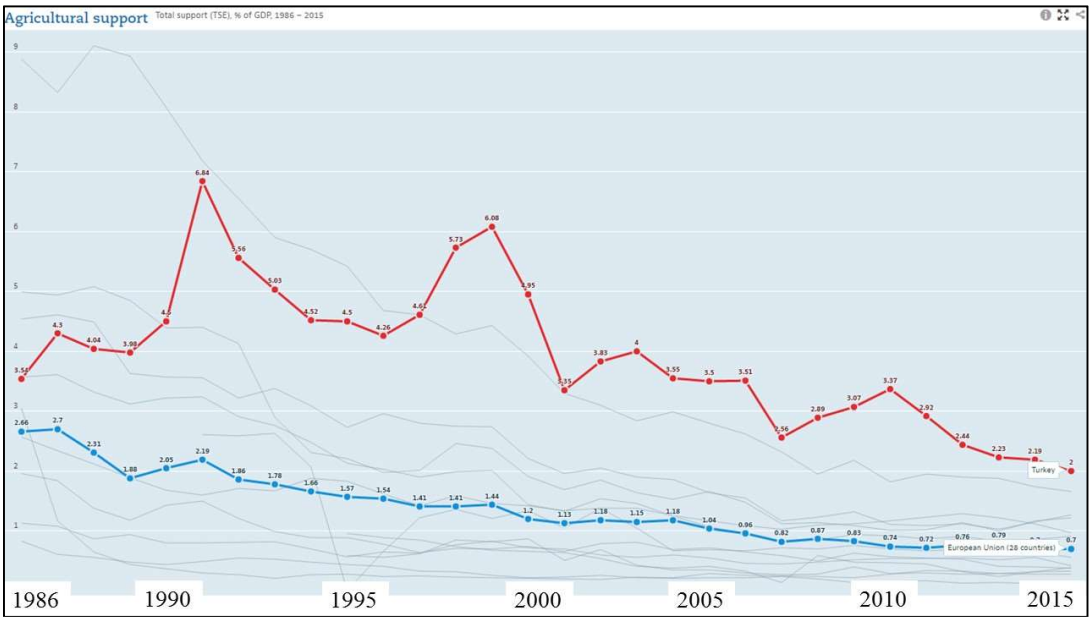


Figure 27. Evolution of Total Agricultural Support[43] Estimate in Turkey and the EU area (with 28 members) between 1986-2015 (Source: Prepared by Author by use of the tools available at https://data.oecd.org/agrpolicy/agricultural-support.htm#indicator-chart)

The share of DIS within the Total Supports decreased to the level of 3% when it was 2008 (OECD, 2011). Agricultural Law (No. 5488) was enacted in April 2006 which lists priorities and instruments for agricultural subsidies and the organizations involved. There was a long list of subsidies and support instruments for the rehandled policy scheme. Herein, a provision was inserted, "*the yearly support from the budget may not be less than one percent of the GDP*". For most of the reform-minded, this was a 'back to square one' situation, in that, DIS was announced as will be abolished in the year 2008. In 2010, a 'basin-based support programme' was introduced under the scope of which determined specific crops will be eligible for deficiency payments. By this new policy framework, the government aims to change the crop pattern for increasing the production of imported crops and in the same time decreasing excess supply for certain crops (OECD, 2011). Although there are doubts for the effectiveness during the implementation up to now (Çakmak & Dudu, 2011), this new programme is seen more relevant in terms of its geographical capabilities for planning the production (Keyder & Yenal, 2013).

Reviewing the ARIP, Akder (2011) states, as a result of the program, Turkey has almost completed its cadaster and established a database of farmers. The number of

[43] It is important to note that, direct support policies which supplied from the general budget covers only one third of the total supports. The remaining part is through foreign trade restrictions and custom tariffs (Keyder & Yenal, 2013).

registered farmers who applied for DIS increased from 2.18 million in 2001 to 2.59 million in 2007. The supported area, on the other hand, increased to 16.2 million hectares whereas it was 11.8 million hectares in 2001. According to Çakmak & Dudu (2011), by making the support budget transparent and establishing accountability, the benefit of the agricultural subsidy reform program could be seen as its contribution to fiscal stabilization.

With the changeover after Agricultural Law (No. 5488) three categories of political tools introduced; compensative payments, deficiency payments and livestock supports. After a harsh transition to a neoliberal market oriented policy scheme, the government tended to recover the peasants and empower the domestic productive market in order to relieve the negative impacts of the 2008 Global Food Crises for the whole country. Therefore, while there was the losers or the victims of the transition period in need of a recovery at the one side, against all odds it is regarded by a part of the intelligentsia that it was a gain in the understanding of the state that the policy orientation is now much more sophisticated, depends on technical-rationalism and more market oriented (Keyder & Yenal, 2013).

An indication of such compensative supports burst into sight in agricultural employment statistics. From 2007 to 2015, agricultural employment has increased by 20%, corresponds to in real terms for the consecutive years from 4.5 million to 5.5 million. This trend could be interpreted as a consequence of partial contribution of both the effects of economic crises which perpetuate the negative living and employment conditions in cities especially for the new comer poor (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2008), and the positive effects of increasing subsidies of the state in agriculture after 2004. By the way, as one last contribution, increase in product prices by the result of Global Food Crisis, could be seem to have curative effects on some parts of the farmers. Boratav (2011) states that, for wheat for instance, between the years 2005-2008 the prices increased about 64% on dollar basis.

However, apart from partial recovery after 2007, the result of the neoliberal reform process brought out unfavorable results;

> …the monopolization in input commodity production and sales; mounting numbers of informal and illegal lenders in the countryside who are also merchants of agricultural commodities; a growing rate of bankruptcy among small producers; a drastic drop in the rural agricultural population (and in turn migration towards rural parts); an escalating role for supermarkets and their dominance in food chains; and an increase in contract farming and the proletarianization of rural agricultural workers on their own lands – all in all, the realization of the threat to their lives and livelihoods for many landless or land-poor peasants and small farmers. (Çalışkan & Adaman, 2011)

6.3. Unrestful Contemporary Agenda for Agriculture and Food Sectors

The conceptualization of the ongoing transition in agriculture was offered by Akder and Çakmak (2005) in Table 18. The main factors determining the significant changes especially during the last 25 years could be stated as technology, structural change in processing and marketing, and finally government policies. Under the conditions of globalization, more permeable borders make both people and goods more mobile, and places are more accessible. While the consumption patterns are becoming more diversified, at the production side producers are alone with themselves in rapidly changing market conditions. In that manner, according to Keyder and Yenal (2013), from now on, both success and failure of the producers should be assessed as belong to their abilities to adapt.

The projection of the changes in the conceptualization of agriculture inevitably rebounded on policy debates. As I have overviewed mainlines of the ongoing transition, outcome of the process brings significant difficulties both for the producers and the consumers. The game has become unfair for most of the farmers when the regulatory state has disappeared, might not have ever really existed in Turkey.

Farmers' control power over the factors of production through which they could able to reduce production costs, increase the productivity and produce quality yields has been dispossessed. They are highly dependent upon industrial inputs for farming; their lands, air and water resources under the threat of depredation by public and private investments mainly for energy, mining and tourism in addition to the pollution arising from the excessive use of these industrial inputs in their lands; their homelands are subject to uncontrolled construction demands. Peasants' decision making behaviors in terms of the problematic of managing their assets are under the provocation of new demands either for housing or economic investments. In addition to these, climate change has intensified its negative effects by which producers become more vulnerable in terms of showing resilience to the rapid changes in production factors. Meanwhile, reproduction of the labor force at the villages has been under the risk of de-peasantization by the result of

developing non-agricultural income possibilities[44] and/or the migration for urban opportunities. The demographic outcome is ageing in rural areas.

Table 18. Revision in the Concepts of Agriculture
(Source: Adapted from Akder and Çakmak, 2005)

	Old Concept	**New Concept**
AGRICULTURAL GOODS and PRODUCTS	Goods	Specific/diversified raw materials
	Basic nutrients	Fashion/niche products
	Geographical agglomeration in production	Geographical segregation in production
	Agriculture is an art	Agriculture is primarily based on science
	Traditions/remembering	New ideas/forgetting
	Independence	Dependence/system approach
	Price risk	Interaction risk
	Sell product/service is free	Sell service/product is free
	Open markets with no personal contact	Close markets with personal contacts and bargaining
	Antagonist relations with sellers and customers	Partnerships with sellers and customers
	Procurement from varying points	Procurement from certain point
	Produce your inputs	Purchase your inputs
	Price subsidies/assured purchase	Cut backs on costs
	Utilization/exploitation of resources	Conservation of the resources
FACTORS OF PRODUCTION	Physical assets (land, machinary) as the main source of strategic competitive advantage	Non-physical assets (human,organisation) as the main source of strategic competitive advantage
	Possessing the assets	Controlling the assets
	Finance as the main source of power and control	Knowledge as the main source of power and control
	Labor is a cost, machinary is an investment	Labor is an investment, machinary is a cost
	Technical skills bring success	Individual communications bring success
	Technological transformation and innovation	Institutional transformation and innovation
	Public/open knowledge and R&D	Private/protected property rights and R&D

The Greater Municipality Law (No: 6360), on the other hand, was enacted in 2012. By this law, almost 16,000 villages became neighborhoods in terms of administrative organization of the socio-spatial units. That tells us in statistical terms that, the rural population in the country falls from the level of 22% to 8% in a day! This law results in the abolishment of the legal identities of these villages, most of them have lost their physical assets and savings. Since there is absence of well-developed rural physical planning and construction legal framework and attitude, these villages have been seen as new directions for urban sprawl, a project for urbanizing the rural.

[44] However, there is still doubtless precedence of agriculture in rural areas. According to the 2011 statistics of TURKSTAT, approximately 62% of the rural population was employed in agricultural sector.

Table 19. Revision in the Concepts of Agricultural Policies
(Source: Adapted from Akder and Çakmak, 2005)

Old Concept	New Concept
Agriculture is farming	Agriculture is production and distribution system of food
Fluctuating supply	Consistant supply (worlwide production)
Domestic market is critical	Foreign and industrial markets are critical
Risk for scarcity and high prices for consumer	Portion for food expenditures and scarcity risk are falling
Consumers believe that food is safe	Consumers questions the food safety
Remarkable political effect	Limited political effect
Sufficient budget resources	Budget deficits and falls in transfers
Producing yield	Producing foodstuffs
Subsidization is farmers' right	Subsidization is conditional

Getting more complicated the organization of the agro food system, the dominance of the intermediary and large scale agricultural enterprises are increasing. The distance between farm and dinner table and, between producer and consumer is growing. 'Food costs', 'food miles' and 'localization of production and distribution' which we will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters, become important concepts for ecological approach. However, while there has been increasing interest in food and meal consumption as could be seen from the popularity of the gourmets, chefs, diets, organic foods, etc., this is not equally valid for production side. This refers to the Marx' conceptualization, a metabolic rift (Keyder & Yenal, 2013: 22), that is, while agriculture detached from its biological basis, synchronously, humankind detached from the nature. The gap or 'opportunity' arising from this rift is forced to be fulfilled by 'the Empire' in agro food sector, in Van der Ploeg's naming.

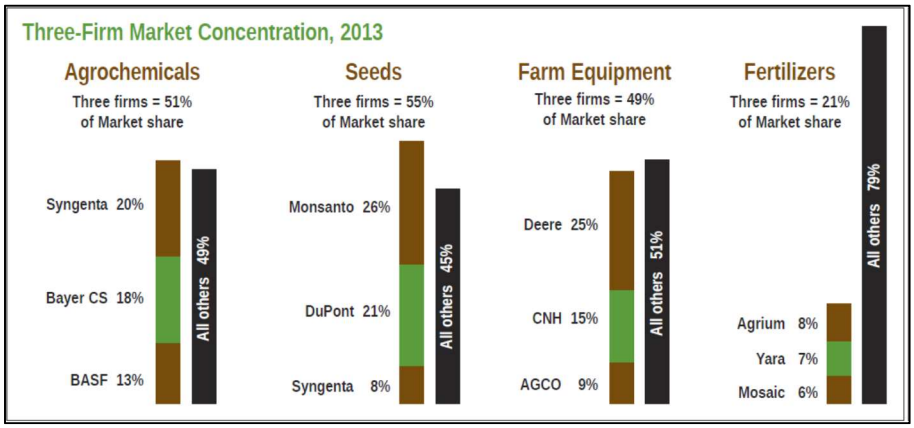


Figure 28. The Hegemony and the Oligopoly of the Transnational Agro Food Companies in Market Concentration (Source: ETC Group, 2015)

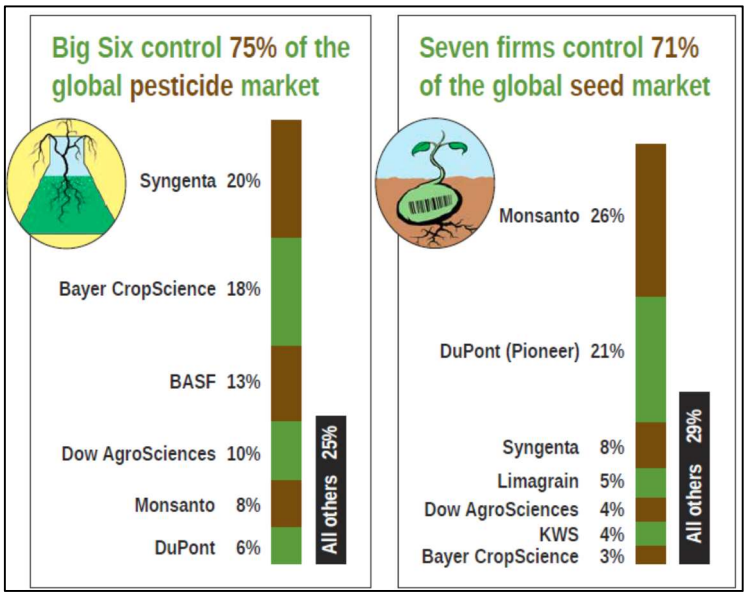


Figure 29. The Hegemony and the Oligopoly of the Transnational Agro Food Companies in Pesticide Market and in Seed Market (Source: ETC Group, 2015)

Industrial agricultural production, either industrial organic or not, has been capturing our dinner table. The governments are assisting and easing this capture through their attacks and regulations. The most important example of such regulation is the enactment of the Seed Law (No: 5553). Apart from the risks and threats by the promotion of hybrid seeds on biodiversity and environmental sustainability, the hegemony and oligopoly of the transnational enterprises lead the producers to a condition in which there will be no space for their freewill and self-development in terms of a cultural performance that agri-culture has to sustain.

Under this circumstance, from the producers' side, one of the ways for the survival of the small-scale enterprises, family farms and/or the peasant way of farming is urged as it is strongly dependent to the achievement in practices of cluster type of agricultural organizations and networking relations (Van der Ploeg et. Al., 2000, Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2008). There is a strong necessity in researching and adapting the models and practices of 'farming styles' (Van der Ploeg, 2010a). Finally, but most importantly, for the realization of corporate and political resistance to 'the Empire', both producer and consumer organizations and movements will be vital in the near future.

It is new and important to note that, recent and potential reaction has been coming from the peasants and consumers. In the following part, I am going to focus on to the evolving and transforming agro food regimes in Turkey, resistances emerging within them and the possibilities in developing a structural explanation for these systems.

6.4. Changing Food Systems in Turkey: Towards and Alternative

Theodor Shanin was claiming the rediscovery of peasantry and peasants in his pioneer study "Peasants and Peasant Societies" in 1971 by identifying four basic characters; family farming and related division of labor, major income is agricultural production on land, small peasant community lifestyle and victimhood due distance to political/economic power. His determinations were at the onset of the third food regime and the peasantry has been transformed since then. While the 1970s transformed peasantry to petty commodity production, which is still an ongoing process, the 1980s accelerated globalization and market oriented production re-defined peasantry (Keyder & Yenal, 2013).

All these transformations made contemporary agricultural production and rural sociology more diverse and more complex. However, there is a tendency in the literature to ignore an existing reality. There is ongoing practices of subsistence farming, subsistence peasant agriculture and family farming that is surviving in different parts of the world including Turkey. Family farming practices which emerged within the first food regime is still the phenomenon in many countries. The second food regime is lately followed in those countries including Turkey. It is obvious that main discourse, subsidy policies and practices of the Justice and Development Party, and thoroughly related Republic of Turkey Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, have strong tendency to the Green Revolution Paradigm and the Second Food Regime as I have clarified in the previous sections in this Chapter. Current "National Rural Development Strategy" (2014-2020) and Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018) by the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development also was frustrating for rural livelihoods in Turkey. Rurality in Turkey is mostly composed of small holders, more than 50% is under 100 decares as can be seen in the Table 20 (İslamoğlu et al., 2008). In Turkey, the land is scattered, divided and sprawled that especially inherited lands had been divided for many times. It is very hard to make conventional agriculture[45] in such a dispersed land ownership pattern that one of the most important projects of the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Livestock is increasing average land ownership to increase fertility (T.C. Tarım, Gıda ve Hayvancılık

[45] It is crucial to note that production in small scale land can also be held by conventional production techniques. The synonym use of small scale production and alternative production techniques is a misconception. I intend to emphasize that small scale production is more proper for the use of traditional production techniques and alternative production techniques.

Bakanlığı, 2013). These policy documents are proposing increase of average land acreage through land consolidation to provide monocrop and increase fertility for "sustainability". In addition, integration of Turkish agriculture with global markets is another ongoing process. According to İslamoğlu et al. (2008), this integration became a center piece that such policy initially part of stabilization packages overseen by IMF and WB following the 2001 economic crisis intended to remove prevailing price supports and privatized public monopolies. Therefore, since mid-2000s, in a parallel line to European integration objectives and Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), internationalization process and market order in agriculture institutionalized the introduction of the third food regime to Turkey (İslamoğlu et al., 2008). Moreover, third food regime and the effects of globalization brought about commodification process that genetic markers are marketable commodities. Turkey has also latterly integrated this process by well known "Seed Law of Turkey numbered 5553" in 2006 provided "metabolic rift".

Table 20. Size of Agricultural Enterprises within rural livelihoods distinguished according to their investment capacity[46] (Source: Prepared by author depending on the information in İslamoğlu et al., 2008)

CATEGORY	**SIZE OF LAND**	**INVESTMENT CAPACITY**
Very Small Size Land Owners	1-19 decares	No capability for investment. To survive in rural, have to make non-agricultural activities unless making greenhouse cultivation
Small Size Land Owners	20-49 decares & 50-99 decares	More than 50% of all enterprises in Turkey is under this category. Capable of making small scale investments such as irrigation, machinery enterprise (tractor), investing on fruit production.
Medium Size Land Owners	100-199 decares	12% of all enterprises are in this category. The investments vary according to profitability level that the diminish seasonal worker and invest in machinery
Big Size Land Owners	More than 200 decares	This category holds 8.4% of all enterprises and hold 44.7% of total land ownership. A certain part of profit is transferred to agricultural investment and the other part is transferred to non-agricultural investment. Drip irrigation is observed in enterprises own 500 decares and more land.

Furthermore, agro food systems researches claim that there are hybrid forms of Food Supply Chains that the bifurcation between alternative and conventional is not explaining the exact relation between different marketing channels (Ilbery, et al., 2006; Slee & Kirwan, 2007; 2009). In this respect, **the bifurcation of conventional and alternative is not useful in marketing terms that many producers clearly sell their products to both supply chain**. However, the novelty of the initiatives and the ongoing

[46] 1 Acre is equal to 4,047 decares.

transition of the niches show us that it is not necessary or meaningful to make a strong, sharp and polarized distinction of marketing channels between conventional systems and alternative systems. This idea is confirmed by an AAFS producer (**EI-4**, personal communication, January, 25, 2010) and revealed that current AAFSs are not wide and efficient enough to be the dominant production and consumption mechanism in Turkey. In other words, many local food producers also supply conventional markets and little is as yet known about whether the local food sector can become a significant alternative to conventional food supply chains. On the other hand, there is still an ongoing traditional system in Turkey, which I am identifying in the following part.

In this part, I am presenting the field study findings of this dissertation on emergent new alternative agro food niches in Turkey. In this respect, I am firstly discussing the validity of one of the main discussions of the AAFS literature; the bifurcation between conventional agro food systems and the Alternative Agro Food Systems. In this view, in the literature, the alternative systems are emergent socio-technical regimes within the internal tensions of incumbent regime, which is the conventional regime. Alternative Agro Food Systems seek for transitions driven by sustainability through bottom-up pressure from niches, grassroots innovations and changing regime rules with the long-term objective of changing socio-technical landscape. I am, in this perspective introducing my findings that there is a threefold distinction in Turkey. Following, I am making a brief of the history of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey in which ongoing subsistence farming practices also takes part as a facilitator factor. Ongoing subsistence farming practices are emerging as a very important facilitator in the establishment of alternative agro food niches in Turkey. In this respect, this part fulfills a very important blank in the Alternative Agro Food Systems literature by providing evidence from Turkey. Moreover, the world literature on AAFSs is lacking agency. Short food supply chain literature is concentrating on the role of direct relations by an emphasis on networks. Civic Food Networks literature has emphasis on civil society involvement in alternative food networks but it only provides us one category that is "*consumer or co-producer*". This frame, as a newly developed framework, provide us to deeply understand different forms and examples of "civic food networks", but does not provide an understanding of structure as total and the involvement of actor-network relations, innovations within the regime, regime rules and deep structures that AAFS emerges within. The **"initiator framework"** that I asserted in this thesis is a novel and complementary framework for distinguishing different forms of AAFN within AAFS and

the nested markets that they are founding. This part also provides the explanation of Turkey context.

6.4.1. Agro Food Systems in Turkey: Beyond Bifurcation between Conventional and Alternative: Threefold Distinction in Turkey[47]

According to Keyder and Yenal (2013), the introduction of the second food regime and the third food regime has been 10-20 years lately followed in Turkey. The second food regime, known as National Developmentalist Regime in Turkey, ended in early 1980s and opened up agriculture and food industry to global influences. As a result of the second food regime practices and the third food regime's introduction, agriculture is no longer the primary source of income in rural (Keyder & Yenal, 2013; Öztürk, 2012). In addition to expansion of non-agricultural income in rural, the fluctuations in agricultural prices and agricultural politics opened up new production patterns and new governance forms -as labor intensive and diversified agricultural production such as contract farming- more pervasive in rural (Keyder & Yenal, 2013).

Started in 2010, there is an irremediable process ongoing beyond state intervention, state regulation and traditional entrepreneurs, international capital draw attention on agriculture sector in Turkey (Egeli & Co., 2016). This claim defines two types of entrepreneurs in agriculture sector, namely, a domestic investor out of the scope of "traditional agriculture sector" and foreign investment which is capable of watching for opportunities. "However, these developments are so new and modest in number that private sector investment is still infant in Turkey" (Egeli & Co., 2016: 1).

All these developments and transitions in Turkey are revealing a complex and fragmented system in Turkey. The context that I have discussed above shows us that the

[47] These analysis are not provided by a statistical study. There is no relevant statistical database that (1). Production technique and knowledge level of peasants, (2). Preferences of peasants for procurement and marketing, (3). The relation between embedded knowledge and introduction to Alternative Agro Food Systems provided by TURKSTAT or by another institution, **if so not public and accessible and there is no information about the collection of such data.** On the other hand, Farmer register system collects data about the size of land (owned and rental), produced products, owned agricultural machinery, races of animals for livestock (dividing races as local and not local), irrigation system used and greenhouse cultivation-land and products (if available). Thus, these interpretations depend on the field study, observed reality in Turkish agriculture system, information provided by some important comprehensive researches such as İslamoğlu et al. (2008) and observations in the context of this thesis and the generalizations are limited to this study.

contemporary bifurcation in the literature about "conventional" and "alternative" is not providing a sufficient explanation for Turkey. I assert that there is a threefold distinction in Turkish agriculture.

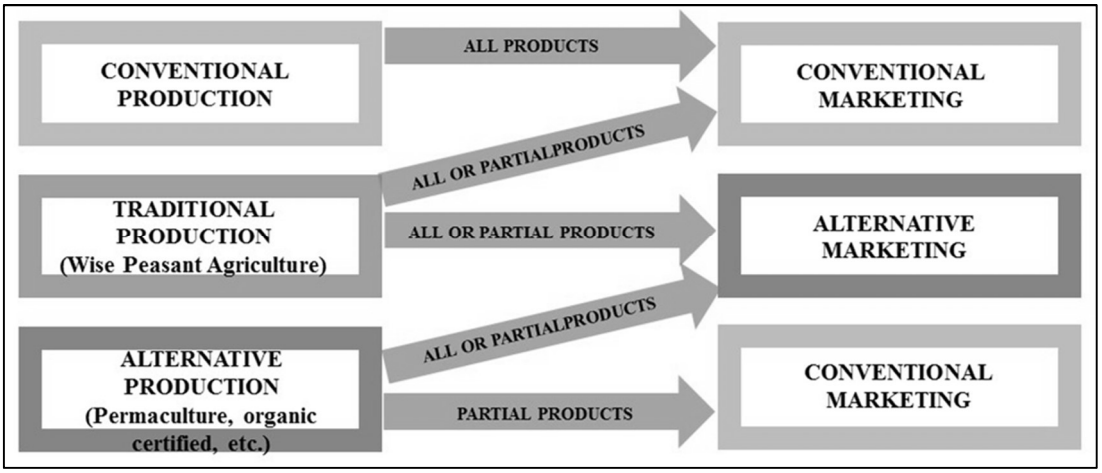


Figure 30. Relation between production systems and marketing systems (Source: Author)

6.4.1.1. **Traditional System**

Traditional systems are composed of smallholder family farming and mostly (or in some cases mostly) use traditional indigenous techniques such as seed saving, polyculture production, home-made medicines, etc. In general, it is composed of very small size land owners and small size land owners. However, small land ownership does not mean to be making traditional agricultural production that those only use indigenous techniques for agricultural production are a part of traditional systems. Peasants in this category are not capable to transform or did not transform to petty-commodity producer and making subsistent agriculture. The key point in production is the seed that local seeds[48] are used in production and kept for the following years' production. Although the Seed Law No. 5553 prohibited the sale of non-certified local seeds in Turkey in 2006, there are grassroots innovations emerged in Turkey to continue seed saving practices. For instance, the first seed exchange practice was held in İzmir, Torbalı with the leadership of Karaot Association, in 2010, held in Karaot village in 2011 and have been held in many cities among Turkey since then.

[48] Local seeds are composed of land races [köy populasyonu] and DUS (Distinctness, Uniformity and Stability). For more detailed information, see website of UPOV (International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants) available at http://www.upov.int/about/en/upov_system.html#P177_18977.

In some cases, we can see the indigenous wisdom that crucial knowledge about agriculture production and its harmony with the nature, which is identified as “wise peasant agriculture”. This kind of production entails very small size land owners and small size land owners, which are identified in the Table 20. This knowledge is embedded and related to different climate conditions of different territories and learned-developed along thousands of years. “At the beginning, peasants that are practicing wise peasant agriculture did not know about chemicals used in industrial agriculture. When the chemicals started to be used by big land owners, these peasants refused to use chemicals, and therefore, did not harm nature and ecosystem in addition to emancipating their labor” (Aysu, 2015: 215). This indigenous wisdom is considered an important aspect of Alternative Agro Food Systems that it creates potential and advantage for the establishment and development of AAFSs. In other words, Alternative Agro Food Systems also come out of traditional systems and wise peasant agriculture.

The relation with the market in this system was twofold until 1980s. The first was mostly governed by the state through subsidies, state institutions and state purchases mostly until 1980s that the 1950-1980 period was control of market and prices by the state period with rural populations gaining significant welfare (Aydın, 2005). The second was depending on mostly a subsistent economy, similar to an exchange economy, which marketing the produced products in local markets and providing the needs from the same local markets with a requirement-dependent consumption culture, in contrast to massive consumption. “40-50 years ago in my village, people were going to the town with full tracks or carriages and came back with full tracks and carriages. The credit cards had not entered in our lives and the earned was spent” (Aysu, 2015: 251). After 1980s with the neo-liberalization of agricultural markets and diminishing role of the state, a group of peasants that have very small land or small land could not survive under market mechanisms and the rural population is ageing, not only in Turkey but in the world. In this respect, permanent or temporary migration practices within family members became one of the survival strategies (İslamoğlu et al., 2008). A small group did not enter mostly in conventional systems/ mainstream forms or marketing such as contract farming or labelling, they continued their production and locally marketed (to middleman, in local bazaars, to marketplace). According to İslamoğlu et al. (2008), the ones that could survive in this way mostly had a secondary income especially from non-agricultural sectors. Today, this survived group of peasants are very enthusiastic and willing to introduce in Alternative Agro Food Systems such as CSA Groups, ecological peasant bazaars, earth

markets and so on. “It is very proud that our production is appreciated and we are taking a repayment for its quality and health (**SC-9**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). Some of the peasants are organized under a cooperative or an association. As one of the core claims of this dissertation, I claim that traditional system practices and wise peasant agriculture practices lie behind the establishment of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey as one of important factors.

Producers surviving this system are the ones that at least use government subsidies. Recently, right after FAO’s declaration as “Family Farming Year 2014”, a subsidy for very small scale family farming was declared in Turkey by Official Gazette in January 30, 2016. It was for the family farmers that have less than 5 decares land and encompassing one-time payment which provided 100 ₺ (approximately 31 € or 35 $) for each decare. But these payments required membership to Farmer Registrar System, which has obligation to be member of local Chamber of Agriculture and therefore payment to the Chamber of Agriculture. In this respect, because the payed and gathered very more or less the same, this subsidy was invalid in practice (**EI-1**, personal communication, 2015, December 29). Although, some of the land based or product based (like nuts) subsidies are preferred and welcomed by family farmers, they trigger de-activation process for very small land owners and small land owners. However, if the subsidy is not very well regulated, it may cause de-activation in agriculture, some of the best examples of which are Direct Income Subsidy 2001-2007 (Akder, 2011) and land based subsidy for nut producers.

6.4.1.2. **Conventional System**

According to Tayfun Özkaya;

> We do not prefer to use the concept of ‘conventional’ because of the confusion it creates. The term is mostly used by organic industrial agriculture corporations and the term is outsourced. Its translation to Turkish is the same as we use the term ‘traditional’. Instead of this we identify it as industrial agriculture (**EI-2**, personal communication, 2016, January 10).

As Özkaya emphasizes, the translation and wide use of the terms has not have become widespread, misunderstood or in some cases not understood. In this respect, I use the identifications of industrial agriculture and conventional agriculture in the same meaning.

This group of farmers in Turkey are entailing medium size land owners and big size land owners as well as corporate agriculture in general and small size land owners in partial. According to Aysu (2015) big land owners and corporate agriculture enterprises have to apply this system owing to global climate instabilities. They have adapted industrial farming practices to their production by increasing agricultural inputs, monocrop cultivation, and greenhouse cultivation and certified seed based production to increase fertility. Input markets are governed by global corporations. In industrial/ conventional production systems, chemical use is compulsory. Industrial system involves intensive energy, synthetic fertilizer, insecticides and herbicides use, hormones, antibiotics and genetics engineering (Aysu, 2015). The Seed Law No. 5553 prohibited the sale of non-certified local seeds.

Labelling and certification is an important marketing strategy. Moreover, certified seed use (and therefore certified pesticide use and certified chemical fertilizer use) means the connection of the producer to supply chain (İslamoğlu et al., 2008). Because certified seed use provides standardized products, these schemes are very proper for market-led governance systems such as contract farming and are preferred by middleman and intermediaries. Although cost increases fluctuates the quantity and frequency of use, there is a continuous pesticide and chemical fertilizer use in production (İslamoğlu et al., 2008). However, it is crucial here to distinguish industrial organic agriculture from organic agriculture as two distinct categories. I have discussed how the organic certification have integrated and became an agent of the mainstream regime in (see 3.5.2.1) on the one hand, and has been used to document the good, fair and sustainable production by peasants on the other hand.

This group is the one that the government supports can mostly be utilized. Moreover, Agriculture credit cooperatives, especially since 2005 regulation, have provided a credit- based subsidy system for conventional producers in Turkey. Similar to worldwide trends, subsidies, the characteristics of which are tax exemption, remission of duty and advantageous interest rates for agricultural capital, are transferred to capitalist farmer production systems (Aysu, 2009; Stedile, 2009). Furthermore, mostly supported – by subsidies- group of producers in Turkey are greenhouse cultivators and the ones have organic production certificate.

The marketing of this system primarily depends on market-led governance mechanisms and oligopoly markets in input mechanisms. According to Kazgan (2013), the hegemony of capitalism in agricultural markets were provided by means of IMF and

World Bank in 1970s and globalization agricultural markets project of the USA was provided by means of GATT Uruguay Round in which WTO was born in 1993. These two processes became the two important and complementary processes for the construction of conventional marketing system. The market determines the kind, quantity and techniques of production in this system as well as the market determination of the prices. It cut a path for intermediaries, middleman, labelling institutions and supermarketization in the governance of marketing, a system predicated on export-orientation, which depends the unevenness between big land owners and small land owners, a system that creates food miles. Another type of governance in conventional systems are contract-farming. For example in İzmir, tomato paste industry and egg production industry mostly adapted contract farming (**EI-1**, personal communication, 2015, December 29). According to Ali Ekber Yıldırım (personal communication, 2015, December 29), the system works in favor of industrialists and intermediaries in case of excess quantity and in favor of producer in case of low quantity in market supplies. If market fluctuations, animal diseases- plant diseases, climate changes create change in market prices then the contract does not work due to possibilities of exorbitant prices. Another case that conventional marketing system operating "wilder" in Turkey is milk industry. Because animals periodically produce milk and milk cannot be kept for long time without pasteurization, non-industrial entrepreneur producers cannot stock milk for long periods. Intermediary firms and middleman make price cutting by using the advantage of this situation. This price cuts cannot be seen in the supermarket prices. The biggest milk producers that have market domination prefer big scale producers for contract farming and it is very hard for small scale producers to survive within this industry as well as in conventional marketing system

Some of the greatest and most rooted cooperatives such as Tariş, Trakya Birlik and Panko Birlik which are operating with similar contracting practices to contract farming but through non-market oriented power relations, they were established as unions to gain power for peasants against market fluctuations. For instance, Tariş celebrated 100th Anniversary as the first and biggest cooperative in Turkey- operating in Aegean Region-, is working as sales' cooperative and making contracts with the farmers to buy all produced agro food of farmers; raisins, olive, cotton and figs. In this system risks and fluctuations of the market are absorbed by the cooperative and farmers are not directly affected by fluctuations. According to İslamoğlu et al. (2008), such rooted cooperatives that have provided survival of small scale peasants, have been losing power due

conventional systems. More clearly, the abilities of cooperatives to support small scale farming is depending on the economic power of producers, which have been diminishing because of increasing agricultural input use and input prices. Since 2000s, with increasing input use, Tariş lost 20%, Trakyabirlik lost 50% of members and partners (İslamoğlu et al., 2008: 9).

6.4.1.3. **Emerging Alternatives**

Before making an explanation of these systems, I need to re-emphasize the definition of Alternative Agro Food Systems that I attempted to define in Turkey characteristic. AAFSs are production, procurement, marketing and governance systems that compromise complex and wide networks, complex sets of organization and operation. These systems maintain ecological production and organic production (in non-industrial form and polyculture) mostly in very small scale and small scale land by using polyculture cropping, harmony with nature and ecosystem, local (non-GMO, non-hybridized) seeds and non-chemical and synthetic fertilizers, use traditional embedded and/or ecological techniques instead of chemical pesticides. These systems prioritize the foundation of local, localized and re-localized agro food systems by providing short food supply chains and further nested markets. The philosophy and the motivation underpinning these systems are right to live, food sovereignty and consumer-producer cooperation.

This group of farmers in Turkey are mostly very small scale land owners and small scale land owners, yet, there are also medium scale land owners within the system. The production techniques used can be identified in two terms; traditional embedded knowledge and techniques and permaculture techniques or both. As permaculture is a conceptualized, systematized through its philosophy as well as its application (Fukuoka, 1997), it provides correct, dependable and available information for co-producers and post-peasants that have not been grown up by making production and could have no or little access with production until adult ages. In these production systems, producers aim at constructing a perfect harmony with the ecosystem and transform his/her production a part of ecosystem with the possible least intervention. For instance, they use local receipts that do not kill but remove insects.

Figure 31. Cover Page of "Nature-Friendly Suggestions and Home-Made Medicines for Creepy Crawly" (Source: Tezcan, 2014: Cover)

The peasants that have knowledge on traditional techniques, which have been created and designed along hundreds/thousands of years with the specificities of different geographical localities, use their knowledge automatically as a reflex unless structural changes such as climate change occurs and changes the natural conditions to an unnatural condition. This knowledge is called "wise peasant agriculture". Permaculture farmers are mostly those that have started to make agricultural production at some edges of their lives and have little or no contact with production before. The philosophy and principles of permaculture not only provide a technical document for how to make production and how to apply production techniques, also guide as a life style.

The marketing channels in this system are diverse. Because the movement is so novel and new and continuously expanding, producers in this system are marketing their production both in conventional marketing systems -to middleman and intermediaries, to suppliers, to international markets and so on-, and to SFSCs and new nested markets. This market duality of farmers that divide the product between conventional markets and alternative markets is identified as "hybridity". Hybridity in marketing channels are occurring when alternative agro food niches attend conventional marketing practices (Holt & Amilien, 2007; Marsden & Franklin, 2013; Renting, et al., 2012; Schumilas, 2014; Slee & Kirwan, 2007; Slee & Kirwan, 2009). The effort of producers for finding mostly new innovative ways to provide direct producer-consumer relations and find new alternative agro food networks. Especially producers whose primary income is

agricultural production, who have small scale land and are not able to find wider alternative agro food networks market their surplus production to conventional markets. Especially if the peasant family have debts, payments or need for cash, they market their products to middleman and suppliers, which is wholesale. In other cases, they can keep their production harvested for retail alternative agro food networks. The other case for wholesale trade is perishability of the products they produce. In this case, producers, with reference to the demands in alternative agro food networks, start to produce secondary products and finished products such as jams and marmalades, dried fruits and vegetables, fruit leather, pickles, cheese and so on. Total production of such products, which are culturally and mostly produced for family consumption, increases and becomes a marketable product.

The alternative agro food networks in Turkey are CSA groups, consumer cooperatives, box schemes, buyer clubs, online marketing, organic bazaars, earth markets, ecological peasant bazaars, producer-consumer collectives and other related groups. In this respect, some international organizations, which manage their trust as a common-pool resource and are found trustable in public opinion, have great influence and networking in Turkey. For instance, URGENCI and Slow Food networks, as consumer movements have great influence in the construction of new groups. On the other hand, producer movements also provide producer-consumer direct relations and open a road for the construction of new alternative food networks and systems in Turkey. For instance, the head of Çiftçi-Sen and a remarkable character in the peasant struggle in Turkey, Abdullah Aysu, mediates the construction of new SFSC groups and development of these groups to new nested markets in İstanbul.

Farmers and producers that have been integrated into Alternative Agro Food Systems have relation with non-agricultural practices such as ecological tourism-agro tourism and nature tourism, festivals, educations, co-opt learning practices, and co-opt production and many other activities. They develop these practices as “tools of conviviality” (İllich, 2015). Those farmers practicing permaculture are generally members of TATUTA farms (Tarım, Turizm, Takas- Agriculture, Tourism, Exchange), which is a cooperation based on agro tourism practice for family farmers making ecological production. TATUTA volunteers work as volunteer workforce and in turn accommodate- eat and learn agricultural production.

6.4.2. Organic Agriculture in Turkey

Organic production, which is one of the sustainable production techniques, have specific rules from production in land to marketing the products (Demiryürek, 2011). Organic agriculture emerged as a green niche and has blunted its innovative capacity (Smith, 2007) and has long been under discussion of being a conventional production system (industrial organic production) and conventional marketing mechanism. In this respect, while identifying threefold distinction in Turkey, it is critical to make a discussion and clarification on organic agriculture. Organic agriculture has emerged in Turkey in 1990s as a market phenomenon concentrating on export markets.

The discussions on problems and reproduction of market relations of conventional systems and mainstream regime within organic certification had started at the end of 1990s in the world and since then Alternative Agro Food Systems and organic certification has been distinguished in various cases and by many scholars, as I have discussed in the Second Chapter. At the beginning of 1990s, organic production was a market-driven, highly demanded phenomenon that the entrance of certified organic production began for export market in line with the private standards of European control bodies (IFOAM EU Group, n.d.). The introduction of organic production to Turkey emerged from increasing demand in the European markets that had realized the health problems occurred due mainstream conventional production systems (Demiryürek, 2011). At that time, İzmir became the pioneer city and Aegean Region became the pioneer region. Producers, civil society and Aegean Exporters Association in İzmir provided great support and volunteerism in İzmir (ETO, 2012). İzmir is still the pioneer city in the number of producers and the total land in Turkey (ETO, 2012). Moreover, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality became the first and pioneering municipality in Turkey that supported producers to have organic certificates in 2007. The municipality provided educations and technical support for farmers.

Beginning in 1984[49], IFOAM certification rules were applied and organic production statistics were collected by Aegean Exporters Association (Demiryürek, 2011). In 1991-1992, ETO (Association of Ecological Agriculture Organization) was established as an umbrella NGO in İzmir. The first organic regulation in Turkey was parallel to EU Regulation and declared in 1994 and has been changed many times since

[49] IFOAM EU Group introduces such date as 1985-1986.

then. In 2003, the Department of Organic Agriculture is established within the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (Engiz & Özlü, 2007).

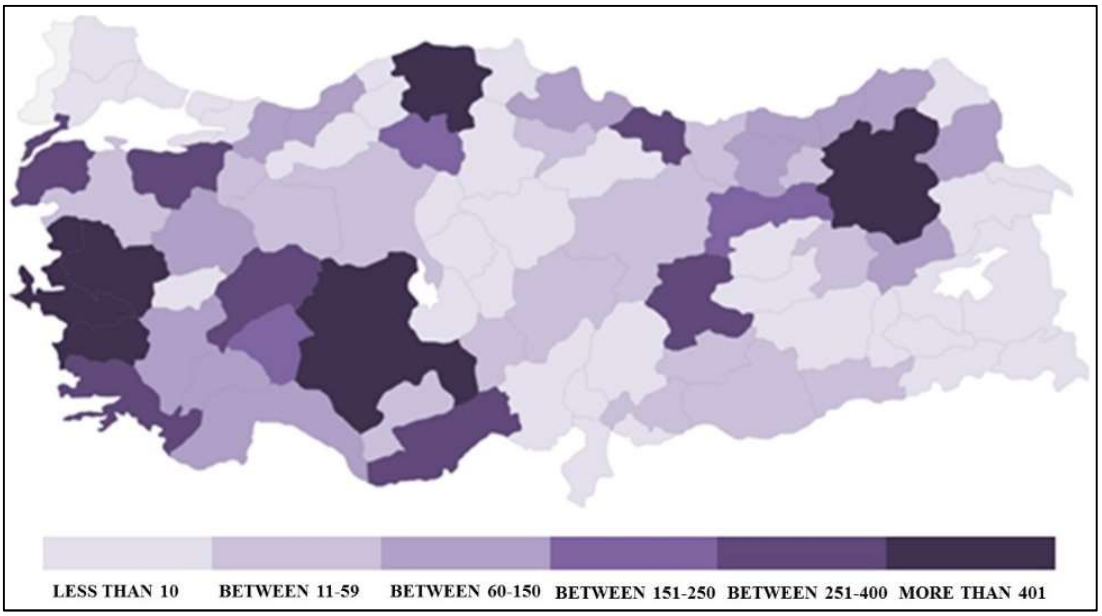


Figure 32. Total number of organic certified producers in cities in Turkey (Source: ETO, 2012)

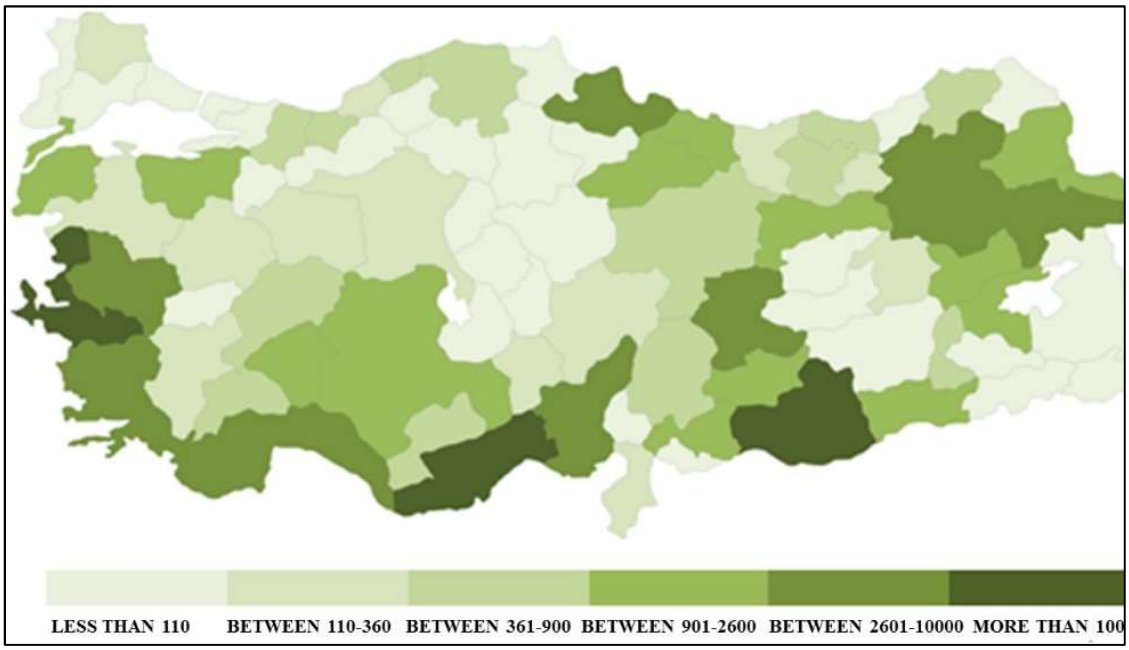


Figure 33. Total land of organic production in cities in Turkey (Source: ETO, 2012)

As İslamoğlu (2008) asserted, 95% of organic food production of Turkey is for export market. Although domestic market demand has considerably increased since 2008, the main target and the market is still export market (Demiryürek, 2011). According to

IFOAM EU Group, key sector institutions in Turkey are Aegean Exporter's Association, ETO, Buğday Association and Ege University Faculty of Agriculture and the major export market is EU countries as the main destination. The current law authorized private corporations for certification was published in 2004 No. 5262 and the amendments published in 2010. The latest amendement in 2010 is expected to increase the number of the certification corporations (TÜGEM, 2011).

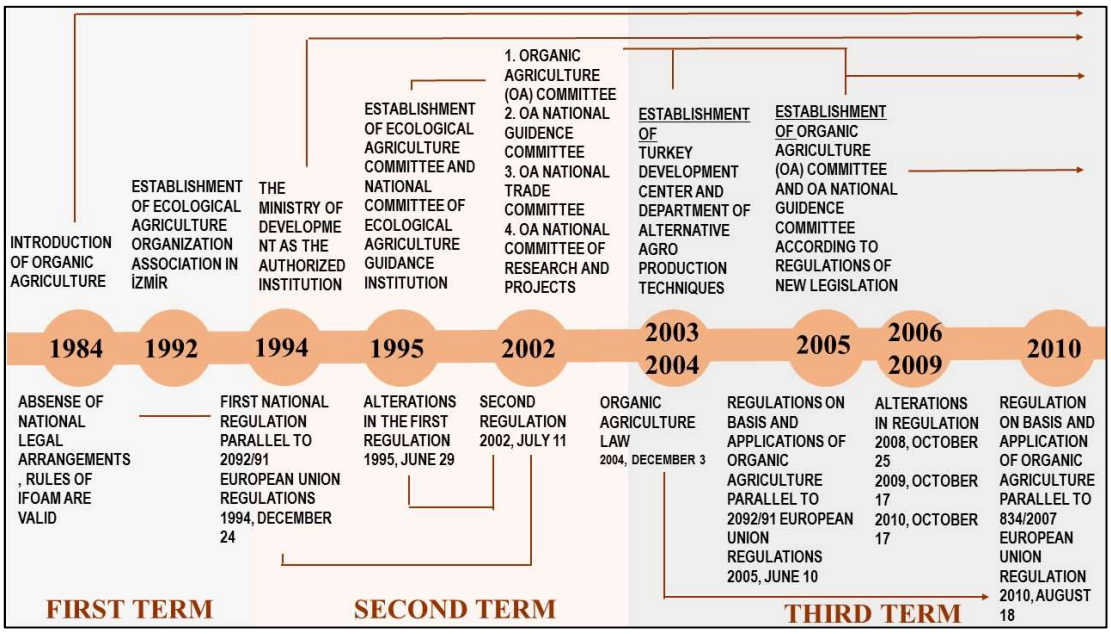


Figure 34. The institutional and juridical history of organic agriculture in Turkey (Source: Adopted from Engiz & Özlü, 2007, Translated and Redrawn by the Author)

The workshop on "Is another organic farming possible?" was held in collaboration with the Association of Agricultural Economics, Ege University- Department of Agricultural Economics and the Chamber of Agriculture Engineers İzmir Chapter in 2012 in İzmir. This workshop clarified dilemmas, dead-ends and contradictions of organic agriculture. According to Özkaya (2012), corporate industrial food system has caught and has had a free hand on organic agriculture. Certification system also supports the situation. Moreover, some agriculture companies and big scale farms are making monoculture production in very large lands under the certification of organic agriculture by violating the rules of nature, ecology and biodiversity. In this perspective, organic products are providing a commodity variety for exportation and as a high value market product. That kind of an agricultural system is called *industrial organic agriculture* (Özkaya, 2012). Also, scholars have agreed that organic systems have been losing their alternativeness under the conditions of globalization and neoliberal pressures and the

organic movement has transformed to organic sector (Best, 2008; Guthman, 2004c).Thence, I synthesize the current situation of organic agriculture as a market phenomenon to a large extent. The view of Barbaros et al. (2009) supports this idea by identifying organic products as export goods.

Adnan Çobanoğlu, head of Grape Union as a union rank and file of Farmers' Union, distinguishes certified and non- certified production that certified organic food is the appreciation of an opportunity that raised under conditions of soil pollution, chemical inputs and health problems. In his view, these conditions and food crisis are created by global food and agro chemical corporations and the opportunity is also used by the same through innovation of organic certification schemes (Çobanoğlu, 2016). He also cited that there are 42 authorized corporations to give organic certificate to farmers in Turkey and it is impossible for yeoman and small scale farmers to afford the money and provide contract articles. In this respect, it is a way of enclosing the seed into a patented commodity and corporatization of agents of production. These schemes are providing occasions for contract farming that corporations are hiring the labor, land and means of production of the peasants (Çobanoğlu, 2016). It is obvious that pure ecological production is not enough to have an organic certificate.

Alongside, power relations within organic agriculture create contradictions for producers. According to Özkaya (2012), there is a hegemony in organic production and certification that certificates of organic producers are withheld by corporate companies in some cases and the decisive for what to produce and how to produce is not the producer but the company in some cases. I think another challenging issue in organic certification is that the scheme incites corporatization within food systems. This is also directly related to decentralization of services of the state. I call these worldwide neoliberal policy-making scheme as *corporatization of agricultural certificates*. In Turkey, with the Organic Agriculture Law No. 5262 dated 01.12.2004 gave the authority of giving organic certificate not to state institutions but to corporations, most of which are transnational, although The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs[50] had enough power and organization to do so with a very wide organization with local authorities in 81 provinces (Aysu, 2012). In reality,

> The state institutions' staffs never have enough knowledge and capability to even make audit for bureaucratic procedures of organic production that my audit in the organic bazaar who is authorized by the local organization of the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Livestock was

[50] The name of the Ministry changed to the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock in 2011.

> attained for this job while he was a civil servant in Turkish Electricity Administration. (**EI-9**, personal communication, 2016, June 11).

Organic certification is subject to qualified certification, audit, and supervision of corporate companies. Furthermore, the state institutions, sources and personnel do not have adequate knowledge and capability especially in the local administrations of related institutions. In this respect, supervision weaknesses, mismanagement are big questions unsolved for organic production processes. On the other hand, hegemonic relation also occurs in the cost of receiving organic certificate. According to Yalçın (2012), it is not possible for smallholders to afford costs in order to receive an organic certificate. Thus, governance implications of these schemes make the certification a norm isolating ecological producers in the absence of affordability. High costs of input and number of intermediaries are other problems of the scheme. These processes resulted in consolidation of success of mainstream businesses, brought about integration of alternative products into conventional production systems and making certification a tool to provide economic rent (Mutersbaugh et al., 2005).

In short, every practice organic agriculture in Turkey cannot be identified within Alternative Agro Food Systems. However, organic agriculture and its introduction to Turkey as a labeling scheme has great importance for the emergence of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey. Organic agriculture has contributed to awareness raising and remarked the destructive conventional production systems.

6.5. Contemporary Web of Alternative Agro Food Initiatives and the History of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey

Organic agriculture started in Turkey in mid-1980s and became an institutional labelling scheme in 1992 as a market phenomenon. On the other hand, the awakening of AAFS in Turkey started in the mid-1990s with a small number of activists. Among many fragmented groups and people, there are some remarkable movements, groups, initiatives and movements that I am going to extract in this part. Because there is not a comprehensive study on the history of alternative agro food movements in Turkey, this part is developed through my field study, website mining, social media mining and in-depth interviews with committed idealists. Therefore, this part might be lacking some of the emerged and failed movements, movements that are not visible in the internet and in

the social media and initiatives that are closed. I am revealing initiatives that have been publically organized within Alternative Agro Food Systems.

Before doing so, I mention the 40 cases I have elaborated through extensive research. The exploration of 40 cases at first phase of my research provided me the abstraction of the Initiator Framework and a short and incomplete history of AAFS in Turkey. I have selected my three cases for in-depth exploration in the context of initiator framework. İzmir, Ankara and İstanbul came to the forefront, which I am explaining in Chapter Five and Chapter Six. For producer initiated alternative agro food niches, Ankara and İzmir provided me cases. However, Ankara case- Nallıhan Niche- is located 160 kilometers away from the city and it is founded as a sustainable tourism niche and later encompassed agricultural production. Therefore, it can not be assumed as a typical case. İzmir is a city that agricultural production still takes part and agricultural production is developed by the local governments. In this respect, it is not a coincidence that pioneer socio-technical practices such as seed exchange festivals emerged in İzmir.

During my researches, I have examined numerous *food communities,* ecology collectives and urban agriculture cases. My research findings show that each food community has different modus operandi and has different regime rules. Obviously, for consumer initiated alternative agro food niches, İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara comes to front. Although there is only one food community in Ankara, it works as an umbrella organization that is encompassing many neighborhood communities with more than one thousands consumers at total. Food communities in İstanbul show that they are mostly founded as consumer cooperatives and have similar organizations with buyer clubs. The reason lying behind this is urbanization policies which caused İstanbul ran out of agricultural production land in the hinterland of the city. The consumers are organizing their groups with producers from different parts of Anatolia. However, the urban-rural linkages in İzmir enabled the cooperation, interaction and solidarity between producers and consumers within food communities. Therefore, the findings of this study show that co-production practices and co-learning practices are better developed in İzmir. It is not a coincidence that İzmir is the fastest-growing city in the number of food communities since 2013.

Figure 35. Producer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Niches Examined

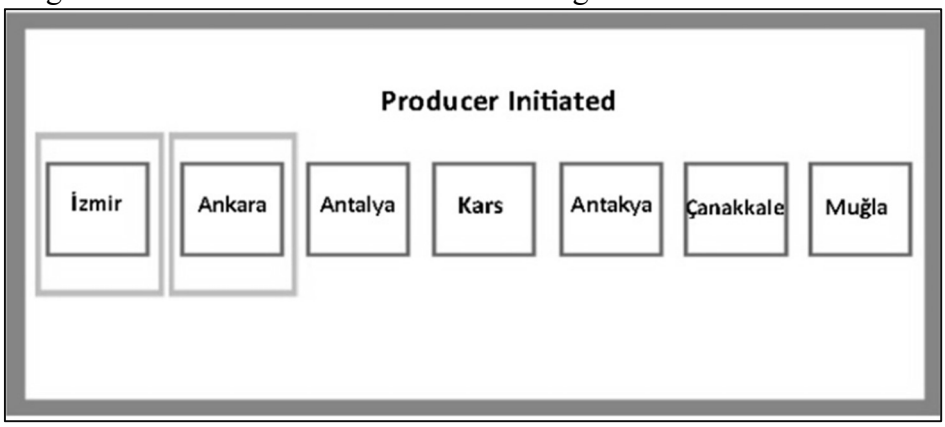
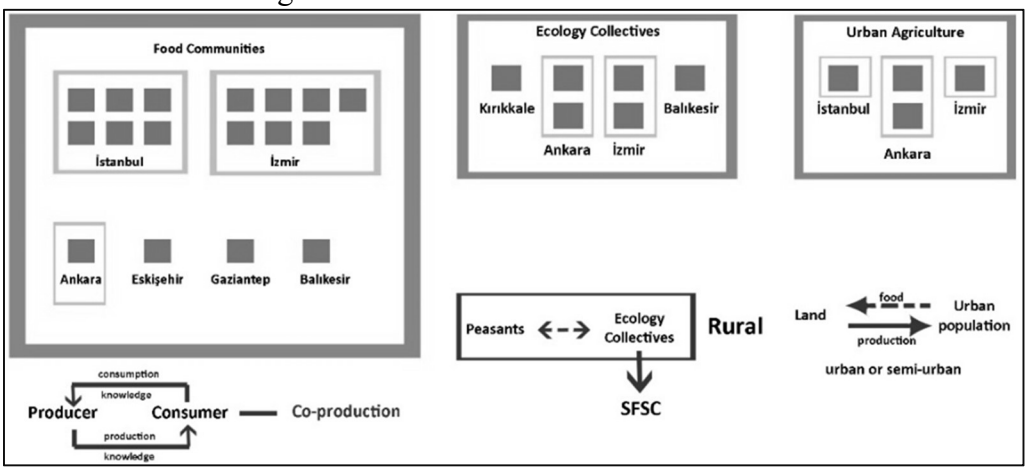


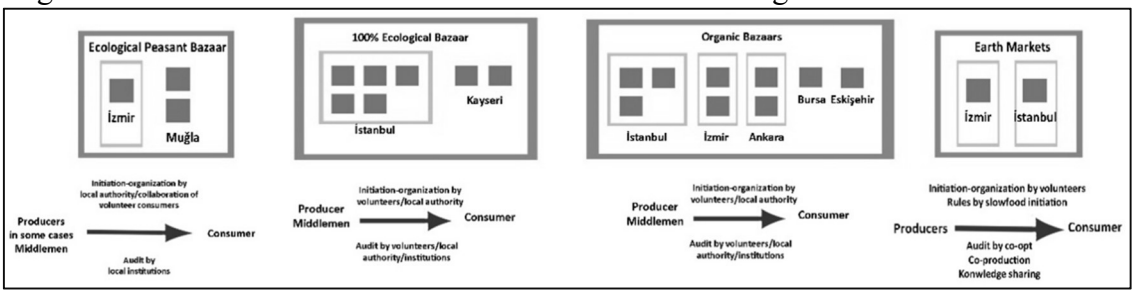
Figure 36. Food Communities Examined



I have examined numerous producer-consumer collaborated alternative agro food niches. Earth Markets are most considerable cases among those with their well defined organization, regime rules, social networking and co-learning processes. There are only two Earth Markets in Turkey, one is in İzmir and the other is in İstanbul. Organic bazaars and 100% ecological bazaars are seen as middle-class urban elite phenomenon with their organization and prices. It is obvious that the main aim in those bazaars is providing organic food to urban consumers. Organic bazaars and 100% ecological bazaars also are encompassing middleman and intermediaries which makes the SFSC questionable. Ecological peasant bazaars practice producer and consumer collaboration that these bazaars are mostly located at the periphery of urban centers to reach urban consumers. The findings of my field research showed that these bazaars are not totally ecological bazaars (except for Bodrum Bazaar), they are rather peasant bazaars. However, these organizations cogently support ecological producers, remark and promote ecological production. Therefore, their practice has great importance for awareness raising and

assisting producers to change their agricultural production towards ecological and indigenous techniques.

Figure 37. Producer- Consumer Collaborated Alternative Agro Food Niches Examined



Although different initiatives have their novel organizations and rules, I have realized that they have common characteristics. The development stages of the niche initiatives, the nested markets and the web that niches construct, the relation of niches with instituions and the regime actors and the involvement of different actors during the development stages of the niches have similar pathways in the Alternative Agro Food Initiatives in Turkey. In this respect, I have drawn the conceptual diagram below. My exploration of fourty niches have reached me to this diagram which related to the categories in the Initiator Framework and with regard to the development stages identified in the MLP literature. The diagram shows development stages of the niche initiatives identified by the MLP literature; grassroots innovation and social network building. There is a variety of roles of actors and institutions in the emergence and the development of the niches as can be seen in Figure 38. Verifying the claims in the MLP literature, a specified actor such as committed idealist, outsider actor or institutional designer takes great role in the emergence of the niche, however, the development of the niche is relevant to the participation of a variety of volunteers and actors with producer roles and consumer roles. The categories identified in the Initiator Framework and shown in Figure 38 presents the web of Alternative Agro Food Systems and the mechanisms by which it is constructed upon.

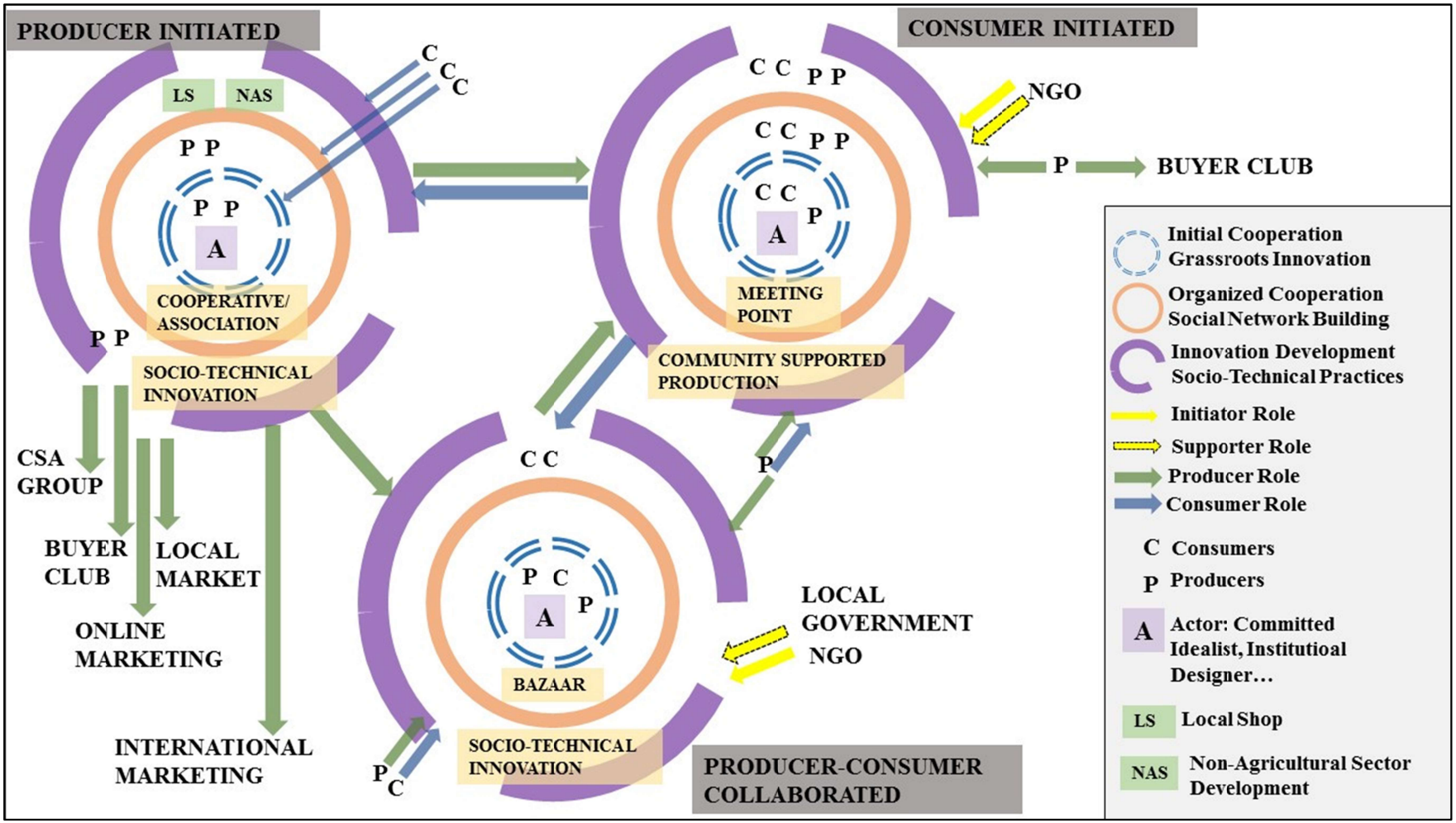


Figure 38. Development Stages of Alternative Agro-food Initiatives in Turkey Based on Multi-Level Perspective (Source: Author)

6.5.1. Milestones in the Emergence of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey[51]

6.5.1.1. HABITAT II

The most extensively influential milestone for sustainable niches in Turkey became the second Summit of Habitat held by United Nations in 1996 in İstanbul, Turkey. Because, this summit triggered grassroots innovations in Turkey. It was popularly called as "City Summit" and brought together high-level representatives of national and local governments, private sector, NGOs, research and training institutions and the media. For universal aim to ensure safer human settlements, livable cities, contemporary conditions of consumerism, environmental deterioration and climate change were endorsed and discussed by the impetus of 1992 UN Conference on environment and development (United Nations, 1992). It became a global green niche to realize sustainable human settlements. By defining the internal tensions of the incumbent regime and at an era of crisis in the mainstream regime, the conference revealed incompatibilities with the incumbent regime, transfer of lessons, learning by system builders, nurtured alternative vision, constructed knowledge about alternative regime in Turkey and in the world. The conference outcomes provided very important innovations. Outcomes created grassroots movements, re-defined regime rules, improved knowledge of alternative models as well as knowledge transfer, printed documents, developed formal strategies and guidelines.

The conference brought environmental activists, academics, institutional designers, and labelling initiatives together for preventing the mainstream regime's deterioration of global human settlements and ultimately create the conditions for achieving improvements in the living environment of all people on a sustainable basis (United Nations, 1996a). The goals and principles printed were including sustained economic growth; various forms of the family; and the need for an increased flow of financial resources to developing countries with a strong reference to rurality (United Nations, 1996b). The results were underlined in three headlines, namely; livability, sustainability and equity in human settlements.

[51] There might be individual or group activisms that have contributed to the foundation and the development of Sustainable Niches in Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey that are not identified in this part. I am including the most extensively influential niches that had been affected the foundation of grassroots innovations and sustainable niche innovations.

The result of Habitat II designated a global action plan the five body sections of which are (United Nations, 1996a);

- Adequate shelter for all
- **Sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world**
- Capacity building and institutional development
- International cooperation and coordination
- Implementation and follow-up.

In my opinion, the sub-section on sustainability provided the ongoing environmental movements' and consumer movements' engagement with rural production and struggle of peasants. This sub-section identified; sustainable land use that harmonize urban areas with natural environment, including sources and land use decisions located in rural areas and natural areas such as water, polluting industries, locally unwanted land uses and so on. Another important input of the Habitat II for the engagement of producer-consumer and environmentalists I identified was "environmentally sustainable (livable) and healthy human settlements" (United Nations, 1996a). This section linked sustainable human settlements to conditions for human health, including disparities, incumbent unsustainable and wasteful production and consumption and environmental conditions. Beyond alerting production and consumption, this decision highlighted that conservation practices and environmental movements have to be supported in the localities, which encounter ruralities and the peasants. "Conservation and rehabilitation of historical and cultural heritage was also providing the conservation of knowledge and traditions in rural areas. One of the most important decisions that combined environmental and consumer movements with agricultural production and ruralities was "balanced development of settlements in rural". This was proposing;

> This section notes that policies and programmes for the sustainable development of rural areas that integrate these areas into the national economy require strong local and national institutions for the planning and management of human settlements. Actions are called for promoting the sustainable development of rural settlements and reducing rural-to-urban migration, promoting new and improved technologies and appropriate traditional practices, establishing policies for sustainable regional development and management, strengthen employment opportunities in impoverished rural areas, and achieving an integrated approach to balanced and mutually supportive urban-rural development. The Subgroup agreed on all but three references to "sustainable development" in this section. The Plenary did not consider the text, which remains in brackets (United Nations, 1996a).

These new regime rules defined in HABITAT II disclosed the role of rural dwellers, production techniques and conventional system in livable, sustainable and equal livelihoods. Additionally, it was discussed that agricultural production practices were one

of the basic pollutants in nature and environment (Republic of Armenia, 1996). Moreover, another critical engagement discussed and disclosed was the role of rural dwellers in conservation and preservation practices of environment and nature. It was re-realized that nature and environment could best be conserved by the struggle and everyday practices of human settlements within them (Republic of Armenia, 1996). This practices could not be provided by "urban-originated", committed actor's or an outsider actors' pressure in the case of environmental deteriorations.

> It was Urban Summit, Habitat II. It became the most, and maybe the first in Turkey, comprehensive platform for discussing the role of civil society, the contemporary civil society and ruralities. These were of course being discussed before but by very small groups of people. Settling in rural, energy, food, and so on was fully discussed in HABITAT II. After that GEN network was established and I became a member of it (**EI-8**, personal communication, 2016, June 7).

Only and only collaboration of urban and rural, consumer and producer could provide a strong foundation of sustainable socio-technical regimes to accomplish transition. Parallel to the global movements, civil society involvement in Turkey has increased then in agro food systems. In this perspective, Ecological Settlements Network was founded as a socio-technical regime during HABITAT II discussions. GEN (Global Ecovillages Network) brought different ecological rural settlements together, including the ones that are continuing ecological production, consumption and life practices for hundreds of years and the ones that are founded as ecological collectives by outsider actors. In short, the tensions within mainstream regime for urban areas and urbanization was the central lens of HABITAT II, however, it provided platform for urban and rural linkage in terms of production and consumption practices, livelihoods and environmental issues.

6.5.1.2. **Buğday Movement**

In the beginning of the 1990s, Victor Ananias- the committed idealist- was selling ecological products in Bodrum Local Bazaar at the Southern Aegean Turkey. This stand in Bodrum Local Bazaar was later transformed to Buğday [Wheat] Natural Products Shop. The following year, in 1991, Başak [Spica] Naturcafe started to serve ecological food, which was transformed to Buğday Vegetarian Restaurant in 1992. This restaurant became one of the first innovations of grassroots action for sustainable development in

Alternative Agro Food Systems. This restaurant became a networking channel for idealistic enthusiasts.

> I was questioning my life practices. Ecological life idea was inside of me but I needed to disclose it. I was also fed by being a journalist in *Haberci* team[52]. By the way in 1996 Habitat Summit in Turkey provided the engagement of different environmental movements and the relation between environment and the urban and the relation of these with rural. Right after, I entered Global Ecovillages Network but had no knowledge about the rural. I started to query 'there must be another way'! While looking for where to start, I met Victor- the founder of Buğday movement- in Bodrum and he was managing Buğday restaurant at that time. Doing was very important at that point because Victor was 'doing'. After that I found myself while publishing Buğday Magazine, which is a very important milestone in Buğday movement and in ecological life movement (**EI-8**, personal communication, 2016, June 7).

Figure 39. Buğday Bulletins and Buğday Magazines
(Source: Retrieved from official website of Buğday Association
https://www.bugday.org/portal/hakkimizda.php?pid=1)

This magazine was including a wide range of topics from practical information for home-made medicines and ecological architecture to permaculture principles, from wise peasant agriculture to consumption culture, from civic involvement to philosophy of nature-friendly life and collaboration instead of competition. It was a bulletin in 1998 and transformed to a magazine in 1999, published until 2009 as the first National magazine on issue. Buğday Restaurant in Bodrum that was founded by Victor Ananias. This place became a meeting platform for both activists from Turkey but also from the world (Buğday Ekolojik Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği, 2011). His and the other ethical consumers' concerns provided them to operationalize their views, expectations and struggle with contemporary consumption and production patterns. The magazine that they

[52] Haberci was a TV documentary that centered research and reveal of natural ecosystems, cultural specificities, geographical landscape, and environmental problems. It was providing the diaries of Turkey and the World especially in the sharpest, wildest and forgotton geographies. The TV documentary was started to be aired in 1995 and continued to be aired until 2009. The programme contributed to public awareness, environmental problems and the relevant practices of the incumbent regime.

started to publish provided the movement to be able to reach wider groups. Global Ecovillages' Network's first National gathering was held in Bodrum Restaurant in 1997 with the growing network and volunteers. These practices became the traces and roots of Buğday Association which was founded in 2002 in İstanbul. Through their ongoing practices, 2005 became the emergence of first civil society organization that is directly concerned and practiced Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey.

Furthermore, Buğday Association founded the first organic domestic bazaar in İstanbul with the name of 100% ecological bazaar in 2006. According to Akyüz and Demir (2014), Buğday Association took an active role in influencing laws, regulations and their implementation regarding organic agriculture. In this view, the marketing of organic products by establishing the first marketplace for certified organic products, Buğday became the locomotive of the domestic sector. The number of 100% ecologic bazaars are seven today, and five of those are in İstanbul. According to Mehmet Gürmen (personal communication, 2016, June 14), they, as Buğday Association are demanded to found new 100% Ecological Bazaars in many cities, however, they are proposing to local governments and local initiatives to found local scale Associations to establish and audit such bazaars. They are, currently, positioning themselves as consultant civil society organization body.

6.5.1.3. **Eco Villages- Ecology Collectives**

In 1997-1998, a group of METU (Middle East Technical University, Ankara) students that were nature minded, environmentalist and at the university's mountaineering club were "looking for ways of another life" (Duran, 2000). They were within the networks of activists that had same or similar concerns in İstanbul and in Ankara. The idea of establishing an ecological village turned to become the main action idea within discussions. However, activists from İstanbul and activists from Ankara were differing for the geography to settle. According to İnce (2009), İstanbul activists were preferring Aegean and Mediterranean coastal villages, while Ankara activists were keen on Middle Anatolia. Ankara activists chose Hasandede village in Kırıkkale, a small city near Ankara, to settle and the Mayor from Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) provided a land for them to settle, which was previously owned by a family in the village and expropriated for construction of irrigation pool (İnce, 2009). Therefore, Hocamköy eco

village was established in 1997-1998. They, first of all, constructed an ecological house in the land and started to make production of lentil and vegetables (Duran, 2000).

Figure 40. Hocamköy House and the land (Source: İnce, 2009).

In the following months, they organized a number of national and international activities and got a UNDP SGP fund for foundation of sustainable energy systems (Duran, 2000; İnce, 2009). From the foundation of Hocamköy, they made social network building. They became the member of GEN (Global Ecovillages Network) and became representor of Turkey in GEN (Gökmen & Gökmen, 2012). They collaborated with different ecovillages in Israel, Germany and Sweden and made an international symposium on "searches for alternative lives" in collaboration with Embassy of Netherland. They founded solidarity tourism networks. Two more friends introduced to the group by settling into the village. However, the village dwellers and outsider activists could not very well understand each other and the land that was formerly expropriated and the possession was gifted to this group of young people created a tension (İnce, 2009). Moreover, the conservative religious character of Middle Anatolia and Kırıkkale Hasandede dwellers did not welcome these young men with long hairs and young women that are staying at the same house with men, of whom they are not married to, had created another tension. While the problems about volunteerism and organization was going in crisis, 1999 local elections in Turkey changed the faith of Hocamköy. After the candidate of Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) won the elections, the former owner of the land who was also uncle of the new mayor appropriated the land, the house, the biogas plant

and the wind turbines (designed for use of house) and he could not survive these technical novelties (İnce, 2009). Right after this, only two of Hocamköy outsider actors, one of which was grown in another village, continued to stay in Hasandede village and renamed movement as Harman [Harvest] by opening a shop in the same name in Ayrancı neighborhood in Ankara (İnce, 2009).

Another related movement derived from Hocamköy was KEÇİ- Kentlilerin Çiftçilerle Dayanışma İnsiyatifi [KEÇİ- Cooperative Initiative of Urban Dwellers with Farmers] in İstanbul. This initiative then evolved to Tohum İzi Derneği [Seed Trace Association], which is still actively involving in the foundation of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) Groups and Participatory Guarantee Systems (PGS) and Participatory Certification Systems in İstanbul (BÜKOOP, 2012).

Hocamköy was the first ecology collective that was founded in the name of ecological village. This emerged as a niche and failed. However, the knowledge, practice and lessons about that alternative practice provided the foundation of new ecovillages. The capacity of Hocamköy to drive change towards alternative production systems of food and energy through direct environmental and social benefits for Hasandede Village was unsuccessful and they stayed outsider actors. Nonetheless, their practice created a grassroots innovation for other urban activists and provided knowledge about the differences between rural idyll and Turkey's rural reality.

Right after Hocamköy experience, Güneşköy eco village is founded in rural Ankara, Elmadağ in 2000, by another METU group composed mostly of scholars and academics. They are, from the start, member of GEN (Gökmen & Gökmen, 2012) and are within Alternative Agro Food Networks in Turkey as well as their social networking activities in the world. They have collaboration with CSA groups, urban gardens and they have box schemes and buyer clubs in Ankara today. Last year, the construction of Ankara-Sivas express rail project halved the land of Güneşköy and this caused some of the supporters of the team to give up. There are four idealistic ethusiasts surviving production and ecological life practices in Güneşköy now. They claimed to have created a transformation in conventional production practices of peasants in their territory, they started to make ecological production (Temiz ve yerel gıda, kolektif üretim: Güneşköy, 2016). Today there are six ecology collectives observed in Turkey as the Table 21 shows.

Figure 41. Güneşköy Mudbrick House and Hay Bale House
(Source: Temiz ve yerel gıda, kolektif üretim: Güneşköy, 2016)

Table 21. Some of the Ecology Collectives in Turkey (Source: Author)

NAME OF COLLECTIVE	CITY	INITIATOR(S)	YEAR	PRODUCERS
Hocamköy	Kırıkkale	Initiative- METU Graduates	1997 (failed)	-
Güneşköy Cooperative	Ankara	Initiative- METU Scholars	2000	9
Marmariç Permaculture Institute /Ecologic Life Association	İzmir	Mustafa Bakır	2004	5 (11 at total)
İmece Evi [Co-op House]	İzmir	Initiative	2007	4
TADYA- Tahtacıörencik Natural Life Collective	Ankara	Kır Çocukları [Praire Kids] Initiative	2009	13
Başka Bir Gıda Mümkün [Another Food is Possible]	Balıkesir	Yeşil ve Sol Çalışma Grubu [Green and Leftie Work Group] Initiative	2009	-

6.5.1.4. Boğatepe Çevre ve Yaşam Derneği [Boğatepe Environment and Life Association]

The Buğday movement is not the only Civil Society Organization that have been directly involved in the foundation and practices of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey. Nevertheless, Buğday movement since 2002 turned to a national movement. On the other hand, there are some other civil society organizations that have emerged to create sustainable niches within Alternative Agro Food Systems in different localities. Boğatepe Association is the most actively involving and one of the most important niches in Turkey. It was established in the name of Yer Gök Anadolu Association and later renamed as Boğatepe. This association set the ball rolling the establishment of many other local associations (En eski buğday: Kavılca, n.d.). Boğatepe village is located in city of Kars, a small city in the eastern part of Turkey. Boğatepe village was a former Malakan

village, a Russian rooted ethnicity very famous and successful in cheese production. The former name of the village was Zavot, which means Dairy in Russian. Boğatepe Association is founded as a niche innovation by the committed idealist, entrepreneurial producer and institutional designer, İlhan Koçulu in 2002 who laid the niche.

The committed idealist İlhan Koçulu is a Kars Kaşarı cheese and Kavılca wheat producer in Kars Boğatepe Association and founder of the Association. He is member of many civil society organizations such as Slow Food, Nature Association, KARDİAD, and KAŞKA and so on. He resettled from İstanbul to his hometown back after 1999. Boğatepe Association have made numerous projects funded by UNDP and Serhat Development Agency. Through projects, he provided many education programs for women, reproduction of local special tastes, foundation of the first Eco museum of Turkey, conservation of collective memory and intangible cultural heritage, conservation of local seeds, introduction of solidarity tourism network, development of common-pool resource management schemes and many other innovative attempts. He and Boğatepe Association pioneered in the Geographical Indication process of Kars Kaşarı cheese. They opened up a national competition for the logo design of Kars Kaşarı Cheese. Koçulu is professional in oral history studies and have pioneered to the exhibitions (in İstanbul and in Kars) and publication of "Alpler'den Kafkaslara Kars Peynirciliğinin 150 Yıllık Tarihi" [From Alps to the Caucasus 150 Years History of Kars Cheese Production] with the support of Turkish History Foundation. Boğatepe Association held an international symposium on "Local Artisanal Cheeses in Turkey and in the World: The Use of Geographical Indication for Kars Kaşarı Cheese" in July 2016.

Involvement in the Incumbent Regime: He was involved in mainstream regime, making cheese production and was an entrepreneur and industrialist in textile industry in İstanbul. He had been in struggle with the "power" along his life and after 1999 decided not to be involved in mainstream regime but to constitute a "new way of life". He was born in Kars Boğatepe village, grow up there and his family and relatives were living in the village, he had Bachelor education in İzmir at the end of 1970s and became an industrialist in İstanbul then.

He resettled in Kars Boğatepe Village to keep himself out of the mainstream regime and started to search for needs to found the niche. He determined the most basic need that he had (1) to produce food; and the soil, seed, water and knowledge to produce food. "To actualize this system… How can we obtain these, which of these we have…how we can save the existing ones and how can we withdraw the lost ones?" (**EI-**

4, personal communication, 2016, January 25). The second need was (2) to socialize. He started to search ways to found a model to re-design the system. While considering the model, he started to think about finding actors and activists to found a model together and made visits to villages in the territory.

Crisis of the Incumbent Regime: During visits, he realized a common problem identified as the crisis of agro food systems in Turkey. Kars Melik Village was the former potatoes producer of Kars and environs for decades. Continuous use of high levels of chemicals and synthetic fertilizers in production caused the death of the soil that even most basically produced wheat and barley was not growing no longer. "This system is only serving for global chemical corporations, international logistics, global seed corporations and medicine corporations" (**EI-4**, personal communication, 2016, January 25).

Although the first starting point of him as the model was to solve the problem of out-migration, the stories transferred to him about Melik village and the crisis of conventional food systems warned him about the starting point of production, "the seed problematique". Those years, in 2002, the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs was discussing on the Seed Law. "I chose 'seed' because it was the basis of all production. I started from the basis of *Right to Live*" (**EI-4**, personal communication, 2016, January 25).

Figure 42. Kars Boğatepe Village (Source: Gürsoy, 2012)

Involvement of Local producers: By involving producer group to the grassroots innovation, they started to learn by system builders. They firstly made contacts and researches in 18 villages and then realized that more wealthy villages' peasants are more capable to understand the problem and to involve in grassroots innovation. Poorer villages were insistently asking about the money and economic gatherings *in short term*. I think,

one of the unique characters of Boğatepe niche innovation is laying in their determination, which is attempting an unconventional argument against a confident rural development practice in Turkey. This model they decided to found would provide a wide societal organization of division of labor between the selected villages. The lower altitude villages were producing feedstuff while upper altitude villages had dairy cattles and diaries. The harvest was firstly starting in lower altitude villages and ending in Boğatepe that they would use agricultural machinery as common goods.

The first attempt they held for organizing peasants was cooperative foundation, which had failed and removed peasant groups by virtue of previous experiences of peasants with the cooperatives that had "defrauded". This incompatibility with the mainstream practices provided transfer of lessons for producer group. At the second year of the grassroots innovation, producer group and institutional designer decided to make an EU funded project to revitalize, re-find and popularize an ancient, lost wheat species, *Kavılca Wheat*, which was a local species grown for thousands of centuries in Anatolia and is accepted as one of the oldest wheat species. This project was, indeed, held by Yer Gök Anadolu Association in 2006, which is also founded by the committed idealist (En eski buğday: Kavılca, n.d.). Right after that system design and Kavılca project walked together and Kavılca project became the sustainable niche that provided new regime rules in production patterns.

They founded a model for nine villages in the Kars including Boğatepe village, Kağızman, Digor, Sarıkamış, Seylim, Akyaka, Arpaçay, Susuz and Merkez villages. These villages are located in a territory starting from Merkez village in 1400 meters altitude and ending in Boğatepe village in 2400 meters altitude in which altitude variation also provided them to produce same products in different seasons of the year as well as diversifying the products. This model started in the third year with a very low number of peasants as producer group for the Kavılca wheat as an ecological agriculture practice in very small lands such as 2-3 decares (of their average 150 decares land). This practice provided to establish practical device for extension of grassroots movement by revealing that;

> We started to come together and make calculations. We draw two tables the first of which is counting input and output of local seed Kavılca and ecological production practice and the second table for conventional wheat agriculture practice with hybrid seed. We calculated that we are not paying for seed, chemicals, fertilizers, pesticides and does not need irrigation in ecological practice. Writing again, we pay for seed, and therefore we are obligated to pay for synthetic fertilizer, pesticides, and chemicals, to spread these to the land we paid for vehicle fuel and we needed irrigation. We had to do all these otherwise the hybrid seed does not grow. Local seed gave us 250-300 kilos of agro product per land while conventional seed gave us 450 kilos

> of agro product per land. The profit of local seed calculates 200 kilos of 250 kilos, while the hybrid one leaves 100 kilos as profit when the inputs paid (**EI-4**, personal communication, 2016, January 25).

This **knowledge construction about alternative regime** became the turning point for transition of the niche innovation, the organized cooperation. This represented the superiority of the alternative regime and increased producer group involving in the niche. After the third year of the niche, they developed bottom-up solutions for alternative agro food production that **respond to the local situation, interests, values of the community, technological novelty and novelty in social practice and transition of these to grassroots innovations**.

- Involving Key actors: Their studies explored actor-level and systemic views to explain actions and intentions. Actors are framed in response to its local situation and interest and values of those involved. Women and educated youth were key actors to involve in the system. Women were involved in the system by providing them to make local and lost cheeses and Kadın Bakkal [Woman Grocer] is established as an online system and a store in the village to sell production of women along they started to earn their own money, number of involvers increased and young women also entered in the system. Educated young people were involved in the design of a drier machinery for thick plants which provided technological novelty. This machinery was very costly in the machinery market and they redesigned it by a technological novelty that the re-designed version was running biofuel rather than fossil fuel. They found a small firm with CNC machinery to do it, in small industrial area in Kars.
- Developing Personnel: They are continuously organizing numerous educations for the issues they realize the need. For solidarity tourism, for instance, women learned French in elementary level.
- Novelty in Social Practices: Solidarity Tourism that they founded with alternative agro food niches in France provided them to change their everyday practices such as waiting women to start the dinner, involvement of men in house works, etc. Moreover, one of the most critical novelty in social practices was the foundation of Zavot Eco museum, as the first and only cheese museum of Turkey (Doğan, 2015a; 2015b). This museum provided “learning, teaching and practicing” which are the regime rules of Boğatepe niche. They are

improving knowledge, documenting, coordinating trials, running breeding professionals through Eco museum which provides guidance. They, for instance, prepare on lined documents for every lost cheese kind that they re-practice and this provide them knowledge transfer.

Figure 43. Eco museum Zavot and İlhan Koçulu (Source: Gürsoy, 2012)

- Responding to local values: They made ethno botanic study with a Hindustani ethno botanic professor and documented 670 kinds of herb species that cure diseases. To do so, they have also collected local knowledge and compared and verified to the ethno botanic professional.
- Transition in Path Dependencies in Gastronomic Practice: They founded "life gardens" shared by two households taking care of one garden to raise green plants and vegetables which provided them a more healthy nourishment for their previous protein-based diet.
- Environmental Activism: the committed idealist realized the shrinkage from 2700 decare to 300 decares of a local lake due to conventional, irrigated red beet production of peasants around lake and a leak caused by a petroleum-well being operated near the lake. He cooperated with peasants and supported by lieutenant governor. After a long consent coalitions, they stopped irrigation and changed their conventional production practices. With the shutdown of petroleum-well, the lake rehabilitated itself since 2000s and regrown to 2400 decares.

Boğatepe Kars cheese is a de facto product for all the CSA groups in Turkey. Boğatepe may be the producer group that are best involved in AAFS and have the greatest market, well known within AAFN. The producer group is the prioritized group that CSA groups are involving in the producer list. They are also selling their products through

buyer clubs and box schemes, to special restaurants and to the food company serving for airplanes in Turkey. These are direct marketing mechanisms that Boğatepe have founded. These villagers are medium-size land owners with an approximate 150 decares land. They are also making animal husbandry with local species in pasture area. AAFS in Turkey is a new movement and limited that only a small amount of their total cheese production is sold through SFSC and nested markets. The bigger part is sold to middleman and intermediaries which supply Kars cheese for chain supermarkets. However, Koçulu says that Alternative Agro Food Systems are lifeblood for their survival.

GI schemes are claimed to alter the power relations between the actors of agriculture sector within the framework of global dynamics. However, Koçulu (**EI-4,** personal communication, January, 25, 2010) claims that GI schemes are the only way to surpass EU standards and a way of sovereignty of peasants. On the other hand, one of the partners of GI certification of Boğatepe Association, Serhat Development Agency, sees the certificate as a way of marketing and being involved in in GVCs (*Coğrafi İşaretli Kars Kaşarının Tanıtımı Yapıldı,* 2016). According to findings of Mancini (2012), GI introduces new competitive pressures that reinforce local elites at the expense of traditional actors and that the weak involvement of the State may prevent GIs from enhancing the development of territorialized agro-food systems. Bowen (2010) characterizes GIS and territoriality relation as embedding localities in global spaces. It is obvious that GIs are major assets of both the European agriculture model and global issue. They are being regulated in international law by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and guarantee increasing attention of world-wide markets. Notwithstanding, these discussions are seen as elite rural idyll discussions by producer group who are struggling against the "market fluctuations, middleman morality and destructive government regulations" as identified by Boğatepe producer. According to Koçulu, finding new and novel markets and founding niche innovation firstly hindered out migration and then provided the in migration from 2010 to 2012. It is obvious that Boğatepe Association's compatibility with incumbent regime have succeeded to change migration dynamics. However, when the Law on primary education numbered 6287, which is popularly known as 4+4 Law, was declared and when the primary schools in the villages were closed down, people started to leave villages to ensure a better education for their children.

6.5.1.5. **Seferihisar Cittaslow**

Seferihisar is located in the Western part of İzmir in Urla-Çeşme-Karaburun-Seferihisar Peninsula. It is an Aegean coastal town. It is approximately 40 kilometers from İzmir urban center. Until the declaration of the Greater Municipality Law No. 6360 in 2012, the district had 10 officially delimited neighborhoods (Ulamış, Sığacık, Camikebir, Çolak İbrahim Bey, Turabiye, Hıdırlık, Tepecik, Atatürk, Cumhuriyet, Payamlı, Bengiler, Mersin Alanı) and 8 villages (Turgut, Düzce, İhsaniye, Beyler, Çamtepe, Gödence, Orhanlı, Kavakdere). After the declaration of the Law, the status of villages officially changed to neighborhood. Although this law changed the official status of the villages and they became officially "urban", they are still villages making agricultural production in the Kızıl Mountains.

Table 22. Urban and Rural Population Change in Seferihisar
(Source: Prepared from TURKSTAT data)

YEAR	URBAN	RURAL
2009	25308	3295
2010	29232	3423
2011	27422	3468
2012	27849	3618
2013	33588	0
2014	35960	0
2015	36335	0

After 2009 local government elections, Tunç Soyer the candidate of Republican Populist Party (CHP), won the elections and became the mayor of the town. Tunç Soyer is still the mayor of İzmir-Seferihisar Municipality for the second term. He is working more like a committed idealist, and an activist than a mayor within alternative agro food system that he has long been struggling against the loss of local tastes and species, conservation of natural and cultural values, supporting smallholders and so on. Right after 2009, he pioneered and provided the acceptance of Seferihisar as a member of Cittaslow International as the 121st CittaSlow in the world and the first in Turkey (Seferihisar Belediyesi, 2010). Seferihisar became the first slow city in Turkey and influenced many others. Today there are 11 CittaSlow in Turkey. In 2013, Soyer was chosen as Vice President of CittaSlow International.

In Soyer's terms (**EI-5**, personal communication, 2016, January 26), the distinction between conventional systems and alternative systems lies in the scale

problem. Conventional systems are making big scale production more profitable while smallholders have to remain in ecological production systems. His personal vision was the improvement of smallholders in Seferihisar with the motto of "There must be a direct link between peasants' land and urban dwellers' table". This motto is interlinking the lost relation between urban and rural. He is departing from the crisis in the mainstream regime that

> HABITAT III is going to be held in October 2016 and this issue is the agenda of the last 20 years. The wealth and comfort of urban cannot be at the cost of disappearance of rural in a 90% urbanized world in 2050! There is a big paradox here. Therefore, we have to do something which is explicit. These are urban gardens, urban agriculture, etc. This is permaculture…Humanity is looking for a solution and I realized, in my own scale in Seferihisar, that I have to keep smallholders alive. Both reconnecting them to the land and providing better conditions for life for them (**EI-5**, personal communication, 2016, January 26).

In his personal vision, the de-activation processes fed crisis in the mainstream regime by disappearance of local agro food species and therefore tastes that have been purely realized by urban. The industrialized and monotype production is constructing a hegemony that is an apparatus of the incumbent regime. He realized the importance of the local seeds within this system that provides market for about ten oligopolistic global corporate seed, chemicals, fertilizers, etc. corporations. Along these searches for repeasantization of smallholders in Seferihisar, he encountered Slow Food movement as a new socio-technical system that was providing new regime rules for developing a niche innovation. It was providing an alternative development paradigm in contrast to the mainstream development paradigm imposed by globalization. The new regime rules and strategies provided by CittaSlow movement was drawing a route map for Seferihisar by additionally providing an international recognizability, which is the common pool resource of Slow Food movement. These regime rules were threefold that;

- Regenerating the culture, traditions and tastes
- Benefiting science and arts for development
- Protecting nature and environment.

In Soyer's words, these were implicit to our societal values and traditions as well as our culture, however, there were 70 criterion that was redefining a pathway for acting these, which provided Seferihisar the new regime rules.

New regime rules revealed that consumers key actors in the organization of Alternative Agro Food Systems. The demand of consumers for local tastes and qualified food, ensured by ecological production techniques, was reorganizing grassroots

innovation in rural Seferihisar. The production techniques that are in harmony with nature since the ancient civilizations in Anatolia was catalyzing to apply new regime rules.

> The organization of consumers… Marx says that producers have an enormous power coming from production. If he lived today, he could have make a sentence as consumers have an enormous power coming from consumption. Quantity of production and products produced are determined by consumers. Thence, it is not necessary to organize producers, found cooperatives and seed banks. The critical issue is organizing and educating consumers. This is the harder part (**EI-5**, personal communication, 2016, January 26).

As it is obvious, Soyer believes to create more demand and found new marketing ways for the producers to survive ecological production techniques. However, the ecological production he identified is encompassing organic production, traditional production and Good Agricultural Practices (which uses conventional productin techniques and materials). In agro food systems, Good Agricultural Practices is a certification scheme applied within conventional production systems by using certain amounts of chemicals and synthetics, but this certification also provides products marketable.

Seferihisar applied a number of social innovations to ensure the candidateship to CittaSlow in Seferihisar and continued many after the membership. These socio-technical innovations provided involvement of key actors to the system and respond to local values.

One of the most important of these was establishment of Seferihisar Sığacık Ecological Peasant Bazaar. In 2009, nine villages in Seferihisar in the Territory of Kızıl Mountains were organized to form an ecological peasant bazaar in Sığacık. According to Mustafa Ali Kara (personal communication, 2016, June 11), village headmen of nine villages were organized to detect ecological producers –making production with traditional local techniques, ecological techniques and organic certified. After detection, village headmen were authorized to sign and give a contract that approving the products and production techniques of peasants as ecological.

By doing so, they established the bazaar in Sığacık urban conservation site in 2009. However, in time the number of the benches increased in time. The main reason behind this was “the low number of benches and producers, and therefore products, are not attractive for consumers of İzmir metropolitan area. They do not want to come a 40 kilometers away town for a small number of products” (**EI-5**, personal communication). In this respect, the village headmen system was left behind and a new social innovation was developed in relation to the establishment of Can Yücel Seed Center’s establishment. This innovation was increasing the number of benches and therefore producers and

number of consumers visiting the bazaar. The bazaar was stretched to the streets around the former bazaar place, Sığacık inner castle. The bazaar was established with 15 stands and increased to 450 stands (**EI-5**, personal communication, 2016, January 26).

The producers practicing alternative agro food production techniques were given waistcoats to distinguish them from conventional producers. According to Osman Yetim (**EI-12,** personal communication, 2016, June 11), who is a Gödence producers in the Sığacık Bazaar, such system is no longer working. Aslı Menekşe Odabaş, the Director of the Directorate of Etude and Projects in Seferihisar Municipality, claims that when Sığacık Bazaar gained recognizability, peasants gave up wearing their waistcoats. According to Gündüz (2012), 40% of the benches are used by the middleman and intermediaries in the bazaar. In his detections, the producers in the bazaar are trying to find the ways of buying products from different local neighborhood bazaars to sell in this bazaar. Because of limited human sources of the Municipality, it is very hard to audit and control every producer and their products sold in the bazaar (Gündüz, 2012). Moreover, village headman of Gödence, Mustafa Ali Kara (**EI-13,** personal communication, 2016, June 11), claims that the aim of the Sığacık bazaar lost its initial aim by the decision on increasing number of courses and sellers to attract more consumers from İzmir in 2010. In his claim, the ecological products are mixed up with conventional products to decrease cost and increase profit. Those sellers came as "outsiders" spoiled the quality and trust to the bazaar, but higher number of sellers and product variety increased recognition. On the other hand, Aslı Menekşe Odabaş (**SI-14,** personal communication, 2016, June 17) asserts that Sığacık Bazaar is not an ecological or organic bazaar, it is rather a producer bazaar. However, the bazaar organization encompasses ecological producers and encourages ecological production. In her view, Seferihisar is a small town with 35000 population and 500 workers of the municipality and everybody knows each other which makes the audit easier. Moreover, Directorate of Agricultural Services, which is founded in 2014, and Municipal Police Directorate are directly taking part in the audit of the bazaar. In this respect, middlemen and intermediaries are never accepted to the bazaar. Also the inventory study, which was made in 2009 and in 2010, provides the audit committee information about the production of sellers. On the other hand, she also stated that when the bazaar was founded, it was small and depending on voluntarism. Along it expanded, commercial interests grew stronger. This caused the increase in audit and punishment.

Figure 44. Seferihisar Sığacık Bazaar in the foundation with 15 producers within Sığacık Castle (Source: Retrieved from http://www.sigacikpazari.com/)

The first Seed Exchange Festival was held with a collaborated organization between Torbalı Karaot Village, the PhD Candidate Zerrin Çelik and supervisor Tayfun Özkaya in 2010. After that niche innovation, there have been many seed exchange festivals in Turkey starting with Seferihisar in 2011. The same year, Seferihisar Municipality and Karaot Association signed a protocol with Seferihisar Municipality which provided seeds and knowledge for seed collection for the establishment of Can Yücel Seed Bank in 2012. This Bank was established in 2011 and became a very important source of changing production practices that the Bank provides local, non GMO and non-hybrid seeds and seedlings freely for producers in the Turkey (Aşır, 2015). Through making seed production and production of seedlings in the land belong to Can Yücel Seed Bank, the municipality has been freely distributing to peasants in the Territory of Seferihisar.

This novel socio-technical innovation created public opinion through consumer activism. The novelty provided accomplishment of respond to local values. The socio-technical practices also provided developing personnel. According to Şevket Meriç (**SC-6,** personal communication, 2016, June 12), who is working in Seferihisar Municipality Directorate of Agricultural Services, these processes are ad-hoc processes emerging through the vision of Seferihisar and the mayor of Seferihisar, as well networks that are opening up new opportunities to develop the vision.

Figure 45. Can Yücel Seed Center Seed and Seedling Production Area & Seeds
(Source: Retrieved from Official Facebook Profile of Can Yücel Seed Center)

Seferihisar Nature School, located in the "Old Orhanlı" village- which was a Kızıl Mountainside village left by Orhanlı villagers to reconstruct the village in the 5 kilometers away plain- in 2014 in the collaboration of Seferihisar Municipality and Nature Association. The school was founded in the old school building by the restoration of building. This socio-technical novelty provided a school for wise peasant agriculture practice for Seferihisar. Moreover, Nature Association, which is an environmentalist organization, strengthened their relation with consumer movements, rurality and peasantry in Turkey. They have further established local Convivum of Slow Food in Kızıl Mountains in the name of Slow Food Mahal Convivum recently.

Figure 46. Seferihisar Nature School in Old Orhanlı Village
(Source: Retrieved from http://dogaaskina.org/seferihisar-doga-okulu-arastirma-binasi)

The contemporary technical innovation of Seferihisar is foundation of Orhanlı Cooperative. The olive oil factory located in the village was transferred to the Seferihisar Municipality due to the new regulations defined by the Greater Municipality Law No.

6360. The Municipality founded a municipality-led cooperative in Orhanlı and collecting olives of peasants in the territory to process the olives to olive oil. According to Meriç (**SC-6,** personal communication, 2016, June 12), this cooperative has a role to provide "progress payment market[53] of olive oil factories and cooperatives" in the Territory. In other words, the Municipality is gaining a role to regulate progress payment market.

Recently, Seferihisar Municipality and Seferihisar District Directorate of Forestry made a research together to find "old" (more than 100 years) olive trees. After detection and registration of more than 150 trees, the olive oil of each tree was progressed, bottled with its own history and sold with the name of "wise tree" in an auction in April 2016. According to official website of the Municipality (Seferihisar Belediyesi, 2016), half liter of olive oil was sold for 1200 ₺ (approximately 370 €).

6.5.1.6. **Karaot Seed Association**

Karaot Seed Association is located in Karaot Village in Torbalı District in Southern İzmir. The Association is the first seed Association in Turkey (T.C. Başbakanlık Basın Yayın ve Enformasyon Müdürlüğü, n.d.). This Association was established in 2007 and has rediscovered and reproduced more than 400 kinds of local seeds, which were already lost. Their motto is "Lay Claim to Your Seed".

Figure 47. Karaot Village Seed Association (Source: Karaot Tohum Derneği, 2011)

The Association, with the collaboration of İzmir Provincial Directorate of Agriculture, Torbalı Municipality, İzmir Peasant Organizations Coalition Platform and Slow Food Çeşme-Alaçatı Union, organized the first Seed Exchange Festival in Turkey

[53] In return of progress of olive to olive oil, entrepreneurs' individual factories and cooperatives' factories appropriate a particular % of the olive oil produced from the peasants. This payment is called progress payment or "right oil".

in Torbalı in 2010. PhD Candidate in 2010 and professional of the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture in İzmir, Zerrin Çelik, played a great role in the organization. As well, committed idealist Tayfun Özkaya collaborated all the processes in the organization of the first seed exchange festival. According to Çelik (2013), women were key producer group that have much more knowledge in seed saving, seed finding and seed increasing as well as in organization and practice of new regime rules. Women believed that local seeds are more nutritious and more important to support family economy. In this respect, women were system builders. Their voluntarism was more than men in the village (Karaot Tohum Derneği, 2010). However, Çelik (2013) adds that the Association and the Board of Directors is dominated by men. The founder of the Association is an outsider actor, Mr. Feray Karapınar, has been to more than 500 villages to collect local seeds and species with Zerrin Çelik (Karaot Tohum Derneği, 2010). Due to traditions that restrict women's participation into social life, women did not attend any of the seed association meetings organized and managed by men, yet, women rather informally organized (Çelik, 2013). In this respect, men role was institutional designer role.

Figure 48. Karaot First Seed Exchange Festival
(Source: Retrieved from http://www.idemahaber.com/karaot-tohum-dernegi-yerli-tohumlari-yasatiyor/)

The studies of the Association for increasing public awareness was supported by Ege University Faculty of Agriculture Scholars. The foundation of the Association as a niche innovation triggered the establishment of local seed associations in different parts of Turkey (Karaot Tohum Derneği, 2010). In 2014, the number of seed exchange festivals had reached 37 and have been held in all parts of Turkey, except for the South Eastern

Anatolia due to political instabilities (**EI-4**, CSA Focus Group meeting, 2016, January 25).

Later, Karaot Association worked as a consultant body for local seed collection and organization for Seferihisar and Yenipazar Municipalities, both of which are CittaSlow members. Today in many cities seed exchange festivals are occurring, including metropolitan cities like Ankara- Çankaya festival. The grassroots innovation created a niche socio-technical practice. For re-production of local seeds, Karaot Association founded a small greenhouse plantation area in the village. The Association has established a brand for the ecological productions of the village "Somata Sala" [In Persian Come to Table]. The Association is continuing to organize panels and discussions about ecological production techniques and knowledge. There is a documentary animation, *Dünyayı Kurtarmaya Çalışanlar* [Ones Work to Save the World], about agriculture, seeds and bio diversity in Turkey that is about Karaot Village and the Association was awarded in Seoul.

However, According to İlhan Koçulu (CSA Focus Group meeting, 2015, January 25), seed exchange festivals were a mission that has been completed, further aim should be establishment of local seed stores. Along this way, there are two online seed exchange banks established. The first one is established by an independent activist group with the name of National Seed Exchange Center [Ulusal Tohum Takas Merkezi] in 2012. This group provided local seeds for Foça Earth Market and they could produce seedlings through this delivery. On Sixth of June, 2016, they sent seed packages to peasants that have registered to the official webpage of the group for the last time. Because of lack of volunteerism and for the economic cost of the organization that is not shared by seed requesting members of the system, they are closing the group at the fourth year as they announced in the official social media account of the group.

The second group started to collect and document local seeds and species in Turkey. Buğday Association has been continuing its Seed Exchange Network project since 2014 for the members of the Association.

Figure 49. "Pink Tomatoes, Ottoman Strawberry, Mad Peas- Wanted!" Buğday Ecological Life Association Seed Exchange Network Project Promotional Material (Source: Retrieved from Official Website of Buğday Association http://yasasintohumlar.org/?page_id=28)

6.5.1.7. **Çiftçi-Sen**

Çiftçi-Sen, the only peasants union in Turkey, was established in 2008 after a four years legal struggle founded it as a confederation (Çalışkan, 2015). The legal status is still confederation and they are struggling for taking the status of union. After this, the head of Çiftçi-Sen- Abdullah Aysu- became a mediator character in the foundation of CSA groups and PGS groups in İstanbul. The first consumer cooperative in Turkey, BÜKOOP (Boğaziçi University Members Consumption Cooperative), was organized in cooperation with Çiftçi-Sen.

Figure 50. BÜKOOP Shop
(Source: Retrieved from http://haberler.boun.edu.tr/tr/haber/bukoop-ile-topraktan-soframiza)

The first group founded in the collaboration of Çiftçi-Sen and Boğaziçi University Members was BÜKOOP. They identify themselves as a consumer cooperative. It is located in İstanbul, Boğaziçi University, in a small shop held by volunteers and mostly selling durable agro food products. This cooperative is also the only PGS group in Turkey

accepted by URGENCI. Among many consumer groups, consumer cooperatives and community supported agriculture groups such as Kadıköy Consumer Cooperative and Dürtük in İstanbul, organizer and the contact person for finding producers, or guarantor of producer, is Abdullah Aysu- the leader of Farmers' Unions in Turkey (Akbulut & Adaman, March 10, 2016). Recently, Wise Peasant Convivium is founded as a National Convivium of Slow Food local activity and the representor is Abdullah Aysu.

CHAPTER 7

AGRO FOOD SYSTEM TRANSITIONS: EXPLORATION OF ALTERNATIVE AGRO FOOD NICHES IN İZMİR

In this chapter, I am opening up my case studies. Before doing so, I shall reemphasize the novelty of İzmir within Alternative Agro Food Systems in İzmir. During the exploration of 40 cases at first phase of my research, which provided me the abstraction of the Initiator Framework and a short and incomplete history of AAFS in Turkey, I have realized the critical role of cities for the emergence and development of alternative agro food niches and their capability for sustainable system transitions. The discussions which take place mid-2000 in MLP literature point that there is evidence of attempts to purposively configure socio-technical systems at the scale of **large cities** (Hudson & Marvin, 2010). According to Eames et al. (2013), cities and their internal dynamics play an important role in the emergence of niche initiatives and in transitions of socio-technical regimes. Therefore, to make a comprehensive understanding of emergent niches, emergence, development and characteristics of niche initiatives city-level investigation is required.

I have found out that civil society mobilization, consumer demands and rurality near urban have contributed to the emergence and development of alternative agro food niches in İzmir. I have observed that the strongest web, solidarity and interaction of niche initiatives are developed in İzmir. The web developed by CSA Groups, the relation between committed idealists of different alternative niches such as Gödence and CSA Groups, the solidarity that Seferihisar provides to all alternative agro food initiatives and so on have strong impact on the emergence of development of niche initiatives.

Also, İzmir is the premise city to adapt organic agriculture. Although this thesis discussed questionable aspects of organic certification, organic agriculture is an ecological production technique. The introduction of organic agriculture to İzmir have created an awareness against conventional production. Moreover, Karaot Seed Association as one of the milestones, which I narrate above, is located in İzmir. There are 12 CSA Groups active in İzmir and the center of Turkey Permaculture Institute is,

Marmariç Ecology Collective, in İzmir. There are 2 organic bazaars, one peasant bazaar and the first Earth Market in İzmir.

The characteristics of niches in İzmir have common success in developing social networking channels. The enthusiasm of regime actors and local institutions to develop alternative agro food niches in İzmir have also contributed to theemergence of the niches in İzmir. The contributions of local governments did not only provide milieu for the emergence of the niches, it also contributed to legitimation of the initiatives. This debate further provided the compatibility of the niches with the incumbent regime through developing social webs with local governments and local state institutions. Therefore, İzmir provided a potential multi-scale networking to the niches. It is observed that consumer activism and consciousness, which is remarkable in İzmir, pave the way for activities that are criticizing the incumbent regime such as protests and awareness raising. İzmir, which is open to outside actor, led the involvement of outsiders and therefore establishment of diverse social network.

In this chapter, I am opening up my case studies; Gödence, BİTOT and Foça Earth Market, identifying their emergence, development stages and contemporary state with respect to the MLP framework.

7.1. Gödence Village and Cooperative: Producer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Niche

7.1.1. Outlook

Gödence is a village located in Seferihisar, İzmir. The village is located in Mahal Mountains (locally known as Kızıl Mountains and its ancient name is Mastousian Mountains) and is at 440 meters altitude. It is 50 kilometers to İzmir city center and 14 kilometers away to Seferihisar district center (Seferihisar Belediyesi, 2012). It is located within Turkish Pine Forests of Kızıl Mountains. It is one of the eight villages in Kızıl Mountains; Beyler, Gödence, Efemçukuru, Çamtepe, Orhanlı, Kavacık, Payamlı and Gölcük. According to Gödence Cooperative (2009), Gödence is the most important of these villages with its location, culture, nature, quality food and organization. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality also identifies Gödence one of the most important villages in the region that it is making an important amount of olive oil production in the region and

it has got a 40 years old Cooperative (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016a). Gödence Cooperative (2016) claim to be the agricultural industry and "culture" center of Kızıl Mountains.

Figure 51. A view from Kızıl Mountains
(Source: Official Social Media Account of Gödence Cooperative)

The main agricultural product produced is olive (90% of land), grapes (8% of land) and fruits and vegetables (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7; **EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Main income source is olive oil production. Average acreage of villagers is 70 decares, but mostly piecewise, composed of four or five pieces. In the 1990s, some of the peasants got organic certificate for their production and number of certified producers highly increased in the mid-2000s. Since mid-2000s, the product variety is introduced as a project and villagers increased the production of value-added products such as gum mastic, almond and honey (Seferihisar Kaymakamlığı, 2004). In 1980s, Atıf Atilla (PhD), scholar in Ege University Faculty of Agriculture, helped to establish a local fig plantation, Bardacık[54], to the village. There are two dominant grape species produced in the area. The first one is a local species, Razaki- which is also known as Karaburun grapevine. Two local species, locally identified as *Gaydora* and *Sultaniye* were lost in time. Due to its low fertility the peasants demounted grapevines and the species is lost now (**EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11; **SI-13**, 2016, June 15). The second species grown in the Territory is Alphonse Lavelle, a French wine grape, planted in the area at the end of 1970s and preferred instead of *Gaydora* and *Sultaniye* (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7; **EI-13,**, personal

[54] Bardacık is consumed in non-dried form.

communication, 2016, June 11; **EI-17**, personal communication, 2016, June 15; **EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11; **EI-11**, personal communication, June 11). Razaki is also about to be demounted right now (**SI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11).

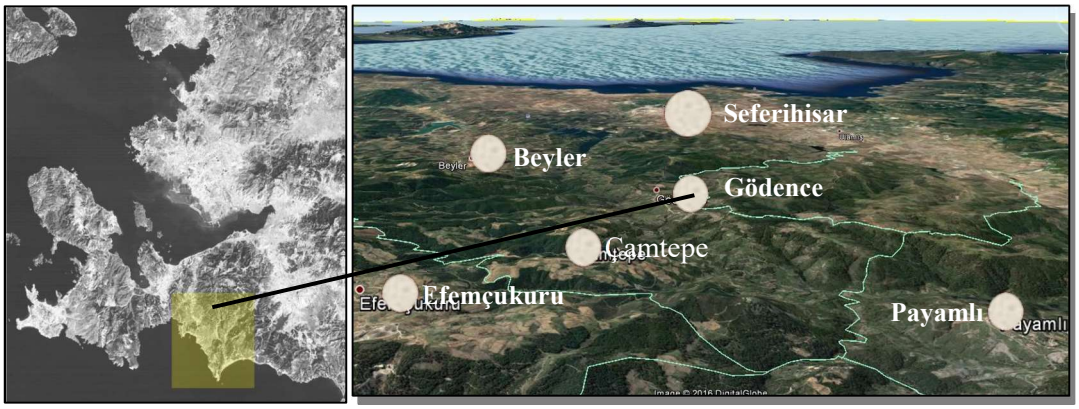


Figure 52. Location of Seferihisar and Gödence village
(Source: Gündüz, 2012: 117; Google Earth)

The production of honey was started in 1977 with the support and credit of the Social Democrat Government of Bülent Ecevit (**EI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). It was formerly done for domestic consumption, has been introduced as a brand product of the village since mid-2000s. Gumwood is naturally grown in Kızıl Mountains and turpentine became another brand-named product of the Cooperative during 2010s. Although there are gumwood aged more than 150 years in the environs of the village (Gödence Kooperatifi, 2016), the realization it as a brand-named product dates to the 2010s.

The current population of the village is 315 and there are approximately 120 households. Between 1980s and 2000s, government policies on agricultural production and rural areas caused decrease in the population of the village, however, it does not show a considerable alteration since 2000s (**EI-13**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Although Seferihisar Kaymakamlığı (2004), the establishment of the Cooperative in 1972 ended out migration in the village, 1980s policy agenda caused tensions and crisis for the Cooperative and rural population of the village. After 2010, a new tension for rural areas occurred that the legal status of the village is "neighborhood" since 2012, with the regulations of the Greater Municipality Law No. 6360. Today, 10 of 120 households in the village are outsider (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Two of outsider dwellers are permanent dwellers, others are weekend and summer visitors.

Table 23. Population Change of Gödence since 1985
(Source: Adopted from Yerel Net and information provided by the Village Headman)

YEAR	POPULATION
2015	315
2012	308
2004	335
2000	322
1997	307
1990	366
1985	377
1980	376

According to the village headman, there is a newly starting population exchange between urban dwellers and young Gödence dwellers. This process is triggered by the introduction of the Greater Municipality Law. However, secondary housing constructions that started in 1985s increased the interest on villages of Seferihisar with the Law No. 3194 (Gülersoy, 2014) and the communication and transportation age increased the demand for more housing, increase in construction sector and pressure on agricultural land in the village (**EI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Moreover, their niche innovation and branding which have increased recognizability of the village also became a factor (**SI-13,** personal communication, 2016, June 15).

> Educated young people are leaving the village to settle and to work in metropolitan cities of İzmir and İstanbul, but our population is not changing. There are new 'outsider' dwellers settling in the village. Two of these households are completely settled in the village, living here and making agricultural production. Others are living in İzmir and coming at the weekends. We have not faced the results of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality Law yet, but, it seems we are about to face. If our chicken enters in the gardens of outsiders, then we will have to face! Last weekend one of our friends, while ploughing, was warned by his outsider neighbor about the noise of the machinery (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11).

Recently, the village headman identifies that there is a high demand by outsiders to settle in the village, buy land or for both. "Villagers are not a closed community that does not misbehave or exclude outsiders, even we have operated the kahvehane [coffee house] located in the square of the village with the name of Atelier Gödence and made workshops with the children in the village" (**EI-18**, personal communication, 2016, June 15). This demand caused increase in the land prices.

The villages in the Kızıl Mountains are making grape, olive and olive oil production. Despite Bademler Village is located in the borders of another district as a plain village, Urla, Bademler is very close to Kızıl Mountains' villages (12 kilometers to Bademler) and has close relation, cooperation and cultural interaction with these villages.

Bademler, with 1512 population, is an Alevi village and has a unique culture, a theatre, a toy museum and local archive, and a library established in 1930s. Orhanlı, with 1150 population, is making organic production of olive and mandarin and Doğa Association activists started to settle in the village with the establishment of the Nature School in 2014 with the help of the Greater Municipality Law. Hundred year old stone mill is used to produce olive oil in this village (Taş baskı "Yavaş Zeytinyağı" dönemi, 2012) to be sold in Seferipazar (online marketing by Seferihisar Municipality) since 2012 and Slow Shop (online marketing by Doğa Association) since 2014. In 2016, Doğa Association activists organized villagers against the quarry construction, which the Republic of Turkey General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works intended to construct to provide stone for irrigation dam for Orhanlı village. The irrigation dam project was demanded by Orhanlı village headman for long years of bureaucratic processes (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). According to Gödence village headman, "It was a very small quarry and those intellectuals of Doğa blocked the irrigation of the village, for which Orhanlı village headman is working for long years" (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). However, in contrast to the view of Gödence village headman and Orhanlı village headman, Orhanlı dwellers objected, protested and succeeded the action for *32.85 hectares* area quarry through the organization of activists (Sakin şehir'li köylülerden taş ocağı isyanı, 2016, April; Seferihisar'da köylülerden taş ocağı isyanı, 2016).

The peninsula is for long have been exposed to the pressure of locally unwanted land uses; quarries, mines, wind power plants and so on. Although Orhanlı Village could stop the construction of quarry with the organization and struggle of Doğa Association activists, Efemçukuru Village had lost the struggle and collaborated with gold mine. Efemçukuru with 523 population, is one of the villages in Kızıl Mountains has come to the agenda with an urgent expropriation decision in 2007. The Kızıl Mountains, and therefore Efemçukuru village, is the only surface water catchment basin in İzmir and the expropriation decision was for the establishment of a gold mine. Although the owners of 35 parcels, which are expropriated, had won the lawsuit against Canadian mining company Tuprag, Council of the Ministers of the Republic of Turkey did not adopt the motion for stay of execution with the reason of "public interest". The resisting started with 35 villagers (Danıştay'dan "acele kamulaştırmaya" iptal, 2012). Although one of the villagers, known as Yalnız Efe [Lonely Swashbuckler], have been continuing to resist against the gold mine and succeeded the lawsuit with decision of the Council of State, the

construction of the mine was completed in 2011 and is still operating since then (Yalnız Efe yine kazandı: Efemçukuru altın madeni için acele kamulaştırmaya iptal, 2016). The gold mine in the Efemçukuru village of Seferihisar's neighboring district of Menderes currently employs a total of around 600 people (20-25 people per village), particularly the youngsters, from the villages in the region including Gödence, who are working in three shifts (Gündüz, 2012; **EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11; **SI-13,** 2016, June 15). Until the construction of the mine was completed in 2011, villagers and village headmen in the environs including Gödence were against the construction of mine for ecosystem purposes and for the sake of agricultural production. However, as a couple that were born in Gödence, living in İzmir and spend holidays in Gödence identifies;

> After their children were employed by the mine company and right after the company solved small problems of the villages in this territory such as lighting and road rehabilitation, both headmen and villagers shout their mouths up. It is Ramadan now, company will start giving dinner in the villages in the basin. The company have found ways to 'come to an agreement' with village headman (**SI-13,** 2016, June 15).

Young men employed in the mine in shifts are also working in the land at the rest of the day and at the weekends. They have transformed to part-time peasants by working in the mine and they are continuing agricultural production activities as part-time peasants. They are complaining about the pressure of locally unwanted land uses in the peninsula and they are worrying for the wind power plant construction which came to the agenda with the expedition of discovery of an energy company to Gödence very recently. "Of course we are against the depredation of our nature, however, we cannot say anything for the gold mine. It is what we are earning our lives from" (**SI-18**, personal communication, 2016, June 15).

There are three olive oil factories in Gödence village, one is the property of Gödence Rural Development Cooperative and other two are private property of two families living in the village. The local olive tree species, Erkence tree (known with its fruit Hurma olive), is locally identified as "eternal tree" has grown in Urla-Çeşme-Karaburun-Seferihisar peninsula[55]. Its fruit, Hurma olive is a special and quality fruit in which fruit sweetness occurs in olive tree, as a result of several factors, the most important of which is Phoma Olea fungi that reproduce in the case of proper relative humidity and climatic conditions (Efe et al., 2016; Gödence Cooperative, 2009). This fungi decomposes the acidity of the oil and makes it edible without any processing. Hurma is a

[55] It is also found in Foça (Sevim et al., 2013).

special and quality type of olive variety which can directly be consumed without any further treatment (Sevim et al., 2013). Furthermore, the micro-climate of the village does not provide a habitat for olive fruit fly. This is a great advantageous situation for olive production in the village that producers do not need to make agricultural pest control in olive production. Olive oil production is organic certificated and grape production is certified with İyi Tarım Uygulamaları [Good Agricultural Practices- GAP]. Pest control and fertilization is applied in vineyards according to the directions of GAP certification.

Figure 53. "Ölmez Ağaç" [Eternal Tree] aged 1000 years- located between Gödence and Çamtepe (Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2015)

The village is located in a mountainous area and this makes tillage and machinery use in the production almost impossible. Therefore, non-mechanical agriculture is an inherently and compulsory situation especially in olive agriculture. They were using horses especially until 1980s for pruning and maintaining the olive field, however, there are not so much farmers still continuing this technique. After farmers' transition towards more profitable crops namely "the alternative crop program" in 1989, the villagers started to put more emphasis on grape production. However, the socio-technical practices of the Cooperative during 1990s and 2000s provided keeping traditional olive and olive oil production practices to some extent. In 2005, they started to use pneumatic olive harvesters to collect olive. Because of aging population in the village, it is becoming harder to make maintenance of the olive field and non-maintained olive land causes decrease in olive fertility (**SC-5**, personal communication, 2016, June11). If young people

can find another employment opportunity, they are preferring to be part-time peasants farmers (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Educated young people are also finding non-agricultural employment opoortunities and the villagers are placing emphasis on education and there are seven villagers studying in a Bachelor programme currently. There is also a considerable number of Vocational-High School graduates within the village dweller young people (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11).

7.1.2. A Brief History of the Village and the Establishment of the Gödence Cooperative

Gödence village is a Turkmen village and little is known about the foundation and the history of the village. According to Koparal (2013), surface excavations in the area showed that the area located between Teos ancient city and Kyrbissos was settled since 8th Century BC. Gödence environs, which is located in the skirts of Kyrbissos and was agricultural production area of Teos, were settled as small villages since Hellenistic Period. Teos was olive, olive oil, grape and wine production center of Ionia (Koparal, 2013), so was Kızıl Mountains and this territory still keeps this production pattern. According to Gödence Cooperative (2016), surface excavations made in Karalar, Çemçemler, Akçakaya and Payamiçi showed ruins of villages from the 18th Century in the territory.

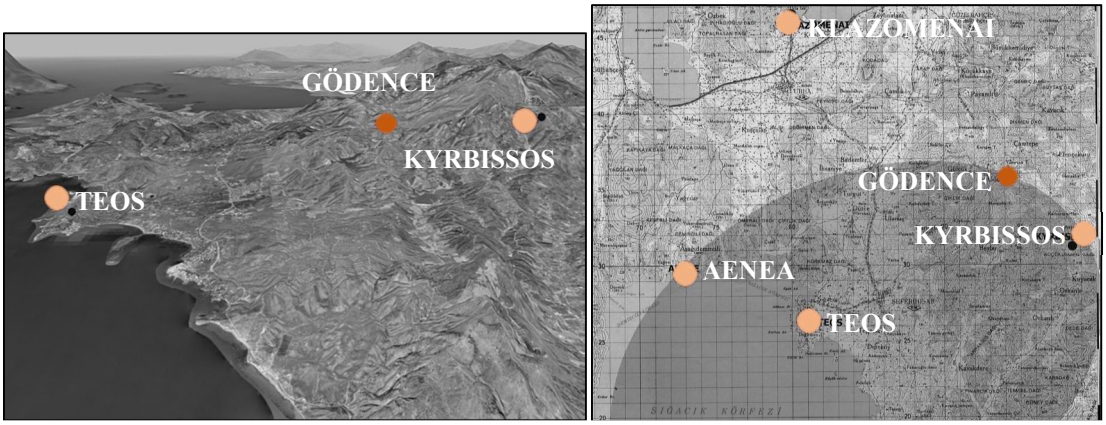


Figure 54. Locations of Teos, Klazomenai, Kyrbissos, Aenea ancient cities and Location of Gödence (Source: Adapted from Koparal, 2013: 62-63)

As Gödence Cooperative (2016) cited, the village was founded by a group of Seljukid Turkmen that migrated from Konya at the beginning of 19th Century. The first

olive oil stone mill was established in the village by Mr. Süleyman in 1937 (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016a). Following, Ünal Brothers factory was established in the village. “At the beginning of 1970s, there were two olive oil factories in the village. Our position today in the olive oil sector is not a coincidence” (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7). The Cooperative was established in 1972 and the cooperative established the third factory in the village. According to Gödence Cooperative (2009; 2016), Gödence dwellers protected the intangible heritage and historical culture since ancient times.

As the region was grape and olive production area for centuries, the villagers have long been making the production of these two products. However, at the end of 1970s they increased their vineyard by destructing the forest; “Efemçukuru was making so and gaining more income, so we did” (**SI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11; **EI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Similarly, at the last ten years, the village increased their grape production site by forest destruction that villages such as Gödence, Çamtepe, Beyler ve Orhanlı are constituting new vineyards and olive production sites (Gülersoy, 2014). This destruction is still desired in the case of low audit (**SI-11**, 2016, June 11). According to İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (2016b) vineyards in the region of Gödence are creating a fantastic landscape and view especially at the borders of the forest.

Moreover, during 1980s, Republic of Turkey Directorate of Forest and Rural Affairs let the forest villages and villages that have border to forests to operate forest products; wood, fruits and so on.

Figure 55. Gödence and environs through the west- Aegean Sea (Source: Google Earth)

7.1.3. Gödence Alternative Agro Food Niche

7.1.3.1. Initial Cooperation: Grassroots Action

> When I graduated from the university at the end of 1960s, we intended to *save the world*. My brother was studying at the university. At the onset of 1970s, there were two olive oil factories in the village. The relationship of Gödence with olive is very old, it is not a coincidence that we have an important position within the olive oil sector in Turkey. Everything started when one of the private factory owners mistreated to producers… Also suppliers were so powerful. We were tired of being despised, being denigrated…We were also attracted by movements in France (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 11).

At the end of 1960s and at the onset of 1970s, social movements in Turkey and in the world penetrated into rurality and found its form in Turkey, too. With the support of the state, the number of Village Development Cooperatives increased from 128 in 1965, to 1776 in 1970 and, to 6411 in 1976 in Turkey (Geray, 1992). Mahmut Türkmeoğlu, who was defined as an Anatolian Leftie (Yıldırım, 2012), was born in Bademler village and became a very important actor and leaded cooperative movement in Turkey, as well, in İzmir. Mahmut Türkmeoğlu, under the auspices of Ecevit Government, intended to empower cooperative movement that introduced by Atatürk (Yıldırım, 2012). Türkmeoğlu was a politician and he was a deputy in the parliament in 1973 and was Minister of Customs and Policies in 1974. He and a group of idealistic enthusiasts in Bademler village founded Bademler Cooperative in 1962, which became the milestone in Turkey and in the environs of Bademler village (İlbaş, 2012). This grassroots action affected villages in the environs such as Gödence. Mahmut Türkmenoğlu was both institutional designer and committed idealist in Turkey's cooperative movement.

In 1968, Atilla İlhan, an intellectual, journalist, philosopher and a very important poet and novelist in Turkish literature, was attending to establish a peasantry corporation while he was working in Democrat İzmir newspaper. Mr. Özcan Kokulu, the head of Gödence Cooperative since 1990, was assisting him in the newspaper in those days. In the following years, Mahmut Türkmenoğlu and enthusiastic idealists founded Köy-Koop Union, which constituted the supreme board of Rural Development Cooperatives. Mr. Kokulu also assisted Mahmut Türkmenoğlu at that period and, in his own words, he theoretically was educated by Atilla İlhan and practically was educated by Mahmut Türkmenoğlu. After 1971 olive season and because of mistreatments towards peasants of Gödence, a group of idealistic enthusiasts with some other enthusiastic peasants and with

the support of Özcan Kokulu and Galip Kokulu decided to found a cooperative in the leadership of Abdullah Duran (Gödence Kooperatifi, 2016). The first collective action of the niche became the establishment of the cooperative with the aim of overcoming the barrier of two mills' dominance in the village (Kalaycı, 2011). According to Kokulu (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7), the geography they were born to, their culture and traditions also provided a dynamism for organization and cooperation at those years. In his view, there is not an all individual-participating milieu but always a group of idealistic enthusiasts are participating to cooperation in the village.

After they founded the Cooperative in 1972 as seven friends, many peasants participated in the cooperation (**EI-11**, personal communication, June 11). Between 1972 and 1974, they constructed olive oil factory as the property of the Cooperative with collective-work. However, the Union of Village Delivery Service could not provide electricity to the village. This caused the development of another collective work that they got power line installed to Gödence from Bademler village. They needed to gain knowledge to maintain and operate the factory after its construction. The Deputy Founding President, who was a younger activist, was sent to Germany to attend educations and seminars about cooperatives and production in 1974.

Figure 56. Idealists at the Establishment Years of Gödence Cooperative
(Source: Gödence Kooperatifi, 2016: 7)

They were empowered by the cooperative action in the market that "our product, olive oil, started to make money in the suppliers' market. Before that we were despised

and denigrated and were contingent upon the morality of intermediaries" (**SC-5**, personal communication, June 11; **EI-11**, personal communication, June 11). Bademler and Gödence influenced villages in the environs to establish new cooperatives. Gölcük, Beyler, Efemçukuru, Güzelbahçe Payamlı and many other villages established their cooperatives in those years. Although Gödence Cooperative aimed at being "Basin Cooperative" at those years, other villages did not prefer to be partners of Gödence, but preferred to establish their own cooperatives. They were practicing wise peasant agriculture and tried to share knowledge to attach new members to the Cooperative from different villages yet it did not work (**EI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). During 1970s, they were supported by the government. The Government made a donation to olive oil factory owner cooperatives in 1978 that the cooperative could close all its and peasants depths by this dotation at the onset of 1980s.

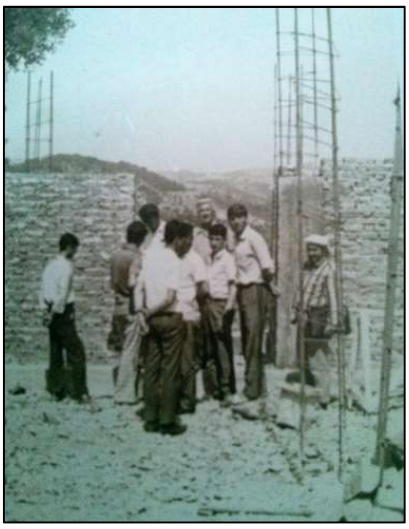


Figure 57. Collective Work in the Construction of Cooperative Olive Oil Factory (Source: Gödence Kooperatifi, 2016: 7)

When the Military Coup in 1980 was declared, cooperative movement received a huge wound and it, indeed, ended at that date (Geray, 1992). According to Geray (1992), all cooperative movement idealists and activists were punished in those years and the agricultural sector development policies were left in those years. At those days Mahmut Türkmenoğlu turned back to Bademler Village and Gödence and Bademler Cooperatives fought to survive during 1980s.

> We could hardly survived during 1980s. We had self-abnegation and we paid the price! We had the principle of openness and our human sources, coming from our culture let us to survive during 1980s. We also did not have debts as the Cooperative. At that period, Gölcük Cooperative, Beyler Cooperative, Payamlı Cooperative were closed down, Efemçukuru made no progress. We and Bademler had different social relation and we survived (**EI-11**, personal communication, June 11). We Resisted! (**SC-5**, personal communication, June 11).

With the reduction of prices and diminishing role of the state, abolishment of subsidies, supports and donations, at early 1980s the peasants found ways to gain extra income. They started land enlargement by forest destruction at the first half of 1980s and they started to market forest products. Just before 1987 elections, state enhanced conditions and they could survived during 1980s through these actions and the situation. At that period, the level of activism as well as cooperation decreased and the Cooperatives went into a crisis at the start of 1990s. Trust of peasants was getting lower towards Cooperative and to Board of Directors. At the end of 1980s, one of the peasants sued Board of Directors of the Cooperative. Furthermore, 1980s became the turning point for loss of local species such as Gaydora grape and Sultaniye grape, the more marketable and price-making species were preferred (**EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Last, according to the village headman, 1980s also became the turn in the population movements of the village that young people lost their belief to agriculture sector, especially those had another opportunity and educated (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11).

To sum up, the grassroots innovation of Gödence emerged as the seed of the niche as a bottom-up solution responded to the needs of a local situation and needs of Gödence with a variety of actor involvement. They constructed the cooperative through collective action and fed by learning together, applying together and developing together. They applied actions with the involvement of committed idealist Mahmut Türkmenoğlu and idealistic enthusiasts as a group of Gödence peasants. Gödence Cooperative became the seed of the niche innovation as well as the incubation room for systemic change around common ideals.

7.1.3.2. Organized Cooperation: Social Network Building

At the start of 1990s, Gödence Cooperative made its *Ordinary Congress*. “We have always believed in democracy and plurivocality. I was insistently called to be the Council Chairman to the Ordinary Congress by young people” (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7). While Özcan Kokulu was the Chairman of İzmir Union of Cooperatives in 1990, the Cooperative Board of Directors refused to apply the decision of the court, which one of the peasants had formerly made the action in the Ordinary

Congress. Mr. Kokulu accounted for the application of the decision and persuaded the Board of Directors. Then, he was chosen as the head of Board of Directors and the Board was re-founded with different members (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7; **EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11; **EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). After that, they decided to activate a council they called "village parliament". By developing new decision-taking mechanisms they re-involved peasants who were out of the Board of Directors of the Cooperative and reconstructed collective action. This provided involvement of a variety of actors to the development of the niche innovation.

Although the cooperative allowed the bypassing of the mills, neoliberal policies started with 1980s ran them into the barriers of large industrialists of Izmir who purchased their olive oil (Kalaycı, 2011). They decided to find the ways to provide a shelter for the cooperative by "playing the game with the rules of the mainstream market". The dominance of incumbent system practices in 1990s made peasants to realize that they had to differentiate their product via improved quality and packaging. "We realized that the consumption practices and the demands of consumers were changing. Quality food was demanded" (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). After that period, they started their "planned term". They made 5-years Development Plans since then. They invited two other factory owner families to participate in the new decision taking mechanisms and to be partner of the cooperative but they refused it. Factory owners saw no need for such a partnership from their own side (**EI-17**, personal communication, 2016, June 15).

There were a variety of ideas during their discussions and they decided to put primary targets, **re-design the system, re-create their quality conventions, and re-define their values and to do so, they collected ideas**. The first decision was to produce more **quality products**. The first quality convention was applied for the raw material, which is olive. Their second decision was to **renew technology**. The existing technology was incapable of producing quality olive oil. Third and the last decision **was branding with the name of Gödence Cooperative**. Branding would also provide foundation of new alternative marketing practices. "They decided to found their own brand to reach the final consumer directly" (Kalaycı, 2011: 123).

Quality: They started with the quality development of raw material that they distributed holey plastic crates to producers to be used in the collection of olive and to be used instead of sacks. "Sacks were impermeable and were causing the olive to decompose and even to get wormy, which was decreasing the quality of the oil" (**EI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). However, it became hard to change the habits of peasants

that preferred the taste of more acidic olive oil. “More acidity oil is tastier for us” (**SC-5**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). “We were at the beginning of 1990s sousing olive to make the oil more acidic” (**EI-13,**, personal communication, June 11). The first applier of the changes was the institutional designer Mr Kokulu to show peasants the results from the first hand. In 1995, peasants were using plastic crates to collect olive.

Technology Renewal: For their second decision, the technology development, Özcan Kokulu used his own networks. Along years that he worked as a journalist in the newspapers and in Ege University Faculty of Agriculture, he made a wide network. As well, he had long years involved in İzmir Union of Cooperatives that he had the chance to meet Olive Oil Cooperatives from Italy and from Spain. They made contacts with Italian Union of Cooperatives and got aid from Ege University Faculty of Agriculture, Olive Research Institute and Provincial Directorate of Agriculture. According to Kalaycı (2011), these are distinguishing features of Gödence Cooperative and Gödence enjoys semi-skilled labor power because children are born into a world of olives as well their cooperation for learning action in 1992-1996 through collaborating with Ege University. Their new machinery for the olive oil factory came from Italy and was established by an Italian engineer.

Figure 58. New Technology of Gödence Cooperative
(Source: Gödence Kooperatifi, 2016:8)

Branding: Their third decision, branding, was step by step approved. By re-designing the system, Özcan Kokulu claims that in 1994, they had succeeded to increase the quality of raw material, in 2000 they had completed the technology renewal and in 2003, they have completed branding process. Their five year plan approximately took 13

years but they prepared the second five year development plan in 1994. “While trying to develop new quality conventions, you are facing many different aspects. You realize the problem of storage, while branding you realize the problem of bottling. Olive oil is a product that absorbs the taste of anything that it enters in” (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7).

Therefore, 1994 decisions were **re-inventing storage and environmental protection**. They decided to re-construct their storage unit by chromium-nickel storage units. The second decision was adding a treatment facility for “the black water” of the olive, which was harmful for the environment. After 1994, they continued the application of first five year development plan with the realization of further targets. In 1997, with the introduction of organic agriculture and certification to İzmir, they involved in organic certification. They identify this as “organic project”. At the start, a small number of peasants applied for the certificate. After the considerable educations, support and encouragement of İzmir Greater Municipality in 2007, they collectively applied for the certificate (Tuduk, 2008) and approximately all olive producers in Gödence had organic certificate at the start of 2010 (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 15). However, the main reason lying behind this is the government subsidies for organic agriculture. “If the government ceases subsidies, this cardboard castle demolishes” (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7). They are identifying organic agriculture as doing nothing different but just applying their indigenous production techniques and paying money for the certificate that they are already not using pesticides and chemical fertilizers, as well as no tillage practice in small scale slopped land.

In 1994, they decided to give rewards for enthusiastic producers within the village as the cooperative. This prizes turned to “National Agriculture Success Prizes” in 2008[56] and they have also given prizes to international actors such as the Italian Cooperatives’ Union which helped them for technology development. Since 2000s, they are using this prize as a cultural facility, but more importantly, as a **networking facility**.

Their second development plan, which dates to 1994, was interrupted due many reasons. The most important of these is a disagreement arising with District Governor. When Kokulu was the Head of İzmir Cooperatives’ Union Deputy Chairman, Gödence Cooperative, Bademler Cooperative (Urla) and Bademli Cooperative (Ödemiş) attempted to use the monetary sources of İzmir Governorship and it was accepted by the Governor.

[56] This information is provided by Kalaycı (2011). However, Özcan Kokulu stated it as 2003.

However, the bureaucracy that led the District Governor to control the money divided the peasants in Gödence and created a distrust in the village. To overcome this situation took five years and ended in 2002. By ongoing first five year development plan and its applications on technology, quality and branding, Gödence Cooperative was selected as the best cooperative of the year by The World Bank in 2002 (Şahin, 2013). The Ministry of Agriculture was the actor to propose Gödence that they had many social networks among newspapers and they could pronounce their socio-technical practices. "We have networks in media and friends in the local newspapers. They are making news about our achievements" (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7).

Figure 59. 21st Gödence National Agriculture Success Prizes Banner, 2015
(Source: Retrieved from Social Media Account of Gödence Village)

Environmental Protection: Following, they could achieve their environmental protection project by planting treatment facility in 2002. Moreover, branding process was completed in 2003 with four brands of Gödence olive oil: Gödence Organik [Organic], Gödence Efsane [Legendary], Gödence Naturel Sızma [Extra-Virgin] and Gödence Yarımada Güzeli [Peninsula Beauty]. Through branding, they started to package different products such as olive-oil soap, tarhana soup, gum mastic, olive, honey, dried tomatoes, pekmez and so on.

Storage: In 2005, they invested in a project with all their financial resources and a loan that Ministry of Agriculture provided (Kalaycı, 2011). The technological re-invention of storage project, which was stated to be the decision taken in 1994, could be attempted in 2005. To accomplish the project, they searched for financial sources. They got the credit provided by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs in 2005. Although

they found bank loans too risky, the global climate change created a much more risky situation for the Cooperative (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7). Their average olive production is 800 tones and in 2006-2007 they got 160 tones of fruit product. This situation re-combined the cooperation in the village that they paid all the debts together and they have recently finished their payments in 2015. This loan was for the completion of the second five year development plan that they had re-established storage units with chromium-nickel tanks.

In short, between 1990 and 2005[57], they developed and applied new socio-technical practices with the involvement of "village parliament" and decision-taking mechanisms. Özcan Kokulu, the institutional designer and committed idealist, steered niche innovation through re-design and re-definition of new regime rules. Their dominant re-design was centralizing quality food production and the developed socio-technical practices such as re-invention of technology and branding served this primary regime rule. Their socio-technical practices provided momentum to the niche innovations. They have also took the advantages of İzmir, which became the hotspot in the emerging alternative food networks. İzmir provided the niche for involvement in organic certification and social network building. Their socio-technical innovation, National Agriculture Success Prizes, provided the involvement of many outside actors within the system, which I detail below. The novelty in Gödence was strengthened by tools that are created and re-designed technical, social and cognitive practices.

7.1.3.3. Innovation Development: New Socio-Technical Practices

After 2005, the cooperative members made a new five year development plan. This plan encompasses the construction of an irrigation dam, home-made wine project and agro-tourism project. However, according to Kokulu (**EI-7,** personal communication, 2016, June 7), the decision-making mechanisms turned to "I am saying and everybody accepts. This is not a good thing that I am the head since 1990 and nothing I am saying is interrogated". Although Mr. Kokulu dates the third development plan to 2005, the decisions of this development plan is overlapping with the vision and projects of the mayor of Seferihisar since 2009[58]. Moreover, the different actors involving the system

[57] Although the project was implemented in 2005, the payments ended in 2015.
[58] The statements of Aslı Menekşe Odabaş also proves this situation. According to Mrs. Odabaş, Seferihisar Municipality- with the vision of Tunç Soyer and involvement of a group of idealistic enthusiasts who are

gave similar information. If the decision is taken in 2005, there was no attempt or application until 2010. In this respect, I accept the year 2010 (as the start of the period), for the introduction date of agro-tourism project. Secondly, there is an inconsistency for the date of home-made wine project, too. The Law on Tobaccos and Alcohol Drinks No. 4046 was declared in 2008. This law released the production of home-made alcohol drinks in 2008. On the other hand, I have observed that, the latest term of the Cooperative and its socio-technical practices in the name of projects and "the development plan" are known by a small number of actors in the village; Mr. Kokulu as the institutional designer, outsider actor (**SI-11)**- as the partner of wine project- and the village headman. On the other hand, Mrs. Aslı Odabaş- the enthusiastic idealist and Seferihisar Municipality worker- is more aware of the content and the context of projects of Gödence. In this respect, I am not identifying the new term of the Cooperative as a planned term. In this part, I am discussing the new socio-technical practices and actor involvement within the niche since 2005.

After achieving socio-technical practices, Gödence returned to their primary aim on directly marketing their products to consumers. According to one of the producers of Sığacık Peasant Bazaar and an enthusiastic producer, "consumers are demanding on quality products since the late 2000s" (**EI-12,** personal communication, 2016, June 11). Health is the most critical issue and Gödence peasants are respected for quality and healthy products in the bazaar. We produced quality products, have constructed trust and Mr. Kokulu provided recognizability" (**EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). Kalaycı (2011) also approves this view on trust by claiming that Gödence co-op is its trust-based relationship with all the residents in the village as well the Board of the Cooperative is composed of respected wise idealists who are consulted in all matters in the village. In this context, *trust* and *quality* are collective common pool resources of Gödence, while *recognizability* is non-collectively constructed.

Through the socio-technical practices, the Gödence Cooperative started to sell the brand products in the local market that they have founded in the square of the village as well as some of the dairy shops in Seferihisar. The secondary housing developed especially after 1980s in Seferihisar provided new consumers for alternative forms of

working in the Municipality- developed many projects in Seferihisar by involving Gödence to these projects. Specifically, the projects prepared for Gödence were recognizibality of brandname of Gödence, agrotourism and pension homes and capacity development of the olive oil factory by renewal of machinery (**SI-14**, personal communication, June 17).

marketing in Gödence. Along their recognizability increased, they were started to be visited by these seasonal dwellers. In 2006, they founded a box scheme that ordering is made by telephone and Gödence Cooperative is sending products by cargo. Since 2006, some of their clients turned to a buyer club that are ordering the products periodically. For those clients, they are preparing some rare home-made products such as tarhana. They also provide olive oil for Ege University CSA Groups. This alternative marketing was founded in collaboration between Mr. Kokulu and the committed idealist Tayfun Özkaya. Lastly, they have currently made an agreement with İzmir Metropolitan Municipality to provide 5 tons of olive oil for public kitchen of the Municipality. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, which is pioneer for its vision and applications in agricultural development in Turkey, is supporting rooted cooperatives such as Gödence, Bademler and Bademli. "We have also given prize to the Mayor, Aziz Kocaoğlu, for his supports for the cooperatives" (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7). This also provided the establishment of another novel short food supply chain.

However, still their main marketing channel is suppliers. According to Seferihisar Municipality Directorate of Agricultural Services Worker (**SC-6,** personal communication, 2016, June 12), it is a great success for a cooperative to be able to market more olive oil than the olive oil left to the cooperative as "hak yağı" [right share olive oil]. Last year in Gödence, all the olive collected was 838,5 tons and olive oil produced was 165,5 tons. The right share olive oil was 23,5 tons. To make the latest payment for technology development for storage, the Cooperative had to sell all the right share to suppliers (11 ₺/kg). Later, the Cooperative packaged the olive oil of peasants and sold 30 tones through shortened food supply chains. They are developing their marketing channels to reach consumers directly. They bought olive oil from producers for average 16 ₺/kg (varying according to the quality and the brand) and sold for average 20 ₺/kg, while the price of suppliers is 11 ₺/kg. Furthermore, they are insistently working to find international marketing channels that they have sold olive oil to suppliers in Germany (Omur, 2015), in China (Şahin, 2013), a wide geography from Gümüşhane to Finland (**EI-7**, cited in Tuduk, 2008) and they are intending to make another agreement with a Persian firm during the National Agricultural Success Prize Day in 2016, June, 30. They are intending to make the agreement by providing 10% of to product to be sold with Gödence Brand in Persia. They have asserted that international marketing channels are more profitable and they are providing peasants to take the turn of all the effort (**EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11), otherwise, there is no turn of organic product

in domestic market (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). The National Agricultural Success Prize Day will be realized as a three days festival this year. They have planned to make social activities such as movie screening, concert and serving local tastes. They identify this festival as "Olive Oily Days" to emphasize the local distinctive character of the village to attract the attention of different actors, concerned consumers and potential short food supply chains. The National Agriculture Prize has been transformed to a local festival to serve their primary aim (in 1990) which was to form more direct marketing channels between producers and consumers.

Figure 60. Gödence Village and Houses
(Source: Retrieved from Official Social Media Account of Gödence Village)

Since 2006, Gödence Cooperative has decided to grow in number and started to accept new partners from peasants in the territory. In other words, they are re-scaling and they have the claim to be basin cooperative. They have **peasant partners** from Efemçukuru, Gölcük, Payamlı, Orhanlı and Beyler. The number of partners increased from 135 in 2013 to 165 in 2016[59]. These outsider partners' agricultural production is not checked and controlled by the cooperative. Because there is quality differences, pesticide and chemical use in olive production in different villages in Seferihisar, the Cooperative claims to be dividing the production by quality and by producer. They have two systems

[59] The number of partners in 2013 is cited by İZKA (2014) and the number of partners in 2016 is cited by Gödence Cooperative.

in the factory. One of the systems is used only for organic certificated and quality products. The other system is used for more acidity, conventional and low quality products.

To sum up, since 1990, they have implemented two socio-technical practices pocket under the name of development plans. Three additional practices, (1) organic farming, (2) National Agricultural Success Prizes which has transformed to a local festival and (3) re-scaling the Cooperative were additional, unplanned socio-technical practices. Since 1997, they have conducted organic certification project and completed. Right after 2005, there were new socio-technical practices came into the agenda.

The first project realized after 2005 period, irrigation dam, was not attempted by peasants but rather Mr. Kokulu solved his own problem for his own land (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7; **EI-12**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). However, the Cooperative, the village headman and Çamtepe Village collaborated to re-appeal to the State Water Administration for irrigation dam after the declaration of the Greater Municipality Law No. 6360 in 2013. The construction of irrigation dam is continuing in stream bed between Gödence and Çamtepe recently.

The second project was attempted in collaboration with the outsider actor, the committed idealist and two entrepreneurial part-time peasants. This project was named as homemade wine project. Home-made wine is produced in Gödence since the establishment of the village (**EI-13,**, personal communication, 2016, June 11; **EI-17**, personal communication, 2016, June 15). By the declaration of the Greater Municipality Law No. 6360, Gödence village's legal status turned to neighborhood and the properties of village legal entity were transferred to Seferihisar Municipality. In this respect, the mayor, re-transferred the possession of some of the properties back to the village. 13 decares of vineyard was re-transferred to Gödence Village by giving the possession rights to the Cooperative. This land was also attached to the home made wine project and the profit is shared between peasants of the village. Therefore, all cooperative partners indirectly became the partners of the home-made wine project. They collected wine in a single storage unit. They started to sell wine to suppliers and aimed at developing their practices by co-learning to produce Gödence brand-name homemade wines as a quality for for direct marketing. However, their practice for co-learning and making storage in one unit caused the violation of legal storage boundaries and the case was brought to the court. They have paid for punishments. "Today, we are producing our wines individually and selling to suppliers. We have also given Agricultural Success Prize to a wine producer

firm that is our partner" (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7). By including outsider actors such as "wine producer firm", they are still seeking the ways of shortened food supply chains.

The third project is agro-tourism project. This project emerged with the vision of the Mayor of Seferihisar, who is a committed idealist as well. The Municipality is perpetually proposing projects to İzmir Development Agency [IZKA] to take the advantage of Funds provided. According to Aslı Menekşe Odabaş (**SI-14,** personal communication, 2016, June 17), the first project, which is accepted and completed, was Ecology- Based Branding in Tourism. In the scope of the project, the Municipality have prepared a sectoral analysis document including the potentials of Gödence published in 2012. This project provided the Municipality to make different partnerships to implement sub-project pockets. For instance, they developed Rural-Development Based Agro-Tourism Project which includes Kızıl Mountains Territory and therefore includes Gödence. The project was proposing pension homes for Gödence. This project was refused to be given fund by IZKA. According to Odabaş, the Municipality proposed so many projects with similar scopes and contents to İZKA in 2011 and thus, the project prepared for Gödence was refused by İZKA. Furthermore, Mrs. Odabaş claims that they are attributing a special importance to Gödence in their practices. They are making lobbying for the brand, they are providing partnerships with the Universities in İzmir and they are providing links to the hotel tours and nature-tour operations. "Our negotiations with tour operators and hotels in the district that are organizing nature tours are giving positive results" (**SI-14**, personal communication, 2016, June 17).

Although Gödence is a village that is very open to outsiders, they were not willing to apply tourism project, or even think about it. As Mrs. Odabaş (**SI-14**, personal communication, 2016, June 17) cited, the vision for the projects are mostly the vision of the mayor Tunç Soyer. The project writing is provided by the workers of the Municipality. The projects prepared by the Municipality are explained to the headman and to Gödence villagers through meetings in Village Kahvehane (**SI-14**, personal communication, 2016, June 17). Similarly, İzmir Greater Municipality- with the long standing research on Peninsula Strategy Plan- defined olive routes and grape routes, both are visiting Gödence. The villagers are annoyed by their visits that "the Municipality draw on routes by not taking our opinion. Mountaineer clubs are coming to the village, entering in our production lands, trampling down dropped olives and walking inside the vineyards" (**EI-13**, personal communication, 2016, June 11). On the other hand, they are marketing their

home-made products and olive oil to these visitors in “very low quantities”, as well they increase their recognizability for nature-sportsmen and nature-sportswomen. The villagers are claiming to be a close community that do not want outsiders accommodating within their houses, which makes pension homes project invalid.

According to Mrs. Odabaş, Gödence is a very small village and the population of the village is aged. Furthermore, they are practicing agriculture and are not so open to non-agricultural practices. It is declared to be also hard for Seferihisar Municipality to conduct a project for such villages” (**SI-14**, personal communication, 2016, June 17).

The outsider actor is also complaining about the unevaluated potential of the village in terms of nature tourism and agro tourism.

> In Italy this concept is sold for 500 Euros. What we do is keeping out one-day tourism practices. Only looking at those vineyards is a pleasure. I am living in Gölcük and it is not like that there. We could construct wine routes with boutique and novel practices, local tastes, we could establish local seed stores and make production with them. We are neither conservative nor innovative, just in between and “happy” to sell egg and soap to tracking tours in the shop of Cooperative (**SI-11**, personal communication, 2016, June 11).

Figure 61. Gödence Vineyards (Source: Gödence Kooperatifi, 2016: 22-23)

Post-2005 era of the Cooperative can be identified as loss of involvement due many reasons. The end of 1990s period enthusiasm, branding and gaining more income, aging population and so on are some of the factors. Different than the similar examples

in producer-initiated category, Gödence is not able to involve youth actors to the system, as well women are not directly involved in the organization. Women are very active in production practices and they are organizing in themselves, they are creative to variate their products and are very active in family life. The community is not a religious community as well. However, women participation in public arena is very weak. Vakıflı Village in Antakya which is the only Armenian Village out of the borders of Armenia in the world, is a much closed community to outsiders. They have started their grassroots innovation with organic certification and by making contract farming one of supreme Holdings in Turkey, which is operating a chain supermarket in Turkey. Therefore, they transferred lessons from the involvement in mainstream regime practices.

> They tried to sell our mandarin for illegal prices even 20 times more than they paid us. Therefore, consumers did not buy our products in their supermarkets. Our products decayed in the shelves. We had contract but they violated our contract, did not pay our money and said us to go to the court. We had under debts because of high-costing prices of organic certification. We could not go to the court and could not continue for certification. Now we are restorating the properties of the church as well as vacant houses while continuing our unique healthy, not certificated but still organic production. Women Group is still continuing their activities of direct marketing. Our young people are studying tourism at the university to operate our projects (**SI-10**, personal communication, 2016, June 2; **SC-4**, personal communication, 2016).

Their organization is working through the participation and leadership of Women Group within the Cooperative, which they established in 2004 and developed through women and youth participation.

On the other hand, according to Mustafa Bektaş (**EI-6,** personal communication, 2016, June 3), the committed idealist and outsider actor in Nallıhan Niche, if the peasants do not put effort on a target and if they do not take active role and also spend money and workforce, then any project turns to a market phenomenon; the crucial need is co-learning. They had started 12 years ago to get involved in nature tourism routes but step by step by controlling and limiting the number of visitors. Along this way they had collectively re-discovered their values and at the end of sixth year they altogether renovated houses for pension homes, one for each year. “In this respect, we could re-discover Nallıhan and its values, conserved them and could rehabilitate the lost ones. “I am out of the system for two years and the system is working in its own” (**EI-5**, personal communication, June 3). As Özcan Kokulu stated, he has rediscovered the values of their village in 2007 and the information and knowledge could not collectivize in the process. “If you ask here about what our marketing channels are in cooperative, even members of Board of Directors cannot precisely answer you, because they do not know” (**EI-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 7).

The main reason for Gödence that they do not want to do more for the niche is that "we are earning well and if one needs we absolutely help each other. We do not need to dedicate ourselves doing so much for the economy of our village, the soil is giving us all" (**SI-18**, personal communication, 2016, June 15). The introduction of Efemçukuru Mine in the territory created such effect on young population of the villages in the territory that they "find a future as workers of a company" (**SI-18**, personal communication, 2016, June 15) and cannot see a future in peasantry.

Mr. Kokulu was born in 1945. I have observed that there is not much enthusiastic idealists working for the niche development except for a very small number of people. On the other hand, outsider actors are making individual entrepreneurial activities that the only wine-house in the area was founded by an outsider (**EI-18**, personal communication, 2016, June 15). If we accept that there was a third year development plan accepted by the villagers, then I need to assert that the "village parliament" must have turned to a top-down decision-making mechanism. The same process is working in agro-tourism and nature tourism practices of Seferihisar Municipality and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Moreover, there is little actor involvement within the ongoing practices of the niche since 2010. Especially youth are out of the system. "When we attend to the negotiations, we do not feel ourselves as belonging to such negotiations. Socialization does not mean this and what we need is socialization" (**SI-18,** personal communication, 2016, June 17). In this respect, location advantages of the village also opens up new channels for people. Different than Boğatepe Niche, Gödence villagers do not have to provide a novel way for socialization within the village that they are at the side of Seferihisar, Sığacık and İzmir. Lastly, most of the alternative channels are opened up by the institutional designer, and the committed idealist and the information and practices does not seem to be collectivized. Through their enthusiasm for international marketing practices with suppliers, Gödence seems to re-develop involvement with mainstream regime.

Additionally, the ideas of the outsider actor for conservation of local tastes, use of local species and keeping seed practices are lost in the village as I observed. In 2005, Dinç (2005a, 2005b) made a scientific research project on self-help groups and stated that this practice provided the use of local seeds and species in the village by some of the peasants. After the declaration of "Seed Law", Gödence lost seed saving practices for local species. Starting from 1980s, they have lost some species such as Gaydona and Sultaniye grapevines. As it is cited in Seferihisar Municipality (2012), Artun Ünsal, in

his article in Posta newspaper, was mentioning “Armola Cheese” as a special cheese he met in Gödence village. Gödence village was visited by two travel documentaries and in none of which such a cheese was served by peasants, rather they served prevalently known cuisine. Moreover, Mahal Convivium of Slow Food Movement, which is encompassing Kızıl Mountains and founded by Doğa Association activists in Orhanlı Village, is not attracting attention of Gödence, they rather prefer to keep away from “intellectuals”[60]. I have insistently asked for the local values of Gödence to all respondents and could gain no information about place-specific species or lost values (except for grapevines). Youth are more interested in the conservation of nature and environment, Turkish Pine Forest and willing to resist against wind power plant, they have surrendered the Efemçukuru mine in turn of better and less risky working conditions.

7.2. BİTOT Community Supported Agriculture Group: Consumer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Niche

7.2.1. Outlook

BİTOT, *Batı İzmir Topluluk Destekli Tarım* [West İzmir Community Supported Agriculture], is a CSA group founded in Urla. Urla is a district of İzmir at the western part of the city. It is 35 kilometers to İzmir and the neighbor district of Seferihisar. It is located in Urla-Çeşme-Karaburun peninsula. The population of the district is approximately 60.000 today[61]. There are 14 villages within the borders of Urla. Bademler and Kuşçular are the most populous villages of the district. According to İZKA (2014), there is a considerable population that lives in Urla and works in İzmir, or vice versa. This makes an increase in the total population of the district, as well, an increase of rural population that is working in non-agricultural sector.

[60] They are practicing local tastes in Nature School by making researches in the area. They make workshops on local Meditteranean tastes such as Casserole Dishes.
[61] Population of Urla increased 1000 between 2013 and 2014 and since then it has increased about 5000 in two years.

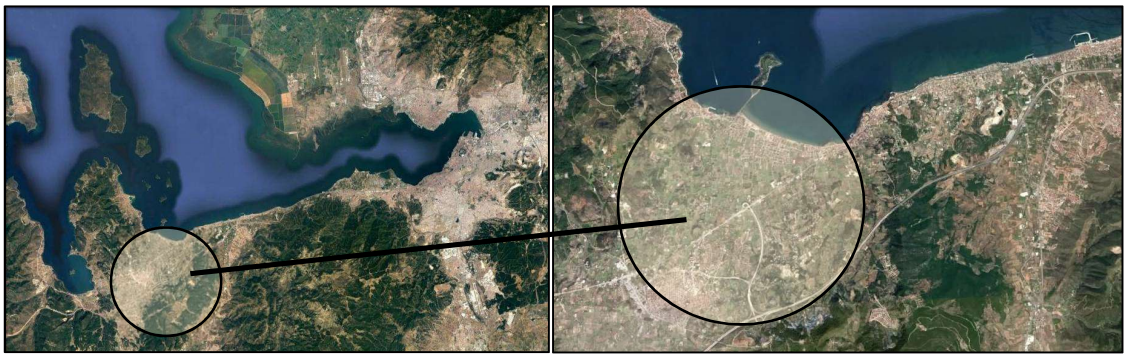


Figure 62. Location of Urla District (Source: Google Earth)

Since ancient times, Urla has been settled and had been a great port city until 17th century. It was a former Rum population until population exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923. It is the district where ancient city of Klazomenai is located in. Until the end of the 1980s, Urla was a small agricultural town. “When the news concerning the construction of Izmir-Çesme Expressway became public”, urbanization, daily touristic activities, construction activities in Urla were accelerated (Datta & Yücel-Young, 2007: 47). The district is composed on two main settlements and rural areas, and the district has a sprawled urbanization pattern. The main settlements are Urla downtown and Urla İskele [Pier] (encompassing sprawled coastal development in Çeşmealtı). Urla downtown is 4 kilometers away to the coastal side and there is a conservation site within the downtown. Urla İskele is established on the ancient city of Klazomenai dates back to 2000 BC. The coastal side of Urla encompasses temporary population and permanent population that there are summer houses has been developing since 1980s. İskele also has a small center composed of cafes and restaurant that is serving as a recreation area for daily visits from İzmir.

The district has a semi-rural character and have very fertile land. Urla is a special town with its beautiful rural and natural landscape, historical sites, archeological sites, culture and unique architecture. Also, district is well known with local cuisine and tastes with a Mediterranean character. There are local species of Urla such as artichoke, hennaed okra and herbal species. The district is also an important nature tourism center for nature sports such as diving and windsurfing (İZKA, 2010). There are natural conservation sites and conserved olive fields in the district (İZKA, 2013b).

Table 24. Population Change in Urla
(Source: Prepared by author from the data of TURKSTAT)

YEAR	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
1980	26.066	14.416	11.650
1985	26.907	21.641	5.266
1990	35.467	25.648	9.819
2000	49.269	36.579	12.690
2007	48.058	41.058	7.000
2010	52.500	45.244	7.256
2012	54.556	46.289	8.267
2013	56.751	56.751	0
2014	59.166	59.166	0
2015	60.750	60.750	0

Figure 63. A view from Urla İskele (Source: İZKA, 2014: 43)

Karşıyaka and Urla are most-educated districts in İzmir (İZKA, 2013b). According to Urla Municipality, agriculture is the biggest sector in terms of labor force that 35% of total labor force works in agriculture sector (Urla Belediyesi, 2015). Urla is also a trendy rural tourism center, a popular semi-urban center that attract urban dwellers to settle with rural idyll and a center for integration of local products to tourism facilities (Güdücüler, 2012). Although the district has a semi-rural character, there a university, IZTECH-İzmir Institute of Technology- and a techno-park within the district borders. Urla, since 1980s, have been a preferable district for gated communities, *sites* as single family detached houses and luxury housing supply for upper income dwellers.

Table 25. Population of Urla Villages in 2012 (Source: İZKA, 2012)

Bademler: 1.512	Barbaros: 301
Balıklıova: 876	Birgi: 100
Demircili: 206	Kadıovacık: 216
Kuşçular: 2150	Nohutalan : 150
Ovacık: 139	Uzunkuyu: 422
Özbek: 1062	Zeytineli: 268
Yağcılar: 527	Zeytinler: 338

BİTOT is founded in such a geography that has semi-rural character with historical linkages, local cuisine, special products and natural assets. In Urla, middle and upper income group dwellers are settled as well as those living in rural and working in urban. There are also scholars of IZTECH accommodating in Urla. Because it has accessibility to İzmir through İzmir-Çeşme Expressway, BİTOT has consumers in İzmir urban center. Although consumers are not totally upper income consumers, they are either concerned consumers or ethical consumers that have the priority for consuming ecological products as a state of being and as a normative contestation to the practices of incumbent system.

The group is working in a simple principle and through a simple google drive file. The names of producers and consumers are asserted in the file in rows and in columns. Producers' products and prices are written in the file. The excel file is prepared to count the prices when consumer enters to quantity (piece, kilograms, etc.) her/his column, file automatically counts the price. Every member of the group can see and access this file[62]. In this respect, producers can check the quantities demanded. However, since the first day, some of the producers are being informed about quantities by telephone due to their incapability (or unwillingness) to use internet, social media or google drive.

Delivery Meetings are made periodically once in two weeks. However, meeting frequency depends on group needs and dynamics. The order list is sent to consumers on Monday and is still open until Thursday. Delivery meeting is on Sunday. The following week group makes product update and producer updates. Delivery meeting organization depends on one basic principle. At the start, there was a volunteer cash collector, responsible for checking the orders, amounts and prices, collecting money from consumers and making payment to producers. Later, a commission which is responsible

[62] If consumer does not give order for three meetings, consumer is taken out of the list. In this case, consumer can display the list but cannot give order until re-authorized.

for such duty was founded. However, until the group went into crises, there were only two or three people taking responsibility in organization. Voluntary organization is composed of 4 task groups; producer communication and ordering, logistics and finance, strategy development, delivery meeting organization.

In delivery meeting, producers are bringing the products unpackaged and non-segregated (according to orders, kilograms). Consumers and producers are together making segregation. It is encouraged to use non-plastic material in the group both for producers and for consumers. Pricing is made through collaboration. Prices of the products are higher than supermarket prices and neighborhood bazaar prices, but in general, cheaper than organic bazaar prices. The products are all ecological products and when they are compared to ecological product prices in the supermarkets, BİTOT prices are underbidder. From the side of producer, prices are higher than the prices offered by middleman, supplier and intermediary markets' prices. In some of the products, such as olive oil (of some producers) and Kars Kaşarı Cheese, the prices are under conventional product prices sold in the supermarkets.

From the start, BİTOT's principles are co-learning, co-producing, task-sharing, increasing voluntarism, self-audit and cooperation. BİTOT türeticis, ethical consumers and concerned consumers are aware of the examples of food communities in the world and re-create different socio-technical practices which can be applied in social conditions of Turkey. Buğday Association is the institutional designer. Through being organized as an autonomous practice of Buğday Association network, BİTOT takes the advantage of using pre-given social networks of Buğday Movement including ecology collectives.

7.2.2. BİTOT Alternative Agro Food Niche

7.2.2.1. Initial Cooperation: Grassroots Action

BİTOT is established in November 2014 with 14 consumers and and 13 producers[63]. Two of the producers were ecology collectives. Three of the producers (urban rooted part time producers and *türeticis*) were both located in the columns and in the rows of the list that they were also consumers.

> One of my friends invited me for helping the construction of ecological house in Marmariç Permaculture Institute. I have met Buğday Association members there and linked to the network.

[63] Retrieved from the 1st Product Order List of BİTOT.

> Meeting the committed idealist Mehmet Gürmen provided me to meet local networks. As a group of friends in this network, we were speaking about our consumption practices. Mehmet offered to establish a food community and then all started like that (**SI-2**, personal communication, 2016, March 25).

BİTOT is founded in the leadership of a small group of six people composed of the committed idealist, Mehmet Gürmen, and a group of idealistic enthusiasts, ethical consumers, türetici and concerned consumers during a porcelain enamel atelier as the grassroots action. The institutional designer of the grassroots action is Buğday Association that any action taken by Buğday members have the main philosophy and regime rules defined by Buğday movement as a collective action. The **new regime rules** were depending on (BİTOT, n.d.);

- Local Producers and Consumers: for low carbon footprint- shortened food supply chains
- Non-mediated direct marketing: shortened food supply chains
- Small scale: when the group extends to 50 türetici, it will be copied to another group
- Voluntarism
- Transparency: In problem solving and in communication with producers
- Community: It is not only matter of food!

BİTOT also defined **production criterion** (BİTOT, n.d.) as *quality conventions*;

- Nature friendly production: non-chemical fertilizer-pest-medicine-hormone-food additive (certificate is not an obligation)
- Price: Fair pricing policy, mutual understanding
- Trust Relations: face to face contact with producers in local
- Not Audit but conversation and asking after each other

Buğday Association is the institutional designer of the system that even the identification of türetici is invention of the Association as collective action. BİTOT's operation is different than Ege University CSA Groups that they are organized around one main producer and buying periodical products from that producer. There are additional producers that are providing agro food products that main producer does not produce (as well as special products such as Kars Kaşarı Cheese) but the system is constructed on the periodical deliveries of daily consumption agro food products of main producer. Ankara DBB is also operating in a different way that it is like a collective box scheme. For instance, 5 of 1000 consumers are coming together to order food and they share transportation costs. DBB encourages to form district or neighborhood groups in

Ankara but it is possible to give individual orders from the producers. Consumer Cooperatives in İstanbul, BÜKOOP (shop) and Kadıköy Consumer Cooperative, have also different organization patterns. Kadıköy prepares fixed agro food packages according to the number of ordered packages by consumers. BİTOT's principles are coming together, socializing, co-learning and co-producing, task-management and sharing, making systematic "conversations" (not audit) by related commission and buying different products from different producers and offering alternatives to consumers. Because of diversifying socio-technical practices and organization, BİTOT also involves more diversified and novel actors within the niche.

The committed idealist, Mehmet Gürmen, has been working as informatics designer and coordinator, web designer and Seed Exchange Network Coordinator, Coordination Council member and the member of Education Coordination Team in Buğday Association since 2011. His first precise contact with Buğday was in 2011 right after the death of Victor Ananias. Mr. Gürmen has worked as a volunteer for the first time, then, he became a professional-volunteer employee of Buğday Association. While he was involved in mainstream practices of living and consuming, he decided to change his life. "I was not feeling free while I was working in informatics sector in İstanbul, did not want to waste all my life like that and I got light about living in the rural that it could be a release to return back to soil and nature" (**EI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 14). He has been giving trainings for *Kent Bahçeciliği* [City Gardening] and permaculture education under the umbrella of Buğday movement. In his view, although the ideal production technique is traditional wise peasant agriculture, permaculture is an atomized version of wise peasant agriculture that encourages people to apply agriculture and provides simple and practical devices for those never had relation with agricultural production (**EI-3**, personal communication, 2016, January 22). On March 2014, he and his theatre director wife settled in Urla Bademler that his wife is directing Bademler village theatre and Mr. Gürmen is continuing his professional-volunteer employment in Buğday. He also got the responsibility of collecting field information and contacting peasants as well, preparing a database for local seeds and species.

Buğday Association made a meeting with 44 producers from different parts of Turkey at the first half of 2014. They shared knowledge and made discussions about TATUTA[64] farms, production, re-practicing wise peasant agriculture, etc. The aim of the

[64] TATUTA is a non-profit agro tourism organization. The basic principle of TATUTA is **TA**RIM (agriculture), **TU**RİZM (tourism), **TA**KAS (exchange). Volueenteers are helping the production of

organization was expanding TATUTA Farms Network. Mehmet Gürmen found the possibility of meeting some producers from İzmir during this meeting. Following, in October 2014, Buğday Association organized the IFOAM World Organic Congress in İstanbul[65]. Gürmen realized the possibilities and potential of food communities and CSA in İzmir when he saw the poster presentation of Ege University CSA Group[66] which was leaded by the committed idealist Tayfun Özkaya. Also by realizing the results and potential dangers of "seed law" during his practices in Seed Exchange Project of Buğday, he decided to practice a CSA Group in İzmir. He used his network of Buğday to find producers as well as to find consumers. "Mehmet had provided us all the producers that he was already searching for producers, contacting them and farms as a Buğday volunteer. He also searched reference people. Mehmet has put effort for the initial producer list" (**SI-2**, personal communication, 2016, March 25). When they made the first meeting as a group of idealists, they started with TATUTA Farms, continued with türeticis (**EI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 14). They also found reference people for finding producers. Ege University CSA Groups proposed two producers to BİTOT;

(1) Idealistic enthusiast, institutional designer (co-designer of Ege University Groups), rural rooted entrepreneurial producer

(2) Rural rooted entrepreneurial producer, Wise peasant.

Buğday meeting with 44 producers also became a reference to find another entrepreneurial producer. "I have already known producer some enthusiastic producers before I settled in İzmir" (**EI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 14). The third reference person was a producer, a wise peasant women. After the preparation of the first order list, the group accelerated. Moreover, while the grassroots action was emerging, grassroots action created first socio-technical practice with a referenced peasant producer.

The first socio-technical practice of the grassroots innovation was operated during initial period of the grassroots. While the small group of consumers decided to establish the niche, Mehmet Gürmen was offered an enthusiastic peasant producer (by a Seferihisar Municipality worker) who has very small land, practicing ecological farming and has a

producers and in turn they are provided bad and food. To be a TATUTA farm, the main practice of the farm have to be agriculture, not a non-agricultural activity. Ecological production is the main principle of TATUTA.

[65] Through the information gathered in this Congress, Buğday Association established website of Gıda Toplulukları (Food Communities).

[66] Ege University CSA groups are first CSA groups established in İzmir in 2013. There are three Faculty Groups, namely, Agricultural Economics, Economics and Public Health. A new group, Pathology, is under construction.

few cow, had problems with marketing milk they produced. The Dairy was making contract farming and was not sending vehicle to carry milk to Dairy for farms that produce less than 1000 kilograms/ day; hence, producer could not sell milk and had problems in this respect (**EI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 14; **SC-6**, personal communication, 2016, June 12). The committed idealist voluntarily visited the farm and identified criterion. By sharing the situation within the group, consumer group and producer made an oral contract for criterion, delivery and ordering. In their contract, BİTOT was offering to buy all cheese produced in the farm and the price was decided compromisingly with the producer. BİTOT would buy a truck of woods to support the initial production process of the producer. The price of the wood would be decreased from the price of the cheese. This producer, as the enthusiastic producer, is still making production for BİTOT. He, further, could diversify his product by growing vegetables after the application of the first socio-technical practice.

Figure 64. BİTOT Home meeting for order share on June 6, 2015
(Source: Social Media Page of BİTOT)

For the first time group was meeting for delivery in the homes of producers and consumers. They were cooking and socializing together. However, it started to be hard for home owners to host more than 20 people of producers and consumers, they decided to seek for a place to meet. Later, they found a number of coffee shops to meet but these places could not provide spatial needs of the group. At the same time, the group visited the Mayor of Urla to meet themselves, to identify CSA and to ask for meeting place. “She could not position us, whether we are a hobby group, a socialization group or a group of people came together to drink alcohol… When the number of these groups will increase

in Turkey, then it will be easy to be identified and I think they will want to contact with such groups" (**EI-3**, personal communication, 2016, January 22).

According to BİTOT (n.d.) the foundation period was during October and December. When the social media account was founded and the first product delivery meeting organized, there were 25 members of the account and 12 consumer households. At the first order, there were 172 pieces of products and the total order cost was 972 TL (BİTOT, n.d.). Producers were 11 at total, 4 local producer and 7 producers from different parts of Turkey. At the 14th product delivery meeting, there were 204 members of social media account with 27 consumer households. The products provided for ordering was 273 pieces of products with 1100 TL total product orders. During the process, the number of local producers increased in BİTOT. In 14th List, there were 9 local producers and 5 producers from Turkey. On 9th of June 36th product order list is opened. There are 44 consumer households and 428 members of social media account. There are 24 producers at total and 17 of these are local producers from Urla and environs with 355 pieces of product. Women have been, from the start, more enthusiastic and more volunteer in BİTOT. They are also more concerned, especially those women with babies or kids.

Approximately until the 20th product delivery meeting, two or three activists, including committed idealist, involved in the organization and task-sharing. Although there were 4 sub commissions, the level of voluntarism was low in the organization of grassroots action. BİTOT (n.d.) declares that within the problems faced, actors did not have a common motivation at the beginning. The motivations in the group are diversifying; to support producer, access to "clean"/ local food, community purposes and solidarity, drinking tea and time wasting. It is clear that, there are a diversity of consumers; the ones that involve the system as a state of being or being a community, beneficiary consumers accessing to local and healthy food, concerned consumers for health, peasantry or environment and the "consumers" consuming the niche by time wasting.

In short, grassroots innovation for BİTOT emerged as the seed of BİTOT-GETO and the new group being constructed for Bornova consumers and East İzmir rurality producers. KİTO was also inspired by the establishment of BİTOT. Emerged with a small network of actors in local, BİTOT used the extensive network of Buğday Association. During initial cooperation, they constructed their contestation as a state of being and made their institutional design. BİTOT emerged to drive change towards sustainable CSA niches, put its first socio-technical practice, developed novel tools and new organizational

arrangements. To provide continuity of the group, they provided agro food product variety by involving non-local producers to the system and decreased the number in process. They provided themselves a protected space for novelties of grassroots action and to achieve a different consumption practice within incumbent system. Continuously discussing on the organization articulated visions, clarified ideals and informed newly applying actors, as well as outsider actors.

7.2.2.2. Organized Cooperation: Social Network Building

BİTOT introduced second socio-technical practice at the start of 2015. The second socio technical practice was related to the "step by step" project of Buğday Association. One of the concerned consumers transformed to türetici with her involvement in the grassroots action and became the key actor to apply socio-technical practice.

> I was concerning about my consumption practices. After getting involved in the network, I started to learn about production practices. I am making compost in my garden right now. I am producing my vegetable in my garden and experiencing consuming less. I have gained considerable knowledge about permaculture practices and making production during this process (**SI-2**, personal communication, 2016, March 25).

Buğday Association step by step project intended to collect donation and use donations to increase the number of TATUTA farms. By doing so, step by step provided the survival of farms that host local seeds as well provided "the durability of rural life". Activists are organizing an amateur run and by doing so they collect donations. After adding 56 new farms to the network by the project, this project was upgraded to "Nature Friendly Urban Gardens/ Seeds to the Campus".

A Marathon was organized for this project. BİTOT involved in Seeds to the Campus project. Türetici, who was a scholar at IZTECH, steered IZTECH Campus Garden Project and the committed idealist provided education and training of permaculture for Campus Garden. By doing so, the University scholars and students involved in the social network of BİTOT. Campus Garden was established in December 2015.

Figure 65. Seeds to Campus, IZTECH Urban Garden Poster
(Source: Social Media Account of BİTOT)

"At the beginning of 2015, BİTOT grow too much in number and it was a useless crowd that there were still 2-3 people active in organization. We decided to explain every member of BİTOT the need to take responsibility in organization" (**SI-2**, personal communication, 2016, March 25). Social network making increased the number of members but it also caused the emergence of deficiency in voluntarism within the group. This was solved by re-defining organization. They designed a task-management scheme to share tasks in the group. During March-April 2015, they defined four groups as (1) producer communication and ordering, (2) logistics and finance, (3) strategy development, (4) delivery meeting organization. By doing so, strategy development group defined new institutional designers and new socio-technical practice creators. This action increased the number of volunteers, as well eliminated "useless crowd".

Task management practices emerged to provide coordination between producers and consumers. In this process, there were a number of producers that applied to BİTOT, met themselves and offered to be producers. "I even did not seek to find producers or different products, producers started to come to meet, to product overview to be a producer of BİTOT" (**EI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 14). This created another task for the group to check newly applying farms (See Appendix G). They prepared a checklist and the group had investigated the fields and production practices of these producers. In this respect, many producers were refused by long and clear

explanations made by examiners. They included this task within producer communication and ordering group.

Furthermore, BİTOT bond of friendship developed through social organizations. BİTOT started to apply to boycotts together. In Urla, Ovacık village, they applied and resisted for the trees that would be cut down for a wind power plant construction. They shared their production experiences, changes in the laws on agriculture and food, questions for practical home-made medicine were shared. They shared questions and answers in social media account. Home meetings opened up the way of making workshops. They practiced a number of workshops with the application of different professionals within the group such as yoga by a yoga trainer, healthy diet by a doctor, bulgur making by a peasant, and so on.

Nonetheless, they had to find an ultimate place for meeting. They made contacts and ultimately found out the foyer of the theatre building in Urla, which is used as a coffee shop. Since January 2016, the group is meeting in Toprak Sahne. Toprak Sahne also provided one more advantage to the group. It is located next to Urla Women Producer Bazaar in which some of the producers of BİTOT were making sale on Sundays- the same day for periodical BİTOT meetings. In this respect, they could receive products of producers and pay their money more easily.

Figure 66. Urla Toprak Sahne (Source: Social Media Page of BİTOT)

Buğday Association Aegean Network Meeting was held in the farm of a BİTOT türetici in Ilıpınar Village in Foça on October 2015. This meeting became the turning point for BİTOT that they formed GETO. During Buğday meeting, members of Buğday as producers and consumers were informed about BİTOT that Mr. Gürmen made a presentation about BİTOT. Additionally, BİTOT was made news in local newspapers.

The first new was made by the Marmariç permaculture institute member and the founder team member of Buğday Association Oya Ayman with the headline of "those peppers are grown for me" in the nation-wide newspaper, Cumhuriyet.

Figure 67. Ege Meclisi new about BİTOT
(Source: Retrieved from http://www.egemeclisi.com/haber/20363/gidalarini-tarlasindan-siparis-ediyorlar.html)

7.2.2.3. Innovation Development: New Socio-Technical Practices

Buğday Aegean Network Meeting introduced different members of the network that caused the formation of GETO. This group was founded at the end of 2015 when BİTOT was celebrating first year. GETO is encompassing the northern İzmir producers and consumers. It is established in Karşıyaka- Bostanlı and consumers are mostly those settling there. Producers are generally those settled in the northern İzmir, especially Gediz Delta. Karşıyaka and Bostanlı are most developed neighborhoods in terms of socio-economical structure, urban consciousness and education level in İzmir (İZKA, 2010).

The institutional designer of the group was also a türetici woman and had the aim to settle in rural area in İzmir. She and her husband settled in Ilıpınar, Foça and when the "earth gave them more than their need" they decided to share their surplus. In this respect, when the Foça Earth Market was founded, she started to go and sell their ecological products there. They also started to produce by-products that their "producer side" developed during their experiences in Foça Earth Market. They were a TATUTA farm since 2014. Therefore, they had made local networks with peasant farmers and wise peasants in Foça locality with the help of the Foça Earth Market. A young couple, türeticisi and idealistic enthusiasts, visited their farm in the scope of TATUTA and they decided to settle in Foça to make production. "When young idealists settled in Foça in a

5 decares land, we were about to organize Buğday Aegean meeting and I was taking responsibility within BİTOT's organization. I decided to start *Community Supported Wheat* Project when young idealists became volunteer to be the producers of the project" (**EI-14**, personal communication, 2016, June 13).

Community Supported Wheat is a non-documented oral agreement between GETO consumers and urban-rooted idealistic enthusiast couple. This socio-technical practice was the incubation room of GETO. The process operated like that;

They founded the group approximately with 10 consumers at the beginning and some of consumers were from BİTOT team (mostly living in İzmir urban areas). They collected the demand for Community Supported Wheat Project and programmed production. They chose wheat, because it could be transformed to by-products such as bulgur, flour and bread. They found seeds of a local species, Kızılca wheat, which is also known as a species of Aegean Region. They collected orders from consumers and an initial money is collected for initial expenses for seed, plough, etc. Then, they started production and made harvest on June 2016 with some of the volunteer türeticis. Now they are making the delivery of initial orders and the rest is going to be sold within the GETO group as by-products. With the income provided in this project, idealistic enthusiasts that conducted wheat project are going to take their share and the rest will be used for another project, Community Supported Egg Project by the same idealistic enthusiast urban-rooted peasants.

Figure 68. Community Supported Wheat Project Harvest
(Source: GETO Social Media Account)

On the other hand, BİTOT went in a crisis on February 2016, right after the establishment of GETO. There was a wise peasant family producing many products such as bulgur, olive oil, flour, fruits, vegetables, as well as manufactured products such as

marmalade, jam etc. for consumers in the group. They were practicing polyculture wise peasant agricultural techniques and were consulting to other producers for solving the problems such as how to run talpa from land, homemade medicine for insects and planting green fertilizers to the land. As this wise peasant family stated, they were given prize by Urla Municipality for their efforts and knowledge.

> Some of the peasants in Urla were warning me about that they were not producing the agro food that they were marketing in BİTOT. I was condemning such gossip. Because I am working in the field for Buğday, I have chance to visit producers. During my drop in two or three times, I suspected so much. Then we decided to make audit to the farm. We visited the farm as seven observers and a volunteer (**EI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 14).

During the farm visit, it was understood that they were not making production for some time (See Appendix H). However, they were collecting the products of neighbor farms to sell in BİTOT, in which vegetable prices are higher than neighborhood bazaars and supermarkets. Indeed, most expensive products are fresh fruits and vegetables in BİTOT and GETO. When I compare them, for example, with Foça Earth Market, BİTOT prices are sometimes two times more[67]. When they were visited by eight BİTOT volunteers and they made farm observation in land, they were taken out of the producer list of BİTOT.

This situation and feeling of being persuaded created dynamism. In the social media account, the discussions were made to make self-production to survive the future of BİTOT. This caused the re-development of task management within the group that they institutionally re-defined tasks and responsible people. When the wise peasant was qualified out of the group, GETO members also supported BİTOT to make farm visits and in the following month, on March 2016, new task management was prepared with task definitions and new division of labor in six task-units to operate between March 15, 2016 and June 15, 2016. The new organization was as follows;

1. Producer Coordination Unit (4 people): Coordinating product order list, communicating producers for orders and informing *Cargo and Logistics task unit*, adding new producers to the list.
2. Unit Responsible for Activities (3 people): Organization of product delivery, control of product delivery in coordination with *Cargo and Logistics task unit,* preparation of meeting place for product delivery, preparation of labels and

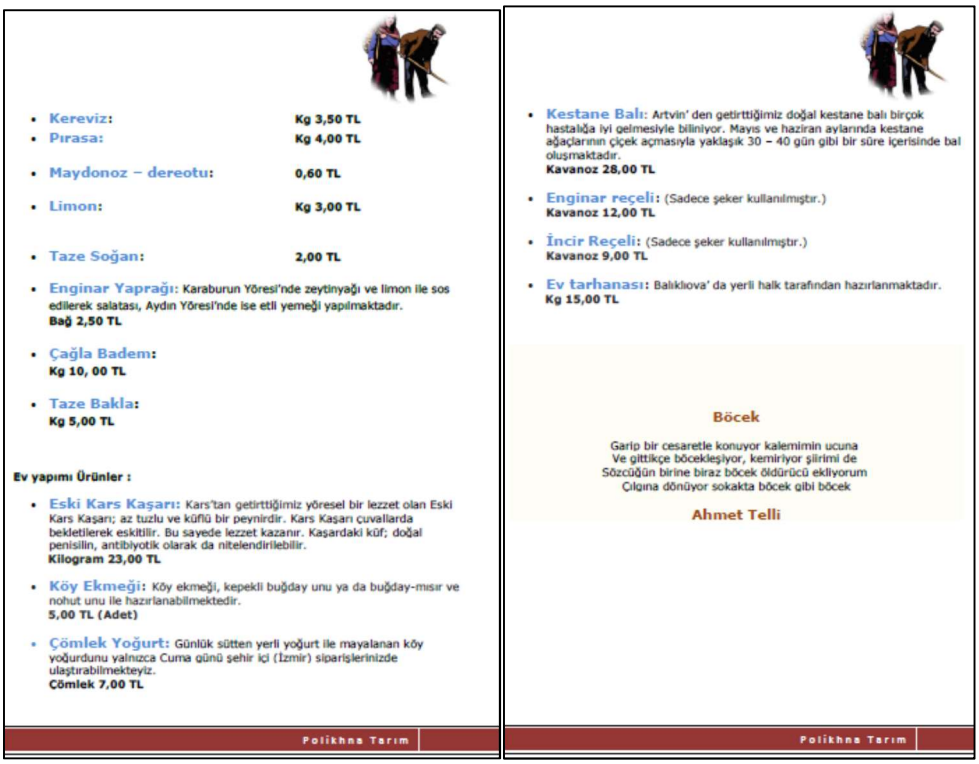
[67] According to an entrepreneurial producer in BİTOT and vendor in Bostanlı Organic Bazaar and Balçova Organic Bazaar, prices are less than organic bazaars. This producer is also selling his products in BİTOT in lower prices than organic bazaars.

weighing machine, preparation of computer and pay desk, organization of meeting days (out of product delivery meetings), announcement of meetings and deliveries to the group.

3. Cargo and Logistics Unit (2 people): Pursuit and check out of cargos coming from non-local producers, communication with producer coordination unit, pursuit of local producers' products, giving back the plastic crates to producers at the end of product delivery meeting, payments to cargo firms.
4. Finance and Pay Desk Unit (2 people): Checking payments to Cargo and Logistics, to producers, receiving payments from consumers, making electronic cash transfers to non-local producers and announcement of pay desk report to the group.
5. Products and Product Strategy Unit (3 People): The organization and follow of criterion compatibility with products, farms, producers and production techniques. Control and decision for adding and taking out producers. Farm visits, preparation and filling producer observation forms and archiving these forms.
6. Secretary (1 person): Taking notes of discussions, suggestions and agenda in group, attaching agenda and notes before meetings. Presenting notes to the group, following decisions taken in meetings, documenting and archiving.

These decisions and re-creation of the roles, tasks, methods and practices developed the niche. Producer coordination unit improved knowledge of the alternative model by commissioning research for existing producers and new producers, provided coordinating trial of new socio-technical practices. Products and product strategy unit provided guidance and technical assistance by founding formal strategies and guidelines as well as founding helplines with türeticis in GETO for producer audit. Their on lined printed documents are archived and provided knowledge transfer. Secretary also contributed to this development. Moreover, this practice facilitated new partnerships between networks of members.

Along this process, the group taken some producers out of the group, and thus, new producers were needed. They were especially looking for egg and potatoes. The vegetables and fruits were also needed. An entrepreneurial producer who has been organizing different producers in the territory he lives in was invited as a producer to BİTOT group.



- **Kereviz:** Kg 3,50 TL
- **Pırasa:** Kg 4,00 TL
- **Maydonoz – dereotu:** 0,60 TL
- **Limon:** Kg 3,00 TL
- **Taze Soğan:** 2,00 TL
- **Enginar Yaprağı:** Karaburun Yöresi'nde zeytinyağı ve limon ile sos edilerek salatası, Aydın Yöresi'nde ise etli yemeği yapılmaktadır. **Bağ 2,50 TL**
- **Çağla Badem:** **Kg 10, 00 TL**
- **Taze Bakla:** **Kg 5,00 TL**

Ev yapımı Ürünler :

- **Eski Kars Kaşarı:** Kars'tan getirttiğimiz yöresel bir lezzet olan Eski Kars Kaşarı; az tuzlu ve küflü bir peynirdir. Kars Kaşarı çuvallarda bekletilerek eskitilir. Bu sayede lezzet kazanır. Kaşardaki küf; doğal penisilin, antibiyotik olarak da nitelendirilebilir. **Kilogram 23,00 TL**
- **Köy Ekmeği:** Köy ekmeği, kepekli buğday unu ya da buğday-mısır ve nohut unu ile hazırlanabilmektedir. **5,00 TL (Adet)**
- **Çömlek Yoğurt:** Günlük sütten yerli yoğurt ile mayalanan köy yoğurdunu yalnızca Cuma günü şehir içi (İzmir) siparişlerinizde ulaştırabilmekteyiz. **Çömlek 7,00 TL**

Polikhna Tarım

- **Kestane Balı:** Artvin' den getirttiğimiz doğal kestane balı birçok hastalığa iyi gelmesiyle biliniyor. Mayıs ve haziran aylarında kestane ağaçlarının çiçek açmasıyla yaklaşık 30 – 40 gün gibi bir süre içerisinde bal oluşmaktadır. **Kavanoz 28,00 TL**
- **Enginar reçeli:** (Sadece şeker kullanılmıştır.) **Kavanoz 12,00 TL**
- **İncir Reçeli:** (Sadece şeker kullanılmıştır.) **Kavanoz 9,00 TL**
- **Ev tarhanası:** Balıklıova' da yerli halk tarafından hazırlanmaktadır. **Kg 15,00 TL**

Böcek

Garip bir cesaretle konuyor kalemimin ucuna
Ve gittikçe böcekleşiyor, kemiriyor şiirimi de
Sözcüğün birine biraz böcek öldürücü ekliyorum
Çılgına dönüyor sokakta böcek gibi böcek

Ahmet Telli

Polikhna Tarım

Figure 69. Buyer Club Bulletin of Polikhna[68] Agriculture, April 2014
(Source: Caner Güven's personal archive, used with permission)

This producer is also an idealistic enthusiast. He contributed to the institutional design of Ege University CSA Groups. When he accepted to apply to BİTOT as a producer, he involved many other producers that he has been unofficially organizing since 2013. He, his brother- as young producers- and their family are making subsistence farming in a 7.5 decares land. During his bachelor education, this idealistic enthusiast producer contacted ecological producers in Urla territory, prepared bulletins for products and founded a 300 people buyer club. Firstly, he made search on local producers, then he added non-local producers to the bulletin (See Figure 69) and to this collective buyer club. When he met the committed idealist Tayfun Özkaya in 2012-2013, they founded Ege University CSA groups and this producer is coordinating and auditing other producers and making delivery the products of farmers (as well as the products he and his family produces).Idealistic enthusiast producer and his family were practicing ecological agriculture in their farm. They are currently producing vegetables and egg. When they faced a freeze in 2014, Ege University CSA group provided interest-free credit for the

[68] Polikhna is the ancient name of Balıklıova village in Urla where idealistic enthusiast and his family lives in.

family by opening up a solidarity campaign and their farm could survive[69]. They are providing fresh vegetables for BİTOT Group, and fresh vegetables and eggs for Ege University Groups.

Practices of BİTOT are copied and used by GETO and GETO developed the system according to their own needs. For instance, they added ethical commission to task-management units. According to one of the coordination team members of GETO (**SC-8,** personal communication, June 19, 2016), while establishing production development group within GETO, they realized the obligation of making ethical examination within the group.

> She is selling us daisy oil in ten milligram bottles and we pay 20 ₺ for each bottle. If you count its kilogram price it is 2000 ₺ (approximately 614 €). The production of daisy oil is that you collect daisy from nature, dry it in the sun, put it into olive oil and insolate it. There is no cost of such production. This is not ethical, this is fraud! (**SC-8**, personal communication, June 19, 2016).

The latest socio-technical practice of BİTOT was shared with GETO and practiced to supply the so much demanded product, potatoes, to consumers of BİTOT and GETO. This was transformed to a written contract between entrepreneurial peasant-Metin Gümüş who was born to a wise peasant family and become an ecological producer with the 2007-2008 support of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality for farmers[70]- and making ecological production for BİTOT and GETO groups recently. This entrepreneurial peasant is recently get website done for founding an online buyer club.

Figure 70. The entrepreneurial peasant Metin Gümüş in the billboard of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, "Catch the Fertile Life" with Peninsula Project (Source: Metin Gümüş's personal archive)

[69] At the end of 2014, their farm was producer of BİTOT. However, the idealistic enthusiast had to join the army to perform the military service and his brother could not succeed delivery to both Ege University Groups and to BİTOT. They leaved BİTOT at that period and later they re-involved.

[70] İzmir Metropolitan Municipality opened up educations, support and a variety of activities for producers to gain organic certificates. Right after these practices, the Municipality founded organic bazaars.

> I wanted to grow potatoes but I could not dare to do. It is a fragile product. Mehmet (Gürmen) made me such proposition and I could dare to do by sharing risk with the consumers. I am not making money here in this group. For example, I could sell products only for 100 TL today, but I gained considerable knowledge. Mehmet also thought many… I could have enter in many other networks. The real market is in İstanbul, I also realized this. I am selling 1 month product sell of İzmir in one day in Şişli Ecological Bazaar (**EI-9**, personal communication, 2016, June, 11).

Figure 71. Community Supported Project Land and potatoes sprouts
(Source: BİTOT Archive)

They, together prepared Community Supported Potatoes Project. They designated price, rules together. They documented the rules of the project on April 2016 (See Appendix I). They found local species of potatoes in Ödemiş and bought it. By adding other primary expenses, they shared the primary expenses within the group. The price determined for those shared firs expenses was 3 TL/kg. They are going to take their money as potatoes in turn. Those did not share first expenses in BİTOT and GETO will buy potatoes for 4 ₺/kg. Mr. Gümüş is going to sell the rest in İzmir Organic Bazaars for 5 ₺/kg. In cases of zero harvest or lacking harvest, the producer will be only paid primary expenses by consumers in no turn. The harvest is going to be done by collective work as a festival by BİTOT and GETO consumers.

Figure 72. Poster of Exchange Fiesta by BİTOT (Source: BİTOT Archive)

Recently, BİTOT opened up 36th product delivery list. The group is practicing new social organizations to create awareness for alternative consumption practices. On June 2016, they organized an exchange fiesta to "don't buy, don't consume, re-use". They are also reported in local and national newspapers for many times.

Throughout the innovation development practices, BİTOT formed GETO. GETO has recently formed East İzmir CSA group by copying the rules and practices of BİTOT, as well by making knowledge transfer of community supported wheat project to BİTOT. According to an ethical consumer in BİTOT (**SI-2,** personal communication, 2016, March 25), the chance of continuity of these groups is directly depending on the management of the most important common-pool resources, *trust and voluntarism* within these groups. BİTOT became influential through new and novel practices, transformed institutional design and run new tools. Through niche development, they have developed alternative social organizations, developed alternative models, developed new networks and social infrastructures.

7.3. Foça Earth Market: Producer-Consumer Collaborated Alternative Agro Food Niche

7.3.1. Outlook

Foça Earth Market is located in the northern İzmir, in Foça. It is founded by Foça Zeytindalı Convivium in 2012. Earth Market is a community-run farmer's market. Foça Earth Market is 28th Earth Market in the world and first in Turkey. There are two Earth Markets in Turkey, the other of which is in Şile İstanbul. Gökçeada is the only candidate of Earth Markets International in Turkey. In this part, I firstly give a brief about Earth Markets and Convivia, and then I mention Foça, where the Foça Earth Market is founded in.

Slow Food identify Earth Markets as community-run farmers' markets that run important social meeting points.

> Local producers offer healthy, quality food directly to consumers at fair prices and guarantee environmentally sustainable methods. In addition, they preserve the food culture of the local community and contribute to defending biodiversity. An Earth Market is created when an interested community- producers, local authorities, citizens, Slow Food convivia and other interested parties- come together to establish a new place for consumers and food producers to

> meet. A management committee, with representation from all these groups, is responsible for selecting the producers, promoting the market, and ensuring the guidelines are followed. They are also required to manage the logistical aspects of the market, and to ensure that the environmental impact is minimized: e.g. with waste reduction, biodegradable consumables, recycling, and energy-saving measures (Slow Food, n.d.).

Therefore, the foundation of market is based on rules and regulations defined by Slow Food movement. Producers are expected to sign a contract annually to be a producer of the market. To be an Earth Market producer, producers must be small-scale farmers, artisan producers in which they do not have to compete with large distribution chains. According to Slow Food (n.d.), small scale production often produces high quality products. Producers are asked to charge a fair price for their work and to pledge fair treatment of their employees, if exists. These criterion determined the suitability of producers for the Market.

Earth Markets are places in which producers must sell only products that they are producing. Direct contact with producers and consumers requires willingness of producers to be open to talk about their products and its qualities, production techniques and how the producers justify the prices. Producers must be coming from local region with a predefined radius for each Earth Market. This radius is 40 kms for Earth Markets in Turkey.

Figure 73. Logo of Earth Markets
(Source: Retrieved from http://www.focazeytindali.org/earth-markets/)

Products in Earth Markets usually include a wide range of fresh and seasonal products; preserves; dairy products; by-products such as homemade tomato paste, eggs, honey, sweets, bread, oil, beverages and homemade finished products such as jams. Slow Food International Movement support the principles behind organic agriculture, which are promoting methods that have low impact on the environment, reduce the use of pesticides, etc. However, as they identify, when the organic agriculture is practiced

extensively, it gives the similar results to conventional monocrop agriculture (Slow Food, 2015a). All products must meet the quality criteria of Earth Markets. Products must help the preservation of local food culture of the hosting community and must contribute to defend local biodiversity. Slow Food reflects quality principles in terms of three main criteria as follows;

- **Good:** fresh and seasonal, healthy, tasty and able to stimulate and satisfy the senses.
- **Clean:** environmentally sustainable cultivation and production processes, no GM crops and local species.
- **Fair:** accessible prices for consumers and fair compensation and conditions for producers.

Slow Food Convivia are local chapters of international Slow Food movement. Every Slow Food member around the world is part of a convivium. Convivia bring the Slow Food philosophy to life via the events and activities they organize in their communities (Slow Food, n.d.). Slow Food convivia come together to establish **a new place for consumers and food producers to meet**. These activities are in a wide range from simple shared meals and tastings, taste educations, to visits to local producers and farms, conferences and discussions, film screenings, festivals and so on. Activities have functions of co-learning, co-producing, collective work and establishing short food supply chains.

To form networks between all links in the food supply chain with the food communities at the center, Terra Madre is created as a global project by Slow Food. The main motivation of Terra Madre is to define and promote a new and more respectful system of people, land and sea for food production and distribution. Slow Food convivia are local associations of Terra Madre and has 100.000 members.

There are 1500 Convivia in the world, 25 Convivia in Turkey and the first Convivium of Turkey, Fikir Sahibi Damaklar, was established in İstanbul. Slow Food International is followed by a group of enthusiastic idealist in the leadership of a committed idealist in İstanbul since mid-2000s. The manifest of Fikir Sahibi Damaklar identify themselves as an urban group.

> In current practices we are regarded as ‘consumer’. But they (consumers) use our ability to interrogate in order to transform in ‘co-producer’. They know that tasteless tomatoes sold in the supermarkets only and only can save their places in aisles if they are bought. If they (consumers) decide to buy them in its season, producers will produce in its season. Fikir Sahibi Damaklar believes that even corporations like Monsanto will disappear if consumers can transform to co-producers (Fikir Sahibi Damaklar, n.d.).

Figure 74. Lüfer Conservation Team, Fikir Sahibi Damaklar Champaign Material (Source: Retrieved from http://www.fikirsahibidamaklar.org/)

Slow Food logo is a trademark of which rules defined by Slow Food International Committee must be applied. Slow Food trademark identify specific projects and events organized by the Slow Food Association. These include Terra Madre, Ark of Taste, Slow Food Presidia, Salone del Gusto, Cheese and Slow Fish, as well, Slow Food has the authority to grant the use of the Slow Food trademark to local bodies of the association and to any third parties which have a relationship with the association (Slow Food, 2012). Convivia and National Associations are authorized to use the trademark.

Foça is a district of İzmir and it is located in the northern part of the city. It is 64 kms away from İzmir city center (İZKA, 2013a) and located at the south of Aliağa, in which heavy industrial zone of İzmir is located. Foça is located in Gediz Delta and as well located in Foça Peninsula. Gediz River is located at the border of Foça and Menemen, at the southern border of Foça. Current population of the district was 44.500 in 2010 (TC. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, n.d.), 32.141 in 2012 (İZKA, 2013a) and the main activities in the district are agriculture, livestock, fishery and tourism. According to İZKA (2013a), the population of district will decrease until 2023 that the population is aging. There will be a 51% increase in the 70+ age group in the district. The district is the 8th most developed district in İzmir according to socio-economic development index (İZKA, 2013a).

Figure 75. A view from Foça (Source: TC. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2012)

The name of the district comes from Mediterranean Seals. Foça is breeding and living habitat of Mediterranean Seals (Monachus Monachus) and it is called *Fok*, which gave the city its ancient name Phokaia. Phokaia was established in 11th Century B.C. and Phokaians founded colonies in different parts of Aegean and Mediterranean regions such as in Marseilles (in France), Velia (in Italy) and Lampsakos (Lapseki, in Çanakkale). In the 17th Century A.D., Foça was one of the most important port cities in Anatolia and had important relations with local and regional ports such as İstanbul and Marseilles (Foça Kaymakamlığı, 2015).

Figure 76. Mediterranean Seal in Foça and logo of Foça Municipality (Source: TC. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2012)

Foça has a unique and precious history, nature, biodiversity and landscape. There are 12 Specially Protected Environmental Areas in Turkey and one of them are in Foça. There are also Natural Protection Sites, Archeological Sites and Urban Sites located in Foça.

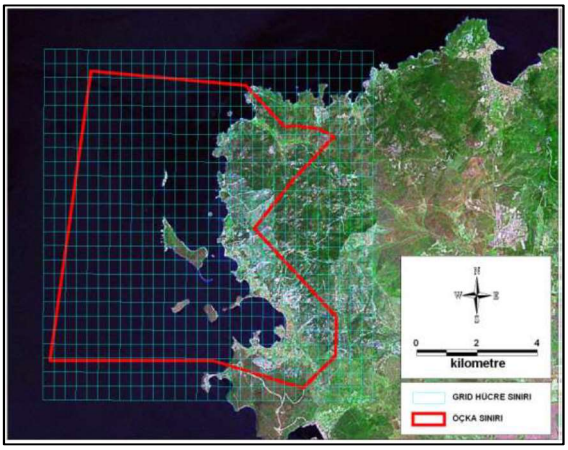


Figure 77. Foça Specially Protected Environmental Area Borders
(Source: TC. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2012)

Foça also has a unique diversity of agricultural activities that it is also a fishery town. Until the population exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923, it was composed of Rum and Turkish residents and wine production was very wide. The agricultural land ownership pattern depends primarily on very small lands that at the beginning of 20th Century, 56% of agricultural land was between 1-9 decares, 21% was between 10-49 decares of total 13581,5 decares agricultural land (Özgün, 2012). Today, total agricultural land is 51100 decares (İZKA, 2013a). Until the declaration of the Greater Municipality Law No. 6360 in 2012, Foça had six villages, namely Yenibağarası, Gerenköy, Ilıpınar, Yeniköy, Bağarası and Kozbeyli (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, n.d.). Officially, these villages have the status of neighborhood but agricultural production is continuing in those villages since 2012.

On the other hand, the fragile ecosystem, agricultural facilities and precious nature of Foça has long been exposed to pollution, rapid housing development and pressure of locally unwanted land uses such as wind power plants, fossil fuel plants, Clinker Mountains, and so on. “Our production site is shrinking day by day that there is the reality of energy plants, environmental harm of Aliağa industries and the polluted Gediz Delta. Our radius is not 40 kms as defined for the Earth Market producers, it is almost much smaller” (**EI-20**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). According to Suzer et al. (2015), there is a serious ecosystem problem in Gediz Delta and Foça due heavy metal concentrations. Moreover, there are so many mining facilities in Gediz-Bakırçay Basin, which both harms agricultural activities by deteriorating ecosystem sources and subjects rural population to be mine workers (Yıldırım, 2016). According to İzmir Büyükşehir

Belediyesi (2015), use of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes and pollution are important tendencies in Foça rurality. Tourism facilities that have started in 1980s in Foça have made drastic changes in the urbanization dynamics and civil society structure of Foça (Özüpekçe, 2008). Foça adapted mass tourism patterns and the secondary housing development after 1980s also contributed to mass urbanization. Even, Dokuz Eylül University Faculty of Tourism is located in the district. According to Özüpekçe (2008), tourism facilities and secondary housing development patterns created a more active but aging (with the retired population settling in Foça) civil society structure in Foça.

7.3.2. Foça Earth Market Alternative Agro Food Niche

7.3.2.1. Initial Cooperation: Grassroots Action

> The emergence of new markets is not an outcome of voluntarism. It is made possible by the development of the main markets for agricultural commodities, which are increasingly governed by large food empires (Van der Ploeg 2008). The increasing gap between the prices received by agrarian producers and the prices paid by consumers materially creates the space to do so. This space literally allows for the construction of 'by-passes'. (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012).

Gül Girişmen, the committed idealist in Foça Earth Market niche initiative, settled in Foça in 2010 November. She was working as an economist in İstanbul and when she and her husband retired, they decided to settle in Foça due to its attractive nature, landscape, history and relatively colorful social life.

> I was within an intense work pressure during my life in İstanbul. I had contact with Slow Food movement, Fikir Sahibi Damaklar, when I was living in İstanbul. I was interested in Slow Food and conservation of biodiversity. When I settled in Foça, I asked about whether a Convivium is operating in Foça. I learned there is not. I decided to establish Foça Zeytindalı Convivium with the help of friends here in Foça (**EI-20**, personal communication, 2016, June 19).

Gül Girişmen and a small group of Foça dwellers including enthusiastic idealists and "art-lover" women founded Foça Zeytindalı Convivium at early 2011. They are mostly known as an Association in Foça, which is an undesired situation for the Convivium. They desire to be known as Convivium, which has a normative contestation against incumbent system and practices of mainstream agro food regime.

After the foundation of the Convivium as the grassroots action, they developed the first socio-technical practice. In this period, they started to seek for what is valuable, endemic, and genuine in the territory, which of the assets are lost and how they can be revived. They started to make researches on the issue. Along this way and by

commissioning research, Zeytindalı Convivium reached the lost tastes such as *çekme makarna* [a kind of pasta], unforgotten assets such as Gediz ivy flower, regenerated tastes and species such as the grape species of *Foça Karası* and the wine produced from this grape species, and they realized endemic herbal kinds such as sharp sorrel [kuzukulağı], rough thistle leaves [şevketi bostan], dandelions, fava beans and humble wild chard [deli pazı]. By commissioning research, they decided to coordinate a trial for establishment of a small scale bazaar to serve agro food products of local tastes and to create awareness on local species, lost assets. For the first time they collaborated three or four producers that were practicing wise peasant agriculture, had knowledge about local species, had practice of seed keeping and had ethno botanic knowledge of herbal species. They were about 18 people at total composed of 3 producers and 15 consumers during initial cooperation.

> At the first time, we were about 15 people as volunteers. Young people know how to organize and how to be a volunteer, but their number is too little, one or two. Some of the people in the first core group did not know to work as a volunteer and some were in the group for a possible benefit or profit. When they realized that there is no benefit but the need is volunteerism, 'useless crowd' left the organization (**EI-20**, personal communication, 2016, June 19).

The first practice of the Convivium became establishing a local bazaar composed of three counters in the square of Foça Municipality. The Foça Mayor, Gökhan Demirağ has been an outsider actor and supporter of the Convivium. Also, District Directorate of Agriculture has supported the Convivium to find and contact primary producers. This small bazaar became the unofficial establishment of Foça Earth Market (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). The establishment of this bazaar attracted producers and consumers as a taste point rather than a bazaar for the first time. Alongside, number of producers started to increase in the bazaar. Producers started to come and want to be a vendor of the bazaar. For instance, the idealistic enthusiast and entrepreneurial peasant Ramazan Dağıstan contacted the Convivium to be a vendor after the establishment of the Local Products Bazaar. As this idealistic enthusiast and entrepreneurial peasant stated;

> I worked as a military official in Foça military mess for four years and when I retired, I settled in Foça. My aunt was honey producer and I was very familiar that I started to produce honey. I like taste activities of the bazaar and visited every Sunday. Municipality introduced me to Mrs. Girişmen and then I was accepted as a producer to the bazaar (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19).

The bazaar was established in the Demokrasi Square in April 2011 with the name of Local Products Bazaar. In the foundation, there were only three agricultural producers in the bazaar and there were additional vendors selling handicraft products and appetizers,

desserts, etc. During 2011 and early 2012, the number of agricultural producers increased in the bazaar. From the start, Foça Mayor and the Municipality supported the Convivium. According to the Mayor of Foça Municipality, the establishment of Convivium in Foça was very important and created a dynamism to re-discover forgotten tastes and local species (**SC-7**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). Municipal support provided the development of local helplines and local network building events.

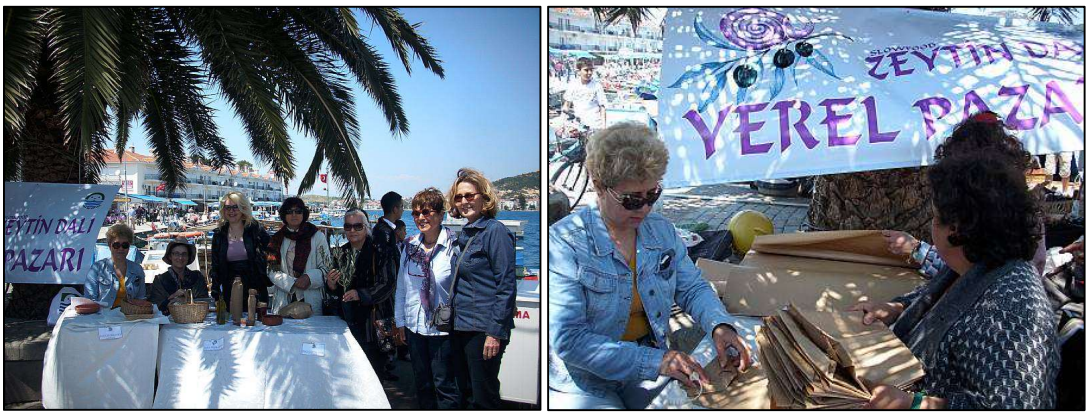


Figure 78. First Foundation of Foça Local Products Bazaar in April 2011
(Source: Çakır-Tezgin, 2011)

During 2011, the number of producers firstly increased to 7 with the participation of the idealistic enthusiast and in mid-2011 the number of the vendors in the bazaar was 10 (Gül, 2011). In May 2011, the number of consumers also increased in the bazaar and it started to gain *recognizability* by their ecologically produced local tastes with the help of local media and the help of the Municipality. The consumers visiting the bazaar also started to change that mostly concerned consumers and ethical consumers started to realize the "distinctive" character of Local Products Bazaar through taste activities. District Bazaar of Foça is open on Tuesdays and the district bazaar is diverse in the number of producers and products. There were many producers that want to attend to local Products Bazaar but the bazaar criterion was depending on Slow Food criterion and did not allow conventional producers. Therefore, Zeytindalı Convivium, with the help of entrepreneurial peasant and a few idealistic enthusiasts, collated applications and evaluated them. Hence, recognizability provided new producers in the bazaar, as well as new consumers.

Increase of counters required finding a new place for the bazaar, because, Demokrasi square was being used for different activities on Sunday. Along the number of consumers and number of producers increased, bazaar needed an "official place". The

Municipality firstly arranged a temporary place then they were proposed official bazaar place by the Municipality.

Figure 79. Foça Local Products Bazaar in Foça Bazaar Place
(Source: Gül, 2011)

According to regulations of Slow Food, Convivia are expected to; spread and develop the philosophy of the movement, expand the movement with participation of members, contribute to sustainable agriculture and knowledge, support and spread the national and international projects of the movement. Moreover, convivia are expected to cooperate with local institutions, gastronomy institutions, education institutions, producer associations, environment protection institutions and media organs, to organize collaborative works with these institutions. Cooperation with other local communities of Slow Food is also requirement of being a convivium. In this respect, Convivia are expected to make two national and one international activity each year and to report the activities. At the end of 2011, when the Foça Zeytindalı Convivium delivered their activity report, area coordinator of Slow Food Balkans Michele Rumiz made Zeytindalı Convivium a proposal. They were suggested to be an Earth Market of Slow Food movement (**EI-20**, personal communication, 2016, June 19; **EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). Zeytindalı Convivium and producers of Local Products Bazaar accepted the suggestion and Foça Earth Market is officially founded on March 2012.

To sum up, Foça Earth Market emerged as a grassroots innovation with the involvement of a small group of actors to drive change to protect the local assets of Foça

by sustainable practices. Their organizational arrangement, Local Products Bazaar, is constructed by cooperation of a number of actors. The innovative potential of Foça Earth Market is mostly lying behind its capacity to make local cooperations with local authorities. Their bottom-up, novel practices on Local Products Bazaar became the incubation room for the establishment of the Earth Market. Through the normative contestation of Slow Food Movement, they have defined new regime rules for producers and consumers.

7.3.2.2. Organized Cooperation: Social Network Building

NOT JUST ANOTHER MARKET! (Earth Markets Motto)

Earth Market Declaration is made at the first year celebration of Foça Zeytindalı Convivium. For the entitlement of Local Products Bazaar as Earth Market, Slow Food International assisted, aided and advised Foça Zeytindalı Convivium. At the outset of 2012, Zeytindalı reviewed the needs and possibilities for transformation. According to one of the peasant producers of Foça Earth Market, they were already practicing tastes, audit and auto control within the bazaar and all producers were selected small land owners who are using ecological production techniques and local seeds (**SC-9**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). However, the declaration of the Earth Market created re-design and institutional design of the bazaar. Their practice in the bazaar was developed through packaging, labelling and serving and the contract signed between producers and Administrative Committee to guarantee production techniques and quality conventions (good, clean, fair). Moreover, they started to make audit on the total production and products of producers that they started to use the checklists of Slow Food International to compare products produced and products sold. Thus, their practice was institutionalized by Slow Food movement and the Convivium made collaboration to correct all deficiencies of Local Products Bazaar to be entitled as an Earth Market. Slow Food movement ensured guidance and technical assistance.

The declaration of the Foça Earth Market was organized as a fiesta. Head of Slow Food Biodiversity Foundation, Piero Sadro, and Michele Rumiz- the coordinator of Terra Madre Balkans and Board Member of Slow Food International- came to Foça to make investigations. According to Gül (2012), a wide participation from National and International actors was observed during the festival and were served a local taste

Gerenköy haricot. For the decision stage, Mrs. Girişmen made a presentation about Local Products Bazaar; their organization and activities, production techniques of producers and local species in the vineyard of Volkan Sucukçu[71]. Piero Sadro made the official declaration for Foça Earth Market on March 19, 2016. Right after, a Bazaar Administrative Committee was established to audit producers and rules of the bazaar, which are defined by Slow Food International. As Mr. Dağıstan declared, it is very important to provide quality that if a producer concentrates on making more and more production and more and more money than the quality of product will decrease by increasing quantity (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). To provide quality, the local committee was composed of 5 people to apply the rules and regulations of Slow Food in local;

1. Producer Representor (enthusiastic idealist and entrepreneurial producer)
2. Foça Municipality Municipal Police Representor
3. NGOs representor
4. Foça Chamber of Agriculture Representor
5. Foça Zeytindalı Convivium Representor.

Figure 80. Foça Earth Market in Marsilya Square
(Source: Social Media Account of Foça Earth Market)

When the Foça Earth Market was officially declared as 22nd[72] Earth Market in the world, this provided a wide national and international recognizability for the bazaar. Many local newspapers regularly made news about the bazaar. Also, the bazaar automatically entered in Terra Madre network as well as Ark of Tastes network. In this

[71] Volkan Sucukçu is an idealistic enthusiast that re-planted lost species Foça Karası grape. He has long been making researches for the spread of Foça Karası in the world and making contribution to recognizability of the species. He achieved to grow Foça Karası grape and succeeded in wine production from the species. This species was the core wine grape of Foça Rums in history.

[72] Many newspapers announced Foça Earth Market as 28th Earth Market in the world. However, Foça Zeytindalı Convivium claims that it was 22nd (see https://www.facebook.com/notes/slow-food-foca-zeytindali/slow-food-fo%C3%A7a-zeytindal%C4%B1-birli%C4%9Fi/1064015270287429)

respect, Foça Municipality arranged Marsilya Square for the bazaar, which has a historical ambiance in the middle of Foça Historical Site. The Municipality also provided designed benches and canopies for the bazaar. As an obligation of Earth Markets, they started to put the Earth Markets Billboard which explains what an Earth Market is and what is its quality conventions (good, clean, fair).

In 2013, a wise peasant women attended the bazaar and regenerated a local lost taste, çekme makarna. This wise peasant woman is living in Hatundere village and making production in their family farm which is composed of 5 small pieces of land making approximately 25 decares at total. They are producing wheat in 10 decares, have 250 fruit trees, 800 meters square orchard and an olive yard. When she was awarded for her knowledge and indigenous techniques by Aliaga Chamber of Agriculture, her wisdom was learned by Foça Earth Market volunteers. "Mrs. Girişmen came and asked me about whatever I can produce. I can make so many things. I am producing huge amounts of vegetables in 800 meters square orchard. Among all, she was very interested in çekme makarna and tarhana" (**EI-22**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). She regenerated a very important local taste through co-learning practices of the bazaar and she thought to other producer women during Terra Madre Day Celebration of Foça Earth Market in 2013, December 10. The wise peasant woman and Mrs. Girişmen went to Patnos island of Greece to make çekme makarna there and to teach Greek Slow Food volunteers.

Figure 81. Çekme Makarna [Çekme pasta]
(Source: Social Media Account of Foça Earth Market)

The first socio-technical practice of the bazaar was a novel project in 2014. Foça semi-open prison is a unique agriculture campus that prisoners are rehabilitated through agriculture and livestock practices and there are plant houses, garden frames and a Diary within the prison. Foça semi-open Prison is producing yoğurt, egg, fresh fruits and

vegetables, and so on. The first practice of Foça Earth Market was to collaborate with Foça Prison, Ulusal Tohum Takas Merkezi [online National Seed Exchange Center], Can Yücel Seed Bank, Karaot Local Seed Association, Foça Municipality and District Directorate of Agriculture to grow seedlings from seeds. Ulusal Tohum Takas Merkezi, Karaot Association and Can Yücel Seed Bank provided local vegetable seeds to Foça Earth Market. Foça semi-open prisoners produced seedlings for Foça Earth Market.

Figure 82. Seedling Exchange[73] Festival (Source: Gül, 2014)

2014 was declared as "Family Farming Year" by FAO. In this respect, they introduced the project with the motto of "Seeds are our future" and practiced a family farming routine- seedling production form local non-hybrid seeds. By doing so, they provided the collaboration of FAO to the project in "Family Farming Year". During this practice, another idealistic enthusiast took great responsibility for the organization of production (Gül, 2014). They grew 250 seedlings of 10 different species of vegetables. When the seedlings grew, Foça Earth Market organized a seedling exchange festival to distribute them to Earth Market producers. Seedlings were also distributed to potential producers and to whom wanted to make production.

They practiced an alternative form of production that many producers are identifying it very hard to grow seedlings. The difficulty and risks of seedling growing is also seen as one of the reasons for hybrid seedling use. In these days, they were about 20 producers in the Bazaar. Their practice created attention on local species and seed saving practices. Slow Food International also announced their practice in the network, which made Foça Earth Market more recognizable in the world.

[73] The festival was a delivery organization rather than exchange.

Figure 83. Foça Earth Market in Slow Food 2014 Almanac
(Source: Retrieved from http://www.Slow Food.com/Almanacco/2014/ENG/Almanacco_ENG_2014.html#p=124)

Through this alternative production practice, Foça Earth Market became candidate for Salone del Gousto competition in Turin, Italy. Salone del Gusto competition, which is a biannual celebratory food fair organized parallel to Terra Madre, was encompassing 39 Earth Markets worldwide and Foça Earth Market was chosen as the best Earth Market in the world in 2014. There were a number of reasons for selection of Foça;

- Women producers are majority in the bazaar
- The scale of the bazaar is small and it created a very simply applicable model
- Seedling Project applied in Foça semi-open Prison highlighted traditional agricultural techniques and use of ancestry seeds.

The practice of Foça Earth Market on emphasizing local seed saving practices also created awareness among consumers. According to Mr. Dağıstan (**EI-21,** personal communication, 2016, June 19), this prize brought more frequenters to the bazaar that not only concerned consumers and ethical consumers but also those interested in gourmet delicacies. Foça Earth Market is given the responsibility of making research on

"tarhana"[74] and this also gave the Foça Earth Market the possibility of becoming more recognizable. Türetici, Mrs. Zülfikargil, also applied in the bazaar at that period and became an important volunteer until the establishment of GETO in 2015[75]. She became the coordinator of peasants during this process.

After this process in 2015, they also sent a number of local tastes to Ark of Tastes such as Çitlenbik Turşusu, çekme makarna, karabaş out, tarhana, and so on. According to Dağıstan, women are more active and dominant in family farming practices and they are very open to make contribution to Foça Earth Market organization by their communication skills (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19); and they are more willing to contribute to local organizations and international organizations such as Ark of Tastes. A peasant producer of Foça Earth Market (**SI-15,** personal communication, 2016, June 19), claims that men are more tended to sell their products to middleman, but women are more resisting in alternative forms of marketing.

Figure 84. The wise peasant woman (on the left) while making tarhana
(Source: Aytekin, 2014)

Although the Salone del Gusto prize increased attention among consumers, it created a tension between producers and Foça Earth Market Administrative Committee. "When we get so popular, producers thought that they can do everything, they can sell everything they wish. But trust is very important for Foça Earth Market!" (**EI-20**, personal

[74] An Anatolian soup made up of flour, yogurt, tomatoes, pepper, different herbs, garlic and so on by techniques of fermentation and sun-dry.
[75] Fadime Zülfikargil (and her husband Kaplan Zülfikargil) became active voluenteers in the Foça Bazaar until the establishment of BİTOT. Their contribution to the Foça Earth Market decreased step by step during BİTOT developed and GETO established. Along this process, a wise peasant women also followed Mrs. Zülfikargil and concentrated on GETO since 2015. They are only making sell when activities are organized in the Foça Earth Market since then.

communication, 2016, June 19). In order to manage common pool resource *trust,* a number of producers were taken out of the bazaar and the number of peasants in the bazaar immediately decreased. Mrs. Zülfikargil and a bread producer peasant producer also left the bazaar when the GETO was established that "it was so hard to wait all Sunday in the bazaar and we are attending when activities are organized" (**EI-14**, personal communication, 2016, June 14). It is cited that producers are leaving the bazaar when they find a better choice, because audit and supervision are not desired by producers (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). So as to increase the number of producers, Foça Earth Market consulted to Slow Food International for stretching out 40 kms radius. When the international committee accepted stretching, they gained knowledge about ecological producers in the district bazaar and found a number of part-time producers. However, the Administrative Committee of Foça Earth Market claims that they are only stretching the 40 kms radius for special products, of which are local such as pine nut of Bergama.

New producers in the bazaar provided another socio-technical practice that a new producer (**SI-16**, personal communication, 2016, June 19) was asked to sell his fresh fruits in the bazaar and his fruits would also be made marmalades, jams and beverages by newly attender two urban-rooted part time producer women. This fresh fruits producer also declares that in Tuesday bazaar (district bazaar), there are a variety of products and approximately 300 producers. This situation causes the consumers to prefer Tuesday bazaar although the prices are the same. Mr. Dağıstan complains about the misunderstanding about the Earth Market that "we are perceived as an organic bazaar, which is disadvantageous for us. Because organic bazaars are much expensive but our prices are the same as Tuesday bazaar prices" (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19).

During 2015, they prepared a new project, the Footprint Project. However, 2015 also became the establishment of the second Earth Market in Turkey, Şile Palamutbirliği Earth Market is established in June 2016. Foça Earth Market niche formed a new niche. To conclude, social network development re-designed the bazaar and provided the development of a number of socio-technical practices. By gaining momentum with the socio-technical practices, Foça Earth Market Niche practiced in social network building in which niche formed the Şile Palamutbirliği Earth Market in İstanbul. Socio technical arrangements run the tools of cooperation and co-learning practices and contributed to re-

discovery of local assets. The tension within the niche caused arrangements for stretching out 40 kms radius rule of the bazaar.

7.3.2.3. Innovation Development: New Socio-Technical Practices

In 2015, Foça Earth market formed another Earth Market in Şile, İstanbul. Şile Earth Market founders, Şile Palamutbirliği Convivium, has made many visits to Foça to gain knowledge about the foundation process of an Earth Market and Foça made supervision to them. According to the idealistic enthusiast Mr Dağıstan (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19), they had gained considerable knowledge about barriers and inconveniences that Foça has experienced and the actor bodies to survive the practice. The advantage of Şile was that there are 57 villages in their territory and there are so many peasants practicing ecological production techniques there. Another advantage of Şile was that there was an already operating district bazaar in Şile and they roofed the Şile Earth Market over existing bazaar. Şile is located at the Anatolian side of İstanbul, located at the north and a coastal town of Black Sea. As a preserved area, their production areas were relatively less polluted, which is the third advantage.

Figure 85. Şile Earth Market (Source: http://www.sile.bel.tr/Page/Detail/6923)

During 2015, another important socio-technical practice was developed by Foça Earth Market. “Ecological Foot Print Village” was developed by Foça Zeytindalı Convivium and accepted by Slow Food International to be completed between March 2016 and December 2016. Primary intention of the project is asserted as “Foça to be passed on to future generations by protecting traditional agricultural heritage and

production". The project was encompassing two stages basically. In the first stage, a wise peasant agriculture land was intended to be established. As the second stage, a common open kitchen would be founded. In this project Foça Zeytindalı Convivium, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Slow Food International, Foça Municipality and District Directorate of Foça made a collaboration to operate the following activities;

1. Establishment of Foça Zeytindalı Rural Life Village: Greenhouse plantation in the land owned by Foça Municipality and located in Yeni Foça. The building located within the land will rearranged for workshops, educations and outdoor activities. During harvest, voluntary organization will be encouraged.
2. Procurement of Local Seeds
3. Educations and Workshops: Indigenous production and life practices of Foça and Foça villages, wise peasant agriculture practices will be applied.
4. Presentation and Recognizability of Foça Zeytindalı Rural Life Village: Preparation of media bulletins and social media.
5. Seed Exchange Festival.

The total budget was counted as 3000 TL but the land, stationery expenses and personnel requirements were supplied by Foça Municipality. However, the land of Foça Municipality was found not applicable, and therefore, Open Kitchen project was applied as the second phase of the Foot Print Village.

Figure 86. Foça Open Kitchen Project and ekmek dolması
(Source: Social Media Account of Foça Earth Market)

The Zeytindalı Convivium and Foça Municipality are still seeking a proper land in which ecological production can be practiced. However, Open Kitchen also contributed to the conservation of local tastes that they have practiced a local dish, ekmek dolması, which is claimed to about to be lost. Kitchen project has made considerable contribution to the recognizability of Foça Earth Market that Erasmus students in İzmir founded a

group named “ecology heroes” visited Foça Earth Market to make contribution to ongoing organizations. Along their production processes, Foça Earth Market became so visible that even Mayor of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Aziz Kocaoğlu, declared to be a member of Foça Zeytindalı Convivium.

Recently, there are 12 producers in Foça Earth Market, all of which are very small land owners and small land owners. The greatest barrier of the bazaar is about the seed use of the producers that “we cannot find producers using local seeds” (**EI-21**, personal communication, 2016, June 19). The second barrier is low level of voluntarism. Mostly, the survival and continuum of the Earth Market is provided by organizations. Last year they have completed 15 organizations and in 2016 they have completed 6 organizations until July. Organizations encompass educations, workshops, co-learning practices and festivals. “When it is true season, we are making pickle for example. Last month, Tayfun Özkaya and Füsun Tezcan were speakers in a workshop and gave us information about local seeds and home-made agricultural medicines” (**EI-20**, personal communication, 2016, June 19).

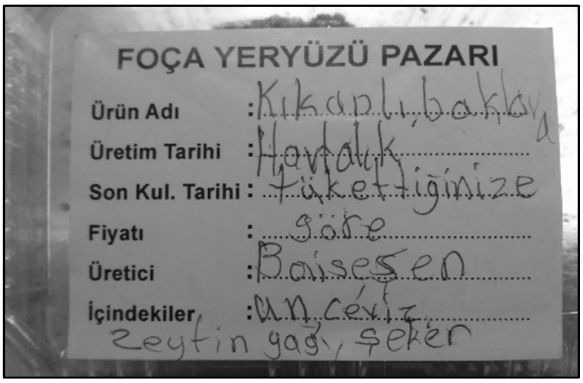


Figure 87. A label from Foça Earth Market (Source: personal archive of the Author)

Mrs. Girişmen claims that the peasants have learned many things such as filling labels and identifying their production techniques during co-learning processes. However, it does not seem that peasants could learn filling labels. For instance, wise peasant women could not learn to fill label that she has written “depends on your consumption” for the date of expiry of her home made local baklava, *kıkaplı baklava* as can be seen in Figure 87.

Producers in the Earth Market are almost selling their products in other bazaars and Foça Earth Market is one third of their product sell in average. Administrative Committee is regularly delivering reports to Slow Food International which provides on

lined-printed sources and knowledge transfer between bazaars. Throughout their innovation processes, Foça Earth Market formed Şile Earth Market and it also could upgraded niche innovation. Their systemic and planned socio-technical practices have succeeded through re-design of the system in the context of philosophy and principles of Slow Food Movement.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Practices of the second food regime have long caused serious results on environment, ecosystems, biodiversity and public health. Conventional production systems which are contingent upon green revolution did not only change agricultural production practices, but they also caused transformation of agricultural policies worldwide, rurality and consumption practices. The practices of the second food regime contributed to sharp differences in the accessibility of food between the Global South and the Global North. The third food regime which is contingent upon bio-genetics revolution largely contributed to those serious results on ecosystem and human health, provided corporatization, global oligopoly markets and enormous hazards on rural livelihoods, biodiversity and loss of rural culture. These changes have given rise to bottom-up, grassroots movements struggling for environment, peasantry and consumption.

Within the third food regime, the environmental movements, the peasant movements and the consumer movements have witnessed the process of engagement with agricultural production and consumption systems and gave birth to Alternative Agro Food Systems. In other words, the mainstream regime practices caused the collaboration of civic movements of environment, production and consumption with the aim to respond directly to the weaknesses of the existing regime of agro-food production. This implied significant changes in food production and consumption driven by the activities of consumers and producers against the dominance of downstream economic actors such as wholesalers, processors, retailers and middlemen in conventional agro-food production. Over the last decade a variety of initiatives has emerged in which producers and consumers play active roles in the initiation and operation of new forms of producer-consumer relations (Renting et al., 2012). These initiatives are of special interest because they point at important changes in the governance of agro-food systems where producers and consumers to re-govern agro-food production; that is to re-gain control over the ways in which food is produced and consumed and to embody alternatives to the ways in which food is produced and consumed in the mainstream food regime.

This emerging agro-food system and the variety of initiatives that emerged have been at the center of a growing body of literature. While studies under the Alternative Agro Food Systems literature gave way to conceptualization such as new peasantries, civic food networks, and short food supply chains and localized agro food systems, the Multi-Level Perspective literature tended to conceptualize the emergent initiatives as strategic niches with the potential to transform the incumbent agro-food regime. This thesis builds on the multi-level perspective in its attempt to explore the characteristics, emergence and development processes of alternative agro-food initiatives in Turkey. A major focus in this strand of literature provides in depth explorations for Alternative Agro Food Systems and focuses on niche innovations. I used this frame to benefit from its rich conceptual repertoire to understand the narratives lying behind alternative agro food niches to answer the question of this thesis.

Multi-Level Perspective views the emergent alternative initiatives as strategic niches that emerge at the margin of the incumbent regime and aims to document their development process by focusing on their socio-technical practices. According to Smith (2006), it is widely acknowledged that socio-technical regimes tend to develop incrementally and cumulatively along trajectories. In his view, the requirement for radical shifts in the incumbent socio-technical *regime* is the emergence of novel socio-technical *niches* at the margins of the incumbent regimes. Herewith, niche development processes have a crucial role in the process of creating new socio-technical regimes. MLP literature emphasizes that there is a niche-level investigation gap in the literature, rather meso-level and macro level investigations are revalent. This thesis is an attempt in this direction that it provides

- a **micro-level** exploration of three alternative agro food niches in İzmir,
- a **meso-level** investigation of the agro food system and the emergence and history of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey, and documentation of Alternative Agro Food Initiatives in Turkey,
- These two levels of investigations are undertaken with a **macro level** reference to the development of Alternative Agro Food Systems in the world,
- In addition, the case studies elaborated in İzmir provided a **city-level** investigation.

Focusing on niche-level investigation to fulfill the gap in the literature through case studies of three niche alternatives which emerged at the margins of the global corporate agro-food regime, I intend to explore the processes through which niche

alternatives emerge and develop and the characteristics in which niches facilitate. The exploration of niche development processes also helps identifying the different ways in which niches evolve and the characteristics which facilitate rapid niche growth.

During my research, I have explored 40 different type of alternative agro food practices which provided me with the definition of Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey. In line with the literature, I define **Alternative Agro Food Systems** as production, procurement, marketing and governance systems that compromise complex and wide networks, complex sets of organization and operation in which producers and consumers play and active role. These systems maintain ecological production and organic production (non-industrial organic) mostly in small scale lands by using polyculture cropping, being in harmony with nature and with ecosystem, using local (non-GMO, non-hybridized) seeds and non-chemical and non-synthetic fertilizers, traditionally embedded and/or ecological techniques instead of chemical pesticides. These systems prioritize the foundation of local and re-localized agro food systems by providing short food supply chains and further nested markets. The concern and the motivation underpinning these systems are right to live, food sovereignty and consumer-producer cooperation.

By attempting to define AAFS in Turkey, I have realized the inadequacy/insufficiency of the discussions of "bifurcation between Alternative Agro Food Systems and conventional agro food systems". I revealed the persistence of traditional agricultural system practices in Turkey context, and their relation with conventional agro food systems and Alternative Agro Food Systems. Along exploration of AAFS in Turkey, I have put forward the initiator framework. Initiator framework portrays three organized types of AAFS niches in Turkey, namely producer initiated, consumer initiated and producer-consumer collaborated. This frame encompasses the alternative forms of niches; their production, consumption, marketing, distribution and retail practices; their socio-technical innovations as well as providing an actor level analysis.

The selection of my case studies primarily depend on the Initiator Framework. My conceptualization let me three trypes of alternative agro food niches, namely producer initiated alternative agro food niche, consumer initiated alternative agro food niche and producer-consumer collaborated alternative agro food niche. İzmir, which provided me a variety of niche initiatives, appears as the hotspot within AAFSs in Turkey. In this respect, the selection of cases in İzmir also provided this dissertation to make an investigation of

the role of cities in the emergence and development of alternative agro food niches. I have explored;

- Gödence as the case of producer-initiated niche
- BİTOT as the consumer initiated niche
- Foça Earth Market as producer-consumer collaborated niche.

Gödence alternative agro food niche is the example of producer-initiated alternative agro food niches. Gödence is an alternative niche that it practices traditional agricultural techniques in its olive production, established alternative and short food supply chains through its buyer club, box scheme, direct marketing to Ege University CSA Groups and its local procurement agreement with İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Gödence Cooperative also applies alternative forms of social organizations for social-networking that their reward for enthusiastic peasants firstly turned to a "National Prize" and now in transition to a local festival to reward scholars, Cooperatives and peasant organizations, media and so on. Multi-Level Perspective literature serves three sub-headlines for the evaluation of alternative niches which are *novelty* in socio-technical arrangements, *responsiveness* to local context and *protection* from incumbent regime practices. Among the three case studies identified with reference to the initiator framework, Gödence is the most compatible example with the incumbent regime practices. Although their primary aim was to develop short food supply chains and direct marketing mechanisms between producers and consumers, they have also developed incumbent regime practices to survive. Their compatibility criterion blunted the scope for niche to be radically innovative. However, there are a number of structural reasons behind this. Different than two other types of initiator, producer initiated type is most directly affected by agricultural structure, climate change, market fluctuations and mainstream regime practices. In other words, it is much harder to achieve a fully protected area from incumbent regime practices. Gödence could achieve to value alternative notions of public good, safety, nutritional value and environmental sustainability in their olive production practices, which is 90% production of their agricultural activity. However, in marketing mechanisms they are practicing conventional forms of marketing, too. As I have discussed in initiator framework in Chapter 5, marketing channels in producer initiated alternative agro food niches are diverse and includes conventional marketing systems. Furthermore, establishing direct marketing channels requires some technological skills such as social media use and novel forms of recognizability construction. Aging population, low level of volunteerism among youngsters, new job opportunities for young

villagers and perpetually changing agricultural laws in Turkey are reasons for diminishing enthusiasm to keep awareness and to lay claim on local assets and agricultural production.

Novelty also requires some skills and a degree of volunteerism. In order to design novel socio-technical arrangements, many factors are playing key roles in rural areas. Gödence has started to assert and implement survival strategies and could have gain a respect and construct three common pool resources; quality, trust and responsiveness. It is a great success to be an actor of Turkey's olive oil production market for a village with 300 population. The practice of Gödence is to combine alternative forms of production and marketing with incumbent regime practices to provide a protected alternative practice by entrenching the Cooperative's recognizability through incumbent regime practices. According to Smith (2006), alternative niches provide protected spaces in which alternative socio-technical practices can be experimented. Gödence designates this protected space by maintaining their existing markets, existing networks and to some extent, existing socio-technical practices. When they returned back to their primary aim in 2005, reaching directly to consumers and therefore construction of short food supply chains, and contributing to public health, they have achieved to produce quality[76] food by practicing incumbent regime practices. This points to the importance of understanding processes by which niches and regimes interact and are interdependent (Smith, 2007).

According to Smith (2006), path dependencies prevails processes of niche transformation and stir the niches up to regime-optimization. It also makes difficult to create socio-technical arrangements. In his view, **path dependencies** include;

- the habits, routines, resources, capabilities, knowledge, past experience to develop and adapt practices in the incumbent regime
- technical artefacts that are embedded in existing infrastructures that make the substitution of incumbent practices with alternative practices difficult
- incumbent practices that possess greater economies of scale and a more advantageous network when compared to alternative socio-technical practices
- existing institutions and government policies which have evolved as a part of mainstream regime strengthen existing trajectories
- prevailing social attitudes can resist new socio-technical practices.

Therefore, path dependencies in Gödence also drives the trajectories that have created a slackness. Stabilizing path-dependencies create tendencies that hinder the

[76] Quality is the obligatory principle to achieve primary aim of constructing short food supply chains.

diffusion of new and novel socio-technical practices to some extent. Their habits, routines, resources, existing technical artefacts, government policies and the social structure of Gödence's small community cannot very easily adapt to new and novel socio-technical arrangements. On the other hand, they have succeeded to incrementally develop the niche innovation. They have emerged as a grassroots action in 1970s and have steered up the primary aim of constructing short food supply chains in 1990s. Since 1990s, they have applied a number of practices within incumbent agro food systems to drive change upon their marketing mechanisms. They could have reached the aim in mid-2000s in which the trajectories have been forcing them to adapt mainstream regime practices. Gödence has appeared to be an emerging alternative within producer initiated Alternative Agro Food Systems during the first phase of my research which was extensive research. In the second phase, intensive research showed that Gödence is under the risk of blunting its innovative capacity due to a number of structural reasons. Mr. Özcan Kokulu is 71 years old and in the case of his resign from his duty in the Cooperative as the institutional designer and the social-networking body, the future of the Cooperative and the future of the niche is under question.

BİTOT alternative agro food niche is the example of consumer initiated niche. BİTOT has gained success in a short time since 2014, November due to its advantageous conditions provided by the committed idealist and the learning by system builders- the institutional designer Buğday Association. From the start, their institutionalized structure was provided by designating long term vision, comprehensive aspiration and new socio-technical practices. BİTOT has emerged as a grassroots action with the philosophy and common ideals of Buğday movement. The normative contestation in the design of BİTOT against incumbent agro food systems and mainstream regime provided a level of purposeful activists and developed its volunteer capacity. Learning by system builders of Buğday movement have been practiced through generation and dissemination of lessons. They have improved technical development by step by step applying new regime rules, just-in-case solutions. They have developed the level of volunteerism by task-sharing rules and eliminated the non-concerned consumers. They have solved their needs and problems by constructing helplines such as collaborating with local actors, special interest groups, and media channels and so on. They have developed the potential of niche by novel socio-technical arrangements. Their practice when the tension emerged within the group was re-designing the niche and its organization practices, which upgraded the

niche. Thus, the scope for applying niche practices in new settings encompassed radical innovations through sustainable agro food practices.

BİTOT case has its novelty in the application of socio-technical practices. Their university orchard practice had created a wide network of academics, scholars and students. They have practiced co-learning by making audit with producer information forms through which consumers also gained knowledge and awareness through practice. By using the networks of Buğday, BİTOT had developed its recognizability. Producer audits also provided the trust to the group that they have developed their own quality conventions.

The tension emerged because of the fraud of a wise peasant re-created group dynamics and fastened the transformation of some of actors to türeticis. Co-production involved a variety of actors and a normative contestation to the enthusiastic ideals within the group. Their novel socio-technical practices to drive solidarity agreements and contracts with farmers provided the chance for producers to change their agricultural practices through more sustainable practices. Community supported potatoes project became a turning point for the group that opened up documented, on-lined resources for co-learning and drive a local model.

The group has formed GETO, which is in the process of formation of another group in East İzmir. Their three common-pool resource; trust, quality and recognizability are driven by the collaboration and solidarity of producers and consumers. The distinguishing feature of BİTOT lies in the construction of alignments between different actors especially between producers and consumer.

Foça Earth Market is the example of producer-consumer collaborated alternative agro food niche with the collaboration of consumers and producers. Similar to BİTOT example, the committed idealist have been steering the alternative niche with the involvement of enthusiastic idealists. Their long term vision have pre-defined the rules and regulations. Foça Earth Market, as the first Earth Market in Turkey, constitute an important alternative agro food niche with its unique character, novel and innovative socio-technical practices, its international network, the motto as “not just another market” and its practices of founding a normative contestation role within the mainstream regime practices.

Foça Earth Market emerged as a three courses bazaar in 2011, transformed to the Earth Market in 2012 and gained the prize of “world’s best Earth Market” in 2014. Their ongoing practice is to establish a wise peasant agriculture school which also provides a

local seed storehouse. They have developed their regime rules with their institutional designer and system builder movement, Slow Food. The success of the Foça Earth Market is lying under its capacity to use mainstream regime institutions to apply innovative and novel socio-technical practices. By applying all the local actors including government actors, they have the accessibility to many social and technical sources, social networks and social priorities.

The enthusiastic idealists have contributed to overcome the blunting potential of path dependencies in the rurality of Foça. Social networking in Foça Earth Market could flow and allow the articulation of learning processes to overcome the limitations imposed by the economic order, the legal system, objective technological obstacles and political barriers for producers. They have been co-learning with the normative contestation of being co-producers. The Earth Markets are spaces of social activities and socialization that gives a great potential to the niche for developing alternative models, networks and infrastructures. The obligations of Slow Food for documentation of all activities, audit, and periodical reports is providing Foça Earth Market on lined-documented sources and the knowledge share between different Earth Markets.

They have overcome the tensions in the initiative with innovative practices and providing flexibility in 40 kms square radius and they could include special products from the territory within the bazaar. By revealing local values, local tastes, contributing to biodiversity and conservation of environment, they have well contributed to the survival of peasants, conservation of ecosystem and culture. By the socio-technical practices and knowledge sharing, Foça earth Market has formed the Şile Earth Market which has created a bigger model of Foça. Moreover, Foça Earth Market's unique innovation capacity is lying under its artifice to use incumbent regime institutions to create alternative socio-technical practices. The flexibility in the Foça Niche to motivate actors including those from mainstream regime has contributed to the innovative capacity of the initiative.

The MLP literature defined characteristics for the success of niches to achieve and develop. By opening up my cases I have found out that "the outsider actors" which are seen as crucial actors for the establishment of the niches are not compulsory actors, rather committed idealists play a crucial role. Although committed idealists of BİTOT and Foça Earth Market are outsiders, gödence as a village showed visa versa. On the other hand, the committed idealist of Gödence village, with his diverse personal experiments and social networks he gained in İzmir locality, is to some extent outsider. The MLP literature

emphasizes that private actors have limited incentive in niche development processes, rather public authorities and civil society is crucial for the niches (Geels, 2011). However, my findings clarify that private actors, their respectability and reliability within the niches has great importance. The involvement of Buğday Association to BİTOT and the involvement of Zeytindalı Convivium to Foça Earth Market provided the niches a wide social network, yet, the development of the niche required voluntary involvement of private actors. In addition, my novel finding for the actor involvement in niche initiatives show that when the number of beneficiary consumers increase in the consumer initiated niches, the niche either stabilize or loses its capacity to develop socio-technical practices.

Marques et al. (2012) claim that social networks will not quarantee the success of the niche, it is necessary to learn about specific engagement of actors promoting the niche. This idea is verified in Gödence niche that their wide social networks did not quarantee the innovative capacity of the niche. Crisis within the mainstream regime, the development of new non-agricultural sectors in its territory blunted the volunteer capacity of the niche. However, the main reason for actors that are not engaged in the processes of learning by system builders is structural changes created by the incumbent regime and agricultural and rural policies applied by Turkey governments.

The common vision has been a key characteristic in the niches in Turkey. To apply the vision, Gödence niche has performed compatibility with the regime and persuaded regime actors to be included. However, with the low level of voluntarism, such compatibility blunted the innovative capacity of the niche. On the other hand, Foça Earth Market have performed a great flexibility to include regime actors and have legitimized its specific regime rules to those actors and institutions. BİTOT, on the other hand, has a contestation role that attends local protest to save the natural protection sites in Urla. Their practices aim at raising awareness.

The tensions within the mainstream regime have most directly affected producer initiated Gödence niche through their primary source of income, agriculture. This caused the niche to lose its volunteer capacity and enthusiasm. On the other hand, BİTOT and Foça Earth Market, which are established less than five years ago, have overcame the tensions within the niche to new socio-technical practices. It is questionable for BİTOT and Foça Earth Market whether their innovative capacity against tensions will be able to survive.

This study has revealed emerging Alternative Agro Food Systems in Turkey with regard to three different forms of alternative agro food niches in İzmir. By doing so, this

dissertation opens up a new field of study. The newly emerged movement can further be developed through the examination of alternative socio-technical regime and its transformative potential. This dissertation provided an incomplete data set for AAFSs in Turkey. Further datasets can improve the knowledge, can provide further abstractions and can contribute a better understanding for the structure. Moreover, different emergent alternative agro food niches have a variety of forms and practices which makes each alternative agro food niche a unique case. Alternative agro food initiatives are emerged in Turkey in the mid-2000s and have been developed since then. In the following decades, we will see if the gap between niches and the regime will influence the processes of disruption and fragmentation associated with alternative socio-technical regime or if the niches will enhance their potential for system transitions in the incumbent regime.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS DURING THE FIRST PHASE OF THE RESEARCH

Table 26. In-depth Interviews during the First Phase of the Research

TYPE OF CONTACT	DATE	INTERVIEWEE CODE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE	ACTOR TYPE
IN-DEPT	29.12.2015	Ali Ekber Yıldırım **EI-1**	Journalist; agriculture author, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Rural Development Research Group Participant	Informant
IN-DEPT	10.1.2016	Tayfun Özkaya **EI-2**	Academician, Activist, CittaSlow Turkey Scientific Committee Member, CSA initiator	Committed Idealist
IN-DEPT	22.1.2016	Mehmet Gürmen **EI-3**	NGO Activist, Producer of BITO and Activist of Buğday Association	Committed Idealist
IN-DEPT	25.1.2016	İlhan Koçulu **EI-4**	Producer- Boğatepe Environment and Life Association	Committed Idealist
IN-DEPT	26.1.2016	Tunç Soyer **EI-5**	Mayor of Seferihisar Municipality	Committed Idealist
IN-DEPT	3.6.2016	Mustafa Bektaş **EI-6**	Head of Nallıhan Tourism Voluenteers Association, NGO Activist- Nature Organization	Committed Idealist
SHORT INTERVIEW	22.1.2016	Mustafa İnal **SI-1**	former BİTOT Producer	Entrepreneurial Producer
SHORT INTERVIEW	25.3.2016	Ebru Bingöl **SI-2**	Academician, IZTECH-University Garden Initiator, BITOT Coordination Team Member	Idealistic Enthusiast and Ethical Consumer
SHORT INTERVIEW	10.4.2016	(DECLINED TO BE NAMED) **SI-3**	Sygenta Worker: C&O Production Field Management at Syngenta Seeds	Informant
SHORT INTERVIEW	16.5.2016	Tayfun Özkaya **SI-4**	Academician, Activist CittaSlow Turkey Scientific Committee Member, CSA initiator	Committed Idealist
SHORT INTERVIEW	27.5.2016	Teoman Açıkbaş **SI-5**	Activist- Local Seed Association	Idealistic Enthusiast
SHORT INTERVIEW	27.5.2016	İsmail Yenigün **SI-6**	Activist- İmece Evi	Idealistic Enthusiast

(cont. on next page)

Table 26 (Cont.)

TYPE OF CONTACT	**DATE**	**INTERVIEWEE CODE**	**PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE**	**ACTOR TYPE**
SHORT INTERVIEW	30.5.2016	Hüseyin Barış **SI-7**	Activist- Yeryüzü Association	Idealistic Enthusiast
SHORT INTERVIEW	31.5.2016	Ezgi Arslan **SI-8**	Food Engineer, Organic Bazaar Audit of ETO	Informant
SHORT INTERVIEW	1.6.2016	Hür Hassoy **SI-9**	Aegean University Department of Public Health CSA Groups Initiator	Concerned Consumer
SHORT INTERVİEW	2.6.2016	Bedros Kehyeoğlu **SI-10**	Head of Vakıflı Village Cooperative	Institutional Designer
SHORT CONTACT	20.2.2016	Recep Bostancı **SC-1**	Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Livestock- Seed Gene Bank	Informant
SHORT CONTACT	30.5.2016	Berna Yaylalı Yıldız **SC-2**	Academician, GETO Coordination Team Member	Concerned Consumer
SHORT CONTACT	1.6.2016	Alp Yücel Kaya **SC-3**	Aegean University Faculty of Economics CSA Group Coordinator	Concerned Consumer
SHORT INTERVIEW	2.6.2016	Berç Karton **SC-4**	Vakıflı Village Headman	Idealistic Enthusiast, Producer

APPENDIX B. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS DURING THE SECOND PHASE OF THE RESEARCH

Table 27. In-depth Interviews during the Second Phase of the Research

TYPE OF CONTACT	DATE	INTERVIEWEE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE	ACTOR TYPE
IN-DEPT	7.6.2016	Çağatay Özcan Kokulu **EI-7**	Journalist, producer, Head of Gödence Cooperative, Former President of Union of İzmir Cooperatives	Institutional Designer, committed idealist
IN-DEPT	7.6.2016	Oya Ayman **EI-8**	Journalist, producer in Marmariç Permaculture Institute, Buğday Association founder team member, Buğday Association Councillor, KİTO Initiator, BİTOT Producer	Türetici
IN-DEPT	11.6.2016	Metin Gümüş **EI-9**	BITOT and GETO producer, Bostanlı and Balçova Organic Bazaars Producer	Entrepreneurial Producer
IN-DEPT	11.6.2016	Şadan Güvenir **EI-10**	BITOT Producer, BİTOT Consumer	Türetici
IN-DEPT	11.6.2016	Ümmet Aytekin **EI-11**	Gödence Cooperative founder team member (1972) and Partner, Producer	Producer
IN-DEPT	11.6.2016	Osman Yetim **EI-12**	Gödence Cooperative Partner, Gödence Cooperative Audit Commission Ex-Member, Producer, Seferihisar Local Peasant Bazaar Producer	Entrepreneurial Producer
IN-DEPT	11.6.2016	Mustafa Ali Kara **EI-13**	Gödence Village Headman, Gödence Cooperative Partner, Producer	Peasant Producer
IN-DEPT	13.6.2016	Fadime Zülfikargil **EI-14**	Retired Teacher, Producer of GETO and Foça Earth Market, Buğday Association Activist	Türetici (producer), institutional designer
IN-DEPT	13.6.2016	Can Benlidayı **EI-15**	Computer Engineer, Prospective Producer, GETO Team Member	Ethical Consumer
IN-DEPT	14.6.2016	Mehmet Gürmen **EI-16**	NGO Activist, Producer of BITOT and Activist of Buğday Association, initiator of BITOT	Committed Idealist

(cont. on next page)

Table 27 (Cont.)

TYPE OF CONTACT	DATE	INTERVIEWEE	PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE	ACTOR TYPE
IN-DEPT	15.6.2016	Mustafa Ünal **EI-17**	Gödence Producer, Olive Oil Factory Owner, Entrepreneur	Entrepreneur, Peasant Producer
IN-DEPT	15.6.2016	Orhan Salih Çubukçu-Şule Çubukçu **EI-18**	Gödence Dweller-Bourgeouis, Producer	Outsider Actor
IN-DEPT	16.6.2016	Caner Güven **EI-19**	Bachelor of Economics, Ege CSA Groups and BITOT Producer	Entrepreneurial Producer, Idealistic Enthusiast, Institutional Designer
IN-DEPT	18.6.2016	Gül Girişmen **EI-20**	Foça Earth Market Initiator, Zeytin Dalı Association Founder Team	Committed Idealist
IN-DEPT	19.6.2016	Ramazan Dağıstan **EI-21**	Foça Earth Market Honey Producer, Initiator, Audit Coordination Member	Urban rooted full time Producer, Enthusiastic Idealist
IN-DEPT	19.6.2016	Bahise Gülseren Şen **EI-22**	Hatundere Village Dweller, Foça Earth Market Producer, Wise Peasant Woman	Peasant Producer, Wise Peasant
SHORT INTERVIEW	11.6.2016	İsa Aykanat **SI-11**	Gölcük Village Dweller, Tudem Group Founder and Board Chairman, İzmir Economy University Board of Overseers Member, Tuder Private Teaching Institution Founder, Ex-Assemblyman of İzmir Chamber of Trade	Urban rooted part time Producer, Outsider Actor
SHORT INTERVIEW	13.6.2016	Pınar Öztopçu Kangal **SI-12**	Pınara Organic Farm Owner, GETO and BITOT producer, computer engineer	Urban rooted part time Producer
SHORT INTERVIEW	15.6.2016	Gödence Villagers living in İzmir **SI-13**	Retired couple living in İzmir and have land in Gödence village to spend holidays in Gödence (woman was born in Gödence Village)	Informant
SHORT INTERVIEW	17.6.2016	Aslı Menekşe Odabaş **SI-14**	Seferihisar Municipality, Director of Seferihisar Municipality Directorate of Etudes and Projects	Informant
SHORT INTERVIEW	19.6.2016	Hasan Şipal **SI-15**	Foça Earth Market Producer	Peasant Producer

(cont. on next page)

Table 27 (Cont.)

TYPE OF CONTACT	**DATE**	**INTERVIEWEE**	**PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE**	**ACTOR TYPE**
SHORT INTERVIEW	19.6.2016	Mehmet Bakırcı **SI-16**	Foça Earth Market Producer	Peasant Producer
SHORT INTERVIEW	19.6.2016	İmren & Elif **SI-17**	Young Professionals (Tourism Sector and IT Sector), settled in Foça after marriage, Foça Earth Market Producer	Urban rooted part time Producer
SHORT INTERVIEW	19.6.2016	Ercümend Ercümenciler **SI-18**	Retired from tourism sector, Foça Earth Market Producer	Urban rooted part time producer
SHORT INTERVIEW	15.6.2016	Efemçukuru Gold Mine Workers- Young Gödence Dwellers (4 Young men of 25-35 ages) **SI-19**	Living in Gödence and working in the Efemçukuru Gold Mine. They have family land in Gödence and working in the land at free times.	Part Time Peasant Producers
SHORT CONTACT	11.6.2016	İbrahim Hayta **SC-5**	Gödence Dweller	Informant
SHORT CONTACT	12.6.2016	Şevket Meriç **SC-6**	Seferihisar Municipality Directorate of Agricultural Services Worker	Informant
SHORT CONTACT	19.6.2016	Gökhan Demirağ **SC-7**	Foça Mayor	Informant, Supporter
SHORT CONTACT	19.6.2016	Esra Kartal **SC-8**	Foça Zeytindalı Convivium Voluenteer, GETO Consumer, Nature Association Member	Idealistic Enthusiast
SHORT CONTACT	19.6.2016	Hüseyin Karaca & Hanife Karaca **SC-9**	Foça Earth Market Producer	Peasant Producers
SHORT CONTACT	19.6.2016	Aysun **SC-10**	Foça Earth Market Producer	Peasant Producer
SHORT CONTACT	19.6.2016	Emine **SC-11**	Foça Earth Market Producer	Peasant Producer

APPENDIX C. PRODUCER INITIATED ALTERNATIVE AGRO FOOD NICHES

Table 28. Producer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Niches

Name of Niche	Location	Committed Idelist	Year	Upgraded	Activities	Producer
Gödence Cooperative	İzmir	Çağatay Özcan Kokulu	1974(1) 1992(2)	1992-Planned Cooperation and branding	Non-agricultural sector development	180
Çıralı Ulupınar Eco-Cooperative	Antalya	WWF Turkey	2000	2003-UNDP-GEF/SGP Project (2000)	Eco-tourism, natural and cultural conservation	35+
Boğatepe Environment and Life Association	Kars	İlhan Koçulu	2002	After 2003-use of local seeds by peasants	Eco Museum and Solidarist international tourism, ethno-botanic studies, Common-pool resource management, technical improvement, local cooperation	60+
Nallıhan Tourism Voluenteers Association	Ankara	Mustafa Bektaş	2002	Not a critical turning point but ongoing organizatio n and developmen t process	Ecological Tourism, History and Archeology Studies, Natural Conservation, Community Capacity Building, Agricultural Strategy	30
Vakıflı Village Cooperative	Antakya	Young Initiative followed by Women Initiative	2004	Developed through return of young villagers, partially failed	GEN Europe eco villages member	38
Nusratlı Village Association	Çanakkale	Süheyla Doğan	2005			100
Datça Sındı Cooperative	Muğla	-	2006	no respond	no respond	69

APPENDIX D. CONSUMER INITIATED ALTERNATIVE AGRO FOOD NICHES

Table 29. Consumer Initiated Alternative Agro Food Niches

Name of the Niche	City	Year	Related Actor	Number of Producers	Number of Consumers
Buğday Association Garden Project	İstanbul	2005	Buğday Ecological Life Association	-	-
Bir Umut Association	İstanbul	2005	Bir Umut Association	-	1000+
Güneşköy Our Garden Project	Ankara	2006	Güneşköy	9	-
BÜKOOP	İstanbul	2008	Eğitim-Sen, Çiftçi-Sen	12	buyers shop
DBB [Natural Conscious Nourishment]	Ankara	2009	Kır Çocukları [Prairie Kids]	32	1000+
Yeşil Tabak [Green Plate]	İstanbul	2011	Özgen Saatçılar: non-profit virtual bazaar, farm to home	6	79
Çiğdemim Association Urban Garden	Ankara	2011	Çiğdemim Association	Neighborhood Dwellers	Neighborhood Dwellers
DÜTEG (Doğal Ürün Talep Edenler Grubu)-Group of Natural Product Demanders	Eskişehir	2012	-	-	
Yeşil Ev	Gaziantep	2012	Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP)	-	na
Yeryüzü Association	İstanbul	2012	Yeryüzü Association	20+	35*4
EGE University CSA Groups (4 groups, 1 under construction)	İzmir	2013	Tayfun Özkaya	11	30*2

(cont. on next page)

Table 29 (Cont.)

Name of the Niche	City	Year	Related Actor	Number of Producers	Number of Consumers
Kadıköy Consumption Cooperative	İstanbul	2014	Occupy Gezi-Neighborhood Forums	10	350
Seferihisar Orhanlı Nature School	İzmir	2014 February	Nature Association	Voluenteers and Villagers	Online Marketing: Slow Shop-Nature Association Website
BİTOT (West İzmir CSA)	İzmir	2014 November	Mehmet Gürmen, Buğday Ecological Life Association	27	45
Dürtük-[Resisting Producer-Consumer Collective]	İstanbul	2015	Çiftçi-Sen	-	-
Yaşam Dostu Ürün Grubu	Balıkesir	-	-	-	-
Local Seed Assocaition CSA Groups (3 groups)	İzmir	2015	Local Seed Association	10	20*3
GETO [Gediz Ecology Community]	İzmir	2015 November	GETO is derived from BİTOT	14	33
KİTO (Kiraz Ecology Community)	İzmir	2016	KİTO is sister community of BİTOT and GETO	6	30
East İzmir Ecology Community	İzmir	forthcoming	derived from GETO-BITOT	under construction	under construction

(cont. on next page)

Table 29 (Cont.)

Name of the Niche (ECO-VILLAGES)	**City**	**Year**	**Influential Actor**	**Social Organizations**	**Number of Producers**
Hocamköy	Kırıkkale	Initiative-METU Graduates	1997	-	-
Güneşköy Cooperative	Ankara	Initiative-METU Scholars	2000	social organizations	9
Marmariç Permaculture Institute /Ecologic Life Association	İzmir	Mustafa Bakır, Buğday Association	2004	Permaculture Education Center	5 (11 at total)
İmece Evi [Co-op House]	İzmir	Initiative	2007	Farm-to-school, box scheme, buyer club	4
TADYA-Tahtacıörencik Natural Life Collective	Ankara	Kır Çocukları	2009		13
Başka Bir Gıda Mümkün [Another Food is Possible]	Balıkesir	Green and Leftie Working Group	2009	100 Families	-

APPENDIX E. PRODUCER- CONSUMER COLLABORATED ALTERNATIVE AGRO FOOD NICHES

Table 30. Producer-Consumer Collaborated Alternative Agro Food Niches

Bazaar Type /Name	**Year**	**Related Body**	**Supporter**	**Stand Owners /Vendors**	**Producers**
Organic Bazaar **100% Ecological Bazaar**	2006	Buğday Association	-	Producers, Middleman, Buyers Shops	64
Ecological Bazaar **Sığacık Peasant Bazaar**	2009	Seferihisar Municipality	Seferihisar Municipality	Producers	450
Organic Bazaar **İzmir Organic Bazaar**	2010	ETO	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	Producers, Middleman, Buyers Shops	11 vendors, 24 courses
Ecological Bazaar **Peasant Bazaar Fethiye**	2012	Republican Womens Association	Fethiye Municipality	Producers	90
Earth Market **Foça Earth Market**	2012	Foça Zeytin Dalı Association- Slow Food Earth Markets Convivium	Foça Municipality, Slow Food Turkey, Earth Markets, Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock	40 kms environs producers	12
Ecological Bazaar **Peasant Bazaar Bodrum**	2014	Bodrum Seed Association	Bodrum Municipality	Producers	12
Earth Market	2015	Slow Food Şile Palamut Association	Şile Municipality	40 kms environs producers	57+

APPENDIX F. FOCUS GROUP MEETING PARTICIPANTS

Table 31. Focus Group Meeting Participants

RELATED GROUP	NAME OF PARTICIPANTS	RELATED NGO	ACTOR TYPE	EXPLANATION
BİTOT	Mehmet Gürmen	Buğday	Committed İdealist	BITOT Coordination Member
EGE	Tayfun Özkaya	Agricultural Economics	Committed İdealist	Ege University CSA Groups Initiator
BİTOT, GETO & EGE	İlhan Koçulu	Boğatepe	Committed İdealist	Boğatepe Environment and Life Association, Kars
BORNOVA	Teoman Açıkbaş	Local Seed	Idealistic Enthusiast	Bornova CSA Groups Initiator
	Mehmet Yıldız	Local Seed	NGO Activist	Researcher
EGE	Fatih Özden	Agricultural Economics	Concerned Consumer	Scholar
	Esin Sağlam		Consumer	Producer-Consumer Collaborated AAFS researcher
EGE	Hakan Adanacıoğlu		Consumer	Scholar
EGE	Akış Doğan		Consumer	
EGE	Aslı Ata	Buğday	Concerned Consumer	
EGE	Filiz Kınıklı		Consumer	
GETO & Earth Market	Fadime Zülfikargil	Buğday & Slow Food	Türetici	
GETO & Earth Market	Kaplan Zülfikargil	Buğday & Slow Food	Türetici	
EGE, (later BİTOT)	Caner Güven		Entrepreneurial Producer, Idealistic Enthusiast, Institutional Designer	EGE and BİTOT producer, former buyer club
	Zerrin Çelik		Idealistic Enthusiast	Seed Exhange Festivals Activist
	Engin Önen		Idealistic Enthusiast	Çeşme Germiyan Slow Food Initiative Volunteer
GETO	Bülent Şahin		Concerned Consumer	GETO Coordination Member
	Hakan Tarandır		Participant	
	Derya Nizam		Idealistic Enthusiast	Rural Researches Network Initiative Volunteer
GETO	Can Benlidayı	Buğday	Ethical Consumer	GETO Coordination Member/ Potential Producer

APPENDIX G. BİTOT PRODUCER INFORMATION FORM (FIRST PAGE OF FIVE PAGES)

BİTOT ÜRETİCİ BİLGİ FORMU
(BAHÇE VE TARLA BİTKİLERİ)

Üretici adı: [redacted]	Gönüllü adı: Şeyma	
Gönüllü sıfatı		
☒ BİTOT üreticisi	☐ BİTOT üreticisi	☐ Uzman (ziraat müh., bahçıvan, vb)
Ziyaret tarihi:		

Aşağıdaki bölümlere sığmayan notlarınız için formun sonundaki GÖNÜLLÜ NOTLARI kısmını kullanabilirsiniz.

I. Arazi Yönetimi

Toplam üretim alanı kaç dönüm?	33 (toplam arazi) / 16,5 Etili
Üretici bu arazide ne zamandır tarım yapıyor?	2003
Son 36 ay içinde fenni gübre, böcek ilacı, mantar öldürücü ilaç veya ot öldürücü ilaç kullanılmış mı?	~~EVET~~ / HAYIR
Evetse ne zaman, ne kullanılmış?	hiç kullanmadı
Toprak sürülüyor mu?	EVET / ~~HAYIR~~
Evetse hangi yöntem(ler)le?	pat pat
Ekim nöbeti (münavebe/ürün rotasyonu) yapılıyor mu?	EVET / ~~HAYIR~~

II. Toprak Verimliliği

Hayvan gübresi kullanılıyor mu?	EVET / ~~HAYIR~~
Evetse hangi hayvan ve bu hayvanlar neyle besleniyor?	keçi
	arazide otla
Yeşil gübre amaçlı ekim yapılıyor mu? (Bakla v.b.)	EVET / ~~HAYIR~~
Evetse ne ekiliyor?	fi, bakla
Kompost yapılıyor mu?	evet
Toprak verimini artırmak için başka girdiler kullanılıyor mu?	~~EVET~~ / HAYIR
Evetse ne kullanılıyor?	

III. Su Kullanımı

Sulama kaynağı nedir? (Artezyen, kuyu v.b.)	kuyu
Çevrede doğal su kaynaklarını kirletebilecek uygulamalar var mı? (sanayi tesisleri, madenler, vb)	~~EVET~~ / HAYIR
Evetse ne var ve üretim alanına ne kadar mesafede?	
Su tasarrufu için hangi yöntemler kullanılıyor? (Damla sulama, malç v.b.)	damla sulama

APPENDIX H. BİTOT VOLUNTEER NOTES FROM THE FARM VISIT OF WISE PEASANT

ZİYARET TARİHİNDE ARAZİDE EKİLİ OLDUĞU GÖZLEMLENEN BİTKİLERİN LİSTESİ
(ÖNEMLİ: Üretim alanları dolaşılarak not edilmeli, mümkünse o anda her bir üründen toprakta dikili kaç kök olduğu bilgisi sorulmalı ve not edilmeli)**

- ıspanak
- bakla (tohumluk, [illegible] → 2 dönüm
- [illegible])

Esin
Şeyma
Günce
Mehmet
Melisa
İbrahim
Şafak

- arazide Bitot listesindeki ürünler gözlenmedi. Nerede olduğu soruldu. Daha önce araziyle ilgili sorularda bahsi geçmeyen yeni bir araziden bahsetti. Fakat orada da yeni ekim yaptığını, görülecek birşey olmadığını söyledi. Gidip görmek istediğimizi söylediğimizde, arazinin kiralık olduğunu, 1 saat uzaklıkta olduğunu, her istediğinde gidilemeyeceğini, önceden oradaki insanlara haber verilip gidilebileceğini söyledi.

Diğer notlar

225 tavuk

Arazide birşey yoksa bitot listesindeki nasıl ürünleri olduğunu sorduk. Bunun üzerine listelerindeki tüm sebzeleri sildirdi.

APPENDIX I. BİTOT COMMUNITY SUPPORTED POTATOES PROJECT CONTRACT

Topluluk Destekli Patates Üretim Planı
Nisan 2016 – Nohutalan Köyü / Urla - İZMİR

Üretici: Metin Gümüş
Katılımcılar: BİTOT grubu, GETO grubu

Konu:

- 600kg tohumluk patatesin Urla'nın Nohutalan köyündeki üreticinin 1430m2 arazisine Nisan 2016 ayında ekilip Eylül 2016 ayında hasat edilmesi ve teslimatını içerir.
- Katılımcılar 3TL/kg katkı sunacaklardır.
- Katılımcı grubunda bulunmayıp hasattan sonra gıda toplulukları listeleri üzerinden sipariş verecek olan diğer protokol dışı üreticiler 4TL/kg katkı sunacaklardır.
- Üreticinin gıda toplulukları harici satışı 4TL/kg'dan daha yüksek olacaktır.

Harcama Öngörüleri:

- 600kg tohumluk patates = 600TL
- Tohumluk alımı nakliye masrafı = 130TL
- Traktör sürüm bedeli = 150TL
- Damla sulama tesis bedeli = 100TL
- Bactogen agro-mineral organik gübre = 150TL
- İşçilik = 350TL
- Depolama ihtiyacı için hazırlık maliyeti = 200TL (Kargı / palet v.b.)
- İhtiyaç halinde organik ilaç = 150TL
- Hasat = 0TL (Her iki grubun katılımıyla imece hasat şenliği)
- TOPLAM ÜRETİM MALİYETİ = 1830TL

Ön Ödeme İle Toplanan Bloke Tutar:

- 1600kg x 3TL = 4800TL (15 Nisan 2016 itibariyle toplanmıştır)

Yapılan Ödemeler:

- 15 Nisan 2016 – 730TL (Tohumluk patates alımı nakliye dahil)
- 15 Nisan 2016 – 400TL (Sürüm ve sulama + gübre için verilen avans)

Olası Riskler ve İzlenecek Yollar:

- **Sıfır Hasat (Tohumluk dahil tüm mahsülün kaybı):**
  Alacak – verecek kalmayacak şekilde proje sona erer. Üretim maliyeti dışında bir bedel üreticiye ödenmez ve bloke tutulan tutarın bakiyesi katılımcılara geri ödenir veya onay dahilinde başka bir topluluk destekli proje için kullanılabilir.

- **Eksik Hasat (1600kg'dan az ürün çıkarsa):**
  Bloke tutulan tutarın tamamı üreticiye aktarılır, eksik çıkan ürün oranında tüm paydaşlar eksik ürün teslim alırlar.

- **Tam Hasat (1600kg çıkarsa):**
  Bloke tutulan tutarın tamamı üreticiye aktarılır ve proje sona erer.

- **Fazla hasat:**
  1600kg'ın üzerindeki ürün üreticinin insiyatifindedir ancak üreticinin bu ürünü gıda topluluklarına 4TL, dışarıda (pazar v.b.) 5TL bedelden verme sözü alınmıştır.

- **Ölüm / Beklenmeyen Sakatlık / Büyük Sağlık Sorunu:**
  Bloke tutulan bakiyenin tamamı üreticiye / ailesine aktarılır, alacak-verecek kalmadan proje tamamlanır.

VITA

PERSONAL

Surname, Name : KARAKAYA Emel

Date and Place of Birth : 27.05.1983 – Ankara (Turkey)

E-mail : emellkarakaya@gmail.com

EDUCATION

PhD., İzmir Institute of Technology, Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences, Department of City Planning (2010 - 2016)

Thesis: "Agro Food System Transitions? Exploring Alternative Agro Food Initiatives in İzmir, Turkey"

M.Sc., Middle East Technical University, Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences, Department of Urban Design (2007-2010)

Thesis: "Construction of the Republic in City Space: From Political Ideal to Planning Principles"

B.CP., Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of City and Regional Planning (2002-2007)

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCES

Research Assistant, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University, Department of City and Regional Planning (2014 September-ongoing)

Research Assistant, İzmir Institute of Technology, Department of City and Regional Planning (2009 January-2014 September)