

FROM COOPERATIVE WORK TO SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT:THE CHANGE
OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN THE CASE OF ÇİÇEKPINAR

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ABSTRACT

FROM COOPERATIVE WORK TO SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT: THE CHANGE OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN THE CASE OF ÇİÇEKPINAR

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This thesis aims at examining agricultural labor change in iekpınar village which has revealed in the form of shift from cooperative work to seasonal employment. It questions the effects of capitalism's penetration into agricultural life over this shift through initiating the transformation of the forms of production. In this sense, main questions have been organized to scrutinize the transforming production forms through capitalist progress, the specific dynamics and structures behind this transformation and its effects over agricultural labor in particular to the case. The analysis of the study is conducted by the field research through semi-structured interviews with 25 villagers in iekpınar and some quantitative data to supplement them. It concludes that capitalism has gradually converted the production forms in iekpınar through certain political, economic, technological and social conditions. This has directly resulted in agricultural labor change by the shift from cooperative work to seasonal employment, which has affected both (1) production process and (2) social and political terrain in various aspects.

Keywords: capitalism in agriculture, rural change, agricultural labor

ÖZ

ORTAK ÇALIŞMADAN MEVSİMSSEL İSTİHDAMA: ÇİÇEKPINAR ÖRNEĞİNDE TARIMSAL EMEK DEĞİŞİMİ

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Bu tez, Çiçekpınar köyünde ortak çalışmadan mevsimsel istihdama geçiş şeklinde ortaya çıkan tarımsal emek değişimini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Üretim biçimlerini dönüştürerek tarımsal hayata nüfuz eden kapitalizmin bu değişim üzerindeki etkilerini sorgulamaktadır. Bu anlamda, çalışmanın temel soruları, kapitalist gelişme ile beraber dönüşen üretim biçimlerini, bu dönüşümün arkasındaki dinamikleri ve yapıları, bunun tarımsal emek üzerindeki etkilerini Çiçekpınar örneği bağlamında inceleyecek şekilde hazırlanmıştır. Analizler, Çiçekpınar köyünde 25 köylü ile yapılan yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlara dayanan saha araştırması ve bunları destekleyecek bir takım niceliksel veriler aracılığı ile yapılmıştır. Tezin ortaya koyduğu temel argüman, kapitalizmin belirli politik, ekonomik, teknolojik ve sosyal koşulları yaratarak Çiçekpınar'daki üretim biçimlerini aşamalı olarak dönüştürdüğüdür. Üretim biçimlerindeki bu dönüşüm, tarımsal emeğin değişimine de neden olmuş ve bu değişim, hem üretim sürecini hem de sosyal ve politik alanı bir çok açıdan etkilemiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: tarımda kapitalizm, kırsal değişim, tarımsal emek

To my grandmother

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARIP	Agricultural Reform Implementation Project
DİE	Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü
EU	European Union
HTS	Highway Transportation Statistics
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IFI	International Finance Institutions
PCP	Petty Commodity Production
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policies
SBF	Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi
TURKSTAT	Turkish Statistical Institute
UASC	Union of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The development and expansion of capitalism across the world has substantially affected rural life by bringing about certain transformations. In this sense, how capitalism penetrates into rural life and to what extent it has dominated over rural life has entered the agenda of researchers. Starting from this, the dynamics and effects of agrarian and rural change have been expected to be understood and observed in regard to particular cases.

The critical point here is that capitalism's penetration into rural life cannot be conceptualized in a homogenous framework for all the countries and cases in the world. The capitalist system has concretely affected the rural life in the countries in one way or another under the particular conditions of the case in which rural transformation has been realized.

it is possible to talk about the domination of capitalism over agriculture in many of the countries whereas we can observe capitalist relations of production in agriculture in a small number of countries in the world... Therefore... we should search in the transformation of rural sector not how the capitalist relations of production are developing but what the characteristics of the process of capitalism's domination over rural sector are.(Akşit, 1985; as cited in Sönmez 1993)

In the case of Turkey, capitalism's penetration has started to diffuse into Turkey's conjuncture by bringing political, economic, social, technological and structural changes alongside since 1950s. These changes have directly been determinant over the rural transformation as well. In agricultural life, production forms have firstly and mostly been transformed by this capitalist momentum. In this context, the fundamental shift has occurred as a transition from peasant production to petty

commodity production across the most parts of the country. Until around 1940s, Turkey's agriculture was dominated by peasant production as the most widespread production form. It was a self-sufficient form in which production units and motivations were being determined through peasants' basic needs and available means. However, these changes have made agricultural production be experienced by different forms and practices in order to adapt to changing conditions, which have resulted in the shift towards petty commodity production that is still described as the pre-capitalistic form of production. Production for the market and advanced means of production have started to be encouraged in agrarian life through this shift. Although particular agricultural regions have already transformed into the capitalist farming in time, petty commodity production is still holding the dominant position in Turkey's agriculture.

Agricultural production forms have definitely shaped their own labor units for production as well as their own motivations and framework as mentioned before. Hence, transformation of these forms has directly resulted in the shifting labor units in agrarian life. In Turkey, this has been realized through the way in which agricultural labor has been subjected to change and reshaped in parallel with the experienced transformation from peasant production to petty commodity production and to capitalist farming. Each rural region has experienced the process by different practices and labor forms across the country.

Çiçekpınar, a hazelnut producing village in Northern Turkey, has embodied this kind of change process in agricultural labor progressively since the beginning of 20th century. Villagers in Çiçekpınar were said to subsist in peasant production which created communal forms of labor until petty commodity production accelerated in the 1950s. Communal labor has been referred to here as family labor and the establishment of a kind of borrowing mechanism among villagers in order to fulfill the works which should be done. Villagers called this mechanism "meci", short pronunciation of *imece*, which means cooperative work. However, different labor forms are adjusted in time as conjunctural dynamics has steadily promoted capitalist development and penetrated into the village by changing the characteristics of production. Intense family labor and cooperative work in the village, being abolished

with the shift towards petty commodity production, have been gradually replaced by seasonal employment in the subsequent period. In this process, various aspects of agricultural life, including living conditions, social relations, demographic situation, political and economic affiliations and villagers' perceptions towards them, have also been affected by these changes in labor forms. By over viewing these, this study mainly aims to examine agricultural labor changes in Çiçekpınar which have been practiced by the shift from cooperative work to seasonal employment. The effects of capitalist progress over this shift have been questioned by refining the specific dynamics and structures particular to this case.

Starting from this target, the study has been constituted around four fundamental objectives. Initially, it proposes to provide a.a conceptualization of transforming production forms and observation of the traces of capitalist progress over them. Subsequently, it intends to elaborate b. the particular conjunctural dynamics behind Turkey's agrarian transformation, which have been assumed to trigger capitalism's penetration. Having analyzed the background of the case, it aims to figure out the c. reflections of this transformation over agricultural labor, specifically in relation to production processes in Çiçekpınar. Last but not least, it examines d. the changes in experiences and perceptions related to socioeconomic and political terrain shaped by agricultural labor change(4) in the village.

This study is firstly expected to fill the gap of the labor- oriented studies in Turkey, especially in agricultural literature which has been relatively neglected for a long time. While doing this, it has mainly tried to analyze the shifts in production forms and their effects over agricultural labor change in Çiçekpınar. However, socioeconomic and political aspects of the case have not been overlooked because there has been an effort to study how labor change could affect or be affected by external developments such as migration or state interventions. In addition to them, the study has directly hearkened on the agricultural labor experiencing this change. In this way, it has been constructed upon the perspectives of those who experience the process concretely.

Research methodology of the study is managed on the basis of mixed methodology which synthesizes qualitative and quantitative analysis in order to expand the discussion from both sides. In the first place, literature review is made to understand the theoretical and phenomenological framework of the case. Moreover, the analysis has been carried out by collecting data or statistics from the relevant authorities and Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) and/or through media coverage in order to validate the observations by numbers. These have represented the study's quantitative methodological tools. On the other hand, participant observation and semi-structured interviews during the field research have been employed, which denotes qualitative analysis, in order to analyze in which senses experiences and perceptions changed along with agricultural labor in the case. Hence, interviews have been conducted with villagers in Çiçekpınar at different ages so that historical progress could be observed and elaborated through witnesses of each period.

Having determined the basis of the study's objectives and methodology, the main research questions of the study have been formulated. They have included in which senses agricultural production form is shifted, how labor forms are subjected to change in this process, which dynamics and structures prepared the ground for this shift, to what extent the transformation within production forms has reflected upon agricultural labor in particular to Çiçekpınar case, which aspects of the labor process have been converted during this course, how villagers perceive and experience these changing circumstances and which socioeconomic and political perceptions and relations are revealed as a result of these changes in Çiçekpınar.

The study is divided into six chapters about how to handle these questions. In this section, research questions and interests of this study have been clarified. In this respect, the objectives of the study have been clearly cited and main questions have been provided to lead the discussion. The methodology of the study has been presented by defining methodological tools and their scopes.

Chapter 2 is allocated for the conceptual analysis of production forms through which their differentiated features have been provided. From peasantry to capitalist farming, changing features have been elaborated concerning means of production,

labor forms and production motivations for each respectively. Labor forms have been scrutinized in order to shed light on the following discussion about the agricultural labor change.

In Chapter 3, cyclical dynamics triggering the transformation in production forms have been analyzed in particular to Turkey. In this sense, political, economic, technological and social turbulences have been dissected and their effects over the agricultural life have been discussed. This effort attempts to meet the concrete background of the case which resulted in explicit change in agricultural labor.

In Chapter 4, the methodology of this study has been provided with its scope and limitations. It has been handled with reference to philosophical basis and methodological tools. Çiçekpınar village has been chosen as the research field and the reasons behind this choice have been clarified. Semi-structured interviews have been conducted by 25 villagers whose age scales have been differentiated between 40 and 70 in order to understand changing perceptions and experiences in historical progress. The researcher has also collected contextual information through participant observation. In this sense, these data collection techniques, preparation of them according to objectives of the research and the ways in which data is analyzed have broadly been provided in this chapter.

Chapter 5 has presented the main body of the study by analyzing field research in the light of theoretical background. It is divided into two sub-titles which refer to (1) production processes and (2) the social and political terrain affected by the change process. In the first part of the analysis, which aspects of the production process were under the influence of the agricultural labor change has been elaborated and an attempt to show the parallel shifts between them have been tried to provide. In the second part, how the agricultural labor affects and/or is affected by socioeconomic and political developments has been handled with regard to living conditions, migration and the relation with state and market specifically.

In the final chapter, Chapter 6, evaluations and findings of the research have been presented. The thesis of this study has been announced in sum.

CHAPTER II

FROM PEASANTS TO CAPITALIST FARMING

Form of production can be identified as the “minimal unit of productive organization”, Friedmann (1978) says, which refers to the farm in agriculture. Each form of production is characterized by its productive techniques and social relations, which condition each other in historical progress. Form of production differentiates from mode of production, which has been described as “historically specific institutional complexes encompassing political and ideological, as well as strictly economic, aspects of social organization.” Form of production, on the other hand, refers to the “actual unit of productive organization, for example ‘capitalist enterprise’ rather than ‘capitalism’”. The distinguished character of forms of production is their determination by “historical differences in social organization: in this case, markets, kinship, and the wage relation” and their technical reproduction (Friedmann, 1978).

It should be underlined that production does have a dynamic nature which is why its forms can be subjected to change. Reproduction of any forms of production can be undermined by any other forms of production, which called transformation in this context. Forms can be changed as well they can completely cease. The new forms have come forward by their own technical and social bases of reproduction (Friedmann, 1978). In this part of the study, certain forms of production will be conceptualized with specific reference to their labor forms, and their commonalities with/differences from each other will be provided. Subsequently, the transformation

in forms of production will be scrutinized with its dynamics in particular relation to Turkey.

2.1 Peasant Production

Peasantry can be called a pre-capitalist form of production in agricultural development. The particularity of peasantry from modern agricultural enterprises and methods is its penetration into the villagers' whole life. It differs from capitalist enterprise in terms of being both producer/consumer and enterprise/family (Boratav, 2004). Fei (1948; as cited in Shanin, 1972) says, "the peasantry... is a way of living". What this means becomes clear when analyzing means, factors and motivations of production.

Shanin (1972) describes who the peasant is in a very brief sense: "A peasant household is characterized by the nearly total integration of the peasant's family life with its farming enterprise". Peasants are small producers in agriculture whose means and motivations of production are determined and driven by their selves. In other words, family members are represented as both the labor and producer in peasantry. In Galeski's (1971) words,

"The family is the production-team of the farm and position in the family determines duties on the farm, functions and rights attached. The rhythm of the farm defined the rhythm of family life."

Peasant's dual position in traditional farm brings "self-equipment" alongside since there is no external agency to meet means and factors of production. Therefore, peasants' equipment is usually small-scale and provided through their own labor (Shanin, 1971). The traditional structure of farming reflects upon both the means of production and the organization of the work. "A low level of agricultural technology and stability of peasant settlement represents, ..., its (traditional structure) most important foundations", Dobrowolski (1971) says. The work team, the family, is supposed to meet the most critical and basic requirements of the production, which

must correspond the peasantry motivations. This framework of traditional farming creates one of the most distinguished characteristics of peasantry according to Shanin (1971), which is “a specific combination of tasks on a relatively low level of specialization and family-based vocational training”. This is why division of labor in peasantry is not developed with regard to labor forms and a fundamental motivation to produce food.

Peasantry motivations are distinguishing characteristics of traditional peasant production as opposed to capitalist ones. Peasant’s production is not driven by the market relations and/or interested in profit. The only concern stimulating production is to satisfy their subsistence needs through which the peasant “determines the intensity of cultivation and the size of the net product, . . . , (and) uses its labor power to cultivate soil and receives, . . . , a certain amount of goods” (Kerblay, 1971). In other words, self-sufficiency is the basic and sole expectation of peasants in return for their labor, which differentiates them from capitalist rationale, and the only capital is natural capital. Instruments, motivations and expectations just let peasants meet their basic needs. Sönmez (1993) points out that different expectations create different orders of importance “when the net earnings start to exceed what is required for the basic social standards of survival”. There is no practice to accumulate or “unable to accumulate” in Chayanov’s (1966) words. From different point of view, these standards assign peasantry a certain degree of autonomy as well since he/she produces just for himself/herself (Galeski, 1971).

Factors and motivations of production also shape distinguishable social and cultural conditions for peasant life. It constitutes a certain culture with strong social ties, despite of the class differentiation and stratification within the village community, and is a particular part of the rural world. Regardless of this social and cultural uniformity, class differences prepare the ground for rural cooperation for the community’s economic functions. Therefore, it can be argued that peasant farming is maintained by the conditions of the rural life regarding sociocultural cohesion and simple organization of work motivated by economic self-sufficiency (Galeski, 1971).

Friedmann (1978) characterizes peasantry with specific reference to the variety of its existence conditions. According to her, peasantry can exist in different conditions because it has constituted various types of non-commodity relations. When looked at in particular to Turkey, it seemed that peasantry was experienced in conditions of reciprocal relations and self-sufficiency. Firstly, economic concern was not shaped by the prices determined by autonomous markets; rather, it was shaped by physical requirements and social relations within the village based on reciprocity (Keyder, 1988). There were no exchange relations as the capitalist mode of production assumes since the rules were not determined and directed by the market (which is independent from any social and individual relations). The exchange was being experienced between villagers motivated by the subsistence concern rather than getting profit. Under these circumstances, villagers were supposed to act in traditional ways of life corresponding with reciprocity and responsibility to each other (Keyder, 1988); they need each other. The uniformity of work and life in Turkey's peasantry life was stimulated by strong bond social links as said before. Kinship networks were one of them and provide "vital channels for all sorts of activities-economic, political, religious-" (Stirling, 1971). Common observation in Turkey's peasantry is to cultivate the soil for basic products, such as vegetables and fruits. The shift from self-sufficiency to production-for-market is truly observed in the products raised. The most obvious change occurred in terms of hazelnut, tobacco and cotton production instead of vegetables, fruits and other staff for subsistence (Akşit, 1988).

2.2 Petty Commodity Production

If peasantry is called the first production form in agricultural development, then petty commodity production (PCP) would be the second form of production but still in pre-capitalist social formations. Although some conceptual literature has called it simple commodity production, they have more or less the same framework in their context. In this study, we have made use of the conceptualization of petty commodity

production since Turkey's literature has preferred to use it rather than simple commodity production.

Friedmann (1978) defines small/petty commodity production as the combination of "the ownership of the enterprise and the provision of labor" in the household. She has characterized small/petty producers with the combined character of both family and enterprise, which brings patriarchal structure alongside (Friedmann, 1978). The differentiated feature of a petty commodity producer from peasantry is to promote production for the market at a certain level in addition to production for livelihood. On the other hand, it is distinguished from modern capitalist production in terms of employing family labor and finite accumulation. As Bernstein (1986) suggests, small/petty producers are positioned within generalized commodity production as capitalists; however, they are not fully commoditized. Their "production and consumption are organized through kinship instead of market relations" and they are usually framed by family enterprises rather than as commodity producing enterprises. Moreover, small/petty producers do not have the structural necessities for absolute or relative profit, which is the capitalists' main concern (Friedmann, 1978). Within this framework, a petty commodity producer should not be evaluated as wage labor nor should it be elaborated as a pure capitalist producer (Teoman, 2001). Boratav (2004) defines PCP in a very broad sense:

"We can say that petty commodity production, ..., refers to a situation including direct producers having means of production in a real sense, production based on his own or his family's labor, in return partially or completely for market but actually for the purpose of consumption without accumulation."

To start with details, petty commodity producers totally have means and instruments of production including the land. The critical point here is that village property is usually referring to the right of use as in the case of peasantry, while PCP promotes property rights in terms of both social and formal (Keyder, 1988). In other words, PCP brings right to private property over the land alongside.

Petty Commodity Producers usually employs intense family labor for production (Özügürü, 2012). Family means “the work team for the farm” which is why it brings the “total integration of the peasant’s family life with its farming enterprise” (Shanin, 1972). Additionally, social networks among the villagers provide them with traditional inputs, such as land and labor, through ways apart from market mechanisms. These ways mostly refers to the labor networks without any commoditization process, which is usually the mechanism of “borrowing” based on neighborhood, kinship or villager perception. Sirman-Eralp (1988), in her notable study about petty commodity production in cotton production, focuses on the idea that villagers should be counted as petty producers “if they meet their production and reproduction requirements based on means/factors of production they have”. She summarizes the perspectives of petty producers as quoted:

“Time, is one of the most important criteria determining the labor demand of petty producers. Therefore, they require off-household labor. The most vital thing for petty producer is to meet it without spending any money. ... In order to achieve it, they need other (cotton) producers’ free labor” (Sirman-Eralp, 1988).

Bernstein (1986) elaborates the shift from peasantry to petty commodity production with the reference to Friedmann’s analysis, in which the extension of commoditization is described as the distinguished aspect of this transition although full commoditization has still not been observed for it, too. According to Bernstein (1986), the route of this extension can also sign for conceptual periods in a developmental series. According to this, household production including non- or partial market integration and family labor is firstly shifted towards small/petty commodity production including full market integration and family labor whose periods would eventually arrive at capitalist commodity production including both full market integration and wage labor. While the first shift has been experienced through the changes in market integration, the latter one has been recognized by labor power mobilization in the market. In a concrete sense, the first movement has

occurred in the way in which household¹ production is abolished in exchange for the production-for-market and commodity production. It has actually resulted in changing product qualities and varieties and shifts to the products carrying commodity quality, such as sugar beet and cotton in the case of Turkey. This would also bring modern inputs such as tractors instead of oxen alongside (Akşit, 1988), and commoditization of agriculture started to invert into production stages in time: towards the third arrival point, capitalist agricultural enterprise.

2.3 Capitalist Farming

It should be stated that differentiation of capitalist agricultural production from petty commodity production is really hard to conceptualize in Turkey's case. Capitalist farmers can theoretically be defined as those employing wage labor, who rent the land and have almost-completely commoditized production relations. However, real experiences of capitalist production might witness different a framework from this theoretical definition. Ecevit's observations in Turkey's case showed that capitalist farming might still be related to family labor, land ownership and subsistence sector "although it is not restricted by or dependent to these circumstances". As far as it intensifies the process of commoditization and purchase/rent the land and usage of wage labor, it differs from petty commodity production (Ecevit, 1997).

Starting from Ecevit's formulation, how commoditization intensifies or usage of wage labor or land differentiates should be analyzed. In a labor context, a distinguished characteristic of a capitalist farmer compared to PCP is to employ hired labor in a larger proportion than family labor. Employment of hired labor did not only result in the need for labor for certain periods, as in the case of PCP (Rudra, 1970). There is sustained and obvious exploitation of labor in capitalist farming². Secondly, the capitalist farmer does have means of production and tends to produce on his land himself rather than leasing or any other way to produce (Rudra, 1970). Nevertheless, the particular characteristics of capitalist farmers are not restricted by property rights, land usage or hired labors because these are shared by petty

¹"The concept of household refers to the social institution in which member of a family earn their livelihood and pursue their aims for the degree of material welfare that they want to enjoy as a social group" (Sönmez 1993).

² M. Özügürlü, personal communication, April 3, 2014.

producers as well. What differentiated capitalist farming from PCP is to have them at the same time in an extended and sustained level². Thirdly, the capitalist farmer is very market-oriented and profit-minded; therefore, he always follows a high rate of return from his investments (Rudra, 1970). In this sense, he has also the capacity to wait for sales of their crops, which directly means the capacity to be effective over prices in the market as well. Since the petty producer usually subsists on the exchange relations of crops, they could not wait for long while which results in cheaper prices in certain periods than normal. However, the capitalist farmer could act strategically and could wait for sales if that would be profitable². As a sum, he is able to more conveniently to adapt market economy.

2.3.1 Labor Process in Capitalist Production

To understand how capitalism has penetrated into the agricultural labor requires analyzing labor dynamics specific to capitalism. Although capitalist penetration into agricultural labor process does not follow same routes as the capitalist labor process in industry, it is worth analyzing industrial capitalism and its effects in order to discover the similarities both processes share. Hence, in this section, I will try to analyze theoretical framework of labor process in capitalist production with specific reference to skilling and controlling dynamics and the technological momentum affecting both of them.

In particular to the skilling, it would be beneficial to scrutinize Taylorism, which has been defined by Braverman (1974) as the first systematic practice regarding labor process in capitalist production. Within this framework, the effects of capitalism over skilling and controlling dynamics of labor processes have been categorized through the three principles of Taylorism: (1) the dissociation of the labor process from the skills of the workers, (2) the separation of conception from execution, (3) the use of this monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labor process and its mode of execution. In capitalist production under Taylorist principles, the work is separated into its constituent elements, among different workers and turned into

physical activities undertaken by technological machines. As a result, workers are only stuck with the “simplified job tasks governed by simplified instructions which it is thenceforth their duty to follow unthinkingly and without comprehension of the underlying technical reasoning or data.” It means the separation of traditional craftsmen from knowledge and autonomy over his work and his replacement by knowledge of labor process concentrated on the province of management, which resulted in de-skilling process for workers. Starting from this result, the managers isolated workers from conception and execution part of the work, which can also be described as the separation of mental and manual labor. Workers are only attributed by execution what their managers pleased. In this way, control over the labor process is transferred from the traditional craftsman/worker to the administrative, which is called separation of conception from execution by him. The tasks for workers, therefore, are not only included in “what is to be done, but how it is to be done and the exact time allowed for doing it. ... Scientific management consists very largely in preparing for and carrying out these tasks.” In this way, managers settled a monopoly over knowledge to control each step of labor process and its mode of execution (Braverman, 1974).

“Controlling”, at this point, becomes quite striking in importance when analyzing the labor process in capitalist production. In this sense, Friedman’s categorization of control mechanisms can be elaborated for the sake of this study’s arguments. Friedman (1977) has categorized controlling mechanisms in capitalist production into: direct control and responsible autonomy. He explains Taylorist direct control in the workplace as “(it) tries to limit the scope for labour power to vary by coercive threats, close supervision and minimising individual worker responsibility . . . [it] treats workers as though they were machines.” Responsible Autonomy is claimed, on the other hand, to enable the adaptability of labor to the system “by giving workers leeway and encouraging them to adapt to changing situations in a manner beneficial to the firm . . . (giving) workers status, authority and responsibility ... (trying) to win their loyalty, and co-opt their organisations to the firm's ideals” (Friedman, 1977). The difference between two mechanisms is also highlighted when it comes to employment conditions. While responsible autonomy has offered more stable work

hours and secure employment because of workers' active position in production efficiency, Taylorist direct control has employed less powerful social groups by usually temporal contracts and payments (Friedman, 1977). This is why Yücesan-Özdemir (2002) conceptualizes responsible autonomy as more suitable for the enterprises whose workers are more skilled and relatively controlled, while direct control should be applied in the big enterprises whose labor is not well organized.

Labor process in industry and agriculture should not be compared to each other in regard to capitalist progress and its penetration forms. Nevertheless, these theorizations about the labor process in industrial capitalism can be observable in agricultural labor processes as well. In the field researches, labor processes in agriculture tends to the same operations and forms with the case of industry, which is why this section has been detailed here.

CHAPTER III

DYNAMICS OF RURAL-AGRARIAN CHANGE IN TURKEY

In this part of the study, the dynamics behind the transformation in agrarian life of Turkey will be scrutinized in order to understand the background of the transformation in forms of production in Turkey. In this sense, political and economic structures, technological changes and social turbulences will be elaborated respectively which have later been elaborated with specific regard to our case study.

3.1 Political and Economic Structures

Turkey's villages experienced a transformation which Keyder (1988) analyzed in four contexts. The first one occurred through commercialization of villages' production; the second one through domination of capitalist farm enterprises in the villages; the third one leads to the accumulation process through family efforts, and the last one is transformation experienced through migrations whose effects showed increasing leaving rates from villages. These are all referring to the both socioeconomic and political fluctuations in the country, which also affect the organization of agricultural labor and production units. It must be noted here that they are mostly experienced throughout Turkey's agricultural regions in different senses and in different periods, which eliminates the construction of grand theory on this issue.

All those moments of the transformation in agricultural life have developed certain political and economic conditions. The shift from peasantry to petty commodity

production does surely not develop from their own spontaneous process; it is triggered through particular motivations and structures processed in the country.

The first half of 19th century can be elaborated as the breaking point for the change in agricultural labor in Turkey. From that time on, “closed, livelihood, domestic production” which refers to the peasantry in general turned into “open, monetary, sensitive to price indicators and integrated into the foreign market production” (Toprak, 1988), which processed towards capitalist farming. State position, market conditions and the interaction between the two have directly affected the conditions in agricultural life especially in terms of labor forms.

The period lasting until the 1950s could be framed by “extensive farming” practice in Turkey’s agricultural life. Extensive agriculture, in a broad sense, refers to the traditional way to produce with a low level of agricultural inputs and technology, which resulted in low production efficiency (Günaydın, 2006). The specific character of this period was the scarcity of labor and capital, while land was the most accessible source. That is why producers preferred to open new lands for production during those periods (Pamuk & Toprak, 1988). It is very obvious that extensive farming conditions were directly related to the political and economic structures during those periods in Turkey. The Republic of Turkey was under the pressure of recovering from the war conditions affecting whole country during the beginning of the century. The Lousanne Treaty signed in 1920 required huge economic expectations, including the abolition of protectionist trade policy and enactment of low customs tariff. Since industrial development was still incapable of adjusting to the world market, Turkey’s economy depended upon agricultural production and export under traditional standards. Therefore, agricultural production was prioritized to be supported by the State in direct and indirect ways during this period. In 1925, the *tithe*³ was repealed in order to make producers disburden and to encourage production. Moreover, Land Reform was prepared to alleviate the inequality among producers in terms of land distribution- although it was not successfully implemented. The 1929 Great Depression, however, shocked the progress and

³ It was a kind of taxes collected in Ottoman times. It promoted to be collected taxes from peasants valued at 10 % percentages of their crops. It was regulated with regard to Sharia rules.

weakened the acceleration of agricultural development because of decreased prices of agricultural products in the world market (Ecevit, 1999), especially for wheat. It made farmers' life standards erode in an explicit sense and subjected them to banks, usurers and state debts through higher rates than of previous times (Boratav, 2003). Under these circumstances, to renew the economy necessitated protectionist and import substitution policies in industry, which reflected over the agricultural production as well. From that time on, domestic markets started to be processed in the country for traditional agricultural exportation products whose foreign market was lost and previously imported products were encouraged to be produced again (Ecevit, 1999).

Agriculture continued to represent the open gate of the country to the world market for a long time because the industry was still less developed during the following periods in Turkey. Although economic conditions were not stabilized, agricultural production averages of 1938-1939 showed that wheat production increased by 94 %, tobacco by 56%, sugar beet 754% although cotton production decreased by 8% when compared by previous period between 1928-29 (Boratav, 2003). Thus, Turkey's State continued to support agricultural production in certain ways and aimed at restraining decreased agricultural prices since the Depression. The first state intervention came about when Agriculture Bank⁴ was given the charge of purchasing wheat directly from farmers in 1932, which meant the ability of public institutions to enter directly to the market (Boratav, 2003). Wheat prices, falling from 12.83 *kuruş* in 1929 to 4.31 *kuruş* in 1933, were regulated by this policy and Agricultural Bank was charged to purchase wheat in 5 *kuruş* (Kip, 1988). Likewise, the industry using agricultural raw materials, such as sugar beet, tobacco and cotton, was under the rule of the State, through which the State could control over the market (Boratav, 2003). In 1947, supportive purchases for tobacco were initiated by the State, followed by sugar beet and tea in addition to mentioned interventions. Animal products, bread and oil also obtained supportive interventions by the State in order to protect consumers (Kip, 1988) during these periods. State supports for villagers encompassed both agricultural and socioeconomic fields. In this sense, Village

⁴ Agriculture Bank was established in 1863 during Ottoman Empire times and has still remained as state bank.

Institutes were founded and supported by the state in order to enable peasants' socio-cultural activities and abilities in addition to teaching them modern agricultural techniques. Moreover, the agricultural sector was trying to be institutionalized by the initiative of the State itself. In 1935, Agricultural Credit and Agriculture Sales Cooperation were established in addition with State Agricultural Enterprise in 1938 in order to save farmers from the pressure of the usurer (Günaydın, 2006). These are why the period between 1930 and 1939 are called 'statism' and 'protectionism' (Boratav, 2003).

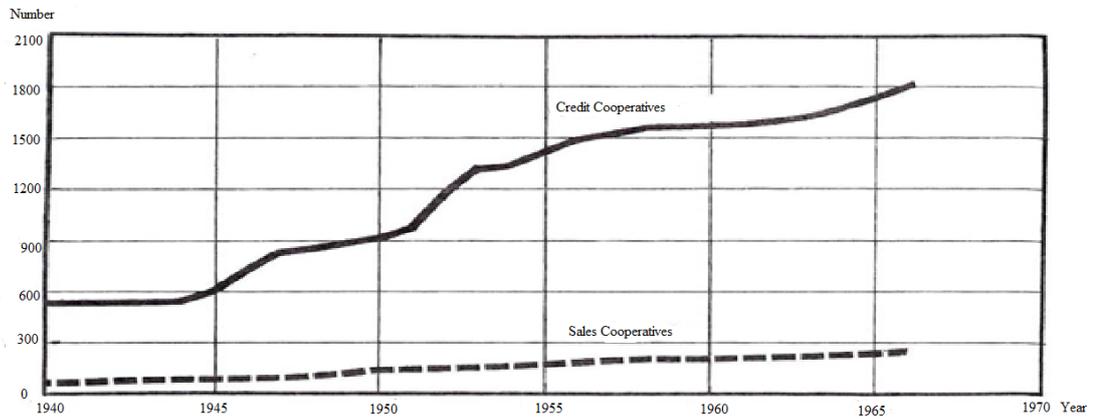


Figure 1. Number of Agricultural Credit and Sales Cooperatives

Source: Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968

These all targeted to develop agricultural production but the result was not brilliant. Inequality, traditional farming and village standards remained to be settled in the agricultural life. World War II(WW2) also stimulated negative conditions in Turkey's politico-economic structures. It made the whole production process inefficient and non-productive (Ecevit, 1999) because of the insecure and fluctuating atmosphere of the world system.

By the times World War II had ended, the world economy recognized a new system called Bretton Woods System constructed in 1944. It was the reflection of the efforts to recover the world economy. The economic model promoted by the System was prioritizing agriculture-based trade because of the post-war conditions, like food needs. Meanwhile, Turkey's state prepared a development plan in 1947, although it could not actively be enacted. The Plan anticipated an economic model based on exportation rather than import substitution and adapted to the priority given to agriculture and, additionally, the private sector. In this sense, supportive purchases and price regulations continued for a long time especially for certain crops, such as hazelnut, olive oil, to raise for the promotion of their exports (Kip, 1988). In parallel with these developments, international conditions led agricultural production to find proper markets for trade especially because of the USA's wheat stock for the Korean War (Ecevit, 1999). In this period, it was observed to increase exports rates in Turkey.

The 1950s have corresponded to the critical periods for Turkey's Agriculture following these conditions. In the context of the Bretton Woods System and Korean War, USA enabled Marshall Aid to the countries trying to recover their economy and to open them up to free trade, especially in terms of agricultural production between 1948 and 1951. Marshall Aid comprehended the need for mechanization of agriculture and gave credits to public enterprises for financing infrastructure relevant for production. Additionally, Reports presented by the World Bank promoted to open up the economy to private sector and to reduce statism (Ecevit, 1999). The fundamental motivation of Turkey's state on agriculture was to push Turkey's production standards towards the international market. During the 1950s, previous state policies promoting "protectionist and closed economic strategies have been abandoned and replaced by an economic vision which promotes free importation, foreign capital movement, foreign aid and/or credits" (Makal, 2001). Since Turkey's exportation scale began to drop as a result of WW2, the economic model depending on the importation in agriculture and foreign trade was released between 1954 and 1962 (Ecevit, 1999: 18). However, arable lands were already depleted at the highest level so that agricultural production needed to be surrounded by more efficient

techniques. From this time on, current economic system concentrated on agricultural production by pushing it towards commodity production for foreign market and modern inputs usage for high productivity.

The first need to catch dynamism in agriculture necessitated the modernization of production units. Since small production and its available mechanisms were not sufficient yet to construct modernization during those times, state regulations were obviously necessitated to interfere (Boratav, 2003). Therefore, the State provided four basic supports: Market price supports, direct income supports, indirect income supports and general supports for agriculture. Market price supports targeted the protection of the domestic market through base price and price premiums based on certain crops. These are usually producer-based supports. Direct income supports are provided to producers to increase their income through storage supports, payment for unit area or animal, etc. Indirect income supports included subversions implemented on agricultural production inputs and financial supports, which aim to decrease production costs. General services for agriculture refer to the infrastructure, education, research, tax facilities, etc. which provide help for comfortable production (Günaydın, 2006). The ways Turkey's state (conducts under) contributed to this framework were with the "provision of inputs, credits and extension services, promotion of modern farming technologies, introduction of new crop varieties, supporting the establishment of agricultural associations and cooperatives, establishment of state farms, parastatal marketing and distribution agencies" (Aydın, 2010). In addition to those, construction of highways stimulated this process by making producers arrive at market places easily so that the percentage of marketed crops increased from 33.5% in 1950 to the 46.7% in 1960 (Makal, 2001). According to Akşit (1988), the State interventions would increase commercialization, commoditization and modernization through subversions, credit distribution or supportive purchases, which would affect the hegemony of capitalism and differentiation of peasantry.

Concern about commoditization and commercialization was obviously felt when the State was determining the directions of interventions. Supportive purchases, in this sense, were very critical examples implemented through previously- established cooperatives and institutions. Supportive purchases were dominantly determined for certain crops during this period, which could be commoditized and commercialized for foreign markets. These products included cotton, grapes, tobacco or hazelnuts. The State suggested that peasants introduce these new crop varieties, through which cheap food could be supplied and commoditization processes could be evolved in agricultural production at the same time.

“The uncertainty of agricultural production because of its dependency on natural conditions, its seasonal fluctuations, the low rates in elasticity of demand and supply of agricultural products, the existence of many little-scaled agricultural producers, their unorganized structures, and the existence of many mediator channels during marketing made producers prevent from being effective over the creation of supply side. Therefore, the State intervened into the agricultural products market by base price policy in order to be supportive for resolving drawbacks for producers in terms of price mechanism” (Kip, 1988).

Supportive purchases were not the only ways to support agricultural development. The motivation to integrate producers into the market was promoted by certain regulations and policies driven by the State. Subversions for agricultural products and credit services were the most common practices in order to improve and extend the production (Keyder, 1988). During this period, the credits granted by Agriculture Bank and Agricultural Credit Cooperation increased from 412.916 thousand *liras* in 1950 to 4.822.751 thousand *liras* in 1966 (Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968).

Table 1. Agricultural Credit Provided by the Agricultural Bank

Years	Short-term	Medium-term	Long-Term	Total
1938	22 951	439	11 380	34 770
1939	25 638	1997	15 870	43 505
1940	34 437	1614	14 113	50 164
1941	43 816	1250	11 974	57 045

Table1(cont'd)				
Years	Short-term	Medium-term	Long-Term	Total
1943	69 304	945	7 645	77 894
1944	80 088	2203	6 017	88 308
1945	111 990	3034	5 000	120 024
1946	169 600	2599	4 725	176 924
1947	234 530	3983	5 418	243 931
1948	227 172	4137	5 994	237 303
1949	323 116	5383	8 401	336 900
1950	384 528	12 659	14 955	412 196
1951	516 111	100 415	29 980	646 506
1952	811 093	210 525	46 047	1 067 665
1953	925 088	223 979	63 775	1 212 842
1954	1 156 088	243 751	97 318	1 497 157
1955	1 228 335	217 995	108 009	1 554 339
1956	1 587 176	188 132	112 487	1 887 795
1957	1 779 525	216 491	112 165	2 108 181
1958	1 782 525	249 034	129 683	2 161 302
1959	2 102 073	115 613	95 594	2 313 280
1960	2 031 697	65 844	294 556	2 392 097
1961	1 226 107	212 387	688 801	2 127 295
1962	1 450 600	255 465	683 218	2 389 283
1963	1 677 571	429 330	408 320	2 515 221
1964	2 325 452	482 666	436 436	3 224 554
1965	2 554 863	488 427	448 950	3 492 240
1966	3 711 186	628 554	483 011	4 822 751

Source: Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968

Price subversions implemented by the State resulted in the increased modern inputs for production such as chemical fertilizer, ovary, agricultural drugs, etc (Teoman, 2001). These implementations led a transformation in agricultural production from extensive farming to the intensive farming, which requires a developed infrastructure, more modern inputs such as fertilizers, high usage of labor and capital, less dependency on land and/or natural conditions. In other words, modernization started to flourish on the behalf of Turkey's agriculture. The actual result was obvious: production for the market and the spread of money economics were explicitly encouraged (Keyder, 1988).

State actions about agricultural development were not only related to the modernization or commoditization process. It was also related to the political

expectations as a result of populism. Agricultural policies have always been supportive of producers because of political interests. As Keyder (2013) noted, “agricultural development was not prioritized by the state but agricultural production was never taxed as well”. To make producers feel welcome was perceived by the political parties as a critical advantage for elections. Therefore, they provided input subversions, supportive purchases or price regulations in annual period. The reality was explained by Keyder (2013) as “social fundamentalism” against the possible disintegration of peasantry. Additionally, post-war conditions required the taking of precautions by the State regarding food production in order to feed their population (Keyder, 2013). Boratav(2003) claimed that these populist interventions to agriculture made peasants protect their position against industrial development for a certain time so that relative prices remained stable for agriculture until 1976s.

The economic model based on import substitution policies in the 1960s continued to be effective over the economic strategies in Turkey. In 1963 the First Five-Years Development Plan was organized by promoting relatively more protectionist, domestic market-oriented, and import substitution policies (Boratav, 2003). Industry became the main indicator of economic growth and agriculture was left as the secondary growth arena. Between 1963 and 1970, the growth rate in industry was 10.4% while in agriculture it was 2.6 %. Additionally, the export scale of agriculture was narrowed because of the import substitution policies and industry-oriented growth. The main motivation was to finance the development of industry so that arable lands and cultivation of grains were restricted and production for industry input was promoted (Ecevit, 1999).

Aydın (2010) defines the 1980s as the “death of developmentalism”. Since populist and developmentalist policies started to create certain structural problems, a liberalization process was stimulated in Turkey, with the additional pressure of international market and EU membership process. The pressure was progressed through international financial institutions and donor agencies in terms of liberalization and internationalization of economy, specifically agriculture. Within

the framework of this objective, they suggested Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in the 1980s, policies that “have gradually eroded the viability of family farming specializing in traditional crops such as cereals, tobacco and sugar beet” (Aydın, 2010).

Turkey’s domestic conjunctures were also stimulators for the transformation evolved in post-1980s. The most important case in this period was the military coup in 1980, which shaped whole political economy of Turkey. “After the decades of protection, the macroeconomic policy reorientation unleashed in 1980 under a military regime dismantled price supports and introduced the agricultural sector to the whims of the global market” (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010). In parallel with this framework, 24 January 1980 Decisions started to be put into effect. These anticipated a transformation towards the liberalization of economic policies by promoting free market order based on cheap labor and to abandon import substitution policies (Günaydın, 2006). The specific characters of the decisions can be summarized by “importation regime, prioritization of exportation through expensive exchange, cheap credits, rebate of taxes and abolishment of price controls and subversions implemented for fundamental products” (Boratav, 2003). On the behalf of agriculture 24 January meant privatization of agricultural sectors and minimization of state support in practice. In this sense, agricultural supports including input subversions were abolished which caused usage of modern inputs for production processes and the average size of lands to decrease (Teoman, 2001). Moreover, the Ministry of Agriculture was reorganized in 1985 with the reference of 24 January Decisions, by which many expertise units were closed down. Nevertheless, it is interesting that Turkey’s governments continued to intervene in price formation in agricultural regulations until the late 1990s, through which they tried to manage a kind of stability between economic efficiency and political legitimacy (Aydın, 2010).

The period between 1990 and 1999 can be highlighted by prioritization of market relations over the whole economic process. Although labor unions’ activities lead to the increased share of labor in distributional relations and domestic terms of trade raised for agriculture between 1990 and 1994 (Günaydın, 2006), full liberalization in

foreign trade and capital movement and the abolishment of protectionism were fundamental expectations new economic order promoted. These mechanisms would be monitored in national economies through IMF and World Bank, whose SAPs were the results of this function (Boratav, 2003). In this way, Agricultural production was trying to be directed towards the partnership with Transnational Corporations through international finance institutions(IFIs) and their development aid agendas since 1990s (Aydın, 2010).

Their relationship with international markets was embodied by the Uruguay Round Agricultural Agreement on January 1, 1994. The agreement was promot “to decrease domestic supports for the agricultural sector, foreign sales based on subversions, protectionist policies regarding domestic markets and to harmonize the preventions about health and plantation health”, which created “dependent structures for less developed/developing countries’ agricultures while the competitively advantaged countries had no problematic side effects (Günaydın, 2006).

Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that Turkey’s transformation including structural change and the adaptation process were not completed in a very smooth and successful way and an economic crisis broken out in 1994. On 5 April 1994, a sequence of decision was enacted through which economic order was trying to be restructured, but through which peasants became vulnerable with regard to the right to speak about their production. On the one hand, Turkey was being stimulated by European Union (EU) towards abolishing all import duties and trade restrictions. On the other hand, agricultural supports were being reviewed by the government which resulted in the limitation of the power of Union of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives (Aydın, 2010). In this sense, crops provided by supportive purchases decreased in number from 26 to 9 including cereals, sugar beet, tobacco and hashish (Günaydın, 2006). It is very sufficient to look at crop numbers provided by supportive purchases in order to understand the fluctuations in agricultural supports.

“While the number of products covered by state funded purchasing in 1960 was six (wheat, barley, rye, tobacco, tea, sugar beet) that number was raised

to twenty-four through the end of 1970. Those products are: wheat, barley, rye, oatmeal, cotton, tobacco, fresh tea leaves, sugar beet, soy, sunflower, hazelnut, pistachio, dried fig, seedless raisin, raisin with seed, olive, poppy seed, flower of the rose, peanut, rapeseed, olive oil, mohair, wool, raw silk cocoon. After the declarations of October 24th, there was a reiteration of decline in the number of products, and in 1990, the quantity of state funded products dropped to ten (wheat, barley, rye, corn, paddy, oatmeal, tobacco, sugar beet, poppy seed, and chickpea). The same quantity rose to twenty-four in 1991 and to twenty-six in 1992. With the declaration of April 5 1994, the number of products covered was dropped down to nine (cereal products, sugar beet, poppy seed, and tobacco) and there was not a considerable change in this quantity until 2000s”(Günaydın, 2006).

The privatization and liberalization agenda of the state policies beginning from 1980s were not only restricted by these developments. In 1986, The Law About Privatization of Public Enterprises numbered by 3291 was put into effect through which many Agricultural Public Enterprises were supposed to be privatized respectively (Günaydın, 2006). How agricultural privatizations affected the development of Turkey’s agriculture is described below:

“... In this framework, after public initiations separated from the output(meat, milk,etc.) market, multinational companies with domestic partners was entering into the market; structures closed to competition were being created as a result of sharing the market; producers’ income decreased because of regressive prices in this conjuncture; agricultural production units weakened and (agricultural) sector became estranged by domestic-partners’ separation”(Günaydın, 2006).

The 21st century witnessed quite intense transformation towards neo-liberal regulations specifically with regard to the agricultural arena. The agreements with international institutions, especially IMF and World Bank, expected certain changes from Turkey’s governments to adapt world market. In 1999, the Stand-By Agreement with IMF proposed critical regulations regarding agricultural developments, which especially focused on the need to decrease support prices to the world prices, later shifting towards the Direct Income Support System. In addition to that, privatization of agricultural sales cooperatives and a restructuring of Agricultural Bank were promoted while new councils for sugar and tobacco were supposed to be established. Explicit decline in support prices fell well below the cost

of production in some agricultural regions, which caused withdrawal from certain crops production there (Günaydın, 2006).

Having adapted to this new agenda of the period, Turkey's governments have started to shape certain law regulations. In 2000, a special law about Union of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives (UASC) was passed. According to the law, UASCs were attributed by "full autonomy" which means the whole withdrawal of State support from agricultural process. In this sense, they were transformed into the joint stock companies which automatically were supposed to work as private enterprises (Aydın, 2010). Turkey's government took a real big step for the liberalization of the economy in terms of agriculture.

2001 corresponds to a very critical period on the behalf of agricultural development in Turkey because of the regulations inserted by World Bank (WB). The Agricultural Reform Implementation Project (ARIP) was signed by Turkey's government which gave WB the charge of an active and direct role in the agricultural system and supports especially in hazelnut and tobacco production (Aydın, 2010). ARIP consists of four components which are Direct Income Support (Component A), Farmers Transition Program (Component B), Restructuring Agricultural Sales Cooperatives (Component C), and Project Support Services (Component D). The specific regulation expected from ARIP was to remove all subsidies and input supports enabled through Agricultural Bank, Agricultural Sale Cooperatives or public economic enterprises, which had already been decreased by previous regulations. Instead, ARIP hoped to stimulate the provision of direct income support to producers in order to balance welfare conditions (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010). Component B had direct influence over the producers of certain crops such as tobacco and hazelnut which was defined by high subversions and excess supply. These were mostly expected to be transformed into alternative sustained crops, whose production costs were promoted to meet by the Program (Tarım Reformu, 2008). Component C, Restructuring of Agricultural Sale Cooperatives and Union of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives, was quite inclusive component of ARIP. The target was defined as to transform them into the institutions providing services for their partners, through

which the role of State in agricultural process was decreased. In this sense, the Cooperatives were authorized by financial autonomy. Whole process including sale, process, providing inputs to their partners were assigned to those whose capabilities would be supported by the content of Program as well (Tarım Reformu, 2008). The results of ARIP were very dramatic for the first period. Many producers were observed to give up certain crops production because of the removal of support prices (Günaydın, 2006) and “agricultural employment in 2006 had declined to 6.1 million, after peaking at 9.3million in 1996 and averaging 8.7 million in the 1990s” (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010).

The transition to free market conditions was assisted by the promotions ARIP recognized. In this context, Direct Income Supports were distributed through various ways. Area-Based Income Support was granted for those hazelnut producers having licensed fields. Diesel Support was another support type for those. On the other hand, there has been an alternative option for those having non-licensed field production which is Alternative Crops Support (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). Within the framework of this program, 150 TL was provided per decare in terms of Area-Based Income Support, while 600 TL was granted per decare to the producers transformed into alternative crop production (Radikal, 2011). Although the State has supported hazelnut producer in the ways ARIP stimulated, free market conditions made many producers vulnerable regarding adaptation to market conditions.

3.1.1. Hazelnut Production

Political and economic structures definitely affected the whole agricultural labor process in Turkey since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. In particular to hazelnut, these policies and changes also determined the development of production in Turkey’s villages, especially in the Black Sea Coastline region. Understanding political and economic agendas reflected over the hazelnut production in Turkey is necessary in order to comprehend this thesis argument.

State intervention into agriculture since 1930s was being activated with regard to hazelnut production. Hazelnut was called one of the most critical crops concerning its trade value as mentioned. In this sense, the initiation of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives led to the establishment of 11 hazelnut sale cooperatives in 1939 (Sönmez, 1993), some of which included Ordu and Giresun, Bulancak and Keşap Cooperatives in June 1938, Trabzon Cooperatives in July 1938. These five cooperatives, then, led the establishment of Hazelnut Agricultural Sales Cooperatives, shortly, *Fiskobirlik* in July 28 1938. This new umbrella of cooperatives provided 1,391,173 TL credit for their peasants in return for harvested hazelnuts. It should be noted here that *Fiskobirlik* purchased harvested products on the behalf of itself until 1964 when it started to purchase on the behalf of State treasury by the decision of Council of Ministries (Fiskobirlik, 2013). In return for these initiatives, producers were stimulated to reach high productivity. However, this expectation was not met by producers because they complained about “unjust treatment of the purchase experts in grading the hazelnuts” creating the lack of encouraging effects (Sönmez, 1993). Additionally, since *Fiskobirlik*'s profits and losses were both met by partner producers, providing sustainability was hugely problematic in its nature (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). World War II (WW2) also stimulated negative conditions in Turkey's politico-economic structures and the operation of State involvement did not work well for a long time.

The effects of supportive purchases for certain crops, provided since the 1950s, made many regions in Turkey recognize new production units and methods, one of which was the hazelnut. Although Turkey had already certain hazelnut regions, called *first standard region*, before the 1950s such as Ordu and Giresun, many provinces were added to the hazelnut areas after the State's encouragement for the production of certain new crops. *The second standard region* of hazelnut production, like Düzce, Bolu, Zonguldak, etc. resulted in this changing conjuncture of Turkey's economy in 1950s. In addition to these supportive purchases, the government even took a further step in 1954 for hazelnut production and Resolution K/984 was managed as an “intervening purchase”. According to it, *Fiskobirlik* could purchase products from non-partner peasants under the condition that fluctuating prices in the market would

not undermine hazelnut producers/production. The result was, as expected, that commoditization was being triggered by the State itself (Sönmez, 1993). In 1950, the price received by farmers for hazelnut was 108.0 kuruş per kilogram in 1950; 159.1 kuruş in 1955; 324.6 kuruş in 1960 and 489.3 kuruş in 1960 (Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968), which clearly showed the impacts of state intervention into agricultural market. Although hazelnut production depends on various conditions such as climate and land efficiency, technological momentum and public policies seem to affect the exportation scale of hazelnut production. In 1950 1046 tons of hazelnut was exported while this number increased to 3481 tons of hazelnut in 1966 (Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968).

These populist policies -especially before election times-such as high price regulations or supportive purchases- enabled certain opportunities for hazelnut producers. Capital-intense agriculture was promoted by the State, but productivity in agriculture could not meet the expected rate declared in the 1963 First Five-Years Development Plan. Likewise, supportive purchases for certain crops started to create structural crisis after a while; therefore, the State enacted new policies including certain restrictions and demands over the agricultural supportive intervention. The Bill presented to National Assembly in 1974 for hazelnut production can be counted a perfect example for this process:

“According to the *rationale* of this new one, the purpose was (a) to prevent the production of low quality hazelnuts by means of restricting production areas to (suitable) ecological regions and fields, (b) to reach an organizational unity and efficiency in providing the producers with technical knowledge about how to increase productivity and quality; (c) to make plans and programs in order to ensure that production was maintained in accordance with the demands of the international and domestic markets and (d) to encourage scientific research concerning how to increase productivity and quality, and to develop new systems of harvesting, drying and storing” (Tunavelioglu, 1976; as cited in Sönmez, 1993).

In this context, the State’s withdrawal from agricultural production approximately started during late 1970s. Sönmez (1993) considers the late 1970s as the beginning of new era regarding “the end of state protection”. In his evaluation, Agricultural

Cooperatives – with special reference to *Fiskobirlik*- were trying to be transformed into a big public company rather than state initiatives from that time on. This was progressed through other certain developments after 1980s, which should be scrutinized. Nevertheless, hazelnut production has remained the critical agricultural theme in Turkey since the 2000s (Sönmez, 1993).

The liberalization process beginning in the 1980s has directly reflected over hazelnut production as well. In 1983, a law about the hazelnut regions was passed which was said to aim towards providing the most appropriate fields for the hazelnut production and regulating the production in response to demands of the market. According to this, new hazelnut fields could no longer be cultivated without getting State permission and current hazelnut fields could not be renewed (Law No: 2844, 1983). This restriction over the hazelnut fields was the reflection of excess supply and storage problems, because subsidies had stimulated the production efficiency and scale. Particular characteristics of fields were defined, and those not complying were not allowed to be cultivated. The law was only not valid for certain regions including Giresun, Ordu, Trabzon, Bolu (today's Düzce), Akçakoca, Zonguldak-Ereğli and Alaplı. These regions were extended in 2001 by extra cities like Sakarya, Gümüşhane, Düzce, etc (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012).

On the other hand, current advantageous positioning of hazelnut production in the world market was trying to be protected by the State through the establishment of certain supportive funds such as Support Price Stability Fund (DFİF) and Hazelnut Advertisement Fund allocated from hazelnut export revenues. In this way, it was aimed to prevent hazelnut production from decreasing prices in foreign market (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). *Fiskobirlik*, as the cooperative of hazelnut production, started to be supported by DFİF credits between 1994 and 2000 rather than direct purchases on the behalf of State Treasury (Fiskobirlik, 2013). Moreover, World Trade Organization regulations regarding customs allowance were off option in 2005 by Turkey's governments for certain crops like hazelnut, tobacco, and tea and cotton production. As it has been observed, hazelnut continued to be a critical production

for Turkey's export scale so that it was supported by the State for a long time through different regulations (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012).

The ARIP program was the breaking point for hazelnut production because it was one of the targeted crops whose production was supposed to be revised. *Fiskobirlik* got close to the mark in terms of integration into liberal transition. It was recognized after four years to be adapted to autonomy and independency from State support. In 2001, DFİF credits were again granted for *Fiskobirlik* while the excess supply was purchased by the State in 2002 as well. In 2003, it was assigned full autonomy alongside other agricultural sales cooperatives, and it started to purchase its partners' harvested crops on behalf of its own account. It could protect its position for two years by determining high prices for the crop. Since 2005, however, it could not provide the money- back for its partners in return of their products and the State intervened into the situation. The Land Products Office was charged with purchasing harvested hazelnuts on the behalf of Turkey's government for three years until product stocks were excessive and losses were required to be meet by the Treasury (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). Therefore, hazelnut production has been introduced with free market driven by the merchants since 2009 (Radikal, 2011).

3.1.2 Technological Changes

The modernization and commercialization of agriculture after the 1960s was highly stimulated by the introduction of new technologies and modern inputs. In Keyder's (1988) context, it could be said that thecommercialization and accumulation processes of Turkey's agriculture gained momentum through technological changes and dynamics. In this sense, agricultural producers were encouraged to conduct technological improvements, through which high and efficient productivity could be reached. Without any doubt, technology's penetration into the agricultural life also resulted in certain changes in both agricultural labor and life. How technological advancement was recognized by Turkey's state / producers, and which inputs lead to the dramatic shifts concerning agricultural production were very significant questions here in understanding the background of those changes in Turkey.

Technological changes are defined as “considerable-sized shift in production functions for certain product or product set” which resulted in high efficiency (Aruoba, 1988). Technological changes are usually analyzed under two categories: mechanical change and biological change. Mechanical change refers to mechanization in agricultural production while biological change includes in qualified grains, pesticides, chemical fertilizers, etc (Makal, 2001). The changes occurring during the 1950s signed for mechanical change focused on number of tractors whereas post-1960s witnessed more biological changes in agricultural technology (Aruoba, 1988).

There have been certain dynamics triggering technological changes in Turkey. Although pre-1950s referred to the period in which land was most accessible so that producers preferred to open new lands for production, arable lands got highest level of usage in early 1970s (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010). On the other hand, high rate of population growth, income raise per person, expansion of the non-agricultural arena and urbanization resulted in increasing need and demands of eatables, which necessitated higher level of production. This need had been met by cultivating new lands until 1960s; however, it has no longer represented a solution since 1970s. Therefore, it was required to increase productivity in the actual fields which would automatically mean technological intervention (Aruoba, 1988). In addition to low level of inputs, the lack of transportation facilities created huge problems for the integration of agriculture into national and international market (Makal, 2001). All these reasons made the State act on this and public policies became very encouraging for producers to adapt technological changes since 1960s (Aruoba, 1988). Input subversions, indirect or direct income supports, credits and special taxation systems for imported inputs can be counted under this encouragement umbrella. This is why Auroba (1988) defines the 1960s by “technocratic policies”. Besides, the only incitement did not come from Turkey’s state in this period. Marshall Aid provided by USA after WW2 promoted mechanization in agriculture by providing tractors to Turkey. Hence, tractors were known as “the symbols of agricultural development between 1948 and 1955” by Toprak (1988).

Tractors were really the beginning point of mechanization in Turkey's agriculture, whose stimulus was created by Marshall Aid. In 1948, there were only 1756 tractors in Turkey while this number increased to 16.000 in 1950; to 54.668 in 1965; to 105.865 in 1970; and to 436.369 in 1980 (Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968; DİE, 1975; DİE, 1982). In this sense, land rates cultivated by tractors raised in explicitly growing numbers. The rate was 11.79% in 1951; 14.39% in 1955; 17.40% in 1965; 60.9% in 1974 (DİE, 1978; DİE, 1979). Momentum did not only happen concerning tractors. Additionally, harvesters, haymakers and motor-driven pumps were expanded by huge numbers, to be used for agricultural production throughout the country (Makal, 2001). According to Turkey's Statistics Institute (1975), there were 1.757.114 wooden plows in 1972 while this number increased to 953.292 in 1980. Likewise, threshers were numbered 14.044 in 1970 (DİE, 1975) while there were 75.823 threshers in 1978 (DİE, 1979).

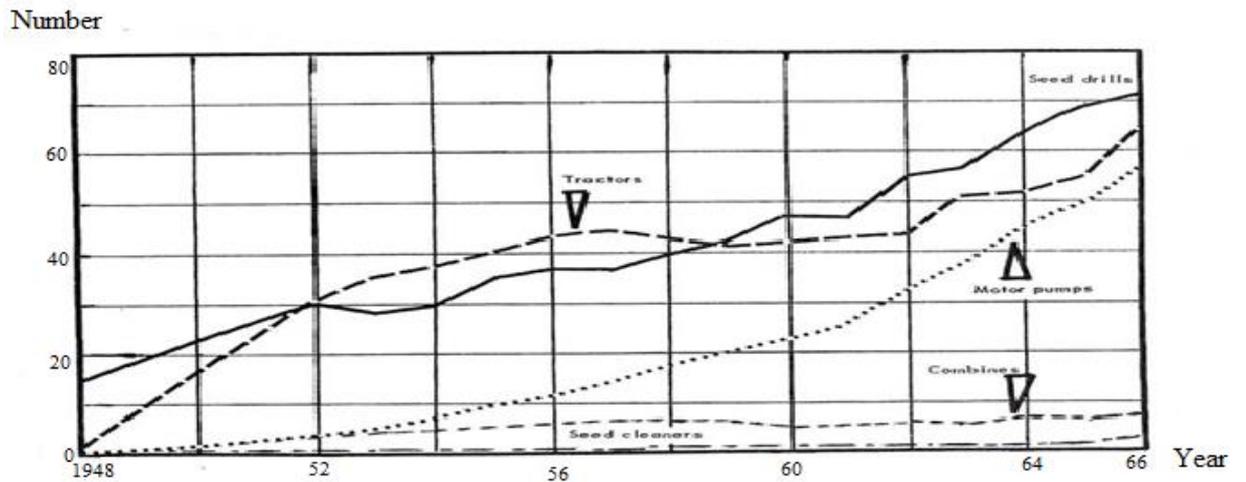


Figure 2. Number of Seed Drills, tractors, motor pumps, combines and seed cleaners

Source: Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968

The incline in usage of modern inputs was not restricted to technological machines; rather, it included chemical interventions into agricultural production. In this sense, consumption of chemical fertilizers increased from 1.376 tons in 1938 to 42.103 tons in 1950; to 138.126 tons in 1955; to 1.025.756 tons in 1966. In parallel with these, consumption of pesticides increased approximately by 13.79 times between 1952 and 1965 when compared to the past (Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968). These opportunities also make producers utilize their fields for different crops and apply rotations among them (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010). As a response to transportation problems, the construction of highways accelerated so that the lengths of available highways increased steadily from 47.080 km in 1950 of which 10.311km was belonging to earth roads; to 59.453 km in 1970; to 60.761 in 1984 when the length of earth roads was already reduced to 4.605 km (HTS, 2012). When Turkey reached the limits of its highest level of arable lands in the early 1970s, the direction of technological changes mostly shifted from mechanic to biological change. After this period, there was observed an increase of biological and chemical inputs as a substitution of land and labor. However, it does not mean that the need for labor decreased for all crops; rather, their share in agricultural productivity depended upon the products (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010).

These quantitative changes surely affected many aspects of agricultural labor and life and created transformative effects. The first effect occurred in the efficiency of production in which these improvements meant a lot. Although labor or land ratio has not significantly changed since the 1960s, output increases as a result of technological momentum via increased use of tractors and fertilizers. For example, cereal production seems to gain positive momentum by almost 65 % from 1960s to 1980s. In other words, even though labor remained one of the basic sources of production, sustained output increase can be evaluated as the result of technological improvements rather than land or labor concentration (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010).

Table 2. Agricultural Shifts over Time

Indicator Name	196 1	196 5	197 0	197 5	198 0	198 5	199 0	199 5	200 0
Agricultural land (% of land area)	47,4	48,5	49,6	49,3	50,1	49,5	51,6	51,3	52,6
Agricultural land (sq. km)	365,1 70	372,9 60	381,7 80	379,6 20	385,7 90	381,3 00	396,7 70	394,9 30	404,7 90
Agricultural machinery, tractors	42,48 8	52,96 4	104,6 40	242,4 56	435,2 83	582,2 91	689,6 50	776,8 63	941,8 35
Agricultural machinery, tractors per 100 sq. km of arable land	18,5	22,2	42,2	97,3	171,7	236,8	279,8	315,1	395,3
Arable land (hectares)	23,01 3,000	23,84 1,000	24,79 3,000	24,90 8,000	25,35 4,000	24,59 5,000	24,64 7,000	2,465 4,000	23,82 6,000
Arable land (hectares per person)	0,8	0,8	0,7	0,6	0,6	0,5	0,5	0,4	0,4
Arable land (% of land area)	29,9	31,0	32,2	32,4	32,9	32,0	32,0	32,0	31,0
Cereal production (metric tons)	12,72 9,100	14,75 6,700	15,98 9,280	22,21 1,050	24,41 8,700	26,49 3,152	30,20 1,369	28,13 3,560	32,24 8,694
Cereal yield (kg per hectare)	989,4	1,138, 6	1,215, 0	1,632, 4	1,855, 1	1,931, 0	2,214, 1	2,037, 8	2,311, 0
Crop production index	31,9	34,4	43,1	50,2	60,4	65,7	78,7	81,3	95,6

Source: World Development Indicators Database(World Bank,2014)

The second effect of technological momentum is related to the use of land. Advanced technology made the rate of arable lands expand in the country until 1970s. Many meadows and rangelands in the villages could be opened for agricultural cultivation with the help of mechanization so that marginal efficiency of lands was obviously raised (Makal, 2001). Although the rate of arable lands exhibits a decline after the 1970s, other technological inputs like fertilizers seem to be sufficient to make agricultural production gain momentum. According to Keyder (1988), mechanization also took the indirect role in the establishment of private property as it has been mentioned before. Tractors' technical superiority had made opening new lands for production accelerate. However, after a while, little pieces of lands were to be left to cultivate which meant the beginning of land scarcity. Those new lands were mostly meadows or rangelands belonging to the Treasury, which had previously been used by private persons in the villages. After the land-scarcity appeared in the country, Turkey's State took action and huge cadastral and land registration activities were started up in the villages during the 1950s. In this way, commensalism started to be abolished in certain regions and private property provided producers the right of say over their lands (Keyder, 1988).

Mechanization has also been effective over the labor market and division of labor in Turkey. Its effects cannot be summarized in one direction. Mechanization made labor very vital in certain senses, while it also caused a decrease in labor needs in the production process for certain crops. On the one hand, technological density surely resulted in the decline of labor-intensive agriculture because mechanization and modern inputs created an easier way of effective production (Makal, 2001). Indeed, this was also brought about the householder extension towards thenon-agricultural arena since technological shifts created different time-use options for them (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010) On the other hand; it was observed that farmers conducting technology were employing more seasonal workers than before although permanent workers were decreasing in number. This is because more technological interventions needed more people to apply them (Ankara SBF, 1954). This process is explained by İlkkaracan and Tunalı (2010) very clearly:

“As incomes go up, income-elastic products (vegetables, fruits, and flowers) replace traditional ones (cereals). Both technology- and demand-driven changes in cropping have implications for the labor needs of owner-cultivators. Mechanization means that certain labor intensive stages of agriculture (such as the harvesting of field crops) cease to be so. On the other hand, more intervention may be needed during the growing season for effective application of irrigation and fertilizers, and other yield-enhancing measures. Maintenance of perennials (vineyards–orchards) and multiple crop cultivation (flowers–vegetables) require timely interventions by experts.”

Technological advances lead certain transformations in agricultural labor and production without any doubt. However, Aruoba(1988) claims that technological machines and modern inputs was not conducted by all producers in an equal sense/quantity. This is usually revealed in terms of irrigation systems because of the climate and land features, marketing systems, behavioral differences of villagers against risks and public policies⁵. As a result of those, inequality in technological benefits is diversified regarding the kind of product, geographical regions, and

⁵ Aruoba (1988) exemplified this situation as: “Regulations Ziraat Bank implements to grant loans, and the reimbursements it demands, the distribution of loans provided by Banks and Agricultural Credit Cooperative among various groups of agricultural laborers, the number and distribution of those who have difficulty paying back and therefore lose their credibility for further loans verify the following view: Organized credit market generally provides service to large and middle-scale agricultural laborers.”

agricultural enterprises in same region with same product. They all meant unequal income distribution among producers in a certain region (Aruoba,1988).

3.2 Social Turbulences

The change in politico-economic structures and technology were being held up by certain social turbulences which developed concurrently in rural Turkey. Explicit transformation in life experiences and migration were fundamental reflections of those. They all brought about basic changes in agricultural labor in direct or indirect ways. How they influence the process, therefore, should be scrutinized in order to understand the transformation agricultural labor face.

As it has been mentioned before, Keyder (1988) explains the transformation Turkey's villages experienced in four contexts last of which refers to migration resulting in high leaving rates from the villages. Migration extending after the 1980s was definitely stimulated by fundamental developments in Turkey's agriculture, such as mechanization or land property rights. They affected forms of agricultural labor and population proportions throughout the villages, which lead explicit transformations. While 75.78% of the total population was settling in the rural areas in 1927, rural population decreased to 65.58 % of total population in 1965; to 35.10 % in 2000 (TURKSTAT, 2011). Post- 1980 can be counted as the breaking point on the behalf of migration rates because of certain developments in agricultural and rural life.

The first reason stimulating migrations can be analyzed under the theme of mechanization. Its effects can be analyzed under two different perspectives actually. In the first sense, new lands were opened with the help of tractors and other machines after the 1950s, which prevented villagers from seeking for another livelihood. In this way, agricultural production did not lose its population in the villages which slowed down migration rates as well. Moreover 1945 Land Reform for Farmers promoted to give those new lands to peasants without lands or having only a little piece of lands (Keyder, 2013). These supported the transformation of peasants into petty commodity producers (Akşit, 1999) and allowed many peasants to stay in their homes. Additionally, mechanization did not develop/expand by equal

momentum with the cultivation of new lands. Labor demand kept people stuck to their villages, especially on the behalf of sharecroppers and splitters, until the 1960s (Tekeli & Erder, 1978). On the other hand, however, mechanization started to create excess labor supply after arable lands were limited to access while the tractors increased in huge numbers throughout the country. Imbalance between mechanization and production areas automatically created the problem of excess labor supply since the opportunities enabled through tractors, other machines and transportation facilities could mostly deal with the requirements of production. In this way, there was no longer the need for sharecroppers, splitters or extra agricultural workers after a while (Keyder, 1988; Çınar & Lordoğlu, 2011). This is why it can be argued that mechanization was actually encouraging migration since the 1970s because mechanization made the need for a human workforce decrease in this sense. This can be analyzed as the driving force for migration from rural to urban (Keyder, 2013).

Mechanization leads to the changes in the forms of property as it has been mentioned before. Unequal accessibility to technology and limited arable lands from the 1970s differentiated land ownerships through time in Turkey's villages (Akşit, 1999). Besides, previously cultivated lands (before the 1950s) and newly cultivated lands by tractors were usually meadows and rangelands in the villages mostly belonging to State Treasury. In the 1950s, land registration and cadastral activities started and developed in an intense sense throughout the country (Keyder, 1988). Lands were mostly concentrated in a few big or middle-scaled farmers' hands which made small-scale farming decrease in time. The lack of mechanization left poor producers with little pieces of lands to cultivate. Although they usually conducted credits to reach at relevant technological improvements, they could not pay them back (Akşit, 1999). In 1970 29.6 % of total agricultural lands were belonging to small-scaled farmers with 1-50 decaire grandeur, while this number decreased to 20.0 % of total lands in 1980 (DİE, 1975; DİE, 1982). These were all the precipitating factors pushing poor producers toward migrating.

“... Petty producer, sharecropper producer and agricultural worker and different components of these forms would be confronted by migration when

they could not subsist and could not convert themselves into another form because they would lose conditions for maintenance of agricultural production” (Ecevit, 1997).

Driving forces of rural life stimulating migration was not only restricted to land distribution or mechanization. In addition to them, population growth and the lack of employment opportunities were other reasons. Although rural population decreased by 46 % in total population from 1945 to 2000, it increased from 14.103.072 million of people to 25.091.950 million of people in 1980 within its boundaries (TURKSTAT, 2011). This population growth necessitated a new division of labor. Akşit (1988) referred to Paul Stirling’s Household Domestic Cycle theory while explaining the effect of population growth over migrating practices. According to Stirling (1974), lands were arable but not propertied in the first period; therefore, as children were growing up in a huge paternalistic family, agricultural production was extended through cultivation. In the second period, lands were distributed among children after the head of household passed away which resulted in land fragmentation and decrease at the end. When the arable lands were limited to access as in the case of Turkey since the 1970s, it was no longer be possible to develop agricultural production in a huge paternalistic family. Therefore, family members were directed towards a non-agricultural livelihood resulting in constant or seasonal migration. What was presented by urban life was also very critical without any doubt, to understanding the migration process⁶.

Mechanization, unequal land distribution or population growth were not only the reasons to encourage peasants to migrate for sure. These driving forces from village life definitely corresponded to certain attractive forces in the urban areas. It was the expanded labor markets. Employment opportunities in the cities attracted villagers with additional options for livelihood as they needed (Keyder, 2013). Moreover, the physical conditions for reaching cities were more developed than before thanks to

⁶ The Latin American case is very similar to the Turkey agricultural case. The Latin American peasantry were being pushed for migration during 1980s because of the land and employment squeeze. As a consequence, 65 percent of Latin American population was urban in 1980 while this number increased to 75 percent in 1995. It could only be explained by the need of peasantries for the alternative off-farm or non-farm sources of income (Kay 2000).

transportation and income improvements (Keyder, 1988). As a consequence, peasants started to prefer temporary or permanent migration to the city centers to get income or resettle their life. The second attractive force of urban included in education and service sectors, which could not be well developed in the villages (Akşit, 1988). Under these circumstances, driving and attractive forces created an environment leading to intense migration throughout the country in post-1970s.

As it has been mentioned before, although mechanization generally decreased labor demand after the 1970s, it also required more intervention to the production because of various technological applications. Therefore, seasonal or temporal workers were being demanded during intense periods of harvesting in agricultural production, and this created migration dynamism. The critical point here is that this labor demand was mostly met by the Southeastern part of Anatolia, whose dynamics were different from above-mentioned reasons. Post- 1980 witnessed a huge displacement of the Kurdish population because of the security problems deriving from Guerrillas - Turkey's State war in the region. This resulted in "State of Emergency" during that period. Many Kurdish people were observed to migrate to different places, mostly to İstanbul, Mersin or Diyarbakır, as they could afford (Çinar & Lordoğlu, 2011). Under the State of Emergency conditions, 3000 villages and fields were recorded as depleted since the 1980s which meant 2,5 - 3 million people were relegated (Yıldız & Düzgören, 2002). These huge numbers of migrated people from Southeastern Anatolia were welcomed as seasonal workers by other agricultural regions, which was effective over the change in agricultural labor in post-1980s.

Intense migration from rural to urban definitely leads to the increase in the employment of wage labor in the urban areas since the 1950s. According to Keyder (2013), however, there has not been overall proletarianization of migrants in Turkey since they usually do not split from their villages and do not depend on wage income completely. Rather, they maintained their ties –mostly material ties- with their village life, which made them partial proletarian households rather than overall proletarianized. Another critical point is that the migration process and effects were not experienced in similar ways for each region of Turkey. In this sense, three types

of proletarianization can be formulated with regard to different regions and experiences: Partial proletarianization through informal ways, Temporary proletarianization, Partial proletarianization through coercive dispossession. Partial proletarianization through informal ways usually refers to a model in which peasants maintained their ties with their villages actively. This model lasted until the late 1980s during which migrants tried to settle in the urban areas through an informal ways in terms of both space and employment. Their income was mostly exchanged between the village and city in two-way forms since livelihood can only be met partially in the urban areas. Temporary proletarianization, on the other hand, refers to wage labor for short-term or middle-term. Migrant peasants do not give up their homes/villages; rather, they prefer to move into different employment places temporarily or seasonally. The third type of proletarianization relates particularly to the “Kurdish” population who were relegated from their region coercively after the 1980s. They were wholly separated from their homes/villages and subsisted in temporal employment in the urban cities or social funds. Urban life converted them into a sub class of the city in time, whose income totally depended on wage income (Keyder, 2013).

This is what makes Turkey’s case distinguished. Turkey’s agricultural migrants were directed towards proletarianization in certain ways or times; however, they were usually not totally separated from their lands. They usually protected their links to their homes in their villages. Therefore, they have always a place that they could go back to and subsist in minimum standards even if they do not have specific livelihood there (Keyder, 2013). In this sense, there were also not common practices of land disposals observed among petty producers living in urban areas. Indeed, they usually felt loyalty and trust to their village life versus risky life conditions in urban, so that they tried to maintain cultivating their lands through either their own ways/ family labor or renting to villagers -especially without lands- settling there (Teoman, 2001).

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this section of the study, research methodology applied to this thesis will be scrutinized before analyzing the field research. Having been aware of the different rationales behind research methodologies, it can be argued that the researcher can conduct certain philosophical perspectives in his/her study regarding the kind of work studied. In this study, theoretical assumptions underlying behind the arguments presented has been, generally speaking, footprints of interpretivism⁷ and critical theory⁸ to some extent.

In this study, knowledge is handled as an act of interpretation by the research methods. Since an interpretative approach leads to addressing issues of influence and impacts which resulted in 'how' and 'why' questions, this study's research question, how agricultural labor process has changed in time, can easily be studied in interpretivist ways of approach. In addition to that, this study is dealing with a specific context, which necessarily claims context-based generalization rather than universal generalization. Our specific context refers to hazelnut region within agriculture market and history between the 1930s and today. These are all interpretivist research characteristics that will be attributed to this study as well.

⁷ Interpretivism tries to understand phenomena "through the meanings people assign to them" (Deetz 1996). In other words, there is no concern to generate a new theory.

⁸ Critical Theory, as Gephart (1999) argued, assumes the social reality as historically constructed and produced/reproduced by people. In other perspective, people are not passive and can have the ability to change the current circumstances.

This study has also been influenced by critical theory paradigm. Since this study will be expected to reveal capitalist transformation reflected upon labor process, it will be expected to carry footprints of the Critical Paradigm's arguments on capitalism. The assumption that transformation in labor processes is occurring in parallel with capitalist development is the first reflection of this. "The more capitalist motivations are diffused into the agricultural sector, the more hierarchical conditions for labor is appeared" is the main assumption of this study, which supports critical theory about capitalism's engagement with domination of labor. Since interpretivism is not enough to make the author put her own position and develop these kinds of criticisms leading to focus on non-emancipated labor, this study needs the critical paradigm.

Deriving from these paradigms, this study will be designed to conduct a mixed methodological approach. The rationale behind this preference is based on the motivation of complementarity, as Small (2011) defines. The author is expected to supplement her arguments by quantitative methods, although the qualitative approach has been seen as superseding it in this study.

The first rationale for qualitative methodology comes from the main objective of this study, to analyze a specific labor process. Since this study analyzes a process itself rather than simply an outcome or product, it is proper to carry out the research through a qualitative agenda. Secondly, to deal with context-based analysis automatically brings qualitative approach alongside, because there is no such tendency in quantitative approach requiring universal generalization through deductive analysis. Conversely, there is an inductive analysis of data here. It is needed to observe a specific sector and place, in which a mentioned process is experienced, and constitutes interpretations towards them. This point necessarily resulted in another/third rationale for qualitative methodology. Since here knowledge is defined as an act of interpretation, it deals with meanings rather than measurements or objective knowledge. In this way, the researcher is included in research progress which can be acceptable only for qualitative agenda. These all require the premises of descriptive and interpretive techniques which can represent the rationale for qualitative methodology.

Qualitative methodology is supported by certain techniques, i.e. methods, in the phase of data collection to be sure. The author of the thesis employs a field work including semi-structured interviews, as a technique, which is examined in a specified hazelnut producing village. In semi-structured interviews, there are fixed questions and keywords; in other words, fixed agenda for questions although there is freedom to modify or edit (Thomas, 2010). In this way, the researcher tries to understand how people experience and define their labor conditions and which meanings they attributed to the change theorized in the study. Additionally, it conducts media coverage in order to see which news or comments in media can be relevant for this study.

“When the understanding of an event is a function of personal interaction and perception of those in that event, and the description of the processes that characterize the event, qualitative approaches are more appropriate than quantitative designs to provide the insight necessary to understand the participants' role in the event, and their perceptions of the experience” (Thomas, 2010).

On the other hand, quantitative methodology has also taken place in this study as a complementary element. In quantitative methods, data are easily quantified as in the methods derived from sample surveys, aggregate statistics, etc. In this study, material changes in the change of labor process have been provided from main statistic institutions such as the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) and World Bank. People's arguments on the materiality of the change, in this way, can be expectedly supported.

Having scrutinized the methodology of this study, it can easily be said that data analysis as a research's critical part is expected to frame regarding qualitative methodology. However, quantitative methods and techniques are conducted to supplement data obtained from qualitative field work. Still research methodology should be called mixed methodology in terms of data collection, although analysis depends on a qualitative premise of interpretation.

4.1 Research Field

In this study, Çiçekpınar Village is chosen as the research field for three reasons. Firstly, Çiçekpınar is the village of Akçakoca, whose history of agricultural production lasted for a long time. It was the most productive district among hazelnut regions with regard to efficiency per decare (Akın & Hızal, 2005). Secondly, people experiencing pre-capitalist forms of labor process are still living in Çiçekpınar which give the author the opportunity to conduct an oral history. Thirdly, the author was born in Akçakoca and grew up in Çiçekpınar which gives her the opportunity to know the relations and ways to connect people in very close stance. In other words, she wanted to use her insider position during the field research. All these reasons make her choose Çiçekpınar / Akçakoca which has provided various contextual materials for this study.

If we are to look the village in more detail, Çiçekpınar is settled on piedmont of Köroğlu, which is far 9 km from Akçakoca, district of Düzce. Its previous name was “Şipir” (Georgian name), which was replaced in 1963 by Çiçekpınar(Turkish name). It is claimed that the village has 4000m² agricultural lands and 2000m² forested lands. First settlement was around the end of 19th century by the Georgian migrants who were a few big families and their relatives.

4.2 Research Population and Sample

Since this thesis analyzes a process in which labor conditions visibly changed, research population of this issue could comprise of all villagers experiencing rural transformation in Turkey. Among this population, Çiçekpınar villagers have been selected to conduct this research because of the detailed reasons above.

As Kothari (2009) argues, the sample must be decided by the researcher “taking into consideration the nature of inquiry and other related factors.” Additionally, the research techniques and procedures the researcher adopts are very critical for shaping the sample selected. Since this study revolves around inductive nature and

interpretivist agenda, qualitative methodology is mostly conducted as it has been emphasized before. The purpose of qualitative research is to get comprehensive framework for a population by including all varieties, differences and complexities (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006). There are two different types of sampling on a representational basis, which are probability and non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling includes the researcher in the selection process of samples, deriving from his/her concerns. Therefore, it is also known as deliberate sampling, purposive sampling and judgment sampling because items for this sampling design are selected by the researcher himself/herself. On the other hand, probability design has a mechanical process of selection, which does not include the researcher's position. There is no deliberate sampling; rather there is randomly selected sample in which "every item of the universe has an equal chance of inclusion in the sample... It is blind chance alone that determines whether one item or the other is selected" (Kothari, 2009).

Because this study elaborates a change process from past to present, to find a place that witnesses this process wholly necessitates the conducting of purposive sampling rather than probability design. The villagers that experience pre-capitalist forms of labor conditions are comprised of around 10 people, whose ages are already around 70. They represented a research sample in order to analyze the previous practices in agricultural production in Çiçekpınar. The rest of the sample includes younger people who are usually the old-aged interviewees' children or descendants. The main idea by doing this is to clearly observe the changes in perceptions and experiences within the family as well. They are usually aged between 40 and 60. They represent other parts of the research sample for the following discussion that brings the analysis to today. Under this sampling design, the researcher searched for the ways to reach people and make interviews with them. Interviewees were mostly convinced through the researcher's personal ties in Çiçekpınar, while some of them could only be connected through their relatives because of their very old age.

4.3 Preparation of Data Collection Techniques

For the documentary analysis, this study covers newspapers, relevant articles regarding time specificity and statistical information gathered from TURKSTAT and other authorities. Following this strategy, arguments especially about technical and mechanical changes in parallel with labor processes are supported by statistical information. Mechanization processes and their quantification are considered as necessary component for this discussion because of their effects over organizational and social reflections on labor. On the other hand, previous newspapers are accessed through searching news archives. In this way, quantitative analysis is also included in this study by second-hand information and aggregate statistical data.

This study is mostly conducted by interviews. While preparing interviews, the researcher undertook semi-standardized interviews. Semi-standardized interviews include pre-determined questions and priorities addressed to the subjects, although the interviewees and the researcher as well can have an opportunity to extend towards digress. Therefore, it is allowed to conduct unscheduled probes during the interview. Unlike a standardized interview, the unstandardized and semi-standardized interview is followed by the awareness of the risk of using a strict wording system in questions. Since each subject/group has his/her own wording style in certain cases, strict questioning seems problematic in such studies that necessitate interacting with different ways of living/speaking or perceiving (Berg & Lune, 2011).

In this study, semi-standardized interviews are inserted through the field work because of reasons mentioned above. Since some samples of workers were really old-aged and have lived in the region whose language carries some local wording, the research needed to take probes into consideration. Although main questions are determined before in order to get comprehensive and necessary information for this study, the structure is not strictly established while it is also not completely spontaneous conversation. Therefore, semi-standardized interviews were applied to each stage of field work.

How questions are formulated needs to be clarified at this point. While preparing questions, sequencing, wording, language and style are all taken into consideration regarding subjects' social and educational level, ethnic and cultural background, age and fundamental beliefs. The researcher tried to establish a neutral position and ask questions not leading toward problematic situations and discussions.

The context of questions is designed with regard to contextual, technical, social and relational processes of labor. While preparing questions, the first concern is to recognize the people and region's features which are directly linked to Çiçekpınar. After getting information on these specific issues, interviews continues by addressing issues of organization framework of the production process, technical details for the same process, changing societal elements in Çiçekpınar throughout the time and relational aspects of the agricultural life. In which ways they produce, live and relate to the other actors in the sector are also questioned through interviews. Questions are clearly and respectively provided in the Appendix part.

4.4 Data Collection Techniques

In this study, analysis of documentary techniques is established in order to understand the geographical and historical structure of Çiçekpınar and the whole hazelnut sector. Following this technique, literature review, magazines, articles, information obtained from relevant authorities, statistical data from especially TURKSTAT and World Bank, and other documents about this research have been conducted.

In addition to documentary techniques, interviews are also used by the author to be able to understand how workers perceive and experience the process studied. Since interviewees are from different stages of the labor process and some of them are really old-aged, the interviews method is seen as more convenient for this study. Additionally, there is a personal reason that this study is the first experience of the author to conduct interviews; therefore, it was preferred partially beforehand to

design interviews in order to manage better. The interviews are driven by the author under the circumstances that she examines participant observation.

4.4.1 Participant Observation

The aim of participant observation is much related to interpretivism's main argument: naturalist point of view. In field work examination, the researcher should observe people and their interactions in their daily life, which necessitates spending a certain amount of time in the studied context. The idea is simple: to achieve an intimate familiarity (Prus, 1996). During the time the researcher settles in the field, she/he tries to collect contextual information through informal interviews, personal interactions, observation of the work place itself and takes note of critical and relevant situations and information. In other words, through participant observation, the researcher "has to follow the rhythm of the situation or context" (Frost, 2011).

This kind of research surely has certain problems within itself, such as time limitation or management of place settlement. In this study, still, the researcher spent two weeks in the field to establish more concrete relationships with the interviewees and to observe the settlement in a purposeful manner. She visited interviewees in their homes and sometimes in their hazelnut fields during the break times of harvesting. In this way, the researcher aimed to analyze their living and working conditions.

4.4.2 Interviews

Interviews can be defined as "purposive conversation (Kvale, 1996) which fulfills the naturalistic essence of a qualitative research agenda. It is obviously critical for getting people's perceptions, senses, experiences and the reasons behind those (Frost, 2011).

In this study, the researcher tries to fulfill all requirements of a good interview. She firstly introduced her personal and academic position to interviewees. Sometimes she

also needed to give information about her social position as usage of prompts. After informing them about the study before conversations, she gained permission from the interviewees about the tape recording and usage of data for her study. Each interviewee has been made aware of the stages of the interview and the reason behind conducting this study. The researcher preferred to use tape recordings in addition to taking notes in order not to miss any piece of information they provided.

The researcher connected with 25 people witnessing their labor conditions. The main objective was to demonstrate the process that the labor conditions examined made the author shape interviews around different workers during different times of the process. Interviews last between 45 and 60 minutes, sometimes varied by informal process and conversation.

4.5 Data Analysis

Since this study is mostly adapted to a qualitative agenda, data analysis is necessarily established regarding qualitative data analysis. Quantitative methods in this study, as it has been said before, are originally conducted to complement arguments especially when some numerical information is needed. For qualitative data analysis, there are many ways suggested by the various theorists; however, this study is established in the light of Yıldırım and Şimşek (2006)'s suggestions for analysis. According to him, there are three main ways when analyzing qualitative data. The first one is to provide a descriptive approach to the data through loyalty to the direct quotations of the subjects. The second one also includes the first style, but additionally, it is to suggest relevant concepts and relations to reach at some causal and explanatory results. These results are interpreted by the researcher under certain conditions, such as reliability and validity, ethical issues, and especially reflexivity. Thirdly, the researcher can include his/her own comments to the study after following the first and the second steps, and make contributions to the interpretative literature of the study.

In this study, the researcher usually resorts to these ways in certain parts of the analysis. Features of the subjects and conditions of the sector are provided in a very descriptive manner. Subjects' perceptions and interpretations are usually given in direct quotations with loyalty to the original text. Having followed this data, the researcher tries to analyze the case regarding an interpretative approach. By doing this, it is aimed to establish a link between theoretical orientation of the study and practical reflections of it as well.

CHAPTER V

FROM COOPERATIVE WORK TO SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT IN ÇİÇEKPINAR

In Çiçekpınar case, the transformation in forms of production from peasantry to petty commodity production is surely triggered by certain dynamics occurring across the country. This shift from basic subsistence to production for market, in other words, shares those same dynamics with the shift from *imece* to seasonal employment. Peasantry, as a way of living (Fei, 1948) surrounded whole parts of villagers' life which determined how they live, how they work, how they produce and how they "labor". On the other hand, hazelnut production brings different production forms, called petty commodity production, including different motivations, different works, different production relations and different labor forms for sure. Seasonal employment is the result of this differentiation caused the elimination of previous practices of family and cooperative labor. In this analysis of field research, it will be tried to analyze the change in production forms and how this change specifically reflects over the agricultural labor in (1) production process and (2) socioeconomic and political terrain.

5.1 Production Process

5.1.1 Harvesting : From *İmece* to Where?

Whatever the production form designed for the subsistence or the market it is very proper to say that harvesting is the most critical part of the any kind of the production process. Although changes in production forms are the most determinant factors

regarding labor forms, primary reflections occurred in the harvesting ways. The Çiçekpınar case confirmed this idea as well. This is why harvesting history should firstly be analyzed in the Çiçekpınar case in order to scrutinize the change in production motivations and agricultural labor. In this sense, this section will analyze the interdependent relations between production form and labor forms under the umbrella of harvesting.

Çiçekpınar's region was not described as very convenient for agricultural production in the first settlement periods because of its location, piedmont of Koroğlu Mountains. Old-aged interviewees stated that there were no settled fields there when their ancestors arrived at the village. They had to create their fields by deforestation of mountain and grubbing crop seedlings by their own labor. Agricultural labor history in Çiçekpınar started by these practices and developed in parallel with the change in the products they crop, production motivations and production units.

It can be argued that Çiçekpınar experienced a period of peasantry until the middle of 20th century. This period can be described as a self-sufficiency period for the peasants since there was no accumulation, no exchange relationship or no production for the market. In this sense, the Çiçekpınar case could easily trace back the peasantry definition of Kerblay (1971) and Chayanov (1966), who state that self-sufficiency and the satisfaction of basic subsistence is the sole expectation of peasants in return for their labor. They defined this motivation as the distinguished character of peasantry from a capitalist rationale. In particular to Turkey, Akşit (1988) argues that the widespread practice in Turkey's peasantry was to cultivate the products like vegetables or fruits which allow peasants to be fed in a sufficient sense. In parallel with this argument, Çiçekpınar villagers always specified that money was not necessitated for their life in peasantry periods. They said they just cultivated their fields for wheat, corn and other basic needs which provide bread and simple meals. Women were said to cultivate small-ranged gardens for some vegetables such as bean, potatoes, onions, etc for nutritional requirements. Additionally, they were to breed animals most of which were cows to provide milk and yoghurt, hens for eggs and oxen for transportation. There was no need for money apart from something that

could not be met through cultivating, such as sugar, rice and oil. As one of interviewees, Fehmiye, summarized their livelihood in those times:

“Arsa olur mu, ormanlar açıldı işte... Ormanlar açıldı,sade biz değil herkes. Orman açıldı, kazıldı ektük yetiştirdük... Ondan sonra da toplamaya geldi sıra... Bi zaman sürüyor, o zaman amele yokti... Fındıktan geçinmeye başladık. Yevmiyeye de pek gidilmiyordu da, mısır boğday ekiliyordu ya, mesela pasulye bahçemizi yapıyorduk kendimiz, şimdi var öyle, ondan çıkan ne biliyim, tavuk vardı inek vardı diyom ya, onlarla geçim yapıyorduk işte.”⁹
(Fehmiye)

The deforestation of lands and cultivating those big lands was no doubt not that easy. Although, the best way to deforest or grub is with as big machines like diggers today, it should not forgotten that technology was not developed that much until the 1980s in Çiçekpınar. These circumstances and facilities determined the social and cultural environment in Çiçekpınar as Galeski (1971) expects. As it has been remembered, Galeski (1971) claims that peasants could/need to find common ground for rural cooperation for the community’s economic functions despite the fact that there are certain class differentiations within that community. In Çiçekpınar, this expectation is clearly observed. Peasants were said to need to develop a kind of labor system to grub, cultivate and harvest the products and also build upthe environment in order to survive. In this sense, they developed cooperative action to overcome the works burdened on their shoulders, which is called “imece”, shortly pronounced ‘meci’ by the villagers. *İmece* can be defined as a kind of borrowing system of people without entering exchange relationship. It is usually applied for the works which necessitate human force. This is why Çiçekpınar villagers referred to *imece*as spontaneously developed in the region and stimulated by indigence and lack of techniques. They had relatives, they had people, they had works to fulfill, they did not have permanent jobs linked to the market or they did not enter into any exchange relations with the market. They only needed to survive and obtain their livelihood and the best way to reach this could be met through their own labor. In this sense, it has been traced back

⁹ “What land... just the clearing out of the forests... Forests were cleared, not just by us, but everyone else. They were cleared out, digged up and we planted and grew hazelnuts. Then it came to picking. It takes some time, and there are no laborers around that time... We started to get by through hazelnut. They didn't go for daily wages those days, they cropped corn or wheat, for example we did our own bean field. There still are things like that, I don't know, chickens, cows... I'm telling you, that was how we got by.” (Fehmiye)

to the Keyder's (1988) argument that peasantry life is shaped by physical requirements and social relations within the village based on reciprocity rather than prices or autonomous markets' determinations. Sources of *imece* in Çiçekpınar exemplified this argument in a very clear way. Comments about *imece* and its importance are handled by the villagers as below:

“Bu köy yerleşik köy düzeni olduğu için en köşedeki köydeki hane ile en üst köşedeki hane uzaktan da olsa akraba. Yani kuzey güney akraba doğu batıdaki olanlar da birbirine akraba olduğu için şimdi para da olmadığı için ne yapacağız? Eş dost akraba,..., benim işim bitince onun yardımına biz gidecez. Bu şekilde hallederiz.”¹⁰(Recep)

“Para yok. Para olmadığı için işleri birbirimizle yardımlaşmayla, mesela ev yapacağız tuğlayı öküz arabalarıyla taşıyoruz, ağaçları öküz arabalarıyla, birbirimize yardım ediyoruz- o bana yardım ediyor ben ona yardım ediyom, tırpanlara ben ona gidiyom o bize geliyor. Eskiden para hiç yoktu yani para diye bir şey yok, mısır ek buğday ek, ye.”¹¹(Sabri)

At this point, it is very striking to remember Stirling's (1971) expressions on Turkey's villages, where strong social ties could easily be found, he says. According to Stirling, kinship networks were one of the most common forms leading to those ties in Turkey, which created an economic, political, religious sense of bonding. In Çiçekpınar, interviews also showed that *imece* was constructed within the village boundaries and between villagers, but mostly their relatives. Since Çiçekpınar was settled by 4-5 big families, it was not that hard for them to maintain, so there was no disruption during the process they justify. *İmece* for grubbing and husking were said to operate especially within the women of the village. When a woman was called to join an *imece* group, there was no excuse or discomfort to go since they knew that they all needed each other. This is also why *imece* action can be run in the village for

¹⁰ “Because this is a settled village layout, the house on the farthest corner and the one on the upper farthest are relatives, even if it's distant. That is, north and south, and east and west are relatives and since there's no money, what were we gonna do? Friends and family, relatives and all – we'll go help them on their jobs after mine is through. We'll solve it like that.” (Recep)

¹¹ “No money. Since there's no money, we'll do everything with cooperation. For example, if we build a house, we'll carry the bricks and wood with ox carts. We help each other out – I help him, he helps me; I go to his field with scythe, and he does the same for me. Back in my day, there was no money, I mean, just crop some corn or wheat, and then eat.” (Sabri)

a long time without any rupture and problems. Muzafer Konca, who experienced both past and current, evaluated the aspects of transformation:

“Ben gelmem diyen yoktu. Hatta mesela şu adamın işi geride kaldı hastası var yapamadı valla köylü birkaç kişi toplanıp o adamın işini görürlerdi. Şimdi öyle değil. Şimdi planlar değişti, iş paraya bindi. Paran varsa kulun var, paran yok kimsen yok.”¹²(Muzafer)

As Shanin (1971) discusses in his remarkable book, peasantry was characterized by family-based vocational training and an especially low level of specialization because of the existence of particular expectations and tasks. In this case, by following the traces of Shanin’s analysis, the peasantry period in Çiçekpınar did also not necessitate a strong division of labor among women and men although the diversification of necessities still make it visible to a certain degree. In Çiçekpınar, women and men were said to be involved in the cultivation and harvesting process together. On the other hand, it has been observed that they shared some specific responsibilities concerning other tasks apart from food production. Women were responsible for cooking, animal breeding, house working, and raising children while men were responsible for earning money for additional needs. Old-aged interviewees said that they usually carried woods to the cities for selling to ovens, transported people to the city center or ran their special occupations such as shoe-making, forging etc. Under these circumstances, women were responsible for ‘inside’ while men were for ‘outside’ concerning daily life practices, although production process did not recognize any division of labor among them.

Although daily life practices separated women and men into different realms and roles, they were also mostly organized through cooperative action in Çiçekpınar in the past. When it was asked in which realms the *imece* is applied, most of the interviewees usually replied that *imece* was not defined as a way only to harvest or cultivate. Indeed, it was to survive, way to build up their houses, way to produce, way to earn money, way to socialize for them. In other words, as Fei (1948; as cited

¹² “Nobody said they wouldn’t come. In fact, if someone fell back on things to do, say- because they have to take care of an ill family member, I swear villagers would come together and get things done. Not now, though. Now, the plans have changed, it’s about the money. If you have money, you got people, if you don’t, you have no one.” (Muzafer)

in Shanin, 1971) argues for peasantry, it is “a way of life.” For example, old Çiçekpınar houses were said to build by men themselves through *imece* as well. Each man, from different families, came together and contributed his own occupation during the construction. For example, the oldest man of Çiçekpınar, Mehmet, said that he was civil foreman learned from his father, and he joined in with almost every house-building in the village during those times. Examples can be increased some of which are exemplified by Metin and Sezgin:

“Mesela imecesadece ... Bahçede tarlada çalışmayla olmazdı. Bir kişi bir ev mi yapıyor, köy hemen hemen tanıdık tanımadık hemen herkes kazmasıyla keseriyle çivisiyle baltasıyla omzunda odunuyla gelip o eve destek sağladı, yani ücret almaksızın. Para yok. Gelir, o bitene kadar orda çalışırdı.”¹³(Metin)

“İmece başka işlerde de vardı. Mesela senin (ürün) toplanacaktı mesela, gelirler yardım ederlerdi, mesela sen hastasın yahut senin bir hastan var, sen toplayamadın, toplarlardı. Veyahut mısırın vardı ona gelirlerdi, buğdayın varsa buğdaya gelirlerdi. Bahçede bir işin varsa ona gelirlerdi. Bu evler yapılırken mesela falan, onları tam hatırlamıyorum da, çok eskiymiş o.”¹⁴(Sezgin)

In these practices, it is very easy to follow certain characteristics of pre-capitalist societies as Karl Polanyi (1944) suggests in *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, in which he discussed the transformation from pre-capitalism to capitalism. According to him, “social” was the main objective in pre-capitalist system while “economy” was just a tool. Non-economic areas, referring to religious and social institutions, family, and community, and economic area were embedded in pre-capitalist order. The reason was obvious here that people needed each other; they were responsible for each other since there was no technology; there was no additional supportive factor. Thus, community was of huge

¹³ “For instance, cooperative work wasn't solely laboring on the field. If someone is building a house, almost all the people in the village -whether acquaintance or not- would come up with their digger, adze, nails, axe on the shoulder and contribute to the making, obviously without getting paid. No money. They'd just come and work there until it's done.” (Metin)

¹⁴ “We had collaborative work for other things as well. If you had something to collect, they'd come help you, or if you had someone ill or you couldn't pick yours, they'd do it. If you had corn or wheat, they'd come to that. If you had things to be done in your garden, they'd come there. Like when these houses were being built, for example, I don't really remember, it's so long ago.” (Sezgin)

importance and people taking part in the community were all interconnected. In Çiçekpınar *imece* seems to develop under the conditions of a low level of technology and no additional supportive mechanisms which resulted they need each other, as Polanyi (1944) expected for pre-capitalism. Additionally, these statements have drawn Çiçekpınar through traces of pre-capitalist societies as defined by Rose (1996). According to him, pre-capitalist societies were established upon mechanic solidarity, social protection, reciprocity, little specialization and, no competition or standardization, while capitalist societies have been constructed upon organic solidarity, huge specialization, high level of interdependency and competition have been dominant. In the case of Çiçekpınar, it can be argued that *imece* can be represented as the practice derived from mechanic solidarity and reciprocity under the conditions of pre-capitalism.

Until the 1950s it can be said that Çiçekpınar witnessed a peasantry period relying upon self-sufficiency for their livelihood. Hazelnut production started in 1955s as the Headman of Çiçekpınar, Recep stated. According to him, hazelnut production was firstly tried around 1940s in the actual sense; however, it expanded throughout the village in 1955s. This discourse of the Headman corresponds to Turkey's political and economic shifts in historical progress as well. As it has been discussed before, the regions like Düzce, Bolu, etc. were attributed as second standard regions of hazelnut production as a result of Turkey's State interventions into the agriculture during the 1950s. Since hazelnuts have been claimed to carry trade value throughout the world, it was put on the agenda of the State and encouraged to be cultivated in certain regions including Akçakoca (Sönmez, 1993). The expansion of hazelnut production into Çiçekpınar, therefore, was not a coincidence regarding historical facts. On the other hand, the Headman of Çiçekpınar claimed that hazelnuts were not totally alien to villagers. Their ancestors were claimed to have migrated from Georgia around the first part of 20th century, and through this the hazelnut was introduced during their Black Sea journey until they arrived at Çiçekpınar. According to this, there had been a few seedlings left by their ancestors that would make hazelnut production begin for the first time. In addition to historical closure, expanded hazelnut production in the Black Sea Region has also been evaluated to

trigger Çiçekpınar villagers for initiative. In villagers' opinions, it must be indicated that the expansion into hazelnut production across the region was actually an additional effect for them to initiate it; as, they needed to raise their living standards. Beratiye and Murat, whose youth period witnessed the previous agricultural labor process, defined the motivations behind transition to hazelnut production:

“Baktık gördük ki bu işlerle olmayacak, sağda fındık ekilmiş solda fındık ekilmiş, Giresun fındık yapıyor işte iyi gelir getiriyor Ordu fındık yapıyor işte iyi gelir getiriyor ondan sonra onlar yaparken dediler ki bunlar da, biz de fındık yapalım. Fındığımızı ekmeye başladık.”¹⁵(Beratiye)

“O zamanları babalarımız dikmiş biraz 3-5 dönüm. Bir bakıyorlar ki fındık güzel para yapıyor. Şimdi diyelim ben bu tarlada mısır ekecem veyahut buğday, diyelim ki 1milyonluk buğday alacam bir sürü uğraşacam, fındık ekiyorum 2 mislisini alıyorum fındıktan noldu? Hep fındığa yöneldi. Taa izmitten bu tarafa herkese aynı şey oldu.”¹⁶(Murat)

Although it will be specifically focused on harvesting process of hazelnut production in this analysis, it must be noted that hazelnut production required quite long and hard working stages. Harvesting season is between August and October. Before passing to harvesting, fields must be scythed and cleaned from puny sprigs during June and July, in order to make harvesting more efficient. During the harvesting period, hazelnut should be dried up under the direct sun after collating in a place, called the threshing floor. The harvesting process includes cultivating, collecting crops from the fields, bringing to the floor, drying up, dehulling and bagging. After completing harvesting works, the weak hazelnut branches must be cut in order to raise young ones between October and November. In addition to these processes, fertilization is said to become very critical for efficiency in production, and must be

¹⁵ “Then we came to realize it wasn't going to do with these kind of things. They had harvested hazelnuts everywhere. Giresun does it and makes good money, Ordu does it and makes good money. Then our people said, let's do it while others are doing it, let's harvest our own hazelnut. And we started to plant our hazelnut.” (Beratiye)

¹⁶ “Those days our fathers had harvested a bit, like 3-5 decares. They see hazelnut job profits well. Let's say I planted this field with corn or wheat, I need to get wheat 1 millions worth, and plus work hard. Instead, I harvest hazelnut and get twice as much. What has come of hazelnut? Everyone gravitated toward it. The same thing happened all the way from Izmit to here.” (Murat)

applied in different times of the year regarding their specific character. Sabri, whose fields are relatively much in the village, summarized the process:

“Ekeceksin, içini koşacaksın gübreleyeceksin, filizler var filizleri alacaksın, kuru dalları sökeceksin. Tam rayına oturmak için 10 sene bekleyeceksin 10 sene. 10 sene sonra tam rayına verir. Gene her sene filiz alacaksın, ince filizler. Kuru dallarını keseceksin gübresini gene vereceksin, seneden seneye toplayacaksın. Toplatacaksın. Eskiden kendimiz topluyorduk az iken, şimdi hep yevmiyeyle. Eskiden imece usulü vardı, sen bana tırpana geliyordun; ben sana tırpana geliyordum.”¹⁷ (Sabri)

All these stages are fulfilled by the villagers during the times their labor force suffices. After insufficiency came up due to accelerated production and the change in production motivations, alternative ways were searched for, which will be elaborated in later parts.

The period between 1955s and the 1970s exhibited traces of petty commodity production in Çiçekpınar in many senses. Family labor was still the basis of labor form for production so that residents' life continued in the same way as previous times for a long time. The difference that occurred in their lives was to sell their products to the market and diffusion of money into their livelihood. Villagers, as commodity producers now, targeted production for the market. These are all moving traces of Boratav's (2004) formulation of PCP as "... (it) refers to a situation including direct producers, having means of production in a real sense, production based on his own or his family's labor, in return partially or completely for market but actually for the purpose of consumption without accumulation." In Çiçekpınar, the basics of PCP, family labor, production for market and, consumption-based production, are said to be observable with regard to villagers' discourses. It should also be noted that the political and economic conjunctures in Turkey during these periods are very convenient for the extension of petty production in Çiçekpınar too. Turkey's State had intervened into the agricultural production in order to integrate it

¹⁷ “You have to plant, plough inside the field, manure, get the sprouts, and rip off the dead branches. You need to wait for 10 years in order to get it on track – 10 years! After 10 years, it gets just right. Still, you have to take the sprouts every year, tiny sprouts, cut out the dead branches, manure, and pick up year after year. You'll have it picked. We used to pick it up ourselves, when we had little, but now it's all on daily wages. There used to be the collaborative custom, you came to me with scythe, and I came to you.” (Sabri)

into the free trade and foreign markets since the 1950s. In this sense, price and income supports were being provided to the petty producers which would be supposed to extend production into high efficiency. Supportive purchases, price subversions, credit distributions, promotion of modern farming technologies are fundamental ones that the State provided to peasants (Aydın, 2010). This all resulted in an accelerated momentum in hazelnut production in Çiçekpınar as well, since hazelnut was one of the most critical crops during those years surrounded by various purchases and supports. Labor forms were also affected by this shift in production. *İmece* in Çiçekpınar has changed its form during this process although it has never been abandoned for a long time. What changed was that wheat and corn fields were turned into hazelnut fields very quickly and each family started to deal with cultivating their own hazelnut seedlings. Hazelnut production always required green keepings with many different stages as it has been mentioned in the above paragraph. To adapt such processes required very hard work and very different living standards. Villagers said that it continues for the whole year because its stages needed to be met in different times. The most difficult part for them is to harvest since it necessitates completing many works at the same time.

These circumstances in Çiçekpınar trace Sirman-Eralp's (1988) arguments on how time becomes the critical criteria for determining the labor demand of peasants in Turkey's villages. According to her observations, time concern could make peasants conduct new labor sources, especially off-household labor, but without any spending money. Therefore, they consulted a kind of free labor system based on borrowing mechanism among relatives, neighbors, etc. which leads to the development of labor networks within the village (Sirman-Eralp, 1988). The Çiçekpınar case carried the traces of these propositional statements in a very clear sense and exemplified Turkey's case in general.

It is very important to notice that the PCP period experienced in hazelnut production did not totally eliminate the *imece* system in the agricultural labor in Çiçekpınar. Villagers still continued to carry out their works through cooperative action until 1970s. Nevertheless, family labor came into prominence compared to before. This

practice recalls Shanin (1971)'s statement that petty producers usually employ intense family labor for the production. It is very applicable for Çiçekpınar case as well. Hazelnuts must be harvested in certain months between August and October and each family must deal with their own harvesting process in the field. Although some villagers stated that they continued to apply *imece* system for harvesting as well, most villagers seemed to prefer family labor to harvest for long years. On the other hand, *imece* still operated for other stages of hazelnut production by all villagers. 56-year-old Metin explained why and how *imece* was operated in hazelnut production:

“Fındık toplamada değil de, genelde taneyi kabuktan çıkartmada oluyordu. Fındık toplamak, herkes kendi bahçesinde toplamak zorundaydı, çünkü sezonu oydu. O sezonda herkes kendi bahçesinde. Ama fındık toplama işi bittikten sonra yine ilkel metotlarla taneyi kabuktan çıkartma işlemi oluyor, o zaman bu günler alıyordu, fındığı az olan hemen bunu hallediyor, çok olan akşamları usulü ile giderler yardım ederler(di).”¹⁸(Metin)

Turkey's political and economic situation exhibits an analogy with the Çiçekpınar case when analyzed as an historical process. State interventions, supportive purchases and especially mechanization momentum resulted in sustained output increases across Turkey's agriculture since the 1960s. Although mechanization could no longer open new arable lands after 1970s, existing lands were fertilized and getting more efficient through technological inputs. Therefore, there was explicit acceleration in both production and land efficiency (Makal, 2001; İlkaracan & Tunalı, 2010). During these periods, Çiçekpınar seems to be under the influence of current developments in the country. Small farming methods, which were family labor and *imece* system, started to be insufficient for meeting the acceleration in hazelnut production after 1970s. Interviewees reported that they expanded their fields, bought new lands for cultivating hazelnuts and started to accumulate their earnings from production in this way, which directly prepared for the end of the

¹⁸ “The collaboration was generally in husking the hazelnuts, not in picking them. Picking – everyone had to do it in their garden, because that was its season. Everybody was in their own garden. However, after the picking is done, it's time for husking, which is done with primitive methods. It took days at the time. People who had little got it done fast, and went to help with *imece* to the ones that had a lot.” (Metin)

peasantry and the small farming process. Increasing number of fields and the development of technology resulted in an insufficiency of cooperative action to harvest or to dehull. Fields were increasingly yielded and each family could only deal with their own works so that there was no time for any other works operated in *imece*. Therefore, Çiçekpınar villagers sought for a new way to harvest their increased quantity of crops and dehull them which resulted in purchasing a labor force. Interviewee Hüseyin Avni described the situation: “O zamanlar fındık az olduğu için atıyorum sende 1 ton fındık vardı 1 ton fındığı senin ailen de kalabalıktı 1 ton fındığı senin ailen topladıktan sonra yevmiyeye giderlerdi, ötekine bana yevmiyeye giderlerdi, fındık azdı.”¹⁹As it has been reflected, interviewees elaborated the transition in labor force in parallel with the acceleration process. Another woman, 63-year-old Emine, justified their transition to purchasing a labor force through the same reason by saying “Eskiden 1-2 ton fındık toplarken mesela, bizim bu evi mesela, şimdi oldu 10 tondan fazla fındık; noldu meciyle(imeceyle) fındık? Herkes kendi fındığını topluyor, mecbur işçiye döndük.”²⁰

As it has been discussed, Kazgan (1988) argues that petty producers could export labor in the time of surplus labor or import labor in the time of scarcity of labor. In the other framework, they could employ wage labor or be employed as seasonal wage labor. According to both Kazgan (1988) and Ecevit (1999), these are very widespread practices as supportive to petty production. The Çiçekpınar case has also traces of these arguments. When increasing fields and/or outputs made cooperative action insufficient to drive the production process, villagers’ first way to overcome this shift was to bring 5 and 7 workers from close cities, such as Zonguldak or Düzce, in return for money. They are called “domestic” workers by villagers because of their commonality in the region. Interviews showed that it was the first time for the Çiçekpınar population to fulfill their work need by purchasing a labor force rather than cooperative action. Beforehand, their livelihood did not necessitate money or an

¹⁹“Because there was little hazelnut those days, for example, if you had a ton of it, your big family were able to pick it up and go for daily wages to other people's.” (Avni)

²⁰“When we picked up 1-2 tons of hazelnut at past, or (constructing) this house, for instance... Now we have 10 tons of hazelnut, what happened to harvesting with meci (imece)? Everyone picks up his own hazelnut, we have to employ wage worker.” (Emine)

exchange relationship thanks to the means of cooperative living standards; however, production for the market created ruptures in their life. Another alternative to those workers was to work with their own villagers/neighbors, but again in return for money. Households who expanded their production needed workers to complete the hazelnut processing, and some villagers had time to work in other fields since they did not have the capability to extend their own production yet. It has been observed here as a kind of unbalanced development in the village production among peasants as well. In this sense, Boratav's (2004) arguments on social stratification developed by capitalist penetration into the agricultural life are very visible in the Çiçekpınar case. In the village, it was very easy to recognize almost all types of social levels Boratav formulates, apart from land ownership: there were many rich and middle villagers, some poor villagers and land workers whose labor serves another. This stratification has appeared to lead the creation of different labor forms in Çiçekpınar as mentioned.

Elimination of the *imece* system can be theorized as it occurred because of technological development and migration, which are already interconnected to each other as Akşit (1999) discussed before. On the one hand, technological changes resulted in a "considerable sized shift in production functions for certain product or product set" (Aruoba 1988). More fields have been cultivated by the villagers; many more products have been obtained. Although mechanization was usually expected to reduce labor-intensive production, the acceleration in production and more technological interventions necessitated more people to meet/apply them (Ankara SBF, 1954). On the other hand, mechanization and other technological staff are not available for each villager in an equal level, so that some producers preferred to migrate to urban areas since the 1970s, which has resulted in the decline of "permanent workers" and "cooperative action" within the village (Akşit, 1999). These suggestions are very applicable to explain why Çiçekpınar villagers were required to seek for different labor forms and alternatives during the mentioned periods. In the village, technological development made "domestic" workers or villager workers not sufficient to meet the acceleration in production after a while. Additionally, many village workers are said to migrate to the urban because of many

reasons that will be mentioned later in detail or “domestic” workers from close cities were said to decide on hazelnut production in their own lands in latter periods. Under these circumstances, petty producers in Çiçekpınar needed to find new labor sources to maintain their production steps, especially harvesting, and higher numbers of seasonal workers from especially Southeastern Anatolia, whose cases will be elaborated later, have become their new solution. In this way, the agricultural labor form in Çiçekpınar reached its current framework by witnessing strike transformation in time. Interviewees, 79-year-old Muzafer and 70-year-old İzettin, associated this transformation with purchasing power developed through accelerated production as below:

“Yardımlaşma vardı ama biraz da gariplik olduğu için vardı. O zaman adamın 500 kilo fıncığı varsa sonra sonra 5 ton çıkmaya başladı. O adam istemez artık; o adam çalıştırır. Parası var adamın.”²¹(Muzafer)

Yardımlaşma olurdu o zaman 1965 aşağı yukarı 1960 1965e kadar yardımlaşma vardı ondan sonra yok yani fıncık da yetişti herkeste para oldu, şimdi işin oldu mi para vereceksin, çağırırsın adamı ihtiyacın oldu mi başka birşey yok.”²²(İzettin)

As “domestic” workers are called “domestic” because of their regional origins, seasonal workers are called “Kurdish” workers with reference to their both regional and ethnic origins. The time “Kurdish” workers come to the village corresponded to the end of cooperative action with the side effect of technological development, which will be discussed later. Interviewees stated that they brought a certain number of workers from Southeastern Anatolia, negotiated for before the harvesting period. Numbers of workers are determined regarding the scale of production. The range changes from 10 to 20 workers. Villagers specified that “Kurdish” workers come to the village with their family including children. Therefore, workers know each other but familiarity established with “domestic” workers could not be built with “Kurdish” workers, in the villagers’ perception.

²¹ “Cooperation existed but a bit due to the misery/poorness. A man who had 500 kilos of hazelnut, later got 5 tons it. That man has got to hire people. He has money now.” (Muzafer)

²² “There was cooperation then, till 1965 – roughly till 1960-65 – then it stopped. Hazelnuts grew and everyone had money. Now, if you need something done, you’ll pay, you’ll call the men. There’s nothing else.” (İzettin)

Having elaborated the transformation in agricultural labor Çiçekpınar experienced, it has been concluded that the shift from peasantry to petty commodity production leads to the development of different labor forms in the village. While *imece* was the way of life during peasantry periods, family labor and different employment forms came into prominence for petty commodity production, although the total abolishment of *imece* took a really long time in Çiçekpınar. What triggered this shift, on the other hand, included different aspects of production such as technology, migration, political and economic structures in the country, etc. However, the reflections over this shift are certainly visible in the harvesting stage of the production which is why harvesting is handled as the focus point of the analysis of the change in agricultural labor in Çiçekpınar.

5.1.2 Skill: De-skilling?

Change in production form necessarily brings different results alongside with regard to labor processes, including de-skilling process as an illustration. It is obvious that both peasantry by wheat or corn cultivation and hazelnut production necessitated their own labor processes and agrarian methods to provide efficiency. In this sense, knowing the details of the production is no doubt possible by introducing the crops and taking part in its processing. Hazelnut production especially is always said to require many operations which can only be fulfilled by someone knows it. Emine summarized in which terms it necessitated skills:

“Bir vasıf gerektiriyor tabi ki. Tabii. Onun ne zaman gübresini atacan, hangi ayda hangi gübreyi atacan, kaç, altı yedi çeşit belki de sekiz çeşit gübre var. hangi ayda hangisi atılır, hangisi hangi şeye yararlıdır? Dal ilacı var, ot ilacı var... Ne zaman tırpan yapacan, onları sırasıyla bilecen. Filiz ne zaman, dal eski ayda kesilir yeni ayda kesilmez. Çürük yapar, kökünü çürütür fındığın, öbür dalına da zarar verir diye eski ayda kesilir mesela büyük dallar. Bunları hep bilen birisi yapacak.”²³ (Emine)

²³ “It surely requires a qualification. Of course. When do you manure it, which fertilizer should you use in which month? There are seven, maybe six different kinds of manure. Which one is used which month or is good for what? There's a pesticide for branches, one for the grass/herbs... When do you need to scythe, you must know these in their order. When do sprouts come? Branches are cut off in the old month, not in the new. As it'll decay and rot the hazelnut roots otherwise, and harm other branches as well, large branches are cut off in the old month. These all are to be done by someone who is capable.” (Emine)

What is striking is that as the actors taking place in the agricultural labor changed and varied, it is inevitable to observe a certain degree of the loss in the ability to produce as well. In the Çiçekpınar case, the shift from *imece* to seasonal employment explicitly resulted in the change in skilling framework of the production process, which will be analyzed in this section now.

Change in agricultural labor has inherently witnessed a clear discontinuity in terms of familiarity and skills of workers in Çiçekpınar. Although Çiçekpınar has not experienced any kind of capitalist farming and labor process, what Braverman (1974) suggests about Taylorist management in industrial capitalism is obviously applicable with regard to agricultural production in this case. His suggestion that labor skilling is subjected to decrease with capitalist penetration seems to be experienced in Çiçekpınar, with the momentum in petty commodity production. In the village, changing labor agents like seasonal workers are not described as craftsman or experienced by the villagers. Likewise, younger generations or workers coming from outside were not perceived as having the same capabilities in hazelnut production. Since *imece* was practiced by the villagers who knew the process from the very beginning, their skill and tendency to work was high and dominant. On the other hand, the skills of workers seem to fall in time according to degree of agents' familiarity to the process. In this sense, "domestic" workers, seasonal workers or young generations of the village have different levels of skills, which were, however, decreasing gradually in common. "domestic" workers or Çiçekpınar youth do not create hard problems in terms of skill. Although first time "domestic" workers arriving at Çiçekpınar seemed to witness certain adaptability problems to the process, they were to overcome these in short time thanks to common regional sharing. The same for youth in Çiçekpınar. The situation is getting worse when it comes to seasonal employers since transformation in labor skilling process becomes visible after they come to the side, in the villagers' opinion. Since they were subjected to migration due to different reasons than production (Çınar & Lordoğlu, 2011) and were coming from very different regional backgrounds, they were not familiar with hazelnut production for sure. Thus, they were said to adapt to production process in a very slow tempo, which lead to certain ruptures in production steps. One

interviewee, who has employed around 10 seasonal workers for a long time in harvesting, cited this issue in very clear statements:

“Onlar bilmiyorlar. En büyük fark bu işte: Bilmeyenle bilen bir olur mu? İlmını bilmiyorlar. Ama onlar da öğrenmeye başladılar şimdi. Daldan bir kere toplayamazlar onlar, hep yerden! Ama bizim yerlilerimiz veyahut da imece usulü yaptığımız zaman, herkes kendi tarlasındaki dalı da eğer, kökünü de toplar, herşeyini de toplar... Ama bunlar öyle değil! Onları eğitemiyorsun, senin dediğine gitmiyor hiçbiri.”²⁴ (Neziha)

What triggered the de-skilling process in Braverman’s (1974) thesis for industrial capitalism is also applicable for the Çiçekpınar agricultural case: mechanization and separation of work into its constituent elements and among different workers, resulted in the decrease in skill need as well. It has really traced his arguments that technological production made many jobs turn into physical activities thanks to machines and the work which spontaneously caused a decrease in relevant skill for the fulfillment of the work (Braverman, 1974). This is what Çiçekpınar’s producers perceived in this historical progress, too. According to them, workers’ skills are not questioned as much as before since technological tools and machines made production process more comfortable and practical after they expanded in Çiçekpınar. During field research, old-aged interviewees showed some machines and stated that they had essentially handled the works before that the machines do now. However, the young population who are used to working with machines from the beginning is not aware of previous methods for which human skill was needed. This is what bothers the villagers very much. In addition to Çiçekpınar youth, “Kurdish” seasonal workers or “domestic” workers do not qualify on dehulling or other production stages which were once fulfilled by human force in *imece* order due to the same reasons. Therefore, it can be argued that deskilling process seems to widen among the villagers themselves in Çiçekpınar after technological progress replaced by human force. 54-year-old Sezgin, whose children work in other jobs rather than

²⁴ “They don't know. It's the biggest difference. Could the ones who know and who don't be the same? They don't know the technicality of it. But they've started to learn. They are not capable of picking the hazelnuts from the branches, they always pick it from the ground. Yet, our locals or people in *İmece* are able to bend the branches, pick up the roots, get everything done... but these (the laborers) aren't like that! You can't teach them, they won't do as you say.” (Neziha)

hazelnut producing, analyzed their own young population in terms of deskilling and preferences:

“Benim çocuklarım ilgilenmez. Bizden sonraki nesiller belki de hiç yapmaz. Şimdiki gençler çalışmak istemiyor... İlmimi bilmiyorlar, yaptıklarının da ilmimi bilmiyorlar. Zor geliyor hatta güneşin altında, mesela çalıştıkları yer, orada da çalışıyorlar terliyorlar ama oranın yorulması ile tarla yorulması bir değil, bir de ilim bilmedikleri için bakımlarını bilmedikleri için herhalde şimdiki nesiller...”²⁵ (Sezgin)

There are certain reflections of the de-skilling process over employment conditions which have already been discussed before. What Braverman (1974) expects in an industrial framework was that the de-skilling process would make managers isolate workers from conception part of the work and attributed them only by execution. It seems reasonable for the Çiçekpınar case as well. According to villager Nebahat's statements of “Meciye (imeceye) gittin mi herkes işini biliyor, emir veren olmuyor, şunu böyle yap deyen olmuyor, herkes kendi işini biliyor, kendi işini yapıyor”²⁶, there was no need for the separation of conception from execution in *imece* times which directly affected the need to be cognizant of the production. When the peasantry period was operated by *imece* in Çiçekpınar, workers seemed to be surrounded by the power of both conception and execution, functions which let them develop and progress their own labor skills. However, this practice seems to be removed in time as “domestic” or seasonal workers took their place in the process. Employers have been said to tend to take the responsibility to plan, and control what they plan after that. In other words, commands have already directed the workers to act in the ways planned before. Interviewees perceived that “domestic” or seasonal workers were not capable of shaping the process in the most convenient ways because they do not know the work process in detail. Therefore, they prefer to make workers keep away

²⁵ “My children are not interested. Maybe the next generation won't be doing it at all. Nowadays, the young don't want to work. They lack technicality, even if they do it. It appears hard to them, under the sun. They work in their jobs and get tired there as well, but it is not the same with the toil of the fields. Also, there is, in this generation, the lack of knowledge on both technicality and care. Home owner was the employer but not quite. Everyone was a employer there, as we weren't strangers to each other. The home owner seemed like the employer but in fact he'd come and work the fields with us.” (Sezgin)

²⁶ “When you go to meci (imece), everybody knows what they they're supposed to do. No one gives directions, nobody says do that this way, everyone knows their own jobs and does that.” (Nebahat)

from the conception process; rather, they are adapted to do what has been determined before. The villagers' justification behind this transition is very clear that they targeted to reach at the highest work efficiency during a day. In their mind, main target should become to fulfill the work load rather than autonomy of workers/craftsmen. These practices are both the causes and results of de-skilling process.

Although seasonal workers become the most widespread employment forms for harvesting in hazelnut production today, it is still valid to say that high-intensity family labor remains the most critical characteristics of PCP as Özüğurlu (2012) claims. As it has been cited before, hazelnut production is not only made up of harvesting and dehulling. Hazelnut fields must be scythed and cleaned from weak sprigs and old hazelnut branches must be cut in order to make young trees grow up as said before. Additionally, technological development seems to lead new operations added into the process, such as fertilization or irrigation. Seasonal or "domestic" workers only fulfilled operations included in the harvesting process because they are brought to the village just for this function. Interviewees always stated that workers are needed to meet the acceleration in the hazelnut accumulation especially during the harvesting process. Other steps of production are still driven by the intensive family labor or cooperative action. This is why, in a sense, current producers in Çiçekpınar are called petty producers. In the village, family labor is left by most parts of the production process, while seasonal workers are professionalized by only harvesting. Recep, who said he brought 15 workers for one season, exemplified it as cited below:

"Onlar toplama işini biliyorlar, başka işi bilmezler. Sadece toplama işini bilirler. Diğer alternatif işlerini biz yaparız. Bunun budaması, gübrelemesi, çapalaması, altındaki otunu almasını, bunlara iki sefer gübre veriliyor, yazlık gübre kışlık gübre, bunları hep biz yaparız. Sadece toplama hasatta bu Güneydoğu'dan gelen işçiler kullanılır, başka da kullanmıyoruz."²⁷ (Recep)

²⁷ "They know picking up, nothing else. Only the picking. Other alternative deeds are done by us. From pruning, manuring, hoeing and weeding to the second manuring – one for summer and one for winter – we do all that. The laborers from Southeast are used only in harvest, not any other time." (Recep)

The interesting point here is that division of labor is not only operational between seasonal workers and family labor. Indeed, it is also feasible within the family labor after petty production deeply penetrated into their life which is different from peasantry periods mentioned before. Increased work load and branches triggered by accelerated production processes created a strong division of labor among family members in Çiçekpınar. Simple livelihood experienced before did not separate the work realms strictly between men and women. However, hazelnut production with an accelerated momentum and different branches seems to bring visible division of labor along. It makes men deal with scything and cutting branches, while women are left the sprig cleaning and collecting of crops. It was exemplified in Mutioğlu family that young men said that they never go to the fields for collecting because they do not deal with it. On the other hand, there is no adult woman in the village involved in scything or cutting process. Past experiences that everyone deals with every work in a certain degree could not be operational in current conditions, which encourage deskilling, especially in recent generations.

It was figured out in Çiçekpınar that the change in agricultural labor is not only related to the ways to harvest or to produce but also related to the skilling framework of workers involved in the process. From *imece* to seasonal employment, different actors in the process brought about different skill levels with regard to their familiarity with the production steps. In addition to that, mechanization represented a breaking point on behalf of the need for a human work force, which resulted in de-skilling potential in latter generations in the village or latter workers coming to the village. Since *imece* was covering whole parts of agricultural life and there was no developed technology, human force and their skills mean everything to drive production and life. However, petty commodity production and its newly coming actors were not subjected to the intense need for human force thanks to mechanization and they only become familiar to certain parts of agricultural production, unlike *imece* times. These seem to have resulted in a de-skilling process in the change of agricultural labor in Çiçekpınar as expected.

5.1.3 Control Mechanisms: From Paternalist to Despotic Control

The de-skilling process is directly or indirectly effective over different aspects of labor process in Çiçekpınar. Control mechanisms over the workers are one of them, which alter in their forms in parallel with the change in agricultural labor process. It is clearly observed in Çiçekpınar that the ways and forms of controlling are subjected to change as different actors and motivations penetrated into the agricultural labor. In the practices of *imece* or family labor, paternalistic control mechanisms are more widespread while “domestic” labor and seasonal employment bring more despotic control systems alongside. These observations reminded us again what Braverman (1974) says about Taylorism’s effect over labor processes in capitalism. Although his arguments were formulated with regard to capitalist penetration into industrial labor processes, it is also observed in agricultural labor process in evolution towards capitalism, in the case of Çiçekpınar’s agriculture. Braverman (1974) argues that Taylorism affects labor forms in three ways: “dissociation of the labor process from the skills of the workers”; “separation of conception from execution”; “use of this monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labor process and its mode of execution.” The de-skilling process and its reflections over conception of the work seems to penetrate into the agricultural labor in Çiçekpınar as it has been discussed in the previous section. Additionally, the penetration of seasonal employment or extended purchase of labor force also bring to employer producers in the village the third form; a high degree of monopoly over knowledge to control the whole labor process alongside. In this section, it will be analyzed with reference to villagers’ perceptions and experiences.

The practice of *imece* in the fields was usually managed for grubbing or harvesting of which each crop necessitated its own techniques to be sure. Although these techniques were certain and known by all villagers in Çiçekpınar, how they are used or in which steps they started to apply them were determined by the household as in the paternalistic way of control. For those joining *imece*, this was accepted as an unwritten rule and normal. For those hosting *imece* groups, on the other hand, this should not be abused and is actually unnecessary because people coming to *imece* had already known the process. Therefore, control mechanisms were very smooth in

imece times so that there is no intervention to the conception, execution or any other stages of the production. Villagers' perceptions of each other in *imece* times were very briefly put in Emine's statements:

“Ev sahibi bir patrondu ama aman aman değil. Herkes bir patrondu orada, çünkü yabancı değildik zaten birbirimize. Ev sahibi mesela patron gibi görünürdü ama o da senle benle çalışıyordu, birşey yok.”²⁸(Emine)

Agricultural labor change triggered by various aspects reflected over villagers' perceptions towards determination and control mechanisms. “Domestic” workers from close cities brought about striking shift in villagers' attitudes in this sense. How the rules were practiced or directed and how the householder positioned himself clearly changed when compared to previous perceptions. There are three main reasons for this transformation: trust, costs of labor and skills of working people.

Before analyzing these aspects respectively, we should elaborate what villagers understood by ‘control mechanisms’. They usually created an image of ‘employer’ in their mind who directs workers to maintain the process in an effective way. In other words, control mechanisms referred to ‘administration’ rather than working in the field itself. Some comments are cited here in order to understand villagers' perceptions while mentioning on “employer position” and what it brings on the behalf of controlling:

“Patron nasıl oluyor biliyor musun? Sen fındık toplamıyorsun. Gidiyorsun şimdi tarlaya, işçi başına oturuyorsun, işçiye kumanda veriyorsun, işçi çalışıyor. İşte patronsun. Ondan sonra da alıyorsun, eve getiriyorsun. Sabahleyin alıp tarlaya götürüyorsun. Onlara gösteriyorsun sıraları, onu bunu. Öyle... patron ona derler.”²⁹(Resmiye)

“Çocukları alıyorsun, diyosun sen 2 kişi burda dur 2 kişi burda, onları sıraya sokuyorsun ellerine kapları veriyorsun onlar duruyor sen de işte suyunu

²⁸ The household owner is a employer but not in too powerful way. Everyone is employer there because we were not unfamiliar to each other. The householder seemed like the employer but he/she was also working with us, nothing different.” (Emine)

²⁹ “Do you now what a employer is? You don't pick up the hazelnuts. You go to the field, sit before the workers, you command and they work. There you go. Then you take them home. In the morning, you take them to the fields again. You show them the order, this and that... That's what you call a employer.” (Resmiye)

çuvalını götürüyorsun işte, onu öğretiyorsun kızım şunu şöyle yap diye.”³⁰(Gönül)

The villagers’ approach to the control mechanisms recalls what Friedman (1977) argues on control mechanisms in the capitalist labor process whose types are divided into direct control and responsible autonomy. Although, as focused before, Friedman’s or Braverman’s arguments are referring to the capitalist penetration process into industry, Çiçekpınar is observed to experience their proposals during the petty commodity production, primitive phase of capitalism in agriculture. According to Friedman (1977), direct control, in which labor power is limited and assigned by close supervision and less responsibility, is more preferable than responsible autonomy in which workers are attributed by certain degree of autonomy and responsibility when labor is not well organized. In villagers’ perspectives, *imece* workers should be provided with more autonomous and slight practices during the harvesting although latter “domestic” or seasonal workers should be administered according to their managers’ determinations on what is necessitated next. It is easy to observe the tendency towards “direct control” mechanisms in Çiçekpınar when the agricultural labor shifted to seasonal employment.

A critical point here is that each image of ‘employer’ brings the existence of ‘employee’ position alongside. Whereas *imece* as a practice is operated by ‘workers’ no matter whether they are householders or not, “domestic” or seasonal workers are directly attributed as ‘employee’ from that moment. What created this encounter in villagers’ minds is their purchasing power and costs of labor. The money economics spread in Turkey since the 1950s started to reflect over the labor process in Çiçekpınar in this context. 77-year-old Sabri, who is one of the oldest employers in the village, inserted his employer position associated with it as quoted:

“Kontrol bende, mal sahibinde. Buradan başlıcaksınız burdan gidiceksiniz, o zaman bizim zamanımızda yani. Şimdi gene aynı da, şimdi parayla. İşçi geliyor dışardan mesela, parayla, ama gene komuta bizde. Eskiden komşuluk ilişkileri vardı, patron gibi olmuyordun yani. Şimdi patron oluyorsun. Parayla

³⁰ “You take them and tell two to stay here, the other two to stay there. You line them up, give them containers. They stand while you are bringing water or sacks to them. That is what you teach them to do something in that way.” (Gönül)

oluyorsun. Parayla dışarıdan işçiler geldiği için onlar yevmiye fiyatı tespit ediyorlar. Devlet tespit ediyor, yevmiyeyle parayla olunca patron olmuş oluyorsun. İşveren oluyorsun iş veriyorsun.”³¹(Sabri)

It must be stated that the biggest stimulator of changing perceptions comes from the existence of purchasing power, which created ‘cost account’. It is actually the concern to get profit. Seek for decreasing costs in the labor process directly affected employers’ attitude towards the workers coming to work. Previous experiences did not make the householder feel as ‘employer’ because there was no perception of ‘cost’ or ‘administer.’ Practices of *imece* were built upon the aim of cooperation through a way of borrowing. However, seasonal or “domestic” workers sold their labor force in order to survive. The idea of ‘cost’ for both sides reshaped the perceptions towards each other and control mechanisms. Headman of Çiçekpınar confesses the real motivation and said: “Bu iş artık para üzerine döndüğü için ne kadar çok çalışırsa işçiler iyi bitirdiği zaman o kadar büyük avanta elde edildiği için devamlı işçiler üzerindesin mümkün mertebe ne kadar çok toplayabiliyorsan. Şimdi onun peşine düştük yani.”³²It seems the most reasonable evaluation about control mechanisms in Çiçekpınar case.

Villagers’ perceptions towards controlling were also shaped by whom they work for. The image of the employer is, therefore, the reason why the villagers reacted against the idea of control when talked about the *imece* times. Since *imece* was a system operated by relatives or neighbors within the village, ‘control’ as a word evokes for offending reactions. According to villagers, there was no need to control or direct people coming for *imece* because of their intent and skill to work. Additionally, any employer-employee relations could not be established between those. Metin,

³¹ “I, as owner, have the control. In our times, you'd say “you start from here and go from there”. It's still the same, but now with money. Workers come, for example, because of money but we still have the control over them. You didn't become a real employer before, there were neighborhood relations. Now you become a employer. You do that with money. Because laborers come for money, they determine the daily wage. The government determines it. When it's through daily wage and money, you become a employer. You become an employer, and employ people.” (Sabri)

³² “As this now works on the money, and the more the laborers work and the more advantage you get from their good work, you are constantly on them. You try to get the best out of them, however more you can get. We're now after that.” (Recep)

correcting his attendance to *imece* for many times, differentiates *imece* from current practices in terms of motivation and intent by saying “Mecide (imecede) öyle bir çavuş pozisyonu yok, patronluk pozisyonu yok. Mecı tamamen farklı birşey. Hep iyi niyete dayalı, yardımlaşmaya dayalı bir şey olduğu için orada bırakın toplayın veya sizin çavuşunuzdur falan... Öyle bir yaklaşım yoktur.”³³ On the other hand, very old-aged Zehra justified her behavior towards *imece* groups by referring their “position” as “Çünkü onlar işçi değil ki! Güzellikle, tatlı dille çalışıyorduk. Gülerdik, oynardık, nereler girip çıkardık. Patron gibi davranamazdım.”³⁴

As it has been seen, pre-capitalist practices in the production process did not welcome any controlling mechanisms. Indeed, control mechanisms are perceived as belonging to the later form of production. As said before, villagers’ approach to the *imece* workers carried more paternalistic controlling characteristics, while seasonal or other purchased labor is surrounded by direct control mechanisms of Friedman’s (1977) formulation.

The shift in perceptions and practices is not favorable for seasonal workers definitely. When the issue comes to workers whose labor force was purchased, a control mechanism is evaluated as necessary to overcome ‘possible’ problems. One of the problems mostly referred is called distrust. The lack of familiarity and kinship in latter practices seemed for villagers critical and a negative factor in the sense that mutual trust is provided. When interviewees were asked what the biggest difference between working in *imece* and working with workers is, they usually answered that communication and trust cannot be established by workers as in *imece* action. One of the interviewees summarized their approach to the case in very clear way as in the quotation:

“Ücretli işçiye yaklaştıkları gibi mecı (imece) usulü ile gelenlere yaklaşılmaz. Kuraldır zaten: Fazla işçiyle haşır neşir olursan o işçiden sağlıklı randıman

³³ “There is no such overseer position in mecı (imece), no position for a employer. Mecı is totally different. As it's built on good will and cooperation, there's no leaving it, picking it up or overseeing others... No such approach.” (Metin)

³⁴ “For they're not laborers! We worked in all niceness, with silver tongues. We would laugh, dance, go God knows where. I couldn't act like a employer.” (Zehra)

alamazsınız. O hemen kaytarma yollarına gider, suistimal yollarına gider, yani iş hacmini yavaşlatır.”³⁵(Metin)

Lastly, interviewees commonly stated that they needed to develop control mechanism because of the possibility of deskilled workers’ cost. Since latter workers were not familiar and educated for the techniques hazelnut production necessitated, villagers’ attitude towards them were always wary. Therefore, the householder needed to administer to the workers about the rules and techniques practiced in processing. Contrary to previous experiences, the villager felt himself wakeful against any amusement or cost created by the workers because latter workers were not as conscious as *imece* groups according to villagers’ mind. During interviews, almost all villagers pointed out this aspect some of which will be cited below:

“Ya şimdi... Tarlayı beceremezler, ya şimdi mal sahibi olmadı mı ilerleyemez, yapamazlar yani. Rahat oluyorlar kendileri. Mesela 40 çuval topluyorsan onlar rahat 20-30a düşerler o çuvallar. Tarlanın ilmini bilmezler. Ağaçta bırakırlar yerde bırakırlar. Onları takip etmezsen burden gidiyorlar şu ara kalıyor mesela. Kızım aşağı in diyorsun. Öyle takip ediyorsun işte. Mecide (imecede) ise kendi köy halkın. Kendi biliyor. Öyle bir şey yok yani mecide.”³⁶(Sermin)

“Ona anlatman gerekiyor, izah etmen gerekiyor, şöyle olsun böyle olsun, yanlarında sürekli izah etmen gerekiyor, yanlarında bulunman gerekiyor. Ama sen mesela olarak kendin toplarken, sen zaten ilmini biliyon tarla sahibisin, oluyor. Ama yanındaki olarak konu komşular gelmiş olsun öyle toplarken noluyor? Herkes işini bildiği için güzelcene şaka şamata yaparken, konuşurken muhabbet yaparken topluyor.”³⁷(Sezgin)

³⁵ “You don't approach people coming for *İmece* as you approach paid workers. It's a rule: if you get too familiar with the laborer, you can't get healthy and efficient work. They immediately look for ways to slack, misuse; all in all slowing the body of work down.” (Metin)

³⁶ “What about now... They cannot work the fields. They cannot progress without the owner of the field there, they just can't. For example, if you normally get 40 packs from that field, they'll surely drop it to 20-30. They don't know the technicality, they leave hazelnuts on the ground and on the trees. If you don't follow through, they'll go from this particular direction and leave that part untouched. You tell them to go where needed. You follow through like that. However, in meci (imece), people are your own village people. They already know the deal. So, no such things in meci.” (Sermin)

³⁷ “You have to tell them, explain, command, and to be on their sides at all times. But when you pick up the hazelnuts yourself with *İmece*, you already know everything, you're the owner, everything goes smoothly. What happens when there are your relatives and villagers with you for *imece*? As everyone knows what they're supposed to do, they pick up while they have fun and chat.” (Sezgin)

These problems perceived by the villagers automatically shaped the ways in which the rules are practiced and administered in the labor process. Certain control mechanisms were developed to surpass the expected problems, as Müşerref exemplified “Mesela diyelim ki ben onu bahçeme koydum sıraya koydum ama o böyle gideceksin diyorum böyle gidiyor, ben ilgilenmesem çünkü bilmiyor. Onu döndürüyorsun, yönetiyorsun yani.”³⁸The sources of those problems are usually attributed to the seasonal workers rather than “domestic” workers because of the reasons mentioned before. Villagers believe that skill and trust can be established with “domestic” workers easier than with seasonal workers. This is why they sometimes refer to seasonal workers as ‘foreign’ workers as well.

As a sum, it should be noted that change in agricultural labor brings about changing practices and agents in labor processes, which lead to changing control mechanisms. In pre-capitalist practices, to produce, there were no observed control mechanisms or even if there was, they would be very slightly practiced. As capitalist practices were settled upon in agricultural labor process and life, controlling became a necessity for producers in the village which justified through cost account profit maximization, skilling or distrust. This shows how different aspects of the labor process are affected by the change in production forms and labor actors.

5.1.4 Technology and The Elimination of Human Force?

While different actors, the de-skilling process and, development of certain control mechanisms can be elaborated as the results of the change in agricultural labor process, the dynamics triggering to this change should be analyzed as well. Çiçekpınar villagers stated that technological development is one of the most critical stimulators of the experienced shift in agricultural labor. According to them, as

³⁸ “Let's say I've put them in a line in my field, then I need to direct them to go this or that way, because they have no idea if I am not involved. You direct them, therefore you manage them.” (Müşerref)

mentioned before, technological momentum influenced the elimination of the *imece* system and de-skilling process in Çiçekpınar very much. When looked at historical analogy, it can really be expressed that the means of production shifted from very primitive qualities to highly a mechanized system in Turkey since the 1950s, which corresponds to the time agricultural labor was explicitly transformed in Çiçekpınar. However, how technological development is settled in Çiçekpınar and the ways this settlement reacted toward the labor process should be analyzed particularly.

According to Shanin (1971), the peasantry period was usually operationalized by very primitive and small-scaled means of production because peasants are small producers whose means and motivations of production are provided by their selves. In other words, peasants in traditional farm are characterized by “self-equipment” (Shanin, 1971) and “a low level of agricultural technology” (Dobrowolski, 1971). In Çiçekpınar, peasantry periods were described in the same way Shanin (1971) and Dobrowolski (1971) argue. Interviewees pointed out that people tended to create their own methods for most stages of production than to conduct artificial means sold in the market. They said they bought few equipment for the production process because they had the ability of tool making by their own opportunities. However, tools used for production needed to be changed in time for sure in order to meet current needs of production. During the peasantry period, villagers were dealing with wheat and corn production and carrying wood for homeland building. Some of the tools used for production included diggers for cultivation, fence for harvesting, grubbers for collating, sieve and rakes for dehulling, etc. Villagers said that woods and some plants were used to make tools, such as fences or sieves. If they could not make tools necessitated for the production process, they bought them from the bazaar but usually for a cooperative usage. In this way, costs for tools were being diminished. As it has been seen, human force was the main source of production rather than machines or master tools during those periods. This obviously resembles self-sufficient order without any accumulation concern as theorization of peasantry promoted (Shanin, 1971; Kerblay, 1971; Galeski, 1971; Dobrowolski, 1971).

As hazelnut production accelerated and the peasantry period started to disappear, villagers’ link to the technology was explicitly developed. Mechanization and

variations in tools have evolved in the village by supporting the change process. Indeed, it can be claimed that change in agricultural labor could not be comprehended without technological development analysis. Mechanization and other technological development were perceived as the biggest stimulator of production efficiency by the villagers. Haymakers, tractors, new hacksaws, tins, developed sieves and rakes, and scything machine can be counted as primary changes in this sense. The critical point here is that technological expansion did not develop by its own momentum in Turkey; rather, State interventions condensed since the 1950s became very influential over this momentum. Input subversions, credits and special taxation systems for imported inputs, a huge increase in numbers of tractors and expansion of other machines and chemical interventions triggered the expansion of technology throughout Turkey's agriculture (Aruoba, 1988; Makal, 2001; Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968). What interviewees said also confirmed this argument. For example, tractors were said to spread in the village since the 1950s, while haymakers were said to come to the village more recently, since the 1980s. They all meet the same period with Turkey's technological conjuncture.

It has been discussed before that technological changes are usually elaborated under two categories: mechanic change referring to mechanization and biological change referring to grains, fertilizers and chemical inputs (Makal, 2001). In Çiçekpınar, mechanization was the first and sole connotation coming to the villagers' minds when asked about technology. Biological technology does not seem to be perceived by them. When interviewees were asked about the biggest technological development for them on the behalf of hazelnut production, they usually pointed out 'haymaker' or "tractor". Before development of haymakers, *imece* was managed for hazelnut dehulling at nights respectively among householders as cited before. In this way, they spent more than one night completing the dehulling just for one householder. After production expanded and accelerated, *imece* nights started to become insufficient because of the increasing number of crops. Therefore, haymakers were evaluated as the most important technology for improving working conditions according to the villagers. It is critical here that haymaker's exhibit a long development progress as well. Villagers stated that first haymakers had come to the

village around 1970s, which means *imece* was still in operation until those times. The time haymakers come to the village also corresponds to the time State supported various technological inputs as well. For the first haymakers, a group of people were still necessary to carry hazelnuts to the machine, and take the grains back into the sacks. After a while, haymaker producers presented different types, whose pipes could take hazelnuts into the machine and give the grains back to the ground. In this way, a few people could be enough to complete the dehulling process. As it has been seen, the need for human force has been diminishing in time, not very rapidly. 54-year-old Sezgin who witnessed technological progress in the village concretely, exemplified the effects of mechanization and quoted results:

“Makineye fazla insan gerekmiyor ya, eskiden mesela bu makine önceden de insana ihtiyaç vardı mesela bu makine varken, nasıl? Makinenin içinde değirmen oluşu gibi oluk vardı, onun içine sepetle dökcektin 10kişi 12kişi 15kişi, kaç kişi olursan o kadar harman yapılıyordu, insana o zaman ihtiyaç vardı o makinede. 4-5 sene önce. Ondan sonra noldu? Nesil ilerledi, zaman ilerledi, makineler de böyle ilerledikçe, fanteziler... makine bile değişik çıkmaya başladı, tek hortumdu, bak o eleklerle sepetlerle döktükten sonra tek hortum çıktı ikinci defa. tek hortum sade alırdı, taneleri çuvallara koyardık, sereğimiz sergiye öyle dökerdik. 3.defa çift hortum çıktı, şimdi bir hortum alıyor bir hortum veriyor. Bak çuval işimiz de kalktı bak, ne kadar ilerleme...”³⁹ (Sezgin)

Starting from these statements, the effects of mechanization over the labor market theorized by Makal (2001) seems to be realized in Çiçekpınar case. What he expects is that technological development would result in the decline of labor-intensive production since mechanization and other technological inputs could fulfill the works which human force had done before (Makal, 2001). This is what Çiçekpınar villagers said they experienced in historical progress as technology has been extended in their village.

³⁹ “There isn't much people need for the machines now. Years before, there was more need. How? There was a hole in the machine like that of a grain mill, in which you had to pour the hazelnuts. 10-12-15 people... the more people, the more harvest. We needed people for that machine then, 4-5 years ago. What happened then? Times progressed, and with it, the machines... like a fantasy. Even machines have changed; at past they were with just one hose by sieves and baskets. Machine with one hose could just take the products; we had to put them into sacks later and laid them on the ground. Then double hose came up which could take products from one hose while other could give the product back. Now we no longer deal with sacks, what a progress...”(Sezgin)

In addition to haymakers, there emerged many newly-developed and creative tools that would affect hazelnut production in effective ways. Most of them were being exhibited and needed to be obtained from the market. Both the hope of simplifying production process and the need to meet acceleration in processes push villagers to buy newly-developed tools, which gives momentum to the market relations of the village as well. Today, villagers still continue to make certain tools in their own ways, such as blend cleaners; however, they obtain a large portion of the tools from the market. For example, they replaced fences to harvest by tins, which are obtained from the oil tins. They bought new cutting engines to cut weak tree branches rather than usage of old-type hacksaws. Gönül said: “Eskiden makine yoktu ki.. el tırpanı vardı sonra makineler çıktı. Kesim motor mesela şey yapmak için böyle kesim motor vardı hızar, şimdi kesim motor çıktı. Eskiden baltayla kesiyordurduk mesela dalları, şimdi kesim motor kesiyor. Patoz yoktu o geldi. Patpat mesela.”⁴⁰ Moreover, since scything is a time-consuming and hard operation, new scythe machines have also been one of the most critical developments in villagers’ production process.

Technology is deeply processed into production in Çiçekpınar not only in terms of machines or tools but also transportation vehicles. Today in Çiçekpınar, there are many types of transportation vehicles to go to the fields or carry crops to the ground where they would be collated. The most used two of them are tractors and little motorcars, called ‘patpat’ or ‘tırtır’ because of its voice while driving. Villagers prefer to buy a vehicle regarding their hazelnut production bind. Before the aforementioned vehicles came to the village life, they used ox cars which necessitated breeding oxen in barns. As stated before, to breed oxen besides other animals was the responsibility of the women; this is why tractors or little motorcars are mentioned as a very crucial development especially by the women during interviews. Therefore, it can easily be claimed that tractors were perceived as the strongest vehicle making villagers’ life comfortable. 77-year-old Sabri quoted how their previous experiences differ from today owing to technological development:

⁴⁰ “There weren't any machines in those days, only hand scythes. Machines came later. Now, for instance, we have cutting motors. We used to cut the braches with axe instead. We didn't have haymaker or *patpat*.” (Gönül)

“Eskiden öküz arabaları vardı, öküz arabaylan. Eskiden bu vasıtaların hiçbirisi yoktu yani tarlaya gitmezdi zati. Öküzle arabayla gidiyorduk, topluyorduk, ekiyorduk, çalışıyorduk, götürüyorduk. Yayan gidiyorlardı herkesin bu muhitin tarla uzak değil, ekseri yayan ayakla gidiliyordu. Çok meşakkatli dünyaydı eskiden kızım çok! Çarık vardı ayağımızda çarık, onun da yarısı yoktu. O kadar fakirlik vardı.”⁴¹ (Sabri)

Tractors are said to have been inserted into Çiçekpınar around the 1950s. This date is not coincidental and particular to the Çiçekpınar case for sure. In Turkey the 1950s represented very critical periods for both political and economic shifts. Marshall Aid applied between 1948 and 1951 provided Turkey with certain credits and supportive aids for the mechanization of agriculture and to open up it to free trade (Ecevit, 1999). Tractors were presented as the primary tool for this target and the number of tractors in the country increased in huge numbers as provided before. The expansion of tractors in Çiçekpınar came up to the same periods with these developments in Turkey. In addition to tractors, little motorcars seem to operate in later periods in response to the necessity for small-scaled production holdings. Both of them are specifically allocated for transportation of harvesting process, whereas some of villagers, especially consistent residents, also use them for the daily transportation. In addition to carrying function, tractors were used for irrigation by transferring water from creek to the fields, especially vegetable fields. In villagers’ perceptions, all of these functions made tractors handle as the catalyzer of the hazelnut production and facilitator of the villagers’ routine works. This perception was not differentiated in other parts of Turkey that is why Toprak (1988) calls tractors as the symbol of agricultural development between 1948 and 1955. Muzafer, who is perceived as endowed peasant in the village, evaluated the aspects of tractors in terms of efficiency and easiness by telling “Çookk kolaylaştırdı. Şimdi şöyle: öküzlen on dönüm koşuyordun mesela 2 ton alıyordun. Traktörle 2 dönüm koş, öküzle 10 dönüm koştuğunu alırsın. Derin gittiği, kuvvetli gittiği, tatlı gittiği için mısır buğday fındık öyle kurağa doymadı yani, neden duymadı? Öyle toprak tatlı oldu, derin oldu, kurağı

⁴¹ “There used to be oxcharts, and none of these vehicles that go to the field. We'd go with oxcharts, pick up, plant, toil and carry what you've got back. People would go to the fields on foot, fields aren't far in this area, so everyone walked. Such a toilsome world, my dear! We used to wear sandals, half of which was gone. There was that much poverty.” (Sabri)

anlamadı.”⁴²These statements also exemplified Turkey’s statistics about the land rates cultivated by tractors, which have risen in huge numbers since 1950s (DİE, 1978; DİE, 1979).

Technological development creates different results for different perspectives, such as efficiency, social life or cooperative consciousness. It is not a coincidence that accelerated production in Çiçekpınar reveals in a visible sense in parallel with the technological splash. This has been traced back to İlkkaracan and Tunalı’s (2010) arguments that sustained output increase can be evaluated as the result of technological improvements rather than land or labor concentration. Technological development in Çiçekpınar traces back to this argument. When the villagers were asked about advantages/disadvantages of technological development, they mostly answered that production has actually activated after tractors, haymakers or new machines enter into their life.

Positive perceptions towards technological development in terms of efficiency are not eligible when the issue comes to *imece* or cooperative consciousness. After haymakers come out and were commonly used, the need for *imece* has been out of function in Çiçekpınar, which corresponded to the 1970s. It means many dimensions of their life would start to change because *imece* was the way of life, including to produce, to socialize, to build up their environment, etc. Cooperative consciousness no doubt started to be disrupted after technological transformation progressed. Villagers no longer needed each other to complete their production stages, which were already allocated to the new alternatives. New alternatives allowed for “domestic” workers to harvest, machines to dehull, new tools to alleviate work load in other stages. *İmece* was no longer in operation. Although villagers stated that mechanization or technological evolution simplify and mobilize their production stages, cooperative action is claimed to be disrupted as Sermin confirms it by citing:

⁴² “It has become so much easier. Like this: when you plowed 10 decares with ox, for example, you got 2 tons. If you plow 2 decares with tractor, you get the amount you’d get from 10 decares with ox. Since it goes deeper, stronger, and sweetly, corn, wheat, and hazelnut weren't influenced by drought. Why not? Because the soil was sweet and deep, they didn't realize the drought.” (Muzafer)

“Teknolojik aletler çıktı ondan bitti (imece). Mesela fındık ayıklardık. Günlerce, aylarca. Fındıklar küflenirdi. Tek tek odaya doldururduk böyle, bizim gençliğimizde. E şimdi makine var hemencik gidiyor. ... O zaman iş bitmiyordu ama neşeliydi.”⁴³ (Sermin)

The end of *imece* definitely means a lot. Socializing elements are subjected to change. Since *imece* assembly, usually for dehulling, was abolished owing to haymakers, neighbors or the young population could not meet together and create their own entertainment. For sure technological development is not the only reason to stimulate this transformation in social life. Migration, which will be analyzed in later parts, is the most important factor directing it. Nevertheless, what is critical was that villagers’ relativity and loyalty were said to weaken after mechanization came into being and diminish the need for human force. One of the interviewees reflected the effects of this shift over her life as in the sentences below:

“Tembelleşti millet. O oldu maalesef. (Makineleşme) insan ilişkilerine de yansıdı. Ben mesela 10-15gün komşumu göremiyorum ama öbür türlü öyle değildi, benim bir işim var komşum geliyordu, onun var ben gidiyordum. 5-10 kişi bir araya geliyorduk birbirimizi görüyorduk, güzel bir muhabbetimiz oluyordu iyi bir diyalog oluyordu. Şimdi onlar kalmadı.”⁴⁴ (Müşerref)

It must be noted here that Aruoba’s (1988) claims about inequality in technological benefits are quite observable in the Çiçekpınar case. The producers in the village are differentiated regarding their accessibility to technological inputs. Although most producers have already had tractors, catalyst of the production for them, haymakers are not very widespread in the village. There are only a few haymakers belonging to rich producers and other producers used their machines in return for money per hour. It is the same for irrigation systems as well. The differentiation of villagers regarding technological inputs is revealed in their land size, product quality and market

⁴³ “Meci (imece) has stopped due to technological tools. We'd select hazelnuts, for example, for days, months on end. The hazelnuts would mold. We'd put them in a room one by one in our youth. But now there's a machine, it goes right away. ... Work didn't ever finish those days, but it was fun.” (Sermin)

⁴⁴ “People have become lazy. Mechanization came, and affected human relations. I, for instance, can't see my neighbour for 10-15 days but it wasn't like that then. If I had had something, they would have come; if they had had something to be done, I would have gone. 5-10 people would come together, see each other; we had a nice dialogue. You don't find it anymore.” (Müşerref)

relations, as Aruoba (1988) has already expected. This framework also shows what Boratav (2004) theorizes on social stratification in agricultural life today. In this context, accessibility to technology seems to lead a certain degree of social stratification in Çiçekpınar, by categorizing rich producers having haymakers, middle producers renting them and poor producers dehulling by their manual ways.

It is significant to analyze that the technological momentum which penetrated into Çiçekpınar's agricultural life, has been the determinant factor in the labor process as well. Although it resulted in the need for more people to apply its interventions (Ankara SBF, 1954), it also caused the need for human force to diminish as Makal (2001) expects. In the Çiçekpınar case, the beginning of technological development seems to be experienced by the need for more people than in later periods when human force has explicitly decreased apart from harvesting stage. The expansion of haymakers and other technological staff make the production process faster and more comfortable, while the expansion of tractors enables villagers develop their transportation, irrigation and some other facilities in production. Although they were said to accelerate and facilitate production processes, they no doubt resulted in the change in agricultural labor forms and the elimination of previous methods, *imece*, in Çiçekpınar.

5.1.5 Changing Communicative Codes and Social Relations

The labor process is not isolated from the social interaction between actors involved in the production process. This is valid for the Çiçekpınar case as well. Villagers' living conditions and communication practices changed in parallel with the change in agricultural labor in the village. In this sense, Çiçekpınar can represent a quite objective exemplification of social aspects of production forms. It is revealed in the case of *imece* in Çiçekpınar, which was not only a way to produce in an economic sense; rather it was a way of building up environment, a way of socializing and even a way of communication. On the other hand, seasonal employment or temporary employment depended on fulfillment of the certain part of the production specified before; it is only limited by that part without any extension into the other parts of

daily life. There are no more observable elements regarding social bonds or close communication in that context. This is how changing content of labor reflects over the interaction forms and communicative codes between labor actors.

To start with *imece*, it has been observed that *imece* surrounded village life in a big framework for the villagers. It was managed for building up, harvesting, grubbing, dehulling etc. In addition to these, it was also a kind of socialization during the process it was applied. Especially after hazelnut production started to expand across the region, it was applied in the form of dehulling hazelnut or husking at nights after field work. The young population in the village referred to *imece* nights as an entertainment activity rather than a type of work load. Each interviewee who experienced those times were very excited while mentioning *imece* nights for dehulling, because their sole source of socialization was those nights. The lack of technology was observed as substitution of their own way to socialize which was to come together and create their own entertainment. Middle-aged Sermin who said she always joined into *imece*, and enthused very much while citing about those nights:

“Meci (imece) akşamları çok güzeldi. Sen beni 35 sene önceye aldın... Mesela mısır kırdık tarlada, onları oturur soyardık mısırları. Bir yandan kabak pişerdi o zamanlar, üzümler toplanırdı. Çaylar. Biz yer içer atlardık. Gece yarılar olurdu. Kızlar türküler söyledik şarkılar söyledik oynamalar. Bir oyun olurdu o kapıda bırakardık oynardık. Bir yandan o bir yandan o. Fındık ayıklama zamanları da öyleydi. Mesela radyo vardı o zamanlar deden küçük bir radyo almıştı. Onu açıyorduk ben bi başlıyordum amcamın kızları abimler falan darken orda bir oyun halka olurduk yani. Eski gençler çok neşeliydi. Şimdi yooook. Şimdi bilgisayar, telefonlar çıktı çocuklar böyle robot oldular.”⁴⁵ (Sermin)

These social elements and experiences could not be observed in latter experiences in agricultural labor of Çiçekpınar. The communicative realm has also been subjected

⁴⁵ “Meci (imece) evenings were the best. You take me to 35 years ago... for example, if we broke corn on the field, we sat down and peeled them. Pumpkins were cooked then, grapes were picked. Tea times... and we would eat, drink, run and jump around. It would turn midnight. As girls, we would sing songs and traditional tunes, we'd dance. When there was dance at one door, we'd stop there and dance. Both work and fun. Husking was like that, then. For instance, there was a radio – your grandpa had bought a small radio. We'd turn it on and I'd start dancing, soon joined by my uncle's daughters and my brothers, and then it would become a dance circle. The young were so cheerful those days. Now, computers and telephones appeared, and they've turned into robots.” (Sermin)

to change in time. It is concrete that to establish close relations within for villagers is much easier than for seasonal workers. The reason is clear: workers, whether they are “domestic” or not, are perceived as foreign to their life, to their work styles, to their communicative codes. “Harmony” becomes a prominent reference to understand in the interviewees’ approach such as in Recep’s statements: “Uyum yok bizde, nasıl bir uyum yok, şimdi karadenizle doğunun veya ege ile Karadenizin insan ilişkileri arasında uyum yok. Onlar bize alışmadığı için hayat tarzımıza alışmadığı için bu uyum sağlanamıyor. Sağlansa da binde bir, çok uyumlu çalışıyor dersek yalan olur.”⁴⁶

In Çiçekpınar’s agricultural process, it is explicitly observed that the context of social and communicative relations, have been shaped through the same determinant factors which control mechanism: familiarity or costs of labor. On the one hand, *imece* was managed by the relatives or villagers who knew the process from the very beginning and for every stage, on the other hand, workers, whether they are seasonal or “domestic”, are coming from outside to the village, and are expected to learn the process within specific dimensions. The codification of ‘employees vs. *imece* groups’, led by these perceptions, seems to guide householders’ attitudes and approach to the people working in his production process. As one interviewee represents the situation as quoted:

“Fazla muhatap olmuyorsun olamıyorsun. Ama öbür tarafta meci (*imece*) olduğu için kaynaşıyorsun. Çünkü hep çevren oluyor, meciye yanlış yabancı insanları zaten çağırılmıyorsun. Hep akraba komşu.”⁴⁷(Fikret)

The existence of employer- employee relations is no doubt effective over the course of communication for later periods. In *imece* groups, householders and workers were all perceived as workers, no matter if they are field owner or not. Therefore, there is no employer- employee position, which led to the construction of hierarchy between

⁴⁶ “We do not have harmony. How not? There is no harmony in relations between people of Black Sea Region and Eastern or Aegean Region. Since they do not adjust to our living style, the harmony cannot be enabled. Even if it could be established by the percentage of one in a thousand, it would be wrong to say it works in very harmonical.” (Recep)

⁴⁷ “You don't get too familiar, you can't. On the other hand, you socialize in meci (*imece*), because people are already your acquaintances. You don't call unsuitable or unfamiliar people, all is relative and friends.” (Fikret)

people. For the following times, however, the content of the employment relation directly resulted in hierarchical communication in the village. While seasonal or “domestic” workers are positioned as employees who works in return of money, villagers become employers whose minds deal with the cost of employee. Fikret’s statements gave the clues about the relationship between communicative codes and this status:

“İşçiyle topladığın zaman şöyle söyliyim karşılığında bedel veriyorsun parasına. Ama meciyle (imeceyle) topladığın zaman yardımlaşmaya girer. O da güzel birşey tabi yardımlaşma... Kesinlikle çok fark var, işçiyle her zaman muhatap olamazsın. Çünkü patron patronluğunu bilecek, işçi işçiliğini bilecek. Arada illa ki mesafe olur.”⁴⁸(Fikret)

Common practices of weak communication are mostly observed in the relation between seasonal workers coming from Southeastern Anatolia and big householders in the village. Householders’ expectations evolve around a more effective working rhythm while workers are perceived as indifferent to their expectations, which is claimed to affect their attitudes, especially rampant attitudes. Resmiye, who is the wife of one of the oldest employers in the village- Sabri-, represented villagers’ attitudes towards workers by saying “İşçiler laftan anlamıyor ki. Söyleyeceksin, işte yalvaracaksın. Kimine bağıracaksın, kimine yalvaracaksın. İmece öyle değil ama!”⁴⁹

It is very clear that *imece* means a lot for Çiçekpınar villagers including both social and economic aspects of life. Since it was “a way of living” (Fei, 1948) rather than a way to fulfill a work, its social framework was more comprehensive than latter practices in agricultural life. Seasonal employment or any other kinds of temporary employment could not integrate into villagers’ life concerning social bonds or close communication. Cost account, distrust, less solidarity and mutuality seem to be as the fundamental reasons for this differentiation. This is enough to understand how

⁴⁸ “When you pick the hazelnuts with laborers, I mean you pay them in return. But in meci (imece), it's taken as helping. It is of course a very nice thing, the cooperation.... There are definitely many differences, you can't always be engaged in workers. The employer should know how to be, and the same goes for laborers. There surely is a distance between.” (Fikret)

⁴⁹ “Laborers don't listen to reason. You need to tell, and beg them. To some you yell, to some you beg; but *İmece* is no such thing!” (Sabri)

changing labor forms led to changing social perceptions and communicative codes in Çiçekpınar.

5.1.6 Work Hours: Towards Time Management

As agricultural labor forms changed in time, Çiçekpınar required shifting into different daily working conditions as well. These changing conditions comprised of the communicative realm, harvesting realm or technological realm as discussed before. In addition to them, work hours in Çiçekpınar have also exhibited a transformation under the influence of the change in agricultural labor. From peasantry to seasonal employment, work hours have been differentiated in terms of length, density and scheduling. In peasantry periods, work hours are determined in a pre-capitalist sense of flexibility which assigned peasants autonomy to shape work hours and determined their length or density. On the other hand, temporal employment seems to bring a more capitalistic system⁵⁰ alongside which mostly resulted in the determination of standard work hours for workers in order to secure labor efficiency and productivity at a certain level. Nevertheless, this management does not preclude flexibility in work hours; rather, it can still be operated in the way in which extended working hours have rarely been applied. However, these kinds of practices⁵¹ have not totally penetrated into the village life yet. This section will analyze the interplay between the change in agricultural labor and the change in work hours with specific reference to changing perceptions and practices of “flexibility” concerning production motivations and labor forms in Çiçekpınar.

From peasantry to capitalist penetration, Çiçekpınar has experienced various alterations in their labor order and agricultural life. The interesting point is that although products and means of production have changed in time, the villagers’ daily

⁵⁰ Mentioned system in Çiçekpınar has tended to Fordist mass-production system in industrial capitalism, in which “premised on hierarchy, standardization, and routinization that excluded workers from decision-making and authority but enabled productivity to rise” (Womack et al 1990, as cited in Smith 1997)

⁵¹ The practice mentioned here has developed under the conditions of the flexibility in “new capitalism” in which “workers are asked to behave nimbly, to be open to change on short notice (Sennett 1998) and “the boundaries between work and leisure are poorly defined” (Eriksen 2005). These operations have not explicitly observed in Çiçekpınar case.

tempo has not substantially differentiated from previous ones. During peasantry times, they needed to deal with more than one occupation as it has been said before. They had to cultivate and harvest crops, they had to breed animal, they had to earn a little money, etc. The sheer number of things to do made villagers start work very early. Old-aged interviewees usually complained about the intense program of their life in peasantry times although they said they had the potential energy to fulfill each of them. Although current practice about work hours is to work between 7 am and 7 pm, this practice seems to be operated especially for the contingent workers rather than *imece* groups. Since there were many other things that villagers had to deal with in the peasantry period, daily work hours were divided into certain parts rather than to work on fields during the day as in the hazelnut production with seasonal employers. *İmece* was diffused into whole life of villagers: mornings for grubbing and breeding animals, afternoons for cultivating gardens or going to forests for woods, nights for husking or dehulling, etc. Diversification of labor branches in peasantry period led to the flexible work hours⁵² in the village. The intention on which *imece* was built up was to fulfill the process in a cooperative way but there was no pressure on their shoulders to drive it in a very strict timeline or conditions. They all knew each other and there was no despotic administration for the works that would be completed through *imece*. The reason is clear: *imece* was not only for the field works or specific works; rather, it was determinant for the whole life in the village. Therefore, work hours are determined by the people joining the cooperative action and could be stretched regarding their program. One of the interviewees, Metin, said: “Mecilerde (imecelerde) saatler bu kadar kesin değildi. İmeceusülü olduğu için illa 7 de olacak diye birşey yok. Ev sahibi veya tarla sahibi gider erken, birisi 8de gelir birisi 9da gelir, çünkü onlar ücret karşılığı gelmediği için, Allah rızası için geldiği için, orada zaman gözetilmez.”⁵³ These flexible conditions carry the traces of what Galeski (1971) characterizes peasantry. As it has been cited, he states that peasantry standards including self-sufficiency focus on basic needs, self-labor

⁵² We here mentioned about pre-capitalist flexibility in which villagers could assign work hours regarding their own life organization.

⁵³ “In meci (imece), hours were not this definite. As it is *İmece* way, no rule to be there at 7. The home or land owner goes there early; some come at 8, some come at 9. Since they're not there for a wage, they are there for God's sake, you don't mind the time.” (Metin)

and self-equipment assign peasantry a certain degree of autonomy since peasants establish their production conditions in their own ways, just for livelihood. Rules in peasantry life, in this way, were determined by peasants themselves; not directed by the market demands as in the case of capitalism (Keyder, 1988). Changeable and flexible work hours can be characterized as the reflections of this autonomy.

This situation for villagers did actually not change when production was shifted to hazelnut. Some families continued to breed animals especially for ox transportation and cultivate their little gardens to eat fresh vegetables. However, the main process for livelihood transformed from wheat and corn cultivation into the hazelnut, which necessitated many different work areas such as harvesting, scythe, sprig cleaning, dehulling, branch cutting, etc. It means that more hazelnuts were produced, and a more intense tempo to which villagers had to adapt. Therefore, as production got acceleration, villagers' order started to be not sufficient to meet the work load. The solution was to bring workers from other cities in return for money and villagers become employer which pushed them to develop the most efficient and cheapest way to work. Work hours have started to be implemented exactly between 7.00 am and 7.00 pm, and employees are expected to complete their responsibilities in a stricter framework than previously. Some comparative comments, cited below, clearly support these argumentations:

“Şimdi para var ya, yevmiyeyle olduğu için, yevmiye para veriyorsun çalışsın istiyorsun. O zaman yardımlaşma, kakara kikiri, yani biz otura kalka çalışıyorduk.”⁵⁴(Ferhan)

“Mecide (imecede) sen-senesin. Bugün sana yarın bana ya. İşçi para karşılığı çalışıyor. İşçi senin sözünü dinlediği zaman iyi, şuanda parayla çalışıyor tabi. Mecide oturuyorsun kalkıyorsun, ama bunda bir zamanı var. Ee çok oturursan para gidiyor.”⁵⁵(Sermin)

⁵⁴ “Now since there's money, daily wage, and you give the daily wage, you expect them to work. In old times, it was helping each other, a lot of fun, I mean we used to work in our own terms.” (Ferhan)

⁵⁵ “In meci (imece), you are with people you know. Today it's for me, tomorrow it's for you. Workers, on the other hand, work for money. They're only good if they listen to you. In meci, you rest, and then work, but here there is a time to work. I mean, if you sit too much, your money is wasted.” (Sermin)

Cost account not only prevails for the hours between which workers are expected to work. As far as work hours become stricter than in previous periods, breaks or relaxing times are also subjected to a very determined frame. Although *imece* experiences are observed as a more flexible framework to work in, latter ones are more pre-determined in terms of break times. The main target is to avoid any possibility to make break times transform into lost times. In this way, villagers said they plan to limit the evasion and stretching expectations of workers. To quote Metin's perceptions:

“İşçi ücret karşılığında çalışıyor, ona tolerans sağlayamıyorsunuz. Yani 15 dakika bir oturma vardır 4 saatlik zaman zarfında, bu 15 dakika yarım saat olsun diyemiyorsunuz. Eğer dersiniz hem komşu işçi sahiplerinden tenkit alırsınız hem de bu kalabalık işçi çalıştırdığınız için o 15 dakika toplamı 4 saatlik bir zaman dilimi yapıyor o da tarla sahibine büyük zarardır. Mecide (imecede) böyle birşey yok. Tamamen yardımlaşmaya dayalı birşey olduğu için orada istediğin zaman oturabilirsin, istediğin zaman kalkabilirsin.”⁵⁶
(Metin)

As it has been stated before, standardized work hours have not been extended or subjected to quick changes in Çiçekpınar case. Villagers stated that they sometimes demanded that workers help them in other parts of the production process, such as dehulling. However, most workers were said not be involved in the process. If they attended, they would be paid extra money or different gifts such as cigarettes. Nevertheless, the overall picture exhibited strict and fixed working hours in later periods of agricultural labor in the village.

These experiences have revealed that flexibility in Çiçekpınar has been experienced in pre-capitalistic sense, which comprehends the villagers' ability to organize the route of daily life and work hours they involved in. During this period, it has been concluded that they could sometimes extend their work hours, while they could also give up from going to harvesting. However, the change in labor form has made producers standardize the work hours for employers/seasonal workers in order to

⁵⁶ “Laborers work for money, you can't really be tolerant to them. Well, there is a 15-minute break for a 4-hour period, and you can't say let's make it half an hour. If you do, you'll be criticized by the other land owners, and also it means a great loss for the land owner, as those 15 minutes will add to a total of 4 hours with all the crowd of workers. In meci (imece), there's nothing like that. Since it's built on contribution, you can rest whenever you want, and get to work whenever you want.” (Metin)

meet the satisfaction in production efficiency. In this sense, costs of labor and changing personal bonds have held the rationales behind the shift in working practices. Hence, it would not be wrong to argue that the change in agricultural labor, along with change in production motivation, automatically brings the change in work hours alongside in this case.

5.2 Articulation of the Social and the Political with Agricultural Labor

Transformation of agricultural labor has reflected upon, not only production process but also has affected socioeconomic and political perceptions and terrain in the Çiçekpınar case. How villagers organize their living conditions, how and why they prefer to migrate or how they perceive and feel their relations with state and market are all shaped through changing production motivation and labor processes in the village. In this section of the thesis, they will be elaborated in detail in order to scrutinize the change Çiçekpınar has witnessed, which influenced villagers' whole lives.

5.2.1 Living Conditions and Life Experiences

The effects of the change in agricultural labor have also been visible in terms of social ingredients of the production. In this sense, living conditions and life experiences in the village are subjected to change in parallel with the shifts in labor forms. From peasantry to PCP, different motivations and ways to live reflected over how villagers organize their daily life, regarding accommodation, meal services and the ways they build up their environment. In this section of the study, it will be tried to figure out how agricultural labor order made villagers organize their living conditions and reproduce themselves.

The peasantry period was already characterized by self-equipment, which means that peasants were required to provide what they need in their own ways (Shanin, 1971). Having remembered this argument, the peasantry period in Çiçekpınar could be more

explainable concerning their accommodation conditions. During those periods was witnessed more hand- made and wood-made houses to live in, villagers said. As it has been stated before, cooperative action was the main way to build houses respectively among families constituted as *imece* groups. Wood was obtained from the village forests, which was carried together as well. Men were claimed to have learned to build houses in their own way, although some of them had already been taught by their master ancestors. Another point here is that villagers were living with 2-3families in a big house, which enabled them to limit abundant costs for building, nutrition, etc. For example Beratiye pointed out that her family was living with two sisters-in-law and their children together for a long time, which already constituted an *imece* group. Their farming practices were quite inserted into their life activities and standards. This is what provided in Shanin's (1971) arguments that "a peasant household is characterized by the nearly total integration of the peasant's family life with its farming enterprise."

As long as *imece* was operated in the village or new houses were necessitated, cooperative action operated there for a long time. However, after a while, houses were being turned into ferroconcrete which required concrete masters. Although villagers knew the way wood was used, they did not know very well how to make ferroconcrete buildings. They said that *imece* could not be operated for special master-required realms. As the oldest person in the village, Mehmet, stated: "Meci (imece) yalnız tarlalarda yapılıyor idi, ustalıkta yok meci, ustalıkta olmaz."⁵⁷ Moreover, the only thing that changed was not only the quality of houses to be sure. Since peasantry or family labour periods were driven among relatives and villagers themselves, there was no concern to meet accommodation needs for people joining *imece*. The fields worked on were already settled within the village boundaries so that people joining *imece* would come to the work from their own houses. This uniformity in the village could make villagers organize their life in terms of economic and social conditions. This showed why it is possible to argue that, "peasant farming is mostly maintained by the conditions of the rural life regarding

⁵⁷ "Meci (imece) was only established in fields; there was no meci for mastery. It did not happen in mastery." (Mehmet)

sociocultural cohesion and simple organization of work motivated by economic self-sufficiency (Galeski, 1971).

Meal services were also determined regarding livelihood conditions. Their main food sources were bread and vegetables cultivated in gardens. Since whole life was organized by cooperative action, mealservices were also shaped regarding it as well. When *imece* was managed for someone's fields or harvesting, the householder was expected to meet meal services for the days *imece* was continued. This was perceived as not a 'load' but as a 'must-be' in order to thank people for helping. Especially old-aged women interviewees stated that they were very careful about meals brought to the fields or *imece* area. For example, they tried to cook their best meals or their special vegetables. As mentioned before, *imece* nights for hazelnut dehulling were provided by householder in terms of meals, vegetables, drinking with a side effect of variations in mealsources. Obviously both accommodation and mealservices were subsisted in the way in which *imece* was the main conductor. Some examples are presented during the interviews, quoted here:

“Zaten öğlene kadar ev sahibi gitmeden millet dolardı tarlaya, ev sahibi yemek yapacaktı o zaman, yemeğinle tarlaya gidecekti. Çitlerle bakırlarla tarlaya giderdik. Ama envayi çeşit yemek yapardık. Benim meci (imece) için millet bayılırdı.”⁵⁸(72-year-old Beratiye)

“Eskiden yemeğin hesabı hiç olmazdı. Eskiden meci (imece) zamanında herkes kendi erzağını alır da gelir veya ev sahibi mutlaka birşey hazırlardı. Şimdi eski yemekler de yok şimdi. Mesela benim çocukluğumda kuskus vardı şimdi yapılmaz köylerde, fındık zamanına yakın o kuskuslar ev makarnaları yapılırdı, o kocaman tepsi içerisinde pişirilir, ortaya konur, herkes ona kaşık çalardı. Şimdialışkanlık tamamen değişti.”⁵⁹ (56-year-old Metin, son of Beratiye)

⁵⁸ “In any case, everyone would fill the field till noon before the owner came. The owner would cook then, and go to the field with the food. We'd go to the field with hences and coppers, but we'd cook a whole lot of meals. Everyone loved my meci (imece).” (Beratiye)

⁵⁹ “No one would keep score of the food in those days. In the past, with meci (imece), everyone either brought their own food or else the home owner definitely prepared something. We don't have the old meals now. For example, back in my childhood, there was couscous, which is not made in villages anymore. Toward the period of hazelnuts, all those couscous or home-made pasta were cooked in big pans, put right in the middle and everyone would spoon it up. Now... the custom has totally changed.” (Metin)

It should be realized that people joining *imece* did not expect the householders to meet their meal. This was a preference. The main idea was always to overcome the process together by cooperative action no matter whether they were fed or not. Therefore, I heard some exceptional cases in which mealneeds were not met by the householder during *imece*, yet work was continued. Villagers usually refer to indigence shared by all of them to a certain degree; this is why they did not take any notice of such disruptions in meal practices.

Beginning from *imece* abandoned, accommodation forms and mealservices are subjected to change. A striking shift in villagers' perceptions towards meeting meal services or accommodation needs has become the stimulator of latter practices. As production forms altered and "domestic" workers were brought to the village for harvesting season, villagers were required to provide accommodation to them. There was no place for it so that villagers hosted in their own houses, one of whose rooms were allocated for workers. Conditions were no doubt not very convenient for workers but they seemed to live in a more welcoming environment with householders than latter workers coming from Southeastern Anatolia. Since "domestic" workers were usually from the same region or city, they were perceived to behave in polite ways. It must be stated that the idea towards "domestic" workers were not as friendly as *imece* groups in any way.

The change in agricultural labor deriving from mentioned developments also resulted in changing –and more determined- positions of women and men in the division of labor. As production forms bring different actors alongside for the production process, women are usually attributed by unpaid family labor and "inside" jobs while men are assigned to agricultural qualifications and administration part (İlkkaracan & Tunalı, 2010). In Çiçekpınar, it started to be revealed after "domestic" workers were employed as supportive elements to production processes. Since the villagers were not prepared for employing conditions in the first periods "domestic" workers came to the village, the workers' daily mealneeds and accomodationwere provided by the employer households during the day at the beginning. The housewife of the family was responsible for preparing meals for the workers for both days and nights. This is why women under this responsilibity always complained about those times while

interviewing. For sure those practices carried one crucial difference: mealcosts would be subtracted from the payment householders gave to workers. The understanding was clear: “domestic” workers came to the village to harvest in return for money and mealservices were being added to the cost account rather than a ‘gift’ perception. Additionally, householders and workers did not share the same board to eat, which enforced the existence of hierarchy and distance between them. Nevertheless, “domestic” workers were more cared about in the villagers’ standpoint when compared to latter practices. Distance between employers and employee seem to increase as capitalization penetrated into the village more.

Conditions for accommodation and meal services seem to worsen for workers gradually as well. At the beginning, villagers were supposed to host “domestic” workers in the houses although they were mostly allocated just one room. After a while, those workers gave up coming to the village because of the reasons mentioned before. New workers were coming from especially Southeastern Anatolia which is really far away from the village. In addition to distance, seasonal workers, mostly called “Kurdish” workers, were much greater in numbers than “domestic” workers, in order to meet increasing numbers of hazelnuts’ harvested. While “domestic” workers are said to be around 8-9 people, seasonal workers have been around 15 people in order to meet the increasing number of hazelnuts’ harvested. Theaccomodation conditions of seasonal workers was a very controversial debate in Turkey from the 1990s as well, and this controversy is fairly questioned. Common practice of the 1990s was to leave them to their own ways to living, which usually necessitated more practical and easier ways. This way was to establish shelter on empty lands which lacked toilets or shower, which resulted in negative perceptions towards “Kurdish” workers’ living style. This intense shift from hosting in houses to accommodation in shelters is directly related to perceptions towards “Kurdish” population and increasing demand for the employment. Sezgin told the story of the shift accommodation conditions witnessed and the perceptions behind it:

“Şimdi önceden çadır yapılıyordu, o şimdi her yerde böyle mikrop saçıldığı için yani böyle her yerde pislik olduğu için onu yasakladılar. Şimdi herkes bir ev yaptı böyle işçilere, öyle oturttu. Şimdiki daha iyi. Ama benim evle karşılaştırıldığında fark ediyor. Mesela işçilerin böyle bizim oturduğumuz

gibi köy ortamlarında değil, biraz böyle evlerden uzak. Biraz dışarıdan geldikleri için bağ bahçeye biraz saldıkları için, biraz zarar verdikleri için, hani konu komşuya, biraz böyle evlerden uzak yapıyorlar.”⁶⁰ (Sezgin)

In 2010, Turkey’s government issued a circular related to the improvements of seasonal workers’ working and social life. By this circular, employers were forced to look for new accommodation conditions for seasonal workers, which should include cooking, washing, dishes, and toilet and bath conditions. In addition to this, hosting workers in their houses was no longer an option for the villagers because of their higher numbers in time and the differences between them. When asked what the differences are, they usually pointed out mealservices, living conditions, cultural fractionation, etc. Thus, they seemed to prefer building little houses for workers which included basic needs. During the field research, there was the chance to observe the places seasonal workers live in. They usually consisted of two rooms including bedrooms and kitchen and toilet&shower in the same room. Without doubt they are explicitly different from the conditions of householders or “domestic” workers.

⁶⁰ “In the past, tents were set up, but as they were full of germs – I mean there would be dirt everywhere – that has been banned. Everyone has built a house for the workers now, and had them stay there. Now it’s better. However, it’s different when compared to my house. The houses for laborers aren’t inside the village environment like ours. Because they are foreigners and don’t really care about or they damage our gardens, the houses are built somewhat far away from the villagers.” (Sezgin)



Pictures showing a little house building for seasonal workers

Accommodation conditions are surely a determinant factor about the meal services. As far as householders gave up hosting workers in their houses, workers started to assure their own meal needs. According to villagers, different meal services and changing accommodation forms reshaped their practices to meet meal services for workers. On the other hand, cost account played a more critical role for “Kurdish” workers and they did not want to restrict their revenue because of mealcosts. They preferred to obtain their own meal as much as they needed, by which they could control their loss revenue. This mutual agreement seems very welcome for the householders, especially for women as well because of the cooking responsibility attributed to them. Resmiye, who experienced previous conditions as well, welcomes current practices in meal services:

“Yemek veriyordum ben. O zaman o kadar gelme yoktu ama o zaman kürtler yoktu. Sonra kürtler vardı. Yemek veriyordum. Yaptığım yemek... onlar değişik yemek yiyorlar. Onlar dediler ki yani ben size vereyim siz yapın nasıl istiyorsanız. Sonra onlar çevirdiler yemeği. Kendileri yaptılar. Ben rahatladım. Çok darlanmıştım.”⁶¹(Resmiye)

⁶¹ “I was cooking for them. In those times, workers do not often come and Kurdish were not coming. Then there



A picture showing the kitchen of workers, which is united by the living room

It is really scrutinized here the change in villagers' perception towards and workers' preferences on accommodation or meal services. Although accommodation and meal services were provided by the householders in a sensible perception before, these practices are subjected to change in time because of specific dynamics. Those dynamics are obvious: elements of contracts established between workers. From the perspective of the villagers, if the contract refers to the *imece* whose framework is determined by cooperative consciousness without any payment concern, the situation comes to the front in very friendly and uncounted mind. Conversely, if it refers to the employment contract whose basis calls for payment in return for labour force, then its responsibility bears hard on householders, which resulted in neglected conditions. Secondly, although the mealservices of seasonal workers are said to be really different from the villagers or people of those regions, Çiçekpınar villagers'

were the Kurdish. They eat differently. They told me I could give the food and let them cook however they'd like. After that, they took it over. They themselves cooked. I was relieved. I had had enough." (Resmiye)

perceptions differed regarding by whom they work and in return of which they work. From the perspective of seasonal workers, on the other hand, need for money determined their preferences on eating and/or accommodation. Therefore, they seek the cheapest basic sources for nutrition or they accept minimum standards of living conditions. As very old-aged villager Fehmiye stated:

“Tabii o zaman ben veriyordum yemeği. Hane sahibi. Şimdi sen yaptın sen götürdün sen ettin, ama şimdi herkes öyledir herkes kendi yemeğini! Şimdi parayla olduktan sonra herkes kendi yemeklerini getirmeye başladı. Para girdi, o yemek işi de bitti.”⁶² (Fehmiye)

As it has been seen, changing labor forms with their own periodical specificities directly reflects over the practices including accommodation practices, meal services and daily life organization in Çiçekpınar. In the conditions of the peasantry period, self-sufficiency in terms of both equipment and motivation (Shanin, 1971), sociocultural cohesion and simple organization of work (Galeski, 1971) shaped the living conditions, which made daily life practices be organized in more communal and directways. *İmece* was the reflection of this. On the other hand, seasonal employment has brought new actors/ workers along side, for whom particular living conditions are necessary to be established in time. This has resulted in separated living areas with differentiated accomodation and meal conditions which make hierarchial relations much more visible.

5.2.2 Migration: Shared Seasonal-ity?

Socioeconomic reflections of agricultural labor change inÇiçekpınar cannot solely be analyzed in terms of living conditions and/or life experiences. Additionally, migration in Çiçekpınarhas become bothaffected and affecting aspects of the case, which makes it very critical for this analysis. Why the villagers prefer to migrate from Çiçekpınar and how these migrations affected the socioeconomic order inÇiçekpınar are two faces of this same coin. On the other hand, migration does not only affect the villagers’ life; rather it is also one of the reasons seasonal employers

⁶² “Of course I used to cook for them. As the home owner. You'd prepare, bring the food and what not, but now everyone brings their own! Everybody has started to bring their own food after money came into the business. Money showed up, the meal deal ended.” (Fehmiye)

come to Çiçekpınar. In other words, migration in the case of Çiçekpınar should be analyzed in twofold perspectives: migration for villagers and migration for workers. The common point of the two is their seasonality. In Çiçekpınar, there are very few families who permanently migrate, whereas most families migrate to city centers but come back to the village in summer. Likewise, hazelnut employees come to the village for the harvesting period this is why they called seasonal. In this sense, it is possible to claim that both villagers and workers settle in the Çiçekpınar temporarily. The reasons behind migrating acts and how it brings certain changes alongside, will be analyzed from villagers' perceptions now in order to question migration as the dynamic of the change in agricultural labor for Çiçekpınar.

According to Headman of Çiçekpınar, Recep, the most intense migrations from Çiçekpınar occurred between 1980s and 2000s, which were usually directed toward close cities and İstanbul. This date matches what Turkey has witnessed after 1980s concerning migration rates. As it has already been provided, Turkey's agricultural population was 65.58 % of total population in 1965 while this number decreased to 35.10 % of total population in 2000 (TURKSTAT, 2011). This is the general profile across Turkey, from which Çiçekpınar has also take its toll. The current number of population in Çiçekpınar was provided by the Headman, as although 250 families are recorded as residents in the village, just 70 families settled in consistently. Another part of the population is mostly living in the city centers, while a small number of families migrated permanently without establishing any link to the village. In other words, the largest percentage of the Çiçekpınar population consists of seasonally coming villagers.

Why people tend to migrate after 1980s must firstly be analyzed in order to understand socio-economic conditions affecting the process in Çiçekpınar. The causes behind migrations in Çiçekpınar can be explainable when the historical correspondence is scrutinized. The liberalization period in Turkey beginning with 24 January 1980 Decisions had brought about minimization of state supports and privatization of agricultural sectors (Boratav, 2003), which weakened producers' ability to subsist through agricultural income and made them seek for additional support in non-agricultural fields (Keyder, 2013). Owing to the withdrawal of state

support, it became unbearable for certain villagers to struggle with extended driving forces of rural life such as unequal accessibility to technology, mechanization, population growth, lack of employment, and changing forms of property. On the other hand, urban life presents them with attractive forces including expanded labor markets and extended socioeconomic facilities against those (Keyder, 2013; Akşit, 1988). This is why post-1980s is evaluated as a breaking point concerning increased migration rates which is applicable for the Çiçekpınar case as well. The Çiçekpınar case traced and confirmed these assertions when villagers' perceptions towards migration were analyzed in detail. They usually associated migrating practices with concerns of livelihood, employment facilities, demand for insurance and need for education.

For the villagers who migrated to city centres, fundamental reasons to migrate can actually be generalized under two categories: economic suffering in rural areas and the socioeconomic facilities of urban areas. Common argument refers to the insufficient income provided from hazelnut production in the last twenty years because of the lower prices determined for hazelnuts. Although a high quantity of production could be accessible for the producers owing to technological development and new working ways, market demands seem to decrease in time because of the over-supply. This directly leads to the low prices, which made villagers be pressed insistently. Transition to free market with merchants is also a very critical point for producers in order to adapt more flexible conditions. These led to make the villagers, especially younger generations, seek for employment offerings in the close cities. 70-year-old İlhan, who migrated to Akçakoca for a long time but is back in the village now, analyzed this process in quoted statements:

“Şimdi kızım bizim Batı bölgesi olarak fındık, başka bir şeyimiz yok, kimse de bir şey bilmiyor, ovalara fındık ektik ovalar da kalktı aradan, ovalar ekmezsin belki karpuz ekersin kavun ekersin, ovalara da fındık ekildi. Ekildiği için de zaten böyle dara girildi, fındık çok oldu, arz meselesi bu yani arz oldu ama talep yok. Talep olmayınca napacak yığılıp kalacak, onun için de işte kıymetten düşüyor para yapmıyor; ama fındığın yani, işte geçimimiz bu, bu para yaptığı zaman sen de rahat olacaksın ben de rahat, onun için de para yapmadığı için

millet de sapıtılmış bir hali var, emekli olana ne mutlu ama emekli olamayan kaldı böyle, merak da ediyorum nâpıyorlar nasıl geçiniyorlar?”⁶³ (İlhan)

Insufficient income in hazelnut production is not only related to lower prices and free market regulations. Population growth represented another reason for increased migration in Çiçekpınar. In this sense, Çiçekpınar resembled the practice of Stirling’s (1974) theorization of Household Domestic Cycle. According to this, the first period of extended agricultural cultivation by huge paternalistic family labor was experienced by Çiçekpınar until the 1970s. However, since population growth has gained momentum and become younger in time, hazelnut fields must necessarily be allocated to the children of a family as an inheritance from their ancestors. This means less land pieces for each child and his/her family, which called the second period in the theory. It must be noted here that lands in the Çiçekpınar have firstly been allocated to the sons so that daughters are usually taking their pieces as money for once. Nevertheless, allocation firmly leads to a decline in hazelnut income for younger generations which made them seek other jobs. This means the need for non-agricultural employment, which can be found only in urban areas for them.

Increasingly expensive life induced from urban living should also be analyzed in terms of the sources of income deficiency. Most villagers stated that they did not have enough money to make shopping before; however, existing money could still meet their fundamental needs. They claimed hazelnut income could not subsist them because of the increasing technology and expensive conditions. Some experiences were provided from the villagers:

“Eskiye göre pahalılandı mesela her şey arttı. Mesela elektrik yoktu elektrik geldi, elektrik parası su parası bu parası ödeyeceksin. Bu elektrik olmadan şimdi yaşayamazsın. O zaman elektrik yoktu kandil vardı, biraz gaz alıyordun

⁶³ “Now, dear, all we have as the western area is hazelnut, nothing else. Nobody knows anything else. We planted the lowlands too, and they have finished. You don’t plant lowlands with it; maybe you plant watermelons or cantaloupe, but lowlands are planted with hazelnuts, too. Because they are, people have got in trouble; hazelnut became too much. It’s a supply issue... I mean there’s supply but no demand. What happens when there’s no demand? All the hazelnut is piled up in a corner, and that’s why it loses value, isn’t worth much. But when it costs what it’s worth, then both you and I will be at ease. Since it doesn’t bring money now, people are at a loss. Great for those who have been able to retire from somewhere, but those who haven’t are left like this. I really wonder what they do, how they get by.” (İlhan)

sana yetiyordu. 2 kilo gaz aldın mı 1 ay yetiyordu, Allah selamet versin yarı karanlıkta yarı aydınlıkta. Ama şimdi öyle değil.”⁶⁴(Muzafer)

“Gelir gideri karşılamıyor, devir teknoloji çağına girdi. Bir: benim cep telefonum var, iki oğlum var onların cep telefonu var, hanımın dört. Babaannenin beş. Evde bir internet,buzdolabı, derin dondurucu, en az evde 2 tv, elektrik süpürgesi, bulaşık makinesi, bunlar hep gider! Gelir gideri karşılıyor mu, karşılamıyor. Benim gelirim olmasa bunu nasıl karşılicam, 1000lira emekli maaşı alıyorum.”⁶⁵(Recep)

In addition to expensive life conditions, some villagers in Çiçekpınar argued that the change is not only observed in financial resources but also in people’s expectations and expenditures. Consumption has become augmented in recent years; with the result that one source of income cannot meet their expectations. Therefore, they believe that most families tried to find job opportunities in other places outside the village so that they have to migrate. One of the interviewees, Sezgin, emphasized the changing attitudes of people and said “Eskiden (findık geliri) yetiyordu. Yetmiyor şimdi çünkü fantezi oldu millet lükse geçti dedim ya, zaman mesela o zaman öyleydi şimdi gittikçe noldu? Zaman gittikçe yeni nesile geçtikçe biraz fantezi yükseldikçe, o yapıyor bu yapıyor, çoluk çocuk istedikçe yetmiyor. İstemeler arttı... Çalıştıkça harcadı. Kazandığını harcadı, noldu? Bu sefer gene mecbur çalışmak oldu.... Çünkü yetmiyor, çalışmasan yetmiyor.”⁶⁶According to her, the main stimulator of economic difficulties is people’s expectations of life standards.

⁶⁴ “It's become more expensive than in the past, everything has risen in price. For example, we didn't have electricity; now that it's come, you have to pay for electricity, this and that. You can't live without this electricity now. There used to be oil-lamps, you got some oil for it and it would be enough. Two kilos of oil were enough for a month – God bless, in half darkness half light. Yet, it's not like that anymore.” (Muzafer)

⁶⁵ “Revenue doesn't recompense the expenses, it's a technological era now. One: I have a cell-phone. I got two sons, they have phones, my wife has one, it adds up to four. The grandma has one: it's five. In our house, we have internet, a refrigerator, a deep-freezer, at least two TVs, a vacuum cleaner, a dishwasher... these are all expenses! Does the income pay for the expenses? No it does not. How would I pay for these if I didn't have an income? I get 1000 liras monthly as retirement salary.” (Recep)

⁶⁶ “In the past, it (the revenue from hazelnut) was enough. It is not, anymore, because fantasies have occurred, people has become more and more luxurious, as I said. What has happened with time? With time, and with the coming of the new generation, fantasies scaled up. So and so does that, and when your children want the same, it's not enough. More wishes... the more you work, the more you spend. People have spent what they earned, and then what? You've got to work again... Because it's not enough. If you don't work, it's not enough.” (Sezgin)

As Keyder (2013) promotes in the analysis of migration in Turkey, the sources of migration should not only be searched for in the rural life conditions. In response to them, the attractive forces of urban life also affect villagers' decisions, as in the case of Çiçekpınar as well. As it has been discussed before, attractive forces can generally be analyzed under two categories: expanded labor markets (Keyder, 2013) and developed education and service sectors (Akşit, 1988). During the field research, many interviewees stated the importance of both in order to appreciate villagers' migrating practices. Some of the interviewees often emphasized that they decided to migrate since Çiçekpınar could not offer them various socioeconomic conditions such as better educational utilities. Education, health services and additional job opportunities were described as making them feel more secure. However, it must be emphasized here that security is not totally perceived as social or private security in this matter; rather it mostly refers to economic and financial security. Villagers believed that peasantry did not allow them to construct insured life in terms of health insurance, job insurance or efficiency insurance in production quantity. Sermin, who migrated to İstanbul and had six children there, focused on the financial security relatively possible in cities according to her:

“Şimdi eğitim daha iyi denildi. Sigorta meselesi var ya bide onun için. Emeklilik var. Şimdi fındık da ne kadar emekli olucan? Yatraca da emekli olucan. Bu sene de fındık var yok... bir sene var bir sene yok. Fındık pek güvenilir değil yani. Mesela benim (sadece) 1-2ton fındığım olsa ben o çoluk çocuğu nasıl okuturdum?”⁶⁷(Sermin)

Migration does not certainly mean the same images for all villagers. Other part of the population insisted on remaining in the village. From their perspectives, migration is not justified by the reasons immigrants propose. When asked what ‘village’ means to them, villagers usually pointed out clear fresh air, green environment but more importantly comfortable life in terms of private security. Cities could not provide them the social or private security as was in the village. Indeed, urban life carries dangerous and insecure life conditions because of the unfamiliar people and complex

⁶⁷ “They say education is better than before. And also there's this issue of insurance. There's retirement. How can you retire from hazelnut work? You need to pay and then get retired. And this year there is hardly any hazelnut... One year there is, another year there isn't. What I'm saying is, hazelnut is not safe. ... If I (only) had 1-2 tons of hazelnut, for instance, how would I provide education to all my children?” (Sermin)

life styles. However, rural life enables them to live in a very safe environment, which even allows them to not lock their homes, as an example. Familiarity and trust attach villagers to the village so that some did even not think migrating once.

In addition to security concerns, urban life represents too expensive life standards and unhealthy conditions for them. Çiçekpınar gives them both a secure and healthy place which can be lived without any abundant expenditure. Villagers preferred to settle in the Çiçekpınar usually stated that they did not choose going to cities although they had the opportunity to go. Nebahat, who never migrates outside the village, described why she did not prefer it:

“Göç ediyorlar he göç ediyorlar... Onlar da paraylan, onlar da zahmet çekiyorlar! Nesi var bahçesi mi var buralarda, bizim hiç olmazsa gidiyoz salatalık koparıyoz domates koparıyoz, her şeyi bahçeden koparıyoz. Şehre gitsen nerde napacan? Suni şeyleri alacan yiyece?”⁶⁸(Nebahat)

Keyder (2013) claims that Turkey’s agricultural producers might migrate to urban areas for certain times but that they did not separate from their agricultural life totally. Although Çiçekpınar migrants presented many reasons to migrate to the cities, most people in the village never remove their links to the village as well. In this way, they can know they have always a place that they could go back to and subsist in minimum standards even if they do not have specific livelihood there, as mentioned before (Keyder, 2013). Çiçekpınar migrants also come to the village in hazelnut seasons or holiday times through which they protect their proximity to Çiçekpınar in both material and normative senses. This is linked to many different perceptions by the villagers. Although some of them describe it as inherent loyalty to the village because of the motherland effect, other parts of the villagers perceived the village as the place where they come back sooner or later. They feel themselves belonging to the village even if they had already migrated to an urban area for a long time. This feedbacks traced what Teoman (2011) claims that villagers usually feel loyalty and trust for their village life against the risky life conditions in urban areas

⁶⁸“They migrate, yes, they do... It also requires money, they suffer, too! What do they have, a garden? At least we get our cucumbers, tomatoes from our gardens, we get it all from the gardens. What will you do if you move to city? You'll buy artificial things and eat them.” (Nebahat)

so that they usually continue to cultivate their lands either by their own ways, or by renting to villagers settling there. In other words, they do not want to lose the possibility to going back to the village.

As it has been said at the beginning, migration is not solely a result of the change in agricultural labor; rather, it has also affected the process of agricultural labor directly. Although most villagers stated that hazelnut income becomes their secondary income because of mentioned developments, migrating villagers usually come back to the village for harvesting periods or to visit their fields when necessary for other stages. Nevertheless, this temporal revisiting does not provide same conditions as before, which has resulted in certain changes in labor practices. As it has been said before, abolishment of *imece* for harvesting is mostly stimulated by migration and technological progress. A declining population in the village precludes establishing cooperative action for any organization of work. Harvesting is just one of them. *İmece* was not only the way to harvest; rather it was diffused into most parts of villagers' lives. However, its main condition is to live together in a cooperative sense. Migrations restrict the possibility to continue living in that sense. Latter experiences encouraged purchasing a labor force while the villagers' life is organized around a more individualistic frame. These experiences in Çiçekpınar justify Keyder's (1988) description of migration resulting in high leaving rates from the villages as one of the critical contexts behind the transformation in Turkey's villages. In this context, this study shows how migration affects agricultural labor in direct ways.

The transformative character of migration for migrants' life should also be analyzed in Çiçekpınar's case in order to cover its effects fully. As said before, hazelnut production becomes a secondary income for the villagers migrated to cities. Job opportunities with especially health insurance make villagers prefer those instead of hazelnut income. Indeed, there are very little numbers of villagers giving up hazelnut production since it was perceived as additional income or reason to establish link to Çiçekpınar. Thus, as Teoman (2011) claimed, they continue to cultivate their lands through either their own ways or labor or by renting to the villagers still settling in the village. In this sense, Çiçekpınar migrants mostly experience partial

proleterianization in which peasants protect their links to the village life while they attach to wage labor in urban life as well (Keyder, 2013). It should be stated here that the Çiçekpınar villagers' forms of articulation to wage labor differed from Keyder's categories since they usually work as minimum wage labor in a factory permanently. Nevertheless, overall proleterianization cannot also be observed with them like the experiences across Turkey. Indeed, villagers have kept their agricultural production alive by using annual and weekend leaves for production steps. It is also observed that a wage laborer in urban areas can become an employer in the village in Çiçekpınar case.

Migration is stimulated by mentioned reasons from villagers' perspectives and lead to concrete changes for both their life and agricultural labor process. However, villagers are not the sole subject affected by migration. Their purchasing power has lead to create new immigrant actors: seasonal workers mostly coming from Southeastern Anatolia. The stimulating effect of seasonal employment is not only the demand of agricultural producers for purchasing labor power. The period peasants started to seek for alternative labor forms corresponded the period Southeastern Anatolia faced security problems derived from fights between guerilla and state forces and made the population seek for new places to move away to (Çınar & Lordoğlu, 2011). In this way, seasonal employment could find its actors. Since then Southeastern Anatolia has become the sources of seasonal employment, although their motivations to migrate are currently defined by mostly economic concerns. As it has been seen, Çiçekpınar migrants and seasonal workers share common motivation to migrate. How migration conditions their lives should be analyzed now in order to understand the other side of the coin.

Seasonal workers are usually said to migrate to Çiçekpınar and other agricultural places in the harvesting periods which is only temporary. In this sense, seasonality and their economic motivations can be evaluated as the shared values of Çiçekpınar migrants and seasonal workers. However, this has not resulted in a closed relationship between them and their perceptions. For the villagers Çiçekpınar means secondary-income source, "let-out" area from the difficulties of city life, fresh air, a green environment to visit seasonally while for workers it is the source of

employment and income. Moreover, workers are not perceived in the same way in which villagers are perceived. The reason is visible. Çiçekpınar offers employer position and native residency to the villager while it necessarily brings “employee” position and foreign settlement for the workers. Hierarchical relations and unfamiliarity with each other create different results for the different sides. It is very well represented in villagers’ perceptions towards workers. Employer villagers are usually complaining about lazy workers and their “foreign” values. Bride Emine and her mother-in-law Kilbar cited it:

“Şimdi çocuktur ya, yeni yetişti. Para kazansın diye 14 yaşında 12 yaşında işçiye koyuyor. O da çalışmıyor, kaçacakyer arıyor. Oraya sokuluyor buraya sokuluyor. Uğraşacan işte böyle.”⁶⁹(Kilbar)

“Köy ya buralar, bunlar bir kere şimdi baştan bi kere terrorist adları çıkmış ya memleketlerinde. Hoş, hepsi terörist değil ama o şeylen bakılıyor biraz. Ve de gelmiştir buralara terörist işçi olarak. Olaylar vurgunluklar oldu, dövüşler oldu.”⁷⁰(Emine)

Perceptions are not evaluated in a homogenous framework. Almost all the villagers brought attention to the questions of what might be workers’ problems. The answer is usually unanimously shaped around accomodation, meal conditions and social discrimination. In addition to the conditions offered in Çiçekpınar, their inter-work management are claimed to be problematic as Nebahat’s interviews quoted: “Gördüğüm kadarıyla, bunlar çadırlarda şeylerde, onlar da zahmet çekiyorlar, yollarda gitgel. Onlar da zahmet çekiyorlar, onlar da gariban, hoş onların aldığını kendileri yemiyorlar, onların da başlarındaki büyükler alıyor parayı, tabii.”⁷¹

⁶⁹ “He’s a child now, newly bloomed. They put him to work at the age of 14 12, for him to bring money. He on the other hand, doesn’t work, and looks for places to hide. He goes here and there. You need to deal with this all.” (Kilbar)

⁷⁰ “This place is all villages after all. Once they (laborers) got a bad reputation in their own land as terrorists. Well, of course not all of them are terrorists but they’re seen like that a bit. And terrorists did come here as laborers in the past. There have been some incidents and fights.” (Emine)

⁷¹ “As far as I’ve seen, they also suffer in tents and what not, on the roads all the time. They suffer too, they are poor too. They don’t get to spend the money they earn, surely, the elders before them take the money.” (Nebahat)

The striking point is that villagers did not exhibit the same care for seasonal workers' insurance although their main reason to migrate is constituted around insurance concerns. Just a few of interviewees stated that the most problematic condition for the workers is to work without any insurance such as in Fikret's statements: "Şimdi normalde kaçak gözükyorlar işçi olarak. Aslında iyi birşey değil. Sigortalı olması gerek. Çünkü sen bile işe başladığın zaman güvence istiyorsun."⁷² However, this consciousness did not even encourage to him to provide insurance for his workers. As it has been evaluated; migration should also be analyzed with regard to its actors. In Çiçekpınar's case, migration has been experienced by both seasonal workers and migrating villagers. However, their shared seasonality in Çiçekpınar does not offer them same conditions. Seasonal workers are perceived as foreign and employee by the village society while migrants become native and employer, although they usually work as wage labor in the cities they migrated into. Duality in the status of migrating villagers reflected over their perceptions of the village and separated them from the remaining society of the village. Migrant villagers find the village more insecure and underdeveloped regarding socioeconomic facilities, while villagers settled in Çiçekpınar perceive the village cheap, more secure and habitable regarding natural and private life. In this framework, perceptions and conditions can be said to change according to the actors and their position in the practice.

How migration should be analyzed regarding the change in agricultural life is the most critical question of this section. It is tried to show here that migration has been stimulated by the changes in agricultural life, which has resulted in the changes in that life as well. On the one hand, intense migration has resulted in the change of agricultural labor in Çiçekpınar because high leaving rates from the village precluded cooperative action leading to elimination of *imece*. Moreover, the latter agricultural form-seasonal employment- has also been driven by migrational practices of seasonal workers from their home lands. Hence, it would not be misleading to argue that migration has shaped agricultural labor change in Çiçekpınar in various directions. On the other hand, seasonality has been shared by both sides of later

⁷² "They are considered illegal workers normally. Not a good thing, indeed. They should be insured. Even you want an insurance when you start working somewhere." (Fikret)

agricultural life, villagers and workers. Although the dynamics stimulating them to migrate have differentiated from each other, both villagers and seasonal workers have migrated to different places temporarily in this case. Seasonal workers have come to Çiçekpınar just for harvesting periods, while villagers have been employed in urban areas but have protected their ties with the village as their ultimate place to live. However, their shared seasonality does not reflect shared conditions for both sides in the village. Within this framework, migration has been evaluated as critical for this study in terms of its reasons and effects over both agricultural labor and subjects' experiences in Çiçekpınar.

5.2.3 Encountering the Market

The change in agricultural labor and production motivations is definitely triggered by external forces to Çiçekpınar. These were sometimes technological interventions, sometimes changing political structures or economic decisions or social turbulences reverberating across the country's agricultural life. In particular to Çiçekpınar, they have also been influential to determine production relations regarding labor forms and motivations. From peasantry to seasonal employment, Çiçekpınar villagers have to be in relation with different actors concerning agricultural production. While they conducted cooperative ways to subsist in peasantry, their motivation based on self-sufficiency and to meet their-community's- basic needs. In later periods, State and market interaction have deeply penetrated into their lives since producers concentrated on production for the market and to gain profit. This motivation made State and other market ingredients assign more visible and active positions in villagers' agricultural life. Thus, the dynamics in State interventions and market conditions have directly had impacts over the overall agricultural production process. In this sense, it is quite important to elaborate their impacts over agricultural life and how villagers perceive them, which will be analyzed in detail now.

As we said before, Çiçekpınar villagers did not establish any link to the market until hazelnut production started to spread in the 1950s. Until the time their crops were ready to be sold to the market, villagers produced just for their own family

subsistence. Wheat, corn or any other agricultural production was not for the market. After hazelnut production decided to be tried in the village, Çiçekpınar entered into visible and interactive relations with both the state and the market. Previous self-sufficient production did not make them face any market or state regulations since they had already adapted to subsist their livelihood in ways which they managed themselves, such as *imece*. They could only produce however much they needed to survive. Mehmet summarized the case as “Satma nerde? Yetmiyordu bile. Yiyorduk (onları) evet. Kendimiz yapıp kendimiz yiyorduk. Şu şey var ya, çarşı ekmeği, on bile almaya paramız yoktu.”⁷³

State interventions and market conditions left the practice of sole family subsistence behind and new dynamics came out in Çiçekpınar. As it has been mentioned before, modernization of agricultural production and opening it up to free trade became one of the main subjects of state agenda during the 1950s stimulated by Marshall Aid. In this sense, State interventions comprehended price subversions, credit distributions and supportive purchases targeting at commercialization, commoditization and modernization in the agricultural realm. Supportive purchases, however, were only provided for certain crops suggested by the State to be introduced, such as cotton, tobacco or hazelnuts (Akşit, 1988; Kip, 1988). During this period, Çiçekpınar was observed to experience the fields for wheat and corns, the main subsistence of the village, turning into fields for hazelnuts, and hazelnut is not cropped for food need. Indeed, hazelnut production is developed for the market to earn money on the basis of family labour for the first time. Thereafter, accelerated production brings new labor alternatives alongside, such as purchasing labour force of seasonal workers. In this process, hazelnut production becomes the new livelihood of the villagers. This shift in their subsistence means new actors and new roles for the villagers' life as well. State-market relations of Çiçekpınar, one of them, represent subordinative conjunction for producers. Additionally, production inevitably progressed in time firmly affected work orders, such as transformation from *imece* to purchasing labor

⁷³ “What sale? It wasn't even enough. We'd eat (them), yes. We'd make things ourselves and eat. That town bread – we didn't even have the money to buy that.” (Mehmet)

force. The villager was no longer called peasant; rather they are now the petty commodity producers corresponding to post-1950s.

Forms of relationship with the state seem to change regarding the governments and socioeconomic conditions in villagers' perceptions. Approaches to the relationship with the state were diversified usually regarding the age range of the villagers. Old-aged interviewees seemed less expectant of state supports and regulations on the behalf of efficient production, whereas middle-aged interviewees stated that the state is supposed to deal with agricultural producers. There is no homogenous attitude towards the state, whereas it was positioned above society in people's mind. According to some interviewees, the state has withdrawn its autonomy from agricultural production in recent years. On the other hand, old-aged interviewees especially believed that the state is more interested in them and their production with reference to the AKP government.

The first times hazelnut production was developed in Çiçekpınar resembled the first time peasants entered into interaction with the state. Interviewees always emphasized that it was not necessary to have state supports for their livelihood before. When their livelihood became a matter for the market, then the state and its regulations began to affect their lives. Whether hazelnut production was being supported by the state or not is perceived in heterogenous perspectives by the Çiçekpınar villagers. Although most of them replied that there was no subsidy or any kind of support for acceleration in production, some villagers asserted the state always gave importance to the hazelnut producers through different supportive implementations.

State support is usually perceived as operated through the Hazelnut Agricultural Sales Cooperatives (*Fiskobirlik*). Their interests were perceived to pursue by *Fiskobirlik* so that *Fiskobirlik* was the main agent in their relation to the state and the market in villagers' perceptions. As has been provided before, *Fiskobirlik* was established in 1938 within the framework of statist and protectionist interventions into agriculture between 1930 and 1939 (Boratav, 2003). It provided supportive purchases on the behalf of the State until the 2000s (*Fiskobirlik*, 2013). Corresponding to this shift, hazelnut prices received by farmer increased from 159.1

kuruş in 1955 to 489.3 kuruş in 1965 (Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968). In the villagers' eyes, the State was supporting *Fiskobirlik* in both normative and financial manner which made *Fiskobirlik* policies more feasible and efficient. Therefore, state support was evoked for *Fiskobirlik* for those who experience previous times as well. To quote one of the interviewees, 79-year-old Muzafer:

“Devlet doğrudan destek vermiyordu. Devlet fiskoya destek veriyordu, fisko da bize avans veriyordu. Nasıl avans biliyor musun? Verdiğimiz fındığı satmış, kar etmiş fazla o kardan avans, millet avans dağıtıyordu. Sonraları o avans da kesildi.”⁷⁴ (Muzafer)

As has been shown above, hazelnut prices were said to be high, which made commodity producers able to comfortably subsist during the periods *Fiskobirlik* purchased harvested products on the behalf of State treasury. In addition to *Fiskobirlik*, the state was said to give agricultural subsidies through Agricultural Credit and Agricultural Sales Cooperation and the Agricultural Bank. As Table 1 showed, agricultural credits provided by the Agricultural Bank have steadily increased since the 1950s under the circumstances of State supportive interventions (Tarım Bakanlığı, 1968). Interviewees stated that the base price of hazelnut per kilo was announced before harvesting season started up during those periods. In this way, producers could account for their costs and manage their livelihood regarding it. According to villagers, high prices are derived from political concerns, such as pre-election preparations. Current politicians behave in strategic ways in their relation to *Fiskobirlik* so that prices and subsidies were regulated under great attention. In this context has been revealed the traces of the awareness of the villagers, about political expectations, which resulted in populism as Keyder (2013) contextualizes for Turkey's agriculture.

“Yalnız fındık değil. Şimdi türk ticaretini düşündüğümüz zaman fındıkçı hep devlet şeyiyle yürüdü, atıyorum Fiskobirlik fındığı alırdı zam isterdi devlet de

⁷⁴ “The government didn't support directly. It supported fisko, and fisko advanced money to us. Do you know what kind of advance? It had sold the hazelnut we provided, and made profit too much. It used to distribute that advance. Later on, it stopped.” (Muzafer)

verirdi. Niye? Seçime gelecekti veya bir partinin ayakta durması için.”⁷⁵(Avni)

Whether *Fiskobirlik* could enable villagers be involved in the policy-making process or not seems a very ambiguous question for the Çiçekpınar case. According to villagers, the relationship established with *Fiskobirlik* is not very interactive. Prices were determined without any consultation with the producers as they claimed. They said they were aware that *Fiskobirlik* was serving their interests. Nevertheless, the villagers did not take part in policy-making processes or in any determination stages. If the prices were less than expected, producers were said not to initiate any objection, nor did *Fiskobirlik* manage a consultation. The striking point here is that villagers stated prices were already high and expected until the last twenty years.

The situation for hazelnut producers until the transition to the free market order seem more pleasant when analyzed from the interviewees’ perspectives. What then changed in the last twenty years is worth analyzing at this point. As it has been discussed before, post-1980s witnessed an explicit liberalization process in Turkey through which Agricultural Sales Cooperatives were restructured and authorized with full autonomy in 2000 (Aydın, 2010). Within this framework, *Fiskobirlik* was assigned full financial autonomy and continued to purchase products on behalf of its own account. (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). What villagers relate to this shift is worth analyzing at this point. According to some villagers, high purchasing prices weakened the state’s interests so that they favoured abolition of state control over the market. They blamed operational capacity of *Fiskobirlik* because of their neglect of the process rather than state policies of liberalization or structural deficits. Interviewee Murat criticized the issue as cited:

“Yaw kızım tamam da, bizim işimize geliyordu ama devlet zarar ediyordu nasıl ediyordu, Fiskobirliklerde çalışan devlete bağlı kişiler avantaj nerde bulduysa bulunduğu ona göre değerlendiriyordu, ama bizden diyelim ki 5 liraya fındık aldı, sen devletin içinde adamsın memursun dışarılarla bağlantı

⁷⁵ “Not only the hazelnut. When you look at Turkish commerce, the government always had hazelnut owners’ back. Let’s say *Fiskobirlik*, taking the hazelnut from us, would ask for a raise and the government would grant it. Why? It was going to come for elections or for a certain political party to remain standing.” (Avni)

yapman lazımdı, ben de beri tarafta kalın bir tüccarım sağlam, sen ne alıyon devletten maaş 2000 lira. Otur yerine sana 3000 lira, findığın şeyini bulma. Düşük bul yahut da. Burada tüccar köşeyi dönüyor, ama demin dediğim gibi güvenilir sağlam Allahını bilen kişi olsa bunu yapmaz.ondan sonra noluyor devletin elinde aldığı fındık kalıyor. Tüccar çünkü devamlı devrede, devletin adamı devreye girmiyor yattığı yerden para alıyor. Tüccar devrede devamlı, o fındıkları veriyor ihtiyaçları olan Avrupa ülkesine, devlet elinde fındık kalıyor mu, napacak 5 liraya almış bu fındığı, fındık çürüyor veyahut çürüdü. Sabun fabrikasına 1 liradan veriyor devlet, zarar devlete çıkıyor.”⁷⁶(Murat)

As discussed before, what caused this shift in agricultural production was derived from structural deficits resulting from supportive purchases, which made the State put some restrictions and demands over the agricultural supportive intervention since the 1970s. In particular reference to hazelnut production, excess supply and storage problem could not be handled since the 1980s, so that restriction of fields has necessarily been promoted. Moreover, the liberalization process has promoted the closing down of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives in 2000. Although *Fiskobirlik* had continued to be supported by the Support Price Stability Fund and Hazelnut Advertisement Fund between 1994 and 2000, it was finally charged with full financial autonomy in 2003. Although *Fiskobirlik* declared high prices for hazelnuts in the following two years in order to protect its position in agricultural production, it could not handle the full autonomous order based on its own budget (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). Villagers pointed out that *Fiskobirlik* could not pay their money during those times and meet their food needs for the whole year from Fiskomar, which is the chain store of *Fiskobirlik*, in return for money owed to them. It was the villagers' last time to enter into interaction with *Fiskobirlik*, as they say. As cited before, after those two years, the State intervened into hazelnut production and the Land Products Office was charged with purchasing products on behalf of Turkey's government for three years (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). Nevertheless, hazelnut

⁷⁶ “Okay, my dear, it benefitted us allright, but the government lost money. How? The people under *Fiskobirlik* who were worked for the government utilised the hazelnut where they saw an advantage. Let's say you are a government official, the government bought hazelnut for 5 liras from us, you have to make connections with others. On the other hand, let's assume I'm a powerful merchant. What do you earn from government 2000 liras. Take this 3000 and sit in your place, don't find any purchasers or find the lower ones. This merchant hits the jackpot, but as I say, if it were a trustworthy, decent, and faithful person, he'd never do that. What happens then? Government is left with its hazelnut. The mercant is always on the move, but the government official isn't involved and is paid for nothing. Merchant is always active, selling hazelnuts to the European countries who need it. The government is left with hazelnut in hand, it has bought it for 5 liras, but it rots. For 1 lira, the government gives the hazelnut to soap factories, and loses money.” (Murat)

production has officially been introduced into the free market driven by the merchants in 2009 at the end (Radikal,2011). How villagers described the following situation can be summarized as followed. The new determinant actors of the market have been merchants. Merchants were always actors of the hazelnut sector and served the market but conditions provided by *Fiskobirlik* were more preferable in term of prices per kilo and subsidies given by the state. The new scene now highlights free market conditions, which definitely differentiated from previous experiences. Although subsidies given through Agricultural Credit Cooperatives are still available for producers, the market prices are no longer regulated through *Fiskobirlik*. Prices are determined by merchants with regard to commodity exchange rates, in articulation with the merchants' consideration of profit account. Boratav (2004) has described merchant's profit: "mercantile profit, for a single commodity, stems from the presence of two different prices; the one that merchant pays to producer and another one that the customer pays to merchant. When the producer enters into scene through embodying the identity of a customer; an unequal exchange takes place between the commodities that he bought and sold." Having compared these proposals, villagers have said that they sell their crops to the merchants in return for cheaper prices than before: "Tüccarın eline kaldık. Tüccar senden üçe alıyo ona beşe satıyor. Kendi rant sağlıyo. Tüccar rant sağlıyor, bizde bişey yok."⁷⁷ One of the most critical interviewees compared previous and latter practices in agricultural market by saying,

"Şimdi tamamen tüccar belirliyor. Tüccarın eline mahkumuz. Tüccar findığı ilk kaçtan alırsa! Fiskobirlik döneminde her sene fındık fiyatları artardı bir miktar hiç eksiye gitmezdi, fiskobirlik ortadan kalktıktan sonra hep eksiye gitti. Dedim ya 7000 liraydı yıllar evvelinden, şimdi 4000-4500 lira çünkü kooperatif çekildi aradan. Çekilince tüccarın eline düştük, bu sefer tüccar istediği gibi fiyatı belirliyor yani devlet demiyor ki, eskiden devlet derdi biz hep televizyonların olmadığı zamanlar radyolar dinlerdik, fındık sezonları yaklaşınca ha bugün söyleyecek ha yarın söyleyecek diye kulaklarımız hep radyolarda televizyonlarda olurdu. Fiyatı devlet belirlerdi. Şimdi o belirlemediği için, tüccar geçen seneye nispeten veya fındık rekoltelerine

⁷⁷ "We were left to merchants' hands. The merchant buys from you at three (liras) but sells it to another at five (liras). He/she gets unearned money. The merchant gets; nothing for us." (Emine)

nispeten fazlaysa düşürüyor otomatikmen. Azsa bir miktar arttırıyor, ama bu hep kendini düşünerek, üreticiyi düşünerek değil.”⁷⁸(Metin)

Supports were not completely eliminated by the state according the villagers. New ways to support have been developed although prices are getting cheaper in free market conditions. They included the payment for lands they own, fuel oil for their tractors or little motorcars, etc. which are usually recognitions of ARIP signed in 2001 under the title of Direct Income Supports. Area-Based Income Support for producers having licensed fields provided 150 TL per decare and Diesel Support is granted for active producers, which are all developed through this program (Kayalak & Özçelik, 2012). Homogenous perceptions towards these current supports are not available among villagers. Some of them, especially old-aged interviewees, stated that those are very creative and critical ways to support producers, but which have never been provided to them. Gönül evaluated experiences in those times and said “Devlet (eskiden) kredi veriyordu, tarım kredi veriyordu, yağlarımızı falan ordan alıyorduk eskiden. Şimdi gene veriyor, şimdi daha çok veriyor. Şimdi para da veriyor, tarım krediden de para veriyor, destek parası da veriyor, daha iyi.”⁷⁹ On the other hand, some villagers did not agree with this idea and suggested that those are not efficient ways to contribute to the production process. Indeed, they claimed that payment for fuel oil or land is not directly related to the production capacity. It is related to the producers’ livelihood that might not target to accelerate production. Therefore, they suggest that the state should develop more efficient policies to support producers, such as payment for any advances in the volume of production. For the others, those favoring current policies, the main target can be identified as the

⁷⁸ “The merchant completely determines now. We are sentenced to the merchants’ hands: at which price the merchant firstly demands hazelnut! In times of *Fiskobirlik*, the prices of hazelnut were annually used to increase; never decrease. But when *Fiskobirlik* was out of function, they were always diminished. As I said, it was 7000 liras at past while now it is 4000-4500 liras because the cooperative was fade from the scene. When it faded, we were left to merchants’; merchants determine the price. That is, the State does not say anything now. We were listening the radios before, when there was no television, that what would be said (about the price) when the hazelnut season came up. The price was determined by the State. Since it does not determine now, the merchant automatically diminishes the price if (the products) are more than previous years or hazelnut yields. If they are less, he/she increases (the price). However, he/she always thinks of himself/herself; not of producers!” (Metin)

⁷⁹ “Government used to give loans, agricultural credits, and we’d buy our oils etc. from there. It still does, now it gives more. Now it pays money, also gives money from agricultural credit, as well as support money. It’s better now.” (Gönül)

contribution to the livelihood. Some critical comments from the interviewees are provided below:

“Direkt olarak üretime destek yok. Alana destek var, topraga destek var. Dönüm başı dediğimiz destek var, alan bazlı destek var. O da dönüme 150 TL. 150 tl ne yapar hesabını yapalım. Ortalamaya baktığımız zaman köyümüzün şahsa düşen fındık metre karesi 10 dönümü geçmez; ortalamasına baktığımızda. Kiminde 100 dönüm var, kiminde 10 dönüm var, kiminde 15 dönüm var, ortalamaya baktığımız zaman 15 dönümü geçmez. Dönümü 150 tl den ne eder, ortalama 1500 tl, bu rakam zaten tarlaya git gel mazot parasını karşılamıyor. Yeterli değil.”⁸⁰(Recep)

“Diyecekki devlet, kilobaşına destek veriyorum, bak o zaman oluyormu. Tarımı etkilemez bu da, vatandaş zarar etmez. Veyahut da devlet kazık yemez. Sen 5 ton fındık getir, sana yüzde bilmem ne, sat paranı veriyorum ama böyle olduğu zaman noluyor? Olmuyor. Düzene girmiyor.”⁸¹(Murat)

It is observed that changing forms of State interventions and market conditions affected Çiçekpınar’s production process in different ways and times. The shift from self-sufficiency to market production necessarily brought additional active dynamics alongside and into the villagers’ lives: state – market relation. How the State intervened into their lives through institutions or policies and the change in those actions have directly made villagers shape their production focuses. Moreover, introduction of market demands and management forms affected villagers’ approaches to the production process. As the relations with state and market changed its forms and dynamics, however, villagers’ perceptions and justifications towards this change seem to be diversified in Çiçekpınar. Although there is not homogenous perception among villagers towards state-market relations and its conditions, their effects are mostly evaluated in a common sense that these changes, true or not, have

⁸⁰ “No direct support for production. There’s support for the field, and for the soil. We have a support for per-decare, area-based. And that is 150 liras for a decare. Let’s calculate what 150 liras amount to. When you look at the average, the square meters per person is no more than 10 decares. Some has 100 decares, some has 10 decares, some has 15. looking at the average, it’s not more than 15 decares. For 150 liras a decare, what does it amount to? 1500 liras on average. This much doesn’t even pay for the diesel oil you use to go to the field. Not enough.” (Recep)

⁸¹ “The government should offer the support for per kilo, then see what happens. This doesn’t affect agriculture, but at the same time, people won’t lose money. Or the government is not cheated. When you bring 5 tons of hazelnut, you’re given some percentage, and if you sell it you’re given your money...but what happens when things work like this? It’s no good. It doesn’t get into an order.” (Murat)

had direct impacts over their life and production. This is why this subject is elaborated as worth analyzing in this context.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

In this section, the findings from the field research have been provided and analyzed through referring to the theoretical background. In this sense, the observations in the field have been tried to contextualize within the debates of rural-agrarian change from the perspective of agricultural labor. The projections of capitalist progress over agricultural life have been elaborated with specific reference to the production process and its articulation to the social and political terrain.

In this analysis, it has been concluded that capitalist progress, which was expected to result in the shift from peasant production to petty commodity production and lastly capitalist farming, has been experienced in the case of Çiçekpınar as well. This experience has concretely resulted in the change of agricultural labor, which has been revealed as the shift from cooperative work-*imece*-to seasonal employment in particular to this case. Various aspects of agricultural life, from production process to living conditions and sociopolitical relations, have occurred under the influence of this shift. The labor process in agricultural life has tended towards capitalist production in terms of production ways, skilling, controlling, socializing, working hours, etc. Under these circumstances, life experiences and villagers' articulation to social and political terrain could also not be precluded from the transformative process.

The tendency towards labor process in capitalist production has been realized in different aspects of the production process, such as harvesting, skilling or controlling. In peasant production, the sole concern of the subsequent period was self-sufficiency, which villagers cooperated toward. Hence, the fundamental labor form was established through cooperative work, called *meci* (*imece*) in the village. Since it was constituted as a mechanism among villagers, laborers were already

familiar to each other. In addition to that, they have already been accustomed to both the production processes and rural conditions which made their skills and control mechanisms naturally well developed. Since their life activities have been maintained by their material and physical conditions, they had the full autonomy to shape it which enabled them to have a certain degree of flexibility. In this order, the one producing with and the one socializing with were the same people. In other words, economic activity was not separated from social activity; rather they were totally integrated. *Meci* (imece) was the realization of this order as a labor form.

What has changed can be explained by understanding how capitalism converted the form of production. By shifting towards hazelnut production, the sole concern have no longer just to subsist. Production for the market necessarily brought different production motivations, dynamics, requirements and acceleration along side, which directly caused the need for an additional labor force to family labor or cooperative work. Seasonal employment, in its changing forms within the process, has responded to this need in Çiçekpınar. However, the dynamics of capitalist production have transformed both motivations and practices in labor processes. In this sense, de-skilling, despotic control mechanisms, time management, changing communicative codes and relations have appeared in the production process, which have been triggered by capitalist motivations. Seasonal workers have not had the autonomy over their works; rather they have only been attributed with the responsibility to fulfill the works their employers organized. The striking shift from cooperative work to seasonal employment has also been embodied in the living conditions and sociopolitical relations, in which hierarch has become very visible.

As it has been seen, the change of agricultural labor has been stimulated by capitalist penetration into the Çiçekpınar, which is still in progress. As capitalist dynamics and motivations have been settled in the village, different labor forms have been experienced with different practices and perceptions. In this sense, theoretical expectations regarding capitalist penetration into agricultural life have been mostly observed to realize in the Çiçekpınar case, where agricultural labor has visibly affected from this process.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to examine agricultural labor change derived from the shifting production forms in a certain field. The purpose of the study is to reveal the dynamics and effects of agricultural labor change in particular to the Çiçekpınar case having regard to theoretical expectations. On the one hand, dynamics behind this change have been scrutinized with regard to economic and political structures, technological changes and social turbulences across Turkey and their possible effects have been put forward in the study context. On the other hand, the reflections of the change have been elaborated by dividing the affected fields into two, (1) production process and (2) socioeconomic and political terrain.

To start with the dynamics behind agricultural labor change, it has been targeted at drawing the surroundings of the case. In this sense, political and economic structures across the country, technological changes and social turbulences have been elaborated in detail and seek their affiliation with the change Çiçekpınar witnessed. It has been concluded that State interventions and policies regarding agricultural production has triggered the construction of petty commodity production in the village through accelerated production for the market since the 1940s. Moreover, technological momentum has started to be expanded across the country firstly stimulated by Marshall Aid. Mechanical and biological changes in agricultural production have certainly stimulated the agricultural production as in the case of Çiçekpınar. Increasing numbers of tractors, haymarkers, certain agricultural tools, fertilizers, etc in the village have all resulted in the increase in the scale of hazelnut

production and the changing circumstances in the need of human force. Finally, migration rates have been increased across the country since the 1980s, which was also practiced by Çiçekpınar residents. This has directly precipitated demographic changes in agricultural life which means a decrease in the village population. In this way, previous agricultural labor forms were being eliminated in Çiçekpınar and alternative forms have been transformed into it. The transformation of the production process and agricultural labor forms have directly affected different aspects of production process and agricultural life in Çiçekpınar, skilling, controlling, etc., which have been referred to in the content of this analysis.

To continue with the effects of agricultural labor change, the production process has firstly been analyzed in terms of the practices in harvesting, skilling tendencies, controlling mechanisms, technological development, communicative codes and management of work hours in Çiçekpınar. Socioeconomic and political terrain has referred to certain aspects of agricultural life, including life experiences, migration experiences and state-market relations whose forms and perceptions have been varied in relation to the labor process in the village. It has been observed that agricultural labor change is not a unilateral process; rather, it has both been shaped by different forms according to changing production forms, and has shaped particular aspects of the production process and agricultural life.

In the first place, I have argued that harvesting is the most primary part of the production process affected by the change in agricultural labor in Çiçekpınar. From peasantry to petty commodity production, the labor process tends to be converted into different forms because of changing harvested crops and production motivations. During peasantry, which lasted until the 1950s, villagers established cooperative action across the village called *imece* which was a kind of borrowing system. Physical conditions and social relations within the village based on reciprocity gave lead to the establishment of this system, through which their whole agricultural life could be organized. In the 1950s, however, Çiçekpınar shifted towards hazelnut production which has made villagers convert into petty producers motivated by the

market. In addition to this motivation, developing technological and material facilities accelerated their production capacity, which made villagers seek for additional labor sources. Although family labor and cooperative action was intensely employed for a long time, they were no longer sufficient to meet the expanded production after a while. Therefore, “domestic” or seasonal employment has been conducted by the villagers since the 1970s, while their contexts and perceptions have evolved to change in time as well. In this sense, it can be argued that the transformation in production form actually marks a shift in agricultural labor from *imece* to seasonal employment, which also brings about certain changes in both material and social life in Çiçekpınar alongside.

The second point analyzed in this context has been skilling tendencies in Çiçekpınar’s labor process. Although the capitalist labor process for industry should not be totally compared to the agricultural labor process, their skilling progress and dynamics seems to be likened in the case of Çiçekpınar. “Dissociation of labor process from skills of workers” and “separation of conception and execution”, which Braverman (1974) conceptualized for the capitalist labor process, penetrated into Çiçekpınar’s agricultural labor as labor forms shifted from *imece* or family labor towards seasonal or temporal employment. Since *imece* and family labor comprised of villagers totally integrated into agricultural life irrespective of work fields, their skills were highly developed and dominant concerning production processes. They had the autonomy to manage the production process in terms of both conception and execution. As agricultural labor has recognized temporal or seasonal employment as a result of changing production dynamics, the skilling potentials of workers have been observed to explicitly diminish in Çiçekpınar. Consequently, employees are charged with executing what their employers conceptualize beforehand, which means a separation of conception and execution. According to villagers, the de-skilling process in Çiçekpınar has been brought about by mechanization and a strong division of labor developed over time, as the theoretical background has already expected as well.

Having related to the de-skilling process in the change process of agricultural labor, control mechanisms have also been studied in the Çiçekpınar case. What was observed as the shift from *imece* or family labor to different forms of temporal employment occurred has been the context and quality of controlling practices. In *imece* or family labor, control mechanisms are driven through more paternalistic ways in which control has usually been directed from the head of family. Since *imece* or family labor has been established among family members, relatives or villagers in Çiçekpınar, control mechanisms were supposed to be experienced through slighter practices so that it can be called low degree patriarchal. On the other hand, a purchased labor force developed through seasonal employment, bringing different actors alongside, which was perceived by villagers to necessitate a more direct control over these workers. With regard to villagers' perceptions, this practical shift from paternalistic control mechanisms to direct and despotic control mechanisms can be explained as the result of shifting concerns of cost account, the trends towards de-skilling and changing degree of familiarity among workers in the process of agricultural labor change.

It has been noticed in Çiçekpınar that technological momentum has taken a very critical place in villagers' lives concerning agricultural labor change. Its penetration into their life and its effects over their labor process are explicitly observable. As Shanin (1971) argues, peasantry life has been surrounded by "self-equipment" conditions which have made villagers improve their condition in their own ways. Likewise, *imece* was established in Çiçekpınar because there was no sufficient technological development or means of production in the village; rather, they had people to fulfill the works. Nevertheless, technological advances across the country since the 1950s have been felt and have accelerated the production scale in Çiçekpınar as well. In this sense, tractors, haymarkers and new tools were integrated into the production process. This period has revealed two-sided effects for agricultural labor. On the one hand, expanded production necessitated additional labor sources to fulfill the work, which resulted in the shift towards seasonal employment as mentioned before. On the other hand, forward technological development has mostly diminished the need for human force in many stages of

agricultural production, and has brought about total elimination of *imece* in time, with less skilled youth generations and workers in Çiçekpınar owing to mechanization. Within this framework, it is very reasonable for villagers to perceive that technological development is one of the main dynamics of the change in agricultural production in general sense.

In this case study, I have been aware of the fact that the labor process can not be isolated from social practices of its subjects. What Çiçekpınar experiences in this sense confirmed that changing labor forms have appeared to bring different social relationships and communication contexts alongside. When cooperative action or family labor has actively been operated in the village, villagers' approaches towards people involved in the process have eliminated any kind of hierarchial communication. In this sense, all villagers and members have been perceived as "worker" in an equal degree during the production process. Moreover, *imece* constituted not only a labor form to produce but also a way to socialize for Çiçekpınar villagers through *imece* nights organized for dehulling. Therefore, it would not be misleading to argue that social relations established during the time *imece* or family labor intensely operates have encompassed more aspects of agricultural life in the village when compared to subsequent practices. By shifting towards latter labor forms, especially seasonal employment, different codes, practices and relations in the social realm have been observed to occur. Villagers' attitudes towards seasonal workers have included certain hierarchial elements, such as the status of 'employer' versus 'employee'. They have also resulted in distant relationships between the two sides and villagers have become more rampant and biased than previously. What villagers conceive to be the case is that social and communicative transformation could be explained by the same determinant factors as control mechanisms: shifting concerns in familiarity and cost of labor. As familiarity among workers decreased and the cost account for labor accelerated, social practices and communicative codes have been scrutinized and reshaped by the villagers in accordance with the change in agricultural labor.

Another aspect elaborated in the context of agricultural labor change has been work hours, which is one of the most significant aspects of the production process. In our research case, work hours have been shifted in two-sided senses of flexibility in practice. In previous labor forms, peasantry was said to have a certain degree of autonomy to shape their daily lives, which Galeski (1971) expects for peasantry, too. In the peasantry periods of Çiçekpınar, the whole agricultural life and works was organized by either family labor or cooperative action through their own equipment, and a low degree of specialization, as Shanin (1971) argues before. Under these circumstances, villagers shaped their routine lives according to the priority of the work, which automatically brought flexible time management in a pre-capitalist sense. They had the autonomy to determine what they worked and when they worked. On the other hand, seasonal or other kinds of employment have carried strong divisions of labor, and a cost for labor, because accelerated production had made villagers charge seasonal workers for certain pieces of production in return for money. Therefore, villagers necessitated pre-determined job descriptions and work hours in order to avoid disruptions in the production process. In this sense, work hours have been fixed by 7 am to 7 pm and strictly employed. Although the capitalist sense of flexibility is not well developed yet in Çiçekpınar, it has rarely been applied through extended work hours in return for little gifts to workers. Within this framework, Çiçekpınar case has embodied different senses of flexibility respecting work hours, which developed through agricultural labor change.

In addition to the production process, agricultural labor change has been effective over socioeconomic and political terrain Çiçekpınar is involved with. Firstly, it particularly marks the shifts in living conditions including accommodation, meal services and living standards. In peasantry times, both accommodation and meal needs were being met through *imece* or family labor in accordance with peasantry conditions. Firstly, they usually built up their houses through their own ways and means in cooperative action, *imece*. Villagers have pointed out that two or three families also lived together in the same house for a long time because of insufficient accommodation conditions. Secondly, *imece* practice in the field works made the

hosting householder offer meal services to other villagers joining to the *imece* as an appreciation of their work and to eat all together. In contrast with these practices, temporary employment was not constructed upon communal standards of accommodation and meal services. “Domestic” employment was subsisted through less isolated living conditions and meal services than latter –seasonal- one since they have been living in the same houses and sharing the same meals as their employers. Nevertheless, it did also not eliminate the hierarchial relationship between employer and employee because their rooms and tables were strictly separated. Furthermore, this order resulted in the increase in costs of labor and women’s burden -to cook- in division of labor. Therefore, the following employment form-seasonal employment-by “Kurdish” workers has been facilitated by totally separated accommodation conditions and meal services from “employers’ realm”. In this sense, they have subsisted in little houses and meal services have been left to their own budget, which have made hierarchial positions very visible in terms of the quality of living standards. These all represented the effects of agricultural labor change over the accommodation and meal conditions in villagers’ actions in Çiçekpınar, which confirmed the integrated nature of labor process into daily life.

During the field research, I noticed that two developments in Çiçekpınar have represented both constituent and resulted from the change process in agricultural labor. One of them is technological development as analyzed before, while the other one describes migrating practices. On the one hand, migration has directly affected the process of agricultural labor change in Çiçekpınar. As it has been discussed before, since *imece* became insufficient to meet accelerated production owing to technological development and state interventions, alternative labor forms have been sought which led to the seasonal employment. Although *imece* was not totally abolished for a long time, declining population derived from increased migration since the 1980s has hastened the abolishment of *imece* because it could not be organized with the small number of people in the village. Fikret cited this situation: “Bizim köy açısından İmecenin bitmesinde göç etkili oldu. %60 - %75 ı dışarıda olduğu için, geri kalan %40’ı ile imece yürütemedik. Köyümüzün nüfusu yaşlı kaldığı için imeceye herkese çağırılmıyorsun, yaşlı adama imeceye katıl

diyemezsin!”⁸²As in these statements, the cooperative sense of agricultural labor has become non functional and a more individualistic frame of life and temporal employment has been activated instead in Çiçekpınar. This development has also made sense in that Keyder (1988) conceptualizes migration as one of the most important dynamics behind the transformation Turkey’s villages experienced. On the other hand, migration has been practiced as a result of the change process Turkey’s agricultural life has witnessed. The socioeconomic and political atmosphere since the 1980s has appeared to reflect across the country. From villagers’ perspectives, it has been claimed that they migrated to urban areas because the lower prices for hazelnuts resulted in over-supply, population growth and restricted employment facilities, expensive living conditions, and income deficiencies since aforementioned years. Whereas rural life carried such difficulties for their lives, urban life has already started to offer expanded labor markets and extended social opportunities regarding education and health. These have been perceived as the dynamics behind high migration rates between 1980 and 2000 in Çiçekpınar. However, villagers have been observed to mostly keep their ties with Çiçekpınar and to visit the village whenever they can. From the perspective of seasonal workers, on the other hand, security problems in Southeastern Anatolia and lack of employment facilities have been said to make many people migrate from their lands during the same periods, between the 1980s and the 2000s (Çınar & Lordoğlu, 2011). This correspondence has resulted in the temporary employment of “Kurdish” population in Çiçekpınar. What is interesting is that villagers (employers) and seasonal workers (employees) share “seasonality” conditions in different places, in urban areas for villagers and in rural areas for workers. However, their shared seasonality does not bring shared living conditions and status in the village alongside. As mentioned before, “Kurdish” workers have been discriminated against in terms of economic standards, social status and living conditions, while villagers have reached the status of employers in the same place. In sum, it would not be misleading to argue that migration has represented multiple aspects of the agricultural labor change in Çiçekpınar which makes it worthwhile to elaborate in detail for the sake of this study.

⁸² “For our village, migration has been effective over the abolishment of *imece*. Since 60- 75 percentage of population were outside of the village, the rest 40 percentage could not maintain the *imece*. Since our population was dominated by the elders, you cannot call everyone to *imece*; you can’t invite an elder to *imece*.” (Fikret)

Agricultural labor change has progressed along with the change in relationships, actors and external forces involved in the production processes of Çiçekpınar. In peasantry periods, *imece* and family labor were already sufficient to carry out the whole agricultural life in addition to all production requirements. Villagers, in those times, did not necessitate interacting with the market or the state, because they were able to construct their living conditions themselves in terms of both economic and social aspects. Having shifted towards hazelnut production in Çiçekpınar, villagers have recognized the existence of the State since hazelnuts were already introduced to be taken into state involvement because of their trade value in foreign markets. In 1938, Turkey's state has initiated to the establishment of Hazelnut Agricultural Sales Cooperatives –*Fiskobirlik*–, through which certain agricultural credits and supportive purchases have been provided to hazelnut producers. Villagers pointed out that high prices and credits were being offered to them which helped them to extend their production scale. Moreover, mechanization has been expanded across agricultural regions in Turkey under the monitoring of Marshall Aid since the 1950s which has been felt in Çiçekpınar as well. Villagers perceived that these interventions were the result of populist dynamics, as in the times of pre-election campaigns and the concern to develop hazelnut production. What is more important for them has actually been the ultimately accelerated production in the village owing to these interventions. Hazelnut production seems to be stimulated by the hands of the State through supportive purchases of *Fiskobirlik* until 2003 when it was charged with full financial autonomy under the liberalization program across the country. Although the State has still continued purchases through the Land Products Office for a while, hazelnut production has completely opened up to the free market in 2009 in an official sense. In the following years, villagers have been left by sole option to interact with the market: merchant. Villagers complained about merchants and free market conditions in terms of low prices for hazelnuts, which was determined in accordance with commodity exchange rates and merchantile profit account. As it has been outlined, from peasantry to the current form of production, different contents of relations have been experienced by hazelnut producer in Çiçekpınar, which marks a transformation from self-sufficient networks to State-oriented agricultural development to free market conditions at the end. However, the change in the content

of state-market relation has not been perceived in the homogenous framework by villagers in Çiçekpınar. On the one hand, The State has still been perceived by some villagers to continue its supportive interventions through Area-Based Income, Diesel Support, which ARIP recognized, or certain agricultural credits. On the other hand, the rest of them have claimed that the State has already withdrawn from agricultural development, because of certain reasons, which could also not be homogenized regarding villagers' perspectives. Hence, it can be argued that as the content of state-market relations changed its forms and dynamics, their forms of perception by villagers have been subjected to diversification in Çiçekpınar.

In this study, I have tried to handle the agricultural transformation, which Turkey has experienced since the 1950s, specifically with regard to labor change in the Çiçekpınar case. My findings have concluded that capitalism's penetration into agricultural life has been stimulated by various dynamics in Turkey, which can be categorized under three titles: political and economic structures/policies, technological momentum and social turbulences referring to migrations. These developments have triggered the whole rural transformation in Turkey, while Çiçekpınar has particularly been affected by them in the way in which production forms have been transformed from peasantry to petty commodity production. Change in production form has necessarily brought about the change in labor form from cooperative action to seasonal employment in Çiçekpınar. During this progress, many aspects of the production process and socioeconomic and political terrain of the village have been subjected to alteration as well. The fundamental deduction is that capitalism has progressively penetrated into labor forms and their contents. As it comes closer to the present forms, capitalism has become more perceivable in the practical realm. Particularly, from cooperative action to individualization and contingent employment in harvesting, deskilling process in skilling, despotic control mechanisms in controlling, strict work hours in working, remote and hierchial relations in communicating, huge rates of migration, differentiated living standards and close interaction with state and market can be evaluated as the results of this progress.

Although capitalism's penetration has influenced and converted production forms through different motivations, labor units and means, capitalist farming has not visibly settled in Çiçekpınar yet. In this context, it would not be misleading to argue that the village has converged more toward capitalist farming today than before in terms of employment forms and accumulative production; however, it is still dominated by petty commodity production as across Turkey. Under these circumstances, agricultural labor in the village has also carried the traces of capitalist penetration, while pre-capitalist practices have still been applied to a certain extent as well.

6.1 Limitations and Suggestions for Future

This study has elaborated a very restricted part of a broad literature framed around rural transformation. I have been aware of the fact that, therefore, it is not restricted by the elaborated dynamics and effects of agrarian change. There are still further steps and subjects along with their dynamics that need to be analyzed in this field with regard to both Turkey and the world.

In the first place, this study can be advanced in terms of the discussion of rural transformation through capitalist progress. Among various theorizations about it, classical and neo-classical economics schools have always claimed that capitalist progress would inevitably decompose peasantry because it has promoted market economy and rational behavior rather than the traditional economy of peasantry. This proposition has also been shared by classical Marxism, which has expected to see that capitalist industrialization would make peasantries subject to dispossession, making them a free labor store for urban capitalist industry. In this sense, peasant farming could only be sustained in the short or medium term while it would be subjected to destruction in the long term because of industrial progress (Marx, 1894). The Çiçekpınar case can be elaborated in the light of classical Marxists' arguments, through which the author can provide the specificities of the case. Although I have initiated analysis of the route of the village in this sense, the data is not sufficient to conclude the case. Secondly, if we were to continue to look at agricultural labor change, it can thematically be studied in different agricultural regions of Turkey

through which the change's reflections over labor process can be compared. In this way, the specificities and/or commonalities of the cases, as Akşit is mentioned before, could be provided. Lastly, agricultural transformation can be analyzed in much more detail through certain issues. For example, it can specifically be revised on the basis of gender issues. In this sense, how gender is placed in agricultural labor and in which ways it has been subjected to change during the transformation can be detailed.

These topics can enable the researcher in the future with the facility to broaden the literature on the agrarian change and agricultural labor. I hope I could achieve one further step in this way by writing this thesis.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEES

Name	Sex	Birth Place	Age	Occupation	Where to live	Date of interview
Sermin	F	Çiçekpınar	53	Housewife	İstanbul	12.08.2013
Resmiye	F	Çiçekpınar	NK (guessingly around 70)	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	15.08.2013
Sezgin	F	Çiçekpınar	54	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	11.08.2013
Fikret	M	Çiçekpınar	47	Farmer	Çiçekpınar	13.08.2013
İzettin	M	Çiçekpınar	70	Farmer	Çiçekpınar	07.08.2013
İlhan	M	Çiçekpınar	70	Retired& Farmer	Çiçekpınar	13.08.2013
Neziha	F	Akçakoca	60	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	13.08.2013
Metin	M	Çiçekpınar	56	Public Officer & Farmer	Akçakoca	13.08.2013
Murat	M	Çiçekpınar	72	Retired worker & Farmer	Çiçekpınar	14.08.2013
Müşerref	F	Çiçekpınar	66	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	14.08.2013
Ferhan	F	Çiçekpınar	68	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	14.08.2013
Mehmet	M	Çiçekpınar	84	Farmer	Çiçekpınar	06.08.2013
Sabri	M	Çiçekpınar	77	Retired worker & Farmer	Çiçekpınar	05.08.2013
Zehra	F	Karasu	80	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	04.08.2013
Muzafer	M	Çiçekpınar	79	Farmer	Çiçekpınar	06.08.2013
Fehmiye	F	Çiçekpınar	NK (guessingly around 70)	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	06.08.2013
Gönül	F	Çiçekpınar	50	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	11.08.2013
Beratiye	F	Çiçekpınar	72	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	06.08.2013
Emine	F	Paşalar	63	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	12.08.2013
Kilbar	F	Konuralp	84	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	12.08.2013
Basri	M	Çiçekpınar	73	Retired teacher & Farmer	Ereğli & Çiçekpınar	14.08.2013
Recep	M	Çiçekpınar	53	Headman & Farmer	Çiçekpınar	15.08.2013
Avni	M	Çiçekpınar	61	Retired worker	Çiçekpınar	12.08.2013
Nebahat	F	Düzce	57	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	14.08.2013
Hatun	F	Melenağzı	70	Housewife	Çiçekpınar	15.08.2013

NK: not-known (they do not have identity card)

APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Theme 1. Demographic Structure / History

- Village's story / history / position in the division of labor among the county
- Population? Number of household in the village
- Its land scale? Share of lands?
- Personal story of the people interviewed / Relationship with village and production

Theme 2. Household life

- What kind of division of labor within household? Are there any difference between past and now?
- What were the daily life practices? Have these practices changed according to you? If so, why have they changed?
- What was the main source of household income? Did you ever need alternative source of income except farming?
- What is your current source of income? What/why has changed?

Theme 3. Information on Production / Crop

- When has the hazelnut production started? Did you produce anything before it? What was it? Why did you shift toward hazelnut production?
- When has the hazelnut production expanded considerably? How did the fields increase?

- What are the steps of hazelnut production? How to care it? What is the cost of it?

Theme 4. Production Process

A. Harvesting / Collecting process

- How was the hazelnut harvested at past? What kind of discipline did the harvesting process require? / How could this discipline be supplied? How was it protected from deterioration?
- How to develop such a work order? Why do you think such order was needed? (Was there any substitutes of *imece*?)
- How long was the *imece* system be employed? Did it continue for whole works all year round or was it only available for hazelnut harvesting?

B. Controlling

- Who had the control in the process of harvesting? Who decided on what to be done / when to be done? Why did that person decide?
- What he/she must take into account during the decision process?
- How was his/her communication with other workers?

C. Skilling

- Does/did hazelnut harvesting require specific skillings? Is there any particular information to be known for cultivating or harvesting process? Is there “secrets” of hazelnut production? Could/can people working in the fields learn those?
- What kind of relation do you have with the land? Do you care with your fields regularly? Did/does hazelnut production require regular care?
- What did/do you think about the others working with you in the fields? Were/are they your colleagues or workers? Is there any alternative to them?
- Was there any other works to be cooperatively done in *imece* times? If yes, how did you learn making them?

D. Work Hours

- When did / do you start harvesting? Daily work hours and order?
- In *imece* times, how could you decide whose fields were firstly harvested?
- Was/is there any flexibility in work hours? Is there certain break times? Who decide the length and other details of the breaks?

E. Dehulling

- Did *imece* order continue for dehulling process? If yes, what kind of order was established for it?
- Could you tell this order in detail please? What it meant for you? Any positive or negative effects for your life?
- (On seasonal workers) Are they employed for dehulling process as well? Does not it necessitate additional information for it? Or is there any law related to this? Is this allowed to be applied?
- Should they do other stuff apart from harvesting, according to you?
- There are haymakers for dehulling now, what has changed? Which features are preferable to the *imece* for dehulling?
- Has *imece* ceased completely? If yes: why do you think it is over? If no: How do you operate it nowadays?

Theme 5. State- Market Relation

- When have hazelnuts started to be sold in domestic market? To whom/ which institution?
- Was / Is there base price for it? If yes, who /which institution determined it?

- How was / is your relation with Agricultural Sales Cooperatives? What were / are bilateral responsibilities between you? According to you, do they have positive effect over production?
- How was the state's approach to hazelnut production at past? Did it support?
- Have the base price regulations or other agricultural policies changed in time? If yes, when? How do they affect your life?
- What does Fiskobirlik mean to you? Its importance? Its function?
- To where / whom do you sell your harvested crops today?
- When compared to today, was the state more interested in hazelnut production at past? In your mind, has the state withdrawn from agriculture-in general-?
- When compared Fiskobirlik to merchants, which one is more efficient/beneficial to you? Should the hazelnut production open to free market? Or should it keep under the State control?

Theme 6. Migration

- Is the village less crowded than before? If yes, since when has its population started to decrease?
- Do people migrate in time? To where? Why?
- Do migrants completely leave the village? Do not they come back?
- If they permanently migrate, what happened to their lands?
- How do these migrating practices affect the village? What are its reflections over hazelnut production?
- (For the migrant ones) Do you come back to village seasonally? Which periods have you settled in the village? Why?

Theme 7. Perceptions about the village and the production

- How do you define yourself/your village? Poor, middle or rich?
- Is there anyone to subsist just with hazelnut? Is hazelnut income sufficient to subsist according to you? If yes: What kind of budget plan do you have? If no: Why? When/ under which conditions can it become sufficient?
- If no: Does hazelnut farming become secondary income for someone? Where do they work then?
- What is the agricultural situation in Turkey? Is that exhausted or highlighted? Its position within the economy?
- When compared *imece* times to current work order, which one do you prefer? Why?
- Why do you think *imece* was abolished? Why do you employ seasonal workers now? Do not you plan to go back previous order?
- The primary shifts in your life, from past to today?

APPENDIX C

PHOTOS FROM FIELD RESEARCH



During the interview by Sermin in her house.



During the interview by İlhan in his house.



A picture from village



A picture showing the way to carry seasonal workers to the fields

APPENDIX D

TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

APPENDIX E

TURKISH SUMMARY

Kapitalizmin geliřimi ve yayılması, dünyanın bir çok yerinde kırsal alanın dönüşmesine neden olmuş ve bu dönüşüm bir çok arařtırmacı tarafından ele alınmıştır. Burada önemli olan, kapitalizmin tarıma nüfuz ediř biçimlerinin ülkeden ülkeye / olaydan olaya deęiřmesi itibariyle, her ülkenin/olayın kendine özgü kořullarının incelenmesi gereklilięidir.

Türkiye özelinde kapitalist geliřim, 1950ler itibariyle politik, ekonomik ve sosyolojik deęiřimi beraberinde getirerek başlamıştır, denilebilir. Bu durum elbette ki tarımsal hayata da yansımış ve üretim biçimlerini dönüřtürmüřtür. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye kırsalında köylü üretiminden küçük meta üretimine geçilmiş; hatta bir çok köy kapitalist çiftçilięe doęru evrilmiştir. Köylü üretimi, hane içi üretimi önceleyen ve üretim biriminin de tüketim biriminin de hane olduęu bir üretim biçimi iken; küçük meta üretimi ile birlikte piyasa için üretim başlamış ve geliřmiş üretim araçları yaygınlaşmaya başlamıştır.

Tarımsal üretim biçimleri şüphesiz ki kendi emek biçimlerini şekillendirirler. Bu yüzden, üretim biçimlerindeki dönüşüm doğrudan emek biçimlerindeki deęiřime de neden olmuřtur. Türkiye’de üretim biçimlerinin deęiřimi ile emek biçimlerinin deęiřimi arasında bir paralellik görmemiz de bundan kaynaklanmaktadır.

Karadeniz’in batısında, Akçakoca ilçesinin bir köyü olan Çiçekpınar köyü bu deęiřimin yařandıęı yerlerden biridir. 1950lere kadar köylü üretimi ile geçinen köylülerin, bu tarihten sonra fındık üretimine geçtięi belirtilmiştir. Köylü üretimi döneminde aile emeęi ve “ortak çalıřma” yoluyla üretim yapılıyor iken; fındık üretimi ile birlikte mevsimlik istihdam yaygınlaşmıştır. Ortak çalıřma, Çiçekpınar

köylüleri tarafından “imece usulü” şeklinde tanıtılmakta; kısaca “meci” denilmektedir. Bu usul, köylülerin kendi arasında bir ödünçleme sistemi şeklinde işlemekte ve bu yolla köylülerin işleri sırasıyla görülmektedir. Fakat 1950 sularında fındık üretimine geçilmesi ile birlikte “imece” usulü çalışma terkedilmiş, mevsimlik işçilerle üretim yaygınlaşmıştır. Tarımsal emekteki bu değişim, sadece üretim boyutunu etkilemekle kalmamış; yaşama koşullarını, sosyal ilişkileri, demografik durumu ve politik-ekonomik bağlantıları da değişime uğratmıştır.

Bu çalışma, Çiçekpınar köyü özelinde tarımsal emek değişiminin dinamiklerini ve köy yaşantısı üzerindeki etkilerini sorgulamayı hedeflemektedir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, öncelikle bu değişimin arka planını sorgulamakta ve bu arka planın tarımsal emek üzerindeki etkisini ele almaktadır. Değişimin arka planını anlamak için, Türkiye'nin bahsi geçen dönemlerdeki politik, ekonomik, teknolojik ve sosyolojik yapılarına değinilmektedir. Bu yapıların tarımsal emek üzerindeki etkisi ise temel olarak iki başlık altında incelenmektedir: (1) üretim süreci ve (2) sosyal ve politik alan.

Üretim biçimlerinin dönüşümü ve oradan hareketle, tarımsal emeğin değişimini tetikleyen bu yapıları 3 başlık altında incelemek mümkündür: Politik ve ekonomik yapılar, teknolojik değişimler ve göç. Öncelikle devlet müdahaleleri ve politikalarının Türkiye'deki küçük meta üretiminin inşasına katkısının yadsınamaz derecede etkili olduğu ortaya konmuştur. Buna ek olarak, 1950ler itibariyle Marshall Yardımı etkisiyle Türkiye'de görülen teknolojik gelişmenin tarımsal üretimi tetiklediğini söylemek mümkündür. Çiçekpınar özelinde, yaygınlaşan traktörler, harman makineleri, tarımsal aletler ve gübreler, fındık üretimi hacmini genişletmiş ve insan gücüne olan ihtiyacın azalmasına neden olmuştur. Bunlara ek olarak, 1980 sonrası artan göç oranları Çiçekpınar'da da görülmüş; köyün nüfusunda ciddi oranda bir azalma meydana gelmiştir. Bu durum, ortak çalışma yollarını ortadan kaldırmıştır çünkü köyde yeterince insan kalmamıştır. Alternatif olarak, mevsimlik işçi istihdam etme pratiği gelişmiş ve tarımsal emekteki bu dönüşüm, üretim sürecini birden çok açıdan etkilemiştir.

Bu deęişimin tarımsal üretim süreci üzerindeki etkileri 6 başlık altında incelenebilir: Hasat, vasıf, denetim, teknolojik deęişim, iletişimsel kodlar ve sosyal ilişkiler ve çalışma saatleri. Deęişimin sosyal ve politik alan ile olan eklemelenmesi ise, yaşama koşulları, göç pratikleri ve devlet-piyasa ile ilişkiler başlıkları altında ele alınmıştır.

İlk olarak, ekilen/dikilen ürünlerin hasat dönemi incelenmiş ve en büyük deęişimin bu alanda olduđu gözlemlenmiştir. Köylü üretiminden küçük meta üretimine geçişte emek süreci, hasat yapılan ürün ve üretimin motivasyonuna baęlı olarak deęişmiştir. 1950lere kadar süren köylü tipi üretim süresince, köylüler “imece” adı verilen ortak çalışma düzenini kurmuştur. Bu düzen, emek gücünün ödünçleme kullanılması şeklinde gelişmektedir; böylece bütün köylünün işleri sırasıyla tamamlanmaktadır. 1950lere geldiğimizde ise, Çiçekpınar köyü fındık üretimine geçiş yapmıştır ki bu, piyasa için üretim motivasyonunu da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu motivasyona ek olarak, gelişen teknolojik ve fiziksel koşullar üretim kapasitesini canlandırmış, köylüler ek emek kaynaklarına ihtiyaç duymaya başlamıştır. Her ne kadar aile emeęi ve ortak çalışma düzeni uzunca bir süre daha devam etmiş olsa da, genişleyen üretim hacmini karşılamaya uzun vadede yetmemiştir. Bu nedenle, 1970itibarı ile mevsimlik istihdama başvurulmuş, gittikçe sayısı artan işçi alımları başlamıştır. Bu anlamda, “imece”den mevsimlik istihdama geçiş, aslında tam olarak üretim biçimlerindeki dönüşümün bir sonucudur, demek mümkündür.

İkinci olarak, Çiçekpınar’ın tarımsal emeęindeki deęişim, vasıf eğilimlerine de yansımıştır. İmece veya aile emeęi tarımsal hayata tümüyle nüfuz eden bir emek biçimi olması sebebiyle, üretime katılan bireylerin çok daha vasıflı ve üretim sürecine hakim olduđu belirtiliyor. Bu sebeple, planlama ve uygulama pratikleri de tümüyle üreten kişinin kontrolü altında deneyimleniyor. Fakat tarımsal emek mevsimlik istihdama doğru evrildikçe, işçilerin vasıf potansiyellerinde gözle görülür bir azalma meydana geliyor. Bu durum, köylüler tarafından gelişen teknolojinin ve iş bölümünün sonucu olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Vasıfsızlaşma eğilimine paralel olarak, Çiçekpınar örneğinde denetim mekanizmaları da gözlemlenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, “imece”den mevsimlik istihdama geçişte denetim

mekanizmalarının içeriği ve niteliğinin değiştiği ortaya konmuştur. İmece veya aile emeğinin aktif olduğu üretim biçiminde, aile reisinden doğru gelişen bir denetim mekanizması, yani paternalistik denetim, hakimken; mevsimlik işçiler üzerindeki denetim çok daha despotiktir. İmece sisteminin, üretim sürecine hakim -vasıflı- köylüler ve akrabalar arasında kurulması, denetim mekanizmalarının çok daha hafif uygulanmasını sağlamıştır. Mevsimlik istihdam ise beraberinde maliyet hesabı, vasıfsızlaşma eğilimi ve yakınlık ilişkisinin ortadan kalkması gibi sonuçlar getirdiği gerekçesiyle çok daha sıkı denetim uygulamalarına şahitlik etmektedir.

Bütün bunlara ek olarak, Çiçekpınar örneğinde teknolojik gelişmenin tarımsal emek üzerinde çok etkili olduğu da gözlemlenmiştir. “İmece” sistemi insan gücünün, teknolojik gelişmenin ve tüketimin azolduğu bir düzende ödünçleme usulüne dayalı bir sistemdi. Üretim araçları ve teknoloji o dönemde gelişmediği için, köylüler kendi üretim araçlarını kendileri üretiyorlardı. Bu sebeple, o dönemde kullanılan araçların çok daha ilkel olduğunu öğreniyoruz. Fakat 1950ler itibariyle, Marshall Yardımı, Türkiye’de traktör sayısında ciddi bir artışa neden olmuş; bu durum Çiçekpınar köyüne de yansımıştır. Aynı şekilde, harman makineleri, tırpan makineleri ve yeni aletlerin köyün tarımsal hayatına hızla nüfuz ettiğini söylemek mümkündür. Bu ivme Çiçekpınar köyünde iki yönlü etki yaratmıştır. Bir yönüyle, genişleyen üretim hacmi daha çok emek gücü gerektirmiş ve köylüleri mevsimlik işçi arayışına sokmuştur. Diğer yönüyle, teknolojik gelişme insan gücüne olan ihtiyacı azaltmış ve zamanla ortak çalışma düzeninin tümüyle ortadan kalkmasına neden olmuştur. Bu çerçevede, teknolojik ilerlemeyi Çiçekpınar’daki tarımsal emek değişiminin hem nedeni hem de sonucu olarak görmek mümkündür.

Üretim süreci sosyal alandan izole bir süreç olmadığından, tarımsal emekteki değişim Çiçekpınar’da sosyal ilişkilere ve iletişimsel kodlara da yansımıştır. Bu anlamda her emek biçiminin farklı iletişimsel kodlar geliştirdiğini ve haliyle sosyal ilişkileri etkilediğini gözlemliyoruz. Köyde ortak çalışma ve aile emeği hakimken, köylüler arası iletişimde hiyerarşik bir düzenin olmadığını söylemek mümkün.

“İmece” sisteminde her köylü, tarlaya girdiği an itibariyle aynı derecede işçi statüsüne giriyor. Ayrıca, “imece” onlar için sadece hasat işleminde kurulan bir düzen değil; aynı zamanda, fındığı ayıklamada da aktif olarak kuruluyor. Fındık ayıklamak için “meci” geceleri düzenlediklerini söyleyen köylüler için, bu geceler, birer sosyalleşme aktivitesi niteliği taşıyor. Haliyle “imece” köylülerin hem üretim sürecini yürüten hem de onları birbirine bağlayan bir sistem halini alıyor. Ancak daha sonraki emek biçimlerinde, özellikle mevsimlik istihdamda, mevsimlik işçiler ile işveren arasında gözle görülür bir hiyerarşik ilişki kuruluyor. Bu ilişkinin temeli bir tarafın işçi olması diğer tarafın ise kendini “işveren” olarak konumlandırmasına dayanıyor. Köylüler bu değişimi, mevsimlik işçilerin maliyetinin yüksek olmasına ve onların tanıdık olmamasına bağlıyor.

Tarımsal emek değişiminin etkileri kapsamında incelenebilecek bir diğer konu ise çalışma saatleri, diyebiliriz. Çiçekpınar köyü örneğinde, “imece”den mevsimlik istihdama geçişte esnekliğin farklı şekillerde deneyimlendiğini görüyoruz. Köylü tipi üretim dönemlerinde, tarımsal hayatın her işi aile emeği ya da “imece” usulü ile yapılmaktaydı. Bu dönem koşulları altında, köylülerin gündelik hayatını organize etme ve çalışma saatlerini kendi ihtiyaçlarına görme ayarlayabilme yetisine sahip olduğunu gözlemliyoruz. Oysaki aynı türden bir esneklik, mevsimlik istihdam döneminde gözlemlenemiyor. Mevsimlik işçiler para karşılığı çalıştıkları için, işverenlerin çalışma saatleri konusunda oldukça katı oldukları belirtiliyor. Sabah 7 den akşam 7ye çalışması beklenen işçilerin, mola saatleri ve süreleri de önceden belirlenen şekilde veriliyor. Hatta bu sürenin uzatılması gerektiği durumlarda, işçiler hediyeler veya ekstra ücret karşılığında çalıştırılmaya devam ediliyor. Çiçekpınar örneği, tarımsal emekteki değişimin çalışma saatleri konusunda farklı esneklik pratiklerine yol açtığını göstermektedir.

Üretim sürecine ek olarak, tarımsal emek değişimi sosyal ve politik alan ile etkileşim içindedir. İlk olarak, köydeki yaşama koşulları ve yaşam deneyimlerinde gözle görülür bir geçiş yaşandığını iddia edebiliriz. Köylü tipi üretim döneminde, barınma

ve yemek ihtiyaçlarının da tıpkı ortak çalışma usulünde olduđu gibi ortak şekilde sađlandığını görüyoruz. Köylülerin evlerinin “imece” usulü inşa edildiđi ve 2-3 ailenin bir arada yaşadığı belirtiliyor. “İmece” sistemi ile çalışırken, tarla sahibinin çalışmaya gelen tüm köylülere yemek servisi yaptığı belirtiliyor. Bu durum onlar için bir yük olmaktan ziyade bir teşekkür etme olanağı niteliđi taşıyor. Oysaki aynı çerçeveyi ilerleyen dönemlerde gözlemlemiyoruz. Mevsimlik istihdamı, “yerli” ve “Kürt” işçiler bazında ikiye ayıran köylüler için, onlara yemek ve barınak sađlamak oldukça külfetli bir iş. Yerli işçilerin ilk başlarda, kendi evlerinde 1 odada kaldıklarını, yemeklerini ev sahibi işverenin verdiği belirtilirken; aynı odada ya da masada yemek yemedikleri ve aynı tuvalet banyoyu kullanmadıkları da ekleniyor. “Kürt” işçilere ise ayrı bir küçük ev ve mutfak sađlanıyor. İşçiler, kendi imkânları ölçüsünde yemek yapıyorlar. Her iki durumda da hiyerarşik koşulların bariz bir hal aldığını söylemek mümkün. Bu durum, tarımsal emeğin deđişimi ile birlikte gelişen yaşam koşullarındaki deđişim olarak açıklanabilir.

Saha çalışması boyunca, iki temel gelişmenin Çiçekpınar’daki tarımsal emek deđişiminin hem nedeni hem de sonucu olduğunu gözlemliyoruz. Bunlardan birincisi, daha önce de sözünü ettiğimiz gibi teknolojik gelişme iken; diğersinin göç pratikleri olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Kırdan kente göç, Çiçekpınar köyünde tarımsal emeğin deđişmesine neden olmaktadır. Daha önce de bahsettiğimiz gibi, “imece” teknolojik gelişme ve devlet müdahaleleri ile genişleyen üretim hacmini karşılayamaz olduğunda, alternatif emek kaynaklarına gereksinim duyulmuş ve mevsimlik istihdama geçilmiştir. Her ne kadar, “imece”, üretimin farklı dallarında uzunca bir süre devam etmiş olsa da, artan göç / azalan nüfus yüzünden 1980ler itibarıyla tümüyle terk edilmiştir. Köylüler, kırdan kente göçün altında yatan sebepleri, üretim fazlalığından kaynaklanan düşük fiyatlar (fındık için), nüfus artışı, kırdaki sınırlı istihdam olanakları, pahalılaştan yaşama koşulları ve gelir yetersizliği olarak tanımlıyor. Kırdaki bu zorluklara karşılık, kentte geniş istihdam olanakları ve eğitim/sađlık hizmetleri olduğu iddia ediliyor. Bütün bunları 1980 ile 2000 arasındaki artan göçlerin nedenleri olarak ele alabiliriz. Öte yandan, şunu belirtmeliyiz ki, göç eden köylüler Çiçekpınar ile olan bağlarını genellikle koparmıyorlar. Çoğunlukla yıllık izin veya hafta sonu izinlerini kullanarak, köydeki

üretim sürecine dahil oluyorlar ya da topraklarını köyde yerleşik olan akrabalarına kiraya veriyorlar. Durum Çiçekpınar köylüleri için böyleyken, köye gelen mevsimlik işçiler için de çok farklı değil. Güneydoğu Anadolu'dan çoğunlukla istihdam kaygısı ve güvenlik sorunları nedeniyle göçen mevsimlik işçilerin Çiçekpınar'daki yerleşim süreleri de oldukça geçici oluyor. Bu anlamda, kırdan kente göç eden köylüler ile Çiçekpınar'a gelen mevsimlik işçiler “geçici” olmaları itibariyle ortaklaşıyorlar. Ancak bu ortaklık, her iki grup için aynı yaşam koşullarını ve statüleri beraberinde getirmiyor. Çiçekpınar köylüleri, köyelerine geldiklerinde işveren statüsünde çalışıyor ve kendi evlerinde ikamet ediyor iken; “Kürt” işçilerin çoğunlukla toplumsal dışlanmayla mücadele ettiklerini ve hiyerarşik kodlara maruz kaldıklarını gözlemliyoruz. Özetle, tarımsal emekteki değişim, hem göç pratikleri ile tetikleniyor hem de o pratikler ile sonuçlanıyor, diyebiliriz.

Tarımsal emek değişimi, Çiçekpınar'ın üretim sürecine dahil olan ilişkilerin ve aktörlerin değişimi ile paralel bir seyir izlemektedir. Köylü tipi üretim döneminde, “imece” ve aile emeği, üretimin yanı sıra diğer tüm işlerin yürütülmesi için fazlasıyla yeterli emek biçimleriydi. Köylüler piyasa veya devlet ile etkileşime girmek zorunda değildiler çünkü kendi yaşam koşullarını kendileri inşa ve idame ettirebiliyorlardı. Fındık üretimine geçiş ile beraber, köylüler ilk kez devletin ve piyasanın varlığı ile tanıştıklarını ifade ediyorlar. Fındık, ulusal ve uluslararası pazarda ticari değeri olması itibariyle, devlet tarafından 1938 den itibaren üretimi desteklenen bir mahsul olmuştur. Tarım Satış Kooperatiflerinin kurulmasıyla birlikte, fındık kooperatifleri Fiskobirlik altında birleşmiş ve destek alımları yapmaya başlamıştır. Fındığın kilosuna verilen yüksek fiyatlar ve kredi destekleri de, devletin fındık üreticilerine üretimi genişletmeleri için sağladıkları olanaklardandır. Dahası, Marshall Yardımı kapsamında yaygınlaşan makineler Çiçekpınar'da da etkisini göstermiştir ve üretimi hızlandırmış/arttırmıştır. Köylüler ise devlet müdahaleleri ve desteklerini seçim öncesi oy toplama gibi popülist kaygıların birer sonucu olarak görmektedir. 2003 e kadar Fiskobirlik aracılığı ile destek alımlarına devam eden devlet, Dünya Bankası'nın sunduğu Tarımsal Destek Politikasına Yönelik Öneriler: Reform Taslağı başlıklı rapor kapsamında Tarım Satış Kooperatiflerini ve tabii Fiskobirlik'i de özelleştirmiştir. Her ne kadar fındık üretimi bir süre daha

ToprakMahsulleri Ofisi tarafından destek alımlarıyla desteklense de, 2009 yılı itibariyle tümüyle serbest piyasaya bırakılmıştır. Takip eden yıllarda, Çiçekpınar köylüleri, yeni olmayan fakat eskisinden çok daha aktif bir şekilde tüccarlarla ve serbest piyasa koşulları ile yüzleşmek durumunda kalmıştır. Kendi kendini idare eden bir üretim şeklinden serbest piyasaya dayalı bir üretim şekline geçiş, elbette ki farklı üretim biçimlerini, ilişkileri ve aktörleri beraberinde getirmiştir. Burada kritik olan nokta, köylülerin devlet ve piyasaya yönelik algılarının homojen olmadığıdır. Bir yanılla, köylüler, devlet desteklerinin farklı yollarla (benzin desteği, kredi desteği, toprak başına gelir desteği vs.) devam ettiğini iddia ederken, diğer kesim devletin tarımdan elini eteğini çektiğini düşünmektedir. Haliyle, değişen emek biçimleri ve üretim ilişkileri aynı şekilde değişen algılarla karşılanmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’de 1950 sonrası gözlemlenen kırsal dönüşümü, Çiçekpınar’daki tarımsal emek özelinde incelemeye çalıştım. Sonuç olarak, kapitalizmin tarımsal hayata nüfuz etmesinin ardında birçok dinamik olduğunu gözlemlerim ve bunları politik, ekonomik, teknolojik ve sosyolojik olarak sınıfladım. Bu yapılarıdaki değişimlerin Çiçekpınar özelinde nasıl deneyimlendiğini ve etki alanı oluşturduğunu anlamaya çalıştım. Temel olarak ortaya koyduğum tez, Çiçekpınar’daki üretim biçimlerinin kapitalizmin nüfuz etmeye başlaması itibariyle dönüşüme uğrayarak köylü tipi üretimden küçük meta üretimine geçtiğiydi. Bu dönüşüm, Türkiye kırsalının çoğunda görülen bir dönüşümdür. Bunun Çiçekpınar’a özgü sonucu ise, tarımsal emekteki gözle görülür derecede yıkıcı değişimdir. Köyün hane-içi üretim/tüketim yaptığı dönemlerde geliştirdiği özgün bir ortak / komünal çalışma biçimi var iken, piyasa için üretim köylüleri mevsimlik istihdamla tanıştırmıştır. Bu değişim sürecinde, üretim sürecinin birçok yönü ve sosyo- politik alan da değişime uğramıştır. Daha ayrıntılı olarak, Çiçekpınar, hasat döneminde komünal emekten geçici istihdama, vasıf eğilimlerinde vasıfsızlaşmaya, paternalistik denetimden despotik denetime, esnek çalışma koşullarından katı çalışma saatlerine, hiyerarşik ilişkilere, artan göç oranlarına, farklılaşan yaşama koşullarına ve piyasa ilişkilerine doğru seyir eden bir değişim süreci yaşamaktadır.

Öte yandan, her ne kadar kapitalizm tarıma hızla nüfuz ederek üretim biçimlerini dönüştürüyor olsa da, kapitalist çiftçilik Çiçekpınar'da henüz yaygınlaşmamıştır. Bu bağlamda, düne oranla kapitalist çiftçiliğe daha yakın bir çerçevesi olduğu doğrudur; ancak hala, Türkiye'nin geri kalan kırsal kesiminde olduğu gibi, küçük meta üretimi hakimdir. Bu nedenle, köyün üretim sürecinde hem pre-kapitalist hem de kapitalist pratikler görmek mümkündür.

Bu tez, öncelikle, Türkiye'deki tarım literatüründe görece ihmal edildiğini düşündüğüm emek-yönelimli çalışmalara katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir. Bunu yaparken, üretim ve emek sürecinin sosyal ve politik alanla olan ilişkisi gözden kaçırılmamakta ve aralarındaki etkileşim de ele alınmaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, tarımsal emek değişimini birebir deneyimleyen aktörlere kulak verilmekte ve süreç onların ağzından dinlenmektedir. Bu yönüyle, çalışma, sözlü tarih niteliği de taşır, diyebiliriz.

Tezin araştırma metodolojisi, niteliksel ve niceliksel araştırma metodolojisinin sentezi şeklinde düzenlenmiş olsa da, çoğunlukla niteliksel araştırma yöntemlerine başvurulmuştur. Araştırmanın teorik ve fenomenolojik çerçevesi, literature taraması ile kurulmuş; bu bilgiler ilgili mercilerden toplanan datalar ve istatistikler ile desteklenmiştir. Öte yandan, Çiçekpınar köyünde 2 haftalık süreyle katılımcı gözlemlerde bulunulmuş ve 25 köylüyle yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakat yapılmıştır.

