

LABOR AND VALUE CREATION PROCESSES
IN THE SECTOR OF NATURAL FOOD PRODUCTION IN TURKEY

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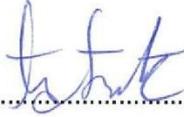
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2016

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ABSTRACT

Labor and Value Creation Processes in the Sector of Natural Food Production in Turkey

Demand for healthy and natural food has been increasing significantly, particularly among some segments of the middle and upper classes in metropolitan areas over the last decade in Turkey. This trend also has repercussions in the world of agriculture. We observe that an increasing number of farms have been established to meet this demand through organizing and coordinating agricultural production, especially in the southwestern cities of Turkey. This study examines the labor and value creation processes in the natural food production sector in Turkey. To that end, I scrutinize İpek Hanım Çiftliği, a farm located in the Nazilli district of Aydın, as a case study. The main argument is that value creation and capital accumulation are realized through the appropriation of women's domestic labor and knowledge. Women's labor and knowledge appear as a natural resource available for use as capital in this sector. This study also argues that the romanticization of past history and of nature are two other important strategies for capital accumulation in this sector. This study is based on field research and interviews conducted with the women working on the farm and the owner of the farm. It is also based on discourse analysis. I analyze the texts which have been created for the promotion of food products and which are sent to customers via e-mail, and I highlight the important themes of the discourse employed in them.

ÖZET

Türkiye’de Doğal Gıda Üretiminde

Emek ve Değer Yaratımı Süreçleri

Türkiye’de son on yıldan bu yana özellikle kentli orta ve üst sınıflar arasında sağlıklı ve doğal gıda talebi giderek artmaktadır. Bu talebin tarım dünyasında da yansımaları vardır. Bu talebi karşılamak üzere, özellikle Türkiye’nin Güneybatı kıyı şehirlerinde tarımsal üretimi organize ve koordine eden giderek artan sayıda çiftlik kurulduğunu gözlemliyoruz. Bu çalışma Türkiye’de doğal gıda sektöründeki emek ve değer yaratımı süreçlerini inceliyor. Bu amaçla, Aydın’ın Nazilli ilçesinde yer alan İpek Hanım Çiftliği’ni vaka incelemesi olarak ele almaktadır. Çalışmanın temel argümanı, doğal gıda sektöründe değer yaratımı ve sermaye birikiminin kadının ev içi emeği ve bilgisinin temellük edilmesi yoluyla gerçekleştiğidir. Bu sektörde kadın emeği ve bilgisi, sermayenin hizmetine uygun bir doğal kaynak olarak görülüyor. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda, geçmiş tarihin ve doğanın romantikleştirilmesinin bu sektörde sermaye birikimi için iki önemli strateji olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu çalışma, çiftlik sahibi ve çiftlik çalışanı kadınlarla yapılmış derinlemesine görüşmelere dayalı bir saha araştırmasıdır. Bu çalışmada aynı zamanda gıda ürünlerinin tanıtımı için oluşturulan ve e-mail yoluyla müşterilere gönderilen metinleri analiz ederek bu metinlerde dolaşıma sokulan söylemin ayırt edici temalarını öne çıkarıyorum.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I focus on labor and value creation processes in the sector of natural food production in Turkey. To that end, I scrutinize a farm operating in the natural food sector as an example of the development of processes involving the realization and accumulation of capital. These processes proceed along three different lines. The first is the foundation of the spatial infrastructure of the production via the appropriation of land by capital. The second is the constitution of the conditions of surplus value creation through the appropriation of labor and knowledge by capital. The final one is the completion of the circuit of capital via discursive strategies aimed at the consumers of the product. The completion of this circuit illustrates that the agricultural producers who argues to aim at establishing an alternative production process to compensate for the damage caused by capitalism and industrialism might also be subjugated to the same capital logic. It is due to this very logic that natural food enterprises need to increase their production capacities if they are to survive in the competitive market and, more importantly, to respond to the demands of their customers. I will investigate how natural food producers increase their production capacities.

1.1 İpek Hanım Çiftliği as an indicator of green capitalism

We observed that people are increasingly concerned about health as a response to the known harmful effects of industrialized agriculture. They become more anxious and self-aware as ecologists and scientists strive to raise awareness about the toxic substances found in industrial food and the diseases caused by such substances. They

want to make sure that the food, cosmetics, cleaning products textiles, furniture dyes and anything that they eat, drink or that touches their skin are natural, healthy, non-toxic, and ecological. However, their worries about food products are the starkest. One of the reasons for this worry is that the changes in agricultural products caused by industrial practices are directly observable. Another reason is the growing number of studies which inform the public about the long-term impact of the industrial manipulation of agricultural products on human health.

There are certain historical conditions that prioritize this anxiety at the global level. Since the 1970s, ecology-based social movements in industrial societies have informed society about how our food security has been endangered by industrial agriculture. Since the struggle of ecology-based social movements about food security is directly related to health, it has resounded in the world of consumers spontaneously. This concern, however, corresponds to the narrow sense of demand of the radical green movement. That is to say that, rather than standing against the capitalist logic of food production as a whole, people have tended to change only their food consumption practices. This tendency to consume healthy food has created a niche, especially after 90s in the world of food sector. We see the emergence of various companies which release so-called “natural” products into the market, addressing only a certain segment of consumers who possess particular forms of cultural and economic capital. Organic bazaars, farmers’ markets, community food co-operatives, food companies selling online, and fair trade represent but a few examples. This is a new regime of accumulation in the agrofood sector. This new regime is defined by Friedmann (2005) as green capitalism “based on selective appropriation of demands by environmental movements including issues pressed by fair trade, consumer health, and animal welfare activists” (p. 229).

The major impact of this new regime on Turkey is that the state provides financial incentives to agriculture producers to meet the demands of the foreign market for healthy products. A wide range of producers has emerged in Turkey to meet the demands of Europe for healthy food products. This industry has grown in the domestic market as of the 2000s as well. Now there are farmers engaged in certified agriculture as well as farmers engaged in alternative natural agricultural techniques. We observe a new kind of food-growing sector as an alternative to current industrial agricultural food production. Yet this alternative sector cannot be seen as a homogeneous category. There are two sub-categories that supply food products to the market: the first and the best known is certified agriculture, which involves organic and good agricultural practices.

According to the Codex Alimentarius Commission, formed 1999 by a collaboration of between the Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations (FAO) and World Health Organization (WHO), organic agriculture is defined as follow:

Organic agriculture a holistic production management system which promotes and enhances agro-ecosystem health, including biodiversity, biological cycles, and soil biological activity. It emphasizes the use of management practices in preference to the use of off-farm inputs, considering that regional conditions require locally adapted systems. This is accomplished by using, where possible, agronomic, biological, and mechanical methods, as opposed to using synthetic materials, to fulfill any specific function within the system. (FAO/WHO Codex Alimentarius Commission, 1999).¹

Organic products are identified through certification which guarantees quality.

Organic farming in Turkey began in the mid-80s in the west coast region with the support of the European Union and after the early 2000s; this number has been growing rapidly. While the number of organic holders was 14.798 as of 2015, this

¹ <http://www.fao.org/organicag/oa-faq/oa-faq1/en/>

number reached 69.967 according to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) statistics for plant production.²

The second way of alternative production is Good Agricultural Practices (GAP). According to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO), GAP is defined as practices that “address environmental, economic, and social sustainability for on-farm processes, and result in safe and quality food and non-food agricultural products”.³ Just like organic products, good agricultural products also are identified through certification. Yet there are significant differences between these two forms of certification. While organic food certification categorically rejects any kind of pesticide and herbicide use, good agricultural certification rejects only overdose use of these chemicals. The number of producers holding good agricultural practice certification has grown from 651 in 2005 to 39.740 in 2015 in Turkey, according to TUIK data.

Aside from certified production, there are newly emerging farm-based initiatives which do not certify their products. These farms position themselves as neither organic nor industrial food providers; instead, they define themselves as being engaged with the catering of different varieties of “natural” food, ranging from fresh products to artisanal cheese. The term natural is a blurred, poorly-defined category; it is an empty signifier in this context. Agricultural producers attribute their own meaning to the term “natural”. In my case, for instance, naturalness refers to traditional (non-industrialized) agricultural applications and is associated with “authentic” rural life. The food products are natural only if they are produced in ways passed down from the previous generations and produced by villagers that belong to a specific region. Hence, naturalness is connected to the concepts of localness,

² http://www.tuik.gov.tr/MetaVeri.do?alt_id=1001

³ <http://www.fao.org/prods/gap/>

authenticity and traditionality. In this perspective, certified organic foods are not actually natural, since the seeds and the agricultural techniques producers use are determined by certification companies, not by producers themselves. In this thesis, I will try to detail the specific meanings and forms the term “natural” has gained in the context of natural food production.

The uncertified food production is not a homogeneous category; it includes various forms of production such as commercially-based agribusiness farms, eco-farms that combine natural farming with eco-tourism, city farms, and so on. I will focus specifically on the commercially-based farms, which have expanded since the 2000s and are clustered especially along the west coast of the Turkey. They have been founded by educated middle-class entrepreneurs who have decided to leave metropolitan areas. These entrepreneurs make their sales online or in boutiques in big cities.

There are three features that characterize these farms: Firstly, all these firms claim that they are engaged in an alternative natural mode of food production which is reconciled with nature and involves the use of native seeds. Secondly, they position themselves against standard food production with organic certification, which is considered to be the part of a global organic food chain. Thirdly, their employees are mostly women.

The central question that has triggered my research is: if the owners of the firms do not certify their products, how can they convince their customers that their products are natural, healthy, and hygienic? What generates the desirable qualities of these kinds of food? To explore this question, I chose İpek Hanım Çiftliği as a case study because it is the best-known farm in many aspects. First of all, this farm has been gradually increasing its production capacity and range of production.

Furthermore, the owner of the farm, Pınar Kaftancıoğlu, was awarded as the best woman entrepreneur in a competition organized by the collaboration of KAGİDER (*Türkiye Kadın Girişimcileri Derneği*), Garanti Bank in 2014. She gives TED talks and delivered a speech at the Women in Leadership Conference at Yale University in 2015. She was also recognized as one of the highest taxpayers in Nazilli in 2010. Finally, it is the farm about which numerous interviews and newspaper articles have been published. Because of these distinctive features, İpek Hanım Çiftliği comes to forefront.

In my thesis, I specifically focus on labor and value creation processes in these farm-based initiatives. As consumers, we generally opt for alternative food products, not only to have a healthy nutrition, but also to support fair and sustainable production. However, we content ourselves with narratives provided in the organic bazaars, the organic aisles of supermarket chains, organic product shops and relevant companies which sell their products online. We do not question the production processes or the value thus created in the background. In this thesis, I scrutinize production rather than consumption processes. I look into the narratives that come to the forefront and problematize the forms of power relations. I question whether value is inherent in the properties of the product or if it is attributed to the product externally through various narratives.

1.2 The contents of chapters

In my first chapter, my focus is to illustrate the processes that provided a basis for establishment of İpek Hanım Çiftliği in the village of Ocaklı. Before dwelling on labor and value creation I attempt to specify the processes prior to the very existence of İpek Hanım Çiftliği. It seemed crucial to me in that, although İpek Hanım Çiftliği

might be thought as a sui generis phenomenon at first sight, it is actually a sociological phenomenon. That is to say, the establishment of this farm cannot be reduced simply to the decision of an individual entrepreneur who left urban life to live in a village. There are always much more complex economic and social developments that affected the individual decision of Pınar Kaftancıoğlu as an individual entrepreneur. In my first chapter, I focus on these multiple factors that have led to the emergence of İpek Hanım Çiftliği in the village of Ocaklı in Nazilli. Here, by overviewing agricultural transformations that have been taking place in the Turkish context in the last several decades, I discuss the social and historical context in which this farm came into existence and continues to flourish. Agricultural transformation in Turkey resulted in three consequences: a decrease in the production capacity of small farmers, which has led to huge uncultivated tracts of land in that region and as a result of this decrease, an emergence of surplus labor in Ocaklı and the surrounding villages. I observed that Pınar Kaftancıoğlu increased her production capacity by transferring these huge uncultivated lands into her own property. She also took advantages of surplus labor by employing them in her farm. The motivating force that directed her into this way was to meet the demand for a healthy and natural food demand growing, especially in the metropolitan areas in Turkey. The rise of this demand is the result of the agricultural turn I have mentioned above.

This agricultural turn that led to the emergence of such a farm, transformed the routine life and social fabric of a small and partially isolated village like Ocaklı.

İpek Hanım Çiftliği plays a role in the nexus of urban life which is shaped in accordance with global capitalism and rural life. It transforms local agricultural production into trends of the global food market on the one hand, and transfers what is local to the urban area, so food products and culinary culture become the part of

global food culture, on the other hand. In this way, it becomes a bridge between global capitalism and local village life. Hence, I will not take İpek Hanım Çiftliği as a local way of production outside of capitalist market logic. Rather, I see it as an enterprise through which global and local take part together. In this way, I attempt to overcome the binary oppositions between global-local and urban-rural.

In Chapter 2 I specifically aim at analyzing labor processes that lead to the accumulation of capital in the sector of natural food production with the specific example of İpek Hanım Çiftliği. Since most of the workers employed in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği are women, it seemed to me crucial to understand the role of women's labor and knowledge in value creation and the capital accumulation in this farm. Hence, the questions of what kind of labor processes are implicit in the material production of food in this sector and through what kinds of mechanisms these labor processes become the fundamental component of the capital accumulation triggered my curiosity in this area. I explore these questions through studying women's domestic labor and their culinary knowledge with respect to their central role in capital accumulation in the sector of natural food production.

To support my argumentation, I introduce the domestic labor literature tracing two different theoretical approaches within the feminist literature. One is an approach which positions women's domestic labor within the capitalist economy that argues that capitalism is built on women's unpaid labor they carry out in the home. Hence, value creation in capitalist economy necessarily depends on women's unpaid labor (Federici, 2004; James and Dalla Costa, 1973; Mies, 1987). The second approach, however, considers women's work performed in the house as a distinct economic form which cannot be placed within the capitalist economy. For this view,

although there is close relationship between two, domestic labor is a different mode of production and it does not necessarily increase in value in the capitalist economy.

In my thesis, I do not propose to fall between two different theoretical poles and adopt such a universal idea. Rather I think that role of domestic labor in value creation can only be considered on the basis of a specific sector in a capitalist economy. In other words, rather than suggesting general rules, each sector should be considered in its specific context. At this point when we look at natural food production as a specific sector in Turkey, the accumulation of capital cannot be considered separate from women's domestic labor. Indeed, without this form of labor it is impossible to accumulate wealth in this sector. The reason is that the sector of natural food production depends on women's cooking skills that they use at home to sustain the members of the family every day.

Before working as laborers in this farm, these women were involved in the food cycle all year. They are used to dealing with plants, animals, land, and water in their agricultural lands on the one hand, and they were involved in the culinary production produced from the crops they obtained from those lands. The culinary production these women used to carry out consisted of both daily food and the long-lasting products such as fruit composts and Turkey-specific products known as tarhana, salça, mantı, yufka which can be defined as "craft products" since both knowledge, skill and experience are required for their production. These women, therefore, were involved in the production and reproduction of life itself. The material relation of these women with life provided them a specific form of knowledge which I would like to call "women's local knowledge" and specific skills. In the context of İpek Hanım Çiftliği, I observed that this knowledge and labor are appropriated and turned into a means of capital accumulation.

Despite women's crucial role in expanding the production capacity of İpek Hanım Çiftliği, women's specific labor and knowledge deemed by owner and the manager of the farm to be disqualified, worthless and therefore fit for lower wages. One reason is rooted in the unpaid character of women's domestic labor. Federici shows how disqualification any work women carry out in the paid work-force has been directly related to their function as unpaid laborers in the household (Federici, 2004, p. 94). Since any work that women perform in the household is defined as "non-work", they are viewed as worthless even when done for the market (p. 92). The other reason is rooted in the fact that women have a central role in keeping and carrying local knowledge about agricultural techniques and culinary practices. Because of this highly distinctive qualification of women in that region, employing of women becomes a fundamental way of appropriating that knowledge embedded in daily life. I saw this knowledge as common created by the community over the years but it is not possessed by any particular groups or individuals. Since it is not private property, obtaining this knowledge does not face any resistance and thus becomes the easiest way of turning it into a factor of production and a means capital accumulation. Although this local knowledge is a common, women are the active agent of producing, keeping, transferring, and modifying local knowledge. This specific form of knowledge is a constitutive component of women's domestic labor which must be considered as skilled labor. In this farm, however, this skilled labor is treated as unskilled labor since it is seen women's natural duty. It is this very skilled labor that increases the quality of products. However, the gender characteristic of this labor causes it to be charged as a lower wage. The distinctive aspect of this farm is that it is a boutique form of food production, which prevents reducing the cost of production in a way that it may decrease the quality of the food. The only way of

cost reduction is to decrease the cost of labor. Appropriating knowledge and paying low wages became the basis of capital accumulation in this sector.

In Chapter 3 I specifically look at how the promotion and marketing of food products occur in the sector of natural food production. Through what kind of tactics are food products represented? How do producers constitute distinctive quality of their products? How do they generate the image of the products to convince their customers? Through what kind of mechanisms is value added into the food products? To analyze all these processes, I criticize the narratives that Pınar Kaftancıoğlu has been creating periodically to promote her products via email. I assert that, rather than a set of material qualities, in the course of promotion, food products are surrounded by certain narratives and meanings that increase their value. I observed that the food products that are sold in the district bazaars of Nazilli at a very cheap price turn into “natural food” when they are sold to middle class customers in big cities.

I take the concept of romanticism from Löwy and Sayre (2001). For them, romanticism is a reaction against the way of life in capitalist society and represents a critique of modernity in the name of values and ideals drawn from the past (p. 17). According to romantic perspective, the past consists of idealized values and practices which are lost in the highly-industrialized world. What is lacking in the present existed once upon a time in a past history (p. 22). Therefore, the concept of romanticism is strictly bound up with an experience of loss (p. 21). There is an orientation towards the past history to quest for the lost object. Searching for the lost object is an attempt to keep the past alive in the present. In the narrative created by Pınar Kaftancıoğlu, the lost objects are the taste and quality of food which existed once upon a time, but have disappeared in the present. She comes up with the claim that the food they produce at her farm is exactly the same as it was in the past.

Hence, she offers a chance to re-appropriate what has been lost by transferring the “pastoral old days” to our present world.

In this romantic perspective, the concept of nature gains specific meanings, especially after the destruction of nature by industrial agriculture in the sector of natural food production. It has come to be thought of as non-industrialized territory and has been associated with being in the place of authenticity, genuineness, purity, healthy and the pre-cultural reality. Nature here gains meaning on the basis of a contradiction between the urban and the rural. In this dualistic perspective, nature is conceptualized as an entity confined only to a particular time and space.

In the narratives of Kaftancıoğlu, the place where a farm was established and the environmental conditions are represented as if it belongs to an unspoiled and pure piece of nature. This nature that has been not harmed by industrialization and has remained in its pure form as it once was. This representation becomes the guaranteed justification of naturalness and the healthfulness of the products. I argue that creating this sense of nature provides the basis for food commodities to be more “natural” and authentic and healthy. If we buy the products of her farm, then, we can find a chance to intertwine with nature.

Beside the strategic romanticization of nature and past history, I argue that food gains value through emphasizing the locally distinctive character of food in this sector. It is seen that localness comes to be seen as an important component of a newly emerging food regime. This localness, as Cook and Crang (1996) suggest, “works through the deployment of various constructed (and, of course, contestable) geographical knowledge about where its foods, and other cultural objects and actors associated with them, come from” (p. 132). These forms of knowledge, in the most

general sense, specify the locally distinctive character of agricultural products and are being used to differentiate foods in the contemporary food regime.

In my case, there is always an over emphasis on the local character of the Nazilli and Kars, where Pinar Kaftancıoğlu supplies some of her products. The qualities of these regions such as the soil and climate as well as the tradition of production are systematically brought to the fore.

1.3 Methodology of the study

My thesis is based on two different types of data: my field notes, in-depth interviews and an analysis of the narratives of emails created for promotion of the products and interviews published in the newspaper.

I conducted my field research in the Ocaklı village of Nazilli, where İpek Hanım Çiftliği was established in 2004. Nazilli is a district of Aydın in southwest Turkey. I basically aimed at collecting data about the socioeconomic conditions and the agricultural transformation of Ocaklı village. It seemed crucial in terms of understanding the processes and conditions that have led to the emergence of İpek Hanım Çiftliği in this region. To be able to draw a general picture of the Ocaklı village I conducted interviews with the village headman (*muhtar*) and the villagers who have experienced the transformations that Ocaklı village has undergone. I have also looked at the agricultural policies implemented in Turkey from 1950s to the present that affected agriculture and the daily practices of people in this village. Additionally, I visited the Nazilli District Agricultural Office (*Nazilli İlçe Tarım Müdürlüğü*) to get information about how the agricultural transformation affected the agricultural production of region as a whole. In my visit to the agricultural office, I

also aimed at understanding the impression and thoughts of officers about the İpek Hanım Çiftliği.

My research was reflected in my field notes and deep interviews. I visited İpek Hanım Çiftliği in two different periods: the first time in November 2014 and then in April 2015. I stayed 20 days in total, both in the village houses in Sinekçiler village where Pınar Kaftancıoğlu arranged for customers to stay and in hotels in the city center. During my stay in village houses, Pınar Hanım welcomed me as a guest. During the time I spent in the field, I participated in the production of various products such as pastries, dairy products, and others. I was in each production unit and had conversations with the workers of that particular unit. This allowed me to talk with workers about their everyday life and work routines. Apart from these group conversations, I conducted deep interviews with about 15 workers. Some of these workers were suggested by Pınar Hanım and the rest of them were chosen from those of people who were willing to be interviewed. In addition to these interviews and conversations realized on the farm, I had a chance to have conversations with people who invited me to their houses for dinner and breakfast. What is more, I organized a meeting in the village cafe of Sinekçiler with about 10 villagers to understand how the very existence of the İpek Hanım Çiftliği affected their life. I also had random chats with people while hanging out in Ocaklı Village to understand the effects of the farm on daily life.

Another area of my field research consisted of interviews I conducted with the owner of farmer Kaftancıoğlu. This was important in order to understand the process of establishment of the farm, how she defines her mission, the way of production, how she positions herself among other alternative agricultural production, and how she promotes the products of the farm. My contact with her was

not limited to these interviews. I also continued to ask questions via WhatsApp after I returned to Istanbul. Keeping in touch with her was crucial because one year had passed after my field research and I therefore needed to refresh some of my data. Through my interview with her, besides obtaining the specific knowledge I mentioned above, I also aimed at understanding her personal life to understand the relationship between the motivation of the establishment of the farm, the narrative she creates and her personal life, including her social and economic capital.

Hüsniye Hanım is another person I contacted. She is the manager of the farm. My interview with her basically focused on the organizational structure of the farm: how the division of labor is determined, how production and distribution processes are organized, and how the rules of the farm are determined. She has a crucial role in organizing all these processes. I preferred to talk about these issues with her instead of Pınar Kaftancıoğlu because Pınar Kaftancıoğlu has a big role in creating narratives rather than in the organizational structure of the farm.

The second fundamental method that my thesis is based on is analyzing the narratives created by Pınar Kaftancıoğlu to promote her food products. Food products produced in this farm are listed on an Excel spreadsheet and it is sent to her customers by email every week. People can order food according to this list that they receive by email. She also creates a narrative which is attached to the Excel list. The narratives are about the way they produce food, how their food is different from others, how she is an ethical producer and so on. I have also been on the mailing list and thus I found a chance to read these narratives every week. I aimed at grasping the prominent themes. I realized that these themes appeared in the narratives are also seen in my interviews with her, in TED⁴ talks and finally newspaper interviews

⁴ TED is a nonprofit devoted to spreading ideas, usually in the form of short, powerful talks (18 minutes or less). TED began in 1984 as a conference where Technology, Entertainment and Design

conducted with her. In other words, there are common themes that appear repeatedly in all the texts I analyze.

converged, and today covers almost all topics — from science to business to global issues — in more than 100 languages. Meanwhile, independently run TEDx events help share ideas in communities around the world. <https://www.ted.com/about/our-organization>

CHAPTER 2

AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND NEOLIBERAL TRANSFORMATION IN TURKISH AGRICULTURE

In this chapter, I attempt to describe the transformation that has been taking place in the Turkish agriculture and food industry since the 1950s by providing a global contextual framework. In doing so, I basically aim to shed light on the effect of the agricultural transformation which have has led to the emergence of the İpek Hanım Çiftliği in the Ocaklı village of Nazilli. What kinds of relations of power have existed in agricultural food production that makes this “alternative” sector possible? In this chapter, I will argue that the exclusion of small farmers is one of those important factors that provide basis for the existence of an “alternative” natural food production, especially along the west coast of Turkey. Hence, I will go through the process of gradual exclusion and impoverishment of small farmers.

2.1 Agriculture in Turkey between 1950 and 1980: The modernization and capitalization of agriculture

This period corresponds to the “development project” which aimed at incorporating postcolonial states into the imperial field of power to expand capitalist market through empowering the national economic growth and modernity (McMichael, 1996). Agriculture became one of the most important means of achieving this goal. In agriculture, the national model of development bases itself on the modernizing farm sector, where agriculture would articulate in a virtuous cycle of technologically-based growth. Friedmann names this period as “mercantile-industrial food regime” or

“second food regime”.⁵ Second food regime, as an analytical division in the history of agricultural transformation, “was built on the basis of agricultural support and protectionist programs fueling agro-industrialization behind tariff walls, breached only by a public ‘food aid’” (p. 147). McMichael states that “from the Marshall Plan through the Third World Green Revolution, the US state encouraged international agribusiness with export credits and counterpart funds designed to universalize the American farming and dietary models” (p. 146). These credits and helps were also crucial in terms of encouraging the selective Third World industrialization and securing loyalty against communism (McMichael, 2009). This period, therefore, is the time when new international division of labor began to be shaped around the transnational commodity complexes in agriculture in third world countries (Raynolds, et al., 1993). Turkey was one of those Third World countries which tried to incorporate into the field of this new international division of labor. In Turkey, the years after the 1950s are important in terms of the changes that the agricultural sector underwent.

During this period, just like other third world countries, the Turkish state followed a development policy that basically included the implementation of credits Marshall Plan provided for agricultural production (Yenal, 2000). Within the framework of the Marshall Plan, the World Bank provided financial help for both the modernization and capitalization of the Turkish agriculture.

⁵ The ‘food regime’ is a concept which historicized the global food system. This concept was first formulated by Friedman in 1987. Then it was more systematically formulated together with McMichael in 1989. They divide the history into three different food regimes. The first food regime (1870–1930s) “combined colonial tropical imports to Europe with basic grains and livestock imports from settler colonies, provisioning emerging European industrial classes, and underwriting the British ‘workshop of the world’” (McMichael, 2009, p. 141). The second food regime is detailed in this text. The third food regime (late-1980s–) incorporate new regions into animal protein chains, consolidate differentiated supply chains including a supermarket expansion for privileged consumers (p. 142).

The modernization and capitalization of agriculture manifested itself primarily in the adoption of the industrial way of production, which required using new technologies and modern farming techniques. With mechanization in agriculture, previously uncultivated land was brought under cultivation and productivity started to increase through mechanization, seed improvement and irrigation projects (Yenal & Yenal, 1993, p. 30). All these developments brought about a rapid commodification and commercialization process (Keyder, 1988).

During this period, the state had an overwhelmingly important role in productive and distributional relations which ensured the capitalization, commercialization, and commodification of agriculture (Aydın, 2010, p. 150). The provision of inputs, credits and extension services, the promotion of modern farming technologies, the introduction of new crop varieties, the support for the establishment of agricultural associations and cooperatives, the establishment of state farms, and the parastatal marketing and distribution agencies are only some of those implementations that state undertook in that period (p. 150). All these implementations provided the basis for productivity growth and thus for the processes of commodification and commercialization. When these developments met the significant support of the then-governments that had populist anxieties such as receiving votes from rural areas, the rural development increased to an extent it had never reached before.

Agriculture support policies that began in the 1950s continued until the end of the 1970s in an increasing manner. The number of producers included in agriculture support policies in the mid-1970s almost tripled the number in the 1960s (Köymen, 2008; Kazgan, 1988).

Given the increasing state support and the impact of the Green Revolution seeds that brought high fertility towards the end of the 1960s, Turkey became a self-sufficient country.

During the period between 1950 and 1980, the state established large-scale public enterprises such as State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) and undertook an important mission in the food industry. SEEs had an important share in the production of such products as sugar, tea, tobacco, meat, and milk and contributed to the rapid growth of food production by providing cheap input into agricultural producers (Yenal, 2001). Although the state was an important actor during this period, it was not the only actor in the food industry. In addition to large state enterprises, small independent producers also operated in the food industry (Yenal, 2001). These small and independent businesses dominated meat and milk production between 1953 and 1974 (Yenal, 2001). While these producers controlled approximately the 60 percent of slaughtering of animals and meat production enterprises in the country, they dominated almost the 50 percent of milk production. In brief, although, state enterprises undertook an important task to transform the existing market structure, independent small producers had an important share in food production during the said years. During these years when state enterprises and independent small producers were the main actors in food production, the production areas of international capital were limited to a few industries.

Before the 1980s, while state institutions and small-scale independent producers dominated the food production in Turkey, the case was different in other third world countries such as Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela (Yenal, 2001). International capital had a significant share in food production in these countries.

The role of international capital in food production in Turkey corresponds to the end of the 1970s. The end of the 1970s signals the end of the development project in agriculture in Turkey. Political and economic (oil) crises of the 1970s caused the state to execute the demands of international financial organizations for transition to a neoliberal regime (Aydın, 2010, p.154). In short, the end of the 70s corresponds to the end of second food regime that was based on modernizing the farming sector with the help of state support and the beginning of the new one which Friedmann calls the third food regime.

2.2 Developments in agriculture since 1980: The neoliberalization of agriculture in Turkey

The 1980s were the years when the new international division of labor in agriculture and the third food regime started to dominate agriculture in Turkey. The developmentalist policies in the years between 1950 and 1980 gave way to the liberalization of agriculture in these years. Neoliberal policies were gradually introduced in close connection with the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, and the EU. I examine this structural shift in agriculture within a perspective of global food regime. The transition from policies based on import substitution industrialization to export-led growth policies at the beginning of the 1980s brought about important transformations in agriculture and the food industries. The first of these transformations is a significant decrease in the price subsidies the state had provided for agricultural products until the beginning of the 1980s. While the state subsidized the production of 22 products in 1980, this number decreased almost by 50 percent in the 1990s (Yenal, 2001, p. 39). The fundamental reason for the decrease in the price subsidies provided for agricultural products was generally the pressure applied by the

IMF in order to meet the foreign debt deficit as well as structural adjustment policies. The early 1980s were the years when developing countries faced enormous levels of external debt because of easy credit and high rates of inflation that led many third world countries to borrow funds from international financial institutions (Clapp, 2012, p. 59). As a developing country, Turkey was also unable to pay its external debts. The IMF and the World Bank provided loan packages to help those countries repay their debts (p. 50). The debt relief and restructuring agreements concluded with the IMF and the World Bank becoming the most important determinant of agricultural transformation during the post-1980 period, as these agreements promised total liberation of economy and compliance with the requirements of the World Trade Organization membership and the requirements included in the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) (Tahsin, 2011; Ari, 2006 cited by Yenal & Keyder, 2013, p. 59). The implementation of the Agrarian Reform Implementation Project (ARIP) that was part of the agricultural reform practice of the World Bank in 2001 was another important milestone in the further liberalization of the agro-food sector. The main purpose of this agreement was the replacement of price and input subsidies provided by the state until then through a new support system called direct income support, the removal of agricultural incentive loans, the privatization of state economic enterprises and the reorganization of sale cooperatives (Yenal & Keyder, 2013, pp. 59-60).⁶ Structural compliance policies gradually removed state monopolies in food production, which paved the way for the private sector to become an important actor in food production. Therefore, such agreements as ARIP and TRIPs laid the groundwork for the gradual exclusion of small-scale producers in

⁶ A shift towards neoliberal trend in agricultural and food industries does not mean that state has completely withdrawn from this area. Rather, the state is no longer the main actor in this industry and has assumed a role complementary to the market mechanisms (Yenal & Keyder, 2013, p. 60).

agricultural production and markets in Turkey. The fact that the minimum prices the state put on agricultural products were below production costs as well as the determination of prices of agricultural input in accordance with the free market prices left small-scale producers alone with difficulties they were not able to overcome. Under these harsh circumstances, small-scale producers had to compete with organized and powerful international large companies because foreign countries had the opportunity to produce at lower costs, given low tariffs and state subsidies. This situation forced small-scale farmers – for whom the state no longer provided subsidies – to sell their products at lower prices in the domestic market (Aydın, 2001, p. 13). In his article entitled “The Market and the Small-Scale Farmer” (*Piyasa ve Küçük Köylülük*), Abdullah Aysu (2009) explains how the small-scale agricultural producers are excluded from the market when the ways are paved for the capital. His explanation outlines three stages: dissociation of farmers from the public, disconnection of farmers from their organization and lastly, stripping farmers of their jobs (p. 232). I will explain how such two important agreements as ARIP and TRIPs caused the extinction of small-scale producers in reference to the three fundamental points Aysu discusses.

2.2.1 An agricultural reform implementation project (ARIP)

Although a transition to neoliberal order in the agriculture industry occurred during the period from 1980 to the 2000s, given the lack of pressure from external organizations such as the World Trade Center, governments were able to continue supporting farmers due to populist anxieties (Keyder, 2013, p. 197). Hence, the agricultural sector was not subject to full liberalization between 1980 and 1999. In his article, “Neo-Liberal Transformation of Turkish Agriculture”, Aydın (2010) talks

about the tense relationship with the IMF and the World Bank over subsidies and the occasions when the World Bank withheld credits from the government (p. 156). Just like Keyder, he also talks about how the governments interfered in price formation and re-introduced subsidies and support for some agricultural prices despite the displeasure of the IMF and the World Bank (2010, p. 156). The reason is that governments avoided a sudden and sharp retreat of its role in price setting and subsidies because of legitimate concerns and loss of votes before elections.

However, due to the 2001 economic crisis, the state had no alternative but to keep its promise to the IMF because the economy was on a very bad turn and the governments did not have the luxury of executing supports for the agriculture industry due to populist anxieties and base price policies, as the cost of these supports was very high within the budget and seriously shook the budget balance. On the other hand, accession negotiations with the EU which adjusted the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) did not leave any way but to accept the agreements the EU imposed. At such a conjuncture, agricultural reform implementation projects prepared by the World Bank in 2000 were approved.

It can be said that the approval and execution of this package is the beginning of the activation of market matters in agricultural industry in Turkey in a way that does not give rise to populist anxieties of governments because this package includes the removal of the base price implementation and the subsidies provided for such input prices as diesel oil and manure and left these prices to the market mechanisms. Moreover, the compensation of the budget deficits of such state economic enterprises as TEKEL, Çaykur, and ET-Balık Kurumu, which functioned as public businesses, and that of agricultural produce sales cooperatives by the state, was terminated with this package and these organizations were restructured in a way that ensured their

independent operation (Keyder, 2013, pp. 198-199). To summarize briefly, ARIP imposed a market oriented agriculture policy through the abolition of input and credit subsidies, the privatization of agricultural state-owned enterprises, the reorganization of sale cooperatives, the reduction of tariffs, the restructuring of the agricultural production and finally the introduction of Direct Income Support (DIS) (Köse, 2012, p. 80). The content of the reform project (ARIP), which led to a structural transformation in Turkey, cannot be limited to what is mentioned here. However, instead of addressing all issues in this thesis, I will discuss ARIP reforms that provoked three main transformations, also addressed by Aysu. These transformations are the Direct Income Support, the Seed Law and the defunctionalization of sales cooperatives. I think tracing this path will provide a ground for understanding how small-scale farmers were impoverished and gradually excluded from the market.

2.2.2 Direct income support (DIS)

This project (ARIP) initiated a support system called direct income support. The direct income support system encourages states to provide monetary support for producers instead of supporting them by putting a base price on an agricultural product, because the determination of prices on each product in the market by the state is not in compliance with the neoliberal logic in which the designation of prices without the state intervention through rational consumer decisions within the market circumstances is essential. The difference between the direct income support and previous support forms is that it is not contingent on production volume, that is, it works independently of production. Previously, farmers were be paid on the basis of the manure they bought (namely, the production volume), but with the introduction of direct income support, farmers started to get paid on the basis of land. Therefore,

it is a system from which big landowners benefit, rather than small producers. In fact, farmers who have lands less than 10 decares may not benefit from this support system. The basic aim was to compensate the loss and damage that farmers faced because of the radical changes in agriculture in the neoliberal era. To this end, this project aimed at helping with the cost of inputs and the harvest of the newly adopted crops.

In 2008, the AKP government quit the direct income support and returned to production-based support systems such as support prices and input subsidies, executed in exactly the same way as was done in the previous period. Although nothing clear can be said about the reasons for such a change, it is possible to make a few conjectures. For instance, Keyder (2013) states that the fact that the AKP government cannot afford the risk of a break in the general balance of the society which stems from the unbalance in rural communities might be one of the reasons for such a change. It seems to me that the government brought the requirements of the ARIP into force as a temporary measure in order to overcome the economic crisis and wanted to continue the agriculture-based state policy, which had been in force since the 1980s, after overcoming the crisis to some extent.

2.2.3 Seed law

The purpose of the seed law passed in 2006 is explained as follows on the official page of the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA):

ARTICLE 1- The purpose of this law hereby is to upgrade productivity and quality in plant production, to ensure quality assurance for seedlings, to make arrangements for the production and trade of seedlings, and to implement all necessary arrangements for restructuring and developing seed sector.⁷

⁷ <https://piorin.gov.pl/files/userfiles/wnf/przepisy/turcja/seed-law.pdf>

As can be seen, this law requires restructuring and developing the seed sector under the guise of “upgrading productivity and quality”. However, when we looked at the socioeconomic consequences of this law, this is not the case. What this law brings is the preparation of the conditions for a more liberal penetration and the domination of transnational corporations into agriculture in Turkey (Aydın, 2010). In this section, I will attempt to answer the question what exactly this restructuring of the seed law means for small agricultural producers. The Intellectual Property Right (IPR) is a new regime that is imposed by the Trade Related Intellectual Rights Agreement (TRIPs) of the World Trade Organization (WTO). This exclusive right “prevent[s] other from providing, using, distributing, or selling the patented, or “protected”, products” (Shiva, 2001, p. 13). This new regime in agriculture means the “monopolization of seed markets by agribusiness companies and the dependence of millions of farmers on them” (Aydın, 2010, p. 173). What the seed law in Turkey introduces to a great extent is the recognition of intellectual property rights.

The seed law basically necessitates all seeds to be registered and certified before they are sold in the market. In Turkey, a variety of registration and certification centers and the Turkish Union of Seed Producers (TUSP) were established to carry out this purpose. The registration and certification centers within the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA) and TUSP were equipped with the authority to carry out laboratory controls and seedling standards before certifying any seeds (Aydın, 2010, p. 175). Only seeds that meet the standards and pass the controls can be produced and sold in the market. These standards imposed on farmers resulted in the exclusion of small farmers from the market because all these standards are determined according to the requirements of harmonization with the EU, whose standards are quite high. Small farmers do not have a chance to meet

all these high standards. It is only big agricultural corporations that can meet the required conditions and thus get the intellectual property right on seeds by meeting the required standards imposed by the MARA. Hence, all these regulations enhance the vulnerability of millions of farmers using traditional seeds. Aydın (2010) says that “apart from losing control over their hundreds of years of traditional seed saving and planting techniques and rights, the farmers also face the danger of losing control of their traditional varieties to agribusiness companies” (p. 175). Once agribusiness companies get intellectual property rights on the modified seeds, then farmers become dispossessed of their rights to save such seeds for cultivation (p. 175). Farmers who try to sell their uncertified seeds in the market are fined according to the seed law (3,000 TL). Thus, farmers are forced to buy seeds from agribusiness companies, which ensures that farmers are dependent on themselves (p.176). Under these unequal conditions, the domination of big agribusiness companies has gained momentum.

2.2.4 The weakening and dismantling of the Unions of Agricultural Sales

Cooperatives

Another important part of the ARIP was to change the organizational structure of the agricultural sale cooperatives. The main purpose of the establishment of agricultural sale cooperatives was to help members by providing them with price, input subsidies and easy credit, and by solving their storage problems and marketing their products (Yenal & Keyder, 2011, p. 65; Aydın, 2010, p. 162). The role of the cooperatives in supporting its members continued in some way until the new UASCs law was introduced in 2000. This law, however, prevented the state from having control over the Unions of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives (UASCs) and the cooperatives were

planned to be made autonomous in this way. The concept of autonomy implies the independence from the state both financially and managerially in this law. With the introduction of it, the state ceased to give financial support to these cooperatives and left them alone in the market. What is more, as Yenal and Keyder puts, the cooperatives were prevented from engaging in manufacturing food items for the market. Under these conditions, the cooperatives could not play their role in supporting “farmers who [were] left to their own devices to compete with their western counterparts in the world market without having comparable state backing” (Aydın, 2010, p. 163). Farmers who had a chance to sell their products in the market and store their crops were left to the traders’ mercy. Since the doors were closed for them to sell their products in the market, they were selling their crops at very low prices to sales intermediaries and traders.

2.3 The reconciliation of neoliberalization in agriculture with green concerns

The Agricultural transformation from the 1980s to the present day both in Turkey and worldwide has articulated with green issues and changes in consumer tastes.

Both in Turkey and across the world, the detrimental effects of the industrial agriculture, especially with respect to environment and human health, were felt most in the post-1980 period. This was also the period in which this damage had an important place in the political agenda of the ecological movements. Friedman defines this period as the “corporate-environmental food regime”. For her this regime is a period of time when “food retailers, agrofood corporations are selectively appropriating the demands of environmental, food safety, animal welfare, fair trade, and other social movements that arose in the interstices of the second food regime” (Friedmann, 2005, p. 227). Hence, a new round of accumulation and thus a new

niche marketing have emerged on the basis of food quality, safety, biological and cultural diversity, animal welfare environmental pollution and energy use. Many agricultural producers have tended to shift from mass industrial products to organic food on the one hand, and food sector, based on these concerns, has begun to take a share from this niche on the other.⁸

The İpek Hanım Çiftliği was established in a period during which health concerns were shaping people's diets and thus a new niche has been created. In other words, capitalism, which has been reconstructed in response to the green issues, has provided a basis for establishing such a natural food sector. Another important condition that has a big role in establishing this farm was the gradual exclusion of small agricultural producers from the markets. At this point it should be noted that the establishment of this farm in Ocaklı village cannot be explained only by the neoliberal policies in agriculture and the reconstruction of capitalism in response to green issues. The question of why was not this farm established not in another village but in Ocaklı still needs to be explored. It seems to me that there are multiplicities of causes that determined the Ocaklı Village as the location for this farm. Apart from these the neoliberal policies in agriculture I have counted above, there is also one more important factor, which is Kaftancıoğlu's past experience in that region. She had run a spring water factory in that region before she established a farm. This enabled her to build relationships with the people in that village on the one hand, and to get an overview about the village on the other. For this reason, it seems, she was

⁸ Talking about the emergent regime does not mean that the previous regime which is based on industrial mass production is completely abolished. Rather, as Friedman argues, this emergent regime "consists of two differentiated ways of organizing food supply chains, roughly corresponding to increasingly transnational classes of rich and poor consumers. Both are led by private capitals, sometimes the same firms selling quality and cheap commodities to different classes of consumers" (2005:251-252). Hence, the emerging regime was characterized mostly by the predominance of segmented food markets.

able to have idea about whether or not this farm would be accepted by the villagers or if she could supply a labor force and land for the production in that village.

I will focus on my field research to show how the İpek Hanım Çiftliği, as a product of a broader historical transformation of agriculture at the global level and its reflection on Turkey, has created opportunities for villagers in this region. Yet before dwelling on this issue, I would like to draw attention to an important point. The existence of the İpek Hanım Çiftliği has two implications for the villagers in that region. The existence of this farm created an opportunity for villagers in terms of providing new income activities, especially at a time when neoliberal policies in agriculture excluded those villagers from the market. On the other hand, there was an expropriation of labor and local knowledge as a means of capital accumulation.

2.4 Ocaklı village as the birth place of the İpek Hanım Çiftliği

The İpek Hanım Çiftliği was established in the Ocaklı village of Nazilli in 2004. Ocaklı village is a mountain village and consists of two separate neighborhoods called Merkez and Mersinlik. In total, there are 240 households with a population of 2,500. Field sizes range from 10 to 200 acres. The İpek Hanım Çiftliği is located in Merkez district, which consists of 30 households. The main agricultural activities in the village include animal husbandry and producing olives, vegetables, and fruit. The villagers used to sell these products either to traders or in the district bazaars at a low price, especially after they lost the power to compete with supermarkets because of the decrease in state support.⁹ Abdullah Erdem, an interviewee in Ocaklı village, said:

⁹ Buyer-driven commodity chain is a form of commodity chain which large retailers, brand-name merchandisers, and trading companies play the central role in organizing the decentralized production networks. Buyer-driven chain is a common form for labor-intensive sectors such as agriculture. In buyer-driven chains, retailers become the dominant actors in terms of the commodity exchange that

The state used to pay five hundred liras for a ton of olive oil until the last few years but now, it is one hundred liras. It is ridiculous to sell it to the state, so we prefer to sell our oil to the İpek Hanım Çiftliği. [Appendix A,1]

Under conditions where small agricultural farmers have been left to the mercy of merchants, the İpek Hanım Çiftliği appears as an opportunity for the farmers in both Ocaklı and surrounding villages. The İpek Hanım Çiftliği buys the produce from farmers at a relatively higher price than the price offered by merchants in order to meet the urban demand, which yields a partial economic prosperity for the farmers.

One of the interviewers says:

In the old days, merchants used to come and pay 7 liras to buy figs, the price of which is normally 10 liras. Why do I prefer to sell to İpek Hanım? She pays 3 or 5 liras more. For example, tomorrow I will take along some oil for her. I will sell olive oil of four kilos, which costs 55 liras per kilos and 220 liras in total. Since Pınar Hanım started her business here, merchants have increased the prices as well. [Appendix A, 2]

The agricultural transformation in Turkey not only decreased the prices of food products but also the production capacity of the farmers in the region. Farmers in this village could no longer work the land that they had previously used for production.

One of my interviewees, Abdullah Erdem, says the following:

We could not meet the demand of the wholesale market 20-25 years ago. There was too much demand. But because of the GAP project and other reasons, all kinds of agricultural products started to grow in any place. So, they did not need us anymore. Then we started to grow fewer crops than before.” [Appendix A, 3]

Decrease in production capacity resulted in increased sizes of uncultivated agricultural land which was used for only planting barley to feed the animals.

Uncultivated agricultural lands were functional in two ways for Pınar Kaftancıoğlu.

One is that she bought these lands to increase her capacity of production. In one of

they define the characteristics and patterns of production. Supermarkets constitute buyer driven economy. Since this economy defines the chain structure and the production pattern of the producers, small farmers are excluded from the markets since they are not able to fulfill the strict rules and meet the expectations (Garry Gereffi and Miguel Korzeniewicz, 1993 commodity chains and global capitalism).

the interviews I conducted with Kaftancıoğlu, she said that “we get another land piece almost every week”. The other one is that she organizes production activities in the village. She is leading a division of labor and makes a detailed production plan in the village in terms of who grows what, where and when. For example, while she directs household A to plant tomatoes, she directs household B to plant peppers. In this way, therefore, she supplies the products she needs.

Decrease in production capacity, undoubtedly, leads to surplus of workforce. In Ocaklı village there are about 100 people who work on the farm. Villagers, who previously had little work to do or who went to bazaars to sell their products, became full-time workers on the farm. Kaftancıoğlu says that she has workers from almost every household in the village of the Ocaklı Merkez neighborhood where the farm is located. She adds that the number of households which has no member working on the farm is no more than 10 in the Merkez neighborhood.

However, the workers on this farm consist not only of Ocaklı villagers but workers from the surrounding villages as well. These are Yaylapınar (Sinekçiler) village, Has village, Hamzalı village, and Mastavra (Bozyurt) Village. I will also specify the general picture of these villages.

Yaylapınar is a mountain village 8 km from Ocaklı. There are 285 households and population of this village is 1,300. There are about 25 people working on the farm. The main means of subsistence are animal husbandry and producing figs, chestnuts, olives. The amount of land for per household ranges between 20 and 100 acres. For example, a household which has 60 acres of land uses 10 acres of land for producing figs, 10 acres for chestnuts, 15 acres for olives, and the rest for vegetables and fruits, some of which are sold to Pınar Kaftancıoğlu.

In my interviews I conducted in this village, people consider the existence of Kaftancıoğlu as an advantage since she pays relatively high prices for their products. This means an increase in their revenues. Villagers consider that not only their products but also their lands have gained value with the existence of the farm because of the village houses she built: Kaftancıoğlu built village houses for her customers to be “in touch with natural life” at the weekends. Her customers pay 100 liras for per person for one night. There are 6 village houses in total. Each house has a capacity of approximately three people. Those houses were built at a strategic point of Yaylapınar village. That is to say, people can see the entire village and nature view with a bird’s eye view. Customers who come from big cities have both the opportunity to look around the farm where they buy products and to be in touch with natural life, escaping from the chaotic atmosphere of the city for a few days. However, the number of these houses cannot meet the demand. As the office worker, Nesli Han, whom I interviewed stated:

We have so many customers that come for a stay that our capacity becomes inadequate. Therefore, they stay at hotels in Nazilli. For example, almost all customers of Nazilli Palas were ones who could not find accommodation in our village houses. Therefore, we want to increase our accommodation capacity. [4]

The customers who experience the nature in this way tend to buy land in this village for use in variety of ways. Land prices thus started to increase in this region.

Kaftancıoğlu used nature as means of capital accumulation for herself. Yet her effort to generate extra income for herself is appealing for the villagers.

What is more, there is cold air storage with 1,000 tons of storage capacity owned by the cooperative in the village. This cooperative was founded in 1970s but could not survive due to gradual defunctionalization of agricultural sale cooperatives. After the policies that the state implemented on cooperatives, the sales cooperative in

this village remained functionless for a long time until Pınar Kaftancıoğlu leased it for her own use. She renovated the cold air storage to store her products. One of the interviewers in this village stated:

Cold air store was useless before. Then Pınar Hanım said that she needed that store. The Cooperative Board of Directors decided to lease that store to Pınar Hanım for 7 years. Pınar Hanım spent 50,000 TL to renew it. Brand new. She started to use it last year. Since last year, I have brought my apples to store there. I either sell them to Pınar Hanım if she wants them or sell them in the bazaar. That means both villagers and Pınar Hanım make use of it. [Appendix A, 5]

As is seen in this quote, the sales cooperative which was previously for the use of villagers has now passed into the possession of an individual entrepreneur (Kaftancıoğlu). I would define this process as the privatization of previously public property. Yet the process has not been experienced as a loss or destruction by the villagers. Rather they have experienced this situation as an advantage for their own benefit.

Hamzallı is another village with 350 household and a population of 1,000 and 15 of whom work on the farm. This village is a lowland village which is suitable for citrus production, pomegranates (*hıcaz narı*), plums (*Japon eriği*) and quince (*ayva*). The village headman said that Pınar Kaftancıoğlu supplies her needs for oranges from this village since Ocaklı is not suitable for orange production because of being a mountain village with relatively harsh climate conditions. Orange growing in this village, however, is not organic but good agricultural products. The same interviewer explained that:

In this village, good agriculture is practiced rather than organic agriculture. Villagers do not prefer organic because in this way of production there is the risk of fast rotting and wormy oranges. Moreover, the state support is not sufficient because the land is too small. [Appendix A, 6]

Good agricultural practice (GAP) is a way of agricultural food production which addresses the “environmental, economic and social sustainability for on-farm

production and post-production processes resulting in safe and healthy food and non-food agricultural products.”¹⁰ This way of production differs from organic production in that GAP does not completely prohibit the use of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides; rather it sets limits on their use. Hence, the oranges that are supplied from this village by Kaftancıoğlu are not pesticide-free but still they are sold under the name of natural food. Then, what generates the particular quality of the food in this farm? At this point, I will argue in Chapter 3 that rather than a set of objective values, the quality of the products comes from certain narratives and meanings which surround the products.

Except from the villages I mentioned above, there are two other villages: Has village and Mastavra village. Mastavra is a village with 800 households whose means of subsistence are animal husbandry, olives, and figs. There are 10 people from this village who work in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği. Finally, Has Village consists of 350 households with a population of 1,300, most of whom are retired from mining. Younger villagers have been working in Uğur Cooling¹¹ since the mine closed in this village. The rest of them produce olives, figs, and chestnuts. Since the route of the village is opposite the Ocaklı village, there are only 5 people who work on the farm.

The common feature of all these villages is the need for extra income, which constitutes the feature of these villages. This need for extra income is related to the deepening commodification in Turkish agriculture. Yenil and Keyder (2011) show how commodification in agriculture has changed the lives of small farmers in that they have been made dependent on the market (p. 60). They argue that, with the

¹⁰ <http://www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/006/y8704e.htm>

¹¹ Uğur cooling (Uğur Soğutma) is a factory established in Nazilli district to produce cooling systems such as refrigerators, deepfreezes and so on.

domination of the market, small producers have been left vulnerable and thus they have been pushed into insecure and risky conditions. Under these harsh conditions, small farmers in the villages I have discussed above have sought alternatives ways for earning money.

2.5 The organizational structure and production capacity of the İpek Hanım Çiftliği

The agricultural transformation I have detailed above has provided substantial ground for a new model of agricultural enterprise in Turkey. The İpek Hanım Çiftliği is one of the most important and prominent examples of this new agricultural enterprise because of its production capacity, product range, the number of workers employed and its popular appeal to urban consumers.

The İpek Hanım Çiftliği was established on 12 acres of land on which there are various production units separated from each other in the form of compartments. These production units are as follows: a harvest room in which harvested products are stored, a room in which orders are packed, a bakery with a stone oven, a chicken coop, a dairy, a kitchen where workers have their lunch, two offices, one of which is used by Pınar Kaftancıoğlu as her private work office and the other one is an office where the manager, agricultural engineer and the workers who receive the orders work. In each production unit, there is a (woman) chef who is expert at that particular craft and there are workers whose numbers are determined according to the need. The chef of each production unit is given a list of the daily amount of food production according to the orders for the day. Together with the workers, the chef organizes the production and tries to make the orders ready. At the end of the day, after the orders are prepared, they are delivered to the packaging unit. First, workers in the packaging unit finish packing the products according to the list they are given.

And then, a cargo service (Aras, Yurtiçi and MNG) arrives and the products are loaded into the vehicle. The courier sets out to deliver the products. The raw agricultural materials which are necessary for the production of these food products are grown in the huge agricultural land of 600 acres. There are both seasonal and permanent workers who plant, hoe and harvest the crops in these agricultural lands. Except from agricultural land, there is also a barn, which is not very far from the farm. In this barn, there are 80 cows, 40 sheep and 20 goats. However, the number of these animals is not sufficient to meet the demand of all the ordered dairy products. Many dairy products are provided from the farm in Kars which is run jointly by İlhan Koçoğlu and Pınar Kaftancıoğlu. Similarly, when her own products are insufficient to meet the demand, Pınar Hanım buys the products of the villagers and sells these products either as raw or finished goods. As one of the interviewees from Yaylapınar village stated:

Pınar Hanım made a speech in this coffee house recently. She told us to grow crops. She said she would help us and for example she said if we need water, she would provide us with the necessary equipment and organize the system we need. [Appendix A, 7]

The İpek Hanım Çiftliği is a commercial business which is based on the delivery of the weekly product price list sent through e-mail to the customers from different cities and the shipping of the orders received through e-mail. Together with the list of 560 different kinds of products, Pınar Hanım builds a narrative for each week and sends it via e-mail to her customers. While the customers can order the products, they want to buy from the list, they can also read the narrative created by Pınar Hanım. These narratives are mostly about how the natural agriculture and diet should be practiced, how and in what ways her products differ from certified (organic) ones. She also mentions how she produces in an honest and transparent way in this sector and how she adopts the principle which takes the human health in the center, which

shows how she differs from other farmers in that she does not prefer the practices of other farmers who tend to produce just for their profits.

A narrative stream in which she answers questions from the customers, etc. is continuing. Even though she does not sell through a website that belongs to her, from this perspective, this is a commercial business in the agricultural sector built on a marketing and promotion strategy, and based on a unique e-commerce practice with a niche version of e-sales they developed themselves. Although, at the first glance, this semiprofessional aspect may cause the business to be associated with a family farm rather than a commercial business, it is actually an ideal way of advertising that they meet the demands and expectations of their target audience. This is because the sincere way of talking that provides a direct and personal communication, the production process that is conducted by exchanging ideas with the customers, the narratives that underscore their equal relationship with the villagers, and their attitude that put values over commerce result in a great impact on the customers compared to cold and made up language of modern commerce. Thus, they create an impression that they are one of them and they work hard to provide healthy agricultural products to them instead of being seen as a commercial business. The farm becomes something that is completely congruous with and identified by its owner. Therefore, it can be described as an agriculture and food business which is run by a quite centralized planning where the product variety and production amounts are decided according to demands of the customers as opposed to a family business or co-op business structure.

From agricultural food varieties such as olives, a vast variety of vegetables, fruits, types of grains, and milk and other dairy products from a total of 120 cattle and sheep, eggs, approximately 20 types of flour, 20 types of bread, 63 types of

bakery products, 13 types of pasta, ready-to-eat foods (baby food, soup), 7 types of olive oil, 7 types of olive, 10 types of dried vegetables, 6 types of tomato paste, 14 types of pickles and vinegar, 12 types of canned food, 12 types of jam, 6 types of marmalade, 13 types of tahini and molasses, 5 types of honey, 24 types of dried nuts and fruits, 24 types of herbal tea, 30 types of spices, 8 types of gluten-free products, 16 types of soap, 23 types of tinctures and essential oils, 16 types of washing-up gloves and spoons, and 16 types of seeds. All of these products are delivered to a 65,000-strong consumer base.¹²

There are 150 employees who process the 550 types of food mentioned above and provide services such as cooking and cleaning for the visitors who come to the summer range houses. Ninety percent of the workers are women. Apart from the permanent workers, there are also women who work seasonally. Women who work as seasonal workers either work in the field during specific time periods like harvest and hoe, or work from home by doing jobs such as scooping out the eggplant, cracking the walnuts, stringing peppers, and so on.

Before she founded this business, Pınar Kaftancıoğlu used her accumulated capital for a natural spring water business, mainly in the Nazilli area. She had inherited some acres of land in Ocaklı village and had enough money to provide for herself without having to work for the rest of her life. However, later, due to both the birth of her daughter and the stress her job caused, she sold the factory to one of the biggest companies in the region and made plans for retirement. She envisioned a stress-free life of building a stone house with a garden where she could grow

¹² See Appendix B for the full list of product range. The table shown in Appendix B is a sample of regular list Kaftancıoğlu delivers to her customers in weekly period. This list is taken from an e-mail sent at 21.11.2016 as an attached Excel document. The content of table in APPENDIX B is totally same with original document, but visual format was reshaped to adopt it into the Word document page format of my thesis.

vegetables and fruits for her own use. Yet at the beginning of that retirement plan, she discovered the niche to which she could redirect her capital. She describes the process that started from a trial farmhouse that only produced for the household and ended up as a natural agriculture enterprise with the biggest capacity in Turkey:

I decided to do farming on a small scale in the first months that I spent at the farm. We reclaimed the two lands around the farmhouse with help from the neighbors and laborers. I started to grow 8-10 different products here. When the harvest time came, I faced the fact that we would not be able to consume the carrots we produced, even if we ate only carrots for five years. It would have been weird if I had sold them at the Nazilli Bazaar. I decided to hand out the carrots to friends and acquaintances. I called my friends in Istanbul and said “Give me your address; I’m going to send you some strange stuff”. Over a period of a few weeks, I distributed everything with cardboard boxes that I sent to 15-20 friends. The İpek Hanım Çiftliği was conceived with the encouragement of my friends: They said “Pınar, my neighbor wants some too but they also want to pay. We would also like to pay, otherwise we are embarrassed to ask”. They requested a product list and demanded that I would set the prices so that they could make orders without hesitation. After conceding the discussions of persuasion and persistence, I made the product list they wanted. I created a tiny Excel sheet and e-mailed it to all of them.¹³ [Appendix A, 8]

This quote that explains how the idea of establishing a farm and doing natural farming originated also reveals two key points. First, Pınar Kaftancıoğlu had a friend network that had the awareness to demand natural products even in the early 2000s; awareness about healthy eating was not as common as today. This friend network points to the prospective potential of natural and healthy eating demands in Turkey at that time. This potential is surely and closely linked to the demand for healthy nutrition that was taking root on a global scale.¹⁴ In other words, there were global and local processes that escalated the demand for healthy food and enabled her to meet that demand without having to conduct any PR projects. What I mean by these

¹³ <http://www.hafifyasayin.com/2014/04/ipek-hanimin-ciftligi.html>.

¹⁴ At the background of this growing demand, there was a variety of social movements: local environmental resistances like Bergama, Anti-nuclear movement at Mersin Akkuyu, Coalition for Peace and Justice (Küresel BAK), BarışaRock festivals, and a wide variety of green movements and organizations in parallel with World Social Forums, anti-globalization movements after 1999 post Seattle movements.

processes are the marketing strategies of global food chains that could convert the concerns born out of the ecological movements into market opportunities. The second key point revealed by the above paragraph is the existence of an entrepreneurial potential that sought to transform this global transition in the food industry into capital. She is both the starter and most prominent representative of this fledgling sector in Turkey. Before she even founded her farm, she was already an entrepreneurial subject who could detect this floating demand and had the rationale to monetize on it. The main reason I describe her as an entrepreneurial subject is that she had previously invested in another sector and then shifted her capital to the natural food area as it points to the viscosity of capital. The capital effectively changed sectors and found itself another medium to flow through. The attractive feature of market demand and the niche in this sector overruled her plans for retirement without having to make more money. The existence of both the people with economic and cultural capital necessary for demanding natural food and a capitalist rationale bent on capitalizing on that demand meant that there was a tendency to utilize surplus products as a means to accumulate more capital as opposed to exchanging it as part of a social solidarity practice proved more desirable. So much so that she felt the need to convert the village she was living in to an integral production unit working on her behalf.

2.5.1 The conversion of Ocaklı village into a “social factory”

Kaftancıoğlu’s tendency to convert the entire process into an accumulation process for herself cannot be explained away by establishing a farmhouse with a certain surface area and manufacturing goods in a sector with well-defined boundaries. On the contrary, she sought to convert the entire village into a production complex. I

have already discussed the project for building summer range houses and turning the village's nature, air, and land into touristic venues. Furthermore, she assigns various tasks to people of different age groups and turns almost the entire population of the village into workers that output value for her. Kaftancıoğlu said:

The farm employs about 50 people who work as seasonal workers. Many people benefit from us. I kept coming up with side jobs they could do as a family in their homes such as threading and drying peppers and eggplants... For example, we do not expose the wheat to photocells. There is a conveyor belt system called Sortex which helps us extract the stones when we process the wheat with it. However, that machine also infuses the wheat with arsenic. Our women manually sort sacks full of wheat. The same goes for lentils. They extract the stones from the wheat like it's nothing for them. They provide a decent income for themselves. Not only do they not get tired or cold, but they are also able to do household chores and cooking. They just sit around the wheat and sort it out; that might sound absurd but it doesn't to me. To me, that is precisely what needs to be done. Nothing is stopping me from using Sortex but that's not the issue. Well, then, does that labor reflect on the end consumer? It does. Even the women aged 60,70, 80 must be extracting stones from wheat right now. It is the funniest thing in the world, I don't think you can come across something like this. It must be unique. [Appendix A, 9]

It appears that the able-bodied people are employed as full-time workers at the farms while children and seniors are incorporated to this production cycle by working from home. However, as I will be discussing further in the second chapter, Pınar Kaftancıoğlu utilized not only the labor force of the village but also its traditional knowledge when she founded her farm. What enabled Kaftancıoğlu, someone who grew up in a middle-class family in Istanbul, to scale up the farm's production capacity to this degree without any previous knowledge about agricultural production is specifically her accumulation of this knowledge. Kaftancıoğlu describes the beginning phase of the farm as follows:

We kicked off in the tiny village called Ocaklı that was made up of fourteen households. Each of my neighbors became part of this structure. Their neighbors, children, the old women at the summer range houses, grandfathers... One by one, each person in the region became a member of the farm. I owned the land, they had the knowledge... We came together, started working together. The marketing techniques were of the new age; everything

that has been hollowed out, discredited, and forced into categories remained far away from us. We did not pay attention to our surroundings but only to what's ahead. We literally put our backs into it. In the brief period of about a year that I have lived in this village, everything went back to what they were fifty years ago. The boundaries between our cars, houses and fields were lifted. Every inch of the fields that was left unplowed for decades because it did not yield profit was sown with true seeds of Anatolia. Every beauty that had faded away was revived, rejuvenated. It was extremely well received and appreciated. [Appendix A,10]

Two basic themes stand out in this paragraph: through appropriation of both the knowledge and labor of people and utilization of previously stagnant fields with local seeds made it possible to convert the village, along with all of its resources, into an integral part of the capital accumulation process. The nature, the soil, the labor force, and the local knowledge of villagers have all become means for consolidating a particular form of value extraction. The capital accumulation process colonizes the whole public life and space in order to meet the healthy dietary demands of middle classes in distant cities. In short, the village was converted into a factory. Although we are dealing with a farm as opposed to a factory in the industrial sense of the term, what is worth noting is that the factory in this case is a form of social relationship. The İpek Hanım Farm a) is a multi-phase production and distribution organization, b) continuously scales up its capacity and product variety in order to meet the ever-increasing demand, c) employs various labor regimes (full time, half time, flexible time); thus, it organizes the social relationships in the entire village, thereby turning it into a factory.

The only issue in this case is not how capital has colonized the village and turned it into a factory. Equally relevant is the transformation of the thoughts, actions, consumerist practices, and future projections of villagers. In other words, people not only contribute to the value output by working on the farm but also get involved in the capitalist value production process in their free time outside work

hours, meaning the life in its entirety becomes colonized by the capital. I will attempt to conceptualize this arrangement with what the Italian Marxists called a “social factory”. Mario Tronti, one of the most prominent theoreticians of the operaist movement in Italy, defined social factory as (1962):

...Social relations become moments of the relations of production, and the whole society becomes an articulation of production. In short all of society lives as a function of the factory and the factory extends its exclusive domination over all of society. (as cited in Thoburn, 2003, p. 78)

This quote makes it apparent that with the advent of a social factory, factories are no longer particular spaces where production and value surplus occur but rather a holistic mechanism in which societies take part in the extraction of surplus as a whole (Negri, 1989). As an entrepreneur, Pinar Kaftancıoğlu perpetually scaled up its production capacity, thereby affecting the entire social life of the region by influencing the daily lives, consumption patterns and future expectations of the people in that region. People’s off hours are subjected to the rationality of a capitalist social system in the broader sense. According to Kaftancıoğlu, as villagers started making money, their lives were transformed:

First, the lousy mobylettes every household owned was replaced; then, we started seeing cars in front of homes even though they were basic models like Kartal or Şahin. They purchased tractors. Each one of our employees, be it by bringing us thickets, carrying our logs, or plowing our gardens were from these villages. I enabled them to earn money with every opportunity I had... Today, we have women who are no longer in debt, who earn a living for the family, who can speak out at home, call the shots, accompany her husband for a car ride over the weekend, go to a restaurant or a café, attend a concert, sport golden bracelets, wear pants from Mavi Jeans and young girls who can comfortably pay their way through universities with the money they made themselves; they have social security, cafeterias, and shuttles. They have extra income. Their kids can do exactly what İpek can do with their cars and eat what she eats. They go to the same theatre at the same shopping mall where İpek goes, they attend the same training courses İpek attends. If İpek can have our lovely dentist Nalan Kolcuoğlu do her braces, Nuray’s daughter Huriye can also do the same.¹⁵ [Appendix A, 11]

¹⁵ <https://yaz-gi.com/2014/09/30/ipek-hanim-ciftligi/>

She probably inadvertently points to the mechanism as a certain type of capital penetrates a local region, the social fabric is transformed to benefit the macro level capital accumulation processes. Just as in the case of urban salaried workers, the off hours of the agricultural workers in this region become moments of value production that benefit the social factory. Receiving training in order to refine the labor quality, switching to more urban consumption practices, spending free time at shopping malls are all significant indicators of such a value creation process. By doing that, people go beyond from just being İpek Hanım Çiftliği employees and become employees of the social factory.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to outline the transformations that agricultural production went through from a global scale to a local and micro scale with respect to a sample village. Due to global and national agricultural policies shaking the trust towards food, consumers' concerns regarding the relationship between nutrition and health are becoming increasingly socialized. It can be observed that a niche for addressing these concerns in the agricultural market is emerging both in the world and in Turkey. This niche resulted in companies that have emerged as manufacturers of various categories of food such as organic farming, natural farming, good farming, etc. In Turkey, there are many farming companies that are geared towards this market, which has been growing since the early 2000s. The İpek Hanım Çiftliği took over conventional farming methods and turned them into an expansive business organization, becoming one of the fastest growing and leading agricultural organizations in the market.

The global processes driving this business have rapidly transformed the routine lifestyle and social fabric of a small and relatively isolated village such as Ocaklı. As demonstrated by this example, the results of global and national agricultural policies have a direct impact on a local village. Established as a local agricultural business, the İpek Hanım Çiftliği has transformed the local lifestyle and, on the one hand, aligned production to global market trends while on the other hand subjecting the local lifestyles to urban culture, consumption patterns and work ethic. It has become a reciprocal link between the global economic forces that has brought itself into existence and the rural lifestyle it operates in. It has become a supplementary forger between the local and the global by acting as a bridge between local relationships and global market system. At this point, it is no longer adequate to consider it as a mere business that operates locally and transforms its surroundings. It has further reaching social implications: Just like any commercial economic initiative that operates within the integral system of capitalism, social relations degrade into relations of the social factory. What this example demonstrates is the spatial expansion of the social factory as it encroaches from urban to rural areas, thanks to the particular impact of global agricultural policies.

CHAPTER 3

APPROPRIATION OF WOMEN'S DOMESTIC LABOR AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE SECTOR OF NATURAL FOOD PRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I detailed how neoliberal transformation in agriculture has led to the emergence of a surplus labor force. Villagers who had previously cultivated their lands have now decreased their production size, especially after state subsidies for farmers gradually diminished. In this chapter I will specifically focus on the women's labor that emerged after all these transformations and investigate the relationship between capital accumulation and women's domestic labor and knowledge in the capitalist economy. Rather than taking women's domestic labor and their knowledge as necessary components of accumulation in capitalist economy, I will suggest that the role of domestic labor and women's knowledge in the capitalist economy are determined by multiple factors. Sectoral differences are one of those factors. I will argue that in the sector of natural food production, women's domestic labor and their culinary knowledge constitute the necessary means of the capital accumulation.

3.1 Women's domestic labor and capital accumulation

What is domestic labor's relationship to capitalist accumulation? Could Marx's theory of value be applied to domestic labor? Is women's domestic labor productive? In other words, does women's domestic labor create value? These questions have been a common theme in feminist literature since the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Since this period, many feminists have not only demanded control over their bodies and equality in social and political life, but they have also put forward a new aspect

in the definition of capitalism to examine the material base of their oppression. In the early seventies, the issue of housework was raised in the context of a labor struggle in Italy. Maria-Rosa Dalla Costa, Selma James, and Silvia Federici are the leading political and academic figures who challenged the Orthodox Marxist theory on women's work (Federici, 2004; James and Dalla Costa, 1973).

In their article "Women and the Subversion of Community", Dalla Costa and James (1973) analyze how capitalism has created the modern family and how women were locked up in it. They argue that in pre-capitalist feudal societies, home was the place of production, as it was also the living space. Living space and the place of production were not separated from each other. It is in the home where men and women toiled together on agricultural and artisanal production. By destroying this type of community, capitalism has created isolated spheres: the factory and the household. While the factory became the new productive center in which men turned into wage laborers, the house remains the place of reproduction for which only women are responsible. This historical change, confining women to the house and creating the category of the housewife, redefined women's position in society. This is where the real issue begins for Dalla Costa¹⁶. After women were locked into the isolated family, their existence in general and their labor performed there in particular remains invisible, worthless and excluded from the concept of "work". Here, due to the theoretical framework of this study, I will focus on the specific question of women's labor.¹⁷ Let me go into detail on how Dalla Costa discloses the

¹⁶ Dalla Costa, in her aforementioned work, does not argue that the oppression of women begins with capitalism. What she underlines is that capitalism is the intense exploitation of women. (Dalla Costa, *Power of women and the subversion of community*, p.4)

¹⁷ I would like to note that the question of women's domestic labor and the other issues related to her, such as her body and sex, are closely related and cannot be separated from each other. Here, however, it is necessary to limit the scope of this study to merely the labor of women.

fact that capital rules and develops not only through the wage laborer but also through women's non-wage labor.

As one of her conceptual points of departure, she considers two basic notions in Marx's work: productive and non-productive labor. In his work, *Capital* volume 1, Marx puts states that, "only that laborer is productive who produces surplus for the realization of capital" (*Capital*, vol.1, 1974). Productive labor, for Marx, has two basic components: "necessary labor" and "surplus labor". The part of the time the worker works for himself is necessary; the rest of the time he works for his boss is surplus labor. Necessary labor corresponds to the wage for his maintenance; surplus labor produces surplus value at the disposal of the boss. If capitalism, as an economic system, tends to make steady and increasing profit, it seeks any possible strategy to reduce necessary labor. Extending working hours is one of those strategies that provide the basis for capital to grow since the worker expends more labor power for the same wage. Another way to increase profit is to make the production process more productive by decreasing working hours. The worker completes the necessary labor within fewer working hours. At this point, it is worth asking the question of how capital expects workers to be more productive under tough working conditions. According to Dalla Costa and James (1973), it is through women's unpaid labor that workers endure and are more productive under these brutal working conditions. They say that the "productivity of wage slavery is based on unwaged slavery" (p.17). That is to say that it is through women's daily unpaid contributions to family maintenance that male wage-workers return to work. Daily activities women perform in the house such as cooking; cleaning and rearing children restore the energies of the wage labor to be more productive in the factory. These "social services" provided in the home reproduce the labor power for the next working day. Hence, for Dalla Costa and

James, women not only produce use value realized in the process of family members' consumption, but also labor power, which then can be sold on the labor market. According to them, women's labor in the home "fulfills an essential function in the production of surplus value" (Dalla Costa and James, 1973). Women's domestic labor is the precondition for the very productivity of the wage laborer. They therefore claim that there is a larger amount of labor than appears in the factory. There is no individual laborer isolated from additional women's labor that secures the maintenance of the workingman. There is always hidden women's labor within the wage that the working man receives as compensation for his labor. This is what makes the exploitation more effective since capital transforms an enormous quantity of social services into privatized activity putting them on the backs of women in the house (Dalla Costa and James, 1973, p. 14).

Departing from this perspective, they refuse Marx's approach concerning the question of the productivity of laborer. Marx (1974), in *Capital*, says that 'only that laborer is productive who produces surplus for the realization of capital' (*Capital*, vol. 1, 1974). This concept of productive labor, for me, is kind of an abstraction which makes women's labor invisible. This abstraction leads to a misunderstanding based on the assumption that waged labor is productive in a self-constituted way. However, as Dalla Costa puts it, the productivity of the male wage laborer depends on the women's services provided in the home. Through the creation and maintenance of wage labor, women contribute to the realization of surplus value. The nuclear family, thus, is a kind of 'social factory' and women are the laborers in it, in her view.

Just like Dalla Costa, Maria Mies (1998) also rejects the narrow definition of the concept of productive labor in the Marxist theory. She says that "labor can only

be productive in the sense of producing surplus value as long as it can tap, extract, exploit and appropriate which is sent in the production of life or subsistence production which is largely non-wage” (p.47). For her, the production of life, or subsistence production which is performed through the non-wage labor of women, constitutes the basis upon which “capitalist productive labor” can be built up and exploited (Mies 1998, p. 48). For these feminist theoreticians, the reason that women’s domestic labor become invisible and worthless and that it is excluded from the concept of “work” is rooted in the rise of capitalism.

This is the common theme in the Silvia Federici book *Caliban and the Witch* (2004) as well. In her book, she suggests that in the new monetary regime, only production for market is defined as value creating activity, whereas reproduction activities such as cooking began to considered as valueless from an economic viewpoint. Once reproductive activities carried by women in the house were deemed to be valueless, they continued to be paid at the lowest rates when performed outside the home. With the creation of “full time housewife”, the economic importance of the reproductive activities and its function in the accumulation of capital became invisible, being mystified as natural vocation, and labelled “women’s labor” (p. 75). She says that the “discrimination that women have suffered in the wage work-force has been directly rooted in their function as unpaid laborer in the home” (p. 94).

The common issue I have detailed above is to criticize the classical Marxist approach, which excludes women’s domestic labor in understanding producing and reproducing of value in capitalist economy. By using Marxist theoretical tools and concepts, they all tended to expend Marxist theory towards feminist perspective. Therefore, they put forward a new assessment of capitalism. In these analyses, domestic labor is not considered outside the capitalist economy but it constitutes the

foundation upon which the process of surplus value production can get started. However, there are many other feminist authors who disconnect the relationship between capital accumulation and domestic labor. They position domestic labor out of capitalist economy. Although there is kind of a relationship between the two, domestic labor is a different mode of production. Harrison (1973) is one of those authors who follows this path.

Harrison begins with the critique of the domestic labor debate which failed to recognize the difference between the world capitalist system and the capitalist mode of production, and between the social formation as a whole and the mode of production within it. He says that these debates “have failed to distinguish the capitalist mode of production from capitalism as a world socio-economic system in which the capitalist mode is the dominant, but not the exclusive, mode of production” (p. 35). He talks about the co-existence of different modes of production within a dominant social formation. He underlines three distinct modes of production: vestigial modes, foetal modes and client modes. A vestigial mode is a remnant of an earlier economic system which would be swept aside by the capitalist mode of production. Foetal modes, however, are defined as the forerunners or seeds of the future ones. Client modes are another kind of mode of production which are “either created or co-opted by the dominant mode to fulfill certain functions within the economic and social system” (p. 40). Housework is a client mode of production whose existence depends on the existence of the dominant mode (capitalist).

Housework differs from the capitalist mode of production at the level of authority and control over movements during the work process. Women in the house can determine her own pace and rhythm. Harrison, therefore, says that women’s labor in the house “is qualitatively different to the social constraints on the worker's

ability to choose his pace and manner of work imposed within the capitalist mode of production by the authority of the capitalist” (p. 38). Housework also differs from the capitalist mode of production in terms appropriation of the product, according to Harrison: “Unlike proletarians, housewives are not separated from ownership of the means of production” (p. 38). What is more, use-values produced in housework are not produced for exchange but they are consumed within the family. Since housework is not sold on the market, they cannot be defined as commodities.

According to Dalla Costa and James, however, house is the site of production since housework produces the commodity labor-power. This is confusion for Harrison. He says that just like commodities in capitalist economy constitute elements for the subsistence of worker, housework also produces use value for his subsistence. For him, to say that women contribute worker’s maintenance and reproduction by producing labor power is equal to saying that food and clothing produced in capitalist economy have also role in producing labor power (Harrison, 1973).

Although housework constitutes a mode of production distinct from the capitalist mode, it does not reproduce itself independently. Its reproduction is dependent on the reproduction of the capitalist mode (p. 39). He states:

The capitalist, for example, advances money at the start of the production period for constant and variable capital, transforms this into commodities, sells them for more money than he advanced and then, in turn, advances this money as capital. This correspondence between the production period and reproduction cycle does not exist in housework. The products are not sold and do not themselves provide all the necessary inputs for the next production period. The husband's wage is required to buy fresh inputs. The reproduction cycle of housework is thus related to the capitalist production period, rather than to its own (p. 39).

For Harrison, therefore, the function of the housework mode is to contribute to the reproduction of the waged labor power by providing use values for his subsistence.

The services provided by women in the house would increase the cost of subsistence

if they bought in the market. In other words, if women did not provide services in the house, the employer would pay more money for workers in the factory. Hence according to Harrison, women contribute a surplus of labor which turns into a surplus value in the capitalist sector. This point is very much like the argument Dalla Costa, Mies and Federici put forward. Although there are nuances, they all argue that women's labor decrease the value of waged labor power by providing services for its reproduction. Indeed, they claim that without women's domestic labor it is impossible for capitalism to maximize its profit.

Molyneux (1979), however, criticizes this form of conceptualization between capitalism and housework. For her, such a widely-held thesis that housework necessarily depresses the value waged labor power relies on a false assumption. She says that the value of waged labor power is subject to multiple (historical and cultural) variations. She says:

The literature on domestic labor commonly assumes that the value of labor power can be discussed in general terms, and that domestic labor exists in an invariant relation to it, whereas in fact the value of labor power can only be determined in relation to specific societies and periods of history. It is subject to a variety of cultural and political conditions which establishes what the standard of living for different strata and categories of the working class might be. It not only varies according to the different categories of labor (skilled /unskilled, black/white, male/female), but also according to the different circumstances which affect the bargaining position of labor at any given time, such as as labor supply and the level of class struggle. In addition, the value of labor power is affected by other factors such as the general level and rate of accumulation, the level of profits in a given enterprise or sector of production, the relation between Departments I and II, and the general technological levels (p. 10).

Molyneux supports her argument talking about the advanced capitalist countries. In these countries, she says, "there is a significant dependence by workers on the market for reproductive needs and it is not necessarily only the better paid workers who do so" (p. 11). She says that where the value of labor power is lowest (single workers and migrants) the input of domestic is often most minimal. They mostly live in

slums, hostels, shanties and under these living conditions they are not able to perform their own domestic labor. They tend to obtain services and food required for their subsistence from the market. Hence, the wage bargain does not presume a significant input of domestic labor. For Molyneux, therefore, “what is significant about domestic labor in advanced capitalist countries is not the economic value for capital deriving from its “unpaidness”. It is rather that the existence of full-time housewives performing this labor depends in the first instance on the capacity of a wage sufficient to maintain wives outside wage work” (p. 12). Molyneux recognizes the fact that the value of labor power may be related to the position of women in the home. However, it is not in the way Harrison and the other domestic labor literature suggested. For her, the specific political, historical, and economic reasons which result in “family wages” being paid to men not to women by some capitalist should be taken into consideration. In sum, she underlines the multiplicity of determinations. For her, within these multiplicities, housework plays a relatively minor role in establishing the value of waged labor power.

Discussions on domestic labor that I have tried to evaluate above have often revolved around the fact that women’s domestic labor has always reproduced waged labor in the capitalist sector. Although authors like Harrison have characterized the housework as separate mode of production (client), he still cannot cut off the connection between the capitalist and the client mode of production by saying that the very existence of the client mode depends on the capitalist one and the function of the housework mode is to contribute to the reproduction of the waged labor power by providing use values for his subsistence. On the other hand, Dalla Costa & James (1973), Mies (1987) and Federici (2004) do not consider the home as a separate sphere from the capitalist economy. The accumulation of wealth cannot be sustained

without housework, according to these authors. The common ground, however, that they stand on is that the feeding, clothing, nurturing, and the cleaning that women carry out in the home reproduce the capitalist workforce. Indeed, according to this approach that authors agree on, the capitalist economy has always incorporated every aspect of social life and distinct mode of production. Domestic labor gets its share of this aspect of capitalism.

Gibson-Graham (1996) problematizes this unitary, centered, and powerful conception of capitalist economy. For her, capitalism is not the hegemonic or the only present form of economy that incorporates every aspect of social life. There are multiple forms of economy “whose relations to each other are only ever partially fixed and always under subversion” (p. 12). Hence, they open the door for questioning economic monism. They ask “what it might mean to call an economy ‘capitalist’ when more hours of labor (over the life course of individuals) are spent in noncapitalist activity” (p. 12).

Household is considered as one of those noncapitalist economies according to their approach. Placing the household within the vision of economic pluralism, for them, provides the basis for destabilizing the capitalist hegemony. It is because capitalism hegemony, in their view, is a complex effect of a wide variety of discursive conditions (pp. 3-4).¹⁸ Representations and images are two of these practices of discourse that encompass the way we understand capitalism. It is these representations and images that lead us to view capitalism as the dominant form of the economy. They state:

It is through these discursive figuring and alignments that capitalism is constituted as large, powerful, persistent, active, expansive, progressive, dynamic, transformative; embracing penetrating disciplining, colonizing,

¹⁸ There is no doubt that Gibson-Graham do not reduce capitalist hegemony only to the discursive conditions. They also recognize non-discursive conditions that affect capitalist hegemony. Yet in this book they focus on the practices and preoccupations of discourse.

constraining; systemic, self-reproducing, rational, lawful, self-rectifying; organized and organizing, centered and centering; originating, creative, protean; victorious and ascendant; self-identical, self-expressive, full, definite, real, positive and capable of conferring identity and meaning (p. 4).

Defining capitalism in this way prepares the ground for making visible the discursive violence involved in theorizing household economic practices. Capitalist economy is not as powerful as domestic labor theories define it. Understanding capitalism as powerful and penetrating every aspect of life prevents us from seeing the household as a distinct economic sphere. The household economy cannot be reduced simply to the realm colonized by the capitalist sector. The household which has usually been seen as homogenously capitalist is re-envisioned as a site of economic difference in their approach. Hence, they place the term “capitalism” in a new relation to household production. This is an attempt to open a door for the new discourse of economic difference and plurality that leads to destabilization of the existing capitalist hegemony.

For my thesis, I suggest a theoretical framework which involves some important aspect of the approaches I have mentioned above. In my thesis, I do not come up with a kind of a universal idea that women’s domestic labor necessarily decreases the wage price. Rather, I think that effect of the domestic labor on wage price can only be considered with respect to a specific sector. In other words, each sector should be considered in its specific context rather than adopting general rules for every different sector. In this respect, I argue that when we focus on the sector of natural food production in Turkey, the accumulation of capital cannot be considered separated from the women’s domestic labor. Indeed, without this form of labor it is impossible to accumulate wealth in this sector. The reason is that the sector of natural food production depends on women’s cooking skills and culinary knowledge which they carry out in the house to sustain the members of family every day.

3.2 The appropriation of women's knowledge

What is distinctive in the sector of natural food production is that not only women's domestic labor but also their knowledge is being appropriated. In this part, I explain how women's traditional knowledge which was positioned as inferior in Western epistemology turns into a means of capital accumulation in the sector of natural food production.

Foucault talks about how power regimes create their own social, historical, and institutional relations, through which only particular forms of knowledge formation have been developed, represented and legitimized (Foucault, 1980). For him, this is the institutional "regime of truth" that shapes and filters the hierarchies of knowledge practices and imposes the new orders in the name of some "true knowledge". In this context, there is no room for knowledge which is scientifically disqualified and below the required level of instrumentally rational logic. Foucault defines this knowledge as "subjugated knowledge". Subjugated knowledge is hierarchically inferior in this new order and thus cannot be deemed truth in that of the Western epistemology and its Universalist assumptions. Subjugated knowledges have been often seen as "a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges located low down on the hierarchy beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity" (Foucault, 1980, p. 82). They are non-scientific knowledges which are "referred to as folk theories, myths or superstitions and have been interpreted as subjective, unreliable and as place and time and specific" (Tsouvalis 2000, p. 911, cited in Morris, 2006, p. 114). These forms of knowledges are conceptualized by contemporary anthropologists with different terms: tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966),

craft knowledge (Breveman, 1974), indigenous knowledge (Richards, 1985), and local knowledge (Kloppenburger, 1991). Raedeke and Rikon (1997) state that “terms such as local, indigenous, or traditional knowledge have different connotations; however, they all indicate types of knowledge that culminate through the experience of social groups embedded in specific localities and cultural contexts” (p. 2).

In this thesis, I prefer to trace the concept of local knowledge in the way of Kloppenburger’s conceptualization, since knowledge has come to be seen as intrinsically linked to the “localness” of food production in the sector of natural food. For Kloppenburger (1991), local knowledge is “derived from the direct experience of labor process which is itself shaped and delimited by the distinctive characteristics of particular place with a unique social and physical environment” (1991, p. 528). Local knowledge is the knowledge of farmers and agricultural workers that they continually produce and reproduce. This knowledge, for him, provides a basis for creating a truly alternative science and an alternative agriculture. Creating an alternative agriculture requires developing an alternative conception of reality. This is only possible with the identification and legitimation of alternative sources of knowledge production concerning agriculture, which are hierarchically inferior in the contemporary agroscientific knowledge production (p. 520). Kloppenburger argues that feminist theory opens the door for an alternative perspective regarding the existing agriculture and offers a fundamental epistemological reconstruction in agricultural science. Just like women’s knowledge that constitutes a separate reality; local knowledge also constitutes a separate reality (p. 539). He believes that feminist epistemology which is based on women’s way of knowing is a related stance that could be federated in solidarity with local knowledge. As can be seen, women’s knowledge is considered separate from local knowledge in Kloppenburger’s approach.

However, I argue just like Feldman and Welsh in their work (1995) that local knowledge cannot be examined as a homogeneous category or as an integrated set of propositions. Gender relations have always been implicit in local knowledge. They say that what is invoked by this form of homogeneous locality is the non-gendered neutral Other that is often assumed to be the ideal male. Feldman and Welsh try to employ “the concepts of partial perspective, lived experienced and the complexity of social context to interpret local knowledge production and, by so doing, to recognize the importance of the on-farm gender division of labor for interpretation” (1995, p. 24). Women’s knowledge offers rich insights into how local knowledge is produced since they actively engage in the production of life itself. What I try to argue, as many other feminist theoreticians have, is that not only traditional, local, indigenous knowledge but also women’s knowledge a low-ranking knowledge that has been ignored, devalued, and discounted in the modern Western epistemology. What is more, women’s knowledge is not only hierarchically inferior in the hegemonic way of knowing, it is also ranked low within the subjugated knowledges. This implies the double subjugated character of women’s knowledge. Hence, I would suggest the concept of “women’s local knowledge” to emphasize the role of women in the constitution of local knowledge.

Women’s distinctive historical experiences make possible different ways of thinking about the world they live in. These different ways of thinking lead them to constitute different forms of knowledge which are excluded from the hegemonic Western epistemology. Women’s knowledge is considered personalistic and is said to be derived from their sensuous and subjective activities. What feminist scholars have tried to do is to revaluat such knowledges arising from their everyday experiences and accumulating over the histories. They try to open a door for women

“who have no access to the natural world except through their sense” (Kloppenburger 1991, p. 9). Kloppenburger states that one of the central themes in the feminist analysis of science is the importance of legitimating and reaffirming the value of producing knowledge through sensuous activity and personal experience that is necessarily and specifically “local” in character (p. 9).

In agricultural food production, local knowledge had not been taken into account for many decades because of its presumed inferior quality in development planning. Development professionals and governments employed standardized methods in the epistemic constitution of agricultural knowledge production and they were used to apply these standardized methods and knowledge to the highly variable agricultural regions and social systems. It was, however, realized that the validity and utility of knowledge produced with standardized methods can have only limited applicability to actual farming operations because of limitations intrinsic to these methods (Kloppenburger, 1991; Suppe, 1988). Thus, it is agreed that successful development strategies must incorporate local knowledge into development planning (Agrawal, 1995, p. 12). Agrawal shows how Brokensha, Warren and Werner (1980) emphasize the necessity of indigenous knowledge for development. He cited an overwhelmingly important explanatory paragraph from their edited volume:

"Development from below" is for many reasons, a more productive approach than that from above, and (...) an essential ingredient is indigenous knowledge (...) To incorporate in developmental planning indigenous knowledge: is a courtesy to the people concerned; is an essential first step to successful development; emphasizes human needs and resources, rather than material ones alone; makes possible the adaptation of technology to local needs; is the most efficient way of using western "Research and Development" in developing countries; preserves valuable local knowledge; encourages community self-diagnosis and heightens awareness; leads to a healthy local pride; can use local skills in monitoring and early warning systems; involves the users in feedback systems, for example, on crop varieties. These positive reasons -- together with the negative reasons, such as the likelihood of failure without using indigenous knowledge -- constitute a

strong case for incorporating this knowledge in development programs (as cited in Agrawal, 1995 Brokensha, Warren and Werner, 1980, pp. 7-8)

After it was found out that without preserving local knowledge it is almost impossible to reach expected levels of capital accumulation in agricultural production, various institutions have been established to create databases which systematically collect and preserve the specific element of local knowledges. Agrawal emphasizes two fundamental functions of these institutions: first, they intend to protect indigenous knowledge against the pressure under which indigenous people and knowledge thrive. Second, they aim to collect and analyze specific features of knowledge that can be generalized and applied in the service of more effective development conservation (Agrawal, 2002, p. 2). Indigenous and local knowledge, therefore, turns into a means of capital accumulation through adopting it into development strategies.

The shift to indigenous knowledge has attracted attention to women's local knowledge, as well. The reason is that for all knowledge systems, women have possessed rich insights about every aspect of the production of life because of the role they have taken in everyday life (Sach, 1996). In other words, women's knowledge as to what is edible and what is useful for them develops their knowledge and skills about the earth, nature, agriculture and hence the production of life.

Although this form of connection between women and nature has been abolished in urban areas together with industrialization, the situation is different in rural areas. In rural areas, the relation between women and nature does exist to a certain extent. It is not an essentialist approach to raise such an argument that connects the nature and women. Rather, women's connection to nature has a material grounding based on their daily activities. This material perspective provides a basis for comprehending women's distinct relations to the natural world by focusing on

women's daily activities rather than women's symbolic or essential connections to the nature (Sach, 1996, p. 41). In their daily activity, women have contact with plants, animals, land, and water. This connection provides them to have detailed knowledge about "soil types, soil toxicity and salinity conditions, water sources and fluctuating water level and different seeds and their sustainability for various ecological and labor conditions" (p. 92). Rural women's work, such as gathering fuel, fodder, and water and cultivating food for their families' subsistence, places them in a particular relationship with a natural environment (p. 92). The material relationship of women with nature provides them with a particular perspective and a specific form of knowledge. It is also this materialistic perspective that prevents the romanticization and idealization of the relationship between rural women and nature.

Vandana Shiva (2001) shows how this capacity of women and their knowledge of plants and soils and thus the production of life have been appropriated though new intellectual property rights regimes imposed by the Trade Related Intellectual Rights Agreement (TRIPs) of the World Trade Organization (WHO). According to Shiva, departing from the Indian case, "women have long been the biodiversity experts, whether as seed keepers or as healers: the knowledge of plants and their uses has been women's knowledge" (Shiva, 2001, p. 13). She says that this knowledge is now the means of capital accumulation imposed through Intellectual property rights (IPRs). Intellectual property, as an exclusive right, "prevent[s] others from providing, using, distributing, or selling the patented, or "protected", products" (2001, p. 13). For her, intellectual property rights on seeds and plant uses become an instrument for women's disempowerment since they prevent women's free access to and use of resources and knowledge that completely belong to them. This exclusive right also denies women's creativity, innovation, and knowledge (p. 13).

However, it should be noted that the appropriation of women's knowledge cannot be reduced to the development strategies. It is rather embedded from the very beginning in the rise of the capitalist economy. Federici (2004) shows how witch-hunts served the purpose of destroying women's knowledge over their life and turned into a source of enrichment. Women had collective knowledge as midwives and healers, traditional roles that corresponded to what we would now classify as medicine, gynecology, and psychotherapy. In the period of capitalist ascendance, it was realized that all those women's independent knowledge over their body and life provided them with considerable power. Capitalism, therefore, from its inception onward, required the destruction of all those women's autonomous control over various types of useful knowledge and transfers this knowledge into the hands of professionalized groups of people. The rise of a capitalist economy and the subsequent accumulation of wealth cannot be isolated from women's ways of knowing. This is an attempt to move beyond the dualistic perspective. In opposition to the hegemonic understanding of economy which associates economy simply with the domain of "scientific" or "professionalized" knowledge, this perspective expands the domain of economy. Henry and Pollard (2000)-say that economy is much broader than any particular economic rationale. The economy encompasses the whole range of behaviors driven by the everyday activities of social being. This is an alternative conceptualization of economy. Economy cannot be analyzed as an analytically distinct sphere which is separate from society. Hence, there is no pure, completely rationalized economic model, as the mainstream approach would suggest. Economy has always been embedded in both economic and non-economic institutions, experiences, and actions (Polanyi, 1957; Granovetter, 1985). In this thesis, I argue that women's knowledge is one of those constitutive elements that has been obscured

in economy. Yet this knowledge manifests itself in various ways in different economic models and sectors. I think the natural food sector is one of those realms in which women's labor and knowledge manifest themselves in distinct ways.

3.3 Analysis of the case study in the light of the domestic labor and knowledge literature

In this farm, 90% of the workers consist of women. Pınar Kaftancıoğlu says that “this work inherently involves women”. The manager of the farm, Hüsniye Hanım, supports this idea:

Our farm works only on food. We prepare different kinds of pastry Turkish like pancakes (*çörek*) and baked bread and flatbread (*gözleme*), cook different sauces and jams, prepare fenugreek. You can think of everything. And of course, these are the things that women do with pleasure; if you tell a man to do them, you don't get the same performance. In addition, hygiene is very important and women pay more attention to it. You looked around here yesterday; you must have seen it yourself. Hygiene is very important on the farm and I bet there is no any other farm which is that clean and orderly. [Appendix A, 12]

Hüsniye Hanım describes an ideal type of worker that an employer mostly prefers, while she categorizes certain types works as women's natural duty. These accounts echo not only the essentialist understandings about women's work, but also the idealized assumptions related to worker's subjectivities. İpek Hanım has similar assumptions as well:

Women work more, they see the workplace as their own home. I think women are smarter; they are more successful and hard-working. I think women will change the world; they have a superior intelligence; their emotional intelligence is superior. Men think about the quitting time while women work even after the end of the shift. They are more invested in their work, they see work as their own work. We are the same. We can't say “I am on a holiday, I can't answer the phone after 6 p.m.” We make phone calls until 12 p.m. You cannot make a man accept this. They do not do it in fact. You don't even have to tell this to a woman; they see their work as their responsibility. So, they understand what it is about. They are also in a closer relationship with their customers. They may be scolded sometimes for one reason or another but they are respected generally. [Appendix A, 13]

The discourse of İpek Hanım is important since it illustrates the profile of the worker in line with the imagination of the employer. However, here there is a rhetoric which transcends the relationship between the worker and the employer. She praises all women together with the women of the Ocaklı village but then ends up demanding a productive and loyal worker as in the dreams of an employer. It is obvious that all these praises do not destabilize the place of the women in the existing gender roles.

Before working as a laborer in this farm, these women were involved in the food cycle all year. They used to have contact with plants, animals, land, and water in their agricultural lands on the one hand, and they were involved in the culinary production produced from the crops they obtained from those lands. The culinary production these women used to carry out consisted of both daily food and the long-lasting products such as fruit compost, tarhana, salça, mantı, yufka which can be defined as “craft products” since both knowledge, skills and experience are required for their production. These women, therefore, were involved in the production and reproduction of life itself. The material relationship of these women with life provided them a specific form of knowledge which I would like to call “women’s local knowledge” and specific skills. In the İpek Hanım Çiftliği women are employed in accordance with the skills they acquired during the production of life. The manager of the farm, Hüsniye Hanım, explains the employment of women as follows:

We write down the qualities of those who apply for a job (many people from the villages around apply for a job, sometimes they hear it from their neighbors). We note what they can do. For example, I ask “what do you most like doing at home? Do you like baking cakes or other pastry? Do you like cleaning? Do you like preparing *tarhana*?¹⁹” In this way, you get to know the person, what she likes. For example, in my notes, I write down such information as “This person rolls dough very well”. [Appendix A, 14]

¹⁹ *Tarhana* is a kind of sundried food made of curd, tomato and flour. It is used to make soup.

About 600 different kinds of products are produced by the women divided according to their skills and inclinations. If a woman, for example, good at making cakes or cookies, she is placed in bakery or if she is good at making bread, then she is positioned at the stone oven. Hence, the skill women have gained throughout their life turns into wage labor. However, women's labor is deemed to be unskilled labor.

Hüsniye Hanım says the following:

90% of the people who work here didn't go to university. And probably very few of them went to high school. Most of them only went to primary or junior high school. They are all brilliant people, but they aren't skilled employees. I mean, for example, a cake chef has been trained on cakes, so he knows everything from how to make it to how many calories it has and what the ingredients involve. I mean, he is a bit like professional. But the employees here are not like that. They of course know what they do, but they have learnt it from their mothers, fathers, neighbors, or friends. [Appendix A, 15]

Although the non-professional and non-industrial character of how these women produce food is the very condition of value creation in this sector, it is still deemed to be unskilled and worthless. In another word, the food products obtain their authentic quality from the very nonprofessional character of labor and the way they are produced. Despite this fact, it is considered inferior. I think there are two important reason lie behind. One reason is rooted in the unpaid character of women's domestic labor. I have explained, departing from Federici's theory, how disqualification of any work women carry out in the wage work-force has been directly related to their function as unpaid laborers in the household (Federici, p. 94). Since any work that women perform in the household is defined as "non-work", they are viewed as worthless even when done for the market (Federici 2004; James & Dalla Costa, 1973). The inferior quality of this labor paves the way for labor to be low-waged and even unwaged. In İpek Hanım Çiftliği I observed that women receive minimum wage, and some of work are not charged on the farm. In another word, when

women's labor constitutes an element of production of food which are sold to the customers then her labor is charged. However, when her labor is used for extra work out of food production it is not charged but is expropriated. The reason is rooted in the role attributed to women. These extra works are considered as a women's natural duty.

In one of the interview I conducted with a worker, she said:

When the customers come to the village house, I do all their services, but I cannot complete all the stuff. I have said them to give me a helper but they do not do it either. My sister helped me many times, or I asked for help from my neighbor in the village but they did not pay for them. I cannot receive a recompense for my work. My daughter goes to school and I cannot raise any objection to them because of my fear to be fired from the job. Hüsniye Hanım once said that one goes, another comes. [Appendix A, 16]

The words of this working woman invalidate the manager and the farm owner's rhetoric, stated in the two separate quotes above, in line with work performance of the women. In both quotes above, women's work performances and work qualities are praised on the one hand, but on the other hand there is no corresponding praise in the wage policy. That is why the price of women's labor is again determined by the fact that the women's work is deemed to be worthless. However, the question may still be asked, why is a rhetoric needed that glorifies women? As I will elaborate in the Chapter 4, I will argue that such glorification adds naturalness and value to their products. Since the products produced on the farm are produced by these women themselves, the exaltation of woman's work brings with it the exaltation of that exact product.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, there are village houses built in Sinekçiler (Yaylapınar village) to offer a chance for those customers who want to experience the atmosphere of "the natural world". To provide comfortable conditions for those people during their stay in the village houses, there are various jobs to be done such

as cleaning the house before customers arrive at the village house, preparing lunch during their stay and cleaning the house one again after they leave to ensure the necessary conditions for next visitors. However, these are not categorized as “work” since they are different from the production of salable food products. Since these kinds of labor are not considered as proper work and they are considered as women’s natural duty, they remain unpaid. This is what I mean by appropriation of domestic labor. Women’s domestic labor remains non-work even when it is done for the market.

Just like the capitalist economy is codifying women’s labor as unproductive and non-work, its institutions and power regime are doing the same for their knowledge. Therefore, it seems to me that another reason is rooted in the inferior quality of women’s domestic and local knowledge in the hegemonic epistemology. There is no doubt that the particular form of knowledge is required for the performance of the certain works carried out on the farm. Women know the specific techniques and the ways of preserving food for consumption in the next winter. Women’s knowledge about food production is at the center of the production process. They have these forms of knowledge which are acquired through daily practices instead of working on the farm itself or attending various courses. When we take an ordinary enterprise, for example, we see that workers in that enterprise are educated or directed to various certification programs. This implies a cost for that enterprise. However, in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği, I observed that Kaftancıoğlu transfers the knowledge which is accumulated through experiences and inherited from previous generations into the farm without any cost. Hüsniye Hanım said:

These women are total creators. Why do you think we have gained 7-8 kilos within 2 years? (Laughs) For example, take Melek. She comes every other day with a plate in her hand. ‘I made this, I made that.’ Depends on what we have at hand. Let’s say, it is the apple season or the apricot season. 90% of

our posts are to Istanbul, so they must be packaged very carefully. If one of the apricots has a worm hole or a small puncture, then the juice of that apricot gets at the others and causes them to go bad. Therefore, we put the products with small punctures or bugs aside. So, when we have some apricots or peaches, what do we do? We make jams or marmalades with them. We don't waste any product. Even the worst ones... We feed our animals with them. All of us, say, our friends, us or Pınar Hanım... We think about what we can do. We use pumpkin, for example, if it is the pumpkin season. Melek made a pumpkin cake the other day, we tasted it and it was wonderful. They come and say 'Hüsniye Hanım, I saw this, this is beautiful, let's mix our cheese with this thing and it will be wonderful'. They make and we eat. Pınar Hanım eats and says 'oh, this is good', so we add it to the list. There is a non-professional R&D here and actually it is the best. [Appendix A, 17]

The term research and development (R&D) is quite ironic here. R&D is a general term for activities that are conducted with the intention of making a discovery that can either lead to the development of new products or procedures or the improvement of existing products or procedures."²⁰ It is a means through which new types of knowledge are produced or improved for the further growth of a business. The women in this farm come every other day with new ideas and suggestions using their knowledge about domestic food production. Recipes for food production are created by these women. They decide on their own how food should be produced rather than depending on standardized recipes. The owner of the farm uses this knowledge without any cost. This is what I call as appropriation of women's knowledge. I argue that this knowledge turns into a means of capital accumulation in the sector of natural food production.

What is more, this knowledge stimulates the customer's authentic desire and thus it adds value to the food products produced in this farm. Hence, it becomes an important component of value creation and thus capital accumulation. Pınar Kaftancıoğlu said:

Our workers produce food in a way that they inherited from their mothers, grandmothers, or neighbors. We do not need to use new methods. It is

²⁰ <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/r/randd.asp>

because the traditional way they know is what exactly natural and healthy is.
[18]

The long-term, continuous, and unchanging ties of this knowledge with the past stimulate the authentic desires of customers and the qualify the food as more “natural”. It seems to me that the reason is rooted in the nature-culture dichotomy that places women in the domain of nature. As one of the most central and fundamental dichotomies, the nature-culture dichotomy equates women with the category of nature and pre-cultural reality. In this way, all that is associated with women is associated with the domain of nature. Farm-based products produced by women in the way they inherited from the previous generation are considered as pure, uncontaminated, and original. Food gains a more natural and thus authentic sense in this way. One of the central points I attempt to make in this thesis is that food is valued and capital is accumulated in the sector of farm-based natural food production through this strategic romanticization of women’s knowledge and their experience in domestic food production.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, in the sector of natural food production, I have tried to show how capital accumulation arises on the labor and knowledge of women who are confined to the house with the neoliberal transformation in agriculture. I basically scrutinized two different theoretical approaches to domestic labor: one approach comes from those theoreticians (Federici, 2004; James and Dalla Costa, 1973; Mies) who take domestic labor with the rise of capitalism and make a direct collection between capital accumulation and women’s domestic labor. The other approach derives from those who consider domestic labor as a distinct form of production out of capitalism and do not make a direct link between accumulation and domestic labor. In this

chapter I have suggested that rather than taking capitalism as a whole, we should consider it on the basis of distinct sectors. That is to say that in each sector, capital accumulation is realized in different ways. With regard to the sector of natural food production, women's domestic labor has a central role in the accumulation.

I have also discussed how women's culinary knowledge and their knowledge about the production of daily life provide a basis for accumulation in this sector. In their daily activities, women in that region come into contact with plants, animals, land, and water. This connection provides them to obtain specific form of knowledge. They also have culinary knowledge because of the role they perform in the house. I observed that these two distinct forms of knowledges are being appropriated in the sector of natural food production in general, and in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği in particular. Yet capital accumulation is not only realized through the material production of food products, seizing women's knowledge and labor but also through discursive production of food, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

MECHANISMS OF VALUE CREATION IN FOOD PRODUCTION

In Chapter 2, I detailed what provided a basis for the establishment of the İpek Hanım Çiftliği taking the global and local agricultural transformation into account. In Chapter 3 I have specifically focused on the material production of “natural” food and labor processes. In this chapter I analyze discursive production of food produced in this farm to understand how symbolic value is added and becomes embedded in food products and practices. Although Pınar Kaftancıoğlu, the owner of İpek Hanım Çiftliği, rejects to certify her products as organic, the demand for her products has been constantly growing. How does she define her way of production and how does she distinguish it from the other certified ways? How does she conceptualize naturalness? What kinds of tactics and strategies does she employ in order to emphasize the “naturalness” of her food? I will explore these questions in order to decipher the basic tenets and the qualities of the symbolic value creation process that lie beneath the making and imagining of natural food products. The concepts of authenticity, nostalgia and romanticization are prominent tools in this chapter. I will also show how localness is emphasized as way of value creation in the sector of natural food production.

4.1 How Pınar Kaftancıoğlu represents her way of production

Pınar Kaftancıoğlu sees her farm as an alternative to certified organic farm products which, for her, is dependent both on seed monopolies and agro-food production that is controlled to a large degree by global food corporations and global financial and

trade institutions. The following quotation from an interview I conducted with her illuminates this point:

I personally consider organic certification as being dependent on a foreign country, a certain program. What do you imagine while saying “organic” is the agriculture implemented through certified import seeds and fertilizers, and approved pesticides...As you know, agriculture is governed by the World Trade Organization, from abroad. It is the World Trade Organization which determines what is going to be grown next week. It does this in order to keep a balance in the world. These political games are now obvious and written about. I mean when you are the one who manages food, you grasp the world in your hands and organic agriculture is a part of this. When I said organic, you have this in your mind, right? You think of something that is purely clean, grown from heirloom seeds without agricultural spraying. It is not. You can't sow real seeds under the name of organic and fertilize them with cowpat. These are forbidden. You are absolutely dependent on their fertilizer, seeds, and seedlings. They are the ones who decide. This is a chain. It is the same company who sells the seed, the fertilizer, and the organic pesticides – there are pesticides which are named organic. So, all these and the companies which produce these pesticides are the same or are in collaboration... This means that instead of expecting a general growth in agriculture, to rely only upon organic is the same game that is played everywhere in the world. All this is governed, distributed from a monopoly, pharmaceutical and agricultural companies, are all clamped together... [Appendix A, 19]

Pınar Kaftancıoğlu criticizes the existing laws and regulations as well as practices related to organic agriculture in Turkey. First, she considers this logic as part of a global economic order which subjects small farmers to transnational corporations and organizations that determine global economic decisions. For her, this order forces small farmers into a kind of corporate bureaucracy that is formed around agriculture. They also force all agricultural practices and techniques to be implemented according to the procedures ruled by the seed and medicine corporations. And they have no autonomy on their own decisions.

Pınar Kaftancıoğlu suggests that her way of producing food and her own perspective on natural food and farming greatly differs from organic agricultural production

I didn't get certification because it wasn't meaningful to me. First of all, what I do here is not commercial. It is a hobby which started after the birth of my daughter in order to feed her healthy food...It is appreciated, it has become a bigger issue but it is still only a hobby... We have nothing but our producer certification. If you are curious about why organic certification does not make sense to me, let me explain it like this: In order to get this certification, you have to apply for third party certification institutions and it is enough to show them the land on which you implement your organic agriculture. You can make organic agriculture on this agricultural land of an acre, get your certification, and sell your "awkward" products that you grow somehow with in other acre of lands, hiding this reality behind your certification. This is certainly not ethical but it is at the same time not possible to avoid this risk. I am not concerned with proving my products. I just follow the same way our grandparents in these mountain villages produced for centuries the most organic of all organic products. My production is the same with how it had been done in these lands for thousands of years by real heirloom seeds and dung. [Appendix A, 20]

She starts with claim that she engages not in commercial farming but in an alternative one. This notion of alternativeness lies on an ethic that has no need to be proved by any kind of certification. This ethic, in her opinion, requires one to apply the agricultural methods transmitted from the past history. If a producer uses the method of past history, then the products he/she produces become organic, natural, and healthy in advance... However, she does not offer any concrete data which compares the certified organic production and the way of production practiced in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği.

An assumption is hidden in this perspective: to keep on the agricultural practices transmitted from the past is the best way to achieve what is natural. Romanticization is one of the fundamental ways through which food becomes "natural" and thus value is attributed to it. I will examine three levels of romanticization: the romanticization of past history, the romanticization of traditional knowledge, and finally the romanticization of nature.

4.2 Romanticization of past

The criticisms of enterprises which engage in ecological and natural agriculture as opposed to current agricultural applications are not founded on health claims. It is accompanied by a more comprehensive and critical discourse which points to the destructive impact of the modern agriculture techniques and industrialism on natural life. This critical discourse is based on romanticism, which opposes nature to the city and the pastoral world to today's modern world, as seen in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği. The logic of modernism and capitalism, which values the new over the old, is reversed here. The old becomes a source of value. Providing "natural" food is pictured as if this was a return to earlier times, which is associated with essence, originality, and genuineness. The past is seen to hold the model of the original (Taylor, 2001). In the industrial world, it is thought that we are far away from originality. We live in an artificial world in which we are subject to machine-made products that are inauthentic and dead. The products produced by these initiatives, however, are deemed to be "hand-made" from natural materials. In this logic, rejecting the newest and what is contemporary is a way of remaining authentic that means to be original and genuine this preference adds much more value to products.

Although the concept of romanticism can be defined in various ways, I would prefer to define it departing from Michael Lowy and Robert Sayre's (2001) work *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*. For Löwy and Sayre, romanticism is a reaction against the way of life in the capitalist society (p. 17). It represents a critique of modernity in the name of values and ideals drawn from the past (p. 17). According to the romantic perspective, the past consists of idealized values and practices which are lost in the highly-industrialized world. What is lacking in the present existed once upon a time in a past history (p. 22). Therefore, the concept of romanticism is strictly

bound up with an experience of loss There is an orientation towards the past history to quest for the lost object. The trace for the lost object is an attempt to keep the past alive in the present. This is exactly what nostalgia is. Nostalgia is generally accompanied by a quest for what has been lost. The term nostalgia comprises longing for a past history and the reconstruction of monuments of the past (Boym, 2001).

When we look at the narrative of farm-based natural food initiatives, we see that the major tendency they attempt to create is the representation of “good pastoral days” on the imaginary level. They constantly evoke the past and the memory of the past on the discursive level and come up with the claim that the food they produce is exactly the same as it was in the past. They offer a chance to re-appropriate what has been lost. As it is seen in this paragraph, it is the taste and quality of food which existed once upon a time, but which has disappeared in the present. We chase the dream of rediscovering the taste and quality that we experienced in a particular period of past times that is imprinted on the memory. They constantly evoke this memory offering “the nutrimental truth and essence hidden within the dish” (Bessièrè, 1998, p. 5). Evoking the memory of the past is one of the prominent themes in Pınar Kaftancıoğlu’s narrative, created to retain the trust of her customers.

In one of the narratives sent by mail, for example, she said:

The equation is actually simple and the demand is clear: “We wish everything to be the way it was in our childhood.” These words have a very deep meaning for me. I had the happiest days of my life in my childhood. The couch I liked most, my favorite bath, the kitchen where I was the happiest, the smell of the food coming from the pot.... I haven’t heard a sound better than the sounds of my mother, father, brother heard in the home. I could never sleep as well as I could sleep among those sounds back then... The words which stick to my mind back then are repeated in these words.
[Appendix A, 21]

In this paragraph Kaftancıoğlu selects a moment from her childhood time. Here, this period is idealized and represented as an absolute and continuous happiness

experience. The most memorable moments of family life are associated with delicious foods and the kitchen. In this paragraph, not only the memory of taste but also the memory of childhood as whole is evoked (the voice of the family members, sofa, and bathroom etc.). Kaftancıoğlu promises this life which was experienced once upon a time but which has been lost in the present of modern metropolises. In other words, if we buy products from her farm, we can find a chance to experience the ideal days of the past. Hence, the narrative cited from one of the email she sent to her customers not only promises the taste of our childhood but also a life experience which was not influenced by the destructive character of the industrial world. The promise of this life experience sticks to the exchange value of these products that goes beyond the use value of the products in this farm.

In a capitalist competitive market, the use value has two dimensions: the first one is the use value of the commodity itself, which corresponds with the capacity to satisfy real needs and the objective qualities of products. The second dimension is the image of the use value that sticks to the products. This image consists of subjective meanings and symbols which are attributed to the products. (Haug, 1986) All these meanings promise a life experience which can only be realized by consuming certain commodities. In a capitalist economy, the image of the use value becomes much more important than the use value itself. Under the pressure of competition in the market, products must be surrounded by certain aesthetic images so that they can be sold. In short, besides material production of products, the images must be produced in a capitalist economy (Haug, 1986). Although all the narratives are built on the claim that she does not produce for commercial concerns, this claim does not change the commercial characteristics of the products. It is the very promise of reclaiming what has been lost in industrial city life that constitutes the image of

the use value that sticks to the products. This image is produced through the email Kaftancıoğlu sends to her customers regularly. These emails carrying that narrative becomes a way of constructing the image that sticks and goes beyond the use value of products. She stated:

We haven't included anything about the new age. We haven't had a single advertisement, haven't received a single penny from bank credits and haven't ever used the social media of the age. We trust only to our fists and the work which we believe we do properly. [Appendix A, 22]

It is not possible for a farm which has 65 thousand members and which has been increasing its production volume to reach its customers without utilizing any kind of promotional mechanism or to increase its sales volumes. The narratives she creates a way of promotion. With this sales method, Kaftancıoğlu developed a boutique form of electronic sales and made use of e-commerce. Although this quasi-professional approach to sales makes it seem more like a family farm rather than a commercial enterprise, it is an ideal promotional strategy for the demands and expectations of the targeted customers. The reason is that this one-to-one/immediate and sincere language, the production process which is based on exchange of ideas with customers, the narratives which point to an equal relationship with the villagers and the approach which seems to prioritize values rather than commerce have a great impact on customers, compared to the cold, artificial language of modern commerce. This reinforces the impression that the enterprise strives to produce healthy agricultural products for them instead of acting as a commercial enterprise.

As for me... I am in a rush again. I must travel. I will travel to Artvin/Barhal, to my mother's village. Then I will go to Kars and from there, I will go to Antakya... I will go to my hometown, my place, my fields, my friends, my beloved relatives... They make İpek Hanım what she is... I will see Barhal for the first time. If possible, I will establish another team here and add it to the chain as well. I am sure that I will come across an unbelievable form of nature where seeds are unbelievable, products and techniques. I hope we can contribute to my mother's village as well. I hope we can have their products on our tables as well. I really want Barhal to be

with us. I want my relatives in Barhal to participate. I will keep you informed about what happens. [Appendix A, 23]

All these promotional activities and communication work influences the value creation processes as they make up the image around the product. This value creation process is based on new internet technologies, as opposed to what Kaftancıoğlu claims to use, in order to promote the products. When she says “We haven't included anything about the new age”, she means that the products were produced by means of old agricultural and production methods, as has been the case for hundreds of years in the village. However, when we look closer at the processes from production to consumption, we see that the İpek Hanım Çiftliği is a modern agriculture enterprise of a large scale. Although the production place is a village, the organizational structure is modern and the employees of the farm do not produce to meet their needs but are villagers employed as wage earners in their own fields. Consumers do not relate to the products in an old-fashioned way, either. They are not people who shop in the bazaars of their neighborhoods. An electronic newsletter informs them about the products; the shopping system is targeted at consumers who use computers and internet banking, who order by e-mail and receive the product delivered by a cargo company. The emails sent by Pınar Hanım not only inform customers about the content of the products, they also involve stories from daily life, information about how products are produced and the damage caused by industrial agriculture. It is possible to say that this production method is nothing but traditional; it is a completely modern production and sales process from the organization of the production to the promotion and sales processes. Then, contrary to what is being argued, everything in this structure is new. Everything that seems to belong to the past was organized and renewed in accordance with the needs of this structure. Despite this fact, everything new is rejected and criticized categorically. In another

email, she wrote:

We use only Anatolian wheat seeds dating before the 1950s because their gliadin structure has not been modified. For bread, we use the sourdough of the Sinekçiler Village, dating back to years of a thousand and five hundred chickpea yeast. Our tables regain the delights we had 50 years ago. [Appendix A, 24]

In another passage where she repeats similar themes she said:

İpek Hanım Çiftliği, this formation and team, this labor is intended to strengthen the Anatolian woman, farmer and worker against the industry and make them equivalent to industry. We do not have any minors. On the contrary we are the ones who produce what is ‘precious’. We produce real food that is nutritious. We are not like those who are bakers of millions of loaves of bread produced with additives, synthetic vitamins, and gluten brought from China. We do not sell commercials and garish packaging. Unlike cartel and trust companies, we produce and sell the exact product which you need and will eat. Consequently, we disrupt the sector. On the one hand, we are ‘peasant’ ... We look open to the attack. [Appendix A, 25]

When we focus on the narratives of Pınar Kaftancıoğlu concerning food and the way they produce it on the farm, it is seen that they propose “genuine” food by avoiding the use of synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, and contemporary marketing strategies. She constructs the concept of “genuineness” based on a historical continuity in agriculture techniques. The notion of “genuineness” implies that food and the way it is produced has remained unchanged and untouched.

The past as a strategic romanticization is not only a means of generating the qualities of food, but also a compass for the way the farmer produces food. Riley (2008) shows how the past history and time are constructed, organized, and drawn upon in the way which farmers develop and understand their own practices. He says that farmers orient towards the past history to romanticize their specific farm. They claim that the way they produce food is inherited from their predecessors. They therefore project a narrative of continuity that is based on the continuous and unchanging nature of their practices.

In another narrative Pınar Kaftancıoğlu said:

The sourdough that we use is literally the same as the one that has been used since the 1500s when Sinekçiler Village was settled. The mastery is also transferred from generation to generation in the same cycle. Here the work piece is told simply. Events that are supposed to be told by hundreds of photos and pages are something like “the grandmother of my grandma used to have this sourdough and we always cook bread as sour...” for them. Sourdough is handed down from generation to generation. The generations have passed, this leavening still comes to life in each home and every bread by refreshing and circulating itself. It departs from there to find its path to come to your table in Bebek, Kemerburgaz, Ataşehir, Çankaya. If there is something that surprises, that’s it for me. [Appendix A, 26]

There is a leitmotiv that can be seen in her all narratives: All the techniques and the procedures of cultivation, plantation, baking, cooking etc. come from the past and are transmitted between generations, guaranteeing the quality of the products. In this way, the products differ from the ordinary and industrial ones. Therefore, products from this farm gain an authentic character. This makes the İpek Hanım Çiftliği a privileged producer among others. In all the paragraphs cited above there is a common theme: She has found the chance to retain what is authentic. The notion of “authenticity” is a useful analytical concept to understand the rationalities and assumptions embedded in the narratives surrounding the concept of “natural” in the production process.

The concept of “authenticity” is a value of the modern world (Appadurai, 1986; Handler 1986; Berger 1973; Thrilling 1972). Authenticity, therefore, is a cultural product rather than a set of objective values. That is to say, this concept has no meaning in itself. Its meaning is constantly being reshaped in line with historical conditions.

In the highly industrialized agricultural world, the meaning of authenticity revolves around the “tragic” experience of industrialized food production. This tragedy is mostly about the harmful effects of industrialized agriculture on human health, on the one hand, and the detachment of humans from nature, which ties them

to the mechanical world, on the other hand. In this industrial world, “modern consciousness is instilled with a simultaneous feeling of lack and a desire erupting from a sense of loss felt within ‘our’ world culture and industrialization, and giving rise to possibilities of redemption through contact with naturally, spiritually, and culturally unspoilt” (Taylor, 2001, p. 4). Discussions in this regard have focused on increasing consumer resistance to industrialization and people’s need for meaning in the face of the increasing commodification (Sims, 2009, p. 325). I will argue that in this sector, meaning and values are added through particular strategies.

As can be seen, authenticity involves representation of the past and genuineness in a particular way. What is presumed to be authentic and thus genuine depends on what is passed down from the past history. Idealization of the past or its “utopization” is an integral part of the romantic vision (Löwy and Sayre, 2001, p. 249). After it is idealized, it turns into an image that sticks to food and determines it as “natural”. In other words, it provides a framework for guaranteeing food to be natural and generates the particular qualities of food. That is to say, idealization of the past is a means of adding value to commodities produced in the sector of natural food.

4.3 Romanticization of nature

“Nature” and/or the experience of nature is always related to a configuration of historically specific social and representational practices (Castree and Braun, 2001, p. 16). The meaning of nature has shifted throughout history according to political factors (Escobar, 1999). In the sector of alternative or natural food production, we observe that the concept of nature has gained specific meanings, especially after the destruction of nature by industrial agriculture. It is this nature that has come to be

thought as non-industrialized territory and has been associated with being in the place of authenticity, genuineness, purity, healthy and the pre-cultural reality. The nature here means an understanding especially composed through a contradiction between the urban and the rural. The term nature does not refer to a comprehensive representation; rather, it signifies agricultural areas constituting the focal point of food production, rural areas, or rural lifestyle. In this case, the urban life which has been largely disconnected from nature and exists in an artificial setting is compared to the rural community life where the unspoiled nature can still exist through the representational frame of farming.

This form of conceptualization is very much related to the dualistic character of modern ideology that creates isolated and ahistorical categories. In this dualistic perspective, the rural is situated exactly as the opposite of the urban and becomes the place in which nature finds a chance to exist. In this way, nature is conceptualized as an entity confined only to a particular time and space. Escobar (1999), however, says that nature cannot be conceptualized outside of history and human context.

It is observed that natural food producers represent themselves to modern urban consumers with a strategic discourse of nature confined to a particular time and space. According to this discourse, the nature has been significantly destroyed as a result of industrialization and it has been able to exist in a limited untouched zone which these producers themselves cultivate. Therefore, by means of the opportunities of nature vouchsafed to them, natural food producers offer a chance that their customers can seize. In this way, these consumers define themselves as a small fortunate group having access to the last remnant of pristine nature. These producers think that if their customers buy produce cultivated in an unspoiled nature, they will lead a life in touch with nature, just as these producers themselves do because these

producers once lived in an urban setting but moved to the countryside in order to compensate for their disconnection with the nature and to lead a life nested in nature, exactly like in the old times, and went back to nature (Smith, 2008). Therefore, they were able to escape the artificiality of the city and find shelter in the authenticity of nature. People in the urban areas, however, have detached from its authentic world and have been subjected to the synthetic and artificial world. Accordingly, they have developed a strategic discourse against the industrialization born within modernity. With respect to this discourse rising from the modern categories and binary oppositions, there is a nature that is independent of the human being and whose authenticity has remained untouched, without being exposed to the ruinous effects of industrialization. This understanding regards nature as “pure” place to which one travels in order to escape from the artificial world.

1997... Istanbul was more crowded, noisier and suffocating than ever... Exhaust fumes mixed with the soot coming from the chimneys... People could take ten kilometers of road in three and a half hours; children would go to the Yıldız Park to see the trees and to Darica to see the ducks... Something was wrong and my biggest chance was to have understood it back then... I had to flee. It was time to realize my plan which I had mentioned my friends many times. The plan was to go to a quiet place, to have a stone house built, to grow things in my own garden, to have animals and spend time with them. [Appendix A, 27]

In this quotation, nature is deemed as a place to return to and access.

As can be seen, this discourse incorporates two main emphases on nature: first, nature is defined as a space where authenticity, health, purity, and the pre-cultural reality come into being. Second, when nature is defined as a bolthole from the industrial world, it is situated outside our world, so we erase its social and discursive constitution (Braun and Castree, 1998). Such an understanding allows for the definition of nature as a place to return to and access. Within this understanding, there is a nature that has been not affected by the harms of industrialization and has

remained in its pure form as it once was. This understanding of nature corresponds to what I mean by the romanticization of nature since it implies an individual's lost connection to nature and creates a nostalgic sense of nature. I argue that creating this sense of nature provides the basis for food commodities to be more "natural" and thus it imbues particular meanings and value into commodities.

The common discourse of natural food producers and their personal customers include an overlap between integrity or moral goodness and naturalness. Each discourse on the naturalness and healthfulness of produces of rural producers bears no lie or artificiality because, in the romantic urban perspective, the rural is the space of moral pureness, cleanliness, trustworthiness, and honesty as much as it is the space of naturalness. A natural food producer who migrates from the urban and settles in the rural with a conscious choice and starts agricultural production articulates this discourse on honesty into the transportation phase of her products to customers:

My eyes saw one bread priced at 30 TL on the market. When you stated that "For god's sake! What is the explanation of this?", it is guaranteed that you will receive two passages from the philosophical dictionary in response. It becomes a duty for me to show the boundaries and the truth in a growing industry that is growing very dirty. I think we have succeeded in demonstrating that something can be "achieved" without involving with any fraud and pack of lies. The sector, at least, proves that to me through its hatred of me. It would have been strange if those who write the price as 45 TL for a portion of a food with the cost of 5 TL + 5 TL expenditure would love me. [Appendix A, 28]

Likewise, in an interview I conducted with Kaftancioğlu, she stated:

You do not need a single garbage when you throw herbicides in agriculture, but you also kill the sperms and eggs of the people, you sterilize them. Such a profit is not a profit for me. That is to say, if one day I were to see dyed yogurt or hormone-treated tomatoes, I do not want that money. I want to be a good person and do a good job. Right now, I'm just doing it. Of course, I earn less than anyone else. My profit is not 300 percent like the others, but maybe 15 percent. I earn through the right way. More than this is ill-gotten gain. That's enough. We share, eat, drink, jaunt... what more do we do in this world. I feel good, I feel good about myself. [Appendix A, 29]

With a view to proving naturalness of their products, natural food producers even assert that they do not need any organic food certification. Furthermore, they claim that most of the products sold at urban markets and grocery stores with organic certification are not reliable and certification is only for show.

On the other hand, the organic food rhetoric has grown so much that now every producer has started to define his products as organic, regardless of whether the products are certified organic or not. Kaftancıoğlu criticized this promotion strategy:

Hay-covered eggs, meats that are always coming from the summer range, and always free-flowing, large baskets which cannot be understood why they are there in front of natural restaurants; empty long squashes, straw and oxcart decorations now make me to feel faint... The whole-wheat flour in chocolate color... Except from the fact that it is not natural, white granulated sugar dyed with molasses that is sold as well-known 'natural brown sugar...' Those who say "Our oranges are shiny but let's ask why are they shiny?" When you ask, those who oddly reply that "Aaa, we are now picking bright ones from the box and sending them to you..." There is an interesting 'selection' here as if they had had matte and natural oranges in their hands and do not send them, but they send shiny ones..." [Appendix A, 30]

However, the products produced in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği, for Kaftancıoğlu, do not need any kind of certification because the quality of products stems from product itself, without any need for proof of their naturalness. Such a discourse of moral integrity that confirms itself is based on the extremely unreliable wild market environment of the city and addresses the distrust of consumers on the urban setting. Consequently, the fact that the product produced in the rural area is sufficient to prove its natural quality.

The romantic perspective depends on a basic assumption: nature is possible only in rural areas and it is the source of what is authentic and natural; the urban, however, is the place of corruptness and artificiality. As it is seen, this view is based precisely on such dichotomies as urban/rural, natural/synthetic that are strictly

isolated from each other. What comes from nature is always depicted as “good”, “untouched”, “healthy” so on. Industrial products or production, however, belongs to the urban space and far away from nature and neutrality. Hence, things produced industrially in urban spaces are defined in opposition to the things which are always presumed to be “pure” and “good” since they come from nature. In this view, industrialization in agriculture is a fundamental process. It has destroyed not only nature but also transformed human life that has been turned into a kind of artificial existence. Industrialism is therefore a kind of milestone according to this perspective: the world was like paradise before industrialism, but then it turned into a kind of hell. People’s connection to nature is cut off together with the shift from traditional to industrial agriculture. Because of the spread of industrial farms and industrial agricultural techniques, the untouched nature and rural lifestyle in the rural is presented to be on the verge of becoming extinct. The claim of natural food producers emerges at this point: against this destructive transformation in agricultural areas, they present themselves as an opportunity to revive the traditional agricultural methods that have survived and the knowledge of the past and to bring the lost natural food to urbanite consumers. Accordingly, nature is not only a place where purity and authenticity are represented; it is also described as a space that incorporates the past. While the urban/industrial is represented as a reality of modern times experiencing a constant and rapid change, the rural and nature are represented as realities that belong to the past. This temporal contrast between the urban/industrial modern present and rural/natural lost past becomes crystallized through a spatial differentiation that actually co-exists: The modern city which is here and the rural natural life which is out there, or the rural as a space that tries to protect the past within itself and resists the pressure of time. An actual juxtaposition

is built between spaces that represent contrasting temporary differentiations. This point draws attention as a distinctive element in the marketing approach of natural food producers: the natural food saves an experience and a body of knowledge from being stuck in the past and transfers it to the present. Consequently, a crack opens in the artificial, corrupted, contaminated, and impure modern life and a space of resistance is built.

Capitalist modernity, however, neither creates a homogenous today in which all the experience of the past is repressed in the smooth present nor transforms social space into a homogenous place in which similar experiences simultaneously spread. The differentiation of space and the composition of daily experience through articulation of different temporal experiences into the present is a characteristic of modernity (Harootunian, 2002). Since the “capitalist desire machine,” which operates modernism, wants to establish its own production and consumption regimes everywhere, different temporalities can co-exist within modernity (p. 78). Modernism, therefore, “is a contradictory, critical, ambivalent and reflexive on the nature of time; it combines fascination for the present with longing for another time” (Boym, 2001, 22). This is an alternative understanding of temporality as a coexistence of heterogeneous times (Boym, 2001, 30).

The fact that natural food producers can give the impression that their present is a moment of time belonging to the past is related to this quality of modern temporality. In the discourses of natural food producers, the present of the rural is represented as a past history by these food initiatives or they come up with the claim that the present time they live in belong to the past history. The emphasis on the past is crucial in the sense that the past history represents the concepts of authenticity and originality. They give an impression that the past history that they experience in the

present can be transmitted to the metropolises by selling the food products. In this way, it is assumed that consumers can also experience the past history just like people in the rural. From the point of view, there is a close connection between the romanticization of the past and the romanticization of nature. Nature is mostly constructed as an element of the past. Hence, buying natural food products becomes a means of experiencing past history and thus connecting to the nature.

The contrast that organic food producers establish between a past that is about to get lost in a rural area under danger and a destructive present is a main strategy to which many sectors – architecture, fashion, tourism etc. – resort during product diversification and innovation processes, let alone being a challenge to the capitalist commodity production process. The natural food producers define themselves as alternative producers by way of creating the impression that insulated time and space have been able to remain untouched in the industrial world. However, instead of approaching the agriculture and food problem as an issue that can be solved in isolation, all political-ecology approaches address capitalism from a holistic point of view and try to develop other ways to compensate for the radical break between food production and consumption. They particularly suggest the decentralization of industry and production as well as the minimization of production and distribution scale. The approach of natural food producers offer a palliative solution for urbanite consumers by seizing upon a commercial niche provoked by the existing problem, rather than bringing a solution to the problem. While presenting this so-called solution, they appropriate the discourses of ecology movements. Escobar (1996) shows how the forms of the capitalist development combine with discursive formations such as “sustainable development” and “biological conservation” that authorize a new process of capitalizing nature. This new process is defined as “post-

modern ecological capital”. This term implies the transition of capital from an “expansionary, anti-environmental regime of accumulation bent on ‘capitalizing nature’ to a ‘postmodern’ one obliged to sustainably manage its own ecological future in the interest of profitability and survival” (Braun and Catree, p. 8). I think natural food producers who try to find a place for themselves in a new market which has been shaped to meet the organic food demand of customers in the city represent this new “food regime”. Friedman defines this new regime as “a new round of accumulation that appears to be emerging in the agrofood sector based on the selective appropriation of demands by environmental movements” (Friedman, 2005, p. 229). This is the process of the commodification of alternative movements and their discourse on nature. Resistance itself is commodified insofar as the protest over the perceived environmental degradation or social injustice is expressed through the strategic manipulation of consumption practices and exchange relations (Bryant, 2004).

4.4 Emphasis on localness as a way of value creation of food

So far, I have specified romanticization strategies through which food products gain value. The constructed association between foods and places is another process that provides a basis for creating value in the sector of natural food production. In my case I see that a local place that is encompassed by various geographical knowledges and images becomes a mechanism for increasing the value of food products in this sector. While focusing on this argumentation, I will not take the İpek Hanım Çiftliği as local way of production outside of capitalist market logic or kind of a counteract against the logic of global agricultural food chain. Rather than focusing on a local-global binary opposition which positions what is global into the realm of capitalist

logic and what is local into the realm of resistance against this logic, I see, as many critical theoreticians suggest, what is global and what is local are fundamentally related within an overall system (Hinrichs, 2003, p. 35). This kind of theoretical perspective serves as the background of the title of this section. Before going into detail, I would talk how the global processes pave the way for emerging such a discourse of localness in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği.

Progressive withdrawal of state subsidies for agriculture after the 1980s and thus the vulnerable position of small producers in the market have led to the various reforms and policies in favor of small producers at the world level. Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indications (PGI)] are two labels created by the European Union to support small agricultural producers in the market to protect regional food stuffs (European Community Regulations No. 510/2006). These two labels link the food products to a specific region. In another word, PDG/PGI guarantee that agricultural products originate from a specific region or territory (Parrott, Natasha, and Murdoch, 2002, p. 245). Consumers are therefore encouraged to consume locally-sourced food products and thus contribute to the development of both rural areas and small agricultural producers.

As with the label of Geographic Indication, the label of local food is also one of those labels that can be considered as a response to the economic, environmental, and social challenges that are facing farmers (Sims, 2010, p. 105). It is a label “under which people attempt to counteract of economic concentration, social disempowerment and environmental degradation in the food and agricultural landscape” (Hinrichs, 2003, p. 33). This label specifies essential feature of places or regions and revitalize the local difference in the agro-food system (Hinrichs, 2003). This is a kind of “quality turn” which implies the transformation what we define as

quality in agro-food system (Murdoch et al., 2000). Murdoch, Marsden, and Banks in their article say that “quality has come to be seen as intrinsically linked to the supposed “localness” of production” (Murdoch et al., 2000). Localness in this context comes to be seen as an important component of a newly emerging food regime.

Cook and Crang (1996) suggest that “local articulation, like others, works through the deployment of various constructed (and, of course, contestable) ‘geographical knowledges’ about where its foods, and other cultural objects and actors associated with them come from and in what settings they can and should be situated, encountered and used” (p.132). These forms of knowledge, in the most general sense, specify the locally distinctive character of agricultural products and are being used to differentiate foods in the contemporary food regime. The distinctive character of locally sourced food, undoubtedly, requires the construction of a sense of geographical region or local place. As Bryant (2004) says, these forms of knowledge involve the construction of spaces and bioregional environments. Essential qualities of agricultural products are bonded with qualities of places such as soil and climate as well as in the tradition of production. (Cook and Crang, 1996, 146). Space and biophysical environments thus becomes the symbols of “quality” food. In other words, foods come to be understood with respect to their spatial context. They note that foods do not simply come from places, organically growing out of them, but also make places as symbolic constructs, being deployed in the discursive constructions of various imaginative geographies (p. 140). Hence, associations between foods and places are constructed in the cultural meaning of places. It is this construction that agricultural products are added value in this locality based food regime. This point is well formulated by Cook and Crang. They argue

that “constructed meaningful knowledges about food commodities and their geographies and technologies for the material embodiment of these knowledges (e.g. storage processes that allow construction of ‘freshness’) become a crucial means of adding value to those commodities” (p. 134).

Pınar Kaftancıoğlu’s choice to establish her farm in the Nazilli district of in the Aegean region is not a coincidence. In general, the Aegean region, and particularly Nazilli district, is renowned for the richness and diversity of agricultural products, as well as for its healthy inhabitants, who have the longest life expectancy in Turkey.²¹ The region produces olives, olive oil, figs, grapes, citrus, and green-leaf vegetables are of very high quality. Additionally, as frequently pointed out by Kaftancıoğlu in her accounts, it is well known that the local people are in touch with nature and constantly have a very high level of industriousness regarding agricultural production. When mentioning their products, Kaftancıoğlu frequently puts an emphasis on these features of the district. A large portion of their milk and dairy products is provided through Kars province. The reason for this preference is the quality of Kars' dairy products, especially kashar cheese. These products have acquired a geographic indication label. She expresses the following about the province of Kars:

Kars has a very high threshold. Very distinct. There is no other region or area that can simulate its endemic fauna. There is no plausible way to copy or even come close to copying the milk produced by cows that have to travel 40 kilometers every day to produce it. It is not possible to do it in any region, any pasture. The cheese is so good because it is made in Kars. Swiss cheese is so unique because it comes from that region. It is not possible to either surpass or even come close to it. [Appendix A, 31]

In this paragraph, she presents bioregional information about under which circumstances qualified milk can be obtained. She indicates that Kars is a distinctive

²¹ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/100-yas-ustu-omur-nazilli-de-yasanir/pazar/haberdetay/18.11.2012/1628671/default.htm>

place in terms of the production of quality dairy products. Products produced in such a distinctive place likewise gain a distinctive qualification.

Kaftancıoğlu not only supplies milk and dairy products from Kars but also supplies *kavulca*, a very special form of wheat. She explains why the *kavulca* should be cultivated particularly in Kars:

It is not always a good idea to grow seeds that are specific to an area in another region. From the beginning, I rooted for leaving *kavulca* to Kars as opposed to growing it in this region. Indeed, people started planting *kavulca* all over the country and I was not in a position to stop it. However, *kavulca* is a type of wheat that belongs to Kars. Growing at an altitude of 2,200 – 2,800 feet, it reaches the highest possible nutritious levels in Kars' chernosium infused soils. When the same wheat is planted in another region of Turkey, neither the nutrition values nor the level of gluten turn out to be the same. [Appendix A, 32]

In this quotation, the essential quality of *kavulca* is bonded with only a certain height and soil type. It is said that only under these conditions the quality of *kavulca* can reach its highest quality. The specified form of knowledge is circulating with the promotion of the products. This knowledge sticks to the food products and increases their value.

Kaftancıoğlu makes a similar statement for the cranberry beans she produces on her own land rather than supplying it from another region.

We grow cranberry beans. For about the last ten years at the Çayır Highland of Sinekçiler Village... Excellent weather conditions, authentic seeds, irrigation with Madran water, an altitude of 1,000 ft. and an unrivaled soil all contributed to us cultivating what I consider the purest crimson beans. Some of it is shipped to you and the surplus is gathered, sifted and dried by us. It's even more delicious when dried. That's how good it is. [Appendix A, 33]

As is seen in this quotation, Kaftancıoğlu brings the distinct quality of the Sinekçiler village to the forefront to show how this village is the proper place for the production of the “purest” crimson beans. The weather conditions, the altitude, the type of soil and the water, for her, all contribute to obtain “pure” products. These distinct futures

of this locality, which are constantly emphasized, increase the value of food products produced on the farm.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the discursive production of food products in the İpek Hanım Çiftliği. The main argument is that rather than a set of objective criteria, foods are surrounded by narratives which increase the value of those food products. During my field research, I observed that food products that are sold in the district bazaars of Nazilli at a very cheap price turn into “natural food” when they are sold to middle class customers in big cities. Hence, foods gain specific meaning and value. These meanings and values are added through particular strategies. Romanticization is one of the fundamental ways through which food becomes “natural”. I examined two levels of romanticization: the romanticization of past history, and finally the romanticization of nature. The local character of foods constitutes another important factor for value creation in this sector.

I defined the concept of romanticism, departing from Lowy and (2001) Sayre’s work “Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity, where they define romanticism as a reaction against the way of life in the capitalist society and present a critique of modernity in the name of values and ideals drawn from the past (p. 17). In their views, the past is sublimated as a place of objects and ideals that we lost in the present. In my case, it is the taste and quality of food which existed once upon a time, but which has disappeared in the present. These farms promise to rediscover the qualities that have been lost through industrial agriculture.

We also observe that the concept of nature has gained specific meanings in the narratives created by Kaftancıoğlu, especially after its destruction by industrial

agriculture. It is this nature that has come to be known as non-industrialized territory and has been associated with being in the place of authenticity, genuineness, purity, healthy.

In my case, there is also an over emphasis on the local character of the Nazilli and Kars villages where Pınar Kaftancıoğlu supplies some of her products. The qualities of these regions such as the soil and climate as well as the tradition of production are systematically brought to the fore. Since food products are produced in these regions, their value is automatically increased.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In thesis, I analyzed the labor and value creation processes in the sector of natural food production in Turkey. To that end, I scrutinized the İpek Hanım Çiftliği as a case which involves a lot about general structure of newly emerging farms in Turkey. When the İpek Hanım Çiftliği was first established in 2004, the total amount of land consisted of 40 acres which was worked by 10 people. The range of food products was limited to only a few items. The customers were close friends and relatives. Yet the current production capacity has been dramatically changed and has been growing constantly. When we look at its current size, we see that there are more than 600 acres of land and 150 workers. The range of products has reached approximately 600 different food items, including both fresh and manufactured products. What is more, she opened two sales offices, one in Göktürk and one in the Balmumcu district in Istanbul.

In this thesis, I tried to explore the conditions of such a growth in production capacity of this farm by looking at the changing global food regime, the agricultural transformation in Turkey and the labor and value creation processes on this farm. By doing this, I aimed at taking global, national, and local parameters into account.

In my first chapter, I reviewed agricultural transformation that have been taking place in Turkey since the 1950s. While doing so, I provided a global context to create a broader framework. Such a theoretical line seemed crucial in terms of understanding the historical, social, and political-economic conditions that have led to the emergence of the İpek Hanım Çiftliği in the Ocaklı Village of Nazilli.

I discussed the effects of agricultural transformation in terms of the decrease in the production capacity of small farmers in the rural area, leaving huge uncultivated lands as a result of the decrease in production capacity and finally the emergence of a surplus of labor as an inevitable consequence of all these developments. I explained that the owner of the farm increased her production capacity by transferring the ownership of these huge uncultivated lands to her own name. She also took advantage of the surplus labor by turning the villagers into workers on her farm. Hence, the labor force, the lands and nature turn into a means of capital accumulation on this farm. I suggested the concept of social factory to clarify this situation. By using this concept, I basically aimed at showing how every item of Ocaklı Village has turned into a means of realizing production and capital accumulation. I also tried to show how the social fabric of the village has changed with the transformation of the Ocaklı Village into a kind of factory. I also detailed the changes in the social fabric of the Ocaklı village and how these reflect the direction of developments at the global level. With the emergence of this farm in the Ocaklı village, local production is subordinated, in line with the trends of the global market. In this way, what is global is transferred to the local area and comes into existence there on the one hand, and the everyday practices of the aforementioned village are reshaped according to global trends on the other. Thus, this farm, becomes kind of a bridge between the global and the local.

After providing such a framework, I attempted to analyze labor relations in the sector of natural food production by looking at my case study in my second chapter. Since most of the labor power consists of women from Ocaklı and surrounding villages, it seemed to me crucial to discuss the role of women's labor and knowledge in value creation and capital accumulation on this farm. I introduced

two different approaches within the feminist literature, one of which positions women's domestic labor within the capitalist economy and argues that capitalism is built on the unpaid labor of women who work at home to maintain the household. The second approach, however, consider women's work that performed in the house as a distinct economic form which cannot be placed within the capitalist economy. In this chapter, rather than choosing between the extremes, I suggested that the role of domestic labor in value creation can only be considered on the basis of a specific sector in a capitalist economy. In the sector of natural food production, I argued that accumulation of capital cannot be considered separate from women's domestic labor since this sector is based on the women's culinary knowledge and the cooking skills they carry out in the home to sustain the members of the family.

In Chapter 3 I specifically focused on the value creation processes in the sector of natural food production. In doing so, I tried to understand what kinds of image sticks to the food products through various discursive strategies that make those products much more valuable. In my case, I observed that the owner of the farm, Kaftancıoğlu, creates narratives about the quality of her products and delivers them to her customers every week via email. This is what I defined as the discursive production of foods. Hence, I suggested that rather than set objective values, food products are surrounded by certain narratives and meanings that increase the value. These meaning and values are added through strategies. Romanticization is one of the fundamental ways through which food becomes "natural". I attempted to examine three levels of romanticization: the romanticization of past history, romanticization of locality, and finally the romanticization of nature.

I defined romanticism as a reaction against the way of life in the capitalist society and a critique of modernity in the name of values and ideals drawn from the

past (Löwy and Sayre, 2001, 17). Hence, there is an orientation towards the past in the quest for lost objects and ideals to keep the past alive in the present. When I analyzed the narratives Kaftancıoğlu created, I observed that she orients her discourse towards the past to show the distinctive quality of her products, saying that the food they produce is the same as it was in the past. Hence, past history is romanticized in this way.

In the romantic perspective, nature also gained a specific meaning after its destruction by industry. Nature is associated with a place of authenticity, genuineness, purity, health and a pre-cultural reality. In the narratives of Kaftancıoğlu, the place where the farm was established and the environmental conditions are represented as if they belong to an unspoiled and pure piece of nature. This way of representation justifies the naturalness and healthfulness of her products.

In addition to the strategic romanticization of nature and past history, I detailed one more parameter that increases the value of food products in this sector: emphasizing the locally distinctive character of food. The knowledge about where and how foods are produced is being used to differentiate foods in this sector. In my case, there is always an over-emphasis on the local character of the Nazilli and Kars villages where Pınar Kaftancıoğlu supplies her products. The qualities of these regions such as the soil and the climate as well as in the tradition of production are systematically brought to the fore.

As seen above, my thesis is limited to only production processes. Yet during my research I realized that it would be better if the scope of the research had been extended to include consumption processes. It seems to me that production and consumption processes should be taken as a unified narrative rather than as distinct processes. Hence, it would be interesting to explore what kind of role consumers play

in determining production processes. How do they trust in food produced in such farms even though the food products are not certified in this sector? To what extent does the consumer's desire for healthy food and the way the producers promote their products overlap? These questions might be the subject of a further thesis.

Future research can also investigate the differences in consumer's healthy food choice. What exactly motivates the consumer's choice in the sector of natural food production? How do these choices differ according to the consumer's class position and their economic and social capital?

There is no doubt that the question of natural food consumption and production processes is a relatively new topic and thus is only now becoming a subject of research. I hope my thesis will be a step for future investigations.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL QUOTES IN TURKISH

1. Devlet birkaç yıl öncesine kadar zeytinyağının bir tonuna 500 lira öderdi, ama şimdi, 100 lira. Devlete satmak saçma, öyle olunca biz de yağımızı götürüp İpek Hanım Çiftliği'ne satıyoruz.
2. Bizim burada eskiden tüccar gelirdi. 10 liralık inciri, 7 liraya alırdı adam. Niye İpek Hanım'ı tercih ediyorum? 3 lira 5 lira fazla ödüyor. Mesela ben yarın yağ götüreceğim. Zeytinyağı.4 kilo yağ. 55'ten 220 lira İpek Hanım'a vereceğim. Ama Pınar Hanım buralara girdiğinden beri, tüccar da fiyatları yükseltti.
3. 25-20 yıl öncesine kadar biz hallere ürün yetiştiremiyorduk. Çok fazla talep vardı. Ama gerek GAP projesi ve diğer sebeplerden dolayı artık her türlü ürün her yerde yetişir oldu. Bu yüzden bize ihtiyaç azaldı. Bizde daha az dikmeye başladık.
4. Bize o kadar çok günübirlik ve kalmaya gelenler oluyor ki bizim kapasitemiz onların hepsini ağırlamaya yetmiyor, onlar da otellerde kalıyorlar. Örneğin Nazilli palas bu yıl neredeyse bize çalıştı. Biz de kalacak yer kapasitemizi arttırmayı düşünüyoruz.
5. Soğuk hava deposu öylece boş bir vaziyette duruyordu. Sonra ipek hanım dedi ki. Bu bina bana ihtiyaç dedi. Kooperatif yönetim kurulu kendi arasında karar aldı. Yedi yıllık mı kaç yıllık Pınar Hanım'a devrettiler. İpek hanım 50.000 TL masraf yaparak depoyu yeniledi. Tertemiz. Geçen sene faaliyete geçildi. Geçen seneden bu yana, benim elmam var ben koyuyorum. İstersem İpek Hanım'a satıyorum orada elmamı, istersem pazara götürüp satıyorum. Yani hem köylü kullanıyor hem de kendisi.

6. Bu köyde organik tarımdan ziyade iyi tarım uygulaması var. Köylüler organik tercih etmiyorlar çünkü organik üretimde portakalların hızlı çürüme ve kurtlanma ihtimali var. Ayrıca araziler çok küçük olduğu için devlet desteği ederi yok.

7. Pınar Hanım geçenlerde bir konuşma yaptı. Burada kahvede. Misal "ekin dakin" dedi. Ben yardımcı olayım dedi. Su geleceksen borusunu alayım. İmkân yoksa sistem yoksa kurayım dedi.

8. Çiftlik evinde geçirdiğim ilk aylarda ufak boyutlu bir tarım yapmaya karar vermiştim. Biraz komşularım yardım aldım, rençperlerden yardım aldım derken çiftlik evinin etrafındaki iki araziye ıslah ettik. 8-10 çeşit ürün üretmeye başladım burada. Biraz abartmışım. Hasat zamanı gelince oturup beş sene havuç yesek çıkan havucu bitiremeyeceğimiz gerçeği ile yüzleştim. Ne yapacaksınız bu kadar malı? Nazilli pazarına indirip satsam tuhaf olacak. Eşe dostu dağıtayım dedim. İstanbul'da arkadaşlarımı aradım, "Verin adresinizi, size acayip şeyler göndereceğim" dedim. Birkaç hafta boyunca 15-20 arkadaşıma koli koli gönderip dağıttım ne var ne yok. İpek Hanım Çiftliği o arkadaşlarımın teşviki ile başladı: "Pınar benim komşu da istiyor senden ama parasını da ödemek istiyor". Biz de öyle yapmak istiyoruz, mahcup oluyoruz, isteyemiyoruz" dediler. Bir ürün listesi yapmamı, ürünlere fiyat koymamı talep ettiler. Böylece rahatça sipariş verebileceklerdi. "Ölümü gör – asıl sen gör" tartışmalarından yenik ayrılıp istedikleri ürün listesini hazırladım. Minicik bir Excel tablosu hazırladım. Mail attım hepsine.

9. Çiftlikte mevsimlik işçi olarak çalışan yaklaşık 50 kişi mevcuttur. Pek çok insana fayda sağlıyoruz. Evlerinde çoluk çocuk yapabilecekleri ek işler buluyordum onlara sürekli. Biberleri, patlıcanları ipe dizip kurutmak gibi mesela... Örneğin biz buğdayı fotosele göstermiyoruz. Sortex denen bir bant sistemi var, buğdayı oradan geçirdiğinizde içindeki taşları ayıklayabiliyorsunuz. Ama bu makine buğdaya arsenik

katıyor. Bizim kadınlar elleri ile çuval çuval buğday ayıklıyorlar. Mercimek yine öyle. Geçiyorlar dididi dit buğdayın taşını ayıklıyorlar. Kendileri için güzel bir kazanç yapıyorlar. Hem yorulmuyorlar hem üşümüyorlar hem evlerinin işlerini yapıyorlar hem yemeklerini yapıyorlar. Başına geçiyorlar buğday ayıklıyorlar, bu çok saçma görülebilir ama benim için saçma değil, benim için yapılması gereken bu. Ben de bilirim fortex kullanmayı ama mesele bu değil. Ha son tüketiciye yansıyor mu bu emek yansıyor. Evde âtil kalmış 60, 70, 80 yaşında kadınlar bile şu an buğday taşı ayıklıyorlardır. Dünyanın en komik şeyi yani, kolay kolay rastlayacağını sanmıyorum. Dünyada benzeri yoktur.

10. On dört haneli küçücük Ocaklı Köyü'nde başladık. Her komşum bu yapının bir parçası oldu. Onların komşuları, çocukları, yayla köylerindeki yaşlı kadınlar, dedeler... Tek tek, her biri çiftliğin bir ferdi haline geldi. Benim toprağım vardı, onların bilgisi... Bir araya geldik, çalışmaya başladık. Yeni çağın pazarlama yöntemleri, içi boşaltılmış, güvenilirliği bitmiş, kategorize edilmeye çalışılmış her şey uzak kaldı. Sağımıza – solumuza değil, sadece önümüze baktık. Canımızı hakikaten dişimize taktık. Sadece bir sene gibi kısa bir sürede, yaşadığım Ocaklı Köyü'nde her şey elli yıl öncesine dönüverdi. Araçlarımızın, evlerimizin, tarlalarımızın sınırları kalktı. Kazanç getirmediği için onlarca senedir işlenmemiş toprakların her karışına yeniden Anadolu'nun gerçek tohumları dikildi. Kaybolup gitmiş her güzellik yeniden hayat buldu. Çok ama çok beğenildi, çok takdir edildi.

11. Önce her evlerdeki dandik mobiletler değişti, sonra Kartal, Şahin gibi basit modeller olsa da arabalar göründü evlerin önünde. Kendilerine traktörler aldılar. Çalımızı getiren, odunumuzu taşıyan, bahçelerimizi süren herkes ama herkes bu köylerden oldu. Her an, her vesile ile para kazanmalarını sağladım... Bugün borcu harcı olmayan, evine ekmek götüren, evde sesini yükselten, söz sahibi olan, hafta

sonu kocası ile arabasına binip gezebilen, bir restorana, bir kafeye gidip oturan, konsere katılan, kolunda altın bilezik, altında Mavi Jeans'ten pantolon ile dolaşan kadınlarımız, kendi kazandıkları paralar ile üniversiteye rahatça giden genç kızlarımız var; Sosyal güvenceleri, yemekhaneleri, servisleri var. Ek gelirleri var. Çocukları her hafta sonu bizzat benim arabam ile benim İpek'im ne yapıyorsa onu yiyorlar, İpek hangi AVM'de hangi sinemaya gidiyorsa aynı yere gidiyorlar, İpek hangi kursa başlarsa aynı kursa katılıyorlar. İpek İzmir'de sevgili diş hekimimiz Nalan Kolcuoğlu'na diş teli taktırabiliyorsa Nuray'ın kızı Huriye de taktırabiliyor.

12. Tabi bizim çiftlikte şöyle yüzde yüz gıda üzerine. Pastaneden yapılan çörekler, gözlemeler, ekmekler, bazlamasından gözlemesine kadar, soslar, çemeninden reçeline her şeyine kadar. E bunlar tabi hep kadınların yaptığı, onların zevk alarak yaptığı işler, erkeklere gel şu reçeli yap desen kadınların gösterdiği performansı bekleyemezsin ondan. Bir de hijyen çok önemli kadınlar buna çok daha fazla dikkat ediyor. Dün gezip dolaştın görmüşsündür böylesine bir çiftlikte hijyen o kadar önemli ki yoktur zaten ben bunu iddia ederim bu kadar temiz bu kadar düzenli.

13. Kadın daha çok çalışır, işi kendi işi evi gibi görür, ben kadınların daha akıllı olduklarını düşünüyorum, daha başarılı daha çalışkan olduklarını düşünüyorum, erkekler de mecbur oluyor tabi. Ama çok çalışkan erkeklerimiz de var bizim burada, onlar da iyi seçilmiştir, iyi çalışabilenleri seçiyoruz. Dünyayı değiştirecek insanlar bence kadırlar, üstün bir zekâları var, üstün bir duygusal zekâları var. Erkekler mesai saati bitse de gitsek derken kadınlar mesai bitince bile çalışıyorlar. İşlerine bağlanıyorlar, kendi işleri gibi görüyorlar. Bizler de öyleyiz yani ay şimdi tatildeyim altıdan sonra telefona cevap vermeyeyim diye bir şey yok, gece 12'ye kadar telefonlarla boğuşuyoruz. Bunu gel de bir erkeğe yaptır yapmaz. Nitekim yapmıyorlar. Kadına söylemene dahi gerek yok, işi sorumluluğu olarak görüyor,

anlıyor yani ne olduğunu. Bir de tabi müşterilerle çok direkt ilişki içindeler. Biraz azarlansalar da arada sırada budur şudur ama genelde tabi takdir görüyor.

14. İş başvurusu için gelenlerin (iş başvurusu için başvuran çok oluyor civar köylerden gelenler oluyor ya da işte komşusu duyuyor, ya da okulu yeni bitiren oluyor) özelliklerini yazıyoruz, neler yapabileceklerini falan, ben soruyorum mesela evde en çok neyi severin ne yapmaktan hoşlanırsın, pata börek yapmayı sever misin, temizlik yapmayı sever misin, tarhana yapar mısın derken zaten böylece tanımış oluyorsunuz karşınızdaki kişiyi nasıl bir şey olduğunu, nelerden hoşlandığını. Mesela not düşünüyorum o kişiyi yanına işte bu kişi çok güzel yufka açar.

15. Buradaki çalışanların yüzde 90'ı yani hani üniversite mezunu yok, lise mezunu da çok azdır herhalde, çoğunluğu ilk okul orta okul, yani hep pırlanta gibi insanlar ama kalifiye eleman değil. Şey gibi bir de tabi uzun zaman burada evlerinde gibi rahat çalıştıkları için, ama tabi işin büyümesi ile e biraz daha tabi kontrollü çalışmak gerekiyordu daha disiplinli

16. Köy evine misafirler geldiğinde onların her türlü hizmetini ben yapıyorum ama yetiştiremiyorum, yanıma birisini versinler diyorum onu da yapmıyorlar. Kaç kere kız kardeşim bana yardıma geldi ya da ne bileyim köydeki komşularımın yardım istediğim oldu ama onların ücretini vermediler. Emegimin karşılığını alamıyorum, kızım okuyor itiraz da edemiyorum, işten atılmaktan korkuyorum, Hüsniye Hanım biri gelir diğeri gider demişti bir kere.

17. Bizim kadınlar tam bir mucit. Biz niye iki senede 7-8 kilo aldık zannediyorsunuz (gülüşmeler). Mesela melek vardır iki günde bir gelir elinde tabak, şunu yaptım bunu yaptım. Elimizdeki ürüne göre atıyorum şimdi elma zamanı, ya da işte kayısı zamanı. Şimdi bizim gönderilerimiz yüzde 90 İstanbul olduğu için, kayısuların paketlenmesi çok dikkatli yapılması gerekiyor. Kayısıda herhangi bir kurt yeniği ya da ufak bir

delik varsa o kayısı suyunu diğerklerine de bırakıyor ve onların da bozulmalarına neden oluyor. O anlamda minik deliği olan böceği olan ürünü ayırıyoruz. Ne yapıyoruz, elimizde kayısı şeftali çıktı biraz hemen onlar reçel oluyor marmelat oluyor. Yani bizde hiçbir ürünümüz ziyan olmuyor. En kötülerini bile hayvanlarımız yiyor. Bu anlamda da tabi bu işte arkadaşlar oldun biz olalım, pınar hanım olsun hani ne yapabilir ne edebiliriz. Mesela işte kabak zamanı en çok kabak, geçenlerde balkabaklı kek Melek yaptı getirdi, baktık tadına harika bir şey. ... Mesela geliyorlar işte Hüsniye Hanım ben şuna baktım bu çok güzel, işte bizim peynir ile şunu karıştırsak harika olur gibi. Yapıyor işte yiyoruz pınar hanım yiyor. A iyi olmuş diyor ve öylece listeye ekliyoruz. Yani burada bildiğiniz profesyonelce olmayan bir AR-GE var. Ama bu en güzeli aslında.

18. Bizim işçilerimiz gıdayı annelerinden, ninelerinden ya da komşularından miras aldıkları şekilde üretiyorlar. Yeni yöntemler kullanmaya ihtiyacımız yok. Bu yüzden geleneksel yol gerçekten doğal ve sağlıklı olan bildikleri yok.

19 Organik sertifikasyon bana göre bir dış ülkeye bir programa bağlı kalmak gibi görüyorum. "Organik" derken düşündüğünüz şey sertifikalandırılmış ithal tohumlar, sertifikalandırılmış ithal gübreler ve uygun görülmüş ilaçlar ile yapılan bir tarımdır ... Sen de biliyorsun ki tarımı dünya ticaret örgütü yönetir ve yurt dışından gelir.

Haftaya ne dikileceğini edileceğini dünya ticaret örgütü verir. O da dünyada dengeleri tutmak için yapar. Bu siyasal oyunlar artık yazılıyor çiziliyor ve belli. Yani gıdayı elinde tuttuğun zaman dünyayı elinde tutuyorsun organik tarım da bunun bir parçası. Sen organik deyince şu fikir var kafanda değil mi: tertemiz atadan gelen bir tohumlu, ilaçlanmamış, temiz bir ürün zannediyorsun de mi? Değil. Gerçek tohumu organik adı altında dikemiyorsun, ineklerin gübresi ile gübreleyemiyorsun. Bunlar yasak. Mutlaka onların gübresine, onların tohumuna, onların fidesine bağlısın. Onlar

karar veriyor. Bu bir zincir. Tohumu veren şirket de gübreyi veren şirket de, organik ilaç diye bir şey var onları yapan şirketlerin ortaklığı birebir aynı. ... Yani tarımın genelinde iyileşme yaşanması gerekirken organiğe bel bağlamak tüm dünyada aynı oyun. Yani bunlar tekelden yürütülüyor, tekelden dağıtılıyor, ilaç eczane şirketleri hepsi birlikte kenetlendiler...

20. Ben sertifika almadım. Çünkü anlamlı bulmadım. Her şeyden öte ticari bir iş değil bu yaptığım. Kızımın doğumundan sonra O'na sağlıklı şeyler yedirebilme çabasıyla başlamış bir hobi... Takdir edildi, büyüdü; bu ayrı bir şey. Ancak hala ve hala bir hobi... Üretici belgemizden başka hiçbir şeyimiz yok. Neden organik tarım sertifikasını anlamlı bulmadığımı merak ediyorsanız da söyleyeyim: Bu sertifikayı almak için aracı / denetçi kuruluşlardan birine başvurmanız ve organik tarım yaptığınız bir alanı göstermeniz sertifikayı almanız için yeterli. Bir dekarlık arazinizde organik tarım yapabilir, sertifikanızı alabilir ve bu sertifikanın arkasına saklanarak geriye kalan onlarca dekar arazinizde "tuhaf" biçimlerde ürettiğiniz ürünlerinizi satabilirsiniz. Bu, etik olmaz elbette ancak önlenebilirliği neredeyse imkânsız. Benim, ürünlerimi ispat etme gibi bir derdim yok. Yüzlerce yıldır dağ köylerinin dedeleri, nineleri nasıl "organiğin de organiği" üretim yaptıysa, aynı yolu izledim... Binyıllardır bu topraklarda olan gerçek ata tohumları kullanarak hayvan terisi ile gübreleme yaparak üretim yapıyorum.

21. Denklem basit ve talebin tarifi gayet net: "Aynen çocukluğumdaki gibi olsun." istediniz. Bu iki kelimenin benim için de anlamı çok derin... Söz, olacak. Ben hayatımın en mutlu günlerini çocukluğumda yaşadım. En çok sevdiğim divan, en çok sevdiğim banyo, içinde en mutlu olduğum mutfak, pişen bir tencereden çıkan en güzel koku hep çocukluğumda saklı... Annemin, babamın, ağabeyimin evi dolduran sesi kadar güzel bir ses duymadım hiç. O uğultuda uyduğum kadar rahat uyumadım

hiçbir zaman... Hepinizinki gibi, bir dönemin kalbinize çivi çivi çakılan anıları benim için de o iki kelimenin arkasında yer alıyor.

22. Yeni çağa ait hiçbir şeyi sokmadık işin içine. Tek bir reklam vermedik, tek kuruş banka kredisi almadık, çağın sosyal medyasını hiç kullanmadık. Biz sadece bileğimize ve doğru yaptığımıza emin olduğumuz işimize güvendik.

23. Bana gelince... :) Benim iki ayağım bir pabuçta yine. Yolculuk var. :) Yarın Artvin / Barhal'a, annemin köyüne gideceğim. Oradan Kars'a, sonra da Antakya'ya... Yerimin, yurdumun, tarlalarımın, toprağımın, aslan gibi akrabalarımın, arkadaşlarımın yanına... İpek Hanım zincirinin halkalarına...

Barhal'ı ilk defa göreceğim. Eğer mümkün kılabilir isem, burada da bir yapı kurup onu da zincire ekleyeceğim. İnanılmaz bir doğa, inanılmaz tohumlar, ürünler ve teknikler ile karşılaşacağıma eminim. Umuyorum ki onlara, annemin köyüne de bir katkımız, faydamız olur. Umarım onların yapabileceklerini de sofralarınıza taşıyabiliriz. Ben çok çok istiyorum Barhal'ın da Barhal'daki akrabalarımın da bizimle olmasını. Gelişmelerden haberdar edeceğim.

24. Tamamen 1950 öncesi, gliedin yapısı değiştirilmemiş Anadolu buğdayları dikiliyor. Ekmek yapımında Sinekçiler Köyü'nün 1500'li yıllardan beri çalışan ekşi mayası, hamur teknesi (yani ovmaç mayası) ya da nohut mayası kullanıyoruz sadece. Sofralar 50 yıl öncesi tatlara kavuşuyor.

25. İpek Hanım Çiftliği, bu oluşum, bu ekip, bütün bu emek; Anadolu kadını, çiftçisini, emekçisini endüstri karşısında güçlü kılabilmek, "eşit" yapabilmek için idi. Kimseden eksiklerimiz yok bizim / bizlerin. Bilakis "kıymetli" olanı üreten bizleriz. Besleyen, gerçek gıdayı da bizler üretiyoruz. Biz katkılar ile, sentetik vitaminler ile, glutenin Çin'den geleni ile milyonlarca ekmeği pişirenler gibi değiliz. Reklam ve cicili ambalaj satmıyoruz. Gıda kartellerinden, tröstlerinden farklı olarak yiyeceğiniz

ve yemeniz gereken ürünün ta kendisini üretiyor ve satıyoruz. Haliyle sektörü rahatsız ediyoruz. Köylüyüz ya bir yanda... Saldırıya da açık gözüküyoruz.

26. Kullanılan maya hiç abartısız, yukarıdaki Sinekçiler Köyü'nün kurulduğu 1500'lü yıllardan beri aynı. Elden ele dönegeliyor. Uсталık da kuşaktan kuşağa aynı döngüde geçiyor. Buralarda iş basit anlatılır. Bizler için sayfalar dolusu metne, yüzlerce fotoğrafa konu olacak olay, onlar için "Nenemin nenesi de bu mayayı kullanırmış, zaten bizde ekmek hep ekşi pişer" şeklinde bir şey... Kuşak kuşak geçiyor; maya her evde, her ekmekte canlanıyor, yenileniyor, dönüyor. Oradan çıkıp Bebek'te, Kemerburgaz'da, Ataşehir'de, Çankaya'da sizin sofraların yolunu bile buluyor ya... Şaşılacak bir şey varsa budur.

27. 1997... İstanbul hiç olmadığı kadar kalabalık, hiç olmadığı kadar gürültülü, hiç olmadığı kadar boğucu... Egzoz dumanı bacalardan püsküren kuruma karışmış, insanlar on kilometrelik yolları üç buçuk saatte gitmeye başlamış, çocuklar ağaç görmek için Yıldız Parkı'na, ördek görmek için Darıca'ya gidiyor... Bir şeyler yanlış gidiyordu ve bunu o yıllarda anlamış olmak en büyük şansımды. İhtiyacım olan ne ardi ardına açılan alışveriş merkezleri, ne de Beyoğlu'nun gürültülü gece hayatıydı. Büyükdere Caddesi, gözümde bir korku filmi setinden farksızdı artık. Kaçmak lazımdı. Arkadaşlarıma bahsedip durduğum, "şöyle sakın bir yerlere gitme, bir taş ev yaptırma, kendi bahçemde bir şeyler yetiştirme, bir sürü hayvan alıp onlarla zaman geçirme" planını gerçeğe çevirmek...

28 Bir (1) adet ekmeği markette 30 TL etiket ile gördü bu gözler. "Yahu bunun izahı nedir?" dediğinizde felsefe sözlüğünden iki pasajı yanıt olarak almanız garanti. Çok büyüyen ama çok da kirli büyüyen bir sektörde sınırları ve doğruyu göstermek de bana görev oldu. Hile-hurda, yalan-dolan karıştırmadan da bir şeylerin "yapılabileceğini" göstermekte başarılı olduğumuzu sanıyorum. Sektör, bana olan

nefreti ile bunun sađlamasını veriyor en azından. :) 5 Liralık malzeme + 5 Liralık maliyet ile bir porsiyon yemeđe 45 TL fiyat yazanlar beni sevse idi tuhaf olurdu.

29. Tarımda da herbisit attıđında tek bir çöpe ihtiyacın yok ot ilacı atıyorsun ama insanların spermlerini de öldürüyorsun, yumurtasını da öldürüyorsun, adamı kısır ediyorsun. Böyle bir kazanç benim için kazanç deđil. Yani bir gün boyalı yođurt satacaksam ya da hormonlu domates satacaksam istemiyorum ben öyle para mara. İyi biri olup iyi bir iş yapmak istiyorum. Sadece onu yapıyorum. Tabi ki daha az kazanıyorum herkese göre. Kazancım diđerleri gibi yüzde 300 falan deđil belki yüzde 15 falandır. Hak kazancı alıyorum. Bunu fazlası haram. Yeter işte bölüşüyoruz, yiyoruz, içiyoruz, geziyoruz, daha ne yapacađız bu dünyada. İyi yani iyi hissediyorum kendimi.

30. Samana bulanmış yumurtalar, yaylalardan gelen ve hep ama hep serbest gezen etler, dođal restoranların önünde neden orada olduđu anlaşılamayan küfeler; artık içime fenalık getiren boş asma kabakları, sap- saman- kađnı arabası dekorları... Çikolata renginde tam buđday unu, dođallık ile alakası olmaması bir yana üstüne bir de melas ile boyanmış beyaz toz şekeri "Bu dođal esmer şekeri" diye satmalar... "Bizim portakallar parıl parıl ama bir sorun neden parıl parıl?" diyenler.

Sorduđunuzda da "Eee, biz şimdi kasadan parlak olanları seçip size gönderiyoruz" diye tuhaf tuhaf laf yetiştirenler... Elinde mat ve dođal olan portakallar varken onları göndermiyor da parıl parıl yananları gönderiyor gibi ilginç bir "seleksiyon" ...?

31. Kars'ın çıtası çok yüksek. Çok ayrı. Endemik örtüsünü taklit edebilen bir başka yöre, bölge yok. Oradaki ineđin beslenmek için günde 40 kilometre yol alarak verdiđi sütü taklit edebilme, yanına yanaşabilme imkânı da yok. Herhangi bir bölgede, herhangi bir merada bu mümkün deđil. Kaşar, Kars'ta yapıldıđı için bu

kadar güzel. Gravyer, o yöreden geldiği için bu kadar eşsiz. Geçilmesi değil, yanaşılması bile mümkün değil.

32. Bir bölgenin tohumunu, bütünüyle farklı bir bölgede yetiştirmek her zaman iyi olmayabiliyor. Ben Kavulca'yı bu yörede ekmektense Kars'ta bırakmaktan yana idim başından beri. Elbette Kavulca memleketin sağında- solunda da ekilmeye başlandı; engel olacak da değilim. Ancak Kavulca, Kars'ın buğdayıdır. 2.200- 2.800 rakım arasında, Kars'ın Çernozyum'lu toprağında en yüksek besin değeri ile yetişir. Aynı buğday Türkiye'nin başka bir köşesine dikildiğinde ne besin değeri aynı olur ne de glüten değeri aynı çıkar.

33. Biz barbunya yetiştiriyoruz. On yıldır falan Sinekçiler Köyü'nün Çayır Yaylası'nda... Harikulade hava şartları, gerçek tohum, Madran suyu ile sulama, 1000 rakım ve eşsiz bir toprak derken kınalı gerçek barbunya fasulyenin en hası bizde sanıyorum. Bir yandan size gidiyor toplandıkça, bir yandan da kendimiz ayıklayıp kurutuyoruz fazlasını. Kuru su tazesinden bile lezzetli. O derece.

APPENDIX B

A SAMPLE PRODUCT LIST

ÜRÜNLER	FİYAT	
SEBZELER		
KİRAZ DOMATES (500 gr) (Paket) GERÇEĞİ, ENFESİ	5	Bu senenin ilki... son derece lezzetli... mevsim gereği artık yemeklerde filan değil arada ağza atıp nefisi körtlemek kafidir...
Bal Kabağı (500 gr)	3.5	Vakumlu poşette soyulmuş bir şekilde kızıl kabuklu nefis kabak... tohumu Belçikanın floriffe tohum ve tarım vakfının
Salamura Yaprak (kg) YENİ DÖNEMİN İLK YAPRAKLARI	16	Orta kalınlıkta ve lezzeti çok yerinde. Sarmadan önce mutlaka yıkayıp 5-10 dakika haşlayın, suyunu aktırın ve özellikle etli sarmaya çok yakışan ekşili nefis bir tadı vardır. Benden söylemesi... :)
Kereviz (kg) DALIYLA TOPANIYLA PİŞİRİN.YAYLA	6	Topanı büyük, yeşil yaprakları kısa ve yok denecek kadar az. İstanbullular böyle seviyor. Genellikle beyaz topanından yemek yapanlar için... .
Pırasa (kg) YAYLA PIRASASI, LEZZETİ ÜSTÜN...	5	Yayladan :) Zeytinyağlı, pirinçli, havuçlu ekşili yemeği favorimdir :) Buram buram gerçek pırasa :))
Sarımsak (Kuru) (150 gr)	4	150 gramlık. Aroması, kokusu, tadı ile sarımsak gibi sarımsak. :) Ayıklayıp zeytinyağı dolu bir kavanoza koyun. Büyük kolaylık :)
Tek Diş Sarımsak (100 gr) TUNCELİ... ORMAN İZİNİYLE	15	Sarımsak'ın atası tabii başka söze de gerek yok :) Tunceliden devlet izniyle koruma altındaki türü bu... lokman hekim şifasıdır... her hafta bir tek diş atın ağızınıza
Arpacık soğan (kg)	7	Etlı yemeklerde ve güveçte, daha güzeli yok valla... :)
Gümüş Soğan (kg) PAMUK SOĞAN... ESKİ	5	Ataerkil pamuk soğan bu, fotoğrafını bile çekersiniz o derece güzel... :)
Kuru Soğan (kg) Pembemsi eski tohum	5	Kırmızımsı; eski tohum eski model :) Görür görmez tanıyacaksınız.
Mor Pıyazlık Soğan (kg) Balık soğanı (Pıyazlık)	7	Salataların renkli resmi :) İrice doğrayıp zeytinyağında kavurup üzerine de 2 yumurta kırın bütün gün toksunuz :))
Karnabahar (Adet) KASIM PATI GİBİ ...ÇİÇEK GİBİ MİS	8	2 kiloya yakın büyüklükte. Kesmeden adet olarak geliyor; yemeğini yaparsanız kızartmasında aklınız kalmasın diye haşlayıp, ezip, kıyma ile köfte yapıp çocuklara rahatça yedirebilirsiniz. :)
Pazı (500 gr)	5	Sarması; pırasa ile beraber kavurması, üstüne süzme yoğurt ve yanına da kuru soğan. Bir de bazlama of of :))
Ispanak (500 gr) HARİKA BİR LEZZETİ VAR... BAHÇEDEN	3	Kavurması, pirinçli ve kıymalı yemeği... Çiğ hali bile salatalarda çok güzel.
Kültür Mantarı (kg) (istiridye Mantarla karışık)	15	TKDK projesi ile... ORMAN SÜPRÜNTÜSÜ RESMİ İZİNLE ALINIP TORFU BUNDAN YAPILDI... ŞAHANE... YABAN MANTARI TADINDA
Pazı pırasa ısırgan otu (karışık)	10	bir kilo olarak hazırlanıp size gelecek... bir baş da kuru soğan var içinde... önce kuru soğan sonra pırasa sonra otlar... sonra da kıracağınız yumurta
Isırgan Otu (Bağ)	4	muhteşem ısırgan... bu harika lezzetli, nefis kokulu yaban otu çıktığında tüm sebzeler ayağa kalkarmış... harikadır, süperdir... acil alınsın hemen börekler, kayganalar, ot kavurmaları pişirilsin
Yer Elması (kg)	7	Zeytinyağlı havuçlu yemeği; en kolayı ise çocuklarınız için tam bir vitamin deposu az pırasa da yakışır içine :)

Tatlı Patates (AMANOS)	7	ANTAKYA / AMANOS / KENDİMİZE AİT TAPULU İZİNLI 50 DÖNÜM HIÇ DİKİLMEMİŞ TERTEMİZ BİR ARAZİDE YETİŞTİRDİK BU YIL... ÖZELLİKLE BEBEKLER VE ÇOCUKLAR İÇİN
SALATA MALZEMELERİ VE YEŞİLLİKLER		
Marul - Adet	4	Salataların olmazsa olmazı. Ben sadece bolca yıkayıp doğramadan üzerine limon sıkıp yemeye de bayılırım :)
Limon (kg)	12	Ağaç başı taze limon. Kalın kabukludur ve miss kokuludur. Uzun süre dayanmaz, hızlıca tüketin.
Maydanoz (Demet)	2	Yerli maydanoz, tabiki ilaçsız :) Yosun ilacı gibi saçmalıklardan da atılmadığı için balık gibi kokmuyor. Yemyeşil, mis kokulu.
Kırmızı Lahana (Adet)	5	Salataların mor renkli olmazsa olmazlarından, havuç rendesiyle nefis olur.
Tatlı Beyaz Turp (kg)	5	Yemesen bile tarlasından geçmek gerekir, afiyetle...
Taze Soğan (Bağ)	5	Yemyeşil iri olan yaprakları atmayın, incecik doğrayıp üzerine yumurta nefis oluyor... :)
MEYVELER		
Greyfurt (kg) dalından yeni	5	Elma suyu ve portakal suyunu sıkıp içine kanlı greyfurtu da karıştırırsanız süper oluyor :)
Armut (kg)	6	Tam bir köy kokusu; sert, hafif buruk ama tadı tuzu tam yerinde :)
Yayla Elması (kg)	5	Tam tadıyla sert, sulu sıcaklara kalmadan topladık hepsini afiyetle :))
Portakal ...dalından tazecik	5	Yaz portakalı. Ağaçbaşı yeşil yaprakları üzerinde, sulu sulu afiyet olsun :)
Mandalina (kg) dalından	5	Taptaze; dalından direkt sizlere tatlı mı tatlı afiyetle :)
Cennet Elması (kg) SERT YENİR... ÇİKOLATALI MUZ TADINDA	6	Ayılıp bayıldığım çikolata cinsi. İçi siyah, kendi taş gibi. Isıra ısıra, kütür kütür yeniliyor. Trabzon hurması ile karıştırılmasın lütfen. :)
Ayva (kg) ŞAHANE SARI EKMEK AYVASI	5	Kış aylarının vazgeçilmezi ben cevizle yemeye bayılırım, reçeli de karanfilli çok güzel olur, afiyetle :)
Nar (kg)	5	İster tane tane ayıklayın, ister suyunu sıkın dondurun veya için tam bir şifa. :)
Kestane (kg) kebablık haşlamalık... şekerli cinsi	14	Toplaması ve temizlemesi çok zor ama köyümüzün baş tacı kestanemiz, haşlaması ve közlemesi harika olur, afiyetle :)
Ateş Mandalinası (Kokulu) KLEMENTİNE CİNSİ	5	Kırmızıya çalan turuncu rengi ve kendine has muhteşem kokusu ile özel ve eski bir tür. :) ben ölürüm bayılırım buna... tek tük çekirdeği çıkar...
HAZIR YEMEKLER		
Minik Minik Mantı (500 gr) (Paket)	17.5	Çocukların en sevdiği mantı. Daha küçük, daha yumuşak :) Yarımlık vakumlu paketlerde.
Tam Buğday Mantı (250 gr)	15	Hamurunu, içini biraz daha geleneksel yaptık. Böyle bir lezzet olmaz diyorum. :))
Vejetaryen Mantı (250 gr)	10	Siz istediniz, biz de yaptık. Mis gibi sebze kokulu. Karabuğdaydan.
Patatesli Çerkez Mantısı (250 gr)	10	Geleneksel bir lezzet. Çok hafif acılı enfes bir mantı :)
Yedi Tahıllı Bebek Maması Unu (250 gr)	5	Kara buğday, arpa, mısır, çavdar, yulaf ve pirinç unu... Yapılışı: 250 gr su, 250 gr süt ile 2 yemek kaşığı unu karıştırın. Çok az pekmez ya da şeker ekleyin isteğe göre :)
Tarhana (500 gr)	14	Hep taze öğütüm, annelerinizi boşuna yormayın. Benim annem bile benden alıyor, o kadar bol ve güzel malzemeli ki. :) Bebekler için uygun ve acısız.

Sebze Çorbası (Paket) (250 gr)	7	Brokoli, kereviz, havuç, pırasa, balkabağı, kuru soğan, tam buğday unu ve yoğurt ile yapıldı. Süper :) 250 gramlık paketlerde. Tarif olarak sütlü brokoli çorbasındaki tarif ile yapabilirsiniz :))
Sütlü Brokoli Çorbası (250 gr)	7	250 gramlık paketlerde, yeniden yapıldı :) Ölçü olarak 1 su bardağı suya, 1 tepeleme yemek kaşığı çorba, tereyağında 1 tatlı kaşığı kavrulmuş un kıvam verir. Lezzet artırmak için sarımsak, salça, baharat vs size kalmış :) Afiyetle... .
KARS ÜRÜNLERİ		
Pancar (kg)	6	Kars'ın eşi benzeri olmayan toprağının hediyesi, çiğ rendesi yoğurtla karışınca enfes olur. :) bu pancar ise daha öncekiler neydi diyeceksiniz... lokum gibi
Kars Aybastı Patatesi (kg)	5.5	2300 rakım. Malakanların antik karot (patates'i), Antik ve endemik, afiyetle :) HAŞLAMAYA GELMEZ... KIZARTMA YA DA PÜRESİ ENFES OLUR... KAR GİBİ BEYAZ RUS KAROTU
Kars Havucu (kg)	6	Taaa Kars'dan uzun zahmetli bir yol, ama her şeye değdi. Lezzeti, kokusu, toprağı, yaprağı hepsi üstünde :)
Hanak Patatesi (kg) SARI PATATES	5.5	Hanak Belediyesinin katılım projesi ile, endemik bir tür.
Beyaz Lahana (Adet)	10	Kapuskası ve sarması dış yapraklar ıda turşuya, afiyetle...
Sarı Bal Hanak (430 gr Kavanoz)	40	Hanak petek süzmesi, ezber bozduran üstüne tanımam dediğim bir bal. SASKARA 'DA KÖYÜMDE AMCAMIN BAKTIĞI KOVANLARDAN.DEHŞET GÜZEL
Kars Çiçek Balı (450 gr)	32	Dağ çiçeklerinden katkısız enfes ötesi, tabii ki İlhan Koçulu.
Kars Çam Balı (450 gr)	32	Ardahan'a yakın çokta fazla olmayan Kars'ın çam kokulu balı.
Oğul Balı (Kars) (450 gr Kavanoz) HAS BAL / BEYAZ BAL	70	2800 rakımda, o yöreye özel bitki ve çiçeklerin balıdır... Oğul kolonileri tarafından üretildiği için enzim değeri çok yüksek... donuk gelir... eritebilirsiniz
Gravyer (500 gr) Özzel Kav - 2 Yıllık	40	İlhan Koçulu'nun gravyeri. Bilen bilir, tektir :) 500 gramlık paketlerde.
Sarı Has Kaşar (kg) YENİ ...EŞİ BENZERİ YOK LEZZETTE	85	Koçulu'nun, bugüne kadar ki en lezzetli peyniri 550 gr,900 gr 'lık paketlerde.
Eski Kaşar - Özel Kav - 2 Yıllık	45	İlhan Koçulu kaşarı :) bize yapılan özel ve farklı bir üretimdir... karıştırılmasın lütfen
Göbek Kaşar (500 gr)	28	Karpuzun göbeğı gibi düşünün... aynen o şekilde ...
Malakan Peyniri (500 gram) Özel Kav	33	Kaybolmuş peynirlerden belki de en güzeli. İlhan Abi'nin :))
Taze Kaşar (500 gr) Özel İmalat	20	Yarımlık paketlerde. Yeni taze kaşar :))
Basma Tulum Peynir (500 gr) 2000 Rakımda Özel Üretim	27	İlhan Koçulu'dan. Sadece sizler için yapıldı :) %100 keçi derisinde klimatize edildi :))
Yayık Tereyağı - Kars (500 gr)	25	Tuzsuz ve kaymak kıvamında Kars'tan nefis :))
Kars Tereyağı - Probiyotik (500 gr)	26	Kefirden mayalanan yoğurdun tereyağı. Probiyotik oranı çok yüksek. Çocuklar için çok faydalı, bir o kadar da lezzetli :))
Kars Kızılık Pestili (250gr)	10	Kars kokulu kızılıktan yapılan enfes bir pestil. Çocukluğumda elimden eksik olmazdı :))
Kars Kuru Erik (250 gr)	8,5	Ne ekşi ne tatlı desem, bambaşka bir tat afiyetle ;)))
Kars Kuru Kayısı (250 gr)	12	Kars'a özel dalında kurutulmuş, tek kelime ile doğal ötesi derim ben buna :))
Kızılık Ekşisi Kars (450 gr)	12	Murt ile karışık, Kars kadın projesinin üretimi, dehşet ötesi ;))

Kars Erişte (250 gr) KAVULCADAN YAPILIYOR...	8	Eşsiz Kars unundan incecik kesilmiş erişte, tereyağı üstüne de taze kaşar maydonoz, afiyetle :)) KAVULCA UNUNDAN ÇOK ÇOK ZOR... KESENLER DE KARS KADIN EMEĞİ PROJESİ
Ekmeklik Karışık Kars Unu (kg)	8	Zerrum, kirik, karkas ve sarı buğdaylara azıcık arpa unu, çavdar ve kavulca unu karıştırıyor... ekmek için bundan daha nefis bir un yoktur
Kavut Unu Kars (250 gr)	4	nohut, çavdar, keten, kirik, darı önce kavruluyor sonra öğütülüyor... çocuk mamaları, çorbalar için... her şeye karıştırabilirsiniz
Pirinç (kg)	9	kars ığdır pirinci... kontrollu ve dost bir üreticimizin ürünü...
Kepekli Pirinç (500 gr)	7	Cilalanmamış. Sadece kabuğu ayıklanmış. Doğal pirinç. Tarladan eve :)
Kırmızı Pirinç (kg)	9	Kırmızı pirinç :) Bilenler biliyor. Süper!
Esmir İri Bulgur (kg)	8	Gerçek karakılıç buğdayından. Bire üç su kaldıran, yiyenlerin mail atıp tebrik ettiği kendi kırma bulgurumuz. Çocuklar için çorbalara azıcık atın.
Sarı İri Bulgur (kg)	8	Köy meydanında dev kazanda haşlayıp, kulaklılarla damlara serdiğimiz, su değirmeninde kıldığımız nefis bulgur.
Firik Bulguru (500 gr)	7	Nefis :) Kokusuna bayılacaksınız. Haşlanmasını cevizle karıştırın. Değişik ara öğün diyet yapanlara :))
Esmir Kısırlık Bulgur (kg)	7	İri bulguru pilavlık, elekten düşen incesi kısırlık, köftelik kullanılıyor.
Sarı Kısırlık Bulgur (kg)	6	Sarı iri bulgurun elekten düşen incesi...
İrmik (500 gr Paket)	5	İstediniz, biz de yaptık :) Kendi irmiğimiz... Mis gibi :)
Ev Nişastası (500 gr)	6	Kendi buğdayımız ıslandı. Güneş altında sürekli, suyu berraklaşana kadar yıkandı. Kurutulup değirmene gitti. Şimdi de listede :) Rica üzerine uğraştık :)
Kuru Fasulye (500 gr)	9	Kurufasulye için rahatlıkla 'memleketin en iyisi' diyebilirim. Tevazuya gerek yok :) Fazlaca haşlayıp 250'şer gram atın dondurucuya. Piyazınız her an hazır.
Maş Fasülyesi (kg)	16	Şeker hastaları için çok faydalı olduğu biliniyor. Salatası nefis oluyor :)
Keten Tohumu - Adet (100 gr)	5	100 gramlık paketlerde. Dövülmemiş ve elbette dünyanın en önemli çernozyumlu toprağı olan Kars'tan. Köyümden.
Deli Nohut (500 gr)	7	Kendisi ufak, tadının marifeti büyük. Bolca haşlayıp dondurabilirsiniz. Çorbanıza, pilavınıza avuç avuç atın. Afiyetle.
Kuru Barbunya (500 gr Paket)	8	Kendi kınalı barbuynalarımızın kurusu. Bir harikaaaaa :)
Kuru Börülce (kg)	10	Bağrı kara börülceden kurutuldu. Tez pişer. Yemesi tatlıdır. Süt veren anneler için resmen mucizedir, haşlayıp yesinler. Tarhanaya da ayrı lezzet katıyor (Ege usulü)
Yeşil Mercimek (500 gr)	7	Mercimeğime toz kondurmam. Dikmeye yetiştiremiyorum. Mercimekli bulgur pilavı ya da kurufasulye gibi yemeğini yapın ama nar ekşilisi nefis olur :)
Kırmızı Mercimek (500 gr)	7	Albenisi olsun, irileşsin diye hormonlanmadı, parlansın diye palmye yağı da sürülmedi. Tertemiz, tam çocuklarınız için. :)
Gendime (Diş buğdayı) (500 gr) Aşurelik	4	Geleneksel diş buğdayı. Haşlayıp ceviz, kuruyemiş ile nefis.Aşure, çorba, salata, puding bile yapabilirsiniz
Buğday (Çimlendirmek için) (kg) (kavulcadan)	6	Buğday çimi için tohumluk buğday.

Patlayan Mısır (250 gr)	4	Kendi darımızdan bol bol kuruttuk. GDO filan aramayın. Yerli tohum! :)
Su Değirmeni SARI İRİ KIRIM Bulguru (500 gr) KİRİK BUĞDAY	6	Eski, sarı, iki kez yıkanmış değirmen bulguru. İnce elek, hazmı kolay.ANTİK KİRİK BUĞDAYDAN. ...MUHTEŞEM BİR BULGUR OLDU...
Kavulca Bulguru (500 gr)	9	İçerdiği eser miktarda gluteni neredeyse yok Kars'ın mucizelerinden biri :) NÖROLOJİK BİR SIKINTI VARSA MUHAKKAK KAVULCAYI SOFRANIZA ALIN...
Siyez Bulguru (500 gr)	10	Bu siyez'in üstüne kalıbımı basarım. :)) işte siyez budur.!!
Kars Arpası (kg)	7	Bu çok eski tohumun mahsulünü az az paylaşalım dedik.
UNLAR		
Ekmeklik Karma Un (kg)	6	Hanak Çavdarı, Kars yaylasından arpa, yulaf,Ardahan zerrum buğday ve darı unu karması. Bizim ekmeğimizi yaptığımız un da bu undur :)
Karışık Tahıllı Un (kg)	6	Yulaf,köse buğday, kavulca Kirik ve Kunduru unundan karma.
Kırmızı Buğday Unu (kg)	6	Eski Kafkas kızıl buğdayı.
Tam Buğday Unu (kg)	6	Kabuğuyla ruşeymiyle hiçbir şeyi ayıklanmadan. Kendi taş değirmenimizde öğütülmüş bir un...
Karabuğdaydan Un (kg)	8	Orjinal karakılıç buğdayından un... Hiç ısı işlem görmemiş, mis kokulu bir un... (Greçka değil)
Kavulca Unu (kg)	12	Kars'ın en eski buğday türü Kavulca buğdayından elde edilen gluten oranı sıfıra yakın bir un çok besleyici :)
Siyez unu (500)	8	Bu eşsiz buğday'ın birazını öğütüp un yaptık. Azıcıkta aş'ınızda ekmeğimiz olsun :)
Has Un - Zerrum (Kabuksuz) (kg)	5	Anadolu'nun en eski buğdaylarından zerrumun klasik öğütme şekli ile kepeği ve kabuğu ayrılmış şekilde yapılanı :)
Kunduru unu (kg)	10	Sert, amber renkli en eski ataerkil buğdayların unu. Özellikle ekmek ve makarna yapımında kullanılır.
Çavdar Unu (kg)	7	Hazmı kolaylaştıran ve sindirim sistemini düzenleme özelliği var.
Mısır Unu (kg)	8	Kısa, tombul, Artvin Yusufeli. Annemin memleketinden...
Fırınlanmış Mısır Unu (250 gr)	4,5	Kuruttuğumuz yerli mısırlardan öğütüp fırınladık. Aroması daha da belli oldu. Azar azar hamur işlerine karıştırın :)
Çifte Kavrulmuş Darı Unu (500 gr)	6	Çorbalarda, özellikle kuymak yapmak için :)
Melez Un (kg)	8	Kirik Buğday, kars arpa, yulaf, hanak çavdarı, nohut ve bakla unları karıştırıldı...
Yulaf Unu (kg)	6	Yulaf incecik öğütülüp un haline getiriliyor.
Arpa Unu (kg)	6,5	Kars arpa unu. Kilogram ile.
Nohut Unu (kg)	10	Humus için. Yeniden yapıldı :)
Pirinç Unu (500 gr)	7,5	Pirinci yıkadık, serip kuruttuk, değirmende öğüttük. Hiç bir katkı, ilaç, ek olmaksızın size gönderiyoruz. Yarımlık paketlerde.
Kek İçin Un (kg)	5	İki kere çekilmiş, incecik öğütülmüş. Kek, börek, pasta için uygun olan un.
Galeta Unu (250 gr)	6	Bol bol yaptık. Ekmeği kuruttuk, fırına verdik, değirmende öğüttük. Süper oldu :)
Baharatlı Galeta Unu (250 gr)	6	Pul biber, kekiği nane ve birkaç değişik baharat ile karıştırdık. Süper oldu :)

Buğday Kepeği (kg)	4	Una az az katın. Sindirim ve daha birçok şeye faydalı.
Yulaf Kepeği (kg)	6	Yulaf kepeği. Yoğurt, süt ve çorbalarınıza karıştırabilirsiniz.
Ruşeyimli Un (kg)	6	Kirik buğdayı, ruşeyminden hiç ayrılmadan öğütülüyor. Ekmek, börek, çörek için ideal.
Yulaf Ezmesi (kg)	20	Yulafı ezebilen süper bir değirmen bulduk. Isıl işlem görmeden, buharla şişirip rende ile doğruyor, pres ile eziyor. Tüm yulaf ezmelerinden çok açık bir ara ile önde
Makarnalık Un (kg)	6	Makarnanızı kendiniz yapın, karkas buğdayını sizin için öğüttük ;)
MAKARNALAR		
Ev Makarnası (Erişte) (250 gr)	6	Tam buğdaydan ev erişttesi. Böyle lezzetlisi hiçbir yerde olamaz. Yemeye doyamazsınız :))
Domatesli İstiridyedüçük Makarna (500 gr)	10	Hamurumuzu kardık, attık makinanın içine. Çıkan şekiller ve tat İpek'imizi inanılmaz sevindirdi. Müthiş ötesi oldu... Afiyetle :))
Havuçlu İstiridyedüçük Makarna (500 gr)	10	Haşlayıp süzün, tereyağında hafiften kavurup içine bolca haşlanmış bezelye koyun. Ufaklıklar için vitamin deposu :)
İspanaklı İstiridyedüçük Makarna (500 gr)	10	Diğer bir sebze makarnamız. Rendelenmiş taze kaşarla öyle böyle olmuyor :) Parmak yedirtir :)
Tutmaç (Paket) (150 gr)	8	Etlü düğün çorbası içinde kullanılan küçük küçük kesme hamurlar. 150 gramlık paketlerde :)
Karışık Sebze İstiridyedüçük Makarna (500 gr)	10	Şu anda domates, havuç ve ıspanak karışık... "Ne desem boş makarnası" asıl adı :)))
Tagliatelle (250 gr)	5	Bizim kızlar 'erişte' diyor buna :) Yumurtalı, sade, incecik... Afiyet olsun :)
Isırganlı Tagliatelle (250 gr)	7	Bu kadar nefis ısırganımız varken niye makarna da yapmayalım dedik :) Haşlayıp üzerine sarımsaklı yoğurt ile deneyin. Enfes ! :)
Yumurtasız Makarna (Paket)	10	Yarımlık paketlerde. Yumurta sevmeyen ve tüketemeyenler için yaptık :)
Ev Şehriyesi (Paket) (150 gr)	4	150 gramlık paketlerde. Yeniden yapıldı :)
Köy Şehriyesi (250 gr)	7	Durum buğdayı unundan. Yumurta ve tuz var içinde şehriyenin hası :) Tereyağında kavruan kokusu inanılmaz. Afiyetle :)
Kuskus (500 gr Paket)	8	Yeniden yapıldı :) Ev kuskusu.
Silor- Ziron (paket)	10	Her şeyle papara edilebilir. Hayal gücünüze kalmış :)
Spagetti (250 gr)	10	Spagettide yapalım dedik oldu, afiyetle :)
OCAKLI KÖYÜ PASTANESİ :)		
Otlü Gözleme - Adet	7	Pazı, ığnelik, ıspanak, maydanoz, dereotu ve çökekle hazırlanmış iç ile...(Tuzlu)
Patatesli Gözleme - Adet	7	Haşlanmış patatesimiz, az rendelenmiş kaşar, az maydanozla hazırladığımız enfes harçla yapıyoruz. (Tuzlu)
Peynirli Gözleme - Adet	7	Sadece peynir ile yapılıyor. Sade sevenlere :) (Tuzlu)
Patlıcanlı Gözleme - Adet	7	Patlıcanın yufkayla bütünleştiği en güzel hali. Afiyetle :)
Otlü Kat Böreği (500 gr)	16	İspanak, ısırgan, pazı, tereyağı, kuru soğan, pırasa ile süper bir harç. Koli açılınca ilk önce bu yeniyormuş:) (Tuzlu)
Sebze böreği (500 gr)	17	Kabaklı dereotlu, mücverin fırındaki hali. Soğuk soğuk nefis. Üzerine yoğurt da yakıştır:)
Patlıcanlı Kat Böreği (500 gr)	17	Patlıcanlısı da listede. Her zamanki gibi efsane :))
Zeytin Ezmeli Galeta (150 gr)	6	Çay saatinize sağlıklı bir alternatif. Misafirlerinize güzel bir ikram, afiyetle :) (Süt ürünü içerir) (Tuzlu)

Bademli Mekik Kurabiye (150 gr)	10	Çocukluğumuzun mekik kurabiyesi. Badem ezmeli, kuruyemişli, tereyağlı. Nefis oldu :) (Süt ürünü ve yumurta içerir) (Tatlı)
Kakao (100 gram)	12	Çiğ kakao. Menşei Belçika, kullanım yeri bizim mutfak :) (Tatlı)
Krokanlı Çikolata (250 gr)	15	Karemelize edilmiş bademli enfes bir çikolata :) (Tatlı)
Zeytin Ezmeli Açma - Adet	4	Kendi zeytin ezmemizden yaptık. Öyle bir tat oldu ki anlatılmaz :) Bayılacaksınız mutlaka deneyin derim :) (Yumurta ve süt ürünü içerir) (Tuzlu)
Sigara Böreği (Paket)	15	Yarımlık paketlerde, her gün taze sarılıyor. Gelir gelmez kızartın. Keşli, maydanozlu... Zeytinyağında kızartmanızı öneririm :) (Tuzlu)
Susamlı Kandil Simidi (150 gr)	8	Bol susamlı, mahlepli, asırlık geleneksel tereyağlı tuzlu kurabiye :) (Yumurta ve süt ürünü içerir) (Tuzlu)
Kahvelik Minik Kurabiye (150 gr)	5	Sade ve kakaolu karışık minik minik mis gibi tereyağlı. Kahvenizin yanında güzel bir tat olsun istedik :) (Tatlı)
Kaymaklı Kurabiye (150 gr)	7	Bebeklerinize, çocuklarınıza alternatif olsun istedik. Kaymaklı, sağlıklı, besleyici bir kurabiye daha yaptık :) (Yumurta ve süt ürünü içerir)
Petibör Bisküvi (minik)- (150 gr)	10	Kıtır kıtır tereyağlı, iki kat yapıp içine reçel koyarsanız reçelli bisküvi olur :) Yaratıcılık size kaldı. Ben çocukluğumda arasına lokum koyardım :) (Tatlı)
Peynirli Çubuklar (Galeta)	10	Neredeyse yağsız, diyet atıştırmalık :) Hem çocuklara hem size jest yapalım dedik :) 200 gramlık paketlerde. (Yumurta ve süt ürünü içerir) Tuzlu)
Patatesli Bükme - 2 Adet	7	Keziban Abla'dan bükme. Patatesli. (Tuzlu)
Mercimekli Bükme - 2 Adet	7	Keziban Abla'dan bükme. Mercimekli :) (Tuzlu)
Haşhaşlı Dolama Çörek - Adet	7	Anadolu'nun çok beğenilen hamur işi. Adet fiyatı. (Tuzlu)
Şekerli Sade Katmet - Adet	6	Sadece tereyağı ve toz şeker ile. Anne usulü :) (Tatlı)
Tahinli Cevizli Katmer - Adet	10	Kendi tahinimiz, tereyağımız ve cevizimiz ile :) Katmerin en leziz hali bence. (Tatlı, Şeker içerir)
Tuzlu Ev Çizi Kraker (150 gr)	10	Tuz, tereyağı ve un karışınca ancak bu kadar ağızda dağılan bir kraker olabilir diyorum :) (Tuzlu)
Meyveli Çikolatalı Toplar (250 gr)	16	Kuru meyvelerimizi karıştırdık, çikolatayla kapladık. Tek atımlık lezzet patlaması :) (Tatlı)
Zeytinyağlı Tuzlu Kurabiye (150 gr)	7	Zeytinyağı, mahlep, un, kandil simidi, tuzlu bisküvi karışımı. Ağızda dağılan bir atıştırmalık :) Afiyet olsun :) (Yumurta içerir) (Tuzlu)
İncirli Cevizli Kurabiye (150 gr)	7	150 gramlık. İncirli ve cevizli süper lezzette :) (Yumurta içerir) (Tatlı)
Limonlu Kurabiye (150 gr)	7	Tereyağlı, limonlu, ferah, enfes bir kurabiye. 150 gramlık paketlerde. (Yumurta ve süt ürünü içerir) (Tatlı)
Beypazarı Kuru (500 gr)	9	Çayın yanında hafif leziz bir atıştırmalık :) Yarımlık paketlerde. (Tuzlu)
Fıstıklı Lokum (250 gr)	15	Yıllar önce yine denemiştik... bu sefer tutturduk... kıcvam harika... fıstık kavurduk... pekmez bal ev nişastası karışımı ile mayasını yaptık... mis kokulu... çok çok bol fıstıklı harika lokum
Koko Gofret - 2 Adet	8	Hindistan cevizi ve az portakal kabuğunu harmanlayıp üzerini bol çikolata ile kaplayınca :) Durmak zor :) (Tatlı)
Glutensiz Poğaça (250 gr)	9	Peynir, dereotu, mısır ve pirinç unlu, tereyağlı... Ağızda dağılıyor :) (Yumurta içerir) (Tuzlu)
Bebek Bisküvisi (150 gr)	7	İşte budur ! :) İçinde tam buğday, tereyağı, pekmez, orijinal sahlep tozu var. (Süt ürünü içerir) (Tatlı)

Zeytinyađlı Bebek Bisküvisi (150 gr)	7	Süt ürünlerine alerjisi olan çocuklarımız için zeytinyađlısından yapalım dedik :) Yumurta kullanılmadı :) (Tatlı)
Müsli (Granola) (Paket) (250 kg)	20	Müsli, ama bizim müslimiz :) 250 gramlık. (Tereyađı içerir) (Tatlı)
Müsli (Granola) (Ekonomik Paket) (1 kg)	65	Ekonomik paket, " ekomüsli " Geniş aileler için :) Bir kilo fiyatı. (Tereyađı içerir) (Tatlı)
Granola Bar (250 gr)	20	On bir malzemeli, kuru meyve ve yulafli, biraz uğraştırıcı ama değer :) Kıvamı ve tadı tam yerinde :) Pekmezli :) (Tatlı)
Diyet Bisküvi (Yulafli, Kuruyemişli) (150 gr)	6	Müsli gibi pekmezli. Her yerde yanınızda taşıyabilirsiniz. Hem atıştırıcılık, hem de düşük kalorili... Nefis :) (Yumurta ve süt ürünü içerir) (Tatlı)
Köy Cookies (150 gr)	10	Yulaf, tereyađı, kuru üzüm, kuru elmadan yapıldı... Sizi şaşırtacak bir tat bu:). Müthiş :) (Yumurta ve süt ürünü içerir)
Elmalı Tırtıl Kurabiye (150 gr)	7	Elmalı, tarçınli ağızda dağılan tereyađlı tam çaylık :) (Tatlı)
Kuş Üzümlü Petibör (150 gr)	11	Bu kıtır nefis bisküvimize kuş üzümü'de ekledik ben buna da bayıldım :) Afiyetle (Tatlı)
Zeytinli Kıtır Peksimet (150 gr)	9	Açlık yatıştırır dedim ama önüme gelen tabađın tamamını yedim. Bence müthiş :))
Brownie (250 gr) Deli, Süper Bir Lezzet	16	Büyük bir lezzet ustası Sevgili Yasemin Nazilliye gelip yeni bir tarifile müthiş bir brownie pişirdi... feci leziz... eşsiz... öğrenmenin yaşı yokmuş
ADEVİYE TEYZEDEN :) 		
Kahvaltılık Biberli Yađlı Çökelek (400 gr)	20	Sürk gibi ama deđil. Harika bir kahvaltılık :) - ACI
Kaytaz Böređi (500 gr)	27	Bol kıymalı, sođanlı, geleneksel Hatay böređi. Anlatılmaz yenir :))
Külçe Böređi (500 gr)	18	Rezene, susam, çörek otundan yapılan geleneksel bir lezzet daha... (İzmir tulumu ile nefis olur)
EKMEKLER		
Köy Ekmeđi - Tam Buđday - (1 kg)	9	Gerçek ekşi maya ile yapılıyor. Nefis ve kaşarlı tostı harika.
Has Undan Ekmek - (Adet)	8	Has undan, çocukların çok sevdiđi, dođgun kek gibi. Diđerlerine nispeten açık renkli, has ekmek. Hep yumuşaktır... Ekşi maya ile yapılıyor.
kavulca Unundan Ekmek - (650 gr)	15	Kavulca unundan çok çok düşük glutenli ekmek... Ekşi maya ile yapılıyor.
Sütlü Çavdarlı Ekmek - (650 gr)	9	Saf çavdar unundan. Yumuşak düşmesi için sütle ve ekşi maya ile yapılıyor :)
Tuzsuz Ekmek - (650 gr)	6	Bebekler ve tansiyon hastaları için tuzsuz ekmek. Ayrıca diyet yapanlar için de elbette :) Yarım kilo kadar geliyor. Ekşi maya kullanılmıyor.
Melez Ekmek (Somun) (500 gr)	8	500 gramlık. Buđday, arpa, yulaf, burçak, çavdar, nohut ve bakla unları kırıtırılarak yapılıyor. İncecik bir dilim, uzun süre tok kalmanızı sađlar :)
Bazlama(adet)	6	Ceviz, rende havuç, zeytin, kaşar, kuru domates, kekik ve zeytinyađı ile... Esmer undan yapıldı. Tek başına bir kahvaltı :) 500 gram kadar geliyor. Ekşi maya ile yapılıyor...
Hamburger Ekmeđi - (Adet)	2	Has undan yapılıyor. Çocuklara tost için :)
Manna Ekmeđi - (450 ~650 gr)	11	650 gram. Çimlendirerek, sadece yumuşatılıp dövülerek yapılmış bir hamurdan... Ekmekten ziyade şifa. Afiyet olsun.
Mısır Ekmeđi - (Adet)	7	Tamamen mısır unundan yapıldı. Yađsız, mayasız. Yerli mısır unumuzdan...

Nohut Mayalı Somun Ekmek - Adet	9	Nohut mayalı, çok eski bir ekmek... Kesmeden koparıp koparıp yemek isteyeceğiniz cinsten :) 650 gram kadar geliyor.
Siyez Ekmeği (650 gr)	12	Üstüne tanımadığım siyez, çok istediniz az da olsa ekmeğini yapalım dedik.
Ekmek Sepeti (8'li)	12	Minik minik 7 farklı ekmek :) Köy ekmeği, zeytinyağlı, kavulca, akdeniz, somun, tuzsuz ve sütlü çavdarlı ekmek ile zeytinli ekmek var pakette... Toplamda 800 gram kadar... Afiyet olsun :)
Karabuğdaydan Yufka - (Adet)	4	Karakılçık buğdayından, mayasız yufka. Pişmiş yufka, lavaş ya da sac ekmeği de deniyor :)
Çavdar Unundan Yufka - (Adet)	5	Buram buram çavdar kokulu. Bizimkilerin tabiri ile kaba yufka :)
Kızılıcak Yufkası - (Adet)	7,5	
Böreklik yufka - (Adet)	2,5	Böreklik ince yufka. Adet ile, hemen kullanmayacaksanız aralarına kağıt koyup dolapta saklayın.
Böreklik Otlu İç (kg)	16	İğnelik, ebegümece, ısırgan, pazı, ıspanak, maydanoz, dereotu, yağ, tatlı toz biber. Börek yapmak için hazır karışım.
Ezekiel ekmek (ARTİSAN)	14	Ekmek ustası geçinen herkesi dövecek yetenekte... müthiş bir ekmek ekibimiz var... 13 tane canavar kadın Nazilliden İstanbulun tozunu attırıyor ...bu ekmek de prima yapımlardan bir tanesi... üst gurme bir tad...
TUZ & ŞEKER		
Kaya Tuzu (Tunceli Pülümür) (500 gr)	5	Rafine edilmemiş Pülümür köpük tuzu. İyotsuz
Gri Tuz (Ağartılmamış) (500 gr)	7,5	Kars tuzlarından. 2800 rakımlı kreter tuzlarından. İyotsuz
Kristal Kaya Tuzu (500 gr)	5	Çankırı'dan. İyotsuz. Öğütülmemiş olarak gelecek. Rondodan ya da küçük kahve değirmeninden geçirebilirsiniz :)
Toz Şeker (Boğazlıyan) (500 gr)	5	Yarım kiloluk paketlerde. Boğazlıyan'dan :)
ZEYTİNYAĞLARI		
Yemeklik Zeytinyağı (650 gr)	30	600 gramlık. Yemeklerde kullanmak için uygun :) Şişesi ile birlikte 800 gram geliyor.
Çekişke'den Sızma Köy Yağı (650 gr)	35	Ne kokusu, ne tadı :) " Yok artık ! " diyeceksiniz. O kadar nefis bir zeytinyağı. Aşmış bir yağ yani :) 650 gramlık.
Ekstra Sızma Zeytinyağı (650 gr)	45	200 yaşın üstünde olan ağaçlarımızın yağını sıktık bu sene. Oliropein kaynağı yoğunluğu fazla olan lezzet ötesi bir tat. Yettiği kadar artık :)
Zeytinyağı (5 Litrelik)	200	5 litrelik :)
Asitli Zeytinyağı - (190 gr)	10	190 gramlık kavanozlarda. Yüksek asitli zeytinyağı. Damar tıkanıklığına çare olduğu düşünülüyor.
Acılı, Baharatlı Zeytinyağı (220 gr)	15	Birkaç çeşit baharat, az acı pul biber... Salata, et ve ekmek üstü için yaptık. Gurme oldu :)
Zeytin Sütü (100 gr)	12	100 gramlık şişelerde. Sıkıma giderken çuvaldan sızan buğulu damlacıklar. Bu, gerçeği zeytin sütünün !
ZEYTİNLER		
Kahverengi Sele Zeytini (kg)	25	En çok sevdiğiniz, hep bayıldığınız... Lezzeti süper olan kahverengimiz... Doya doya yişin :) Özletti değil mi ?
Zeytin Salatası - (330 gr)	10	Nar ekşili, 330 gramlık kavanozlarda. Süper oldu :)
Zeytin Ezmesi - (330 gr)	12,5	330 gramlık kavanozlarda. Kendi sele zeytinlerimizden yapıldı. Ekstra zeytinyağlı.
Karışık Köy Zeytini (500 gr)	11	Zeytinin her lezzeti sofranızda olsun istedik :)

Köy Usulü Dilme Zeytin (1 kg)	19	Dilmelerimizde hazır :) Afiyetle
Fırınlanmış Zeytin - (330 gr Kavanoz) Antik yöntemle	13	330'luk kavanozda geleneksel unutulmaya yüz tutmuş bir lezzet daha :) Köz üstünde suyu çektirilir... sıcak suda yıkayın bir kaç dakika bekletin içinde... şişince zeytinyağı ve kekik
Çürütme Zeytin (500 gr) Ege'nin usulunde memecik zeytinin selesi	17,5	330'luk kavanozda geleneksel unutulmaya yüz tutmuş bir lezzet daha :)
Çekişkeden Kıрма Zeytin (1kg) (Yeni Haftasında)	25	Yeşil zeytinlerin hası. Kokusu ile tadı ile yeşil zeytinlerin en güzeli. :))
YEMEKLİK SEBZE KURULARI		
Dolmalık Patlıcan Kuru (Dizi)	12	Bir dizide ortalama 50 adet var. Doldurmadan önce 15 dk kadar haşlayın. Zeytinyağı, etlisi hatta bulgurlu pirinçli karışık olanı daha nefis oldu :)
Kuru Acı Biber (Dizi)	10	Acı sevenler için çorbada nefis olur :)))
Kuru Tatlı Biber (Dizi)	10	Etlı biberleri tek tek dizdik, kuruttuk, haşlayıp yoğurtlaması kızartması müthiş;)
Pıtırılı sarımsak kuru (250 gr)	10	Taze sarımsaktan kurutuldu, satırla doğrandı, rüzgarlı yere serildi :) Çok güzel, çok pratik bir şey. 250 gramlık.
Pıtırılı kuru soğan kuru (250 gr)	10	Bir süredir yoktu. O kadar çok istendi ki tekrar yaptık. 250 gramlık. Her çorbaya koyun çeşni gibi.
Kuru Domates (500 gr)	17,5	Domates dilimlendi. Tuz ile kurutuldu.
Domates Kuru Gurme - (330 cc Kavanoz)	12,5	Domates kuru, hardal tohumu, biberiye, diş sarımsak, sızma zeytinyağı. 330 gramlık cam kavanozlarda.
Kuru Dolmalık Biber (ACI) (1 dizi)	10	Bir süre haşlayıp dondurun. İster kıymalı. İster zeytinyağı: Nefis bir dolma olacak :))
Güveçlik Patlıcan Kuru - Adet	4	İki dakika haşlayıp galeta ununa bulayıp kızartın. Çocuklar bayılır :) Sebze yemeklerine de birer ikişer atın, lezzet verir :) Ya da haşlayıp direkt sarımsaklı yağurtla karıştırın. İki dakikada hazır meze :)
Karışık Sebze Kuru (100 gr)	4	Sebzeleri kurutup karıştırdık sizin için. Yemeklerde, soslarda, çorbalarda kullanın. Lezzeti, kokusu müthiş :))
Isırgan Otu Kuru - Adet	5	100 gramlık paketlerde...
SALÇALAR		
Domates Salçası (750 gr)	25	770 gramlık kavanozlarda...
Biber Salçası (800 gr)	25	Tatlı, kırmızı biberlerimizden yapılan biber salçamız. Tuz dışında başka katkısı yok. 800 gramlık kavanozlarda. Ekmeğe sürüp yemesi bile nefis.
Acı Biber Salçası (800 gr)	25	Bir dilim inek peynirini ezin. Bu acı salçaya katın. Kahvaltıya getirin. Parmaklarınızı yiyeceksiniz :) 800 gramlık cam kavanozlarda.
Karışık Salça (Tatlı) (750 gr)	20	Kapya biber ve domatesten yapıldı... Yani biber salçası ve domates salçası karışık halde :)
Ketçap - (330 cc Kavanoz)	10	330 gramlık kavanozlarda artık. Rahat 350 gram ketçap alıyor. Acısız, tam çocuklara göre :)
Kahvaltılık Cevizli Biber Salçası (330 gr)	15	Bol cevizli, zeytinyağı, sarımsaksız baharatlı, yumuşacık kıvamlı. Az muskat, minnacık karabiber katılır, hepsi bu. 330 gramlık paketli.
TURŞU, EKŞİ ve SİRKELER		

Nar Ekşisi (250 gr)	12	Ekşi nar taneleniyor, az biber, az soğan ile bir gün kaynıyor. Gerçek nar ekşisi ! Muhteşem... 250 gramlık kavanozlarda.
Közlenmiş Baharatlı Sebze Sosu (250 gr)	13	Patlıcan, kapyra, havuç, soğan, sarımsak ve baharatlı. Ekmek üstü, ızgara et ve spagetti için enfes bir sos. Biz bayıldık :)
Salata Sosu - (400 gr)	15	400 gramlık. Geleneksel bir ekşidir. Eskiden düğün yemeklerinde kullanılırdı. Biz bayılıyorz :) (özel bir sos)
Kapari Turşusu - (330 cc)	10	Tane kapari turşusu. Tam Avrupa damak tadı. Etlerde, çorbalarda kullanabilirsiniz :)
Biber Turşusu Acı (660 cc Kavanoz)	20	Biberimizi turşu yapmazsak olmazdı. Kurduk bekledik kıvamı da tadı da süper oldu. Afiyet olsun :) Sulu hali ile 1800 gr kadar geliyor
Fasulye Turşusu (700 gr)	22	Yayla, tarla karışık tabiri caizse kütür kütür :) Kavurup üzerine de iki yumurta kırın tam bir ara öğün :))
Sarımsak Turşusu- 450 gr	20	Müthiş lezzetinin yanında yağ yakımını da hızlandırdığını söylemeden geçemeyeceğim :) Diyet yapanlara :)
Ev Sirkesi (650 gr Şişe)	7	Cam şişelere az miktarda kavanozlandı. Şifa niyetine alacaksınız artık:). Yetişemiyoruz başka türlü :)
Elma Sirkesi (650 gr Şişe)	10	Ne desem dehşet bir sirke oldu, üstüne tanımam :) elmalarımıza kıydık :))
Balzamik Sirke (300 gr)	10	300 gramlık.
Harissa Sos (220 gr)	15	Kurutulmuş acı biber, közlenmiş kapyra, sarımsak, kimyon, kişniş, tarçın ve zeytinyağı ile yapılan nefis bir sos... Ekmek üstü nefiss :))
Koruk Sirkesi (250 ml)	16	Koruktan yapılmış, sert salatalar için çok uygun bir sirke... .
Acur Turşusu (670 gr)	15	Ktır ktır, çocuklarında yiyebileceği hafif bir lezzetle çok güzel bir turşu...Yeni senenin ilk haftaları
KONSERVELER		
Domates Püresi - (660 cc Kavanoz)	10	Yayla başağından kıpkırmızı, koyu kıvamlı. Bir kavanoz bir haftalık ihtiyaca yeter. Kavanoz fiyatı :) Menemeni de bundan yapabilirsiniz. Yemeklerin baş tacı.
Yemeklik Harç - (660 cc Kavanoz)	10	Nefis yayla domatesi ile enfes bir biberden yapıldı. İstanbul usulü sadece domates ve biber :) Mutfağınızdaki büyük kolaylık. 2 dk da makarna sosu
Bamya Konservesi (750 gr)	20	Yağını, soğanını kavurup bamyayı ekleyin limon sıkın. Pişirmede kolaylık size. Afiyet olsun :)
Enginar Kalbi (600 gr)	30	Havuçlu, bezelyeli, zeytinyağlı benim favorim. Ama dereotlu, etlisi de nefis :)
Türlü (Konserve) (660 cc Kavanoz)	15	Karışık yaz sebzelerimizden yaptık, hepsi hazır. Size sadece soğanı doğrayıp pişirmek kalıyor :)
Klasik Menemen - Adet	10	İstanbul usulü. Sadece domates ve biber ile.
Menemenlik İç - Ege Usulü (660 cc Kavanoz)	10	Ege usulü biberli kabaklı ve patlıcanlı. :)
Kuşbaşı Domates - (660 cc Kavanoz)	15	Domatesleri küp küp kesip konserve ettik. Yemekleriniz için hazır kuşbaşı domates. Çok pratik :)
Sebze Maması - (190 cc Kavanoz)	5	Kabak, taze fasulye, brokoli, pazı, patates, bulgur, fidan pırasa ve fidan kereviz kendi suyu ile kaynatıldı, rondodan geçti... Şahane bir bebek maması :)
Meyve Püresi - (190 cc Kavanoz)	5	Elma, armut ve pekmeze yapıyor. Yine kendi suyunda kaynadı... Minik minik kavanozlandı... Hem Mavi hem de sizin bebeğiniz için :)

Şeftali Püresi - (190 cc Kavanoz)	5	Çocuklar için inanılmaz besleyici :)
Elma Püresi - (190 cc Kavanoz)	5	Sadece elmadan :) Kışın bebekleriniz için inanılmaz besleyici... 190 gramlık.
Börülce Konservesi (750 gr Kavanoz)	18	İster suyunu süzüp yağ,limon,sarımsak salatasını yapın ister zeytinyağlı yemeği, üstüne süzme yoğurt iyi gider :))
Kapya Konservesi (670 gr) (Mezeliik)	17	Kırmızı tatlı biber konservesi, bildiğiniz paprika.
REÇELLER ve MARMELATLAR		
Süt Reçeli (220 gr)	13	Oldukça dikkat ve zahmet isteyen, bir ton süttten bir avuç içi kadar çıkan ama iksir gibi bir reçel... Afiyet olsun :)
Böğürtlen Reçeli - (400 gr Kavanoz)	20	Nefis böğürtlenlerin reçeli :) Kurabiyelerinizin içinde bazlamanın üstünde enfes :)
Kayısı Reçeli (400 gr Kavanoz)(Taneli)	15	Yazın kayısılarından reçel. 400 gramlık kavanozlarda.
Ayva reçeli (330 gr) (Taneli)	15	kırmızımsı çünkü çekirdekleri ile birlikte pişti... enfes bir reçel yahu... altına kaymak koyarsanız kışı kış eder hakkını verirsiniz :)
Kırmızı Erik Reçeli - (330 cc Kavanoz)(Taneli)	15	Kıvam, koku, tat müthiş oldu her sabah kahvaltımızda sizden önce biz bitiricez herhalde mosmor dağ eriği 450 gram.
Şeftali reçeli (400 gr Kavanoz)(taneli)	16	Harika, süper, nefis:)) Gün reçeli.
Karadut reçeli (400 gr Kavanoz)(Taneli)	15	Acayip güzel bir reçel. Kesinlikle, yüzde bin bayılacaksınız :)
Dağ Çileği Marmeladı (400 gr Kavanoz)	20	Karışık orman meyvelerinden yapıldı :) Dağ çileği, yabani böğürtlen diğer bir adıyla kocayemiş... Az az çıktı, marmelat yapıp sizinle paylaşalım dedik. Nefis oldu :))
Gül Reçeli (400 gr Kavanoz)(taneli)	15	Süper güzel... Doğal gül reçeli. 400 gramlık kavanozlarda miss gibi gül kokulu.
Ceviz Reçeli (400 gr Kavanoz)(taneli)	15	400 gram geliyor kavanozlarda. Süper :)
Kızılık Reçeli (330 gr Kavanoz)	15	Enfes bir reçel oldu ;)
Vişne Reçeli (450 gr)(taneli)	20	Klasik reçellerin belki de en tercih edileni az yapabildik, çok lezzetli.
Kırmızı Kızılık Marmeladı (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	17	Şekerli olan kızılık marmeladımız. Rengi kırmızı olan. 400 gramlık.
Kuşburnu Marmeladı (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	15	400 gramlık. Harika bir lezzet.
Mayhoş Kızılık Marmeladı (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	20	Koyu bordo renkli, şekeriz olan kızılıcıımız. Hiç şeker koyulmadan, yabani armut ile tatlandırıldı. Benim de favorim :)
Erik Marmeladı (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	15	Siyah dağ eriğinden yapıldı güneşte ağartıldı :) Kurabiyelerde, pastalarda nesif olur :)
Şeftali Marmeladı (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	15	Olgunlaşmadan topladığımız şeftalilerden yaptık. Kokusunun içinde kalması için. Süper oldu :)
Alıç Marmeladı (190 gr) (Kavanoz)	15	Harika bir marmelat. Mutlaka deneyin. :)
Hambelez marmelatı (330 gr Kavanoz) KIZILCIKLI ...ENFESSS	20	Kars ın özel tadı... Rus tarifi ile yapılan belki ve bugüne kadar yediğiniz en en güzel marmelat
TAHİN & PEKMEZLER		
Dut Pekmezi Kars (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	22,5	Buram buram Kars kokulu eski usül kaynatılan enfes bir pekmez.

Üzüm Pekmezi (850 gr) (Kavanoz)	28	Yazın süper üzümlerinden süper üzüm pekmezi :) Tadı, kıvamı harika. Çocuklarınıza mutlaka içirin faydası saymakla bitmez. 850 gramlık kavanozlarda.
Üzüm Pekmezi (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	15	450 gramlık kavanozlarda...
Elma Pekmezi(250 gr)	15	5 sene sonra yine yeniden... acaip zor bir üretim... yapanlar öldü bayıldı ama pekmez de bir harika oldu... bebekler başta olmak üzere herkes bayılacak
Ekşi Karadut Pekmezi (350 gr)	75	Özel bir ürün. En zor hastalıkta bile günde bir tatlı kaşığı çaredir... şifadır... bu dut diğer karadutlar ile asla karıştırılmamalı
Keçiboynuzu Pekmezi (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	17,5	Şekersiz yaptık. Şeker yerine tatlandırmak için yabani armut, yani çöğür kullanıldı. 450 gramlık.
Öksürük Pekmezi (190 gr) (Kavanoz)	10	190 gramlık. Üzüm pekmezi, zencefil, kekik dalı, karabiber, limon kabuğu kaynıyor, soğutuluyor. Tülbentten süzülüp şişeleniyor, anadolu usulü öksürük şurubu.
Bronşit Pekmezi (400 gr) (Kavanoz)	13	Erkek çam kozalaklarından andız pekmezi.
Mürver Şerbeti - (Adet)	20	Dağlardan toplandı. Biraz zahmetli oldu ama afiyet olsun :)) Mürvernata :) Müjde Nişanyan'dan :)
Karadut Şerbeti (400 gr)	15	Mis gibi doğal meyve suyu, biraz sulandırıp için. Kış aylarında tam bir vitamin deposu :)
Tahin (330 gr Kavanoz)	18,5	330 gramlık cam kavanozlarda. Nefis :)
Tahin - (Pekmez) - Adet (400 gr)	20	Tahin ve pekmez bir arada. 450 gramlık.
Çikolatalı Kahvaltılık Ezme (330 gr) (Kavanoz)	32	Kendi çikolatamız ile yapılan cevizli, bademli, susamlı ezme. 330 gramlık kavanozlarda (Nutella'ya alternatif olduk, ekmeğin üstünde süper mi süper :))
Tahin Helvası - (500 gr)	20	Tamamen el işçiliği ile süper bir helva. Hepsi kendi ürünümüzden, yufkanın içinde de nefis oluyor. Size gelen helvanın üzerinde gramajı yazılıdır, ona göre hesap yapabilirsiniz.
Kuvvet Macunu (190 gr)	17,5	Çörek otu, keten tohumu, polen ve damla sakızı ile... Bu bir mucize, bağışıklık sistemini güçlendirir. Günde bir çay kaşığı. Yetişkinler için :)
BAL		Ballarda çiçeklerin kendi şekerinden kaynaklanan doğal kristalleşme olur. Kavanozu 45 dereceyi geçmeyecek suda bekletirseniz çözülecektir :)
Süzme Çiçek Balı (850 gr Kavanoz)	70	Enfes bir bal. Yumuşacık bir tat... 850 gram.
Petekli Bal (1 kg)	90	Yiyebileceğinizin en, en gerçeği. Karakovana 10 basar :) " Böylesi yok " diyorum.
Polen (50 gr)	20	Minik mucizeler... Anlatması uzun :) Balınıza, sütünüze, salatalarınıza bir fiske atın derim :)
Kekikli yayla balı 500 gram	55	inanılmaz lezzette oldu bu sene... kaşığa bile gerek yok... kavanoza parmakla dalacaksınız
KURUYEMİŞLER		
Kuru Meyve Paketi (500 gr)	15	İncir, üzüm, elma, cennet elması ve kuru kayısı karışımı. İster minik minik doğrayıp yoğurt ve yulafı karıştırın ister hamur işlerinde kullanın :)
Ceviz İçi (250 gr)	20	Nefis cevizimiz kurudu :) 250 gramlık paketlerde...
Kırık Ceviz (250 gr)	18	Hamur işleriniz ve tatlılarınız için. Kırarken fazla kırdıklarımız :))
Karışık Dut Kuruşu (karadut,beyaz dut) (250 gr)	15	beyazın ve karadutun karışık kuruşu... her yerden alın tadın.sonra bunu alın... gerçeği farkı görün... başka ne denir ki :)

Keçiboynuzu Meyvesi (500 gr)	12	Kanı temizler, kalp çarpıntısı, ishal, gastrit, nefes darlığı, öksürük... Saymakla bitmez faydası... Kalsiyum değeri süttten daha fazla :)
Cennet Elması Kurusu (Hurma) (500 gr)	21	Sanki taze yiyormuşsunuz gibi. Tadı, aroması bir harika, mutlaka deneyin derim :))
Kuru Hünnap (250 gr Paket)	10	Aspirin yerine bunu yer bizimkiler baş ağrısı için, güz güneşinde güzelce kurutulmuş. Afiyet olsun :)
Kuru Kayısı (250 gr)	12	Yazın şahane kayısılarından... Nefis :))
Kuru İncir (500 gr)	19	Şunu idda ederim, en leziz, en temiz ve en doğal kuru meyvede baş tacımız :)
Zerdali kurusu (250 gr)	12	Kayısı kurusunun annanesi derim ben buna
Dilim elma kurusu (250 gr)	12	Süper, harika, şahane:))
Kuru Erik (mor) (250 gr)	7,5	Kışın mutlaka bol bol tüketin, yazın nefis mor eriklerinden kuruttuk. Çocuklar için de inanılmaz besleyici... .
Kuru Çekirdeksiz Üzüm (Paket)	8	Üstüne tanımam ilaçsız boyasız çöpüyle. 250 gramlık.
Kuş Üzümü (100 gr)	5	Pırlıl pırlıl hepsi aynı boy olmayan :) en doğalından gerçek kuş üzümü yettiği kadar diyelim :))
Taze Badem (250 gr)	16	Bal gibi tatlı, harika bir badem. Sinekçiler'in tüm yaban ağaçlarından toplandı. 250 gramlık paketlerde.
Ayçekirdeği İçi (250 gr)	11	Denizli'den, ezber bozan yerli bir üreticimizin. Yüzde yüz yerli. 200 gramı 12 tl'den satanlara inat :))
Çiğ Kabak Çekirdeği (250 gr)	8	Kendi kabağımızın çekirdeği. Süper :)
Kabak Çekirdeği İçi (250 gr)	17	Müslinize, salatanıza, yoğurdunuza atın. İnanılmaz besleyici ve cildi de güzelleştirir :) 250 gramlık paketlerde.
Kayısı Çekirdeği İçi (100 gr)	5	Cildin beslenmesi için çok faydalıdır. Günde 5-6 adet incirle yerseniz nefis olur :)
Kuru Hurma (250 gr)	17,5	gördüğünüz yediğiniz açık ara en iyi hurma... olay
Karışık Kuruyemiş (250 gr)	10	Ceviz, kayısı, kuru üzüm, badem, kuru dut ve pestil :) 250 gramlık paket.
Elma Cipsi (250 gr)	10	250 gramlık paketlerde rendelenmiş elma kurusu. Elma çayı da yapabilirsiniz :)
Kızılık Meyvesi (Yarı kurumuş) (250 gr)	10	Yarı kurumuş halde. Komposto yapabilirsiniz veya çay olarak içebilirsiniz. 250 gramlık paketlerde.
Turna Meyvesi Kurusu (100 gr)	5	Aromatik tadının yanında faydaları da saymakla bitmez.
Yaban Mersini Kurusu (100 gr)	5	Bu yabani meyve kurusunun boyundan büyük faydaları var. Toplayabildiğimizi kuruttuk :)
Cevizli Sucuk (500 gr)	20	Cevizli sucuk yeniden listede :) Bilenler biliyor :) Yarımlık paketlerde...
Karışık Kızılık ve Ekşi Erik Pestili (200 gr)	8	Dağ kızılığından ve Mor dağ eriğinden tamamen şekersiz, meyvenin kendi özülüyle yapıldı.(Doğal ortamda kurutulmaktadır, tüketmeden önce mutlaka yıkayıp tüketiniz)
Dut Pestili (250 gr)	10	Bu sene ilk defa yapıldı. İlk dut pestilimiz :) 250 gramlık paketlerde.
Havuç Belbeni (500 gr)	17	Canım tatlı istedi diyenlere geleneksel hazır tatlı :) Miniklerin ellerine tutuşturun... Çerez gibi :)
Çıtlık (Melengeç) (50 gr)	5	Kansere ve yaşlanmaya karşı koruyucu olması en bilinen faydası. Bizimkiler bu yüzden yaşlanmıyor sanırım :)))
Taze Ceviz (kg)	30	Birazını taze tadalım dedik, üstünde küf görsenizde içi enfes.

Armut Kuru (250 gr)	12	Bu yıl armutu da kurutalım dedik iyi ki denemiřiz. Hamur iřlerinizde nefis olur.
Kabuklu Fıstık (500 gr)	10	Kabuklu fıstık bizim komřumuzun... 11 sene sonra nerden çıktı demeyin... dikti yaptı etti... en iyisini yaptı... pahalıya mal etti :) sonunda mecburen bizim listeye girdi... harika bir tat
Kabuklu Badem (kg)	16	Yaylanın bademini ayırdık biraz bu sene, Kış akřamları çocuklara ayıklama zevkini yařatın istedim ;)
PEYNİRLER		
İzmir Tulumu (2,5 Yıl Eskitme) (650 gr)	30	650 gram kadar geliyor, paket fiyatıdır. Bundan güzelini eminim yemediniz :) Kalıplar farklı gramajlarda gelebiliyor. 650 gramdan eksik ya da fazlaysa not yazıyoruz. Hesabınızı düzeltin lütfen :)
Karıřık Peynir paketi (500 gr)	32	İzmir tulumu, eski kařar, gravyer, mayasız inek peynirimizden kahvaltıda çeřit olsun istedik. Azar azar :)
Mayasız İnek Peyniri (500 gr)	22	İnek sütünden, mayasız. Limonla mayalandı, diyet yapanlara nimet bu. Tuzu yok denecek kadar az :) Süper oldu :) Çörekotlu :)
Girit Peyniri (250 gr)	13	Hardal tohumu, kekik, nane ve pulbiberli. Mandıramız ařtı :) Limon suyu ile mayalandı... İkramlık, salata ve kanepelerde müthiř oluyor, üzerine birkaç damla zeytinyađı da gezdirin :)
Çoban Peyniri (kg)	25	Yađsız peynir, diyet için de uygun. Bayıldıđınız peynir :) Kilo ile. Tuzlu gelirse biraz suda bekletebilirsiniz :)
Ezine (2,5 Yıl Eskitme) (650 gr)	29	İnek sütü yok. Olması gerektiđi gibi sadece koyun sütünden. 650 gramlık kalıp fiyatıdır, kalıplar farklı gramajlarda kesilebiliyor, fazla ya da eksik ise not alıyoruz. Lütfen hesabınızı gelen gramaja göre düzeltin.
Hellim (250 gr)	11	Tavayı hafifçe tereyađı ile yađlayın peynirleri ortadan ikiye bölüp önlü arkalı kızartın. Hafif tuzlu enfes bir lezzet :)
Keçi Peyniri Çift Piřmiř Taze (500 gr)	21	Keçi ve inek sütü karıřık. Yörüklerden yalvara yalvara alınan keçi sütünden. Çok az inek sütü de var. 500 gram olarak vakumlandı artık. Tüketmeden önce üzerine sıcak su dökerseniz daha lezzetli daha olur.
%100 Keçi Sütünden Peynir (2,5 Yıl Eskitme) (650 gr)	30	Sadece keçi sütünden yapıldı. Yüzde yüz keçi sütü. 650 gramlık kalıp fiyatıdır, kalıplar bazen daha az ya da fazla gramajda olabiliyor. Öyle bir durumda döküme not alıyoruz. Gelen gramaja göre düzeltme yapabilirsiniz :)
Sünme İp Peyniri (250 gr)	11	Geleneksel peynir... Taze kařar ve dil peyniri karıřımı tadında çok az tuzlu. Her Őeyde kullanılır :)
Bebek Peyniri (250 gr)	14	Mayasız, tuzsuz... İnek sütünden limon suyu ile mayalandı... Tadı müthiř :)
Bebek Loru (500 gr)	16	İnek sütünden mayasız, limonla mayalandı... Yumuřak kařar tadında bir peynir :)
Tuzlu Lor (kg)	16	Kendi ineklerimizden. Börek içi olarak da kullanabilirsiniz, lezzeti çok iyi, tam yađlı.
Peynir Altı Suyu (500 gr)	2	Bütün hamur iřlerinizde, makarna hařlamada, turřu yapımında, etinizi marine ederken kullanın. Hatta çiçeklere bitkilere bol protein :)
Biberli Arnavut Soka'sı (600 gr) BİBERLİ LONG	25	Turřu biber, kaymak, lor enfes bir lezzet, her öđünde hayır demem. :)
Çökelek (kg)	12	Sütün tüm proteinlerini içeren, çok sađlıklı bir ürün. İçine biraz domates biraz da biber kesip zeytinyađı ile yađlayın. Bayılacaksınız :)
TATLI LOR ...SADECE KIřIN YAPIYORUZ	20	Taze ve günlük yapılıyor... hemen gelir gelmez hızlıca tüketin... kahvaltıda üstüne bal ve ceviz dökün... kaymak keyfini daha az yađlı yaparsınız :)
SÜT, YOĐURT VE TEREYAĐI		

Süt (1.5 lt. Şişe)	8	Eşi benzeri olmayan nefis bir süt. Yerli ırk inekle. Mısırla beslenmiyor. Yüzde 1000 gerçek! Kaynatınca "bu gerçek olamaz" diyeceğiniz tat ve koku
Köy Yumurtası (10'lu Paket)	18	%100 kontrollü ve doğal... 10'lu paketler halinde. GÖZDE 'nin kümesi de eklendi... İlhan abiler de Kars 'tan destek veriyor.yetmiyor yetmiyor yetmiyor... yemler her daim bizden
Köy Yoğurdu - Süzme - (500 gr) (Paket)	9	Torba yoğurdu olarak bildiğiniz, suyu süzölmüş yoğurt... 10 numara lezzette :) Muhteşem gerçekten.
Tuzlu Keçi Yoğurdu (250 gr)	8	Keçi sütünden. Çok lezzetli ama biraz da tuzlu.
Manda Yoğurdu - Tuzlu (500 gr)	10	Kahvaltıda üzerine biraz zeytinyağı biraz pul biber. Bu hali bile nefis :))
Yoğurt Mayası - (Adet)	3	Kendi yoğurdunuzu mayalamanız için. Bir kavanozu ile 3 litre süt rahat rahat mayalanır. Fazla bekletmeden kullanın.
Ekşi Maya	3	Bir ekmeçlik ekşi maya. 250 gram un ile karın akşamdan, ekmeç yaparken bu karışımdan biraz daha sonra kullanmak üzere ayırın...
Nohut Mayası - (Adet)	3	' Ekmeçim ekşi olmasın '' diyenlere çok eski bir mayamız. Bir ekmeçlik gelecek :)
Aritılmış Tereyağı (Ghee Yağı) (330 gr)	14	330 gramlık paketlerde. Süt katısından aritılmış, özellikle bebekler ve damar sertliği yaşayanlar için.
İpek Hanım Yayı Tereyağı (500 gr)	25	Gerçek, nefis bir tereyağı... Yarımlik paketlerde.
Manda Tereyağı (500 gr)	20	Gerçek manda sütünden. Hafif, süper lezzetli hem yemeklerde hem kahvaltılarda kullanabileceğiniz bir yağ. Yarımlik paket.
Anız Yağı (200 gr)	13	Bebekler için 200 gramlık paketlerde :)
TuzluTereyağı - (200 gr)	12	Kahvaltılık siz istediniz bizde yaptık. Eskiden tel dolaplarımızdan hiç eksik olmazdı :))
Keçi Tereyağı (200 gr)	30	Gerçek yörük keçisi sütünden. 1 hafta yetecek kadar. !
Rulo Kaymak (190 -200 gr)	13,5	Kızarmış ekmeç, tereyağı, bal ve kaymak... İşte dehşet dörtlü :)
BİTKİ ÇAYLARI		
İhlamur (Paket)	14	50 gramlık paketlerde... Öksürük, ateş, grip ve nezle için çok iyi. Kaynatıp bir dilim de limon sıkın, ağacının biri evimin önünde :)
3'lü Çay (Paket)	18	1 yemek kaşığı kimyon, 1 yemek kaşığı karabaş otu, 1 adet çubuk tarçın. Normal çay demler gibi demleyin. 100 yaşını deviren köylülerimizin tarifi bu :)
Aslan Pençesi Otu - 50 gr	5	Kanser tedavisinde, menepozda regl dönemindeki ağrıları azaltıcı özelliği en çok bilinenleri. Bir tutamı 2 fincan için yeterlidir. Demleyerek için :)
Adaçayı (Demet)	5	Adaçayı hep biraz acı olur ya hani, işte bu ondan değil. Çünkü otoban kenarı değil :) Gerçek yayla adaçayı. Nefis içimli.
Dağ Çayı (Paket 50 gr)	5	Çok hafif bir çay, nefis bir kokusu var. Kaynar suya birkaç dal atın. Çay demler gibi :)
Hibiscus (50 gr)	5	Demir deposu... Mide gazı şişkinliğine iyi gelir. Bağışıklık sistemini güçlendirir, tansiyonu düşürüyor. Kaynar suda demleyerek için :)
Kış Çayı (Paket)	10	Uç kekik, elma, zencefil, ihlamur, adaçayı, tarçın, nane, kuşburnu, hatmi çiçeği, papatya, hibiscus, rezene, havlican ve kuşburnu.
Kuru Kantaron Çayı (Demet)	5	Kaynar suyun içine birkaç dal atın. Çay demler gibi.
Kuşburnu (Yarı kurumuş) (100 gr)	5	10 dakika demleyip çayını yapın... Soğuk algınlığına birebir :)
Vişne (Yarı kurumuş) (100 gr)	5	Komposto yapabilir ya da haşlayıp suyunu içebilirsiniz sıcak sıcak :)

Mercanköşk Çayı (50 gr)	5	Hazımsızlık, mide şişliği, kuru öksürük için birebir... Biz bir kaşık bal koyuyoruz içine, demleyerek için :)
Bebek Çayı (Paket)	10	Bebeginiz için. Papatya, anason ve rezene karışık. 100 gramlık paketlerde.
Rezene (Paket)	5	Kuru rezene.
Papatya (Paket)	5	Çayı rahat bir uyku, sakın bir sabah için birebir. Demleyerek için :)
Altın Otu (Paket)	5	İdrar yollarındaki taşı düşürdüğü söylenir. Bunun yanında romatizma ve kireçlenmeye de faydalı. Demleyerek için :)
Melisa yaprağı	5	Kaynar suda demlenmiş çayı iş dönüşü sizi biraz rahatlatır. Stresli güne iyi gelir. Afiyet olsun.
Çakşır Otu (Paket)	7,5	Kısırlık, isteksizlik, enerji için anadolu köylüsünün keşfi. Binlerce yıllık bir mucize. Tozu.
Çakşır Kökü (Öğütülmemiş) (250 gr)	5	250 gramlık. Kaynatıp suyu içilir. İkiz doğurtmuş, bizimkilerin yalancısıyım :))
Karabaş Otu (Paket)	4	Deli lavanta da deniyor. Faydası çok.
Kırkkilit Otu (50 gr)	5	Kırkkilit otu, yani nazar otu. Benim de çok inandığım bu ot evimin kapısında asılı. Yeni bir iş yeni bir ev ya da rahatsız olduğunuz bir şeyde sonra yakın evde dolaştırın biraz
Kekik Suyu - Adet	7,5	Kara imbikte gerçek damıtma metodu ile yapıldı. Mide ekşimesine, şişmesine iyi gelir, hazmı kolaylaştırır. 660 gramlık.
Limon Nanesi (50 gr)	6	Demleyerek için. 1 dilim limon, 1 kaşık bal süper olur :) Adaçayı ile de karıştırabilirsiniz :)
Hatmi Çiçeği (Paket)	7	Öksürük için birebirdir. Bir su bardağı kaynamış süte bir tutam hatmi çiçeği atın, biraz demlensin. Ilık olarak için :)
BAHARAT		
Köfte Harcı (Paket) (100 gr)	4	Fazla ekmeklerimizi fırında kurutup değirmende öğüttük. Baharatlar, kurutulmuş soğan ve kuru maydanozla karıştırdık. Yarım paket harcı bir çay bardağı ılık suyla karıştırın, bir kilo kıymayla yoğurun. (100 gramlıktır)
Simit Bulgur (250 gr)	3	Her türlü köftede galeta unu, bayat ekmek yerine kullanabileceğiniz mis kokulu bir bulgur. 250 gramlık.
Kurutulmuş Nane (Paket) (50 gr)	5	Harikulade kokan yemyeşil bir nane. 50'şer gramlık paketlerde.
Kuru Fesleğen (Paket) (50 gr)	5	50 gramlık paketlerde. Kuru fesleğen.
Kuru Kekik (Paket) (100 gr)	5	Miss gibi incir kekiği... Bilen Egeliler için kuzu kekiği de var. 100 gramlık paketlerde.
Toz Kekik (Paket) (100 gr)	5	İncecik toz halinde. Yemeklerinize, çorbalarınıza nefis bir baharat. 100 gramlık.
Dal Kekik (Bağ)	5	İster yemeğinize, ister çay olarak demlemeye isterseniz tohumu üzerinde ekmeye hazır. Buram buram dağ kokusu.
Kuru Zahter (50 gr)	5	Dağdan toplanmış kuru zahter. Bütün et, balık yemeklerinde kullanabilirsiniz. 50 gramlık paketlerde gelecek.
Defne Yapağı (Paket)	5	İçinde 25 adet defne yaprağı var. Et ve balık yemeklerinde kullanabilirsiniz.
Anason (50 gr)	5	Kaynar suyun içine birkaç adet atıp demleyin. Bebeklerde karın ağrısına iyi gelir. Kurabiyelerinizde çörek otuyla birlikte kullanabilirsiniz.
Tane Karabiber (50 gr)	5	Rondoda biraz çevirin sadece :) En keskin, en güvenilir. Pilavınıza atın pişerken 3-5 tane, mis gibi kokar.
Tane Kırmızı Biber (50 gr)	15	Beyaz ve karabiberle beraber öğüterek kullanın. Üçü bir arada olunca nefis :)

Tane Beyaz Biber (50 gr)	15	Karabiberin, hasatı daha uzun tutulmuş. Sindirimi kolaylaştırır, öğütterek kullanın :)
Tane Kimyon (50 gr)	5	Yöreden yabancı olarak toplanıyor, çürütülmeden gelecek. Basit bir kahve değirmeninde çekin. Kokusunda büyük fark göreceksiniz.
Kimyon (Toz) (50 gr)	5	Bu da öğütülmüş hali ile :)
Toz Zahter (Paket) (100 gr)	5	Ekmeğinizi yağa banın, sonra da toz zahtere :) Dilerseniz köfte baharatı olarak da kullanabilirsiniz. 100 gramlık.
Sumak (Paket) (50 gr)	5	Öğütüldü ve kıymetli çekirdeği de içinde. Bu çekirdeği internette araştırın mutlaka. 50 gram.
Kişniş (Paket)	4	Çorbalarda, salatalarda ve soslarda kullanabilirsiniz. Harika bir koku veriyor :) Öğütülmemiş olarak gelecek, isterseniz öğütebiliriz.
Çörek otu (100 gr)	5	100 gramlık paketlerde. Kendi çörek otumuz, mis kokulu :)
Tatlı Toz Biber (Paket) (250 gr)	10	Tatlı mı tatlı, şeker gibi tabii koruma ilacı filan yok. Ege köylerinde olduğu gibi yağlanıp tuzlandı. Mis ! 250 gramlık.
Acı Toz Biber (Paket)	10	Acısı dilinizi ısırın, yedikçe yediren bir acı. Çocukların yemekleri için acı olabilir. 250 gramlık.
Acı Pul Biber (Paket)	7,5	Bundan güzel pul biber görmediniz :) Güz biberlerinden yapılmış, yağlanıp tuzlanıp kışa hazırlanmış, muhteşem pul biber. 100 gramlık.
Siyah Haşhaş Tohumu (kg)	30	Siyah siyah tanecik olan haşhaş. Tart hamurunda ya da poğaçaların üstünde kullanılıyor.
Dövülmüş Krem Haşhaş (330 gr)	13	Haşhaş kreması. Şeker atıp kahvaltıda ekmeğe sürülüyor ya da haşhaşlı çörek yapılıyor.
Esmer Susam (250 gr)	9	Yazın havuç tarlasına dikildi. Gerçek susam.
Keçiboynuzu Tozu (250 gr)	5	Kakako kullandığınız her yerde kakao yerine kullanabilirsiniz. 250 gramlık paketlerde.
Zencefil (kuru) (100 gr)	5	Çayınıza, pastanıza, kurabiyelerinize, salatınıza... Kış için harika bir koruyucu :) 100 gramlık. Kuru olarak gelecek.
Toz Zencefil (100 gr)	7	
Safran (Paket)	17	20 gramlık paketlerde. Mis gibi bir pilavın yanında harika olacaktır. Ayrıca depresyon ve strese de iyi geliyor :))
Çubuk Tarçın (Paket)	10	50 gramlık paket fiyatı. Çubuk tarçın.
Zerdeçal (Paket)	5	50 gramlık paketlerde toz olarak gelecek. Eski bir baharattır. Mide rahatsızlıklarına, safra kesesi taşlarına iyi gelir, sindirim destekleyicidir aynı zamanda.
GLUTENSİZ ÜRÜNLER		Glutensiz ürünler farklı bir proses ile üretilmediği için eser miktarda gluten içerebilir. Bu nedenle gluten intoleransı çok yüksek olanlar ve çölyak hastaları için uygun değildir.
Glutensiz Poğaçça (250 gr)	9	Peynir, dereotu, mısır, pirinç unlu ve tereyağı... Ağızda dağılıyor :)
Manna Ekmeği (Glutensiz)	11	300 gram geliyor pişmiş hali. Çimİndirerek, sadece yumuşatılıp dövülerek yapılmış bir hamurdan... Ekmekten ziyade şifa. Afiyet olsun.
Mısır Ekmeği (Glutensiz)	7	Tamamen mısır unundan yapıldı. Yağsız, mayasız... Yerli mısır unumuzdan.
Mısır Unu (kg)	8	Kısa, tombul. Artvin Yusufeli. Annemin memleketinden ...
kavulca Unundan Ekmek - Adet	12,5	Kavulca unundan, çok çok düşük glutenli ekmek.
Pirinç Unu (500 gr)	8	Pirinci yıkadık, serip kuruttuk, değirmende öğüttük. Hiç bir katkı, ilaç, ek olmaksızın size gönderiyoruz. Yarımlik paketlerde.

Kavulca Bulguru (500 gr)	8,5	Gluteni neredeyse sıfır. Değeri çok yüksek.Binlerce yıllık bozulmamış geçmiş ile, İlhan Koçullu'nun Kars Kırsal Kalkınma Projesi'nin ürünü.Mücevher değerinde :)
SABUNLAR		
Temizlik Sirkesi - 5 Litrelik	25	Biraz sulandırıp her türlü temizlikte kullanabileceğiniz doğal mı doğal bir dezenfektan :)
Güllü Sabun - (70 gr)	6	Yeniden yapıldı. Mis gibi kokusu var :) 70 gram.
Kükürtlü Sabun - (60 gr)	6	60 gram geliyor. Aşındırıcı özelliği olan bir sabun. Kepekli saçlar için özellikle tavsiye ederiz.
Killi Sabun - (60 gr)	6	Cilt için kullanmaya uygun. 60 gram.
zeytinyağlı sabun - (65 gr)	6	Gerçek zeytinyağlı sabun... 65 gram.
Karanfilli Sabun - (60 gr)	6	60 gram.
Gelincik Sabunu (55 gr)	6	Gerçekten gelincik yaprakları ile renk ve koku verilen mis sabun, utanmış bir yeni gelinin yanağı renginde.
Kaba sabun (125 gr)	10	Eski tip banyo sabunu. Mis nine kokulu :)
İpek Hanım Sabunu (115 gr)	10	Yine yeniden. Keten yağı ve zeytinyağı karışık. Tüm sabunlar gibi dilimle kesip bebeğe yederseniz karnı bile ağrımaz o derece doğal. Kesinlikle kostiksiz
Ardıç Sabunu (60 gr)	7	Temizler, antiseptiktir, sivilce ve cilt kurdunda tedavi edicidir, yeni ve gerçek ardıç kabuğu ve katranı ile...
Balbadem sabunu - (70 gr)	6	Doğal bal peteği, doğal acıbadem yağı. Canlandırıcı. Benim en çok kullandığım... 70 gram.
Melengeç Bittim Sabunu - (120 gr)	10	120 gram.
Lavantalı Hamam Sabunu - (150 gr)	11	Yeniden yapıldı. 150 gram.
Zeytinyağlı Hamam Sabunu - (130 gr)	10	Büyük boy. 130 gram kadar geliyor. Yeni yağımızdan yaptık. Henüz tam kurumadı. Kokusu ve dokusu nefis.
Katran (Ardıç Katranı) Sabunu - (80 gr)	6	Her türlü cilt problemine iyi geliyor. 80 gramlık.
Papatya Sabunu - (75 gr)	6	75 gram geliyor. Papatyanın mis kokusu ile :)
Sabun Rendesı (1 kg)	22	Kendi sabunlarımızdan, sabun tozu. Çamaşır için kullanabilirsiniz.
Turunçlu Çocuk Sabunu - (60 gr)	5	60 gram. Turunçlu ufaklıklar yemeye kalkmasın :) yese de fark etmez o kadar doğal, mis kokulu :))
YAĞLAR & TENTÜRLER		
Bebek Yağı - Adet (100 ml)	15	Badem yağı, susam yağı, nergis yağı ve aynisefa ile yapıldı. Torunum " Mavi Hanım " için yaptım. Ve tabii İpek için :)
Defne Yağı	10	Nemlendirici olarak kullanabilirsiniz, yüzünüze maske de yapabilirsiniz, vücut ağrılarında masaj yağı olarak da kullanabilirsiniz. Ateş düşürücü özelliği de vardır :)
Sığla Yağı (40 ml)	30	40 ml şişelerde.
Havuç Yağı (150 cc)	15	150 cc şişelerde.
Kantaron Yağı - Adet (250 gr)	17	250 gramlık şişelerde, sarı kantarondan. Ne kadar çok elinizde eskirse o kadar değerleniyor, balkonunuzda güneşte bekletebilirsiniz. Mutlaka güneşte dursun.
Kudret Narı Yağı - Adet (150 gr)	25	150 gramlık... Mide rahatsızlıkları, cilt yanığı, sedef gibi hastalıklarda muhteşem bir iksir... Bizim hep elimizin altında :)
Aynı Sefa Yağı - (10 cc)	9	10 cc. Antibakteriyel. Tamamenn doğal ve mikrop öldürücü.

Elma Yağı - (20 ml)	11	Gazı olan bebeğin göbişine ve topuğuna bir damla sürüp ovalayın. Rahatlayacaktır :) 20 ml'lik.
Badem Yağı - (10 cc)	15	10 cc. Saç diplerine, yüze, (Hamilelikte) karnınıza faydası say say bitmez. Pahalı kremlere gerek yok :))
Nar Çekirdeği Yağı (10 cc)	20	Cildiniz için enfes bir yağ. Ayrıca göz altı torbaları için mükemmel doğal bir çözüm.
Portakal Çiçeği Yağı - (10 cc)	20	10 cc. Baş ağrısında bu yağ ile ovalamak iyi geliyor. Ayrıca kırışık ve çatlaklar için birebir.
Çörek Otu Yağı (100 cc)	22	Binbir derde deva, bağıışıklık sisteminizi güçlendirir, emzikli annelerin sütünü artırır. Cilt için de faydalı.
Lavanta Yağı - Adet	20	İsterseniz çamaşır makinenizin yumuşatıcı gözüne birkaç damla damlatın, isterseniz kuru çiçeklerle karıştırıp evinizin bir köşesine koyun. Kokusu muhteşem :) Lavanta yağı 20 ml.
Kekik Yağı - Adet	20	Kesme şekerin üzerine sadece bir damla damlatacaksınız. Karın ağrısı, hazımsızlık ve reflüye iyi geliyor. 20 ml.
Egzama Kremi - Adet	33	Tamamen doğal yağ ve tohumlardan. Nanelerden kalan tarifler ile...
Topuk Kremi Nobellik! :-)	28	Topuklar berbat halde ise bunu tavsiye edebilirim :) Kesin sonuç :) Kokusu şirin değil ama etkisi ayak sağlığı merkezlerini 10 kere solluyor.
Mantar Kremi - Adet	28	Her duştan sonra iyice kurulandıktan sonra kremi uygulayın.
Pişik Kremi - Adet	28	Bebeğinizin pişik olan bölgesini önce temiz su ile temizleyin. Daha sonra yavaşıca pişik kremi uygulayın. Büyükler de kullanabilir.
Gül Suyu - Adet (200gr)	45	Müşterim ve dostumuz "" gulsha "" Gülşah Gürkan'ın ürünü. Sentetikler ile karışmasın, alabildiğine gerçek ve gülyacı da içinde. 200 gramlık şişelerde.
Saç Bakım Yağı	20	Binlerce yıllık Anadolu bilgeliği.
Yüz Maskesi - (60 cc)	7	60 cc'lik şişelerde. Doğal bal peteği, zeytinyağı, buğday ruşeymi, limon ve kil ile yapıldı. Çok iyi bir arındırıcı ve nemlendirici.
Çatlak Yağı - (170 gr)	20	170 gramlık şişelerde. Çalkalayarak kullanın. Eski bir formül. Hamilelik öncesi ve sonrası için, çok faydalı.
Güneş Yağı (10 cc)	4	Tek sürümlük. Doğal güneş yağı. Havuç, kakao ve susam yağı ile :)
Böcek İlacı - Adet	5	Sarımsak, tütün, acı biber, zeytinyağı, gerektiği kadar su ile kaynatıldı, bir gece bekletilip süzöldü. Kırmızı örümcek, yaprak biti, salyangoz için...
Sivrisinek İlacı - (30 cc)	12	30 cc Limon yağı, citronella yağı, çay ağacı yağı ve nane yağından yapıldı. Yarısı bizim, yarısı dışarıdan. İstek üzerine yaptık :) Şişeyi sinek kovucunuzun altındaki hazneye doldurup fişe takın.
KESE, KAŞIK, VS.		
İşlemeli Lavanta Kesesi - Adet	15	Üzerinde el işleme ile İpek Hanım Çiftliği yazıyor. Minik, sevimli doğaşı bir şey :) İçinde mis gibi lavantalarla
Lavanta Bağı - Adet	7	Bir demet kuru lavanta bağı, evinizde ya da işyerinizde bir vazoya koyun. Mis gibi kokacaktır her yer :)
Kına (200 gr)	9	Yüzde yüz doğal, saçınıza, elinize, ayağınıza... İçinize sine sine kullanabilirsiniz. :)
Şimşir Yemek Kaşığı (Küçük Boy)	10	Küçük boy yemek kaşığı. Şimşirden.
Şimşir Yemek Kaşığı (Büyük Boy)	12,5	Büyük boy şimşir yemek kaşığı.
Keşkek Kaşığı - Adet	25	Kullanabileceğiniz yer olduğunu sanmıyorum ama bu bir anı :) Anadolu geleneğinden gelen bir hatıra.
Spatula- Gürgen - Adet	4	Gürgenden irice boy spatula.

Pazar Filesi - Adet	6	Adet fiyatı...
Gelin Karanfili - Adet	25	Kurutulup tek tek dizildi, nazara iyi gelir, şans getirir... Bizim kadınların elinden eksik olmaz, nazar boncuklu, tuğralı. Gelinler hala boynuna takıyor :)
Bez Kese - Büyük Boy (2 kg)	4	2 kg lık bez kese. Bulgur, tarhana, nohut vs. kuru bakliyat saklamak için
Bez Kese - Küçük Boy (1 kg)	3	1 kg lık bez kese. Bulgur, tarhana, nohut vs. kuru bakliyat saklamak için
Çocuk Şalvarı- 1 yaş	20	Bizim çocuklar bayıldı bu şalvarlara... Sizinler de bayılacak kesin :) Firil firil rahat, sevimli :)
Çocuk Şalvası- 2 yaş	20	
Çocuk Şalvası- 3 yaş	20	
Çocuk Şalvarı- 4 yaş	20	
Çocuk Şalvarı- 5 yaş	20	
Bebekler için Ağız Tülbenti (Adet)	3	Yüzde yüz pamuk, kağıt mendillere hiç gerek yok, eskiden kağıt mendil mi var dı :))
KARIŞIK FİLİZ SUYU		
Karışık Filiz Suyu (30 ml)	10	Farklı bakliyat ve buğdayımızı çimlendirdik. Karıştırıp, sıktık... Şifa olsun :))
TOHUMLAR		
TOHUM / Maydanoz	1	
TOHUM / Dereotu	1	
TOHUM / Semizotu	1	
TOHUM / Kırmızı Turp	1	
TOHUM / Marul	1	Paketler halinde gelecek :) Bir paketi geniş bir alana yeter rahat rahat.
TOHUM / Fesleğen	2	
TOHUM / Reyhan	2	
TOHUM / Pazı	1	
TOHUM / Bamya (50 gr)	5	
TOHUM / Bakla (100 gr)	5	
TOHUM / Ispanak	1	
TOHUM / Karnabahar	1	
TOHUM / Mor Havuç	1	
TOHUM / Balkabağı	1	
TOHUM / Kırmızı Lahana	1	
TOHUM / Beyaz Lahana	1	

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