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THE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
OLIVE OIL IN A PEASANT SOCIETY;
SAKARKAYA, A VILLAGE SAMPLE FROM
SOUTHERN AEGEAN REGION

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKP: Justice and Development Party / Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

CHP: Republican People's Party / Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

HDP: Peoples' Democratic Party / Halkların Demokratik Partisi

MHP: Nationalist Movement Party / Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi

SP: Felicity Party / Saadet Partisi

ANAP: Homeland Party / Anavatan Partisi

DYP: True Path Party / Doğru Yol Partisi

RP: Welfare Party / Refah Partisi

DSP: Democratic Left Party / Demokratik Sol Parti

SHP: Social Democratic Populist Party / Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti

FP: Virtue Party / Fazilet Partisi

EU: European Union / Avrupa Birliği

TEPGE: Agricultural Economy and Politics Development Institute / Tarımsal Ekonomi ve Politika Geliştirme Enstitüsü

TARİŞ: Agricultural Sale Cooperatives Union / Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri Birliği

TUİK: Turkish Statistical Institute / Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to investigate the political economy of olive oil in a peasant society in the village of Sakarkaya, located in the Southern Aegean region. The role of olive oil cultivation has been evaluated according the concepts of family economy and peasant ecotype. The concept of family economy or peasant economy has been suggested by Chayanov, claiming that peasant economy does not lean on hired labour like it happens in capitalistic enterprises. The family members work on the family farm and there are neither wages nor net profits. Peasant ecotype is to refer the ways of transferring energy to human from the environment in other words it means ecological adaptation of peasantry. This research aims to analyse the role of olive oil cultivation in peasants' life by conducting ethnographic field study in Sakarkaya. The data was gathered through in-depth interviews, journals and personal experiences of the researcher as a local. The village is narrated from various perspectives, including its history, geography, politics, economy, social and cultural life. The analyses are made according the views of participants on the village life and their economic activities, especially focusing olive cultivation. Apart from these analyses, the role of researcher as a local is also evaluated according to concepts of reflexivity and self-reflexivity.

Key Words: family economy, peasant ecotypes, peasants, olive oil, olive cultivation, commodity studies, ethnography, reflexivity

ÖZET

Bu çalışma Güney Ege’de yer alan Sakarkaya köyündeki köylü toplumunda zeytinyağının ekonomi politliğini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Zeytinciliğin rolü aile ekonomisi ve köy ekotipi kavramlarıyla ele alınmıştır. Aile ekonomisi ya da köylü ekonomisi kavramı, köylü ekonomisinin kapitalist girişimlerde olduğu gibi işçi kiralamadığını iddia eden Chayanov tarafından önerilmektedir. Ona göre aile köylüler aile çiftliklerine kar ya da maaş amacı gütmekten çalışırlar. Köylü ekotipi ise çevreden insana enerji transferi, başka bir deyişle köylülüğün çevreye uyumu anlamına gelmektedir. Bu çalışma zeytinciliğin köylülerin hayatındaki etkisini etnoğrafik saha çalışmasıyla analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu saha çalışmasında veri, derinlemesine görüşmeler, günlükler ve araştırmacının yerel biri olarak deneyimlerinden yola çıkarak toplanmıştır. Köy, tarihi, coğrafi, ekonomik, siyasi sosyal ve kültürel olmak üzere birçok açıdan anlatılmıştır. Analizler katılımcıların köy hayatı ve özellikle zeytincilik olmak üzere ekonomik faaliyetleriyle ilgili görüşlerinden yola çıkılarak yapılmıştır. Bunlardan başka sahadan biri olarak araştırmacının rolü dönüşümsellik ve özdönüşümsellik kavramlarıyla değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: aile ekonomisi, köy ekotipi, köylüler, zeytinyağı, zeytincilik, meta çalışmaları, etnoğrafi, dönüşümsellik.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“According to legend Homeros who is tired while wandering around the Aegean shores sits in the shadow of an olive tree. The olive tree speaks out and whispers to Homeros: “I belong to everyone and I belong to no one. I was here before you come. I will endure after you leave.” (Necat Çetin, 2017:15).

I asked my uncle “What does olive tree mean to you?”. He waited for a while and then said “It is a nourishment tree and a medicine tree. Was there a clinic in the past? Were there various medicines?” he asked. “The doctor of the villages were olive oil and onion. The pharmacies, the clinics are recent things.” he answered the question himself calmly and continued, “I have not heard the exact time when the olive tree originated. As far as I know it is the oldest in the fruits.” As the conversation continued I asked “When was it started to be cultivated here?”. “I have seen them as they are now.” he answered and added, “As far as I know, the most long-living tree is olive tree. When The Republic, which is quite young, was founded, there were olive trees in this region. Once, I went to nurturing labour of some olive trees around Kazıklı village, -known as Iasos- in the ruins. I had seen many, but not like that one. It was obvious that the master of that tree was not one of us. I think it remained from the Ancient Greeks.”

This study investigates the meaning and the role of olive oil in a peasant society, living on a tough geography in Southern Aegean region, where I was grown up and lived there with my parents until I enrolled to a dormitory school and then to a collage in the neighbouring city. During the summer holidays we used to move to the summer cottage of the family. My duty, which I used to voluntarily accept as I had free time during it, was to take care of the cattle and herd them while they were out grass under the olive trees. As they were feeding themselves, I was feeding my

mind with classics and contemporary novellas. I could not have known that the village and the olive tree, in whose shadow I laid down, would take place in an academic study. So here we are.

The purpose of this study is to seek for an answer to the question, *why do the peasants continue to cultivate olive in village of Sakarkaya although the conditions are too hard and the olive oil is sold so cheap to dealers in nearby town?* The other question related to this are *what other occupations they do to manage their family economies*, and *why they still continue living in the village on the contrary to its difficult geographical location*. Before discussing the further sub-questions related to the research question, I had better tell the story of why I have chosen this topic and who and what have provoked me to conduct a research on olive oil. While I was having Methodology course in the first term of Masters of Arts, we were asked to evaluate some papers and analyse the methodological structure of them. I randomly chose an article, containing a chapter of Koray Çalışkan's *Market Threads - How Cotton Farmers and Traders Create a Global Community* (2010). The chapter was about the field notes and observations on the production and commodification of cotton in a village, containing the narratives of the farmers of the village. I came across with an inspirational idea that he was suggesting that a researcher who knows the area and peasants in *Pamukköy* better, would gather much more data from the peasants and the field. He says that it was quite obvious that he was not from there and the peasants would easily recognize that he was an outsider. So as an insider born, I decided to apply this kind of research to olive harvesting and olive oil production in Sakarkaya village with the encouraging support of my instructor Prof. Dr. Emre Erdoğan, who was in search of a researcher that would conduct such a kind of field study on olive oil.

In social sciences, the studies on peasantry and agriculture are so abundant that it is really hard to define the borders of these concepts and to tell which discipline has more to say about them than the others. However, the political economy of agriculture steps forth from the others and it has been studied with the terms of

imperialism, colonialism, modernism and westernisation theories (Kayaalp & Karsak, 2018).

Since the late 19th century, the social scientists have implied that peasants and villages are unspoiled, static, monotonous and homogenous and focused on the contradiction between urban and rural. The findings, gained from the field studies, were generalized for all the peasants in the countries where the studies were carried out. The peasants have stood as “the others” that need to be observed and manipulated to live according to the ways of the observers from the “civilised” urban areas.

Peasant and peasant life have been usually romanticised and pastoralized for years in such a way that peasants are just producers for townspeople and citizens and nothing more. However, this assumption is not only incorrect but also leads to misunderstanding of this social and economic unit and ignores the consuming side of it. In the meantime, as the commodity studies in agriculture have increased, they have nourished the knowledge on the peasants and peasantry and helped us to realise the network and dynamic structure of peasantry not only within itself but also with the outside of it. The analysis of the power relations, negotiations and interactions between these actors have maintained a process based approach, which has enabled the peasants and peasantry to become a part of a global network beyond their instrumental meaning in social sciences. The prominent commodity studies in agriculture in Turkey have focused on cotton, tea, sugar and tobacco. Nükhet Sirman’s ethnographic study of cotton production in Tuzla village of Söke town in 1988 and Koray Çalışkan’s cotton study in *Pamukköy* of Söke in 2010 are instructive and guide for this study. Christopher M. Hann’s *Tea and the Domestication of the Turkish State* (1990) book searches for the tea production and commodification process from local to national level. Catherine Alexander’s study on sugar production and extraction in Erzurum searches the network in and around sugar factory, revealing provincial bureaucracy and its implications (Alexander, 2002). Ebru Kayaalp’s *Remaking Politics, Markets, and Citizens in Turkey*:

Governing Through Smoke aims to investigate the story of cotton and its production from a political economy perspective (Bozçalı, 2016).

As it can be seen in the literature, the story of olive oil production and the role of it in a peasant society are missing, this study aims to contribute it by tracking olive oil in Sakarkaya, a village of Milas. The significance of this study lies here as it is interested in with the olive as a commodity and following its political economy role in a peasant society.

The homeland of *olea europa olaster*, known as olive tree, starts from Southern Eastern region of Turkey and reaches to Palestine. Olive tree is the symbol of Mediterranean basin and %98 of 900 trees situate in that basin. Turkey is the fourth biggest country in the olive oil production. According to data from *2018 Yılı Zeytin ve Zeytinyağı Raporu/ Olive and Olive Oil Report of 2018*, the number of olive trees were about 100 million at the beginning of 2000s, the numbers reached to 174 million tree in 2017/18 season. As another report by The Ministry of Commerce, the production average of olive oil was about 175 thousand tonnes, while the table olive production was about 413 thousand tonnes and the olive production for olive oil was 1 million 640 thousand tonnes, which is a record for overall olive production in the last 5 years (TEPGE, 2020). The total number of olive cultivator families in Turkey are about 320 thousand families, %14 of which is constituted by TARİŞ, and Marmarabirlik collaborators (*2018 Yılı Zeytin ve Zeytinyağı Raporu/ Olive and Olive Oil Report of 2018*, April 2019).

However, the number of peasant producers are unknown, their contribution to overall production needs to be investigated not only locally, but also from a national level. As the research site, Sakarkaya is a district of Milas , it is better to give a general perspective of olive cultivation and production in the region. According to data, accumulated by the local administration's web site, the % 22,6 of Milas is covered with olive trees, which are counted about 10 million. *Memecik* kind olive trees make up the majority and there are 73 olive oil extraction factories in various sizes. 114 villages around Milas cultivate olive oil. More than half of the total cultivated lands, which is about 53.300 hectares, are covered with olive trees. In

2019, the main harvest year, *var yılı*, 8.655.980,980 kg of olive oil has been produced in Milas region. According to the recent news in 23rd, December 2020, announced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for EU Affairs, the olive oil of Milas was registered as protected designation of origin by European Union with the application of Milas Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Thus it became the first olive oil from Turkey to be registered and protected by EU against every kind of abuse, imitation and association. The olive oil production in Milas and its registration of geographical origin by EU also have given a meaningful motivation during the typing process of this study.

Although it may seem a minor chain in the vast literature of peasantry studies, another contribution of this study is that the village of Sakarkaya and the life of peasants of it will be documented in an academic study and give inspirations for further studies in the region. Another reason why I have done this research is that the research question itself has been a family matter. Since my childhood, I have been listening the complaints of my parents and other peasants on the olive oil production, animal husbandry and apiculture etc... as the overall profit seems quite low although the production expenses are really high. However, it is a surprise that they continue to do animal husbandry, cultivate the lands and olives and renovate the beehives for the next season. Thus trying to understand this contradiction is also meaningful in peasant studies.

The methodological approach of this study is ethnography. Ethnography, which has a recent but transformative history is a way of depicting human life by observing and interacting with them in the field. Although it has a notorious history with its imperialistic roots, there was a shift to question the ethnographer himself or herself as the role of ethnographer has been discussed elaborately since the discovery of Malinowski's diaries, which he kept during his field study (Atay, 2016). Having been conscious about this discussion and the concepts of being reflexive and self-reflexivity in the literature, I have tried to be open about myself and my status as an ethnographer in the field. I have placed myself as an outsider but have not denied benefitting advantages of locality in the field. The in-depth interviews were

conducted by the consent of every participant for two weeks' time at the end of January, 2020. I have done the interviews with, 12 males and 9 females, 21 peasants by recording them to my smartphone. I must add that some interviews were done in the olive orchards, which, I think, had a meaningful setting for the research itself. Apart from these I have also met with the local olive oil factory owner, *Yağcı Bekir*, in order to grasp the potential of Sakarkaya's olive oil production. As I am from this village and I have heard the narratives about olive oil and the economic and social life of the village, the findings contain my life long experiences in there as a son of a blacksmith father and dairy farmer and saleswoman mother.

This study has been divided into five chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter, literature review part, deeply focuses on the concepts and the theoretical framework that have guided me throughout the study. The concepts of peasant and peasantry are assessed not only from political economy perspective but also sociological and anthropological aspects. The concepts of family economy and peasant ecotypes are evaluated accordingly. In the second half of the study, the prominent commodity studies in agriculture both in the world and in Turkey are discussed. The purpose of the literature is to summarise the prominent peasant, peasantry and agriculture studies both in the world and in Turkey from a critical perspective.

The third chapter of this study is about the methodological aspects and the tools, which have been used in this research. After diving into the literature of ethnography and its historical and methodological transformation, the contemporary discussion on reflexivity and self-reflexivity of ethnographer is tried to be handled accordingly. In the last part of this chapter, when the research has been done and how the data has been collected are given.

The fourth chapter of the study has two main parts; findings and analysis. In the first part, the research site, my village, and the olive oil cultivation processes are given in a detailed way. While the village, Sakarkaya, are tried to be documented from historical, geographical, political, economic and social perspectives, the olive oil production processes from the planted tree to the factory are given aptly. After

narrating the olive oil production process both in the old and modern ways, the participants are introduced thoroughly and their views on the village life and olive oil are documented. In the second part of this chapter, the analysis of the views of peasants on olive oil is evaluated according to the concepts of family economy and peasant ecotypes. The time perception of the peasants is also discussed in this part and the role of time on economic and social activities of the village is given accordingly. In the last part of this chapter, I have tried to narrate my self-reflective stand as an ethnographer, mentioning pros and cons of being local in the field. The final chapter of the study bears conclusion remarks on the study, summarising it and stating what can be done for a further study, as the story of olive oil as a commodity needs to be followed out of the peasant society to dealers and the companies in local and national level.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Peasantry as an Economic Unit

2.1.1. Family Farm Economy

“The ones who want to understand peasants, they must turn to Chayanov, the Russian agricultural economist, the most among many other things.” says John

Berger in the historical epilogue of *Pig Earth*, the first volume of his famous trilogy, *Domuz Toprak - Onların Emeklerine* (Berger, 2016). To understand Chayanov’s concept of peasant

economy, it is better to look at the 19th century modernization movements of the rural Russia (Thorner, 1966). The period between the emancipation of serfs in 1861 to the collectivization of agriculture at the end of the 1920s, not only brought huge debates to stage but also contributed a lot to the literature. As Thorner claims in his study, what is so amazing here is the method that young Russian idealists used was direct “action”.

“Hundreds of college students and, doctors, nurses, university teachers – including economists and statisticians- quit their urban lives and tried to “go the people”. Establishing themselves in villages, they tried to be of use to the peasantry, to get them into motion; revolutionaries among these idealists preached the virtues of socialism (Thorner, 1966:xi).

However, the clash with the police and sometimes with the peasants themselves was inevitable during that action-oriented movement.

In 1870s the new provincial and district assemblies, the *zemstvos*- set up to help implement land reforms of 1861- started a vast program of economic and statistical investigation into peasant economic problems. The *zemstvo* inquires, made by the field investigators, were so meticulous that they maintained a strong base for the Russia’s leading economists, statisticians, sociologists, and agricultural experts.

Among the Russian scholars of that era, in 1906, V.A. Kosinskii proceeded by putting the problem of the distinctions between peasant and capitalist economy and by doing this he also triggered the debate with the Marxists, not politically but on economic theory (Kerblay, 1966). He claimed that “there is neither a question of rent nor of profit” in peasant economy. Kerblay stated that Chayanov considered Kosinskii as the spiritual father of peasant economy (Kerblay, 1966: xxix). The inapplicability of the concepts of rent and surplus value to the zemstvo data, which was immense on the other hand, gave an opportunity to Chayanov to create a theory of peasant economy.

According to Chayanov the fundamental characteristic of the farm economy is that it is a family economy-peasant economy- which does not lean on hired labour as in capitalistic enterprises (Chayanov, 1966). The members of the family work on the family farm and there are neither wages nor net profits. He adds that of course the family members know roughly how many days they have worked but there is no valid way of estimating the value of their work in monetary terms (Thorner, 1966).

Another characteristic of peasant economy is that in conditions while capitalist farms or enterprises can go bankrupt, peasant families can work longer hours, sell at lower prices, gain no net surpluses but survive and carry on farming year after year. The survivability of peasant family farms was much greater than large-scale capitalist farms. (Chayanov, 1966).

The main opposition by Chayanov to Marx was about the approach to the terms peasants or peasant farm organization. According to Marx a peasant is one who hires no labour but a kind of twin economic person both a capitalist as the owner of the farm and a worker as the worker of his own wage. As Thorner states that according to Marx, in the meantime small-scale peasant agriculture will either become a large scale capitalist unit by swallowing up small peasants or will suffer the loss of his means of production and transform into a wage worker (Thorner, 1966). *On the Theory of Non-Capitalist Economic Systems*, Chayanov suggested that to the Marx’s categories and modes of production, which are slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, there should be added another form - the peasant

labour economy (Kerblay, 1966:). Chayanov argued that the peasant family structure will endure however difficult the circumstances are (Kerblay, 1966) Chayanov defines the peasant family farms as not hiring labour but relying on solely the work of their own family members.

2.1.2. Peasant Ecotypes

Eric. R. Wolf describes the economic aspects of peasantry under three categories; The first one is major systems by which peasants gain nourishment and surpluses from the soil both in the past and present. The second part is about the ways the peasants obtain goods and services which they do not produce themselves and the third part is about the link between the peasant and the ones, depending on peasant surpluses, in other words it can be said as the domain and peasant relation. (Wolf, 1966).

The ways of transferring energy to human from the environment as one can define it the ecological adaptation of peasantry, is also called peasant ecotypes, which has two sub categories- paleotechnic and neotechnic. While the *paleotechnic ecotypes*, based on cultivation are the primitive technics, relying on human and animal energy, in other words they are the direct offspring of First Agricultural Revolution, the *neotechnic ecotypes* are closely related to the Industrial Revolution and rely on new sources of energy and machinery for gaining nourishment and surpluses (Wolf, 1966).

2.2. Peasants and Farmers, A Distinction

In specific to anthropology, till 1950s the terms peasant and peasantry were evaluated as a general typology of folk and folk culture on the aspects of culture and life style. However, this folkloric perspective completes its lifetime and leaves the ground to more sophisticated definitions (Silverman, 1979). In 1955, Eric R Wolf divides peasantry into categories as landowners, sharecroppers and tenants. (Wolf, 1955). The distinction between a farmer and a peasant is that while a farmer does the farming as investment, a peasant runs the family farm to survive (Wolf, 1955).

In his book *Peasants* (1966) Eric R. Wolf expresses that peasants are rural cultivators, raising crops or live stock in the countryside not in greenhouses in the cities or big ranches in the USA. The control of means of production and the accession to the market are the factors that separates the peasant from an entrepreneur or a farmer, which are aware of the profit and the market itself. He also focuses on the distinctive features of the peasants from primitive cultivator. According to him while peasants form a larger, compound society, primitive tribes or groups live in isolation. Although primitive tribes can form close relations with other tribes in the region, the distinction comes here with the character of the involvement he says. The tribal people can exchange the goods and services directly among groups or members of groups, however the surplus of the products, grown by peasants is transferred to a dominant group of rulers which uses it to raise its own standard of living and distribute to other members of the society which do not farm but depend on the products and pay it with their services or goods in return (Wolf, 1966).

2.3. Peasants, A New Typology

Similar to Wolf, another anthropologist, Sidney Mintz criticized the Eurocentric peasant and peasantry understanding and its application to the rest of the world and he expressed that the different peasantry types are the result of colonization process (Mintz, 1973). The main argument is here that the village and peasant life are no longer remote, unspoiled, static, monotonous and homogenous but bear local differences and dynamics which need new socio-economical classifications (Mintz, 1973). This approach maintains a new understanding to interpret the rural life. It can be inferred from his remarks that although peasants and peasantry draw a similar pattern in the whole world, the local dynamics and power relations shape every village and peasant in a unique way.

Theodor Shanin contributes to the definition of the concept of peasant from a sociological perspective. Shanin suggests a new typology to define the concept in his *Peasants and Peasant Studies* book which is acknowledged as one of the fundamental studies of the peasant sociology. He states that peasants are ‘detected’

and ‘rediscovered’ due to some concerning problems in the developing world, such as war in Vietnam, hunger in India (Shanin, 1971).

He argues that trying to limit or generalization of the conceptual definition of peasant can lead the researcher to wrong path, by covering the real dynamics lying beneath. To solve this misguidance, he suggests a new typology, the general type, which has four dimensions and draws a conceptual frame for peasant societies;

1. *The peasant family farm as the basic unit of multi-dimensional social organization*

This dimension is related to Chayanov’s family farm organization. The economic action is done by the family members or relatives. The self-perpetuating structure of the family farm is the major unit of the property, socialization and welfare.

2. *Land husbandry as the main means of livelihood directly providing the major part of the consumption needs.* The focus here is on traditional farming in which family based and low level of specialization are seen. The dependence on nature is really high and vital.

3. *Specific traditional culture related to the way of life of small communities.* The cultural patterns and norms of a small-scale village community is significant to understand the way of things.

4. *The underdog position- the domination of peasantry by outsiders.* Political power holders-rulers- keeps away the peasants from the authority and sees them as tax payers or just grower of things (Shanin, 1971).

He says;

“Like every social entity peasantry exists only as a process, i.e. in its change. Regional differences among peasants reflect to a large extent their diverse histories. The typology suggested can be used as a yardstick for historical analysis, types of peasants can be approached as basic stages of development. One should beware, however, of the pitfalls of forcing multi- directional changes into neat and over-simplified schemes with presuppose one-track development for peasantries of every period, area and nation.” (Shanin, 1971:16).

Shanin emphasizes that although there are dynamics which are obvious, they may not result in structural changes in peasant societies. On the other hand, the interference from outside - the market, state - of the peasant societies can cause change in the structure (1971).

James Scott and Akhil Gupta acclaimed that peasantry and peasants are the situations that become as the result of significant power relations in historical process. In *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, James Scott claims that peasantry is a mode of constant struggle to survive (Scott, 1976). According to him it is important to think before criticising peasants as they do not try new methods in agriculture or animal husbandry. The hesitation of peasant does not come from a simple feeling of fear from outsiders or their methods but the highly risky potential of new things which can bring unbearable consequences. The concept, the moral economy of peasant, corresponds to beginning a new year with the hope of surviving it and the decisions to manage the risks and manoeuvre ability in the production processes of peasants. He suggests that even in the most difficult circumstances which can be the result of their safest methods, peasants can survive by cutting down on expenses on nourishment and decreasing meals, carrying out small trade activities, working as a labour or migrating to another place (Scott, 1976).

2.4. Peasantry and Peasant Studies in Turkey

Peasant and peasant studies in Turkey were popular with the detailed village monographies till 1940s. One of the early examples of those studies was done by Mehmet Ali Şevki Sevündük, who was a supporter of Prince Sabahattin in the late years of Ottoman Empire and follower of Le Play School in sociology (Fildiş, 2019). According to Fildiş, in the early years of Turkish Republic, Mehmet Ali Şevki tried to apply a similar version of Frederic Le Play's monographies in Turkey and sent the questionnaires to Anatolia to draw social monography of Turkey (2019). Mehmet Ali Şevki accepts that the "family unit" is a "unit of agricultural enterprise" and tries to explain the effect of marriage to family unit as Le play (Kayaalp&Karsak,2018).

In 1930s some other village monographies were studied by Sadri Aran and Selahattin Demirkıran. In *Evedik Village: A Village Monography*, which catches attention by its scientific style, Sadri Aran focused on economic problems and especially paid attention to agriculture and this study was published in 1938 by Agricultural Institution (Geray, 2019).

As Cevat Geray states that Selahattin Demirkıran, who was the owner of the “*Into the Village Magazine / Köye Doğru Dergisi*”, prepared two monographies about the villages around Istanbul in 1941 and he also wrote *How to Study A Village? / Köy Nasıl Tetkik Edilmelidir?* in 1942 (Geray, 2019).

In the same years while the village monographies were really popular, the stages of developments in the villages were also studied. The very first example of this kind of study, *The Rural Economy of Turkey / Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatı* was done by İsmail Hüsrev Tökin in 1934 in *The Kadro Journal*, which did not last long but had a significant effect on the peasant literature (Özgür&Kaya 2018). He states that an economist who might travel Turkey from west to east he or she would face diverse social and economic scenes: feudal manors, large sharecropping farms, capitalist farms and small peasant farms (Özgür&Kaya 2018). He analyses the transformation under the capitalist mode of production processes in the Ottoman era.

In his famous study *An Inquiry on Some Ankara Villages*, Niyazi Berkes presented a new approach for the literature (1942). He argued that the village and peasants and peasantry were analysed under ethnology, folklore, economy and geography so far. His main argument was that this socio-economic unit- village- must be evaluated sociologically via using the tools and contributions of various sciences in the field.

When some other people oppose him about the study and ask why he wants to research the villages around Ankara, claiming that they are not worth to study and bear no originality and furthermore he could find the most original and purest of the objects that he is going to come across , somewhere else; he responds that while conducting research on peasants and villages the goal is not to look for exotic

objects or the most unique cultural artefacts, but to investigate social structures and their relations between them.

He argues that it is necessary to distinguish peasant studies from the other two commonly confused concepts. The first one is peasantism. According to him, peasant sociology is not peasantism which is a movement, aiming to improve the status of peasants and maintain social aid for them (Berkes, 1942). He does not deny that this movement is necessary for Turkish Reforms of the newly founded republic. The second point he argues that seeing and living in a village and observing it sociologically are different things. Without having necessary research methods and tools and a sociological understanding, these kind of people cannot come with proper and relevant conclusions because of their prejudices. He criticizes their prophetic comments on peasants such as “peasant is individualistic”, “peasant is socialist”, “peasant is liar”, “peasant is naive”, which are also incoherent and unscientific at the same time. He expresses the vital role of the sociological approach, which tries to understand the monotonous and recurring events, manners, relations and also try to capture and generalize them.

He defines village as below;

“Village is a settlement that is separated from other villages and stands on a place, bears an idiosyncratic name, organized to perform various social activities and composed of many families and houses. (Berkes, 1942:9).

He warns us that this definition does not mean that the village has no relation around itself. On the contrary, the interdependence of the villages within and around themselves must be taken into consideration. This organic network shapes the village and around it. The similarities between the villages also help us to follow some common patterns, which can be found nearly in all of the villages around the world. He says that all village communities around the world are the same however the details are important. The same principals do not work equally in every village but the quantity and density of them can vary. He claims that the discovered repeating patterns from a single village can also guide us while conducting research on other villages.

Behice Boran studied 8 lowland villages and 5 mountain villages comparatively from many perspectives in her *Social Structure Researches: The Comparative Analysis of Two Villages Types* study in 1945. Her main concern is not to describe the villages analytically but to illuminate the relationships and interactions of two similar social structures with urban centres (Boran, 1945). What makes her study unique is that the method and the problematization of these social structures. She describes the lowland villages as modern, and the mountain villages as rudimentary according to their relationship with the urban centre. She states that the openness of lowland villages to urban centre is expected however what is surprising with the mountain villages are that they are not fully closed, but also they bear the openness structure in different levels when compared to lowland villages (Boran, 1945).

Apart from those studies, İbrahim Yasa (1955) and Daniel Lerner (1958) also focused on modernity and development stages in the village. While İbrahim Yasa tracks the impacts of rail road on the village, Lerner tries to analyse the inevitable transformation of culture and life style of peasants to modernisation, such as reading daily paper, a wireless in the village café (Kayaalp&Karsak, 2018). The problem is with those approaches that they claim the transformation only takes place from centre to periphery and the villages are labs for observing transformation of modernisation processes.

However, a counter argument comes from Paul Stirling in his famous study *Turkish Village* (1965). He says that the villages and peasantry are dynamic structures that have relations with the other villages or peasants or the urban areas and they are also no more isolated or monotonous places far from distraction (1965). This study can be referred under structural functionalism, the dominant approach of the 1960s in anthropology. He did his research in Sakaltutan and Elbaşı villages of Kayseri in 1949, 1950 and 1951. It must be mentioned that he did not cut off his communication with the villages and continued his study until 1990s.

He says;

“Although it was not possible to choose a typical village, because no such thing exists, it was at least possible to avoid choosing villages with obvious peculiarities.

I set out to find an orthodox Muslim, Turkish-speaking village of modest size, fairly far away from the direct influence of cities, on the plateau which forms the largest size of Anatolia.” (1965: 3).

Stirling argues that when it comes to rural vs urban distinction in the Middle East societies, the notion where to look for to understand the difference is the relationship between these two (1965). He states that the structural factors and local conditions must be taken into consideration while explaining the household economy cycle of the peasant, in which there is a strong relationship with the patriarchal households and size of the available land (1965). It can be said that the peasants and villages are no more isolated and ‘closed book’ any more (Kayaalp&Karsak, 2018).

Apart from discussions, the tradition and modernity in the villages, capitalisation processes in the village were also analysed by Mübeccel Kıray in 1964 in the villages around Ereğli in Zonguldak province (Kıray,1964). Kıray criticizes the distinction of traditional and modernity in peasant studies and argues that the social change must be studied on the relationship between the peasant and the merchant in the town centre which replaces the feudal in the villages (Arslan, 2019). In another study, carried by Kıray and Hinderink in the four villages of Çukurova in 1968, the authors analyse the socio-economical change by power relations in the villages (Kıray&Hinderik, 1968). They purposely chose the villages representing different levels of agro economic development in order to observe the change in the relationship from peasant -the feudal to labourer- big agricultural enterprises.

The new studies related to peasant culture took a different path in peasant studies and they focused on ethnicity, religion and gender in the villages. In one of the early examples of these new cultural studies, *The Black Sea Turks*, written by Michael E. Meeker, the rural Black sea region, especially the eastern part of it, is analysed descriptively. Meeker claims that as Turkey stands between the Middle East and Europe, it bears so many different cultural varieties (Meeker,1971). He also states that although the Anatolian Turks uses the word Laz to refer to Black Sea peoples of Turkey, actually the term stands for only a minority ethnic group living in the east of the region (1971).

He says;

“The social and cultural composition of Turkey's provincial understood, not only in the West, but in Turkey itself. Because contemporary accounts of Turkish society have a tendency variety of provincial life and to discount the importance nation as a whole.” (1971:318).

Another example that focuses on culture, *The Seed and Soil*, was written by Carol Delaney in 1991. Although this field study, based on two years of her doctoral study in a village of Ankara, gives some significant data on peasant life, the approach of the author is Eurocentric, focusing on the relation between gender and Islam and claiming that peasants are lazy and Islam is an obstacle for the social change. It can be claimed that the intensive focus on religion and its effects on peasants prevent the researcher from observing other important factors that cause change in the structure.

Paul Stirling's *Culture and Economy* (1993) is a compelling contribution to the literature as the book covers various ethnographic field studies, including gender, religion and ethnic issues in the rural Turkey. The scope and profoundness of the studies demonstrate the general misunderstandings about the peasants and peasantry. For example, on the contrary of the image of oppressed Laz women, Hann claims that the tea production process does not affect the position of women negatively but strengthens them (Kayaalp&Karsak, 2018).

2.5. Commodity Studies in Agriculture in the World

After mid-1980s, a new approach has been taken into consideration in commodity studies in agriculture. One of the pioneering studies in the field is *Commodity Chains in the World Economy Prior to 1800*, by Terrence Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein in 1986. As the authors claim the purpose of that study is to demonstrate how a commodity is produced globally (1986). They use *commodity chains* as a term that aims to show the power relations on commodity between centre and

periphery countries and they focus on the processes of production, distribution and consumption (Hopkins & Wallerstein, 1986).

However, that study is criticised for its single directed approach -producer to consumer- on commodity and neglecting what is going on the field (Kayaalp&Karsak, 2018). The importance of the field study is heavily felt here. It can be claimed that commodity is more than a number. The people and their relation with the commodity also matter.

Arjun Appadurai brings a new point of view with his book *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986). Appadurai claims from an anthropological perspective that commodities also have lives like humans and following them will reveal the social relations around them (Appadurai, 1986). He says the value of a commodity starts when it gets into circulation in the market, however the 'real' value starts when it is produced (1986). It can be stated that on the contrary to static sociological perspective, the ethnographic studies upon commodities uncover the importance of life story of commodities for many who come across them at different levels (Kayaalp&Karsak, 2018). For this reason, it can be claimed that while a kilogram of olive oil means just a product to be used in salads for a consumer in the city, it means a dowry for bride or a family legacy for son from his great great- grandfather in the village.

George Marcus' multi-sited ethnography, the method of following things, tracks a more detailed and complicated way than Wallerstein's *The World System Theory* and supports Appadurai's claim. Marcus suggests that the commodification of things can be understood by following the things in different dimensions and looking different sites (Marcus, 1995). According to him, that method reveals not only the network around commodities but also the conflicts, distinctions, contrasts, stories, and people around and within them (1995). He states that the power of ethnographic research can be enhanced with a multidisciplinary perspective (1995).

2.6. Commodity Studies in Agriculture in Turkey

Following the trend in the world nearly every peasant study in Turkey commodities such as cotton, tea, sugar and tobacco have taken up a huge place in literature after 1980. Nükhet Sirman's ethnographic study of cotton production in Tuzla village of Söke town can be given one of the very first example for it. She defines the peasants as a class of independent agricultural producers (Sirman,1988). She analyses the cotton production process and peasant life as the combination of macro structural powers- state, banks, merchants and landowners- and local qualities of peasants. The main argument of her study is that no matter how strong the macro structures are on cotton production process, the organizational power of the peasant household, self-exploitation, overcomes the difficulties in the process (Sirman, 1988). The sustainability of cotton production hugely relies on the household unit. Here her criticism is for Freidmann who claims in his *Household Production and the National Economy: Concepts for the Analysis of Agrarian Formations* (1980) that petty commodity producers are the owners of labour and means of production. However, she claims that the complex organization of peasant household cannot be acquired and reduced as a capitalist unit. She adds that the unpaid labour of worker can be a problem for capitalist unit of production, in the peasant household it is seen as a duty emerging from kinship and family relation (1988).

Christopher M. Hann's *Tea and the Domestication of the Turkish State* (1990) book focuses on agro economic transformation in Turkey upon tea production process in and around Rize (Hann, 1990). Hann does not specifically focus on a single village or a couple of villages in the region. The network around tea production, distribution and consumption process is analysed from a holistic perspective, including history of the region, culture, peasant families, nationalist development policies of Turkey, monopolies and the state (Hann, 1990). Although peasants and peasantry are not the main focus of the study, it stands as a meaningful exemplar for the literature by looking through an ethnographic perspective to a commodity. However, as the scope of the study is too wide to cover the issues deservedly, it is criticised for its holistic perspective (Hattox,1994).

Another study on an agricultural commodity was published by Catherine Alexander in 2002. The relation between state and sugar production and extraction in Erzurum is analysed through an ethnography, focusing on the network in and around sugar factory that is a state run company, expected to sustain a balance between central state and the farmer (Alexander, 2002). Although the study contains so much detail about Turkish provincial bureaucracy, factory structure, peasants and village brokering, it is criticised that it cannot go beyond a type of bureaucratic history (Byrant, 2004). However, the data on beet production, sugar extraction, and the contracts securing the farmer and factory relation is significant for the ones who want to track what is actually going the field.

Koray Çalışkan's cotton study in 2010 is another example for commodity studies in Turkey. In the book *Market Threads; How Cotton Farmers and Traders Create a Global Commodity*, Çalışkan gives a full picture of how cotton is produced on a local, regional and international scale in order to understand the complicated structure of neoliberalism (Çalışkan, 2010). He conducted in villages of Söke town like Nühket Sirman. He claims that markets are not solely independent institutions or not a zone governed by social arrangements but a combination of these two (Çalışkan, 2010). The term, *fields of power*, refers to describe the markets. In other words, he says that the markets are constructed with the efforts of all members in the cycle like, the supply- demand chain and the social power relations. What is significant in that study is that he followed the cotton from production to its position in the market. As a scientist he was literally in the "field". The in-depth ethnographic method to analyse the peasants and their lifestyle is inspirational to apply a research on the peasants. Çalışkan's main motivation is here to understand the results of economic crisis of 2001 on the lives of rural communities who were blamed for as being the real actors of economic crisis and furthermore the biggest problem preventing our economic progress.

However, he demonstrated that the small scale producers, peasants are much more caring to their cotton fields than big farm owners. The problems as a researcher he got on the field, being a foreigner and a scientist, he suggested that a local researcher

who knows the area and the peasants better he or she can grasp much more data about the lives peasants and their economic activities.

As Bozçalı indicates that another study tracing the results of economic crisis of 2001, Ebru Kayaalp's *Remaking Politics, Markets, and Citizens in Turkey: Governing Through Smoke* book focuses on the neoliberal structure of Turkish tobacco market (2016). The changing state-citizen relations, laws, markets, experts, and institutions are included to track the tobacco. She says that following a thing, cotton as a commodity, is more than a research topic but also a methodological apparatus combining the fields such as economics, politics and law (Kayaalp&Karsak, 2018). Analysing the tobacco from a multi layered and multi-sited perspective shatters the boundaries around the peasants and villages, and reveals the local and the global network around it (Kayaalp, 2015).

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

It is accepted that without a method the data has no value in a scientific research. This part of the study aims to give which methodology and what kind of methods have been used in this study.

The methodology and the methods, used in this study will be given and the current debates about ethnography and the role of ethnographic self will be tried to be evaluated. After giving a basic description of ethnography and its role as a method and methodology, a brief history of ethnography and two different approaches in doing ethnography will be discussed. The concept of reflexivity will be evaluated and the cons and pros of doing an ethnographic study in your homeland or domestic waters will be discussed accordingly.

3.1. Ethnography

“My dear Frodo!’ exclaimed Gandalf. ‘Hobbits really are amazing creatures, as I have said before. You can learn all that there is to know about their ways in a month, and yet after a hundred years they can still surprise you at a pinch.”

J.R.R. Tolkien, The Fellowship of the Ring(1954)

Tayfun Atay says ethnography is writing ‘life science’ of a community and writing is not enough without living, in the epilogue of *Ethnografik Hikayeler, TR’de Alan Arařtırması Deneyimleri* (2016). John D. Brewer defines ethnography as the study of people in naturally occurring settings by methods of data collection, aiming to capture their social meanings and ordinary activities and involving the researcher’s participation in the field (2000). Another definition for ethnography is that it is a detailed description of a particular culture primarily based on first-hand observation and interaction. (Haviland, Prins, McBride & Walrath, 2014). In the literature there are various descriptions of ethnography, however two basic components of it step forward; first-hand observation and interaction in a particular study area. Being in

the field and observing the experiences of the people and their culture and documenting the data and without imposing your ideas and methods as a researcher are the principals of ethnography.

Jessica Smartt Gullion claims that it is really challenging to give a general perspective of ethnography as it has been widely used in many social and anthropological practices (2016). Although the old travellers' tales, telling about a country, a group of people or a culture, can be seen the antique version of ethnography, the long and challenging adventure of ethnography as a scientific method started at the beginning of 20th century (Brewer, 2001). However, its imperialistic and orientalist notorious past of the 19th century, aiming to understand 'the other', in this context Non-Western civilizations, have still been criticized (Gullion, 2016). Another criticism for the pioneering anthropologists of 19th century was that they were just interpreting the texts and scripts, documented by the guidance of cultural data, and they were called as *armchair anthropologists* (Atay, 2016).

The methodological shift in the history of ethnography happened with Bronislaw Malinowski, who is generally credited with the development of in-depth, scientific field research in his 1922 work, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Gullion, 2016). This book has been accepted as one of the foundational texts of ethnography and after this study it was expected from a trained anthropologist to conduct a research in a remote and different location of his own and prove his ability through field work (Van Maanen, 2011). This methodological shift has constituted the classical tradition of social anthropology in Britain with the people like Malinowski, Boas, Radcliffe-Brown and Evan-Pritchard. As Brewer says these anthropologists suggested an approach, involving close interaction with pre-industrial groups and cultures by participating and observing them (Brewer, 2001).

The second approach to ethnography comes from Chicago School in sociology at the beginning of the 20th century as it happened in the anthropology in Britain. Rather than traveling to a remote countryside, they chose to visit sub-urban areas to conduct a research looking for subcultures in their neighbourhood

(Gullion, 2016). The social reform movements of 1900s had a strong effect on these studies. However, “othering” of people and their cultures was also seen as in the case of classical social anthropologists of Britain (Gullion, 2016). The techniques and observation styles of ethnography were used to explore the marginalized groups of urban industrial society (Brewer, 2001). Robert Park, one of the prominent figures of the Chicagoans strongly demanded from his undergraduates to go and get the seat of their pants dirty in real search, meaning first-hand observation (Brewer, 2001). The writings of these sociologists had a documentary and journalistic style and they tried to uncover the social facts in the Durkheimian tradition, presenting very low personal comments and analysis, as Gullion claims (2016).

The social anthropologists call “first-hand observation” as ethnography, while sociologists preferred to call it participant observation or field research. Although these two disciplines have different terms for defining the method, the way the research was conducted the same (Brewer, 2001).

3.1.1 The Ethnographic Self

The role of ethnographer and the objectivity of ethnography were put into question when the private diaries of Malinowski, the founding father of classical tradition, were discovered (Atay, 2016). These diaries were containing rather negative views on the natives, on which he claimed that he had been “objective” while describing different dimensions of their lives and culture. As Atay states that this discovery has changed the way we handle the role of ethnographer. The perspective has been changed from the *participant observation* to the *observation of participation*. The experiential nature of ethnography has stepped forward by force of intersubjectivity, which is experienced with the ethnographer and the participants in the field (Atay, 2016).

The 1980s witnessed some significant discussions on the concepts of subjectivity and reflexivity of the ethnographer (Nahya and Harmanşah, 2016). In the classical ethnography as the culture itself was an object of study, now the observant, ethnographer, has also become a meaningful factor, contributing the results of the

study, with his or her sex, race, nation, political stand, religious views, the relationships founded in the field, etc. (Altuntek, 2009).

The self-reflective use of language turns upside down the classical research ethics of the observant objectivity and grants a new understanding for the researcher itself. As Denzin says the inner experience of the writer is made public, making the self both the object and the subject of inquiry (1997). Reflexivity gives a chance to mirror the ethnographer itself and makes realize the reader of the text that this material is constructed both with data and the emotions, interactions and interpretations of the ethnographer. In other words, reflexivity is the consciousness of the being a part of the studied world itself (Nahya and Harmanşah, 2016).

However, reflexivity and self-reflexivity have been criticised for bearing too many autobiographical details rather than reflecting the studied field and the subject. (Nurhat, 2020). According to Laura Ahearn, this attitude has resulted with egocentric ethnographies (2001).

While reflexivity seen as a problem for some ethnographers as being self-reflexive threatens the legitimation of the study, there also some others who accept it as a solution by making explicit the structure of the data and where to look for further research (Brewer, 2001).

Although there is an ongoing discussion on the concept of self-reflexivity, I find it significant that it gives an opportunity for me to express myself better and make familiar the setting for the reader.

In his famous work *Peasants into Frenchmen*, Eugen Weber cites from Joseph Roux that the peasant who learns reading leaves the country profoundly (2017). Though, I have not abandoned the village ‘profoundly’, I must admit that I am not the same boy who ran and played in the narrow streets of the village, shepherded the cows in the olive groves and helped my parents in fields. I have received education in the dormitory school, learned a foreign language and become an English Language teacher and is trying to be a social scientist. I can conveniently state that I (re)enter the field as a candidate ethnographer and accept that although

I seem native I am an outsider not only during the research but also in the way my living, interpreting the world.

When I was in the village during the research period, I was visiting my parents for the semester holiday of 2020. It has been an ordinary visit for me during the holidays since I went to study in the high school in a different city in 2002. When I told the research that I was studying on, my parents seemed to have understood me. I have used the verb “seem” intentionally because they do not object my studies directly but never stop to remind me that it is enough for me what I have studied and to bear child as my ‘educated’ or peasant peers in the village have kids going to schools.

In the research process I was the son of the blacksmith (my father’s nickname as he worked for years as a blacksmith) visiting the village and greeting the people. However, I was a researcher inside, trying to dig data from the conversations and interviews with the peasants. I must add that I informed the peasants whom I interacted with that I was conducting a research on olive oil harvesting process of peasants and needed some information about it.

3.2. The Ethnographic Field study

Ethnography has emerged in anthropology but today it is a methodology seen in most of the traditional and applied social sciences (Blomberg and Karati, 2013). Especially in the peasant studies it has had a significant place in the process of constructing the vast literature. As it is a way for understanding the world from the people studied, I decided to use this method while trying to understand why the peasants still continue to harvest olive in the Sakarkaya village - where my parents, relatives and friends live- although the process of producing olive oil and making a living from it so hard nowadays.

For my research, I accumulated the data from the in-depth interviews, field notes, statistical data and everyday family chats and my own observations before and during the research. The interviews were recorded to my smartphone during the session and transcribed later on.

Although I was aware that a researcher must stay in the field longer and get interact with the people, I conducted the in-depth interviews in 2 weeks' time at the end of January, 2020, as I was from the village and I know the setting well and can easily access to people and the required qualitative and quantitative data.

I did not have difficulty in accessing to the people, though during the day time most of them were in the olive gardens for the harvest. My family ties and the network of my father were considerably helpful in the field. I had in-depth interviews with 22 people, 13 of them were male and 9 of them female, ranging their age between 40 and 80. I did the interviews with outside the close family members, aiming to have more objectivity and reliability in the field. All of the participants were asked for their consent and they seemed eager for the interview, even some of them thought I was going to be advocacy for their problems.

The 20 in-depth questions were designed under four titles, including personal information, economic activities, olive oil harvesting and life in the village. In the first part I asked them to talk about their age, education, marriage status, number of family members and how long they have been living in the village. In the second part I asked some them questions about their economic activities and how they make their living. In the third part, the questions were related to olive oil harvesting, old and new ways, comparison of old and current value of olive oil. This part especially focused on the role of olive harvesting and production of olive oil in their lives. In the last part of the interview I wanted to learn their opinions about living in the village and make a comparison between urban and country life.

In conclusion ethnography has been a useful tool in the field for the investigation of the research question. Apart from that other instruments, such as the journals, everyday talks with my parents and other peasants and the interviews have been quite helpful for gathering the data from the field. I must admit that experiencing being a local while conducting the research have not only helped me to recognise the life in the village from a different perspective but also question this granted position of locality and nativity of ethnographer in the field, which will be discussed accordingly in the next chapter under the term of self-reflexivity.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The aim of this study is to investigate the meaning and the role of olive oil production in a peasant society which is occupied with various economic activities and living on a challenging setting. It is better to mention the scope of this chapter before stating what will be analysed and which concepts and tools will guide for the analysis of the gathered data from the field. This chapter has two main parts; findings and analysis. The findings include the data about the village and the olive oil production as a commodity and the participants themselves. The village will be documented in detail from various perspectives, consisting of its history, geography, people, politics, economic and social life. The data will be presented in both qualitative and quantitative ways to give a general idea about the field. The olive oil production process will include a general perspective and then both the old and modern ways of olive oil cultivation and production process of the village will be stated.

After the village and the olive oil production are presented, the participants will be introduced without mentioning their names. The interviews of each participant will be summarised under three categories; first a general information about them will be given including, their age, education, family members and economic activities; second category will be about their views on olive and olive oil production in detail and the last part includes the general understanding on the village and peasantry in Sakarkaya village.

The second part of this chapter is about the analyses and the interpretation of the data gathered on olive oil production and peasantry. The concepts of family farm economy and peasant ecotypes will be evaluated according the citations from the participants. The role of olive oil in family economy will be interpreted in consonance with the interviews. The time perception of peasants will be assessed in order to comprehend the social and economic life in the village. As a last word

in the analysis part, the pros and cons of being a local ethnographer will be evaluated according to the concepts of reflexivity and self-reflexivity.

4.1. FINDINGS

4.1.1. SAKARKAYA; A VILLAGE DWELLING ON THE MOUNTAINS

Peasant studies have proven that although the villages seem similar and one can find common patterns in them, the structure of the villages are too varied to do generalizations (Wolf, 1966; Sirman, 1988; Weber; 2017). As I am aware of this fact, in this chapter I will try to narrate the village of Sakarkaya from various perspectives, such as history, geography, population, politics, economy and social life of the village to give an idea about our research unit.

I accept that no matter how hard I try and how many things I note down, there will be data left aside. Before diving into details about the village, it will be better to draw a general perspective about the district of Milas where the village is administratively connected. And then the history of the village will be given according to the narratives of peasants and my own observations. The second part of that chapter will be about the geographical setting of the village, including the type of the village and the physical features of it. After mentioning the demography of the village in the third part, the perception of time of peasants will be assessed before evaluating economy and social life of village in the other parts. It is crucial to discuss the time separately because it shapes societies' lives directly. In the fifth and sixth parts of this chapter, the economy and social life of the village will be assessed respectively.

The District: Milas

Milas is the third largest town of Muğla province, which is located on the southwest end of Anatolia. The town stands on the slopes of the Mount Soda and nearby of the lowland of its own name. In the north of the town, the West *Menteşe* Mountain range, including *Lake Bafa*, *Beşparmak* Mountains and *Çomakdağı*, stretches. The town is surrounded by *Güllük* Bay, Bodrum Peninsula and *Gökova* Bay from west to south. The neighbouring towns of Milas are Söke, Didim, Koçarlı and Çine

which are the towns of Aydın province, located on the north. While the world wide famous tourist attraction Bodrum lies in the west of the town, Yatağan is located on the east of it. The advanced transportation network within and around the town makes it a busy centre connecting the villages and districts of it. Especially International Milas-Bodrum Airport, which is 10 km away from the town centre, is one of the important links that connects the town to rest of the world.



Figure 4.1: Map of Muğla Province



Figure 4.2: Map of Milas District.

The typical Mediterranean climatic characteristics, the hot summers and rainy winters, are experienced throughout the region.

The total population of the town with its districts and villages is above 140.000 (TUİK, 2019). According to the data from the district governorship, the number of the districts outside the town centre is 114. It must be noted that while some of these districts were small towns and villages, connected to the town centre, they were all turned into districts with the amendment to the law for metropolitan municipalities in 2012.

Milas has a long history dating back to 3000 B.C. The civilizations; Karia, Rome, Byzantine, Seljuks, *Beylig* of Menteshe and the Ottoman Empire reigned the town respectively (Çelebilik, 2016). After the foundation of Turkish republic, Muğla was acclaimed as province and Milas became the town of it. The geostrategic position

of the town made it an attraction and busy centre throughout the history and this importance still continues.

While the natural beauties and the deep-rooted cultural heritage of the town make it a tourist attraction, it is also famous for its olive oil production and silk and carpet weaving (Çelebilik, 2016). In reference to district governorship, Milas, having %80 of the total trees in the province, is the district with the most olive trees in Muğla. During the harvest season approximately 95.000 tons of olive oil is obtained in the whole district. About 52.900 of 82.000 hectares of agricultural land are covered with olive trees.

4.1.1.1. The History

The village resides on the *Beşparmak Mountains*, located between Söke and Milas. They are also known as Latmos Mountains and the region constituted the northwest part of the Karia Region in ancient times (Peschlow-Bindokat, 2006). The rock paintings which were found by Anneliese Peschlow Bindokat in 1994 revealed that the history of the region dates back 4000 BC.

There are also some ruins of watch towers which also date back to Rome and Byzantine civilizations. Although there are not any archaeological studies upon them, among the peasants of Sakarkaya it is known that the region has been inhabited by “*cavırlar*”, a different saying of the word “gavur” which is informally used for non-muslim people as an insult. Their claim also comes from some small orchards or terrace gardens which they till use or come across in the forests nearby the village.

The region was at the north end of *Beylig of Monteshe* and also was accepted as a borderline between *Beylig of Aydınogulları* and *Beylig of Menteşe*. The Passage of Anatolia, in the local saying *Anadolu Gediği*, stands on the northeast of the village and still in use for transportation between Muğla and Aydın.

The old iron mines were another attraction for the people of the region. According to the rumours of peasants, before their ancestors started to inhabit the village about at the end of the 18th century there were furnaces to melt iron up in the hills of the village and a few mine workers and shepherds inhabited the region. Although there are not clear evidences about the start of inhabitancy, I can claim that these rumours can be true because the genealogical research, which is an online system of General Directorate of Population and Citizenship Affairs of the state, I have found that my kin traces back to the beginning of the 19th century, the 1820s. As my grandmother tells, the father of the first born child of the family, *Taşçı Halil Usta*, came to the village as a craftsman for building iron furnaces from Tavas, the town of Denizli and his son was born in 1821 in the village. The shepherds were actually the nomads, *yörüks*, and they tamed the orchards, terraces in the village and uplands in the hills. The peasants used to live for a very short time in the village during the winters and in the spring and summer times they used to move to the countryside, *yayla*. The reason for this nomadic lifestyle was water supplies. The hot climate of the region forced people to move near to water sources. That is why you can find a ruin of a country house nearly every hundred metres in the mountains. There is a local saying supporting this that “*The villages were without people but the mountains weren’t*”. After building the first fountains for domestic water at the beginning of 1960s, some families started to live in the village. At that time, the number of the houses in the village was about 150 as the old imam, *Muzaffer Hoca*, cites.

One of the significant points in the history of the village is that in 1950s, the iron mine fields of the village were run by the Koç Company for a short time. And then the company continued this business till 1970s. Some peasants from the village worked as labourer in the mines. It is also said that Vehbi Koç and his wife visited the village and stayed for a short time in the village. The road connecting the village to Selimiye, the nearby district -formerly a town of Milas before the municipality law - were built due to the mining business. Before then, there was not a proper road. People had to walk down the hills and use pathways for about 1.5 hours till the down to the valley where the road began.

The electricity infrastructure was built around at the end of 1970s, however the first time that people started to use it was in 1982, as *Mustafa Durmaz Enişte* cites. According to him the state delayed the process, because the village was up in the hills and the way from the centre was too long and costly, instead it headed towards to other villages. Telecommunication infrastructure was built after the mid of the 1990s and at the beginning of the 2000s, mains water system was built. As I remember they were huge events at that time.

The village school was opened in 1948 and most of the kids did not use to continue their educational careers due to the fact that boys and girls were needed for family business and sending a kid to a school costed too much to bear for a peasant family. In 1990s a new village school was built in the garden of the old one because the number of students were getting higher. In 2012 a big school complex with 13 classes was constructed and opened in 2013-2014 Academic Year to give both primary and secondary education.

The official status of the village was turned into district with the amendment to the law for metropolitan municipalities in 2012 and for the first time in their history peasants of Sakarkaya voted also for the metropolitan municipality elections in 2014.

4.1.1.2. The Setting

The village stands on the mountainous and rocky south slopes of *Beşparmak* Mountains and it is the biggest village of Milas. The bordering mountains *Sazak* and *Kayabaşı* are on the north, *Çağıloluk* is on the east, *Katırhisarı* and *Gölcük Hill* are on the west. The altitude of the village is 585 metres above the sea level. While the distance to Muğla is 100 km from the village, the distance to Milas is 35 km. The way to the town centre got longer due to the *Derince* Dam down the valley, which was built in 2014. On the north east of the village the Anatolian Passage, *Anadolu Gediği*, connecting to Koçarlı, the town of Aydın province, is located. The

neighbouring villages, Günlük and Derince, are located on road to the town centre, Selimiye.

The climate of the village is quite the same with the town centre, Milas. However, because of its high location, sometimes in winters snowy weathers are also observed for a short time. The summers are long, hot and dry while the winters are rainy and mild most of the time.

There are three mosques in the village. The main mosque also known as *Köy Camisi*, which was rebuilt in 1986, is at the heart of the village with other buildings such as the *muhtarlık*, coffeehouses, markets, village guesthouse and other small workshops of artisans. The square of the village is called as *Odayanı*, referring the *muhtarlık* building. There used to be also a well for domestic water supply. The other mosques *Aşağı Camii* and *Yeni Camii*, were also rebuilt of the former ones. There used to be old mosques in the same place.

There is a village clinic, built in 2002 and there is a lodging building for the accommodation of the nurse. The astro pitch, locating near the entrance of the village, in the district of old mining area, *Madenlik*, was built in 2018 and the young go and play football there.

The main districts of the village below the *Odayanı* are *Yaskayası*, *Tuztaş*, *Yukarı Mahalle*. The district around the square is called as *Orta Mahalle*. The other districts below the square are *Sarmalık*, *Yağyurdu*, *Garganlık*, *Harman*, *Aşağı Mahalle* and *Arabölen*. The school is little far from the centre and located in *Arapharımı* terraces at the bottom of the village.

There is a small brook, *Çobanlı Deresi*, streaming through the middle of the village. The houses and the other facilities of the village are located in an amphitheatre style, residing on the rocky slopes of the mountain. It is nearly impossible to find out a wide space sometimes even to park your car. The narrow streets and steep roads are another characteristic of the village. The architectural style of the village resembles typical Mediterranean style, with white distempered and red roofs. The material for buildings used to be rocks and stones, found in the area, but now they are made up

of bricks and concrete. While the houses, barns and warehouses are built on the rocky ground, the fertile terraces, *maldan* in the local language, are spared for horticulture. There are not roads for the vehicles of intensive farming to these terraces, but only tiny narrow paths allowing only cattle, pack animals and humans. The paleotechnic agriculture still continues and seems to endure this way.

There are four graveyards of the village. *Gabıgoz*, which is the biggest and the central one, is located close to the village. *Aşağı Mezarlık*, locating below to the village, is the second one. The third one is *Anadolu Gediği* or *Gedikbaşı Mezarlığı* is located on the passage connecting Muğla and Aydın provinces. The last graveyard *Atmalı* or *Hoca Mezarlığı* locates on the west of the village inside the forest bordering with the neighbouring villages *Akçalı* and *Karahayıt* on the west. The history of these graveyards is unknown, but the importance of these places is certain for peasants.

The water will, which was built in 1910 and run by a family in the village, is no longer used.

4.1.1.3 The People

The 2019 population of the village is 1461 according to the data shared by TÜİK. The village is one of the most crowded villages of Milas. However, there is decline in the population recently due to the educational and vocational motivations of the younger generation (Table 1). The ethnicity of the village is *yörük*, nomadic Turkmens. There are a few families who migrated from nearby villages and towns. There are also some Kurdish brides from Bodrum and Söke towns, who came to village after the 2000s. The nomadic life style gave way to the settled one after the 1980s and it diminished year by year. The most important reason behind this is the arrival of power to the village in 1982. Another reason is that the construction of country roads, which were opened after 2005 and so on and eased the transportation between the orchards and the village.

Years	Population
2013	1607
2014	1592
2015	1557
2016	1519
2017	1508
2018	1480
2019	1461

Table 4.1: The population of the village over the years (TUIK, 2020).

4.1.1.4. The Politics

In this part I will try to narrate the political history of the village from four perspectives including, parliamentary elections, presidential elections, local elections and referendums by trying to interpret the accumulated data from TUIK and the things I observe since my childhood. The last 20 years of politics in the village will be documented as focusing on previous elections as they are beyond the scope of this study, which may result spinning from our research topic.

However, there is no risk summarising the 1990s from parliamentary elections results. In 1991 Parliamentary Elections, the number of registered voters were 1101 and 1001 of them voted. DYP received 397 of valid ballots. It was followed by ANAP with 282 votes. While RP received 118 votes, DSP received 116 and SHP had 44 (TUIK, 2021).

In the 1995 Parliamentary Elections, the number of registered voters were 954, and 908 of them voted. While ANAP had 584 of valid ballots, DYP was the second party in the village with 351 votes. RP became the third by taking 177 votes. MHP followed it by taking 50 votes. DSP had a sharp decrease by taking only 43 votes. (TUIK, 2021).

However, the balances changed in 1999 Parliamentary Elections. The number of registered voters were 1052 and 1007 of them voted. While DSP became the first party in the village by taking 296 of valid ballots, MHP became the second party with 258 votes. DYP was the third party with 175 votes. This time ANAP experienced a decline by taking only 80 votes. FP had 66 votes. CHP received only 10 votes (TUIK, 2021). I remember from my memories that my parents were speaking about Ecevit as he promised to increase the price of olive oil. I suppose that was one of the reason why peasants voted for him.

In 2002 Parliamentary Elections, the number of registered voters were 1029 and 970 of them voted. AKP became the first party by taking 489 of valid ballots. DYP followed it by taking 225 votes. While MHP was the third party with 75 votes, Genç Parti had 59 votes. CHP took 23 votes but surprisingly DSP was able to receive only 12 votes (TUIK, 2021).

In 2007 Parliamentary Elections, the number of total registered voters were 1016 and 904 of them voted. AKP got 729 votes while MHP received 80 and CHP 25 (TUIK, 2021).

In 2011 Parliamentary Elections, the table was similar to 2007. The total registered voters were 1184 and 1014 of them voted. AKP broke a record by taking 839 of valid ballots. MHP got 67 and CHP received 47 votes (TUIK, 2021).

In 7th June, 2015 Parliamentary Elections, the total registered voters were 1198 and 892 of them voted. AKP got 684 votes and MHP was the second party with 82 votes. CHP had 51 votes. In the 1st November 2015 elections 1058 of 1192 registered voters voted and AKP received 871 ballots. CHP remained nearly same with the previous election and got 49 votes. MHP lost votes by only taking 66 votes (TUIK, 2021).

In the last Parliamentary Elections of 2018, 951 of 1163 registered voters voted and AKP got 728 ballots and it was followed by İYİ Parti with 81 votes. However, this time MHP lost half of its previous and only got 30 votes. The votes of CHP remained the same(TUIK, 2021).

The radical turn, to AKP in 2000s continued, yet in the last elections it lost a bit of its votes. I have not asked questions about participants' political views, however I can easily say through my own experiences and observations in the village that most of the peasants sympathise to AKP and condemns CHP, as remembering it by single party rule politics. Another significant indicator in these elections above, it can be said that political participation of peasants of Sakarkaya are really high.

The referendum of 2007 and 2010 results are similar. In 2007, the rate of YES votes was %90,8. In 2010, %87,2 of votes were YES (TUIK, 2021).

The result of presidency elections has similarities with the other elections above. In 2014, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan got 634 of 765 valid ballots. The number of voters was 783 although the total number of registered voters was 1195. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu got 116 votes while Selahatin Demirtaş received 15 votes (TUIK, 2021).

In 2018 Presidency elections the total number of voters were 1163 and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan received 756 votes of valid ballots. Muharrem İnce got 65 votes while Meral Akşener got 61. Selahattin Demirtaş received 9 votes. (TUIK, 2021).

The local elections have also included metropolitan municipality and town municipality elections since 2014, as the official status of the village was turned into district with the amendment to the law for metropolitan municipalities in 2012. The most of the peasants of Sakarkaya, voted AKP for the Metropolitan Municipality of Muğla.

It must also be noted that, the mukhtar elections have taken much more interested and there are some famous figures as mukhtar in the village's history. However, its role and efficiency has diminished since the amendment to the law for metropolitan municipalities in 2012. Before turning into a district, the village was able to cope with its problems by collaboration. There were lands, pine nut trees and olive groves belonging to *Köy Sandığı* (village treasury) and they used to be let to tender and the peasants who pay the biggest price used to cultivate it for a season. Now they are all sold to peasants.

4.1.1.5. The Economy

One can see a static village full of sole producers in a village however the truth is not the same. There is always something to do in the village all year round. Although the terrain of the village is really hard and challenging, the economic life in the village is quite dynamic as the mild climate of the region allows peasants do many activities in every season. The continuous life cycle in the village is shaped by the natural calendar, which is the real force behind this dynamism. Every season has its own duties and they need to be done in time. The activities are done one another, sometimes simultaneously. The unexpected changes in the weather can intervene this flow however the other day or week the work resumes.

Before discussing the economic activities in the village, I would like to talk about the little craftsmen and artisans in the village. There are five carpenters, three barbers, two farriers, a blacksmith, a tailor, a shoemaker. The three coffeehouses and five markets are located around the square, *Odayanı*. The number of artisans were much higher in the past, but now they are diminishing day by day as the many goods can be obtained from the market much cheaper than before. It must be noted that these artisans also occupy with other works in the village as they have fields and cattle or etc.

In this part the economic activities, horticulture, apiculture, animal husbandry, pine nut harvesting, manual labour and selling agricultural surpluses in the village will be discussed accordingly. One of the most important activity, olive harvesting and olive oil production, will be discussed in the chapter five.

4.1.1.5.1. Horticulture

Horticulture is one of the most important economic activity in the village. As the location of the village is mountainous and highly steep, the orchards and fields are located on the terraces. While the terrace is called as *maldan* in the local saying, the small fields where the crops are grown on these terraces are called as *ocak*. Some of these terraces date back even before the foundation of the village as the peasants claim. Some of them are built in the last century.

The agricultural processes -sowing, planting, watering and harvesting- of these terraces are the combination of both paleotechnic and neotechnic farming styles due to the location. For instance, the terraces are ploughed not only with iron ploughs, pulled by horses, mules or donkeys but also with motorized hand ploughs, run with gas. As the roads for the terraces are too narrow to drive a tractor, the manual labour is obligatory. Apart from using fertilizers and pesticides and motorized hand machines, the tools and the technics are pre-industrial, in other words traditional.

The terraces nearby the village are watered from the watermill pool, *değirmen haviti*, in turn. Approximately in two weeks' time the cycle is completed for watering. Typical Aegean crops and some others which suit the climate are grown. The sowing and planting start at the beginning of March and the farming continues till the beginning of winter.

The houses both in the village and in the countryside are built on rocky grounds and the soil is spared for farming.

Nearly every household possesses a place for horticulture, however the intensity of it is diminishing year by year. One of the important reasons for this decrease is the inheritance system because of which the *maldans* are crumbled into small *ocaks* and the farming in these small areas gets costly. Another reason is that the local bazaar holds retailers, selling crops from the lowlands of the Selimiye town, where intensive farming methods are used for growing crops. Although the peasants criticise the taste of these sold products from the outside of the village, they still continue buying them.

4.1.1.5.2. Apiculture

Apiculture is a common economic activity in Muğla and in its towns and Milas occupies a significant place among them (Çukur, 2014). This economic activity is also one of the characteristics of Sakarkaya. Pine nut honey of the village is quite popular. While the number of the hives is about 25000, the beekeepers are about 128 according to data given by Milas District Directorate of Agriculture 2020 numbers.

It has a long history in the village. The peasants used to do apiculture traditionally till the 1980s, by keeping the hives in a small, cottage like structures, built on huge rocks, preventing bears or other wild animals to climb up there. The hives used to be kept whole year in the same place and they were called *oyma kovan* or *kara kovan* in the region. After the 1980s, with the use of modern hives, which are easy to carry and load, the activity changed its style and seasonal migrating to nearby towns or cities became popular. Then the beekeepers started to migrate seasonally to Central Anatolia and Eastern Thrace to catch the spring of continental climate, in which spring starts about in the mid-May and lasts till July.

Seasonal apiculture migration starts nearly at the beginning of May and lasts generally to the mid-August. The men generally do this activity and migrate and camp with their friends and relatives sometimes they also go as a family. For instance, if you visit the village in June or July, you will realize that the coffeehouses and Friday sermons are not so crowded as they are in winter time. Because most of the men are away with their colonies. However, the atmosphere starts to change and gets much more dynamic in the village in the August, as the returns start and the beekeepers bring their hives to the nearby regions or to the village.

This seasonal economic activity has also shaped the time of weddings and memorial ceremonies. Most of the activities are organized according to this return, *kovan dönümü* as it is called locally. The activity continues in the autumn and winter time. The climate and the weather conditions have direct effect on the harvest. The peasants sell most of their apiculture products by whole sale method. Nonetheless, the cost of apiculture is getting higher and higher due to the rise in the transportation and sugar industry.

4.1.1.5.3 Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry constitutes a significant part of the family economy in Sakarkaya. The peasants keep animals not only to feed the household but also support the family income. There are two types of animal husbandry in the village;

cattle and goat breeding. The number of registered cattle is 2585 while the total number of goats is 1516 according to Milas District Directorate of Agriculture (2020).

The number of the native black cattle is about 920, the rest of the cattle in the village is composed of culture cattle, such as holstein, simmental, the Brown Swiss, etc. Artificial insemination is also common in the village. The culture species are preferred because of their productivity, sometimes in milk sometimes in meat sometimes in both. As the cows are generally kept for milking and breeding, the bulls are sold after they are fed for a certain time.

The number of the goats is 1516 though there are few sheep in the village. The reasons why the goat is preferred in the village are because the terrain is not suitable for sheep breeding and the cultural heritage of the peasants relies on their nomadic, *yörük*, past. In the past goat breeding was so common that there were also hovels nearby the houses in the village. It got lost its popularity and now there only five or six families engaging with the business.

The techniques used in animal husbandry are the mixture of paleotechnic and neotechnic methods. For instance, while industrial feed is preferred to feed the the cows, they are also taken to open air spaces for feeding. There are not big ranches in the village when compared to the ones in nearby town, Selimiye.

4.1.1.5.4. Pine Nut Harvesting

The *pinus pinea* L. is a typical Mediterranean tree, growing 70km away from the sea and at most 860m above the sea level. Its height can reach to 20-25 metres. This tree needs much light to grow faster and endures cold weathers. The productivity of these trees are high when they are 40-80 years old (Akgül,2016).

As the location of the village is close to one of the significant production areas in Turkey –Aydın, Koçarlı region, pine nut harvesting is also one of the important economic activities in the village. It must be noted that these trees belong to the state and are guarded by Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. However, the harvesting and growing of these trees are done by the peasants. This *de facto* status

can seem complicated, yet peasants know which trees are actually their property and which are not.

The harvesting process starts during the end of the autumn and lasts till to the mid-April. As the location of the trees is generally too steep and tough, modern harvesting machines cannot be used during the collection step. The manual labour is needed in nearly every process of harvesting. The safety of work is quite limited. There can be injuries, permanent disabilities and even deaths especially at the process of collecting the pine cones from the trees. Male workers climb the trees with ladders and use rods to drop the pine cones; the other workers collect the cones from the ground and put them into the sacks. The sacks are carried by mules and horses to the village. After the cones are boiled, they are laid on the housetops to let them dry and hatch. The scraping is done to spare the nuts from the shells. Then the nuts are taken to a workshop where the hard parts of them are torn up with the machine. As the total process is long and toilsome, the output is quite valuable. For instance, a kilo of pine nut is about 500 TL as the Mukhtar of the village cites.

4.1.1.5.5. Manual Labour

The villages are the places where you can find anything to do or to earn money all year around. One of the ways of doing this is manual labour which needs physical strength and skill. For example, after a peasant finishes his or her olive harvest, he or she can go to someone else's field, mostly to a neighbouring village, as manual labourer.

Every season there are different manual labours to enroll. For example, in May and June a woman can go to cotton weeding to Selimiye lowland or Sarikemer lowland, a part of Söke region. The service, *amele arabası* in the local language, moves about 7 a.m and the shift starts at around 8 a.m. There is a breakfast break around 9 a.m. which lasts half an hour. And then the morning session continues till midday – lunch break. The labourers have lunch and rest for one hour and then afternoon session starts. The shift finishes at 5 p.m. In the table below 2019-2020 seasonal wages are listed. The wages are accounted daily and they differ according to the difficulty of

the job. The data was accumulated from the interviews and chats with the peasant during the field work.

Type of Manual labour	Season	Man	Woman
Olive harvesting	Autumn - Winter	120 TL	80 TL
Honey harvesting	Summer-Autumn	150 TL	
Bush weeding (<i>Çalı Temzileme</i>)	All year round	120 TL	80 TL
Pine nut Spraying /Harvesting (<i>Çamfıstığı İlaçlama/ Toplama</i>)	June and July	200 TL	
Cotton weeding	May and June	80 TL	80 TL
Pine nut harvesting	Winter and Spring	200 TL	
Construction - foreman	Winter, Spring, Summer	200 TL	
Construction -labourer	Winter, Spring, Summer	150 TL	

Table 4.2: The types of manual labour, their seasons, and daily wages in Sakarkaya for 2020.

One of the important figures in this business is the *dayıbaş*, mostly a peasant from the village, who is responsible for gathering the workers, following the job and announcing the breaks. Nowadays the *dayıbaş* is generally the driver himself and he takes his share from the total wage of the labourer. For example, he earns about 20 or 40 TL depending on the way to the working site. The figures in the table are the net wages of the labourers. It must be noted that the difference between man and woman wages are related to the type of the work done. The women do the jobs that need less physical skill or strength.

4.1.1.5.6. Selling Agricultural Surplus

The local bazars in and around the village are one of the important ways for selling and buying goods for the peasants. The village bazaar is held on Fridays and the *Selimiye Bazaar* is held on Saturdays and it is famous for its variety of goods and

many peasants around the town visit it to shop and meet with the relatives in the other villages. *Salı Pazarı*, Milas Bazaar is held on Tuesdays but the peasants generally do the shopping in *Selimiye Bazaar*.

There are various agricultural surpluses sold in these bazaars such as dairy products and crops of the season. Apart from those, the herbs and wild mushrooms collected from the mountains around the village are also important goods which are sought by many in the town.

As the type of veggies sold in the market change according to the season, the dairy products are sold all year around. There are four women, including my mum, selling dairy products in Selimiye however only one woman goes to Milas Bazaar as it is a little far away from the village. The beans and tomatoes of the village are especially popular in town and during the summer time you can see many peasants selling their surplus in the bazaar. In winter time, wild mushrooms, *çintar*, are common in the bazaar. The popularity of the wild asparagus, *tilkişen* or *tilkikuyruğu*, and bitter herb, locally called *acı ot*, reaches beyond the town and they are sold in the bazaar from February to April.

The peasants obtain the goods which they cannot produce after they finish selling their products.

4.1.1.6. The Social Life

In this part, the social life of the village will be narrated under the headings of social relations, celebrations and rituals and the new trends, seen in the village recently.

The family, kinship, marriage, inheritance, personal networks and *imece*, the voluntary work, will be discussed in general terms to understand the village from household level to community. The second part of this section will be about the celebrations and the rituals which play a significant part of the social life in the village. The engagement and wedding ceremonies, *bayram* (the religious festivals), recruitment ceremonies, memorials and the Fridays are the main activities observed

in the village. The new trends, such as schooling and education, migration from the country to town and having new free time activities such as going to picnic and nearby beaches for one day, will also be discussed in the last section of this part to understand the social changes in the village.

4.1.1.6.1. Social Relations

The family, household is the smallest social structure in the village. The nuclear families are composed of mother and father and few children nowadays. However, it was common to have five or six kids, even more than six, in the past. On the contrary to some villages in the central Anatolia, these nuclear families mostly live in a separate house nearby the parents' house of the husband.

The structure of houses is getting more and more comfy when compared to the ones in the past. Most of the houses, built after the 2000s, have toilets inside the bathroom and also have two separate rooms apart from the living room and the kitchen. In the past the houses used to have just a big room with an *ocak*, fireplace, a *yüklük*, storage for mattresses, quilts and pillows, and a *gusulhane*, a small bath. In the meantime, another room with the same appliances and a hall in the entrance were added. The *ocak* was used for both coking and heating. After the foundation of power infrastructure in 1982, the *ocak* has been built only in the kitchen.

The peasants mostly marry with someone from Sakarkaya and there are no polygamous marriages in the village as it is not welcomed. It must be noted that most of the girls dream about marrying with someone outside the village and living in the town. "As Henry Mendras says there are no friends in the village, only relatives and neighbours." (Weber, 2017). The notion here is that the network around the families are composed of according to the affinal, related by marriage, and consanguineal, related by blood, relationships. When you talk to a peasant in Sakarkaya, you will realize that the whole village is related with each other with one way or the other. Of course I do not deny that people also personally choose their friends, however when you make a short research about the family history of

those two friends, it is most likely that they are distantly relatives by blood or by marriage.

The network, composed of the affinal and consanguineal relations, plays an important role for co-op farming, *imece*, during the harvest seasons of olive, pine nut and apiculture. Most of the time the household asks for help from the peasants in its network for the harvest in return of helping them. This network is also essential for holding ceremonies which require so much help from outside of the peasant family. In the second part it will be evaluated accordingly.

The inheritance system works according to the civil code, yet in the past before the Republic, the sons used to have much larger shares than the daughters. However, as the shares are getting smaller and smaller from generation to generation the peasants are looking for new ways such as moving to town or going for seasonal jobs in the nearby touristic centres, mostly Bodrum.

4.1.1.6.2 Celebrations and Rituals

The ceremonies and the rituals bear a long and rooted historical and cultural references which tell us about the peasants and the country life of the village. The weddings are full of with detailed and complex behaviours as some of which are modern and most of which are traditional.

As the engagement and wedding ceremonies have so many details, I will try to narrate them in general terms not to wander from the topic.

The Engagement

The engagement ceremonies used to be simple and just between the families. One of the surprising things in that ceremony was that the groom and the bride were not present at the ceremony and they used to start to see each other after the engagement. Of course before the ceremony they used to see each other but the ritual was just between the family elders. About 15 years ago a new trend emerged. The grooms also started to join the ceremony with a bunch of flowers, obtained

from a florist in town, and a large bar of chocolate. This type of engagement ceremony has been held as it is in the town or city centres and it is called as *asri nişan*, modern engagement. More and more people, relatives and neighbours are now present in the bride's house and it looks like a normal wedding crowd. During the day time the bride and the groom go to the beauty salons in Milas and then they visit a historic or natural place for having their photographs taken. And then in the evening the *isteme*, a form of request during the engagement, and the ring bearing are done in front of a huge crowd. Sometimes a band plays for the entertainment but this is quite rare now.

The engagement is the official beginning of affinal relationship, which plays a significant role in the network of the both households.

The agnatic side, groom's family, offers generally gold ornaments as *mehir*, bride's wealth according to Islamic law. Sometimes the father of the bride demands exact amount of *mehir*, sometimes they leave it to the groom's family. However, if the agnatic side cannot supply the wanted amount, they offer a piece of land, mostly olive orchard to fulfil the demand and it is called as *altın karşılığı*, the fulfilment of gold.

The Wedding

The wedding ceremony is quite detailed. New and old forms of entertainment and rituals are combined and the rate of the traditional ones are quite high when compared to the modern ones. The wedding season generally starts according to the arrival of beekeepers from their seasonal migration from continental climatic regions in Turkey in August. The shopping for the wedding, *harç görme*, usually is done three or four weeks before the wedding. The both sides go to Milas to buy clothes, shoes, costumes and other stuff for the rituals.

In the past the weddings preferably used to be held on the weekdays, *on düğün*, and starting from Monday to Friday, at any time in the year apart from religious days and holidays. The weddings done at the weekend are called as *ters düğün*, meaning back or adverse wedding. Now most people organize the weddings at the weekend

to ease the visit of the outsiders, the relatives and friends from the town or city centres.

The weekday wedding, *on düğün*, starts actually the previous Friday with ceremony of *bayrak dikimi*, swaying flag. The men, mostly friends of the groom, aim at a stick with rifles. The stick with a red and white cloth fixed on it, is placed on a high point. The ceremony starts at *ikindi*, around five p.m. After the best shooter gets a piece of ornamented towel as a prize, the national flag is raised and fixed on the groom's house announcing that the wedding has officially begun. The henna night is held on Monday evening. This is not an entrainment night. A foreigner can interrupt the wedding and stop the process if he or she witnesses the mourning in the bride's house. The family and friends of the bride gather in the room and one by one they all mourn together with the bride. After the arrival of the groom's side, the mourning ends and the henna is applied to the hair of the bride. The next day looks like a modern henna night wearing a special costume and dancing and having fun with the groom and his family in the wedding ground nearby the bride's house. The wedding day, *düğün gün*, is on Wednesday, on which official congrats and wedding gifts are given. The bride and the groom go the beauty salons as they do in the engagement process. The next day is called as *gelin alma*, meaning wiving day. The bride is ornamented with traditional clothes and flowers on a red cloth. The bride is brought to the groom's house on horseback and the traditional band, *davul zurna*, and the relatives of agnatic side escort them. The food, including about ten different meals, is offered during the whole wedding process on both sides.

Today this process changed its time and nearly most of the weddings are done at the weekend. The rituals and the days are organized accordingly.

It must be noted that the wedding ceremony itself can occupy pages, so I have to shorten it here as I have drawn a whole picture of it. The significant thing here is that the wedding ceremony with its all rituals and organizations including preparing and serving food, dancing and hosting the guests, they are all done with the social capital of the families. Because the scope of the organization is beyond the household's capacity and it strongly demand help of relatives and neighbours.

The Religious Days and Festivals

İlknamaz, 1st Recep, is celebrated as to greet the first day of holly months. People visit the graveyards and plant myrtle leaves, believing that as long as they stay green they will paraclete the dead in the graves. In the afternoon the brides in their local bridal costumes visit the elders and offering cooked rice or wheat and *çörek*, a kind of donut like sweet muffin. The name of the ritual is *aş dağıtma*, which is also done on the eves of religious festivals. As the village is quite conservative on religious issues, during the month of Ramadan, in the day time you can find no one eating, drinking or smoking in public spaces. The first days of bayrams are really important. After the bayram prayer, people greet and hug each other in the garden of the mosques. After visiting the elders, people go to *bayram yeri*, the place at the entrance of the village to have fun, play games, congratulate each other's bayram and flirt on the second and third days of the festivals in the afternoon. The fun ends with the sun set. On the fourth day of Eid Qurban, the elders visit each other and it is called as *kocakarı bayramı*.

The Recruiting

Joining military and having done the duty are muchly appreciated and it is expected from the boys. When the recruiting days are announced people visit the candidate soldier's family house and the candidate plays music and the national flag is raised till the recruitment day comes. The family gives a huge meal for the relatives and the friends of the soldier and the imam and elders are invited to say their blessings and prayers for the safe and sound return of the boy to home a few days before the recruitment day. The peasants give some pocket money to the soldier during the farewell ceremony.

The Funerals and Memorial Days

When a peasant dies, the death is announced from the mosques of the village with *sala*, and most of the peasants postpone today's work after the funeral. The relatives of the funeral mourn, and the body is washed with prayers and it is taken to the

central mosque for the last prayer. After that the peasants visit the funeral's house and say "*Emir Allah'in.*", meaning God has order.

The memorial day, *mevlüt*, for the deceased is generally held 52 days after the funeral. The prayers are done in the mosque and *fiski*, a kind of local donut, or *lokma*, sweet balls are dished out to the community.

The Friday

The Friday is the official holiday for the peasants. Most of the peasants stay at home and take care of the business at home. There is a small local bazaar at the square, *odayanı*. The retailers from nearby towns and villages come and set their stalls. It is quite small when compared the ones in the Selime and Milas however it is really busy and most of the peasants do their weekly shopping. The products are generally veggies and fruits of the season. The butchers generally sell meat of goats or a small bull which are freshly minced.

Men gather and chat in the coffeehouses around the square. The ones looking for manual labourer for the upcoming works in the fields, orchards or in the village.

The mukhtar does his weekly announcements from his office about the businesses such as opening new roads, the deadlines about official businesses, etc. to inform the peasants after the Friday sermon, which is the most crowded moment of the day. The crowd gets smaller about four or five p.m. due to the evening routines awaiting to be done.

4.1.1.6.3. New Trends

The village is not an isolated place, not being affected from outside and the social changes. The demographic change and modern trends such as going to picnics or seaside as free time activities are some of those trends observed in the village.

There are two main reasons, lying behind the demographic change in the village, schooling and moving to city centres or coastal towns nearby. Schooling is seen one

of the important ways of “saving your life” and founding a new and more profitable job. There is a growing interest for sending the children to higher education in the last 15 years. Before the 2000s there was huge attempt to send the boys for the İmam Hatip schools for various reasons such as the conservatism and the accommodation facilities of those schools as the village was far from the town centre and there was not a public transportation line between the village and the town. However, after The 1997 Military Memorandum, peasants hesitated for a while as the graduates of those schools were not be able to go to university or find a job. Then the academic high schools have been in the centre of the education agenda of the village as it has been easy to continue higher education from those kind of schools.

The second reason for the demographic change is that new generations are seeking for new ways to earn their lives as the fields are getting smaller in the course of time due to the inheritance system and the cost of production of crops especially olive oil are rising although the prices are remaining stable. The salaried employment seems much more attractive than before. The most preferred destination for moving is Bodrum. After the rise in the tourism triggered construction business in the 1980s, many peasants went to the town seasonally as manual construction labourers. In the course of time the interest for other occupations has risen and today about 120 household reside permanently in town working in various sectors, from construction to tourism or housekeeping and gardening in the holiday sites.

When you see picnic goers from the city centre in a country side picnic area, it may seem quite normal. However, for the peasants it may look absurd as they are working in the fields, groves or orchards and the lunch itself looks like a picnic. Nonetheless, more and more peasants are going to some natural beauty areas with the participation of the relatives living in the town or city on sunny Sundays in the spring or summer seasons. Another urban activity, going to seaside on a daily basis is also getting popular. The peasants go public beaches of nearby touristic towns for one day with a couple of neighbours or relatives.

As a last trend I can mention is that the rise of motorbikes usage in the village as there are new country roads to many groves and orchards or fields in the mountains. Many households have a motorbike as they are cheap and run with little gas.

4.1.2. OLIVE OIL AS A COMMODITY

So far we have discussed prominent peasant and commodity studies both in the world and in Turkey, the research method and the research site, Sakarkaya Village. In this part, olive and olive oil production, one of the most important activities in the village, will be narrated.

First of all, I will try to evaluate the historical and cultural traces of olive and olive oil production. After a brief historical introduction, the geography and botany of olive will be discussed. In the second part of this section, I will deal with the process of olive oil production, including both traditional and modern methods. The third part will consist of olive oil production in Turkey, including the historical and geographical sides of it. I will try to demonstrate the agricultural policies on the olive oil production in Turkey also. In the fourth and the last part of this section I will narrate the olive oil production in Sakarkaya village from both historical and current perspectives.

4.1.2.1. Olive; A Perspective

“Olea, quae prima omnium arborum est”.

“The olive is the first of all trees.”

Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella , "On Agriculture and Trees", Book V, 8, 1.

Artun Ünsal says; “I do not object a world with a “diet coke”, however thousands of years old story of “golden liquid” olive oil must not be ignored.” in the prologue of *Ölmez Ağacın Peşinde, Türkiye’de Zeytin ve Zeytinyağı (2000)*. Although he is right in his claim, I should admit that the challenge to follow the traces of olive and olive oil is not only hard but also beyond the scope of this research. For this reason,

I will try to draw a brief historical and geographical frame to give a basic idea about our concepts, the olive and olive oil, in this part of the study.

4.1.2.1.1. History of Olive and Olive oil

From the Greek mythology to the Holly books or from the remnants of antique cities around Mediterranean to on a marble sculpture, discovered in an archaeological site in the Aegean region, you can easily track the social and cultural role of olive tree and olive oil. In Ancient Greece the olive tree was the symbol of peace and friendship between nations and it is known that the winners of the Olympic games were awarded with a wreath of olive branches (Fiorino and Nizzi, 1992).

Olea oleaster, the close relative of olive tree, is called the wild olive tree, locally called *delice*, bearing small and bitter olives. The oldest *olea oleaster* leaf fossil, found on the island of Santorini, Greece, dates back to 50.000 BC and it is known that the olives from the *olea oleaster* were collected and their oil was extracted about 10.000 BC. (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020).

Although when it was cultivated and grafted exactly, is quite controversial, it is known that the ancient people were trying different grafting techniques on the *olea oleaster* in the Turkey-Syria borderline in 8000 BC. (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020). It is also known that the olive tree is one of the oldest cultivated trees in the world (Liphschitz, Gophna, Hartman, & Biger, 1991). It is certain that the olive tree as it is known today had its origin about 5000 years ago in the region Persia and Mesopotamia and then it spread to Syria and Palestine (Kapellakis, Tsagarakis, & Crowther, (2007).

However, it must be noted that the it was the Phoenicians, living in the Levant region- in the east of the Mediterranean-, who played a significant role in spreading the olive tree to the western regions of the Mediterranean by trading with the maritime centres (Ünsal, 2000). The transfer of knowledge and the product itself created for the emergence of new olive tree species by crossbreeding the wild olive trees of the new areas (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020). The more systematic

cultivation of olive trees dates back to 8th and 7th century BC, which also indicates a significant turn in the cultivation process of it (Fiorino and Nizzi, 1992).

The archaeological excavations demonstrate that there was a workshop for olive oil extraction in the ancient Ionian city of Klazomenai, locating in Urla province of İzmir (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020). These excavations are crucial because till 1992 the most common assumption had been that the oldest olive oil mill used to date back 100 BC. (Atilla, 2003). The clay pots, which are also called amphora, were also found around the city. It can be concluded that the olive oil was not produced for local usage but also for the exportation as the amphora specific to Klazomenai were found in the excavations of some other maritime centres around Mediterranean (Atilla, 2003).

The role of Roman Empire was crucial in the spread of olive tree species and olive oil in the Mediterranean basin, such as The Iberian Peninsula and the North Coast of Africa became cultivation areas and the olive oil exported to the North of Europe and England (Vossen, 2007). Although there is very little record mentioning human consumption, the ceremonial and cultural role of olive oil had been documented well, such as for illumination, the anointing royalty, warriors and athletes, and for religious ceremonies (Vossen, 2007).

4.1.2.1.2. Botany and Geography of Olive

The scientific origin of olive belongs to *oleaceae* family and it is determined that there are about 30 different species, belonging to this family (Ünsal, 2000). According to Ünsal, *olea* is a kind of wild fruit bearing tree and there is about 30 different species and *olea europa* is one of them (2000). Its homeland is the Eastern Mediterranean and it has two sub-species, the *olea europa olaster*, the wild olive tree – *delice*-, and *olea europa sativa*, the cultivated olive tree (Ünsal, 2000).

It must be noted that the true genetic origin of current cultivated olive tree is not known exactly (vossen, 2007). However, it is not surprising that you can come across the wild and the cultivated species in the same neighbourhood. The biggest difference between these two species is that their appearance and structure are

different. The *olea europa olaster* is not an actual tree but a kind of brier bearing olives which have hardly oil. On the other hand, the *olea europa sativa* is a tree that grows up to ten metres high (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020).

The life span of the *olea europa sativa* reaches to 3000 years, locating it one of the most long-lasting trees of all times. The olive tree reaches its full capacity in about 35-40 years (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020). However, the olive trees in the modern cultivated olive groves can produce much more fruit earlier than the traditional ones.

The olive grows in the Mediterranean climate and there is a saying that when the olive tree gives up living, the Mediterranean finishes (Ünsal, 2000). Nonetheless as long as the climatic conditions and the earth structure are convenient, the olive can grove anywhere in the world even outside of the climatic conditions as it can be seen in the *Figure 4.1*. The olive growing belts are between 30°- 45° latitudes in the Northern and Southern hemispheres (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020).

The New World met with the *olea europa sativa* (the cultivated olive tree) via geographical explorations. For instance, as the olive tree first reached to Mexico and South America in the mid-1500s, in the 1600s olive plantations were built in South Africa for table olives (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020). It is known that the olive oil was started to be produced in California in the second half of the 19th century (Vossen, 2007).

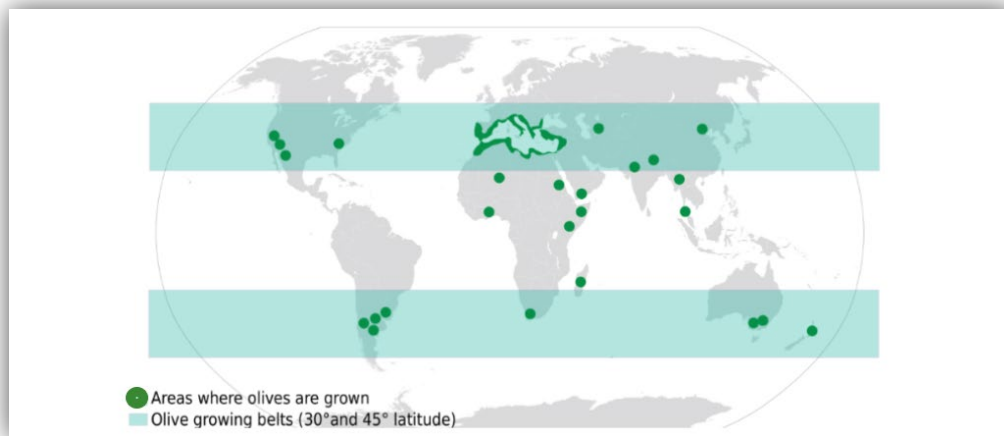


Figure 4.3: The Geographic distribution of olive production in the world, (Source: Blactchly, Nircan & O’Hara, 2020:28).

However, although these European explorers had brought olive trees to these newly discovered areas, the olive did not turn out to be an industry until the end of the 20th century (Blactchly, Nircan & O’Hara, 2020).

4.2.2. OLIVE OIL PRODUCTION

In this part olive oil production process will be discussed in general terms to have an understanding on the story of olive oil from olive groves to the factories. The planting and grafting, nurturing, harvesting and the extraction processes will be evaluated before we trace the story of olive oil harvest in Sakarkaya.

4.2.2.1. Planting and Grafting

There are various ways to grow olive trees but the two basic methods come forward; planting and grafting (Ünsal, 2000). The *olea europa olaster, delice*, is transformed into olive tree by grafting methods. And sometimes, the trees which are thick enough to be ripped out from the soil are planted in the fields and then later they are turned into *olea europa sativa*, the cultivated olive trees, with different grafting methods. The trees which are grafted starts to produce olive in 3-4 years’ time and

reaches its full capacity in 40 years. However, when this method is compared with the modern methods, it may seem slower in the terms of cultivating and harvesting. If the tree is grafted from a lower level it produces olive earlier. Nonetheless, this method is not common in some places as the cattle are let to grass under them (Ünsal, 2000).

4.2.2.2. Nurturing

This process is divided into two parts; pruning and fertilizing. These go hand in hand for the nurturing process. The pruning and fertilising starts after the tree holds the soil that it is planted or grafted.

The season for pruning starts in winter and it is done with a saw by hand. The branches residing on the trunk are removed in order to enable the trunk to grow better. There are also new machinery techniques for the new industrialised olive groves. However, among the peasants or small scale farmers, the traditional methods are still in use.

The use of fertilizers is necessary but one must be careful indeed. The amount of it must be decided according to the quality of soil and tree (Blactchly, Nircan & O'Hara, 2020). There are two kinds of fertilizers; organic and chemical. As the groves are getting bigger with the industrial cultivation, the use of chemical fertilizers are high even in the groves in the mountains. The fertilizers are generally applied early spring to support the flowering season.

4.2.2.3. Harvest

As the autumn arrives the harvest time begins. However, the olives are still green there are two or three months for them to turn red or black. The harvest is done by three methods. The first one is manual harvesting, done by hand or wooden sticks. Generally, in small scale farming or on mountainous groves, the olives are picked up by hand and the branches are shaken with the wood sticks. The harvesters use ladders to reach the upper branches. However, with the improvements in cultivation technologies mechanical hand harvesters are getting popular among small scale farmers and peasants as they are cheap and light to carry. They are run by batteries,

which you have to charge with electricity. They have really accelerated the harvest as the ones who use it spend less strength to control it. The third way for harvesting is that the use of heavy machinery, which are really as high as a small apartment. They are popular in new olive countries such as New Zealand.

4.2.2.4. Extraction

As in the other processes above, the extraction process has also neotehnic and paleotehnic styles. The paleotehnic styles are quite primitive and time consuming when they are compared to neotehnic ones. As the use of machinery has increased the amount of extracted olive increased. The extraction has a long history from millstone to modern heavy machinery extraction, and this could be another study's topic.

4.1.3. OLIVE OIL CULTIVATION IN SAKARKAYA

So far, we have discussed about the village in detail from various perspectives, including, its setting, history, economy, politics, economy and social life. And then we have also discussed olive oil cultivation in general terms to have an understanding about the activity itself. As I have mentioned before in the economy of the village, now it is time to narrate the olive cultivation and olive oil production processes and its role on the lives of peasants.

Olive cultivation plays a significant role in the lives of peasants of Sakarkaya. It shapes their lives from various perspectives such as economy and social ways. I can easily say that nearly everyone has olive trees in some extent. The amount of trees belonging to peasants change from family to family as it is no surprise. However what matters is that the olive cultivation shapes the life in the village especially during the harvest season.

It is better to mention the geography and the locations of olive groves around the village before narrating the olive cultivation in the village. Although there are some olive groves at the higher altitudes above the village, the significant amount of them

are located at the lower altitudes below or in line with the village. The olive groves on the west side of the village are *Uluçay*, *Çambeleni*, *Katırhisarı* and *Sarpgırık* locations. While *Aşağı Mezarlık*, *Gürmersin*, *Kösrelik*, *Sarıkaya*, *Hüsemîn Dağı* and *Avluderesi* are located on the south-west of it, there is *Sarpdere* in the south. There are also olive groves around the main road of the village beginning with on the north of neighbouring *Günlük* village. These places are called *Abaz*, *Kaplандаşı*, *Kisli*, *Derindere* and *Gebeler*. I must mention that there also different names for some olive groves, however as they are mainly located in these places above it is not necessary to document all of them.

The most recent advancement about most of the olive groves is that there are country roads, built with the peasants' initiative for cars and other vehicles now. Nonetheless, there is still need for pack animals to carry the olive sacks to the country roads after the harvest, as the slopes and the mountainous surface do not allow them to reach every olive grove. Another important point about those roads is that most of them are built on the pathways longing through the mountains for years.

Most of the olive trees in the region have been planted and then grafted into cultivated ones. There are also regions especially in the steep slopes of some locations of the village which are mainly occupied with the grafted versions of originally *olea olestar*, *delice*, trees. As the peasants state that the trend for planting olive trees began in 1950s when it was realised that olive oil is a valuable commodity. Before that time the steep slopes which were home to *delice* trees were much more valuable and there had been a race to graft these trees and built walls around these claimed territories. However, the trend changed into ripping *delice* tree from these steep locations and planting it to groves or mountain terraces, which are called as *dikmelik*, meaning olive grove. The prominent olive specie is *memecik*, as it can be seen nearly most of the Milas region.

The periodicity is called *var yılı* and *yok yılı* as the olive trees in the region fruit once in two years. The olive harvest season begins at the end of autumn and continues till the end of the winter. Although the harvest lasts for a season, the olive

cultivation is a constant work as every season requires a different activity according to itself. The trees are generally planted in winter as they do not absorb water in January and February. However, for two or three years after the planting these young trees need water one or twice for dry and hot summer months. After a certain period when the tree is strong and does not need water it is grafted with the traditional method. The harvest is low after the planting however in 10 years' time, it reaches nearly its full capacity. Sometimes in the spring the land below the three trunk is ploughed with hand hoes. The nurturing and fertilising are done during the winter and lasts till at mid-spring, as the rain season catalyses the tree to gain the necessary nutrients in the organic or chemical fertilizers. The trees bloom in spring and start to fruit at the beginning of summer. The chemical spraying the trees and the fruits is not popular in the village. As the olives turn to red in the mid-autumn, the harvesting season begins.

The harvest preparations begin in the autumn, however some peasants pick some green olives before they turn red or black by hand, crash them and brew in water to release bitter taste for the table usage. This type of table olive is called *sıyma*.

The starting time for the harvest is not exact however, as having the years' knowledge peasants decide the harvest according to the region and the ripening of the fruit. The peasants go to the olive groves on foot, however nowadays as there are country roads for vehicles, they commute there with various vehicles such as motorbikes, pickups, tractors, minibuses or even cars. The labour in the olive groves is divided into two; harvester and picker. The harvester, which is locally called *silkici*, is nearly almost men, using wooden sticks or mechanic harvesters to shake the olive branches. The pickers, locally called as *elleyici*, are composed of mostly women and children. The nylon or plastic nets are laid down under the trees to ease the harvest as they hold most of the shaken olives. The table olives, *salamura*, are selected from these nets and they are drawn with a knife and brew like *sıyma* olives. These drawn olives are called *dilme* and sweetened with olive oil for the table usage. If the olives are scattered around and they fall down to the ground during the harvest, they are as called *dip zeytini*, as they are picked up from

the ground by hand. The small branches, which fall down on nets during harvest are called, *çingil* and after picking up their olives they are put in a sack to deliver the cattle in the evening.

If the owner has too many olive trees, he or she hires labourers for the harvest. While *silkici* is paid 120 TL for a day the *elleyici* is paid 80 TL. As the usage of modern mechanic hand harvester has risen up, *silkici* with its own harvester is paid 200 TL. Sometimes the landowners hire partners, which share the %50 of the olive oil cultivation, as they are too old to harvest or they have too many olive groves more than they can harvest themselves in the season. Another common activity during the harvest is that families do co-op harvesting with each other, in other words mutual help, which is considerably less costly when compared to labourer hiring or sharing the production.

After the olives are harvested, they are put into sacks, which are generally carried with the help of pack animals, mostly mules, to a certain point where the olive oil factory workers load the sacks on pick-ups or tractors.

The olive is extracted in the factory, which has a modern extraction system, needing fewer workers when compared to traditional mill and hydraulic system. As the factory owner *Yağcı Bekir* cites;

“In the traditional system, we used to extract 1-1,5 tonnes of olive oil in a day, now we extract 7-8 tonnes. We extract about 500-600 tonnes of olive oil seasonally Now there are 3 workers here. I pay daily wages to foreman and his assistant 200 and 150 TL respectively. There used to be 7 workers for day shift and 7 for night shift. For example, our electricity bill is about 15.000 TL, monthly.”

He also adds that;

“I barely reach my village. Actually I cannot. In the past we were here 5 factories. The four of them constantly worked. I am the only one remained now. As our village is the biggest village of Milas, I am planning to construct a second factory to the village. It is really difficult to quarrel with the people as everybody wants daily extraction though it is really hard. Generally, at the weekends and semester

holidays, as the household cultivate the olive together, the factory is really loaded. Another important factor is the mechanic hand harvesters. People cultivate faster than before.”

As he mentioned the olive oil cultivation is really high in the village and he cannot cope with such a huge amount of crop during the season.

The acidity of olive oil changes according to the time between the harvest and the extraction, and the harvesting type of olive, gathering from the ground or collecting on the net. This year's acidity level of olive is between 0-2,5 as the factory owner states. As a processing cost, factory owner takes %10 of total extraction from the product.

After the harvest, the olive oil is stored up at homes, generally into metal or plastic barrels with nylon. This process is locally called as “*Yağ küpe girdi.*”. After this, the peasants use the olive oil according their needs, mostly household consumption or selling some of it to local dealers when they need money. They also cook olive oil soaps to use or give as a gift to people.

4.1.4. PARTICIPANTS

The first participant is a 61 years old male and lives in the village with his family. He says he is occupied with beekeeping and olive cultivation. He had been as a welding mechanic and turner in İzmir before he was recruited to army. After the army he returned to village and he has been living in there since then. His economic activities are apiculture and olive cultivation. He has also retirement salary from Social Security Institution. He owns about 10 decares and some of his land status are under 2B, which is an official status for the lands which bears no longer forest characteristics but belongs to officially to treasury of the state. He has a cow for milking. He mentions that sometimes he does welding in the village as a small income to family economy.

According to him olive means obtaining olive oil for household usage. He has about 200 olive trees most of which are about 60 years old and he inherited them from his father. In the past he says they used to apply organic fertilizer and use wooden poles for beating the fruit off for harvesting. Now he uses modern mechanical hand harvesters. He states that this gives much more efficiency for the harvest when compared to wooden poles. He does the harvesting with the family members and does not hire labourers. He remembers that in the past there were times he obtained between 18-20 kg olive oil from a single sack of olive, which is about approximately 50 kg. However nowadays he obtains 14-15 kg olive oil. The price of oil is less valuable when compared to past according to him. He says 1kg of olive oil which is about 5 acidic level is 7-8 TL now and 1 kg of olive oil with 1 acidic level below 1 is about 14-15 TL. According to him the real gainers in the sector are the dealers as they stock the oil. He says as harvesters they are in hurry and need cash. He also adds that they do not earn the real worth as the job requires so much labour. However, when he is asked to whether the next generations should do olive harvesting in the future, he replies that they should do because it is healthy and also helps them to maintain their lives economically.

When he is asked whether he would live in the urban centres, he says he is happy with living in the village and although he has an urban experience before the army he immediately returns from the city centre when he finishes his business. He mentions that living in the village is easy and less noisy and costly and a peasant can go to moors and collect wild plants and somehow continue living. He states that the people who were born in the village generally return to village for holidays or for retirement after experiencing city life.

The second participant is a 45 years old male, living with his parents and his wife and kids together in the village. He is primary school graduate and he has never moved to another place out of the village. He maintains his life with olive cultivation, apiculture and animal husbandry. He owns about 20 decares land and 5 cattle. When he is asked whether he can make out, he replies that he uses agricultural loan before the olive or honey harvest. He says they could live much

easier in the past, now they all have “*sosyetik*” (meaning modern) lives with so many modern infrastructures like electricity and telephones.

According to him olive, means everything and olive cultivation is less difficult, however it is worth less when compared to past. He has about 400 olive trees in total and all of them are inherited from his father. He states that he is paid government subvention for the oil he produces, 1000 TL for a ton of oil. Last season he expected to be paid about 4000 TL, however he received only 2000 TL. He says they promised to make an explanation but nothing happened. He generally does the cultivation with the family as he mentions the labourer who brings his own mechanical harvester is paid about 250 TL while the pick upper is paid 80TL for a day. He says the quantity of olive oil changes according to region and for example in some high density places 14 kg of olive oil can be obtained from 55-60 kg of sacks. He states that today they care much to the olive trees and obtain much more oil when compared to past, however they earn less. He mentions that they could hold a wedding with the harvest in the past but now they barely manage to the next year. He generally spends his money for the breeding of his cattle. Nonetheless he finds the olive cultivation charming as it is the golden liquid and it is worth for better or worse. According to him the real gainers in this sector are the dealers. He states that the factory owner also takes about %10 percent of the produced oil for the costs. He does not think that he has earned but he confesses that he has to spin the wheel.

He is both satisfied and unsatisfied about living in the village. He thinks that the person living in the city can do a job with insurance payment however it is really challenging to pay his own insurance for the man in the village. He has been as a seasonal worker in tourism sector in the Bodrum and quit when he gets old. He finds easy to live in the village and adds that they can cook and eat wild plants, however one cannot do this in the city. He wishes that his kids would live in the village but anywhere is all right as long as they can manage.

The third participant is a 49 years old female, living in the village with her family with 6 members. She is primary school graduate and she has never moved away

from the village. She states that she really loves the village and she has no intention of moving anywhere else. She has 2 or 3 three cattle for milking. Her husband works as a construction foreman. She adds that olive cultivation also contributes their income. The lands that she cultivates belong to themselves and they are all inherited from the late fathers of the both sides. She states that they could not do much more as they spend the schooling expenditures of their kids. The olive groves they cultivate are about 5-6 decares. She also has some gardens for horticulture to grow their veggies like tomatoes, peppers and beans. She states that they used to cultivate cereal crops for household consumption when she was a kid however they gave up doing it.

According to her olive cultivation is a must as they use olive at every meal at any time during the day. She states that in the past they used to go to olive groves with mules and donkeys as there were no suitable roads for cars. She adds that the cultivation methods also are modernised for both shakers, *silkici*, and gatherers, *elleyici*, as the nets are laid down the beneath the olive trees, it is really helpful gatherers, who are mostly women. She says that they cultivate the olives with the family members. The quantity of olive oil from a normal sack is between 12-15 kg and this changes according to the lands. When she is asked to compare the old and current income form the olive cultivation she says that they used to have less olive oil as the trees were young, but now they cultivate much more olive oil. For instance, the oil was used only for cooking but now they also sell some of it to spend household and kitchen expenses. She has not received government subvention for the olive oil. She says that olive oil cultivation can be done if you have much more lands and trees and you work for about 6 months and benefit from it till the next harvest. However, she also that the real gainers in this sector are the dealers as they buy a kilo of oil 8 TL from the peasants and sell it about 30 TL.

She is satisfied living in the village and never thinks to move away. She states that when she was young she had a thought that if her husband had found a permanent job with insurance she would have moved to city centre. However, this had never happened and they stayed in the village. She thanks God and she is happy with the

life she endures. According to her there are many advantages of living in the village as she can drop in to a neighbour without hesitation. She says that you cannot do this in the city as you do not know anybody there. On the other hand, she adds that living in the city is economically hard, however she can go to the mountains and gather wild herbs and cook and serve them as a meal. She thinks that as the children are used to live in the city they cannot live in the village. As a last word states that the kids must go to school as having a diploma is necessary even you become a shepherd.

The fourth participant is 61 years old male, primary school graduate and living in the village with his wife and daughter. He says that as an income he has 2-3 cows and 5-6 chickens and some lands for cultivation. The total amount of olive groves, belonging to him is 32 decares. When he is asked about his agricultural activities he answers ironically that his activity cannot be count as an agricultural activity because according to him agricultural activity means cultivation a 100 decares. He manages his economy as transferring his income from one activity to another.

According to him olive tree is worth the whole world as because the olive trees he planted in 2007 started to fruit. He says that if you look after the tree, it grows like a kid and the olive tree is the locomotive of his family economy. When he is asked to make a comparison of old and new ways, he says that in the past there were no nets for the harvest and the olives were picked up from the ground for nearly two days by hand after the shaking. The organic wooden poles were used for shaking now mechanic hand harvesters are used and you can harvest about 2 sacks of olive in a very short time, he says. He has mainly three olive groves and most of his lands are olive groves. He says he has received 1500 TL government subvention for the last harvest. He does not hire labourers and he cultivates the land with his family. He states that the least amount of oil he has ever obtained from a single sack was 10kg now it is about 15 kg. He says now one can harvest much more when compared to past as the trees grow older although the number of them has not changed much. According to him olive cultivation is a brilliant job as he provides his living from the harvest. He states that he does not know anything apart from

olive cultivation and does not care about other agricultural activities. He mentions the estate he earns is for his children and he does not think of selling it. He adds that though he has sold a small olive grove to his own son, he feels sorry for selling as the estate means everything to him. The real gainers in this sector are the factory owners and then the dealers. He thinks that the producers can never really gain in this country.

He likes living in the village, feels more free and never thinks of moving somewhere else. Although he enjoys going to town for business or shopping, he doesn't anticipate staying there. There are many people are seeking business in the town according to him it is easier to maintain a life here.

The fifth participant is a 71 years old male, primary school graduate, living in the village with his wife. He has a retirement salary from Social Security Institution. He did apiculture between 1982-2005. He says he cannot cultivate the land so he has given the lands to his kids. He makes his kids cultivate the olive groves and share the harvest. She has not interested with apiculture, horticulture, pine nut harvesting or olive harvest since 2007. He mentions that he has some beehives but his kids are interested in with them.

According to him, olive tree means a well-established estate and olive is a great crop and olive oil is a kind of medicine. He says they cannot consume another oil. He states that in the past there were wooden poles for the olive harvest but now the machinery is in use. The number of planted trees are quite limited as the land is not suitable and most of the trees are grafted from *delice*, he says. Some of his lands are inherited from his father, some of them are bought and the rest of them are his own cultivation. He has not benefitted from state subvention for the olive oil cultivation. He finds olive cultivation attracting but he is afraid that his sons and grandsons will not continue doing this as they are accustomed to cash money from other sectors. He also blames that the state itself has accustomed to people to this kind of life style as giving cash as a subvention salary to the elders above 65. According to him the real gainers in the olive oil sector are the discount brokers.

He finds easy to live in the village as the housing expenses are quite limited. He mentions that when was in Bodrum, his salary was 752,5 TL and the rent he paid for the house there was 1100, so decided to move to village. He states that even if the expenses were low now in the city centres, he would do the same as he has neighbours, friends and relatives in the village. When I asked the reason why he moved to Bodrum and worked as a gardener in a site full of summerhouses, he said that he wanted to complete the missing working days to have a retirement salary from the Social Security Institution, after a regulation in the retirement law. As he began working in the iron mine, opened by Koç Company in 1971, after he had returned from the army, as a seasonal worker for about 20 months. Between 2007- and 2014 he worked in Bodrum and completed the necessary working days and then he was retired. He has given some important details about the mine. He says that mine was closed in 1973 as the iron deposit reserve was limited. However, the road to village was improved due to this reserve, he adds. He states that the power infrastructure to the village was implemented in 1982. According to him such kind of services arrive late to the village because the political position of the village is pro AKP (Justice and Development Party) and in the past DYP (True Way Party) and AP (Justice Party) and the municipality of Milas and Muğla are run by CHP (Republican People's Party).

The sixth participant is a 40 years old female, primary school graduate and she is living in Bodrum. She is from the village but she has moved to Bodrum due to her husband's occupation when she was 22 years old. However, she comes to village once a month, she says. While her husband works in the construction business, she goes to house cleaning in the summer time. She states that in winters she and her family come to the village for the pine nut and olive harvest. Some of her lands are inherited and the other lands are bought. She has about 100 pine trees and some olive groves. She mentions that in the past keeping up was difficult however now there are new opportunities and new expenses at the same time. She had done carpet weaving before she married and she used to cultivate small terrace gardens however she gave up doing these activities after moving to Bodrum.

According to, her olive tree means something magnificent. She states that she consumes olive oil for cooking and she is happy that she does not buy it. She does not know exact decares of olive groves. She says that in the past the harvesting was difficult but now as there are new roads to groves and new machinery for cultivation, it has become easier to harvest. She does not receive state subvention for the harvest. She and her family do the harvest. They do not hire labourers. She says that she has obtained 14kg of olive oil, with 2.5 acidic value, from a sack. She consumes the olive oil with the family and sometimes she sells as a pocket money. She thinks olive oil cultivation is an attractive business and prefers her kids do the harvesting in the future. She says that the real gainers are the dealers because the price of olive oil with a brand is about 40-50 TL on the shelf.

She says although she was happy living in the village she moved to Bodrum because of her husband's occupation. She mentions that one has to pay for the rent and cannot endure without going to market, however in the village living is easy and less costly as one can grow his or her vegetable and fruits. She also adds that the solidarity is strong in the village and the ceremonies are done with its full meaning. She prefers her kids to live and work in the village in the future.

The seventh participant is a 64 years old male, living alone in the village. He says that when he was 15 he went to Tire, a town of İzmir, for Quran course and stayed there 1,5 years. He has about 20-25 decares land, 12 of which are for horticulture and the rest of them are olive groves. He has a retirement salary from Turkish social security for farmers (Tarım Bağ-Kur). He says that in the past he used to do animal husbandry.

According to him olive tree means the fruit of Eden, a healing plant. He claims that if olive tree did not exist in the village there would be no life here. He says in the past people used to help each other much, for instance, the ones who did not have olive tree used to collect green olives from anywhere around the village and obtain olive oil from them and in September the real owners used to harvest their oil. He states that this situation continued till 1980s. He has about 300 olive trees, all of which were planted and grafted by his late father, but after his wife died he allocated

them between his children. Now he has about 50 trees on his own. He says that before 1970s the grafting *delice* was popular, but after that the lands around the village were planted with olive trees, which grow slower when compared to *delice*. He has not received state subvention for the harvest. His daughter cultivates his trees and gives the half of the harvest to her. He thinks that the daily wages for the labourers are high. He says that it is really difficult to manage something with the olive oil harvest. When he married in 1973, he could buy about 200.000 TL of gold with today's value by selling two tonnes of olive oil. He states that as the oil was valuable the people in the village started to plant and graft new trees at those times. He thinks that olive cultivation is an attractive business and next generation must do, as the olive oil main ingredient for meals. He believes that if one cultivates his own lands himself, he really gains, however if the one hires labourers he loses as the daily wages are high.

He is really happy to live in the village as he thinks that the location of the village is the best in the Aegean region. He has never thought of leaving the village as he feels more secure, relaxed and free in the village with the neighbours and relatives.

The eighth participant is a 51 years old male, primary school graduate, living in the village with his 5 membered family. He has never moved anywhere outside the village except from the summer country cottage on the east of the village. He has some olive trees, some pine trees and some cattle. Apart from these, sometimes he also works as a construction foreman. The lands he cultivates belong to his father. He states that his wife has about 5-6 decares of land. He does animal husbandry mainly and when he needs money he sells some of them. The daily milk produced from the cows are sold the dairyman, who collects milk from the peasants and sells it to bigger dealers in town. He says that in the past he could manage easily and send the kids to higher education, but now his kids run the house.

According to him, olive oil means to feed oneself and nothing more. He states that if there is oil and flour in the cellar, they will endure. He believes that there is not much difference in the old and new ways of olive cultivation, apart from some technological improvements such as mechanical hand harvesters and new roads to

olive groves which have been built by the peasants' affiliation. He says that he has 12 olive trees the rest of them belong his wife. They generally harvest about 300-350 kg of olive oil, which they cultivate themselves, without hiring labourers. This season he has obtained 13,5 kg of olive oil with 8 acidic level from a sack as the olives were picked up by hand from the ground. He states that in the past there were not so much details about acidic level of the oil so it was easy to calculate but now it is calculated according to acidic level which results in shortcuts in the total amount of harvest. He does not want his kids cultivate olive oil as there is no guarantee for tomorrow in these occupations. He wants them to find job with insurance in the urban areas. According to him the real gainers in this business is the owner of the olive groves, for instance 5 tonnes of olive oil was harvested from his father's land and 2.5 tonnes of it was spared to his father.

He likes living in the village and he believes that he cannot live in the city as he does not like being ordered in the job. He states that he can gather wild plants from the moors and endure a life in the village. However, in 2000 he decided to move Söke, town of Aydın, to work in a ranch, later he gave up this idea. He believes that living in the village is really advantageous as one can live without doing a job for a month and working for only a couple of days is enough for power and water expenses. He says that everything is about money in the city centre. He prefers his kids to come village and cultivate the lands when they are retired.

The ninth participant is a 53 years old female, primary school graduate and livin in the village with her 8 membered family. She cultivates her own lands for olive oil and pine nut harvesting and vegetable production. She has about 1 decare of land. She says that the pine nut trees are not registered to land system although they have Ottoman land title. She has 6-7 cattle. She states that she can manage the expenses somehow, in the past it was easy for her to run the house.

According to her olive tree is worth more than anything as she has to use it for 12 months. She says that the old ways of cultivation were difficult, however the taste of olive oil is not the same as the modern fertilizers spoils the ground and the tree. She has about 30 olive trees while her husband has about 500 trees. She has not

received state subvention for the harvest. When she is asked to make a comparison between the old and the current harvest, she says the value of olive tree has increased and the people look after the trees better. She prefers her kids to do olive cultivation as the lands should not be covered with wild trees and her kids will remember them as these lands once belonged to their late fathers and mothers. She thinks that the dealers are real gainers in the sector as they pay 8 or 10 TL for a kg of olive oil to cultivators and sell it to 20-25 TL to other merchants.

She is pleased to live in the village. She states that the location of the village resembles a flower pot, surrounded with fruitful trees such as pines and olives. She claims that as long as one works hard here, he or she will not suffer from hunger. She has not thought of moving from the village however her husband had once a thought of moving to nearby village Derince. She finds really advantageous living in the village as one can grow everything organically here and the life span is long in the village when compared to city centre. She prefers her children to live in the village however they have moved to Bodrum for occupational reasons, she says.

The tenth participant is a 76 years old male, living in the village with his wife. He has never gone to school, but he learned reading and writing when he was in army, he says. He states that he moved to nearby villages and highlands on the north of the village for goat breeding as a shepherd. He has given up doing olive cultivation and animal husbandry. His children take care of his 5-10 decares of field nearby the town of Selimiye. He lets his olive groves out to cultivators and shares the harvest.

According to him, olive tree means nothing without grafting. If one does not graft a *delice*, it means nothing, he says. When he is asked to compare old ways of olive cultivation, he states that in the past the olive oil was extracted on the stone mills in the neighbourhood and this was really difficult as one had to wait on the que for the extraction. He mentions that the peasants started to plant olive trees around the village in 1950s. He has about 120 olive trees and he has inherited some of them. Although he has not cultivated olive oil yet, he states than in the previous harvest he obtained 15 kg from a sack of olive. He spends the harvest to his daily expenses. He thinks that olive cultivation is a profitable business and the region's main

income is olive oil. He adds that last year people had difficulty as it was not the harvest season. According to him, in the past the real gainers were the owners of the estate, olive groves, however today the labourers have started to gain much. The price of the oil is between 8 and 16 TL and it changes according to its acidic level, he says. He does not think that he earns the income he deserves from the olive oil.

He is satisfied with living in the village. He states that one can live anywhere if he has an income. He thinks that if one does not have a real income, he cannot live in the city, however one can endure in the village even if he does not have a real occupation. He says ironically that his children have to live in the village, if they can endure here, they will live here or else go anywhere.

The eleventh participant is a 48 years old male, living in the village with his 4 membered family. He left the secondary school and did not continue his education. He has never moved outside the village and has never had such an intention. He is occupied with apiculture, olive oil cultivation and animal husbandry. This year he has also cultivated a peasant's olive groves on condition to share %50 of the harvest. He has about 8 decares of land, 2 cattle and 250 beehives. He thinks that in the past it was easy to manage the expenses however now the expenses have risen while the income level has stayed stable.

According to him, olive tree is like a kid he grows. When he is asked to compare the old and the new ways of cultivation he says that, now every process of cultivation have accelerated from the groves to factory. The only disadvantage now is the low battery for mechanic hand harvesters, he adds. He has bought most of his 10 decares olive groves and has inherited the rest of it. He says that he has received state subvention for olive oil cultivation, however in the last season he did not have as the factory owner did not organize the paperwork. He cultivates his lands only with his family. He says that periodicity for olive cultivation is beneficial as the olives groves bigger in that process. He obtains about 10 to 12 kg of olive oil from a sack of olive. He spends the income to pay his debts and credits from the banks, to schooling expenses of his children. As the interest rates of the credits are low for beekeepers he prefers them to spend the apiculture cultivation and other expenses.

He prefers his kids to engage in olive oil cultivation if they do not continue their education. He thinks that the real gainers in this business is the dealers.

He is satisfied with living in the village as he finds it natural and the peasants are helpful. He states that he wants his children come and stay in the village when they are retired as these lands are their father's. He thinks that if one does not have a proper job and a house in the city, it is difficult for him to endure a life there. He adds that however there are many job opportunities in the city centre, one can live a better live in the village if he has an estate to cultivate.

The twelfth participant is a 40 years old female, primary school graduate, living in Bodrum with her family. She grew up and married and lived for a while in the village and then recently moved to Bodrum because of her husband's occupation in there. They both work in a manor of a wealthy businessman. Before they moved to Bodrum they had done animal husbandry, apiculture and olive cultivation in the village. Although they have permanent occupations with insurance in the city, they still cultivate their olive groves with their family.

According to her, olive oil means something she trusts. She states that she does not think about where the olive oil comes from as she has already known its origin. She also adds that when she sees olive trees while driving back to the village during the holidays, she is relieved. She finds the current cultivation methods efficient as she can harvest her trees in her 10 off-days. She says that although it has become easy for men to cultivate the olives, it is still hard for women as they still have to pick up the olives by hand from the bare ground. She has not received state subvention for the cultivation. She states that they consume the oil in the kitchen not sell it. Their main income is the jobs they have in Bodrum. When she is asked whether her children do olive cultivation in the future, she says that they should do whatever they want. According to the real gainers are the dealers in the business.

She mentions she was happy with living in the village however for a better future for her kids they chose to move to Bodrum. She thinks that both the city and the village have different advantages according to their characteristics. She states that

although one can consume everything organically in the village, there is risk that one cannot compensate his or her labour in the as the dealer gain much more. She thinks they are living according to their income, so it is more manageable. She leaves the choice of living in the village in the future to her kids.

The thirteenth participant is 52 years old male, primary school graduate and is living in the village with his six membered family. He goes to East Trace every season for apiculture harvest in the summer time. He manages his life both via cultivation of his lands and sometimes as a manual labourer. He has about 25 decares land, half of which are olive oil groves. He also does animal husbandry but also complains about the price of hay and fodder. He states that he barely manages his life.

He says he planted 180 trees 25-30 years ago nearby his summer house in the country and he started to harvest them recently. When he is asked to compare the old and the new methods of olive cultivation, he states that the new tools such as mechanic hand poles and their spare parts are expensive and the transportation of crops is easier now as there are new roads for cars. He has about 500 trees, half of them is inherited and the other half is bought. He has received state subvention once. He also says that they cultivate the olives with the family. The olive oil obtained from a sack is 10 to 12 kg from a sack. He states that although the income from the harvest has increased, the expenses have also risen. He generally spends the money from the oil harvest on household expenses and pays advance payment from the owner of the factory. He thinks this business is charming for the next generation as these lands are inherited from the late fathers and grandfathers and the olive oil is healthy to body. He says that the real gainers in this business are the dealers, not the producers or factory owners. He adds that if they do not work as producers they will not gain anything at all.

He likes living in the village as he feels relaxed and secure there. He says when he goes to city centre, he comes sick to home as the city is noisy and smells filthy. When he is asked to make a comparison he states that if one wants to live in the city, he has to have a proper job. He states that he can live in the village by gathering wild plants and cultivating lands however a person in the city does not have these

chances as he or she does not have lands to cultivate. He prefers his children to be civil servants or something else and live in the city.

The fourteenth participant is an 80 years old male, primary school graduate and is living in the village with his wife. He has never moved to somewhere else. He cultivates olive and does horticulture, however 5 years ago he gave up animal husbandry. He has about 105 decares of land, 73,5 decares of which is olive orchard. He used to do portage when he was young, but when he got married, he only interested in his own lands and work.

According to him olive tree means income. He says that his father used to cultivate 800 kg of olive oil, however he worked hard and he cultivates 11.800 kg of olive oil now. He has 73,5 decares of olive orchard in 30 different parts. He says he started planting olive trees in 1957 and now he has more than 500 olive trees. Today he hires a partner to cultivate the olive groves and shares the %50 of harvest. In the past he used to hire daily labourers for cultivation however it has become costlier as a woman picker is paid 80 TL while a man pole shaker is paid 120 TL for a working day. He says the amount of olive changes from place to place, for example in some parts he obtains 18-20 kg of olive oil from a sack while he gets 15-16 kg of olive oil from other parts. He says it is not an attractive business for the next generation as the cultivation expenses have risen and the dealers are the real gainers from it.

He is satisfied living in the village. About 40 years ago he decided to move to Selimiye, the nearby town, and buy some lands to cultivate there, however his father opposed him and he had to stay in the village. When he is asked to compare the city life and the village life, hee thinks living in the city is expensive as he can grow his own vegetables and he does not have rental or kitchen expenses in the village. He does not prefer his children to live in the city. As a last word he wants from the state to turn his hand to olive oil business as the cultivation expenses really high.

The fifteenth participant is a 72 years old female, primary school graduate and living in the village with her husband. She says her husband brings and she cooks

and they keep on living like that. She has been in Bodrum for 6 years as her husband's occupation there. She mentions they returned to village in 2013. She has about 30 decares of land and 10 decares of it is olive groves. She has given up cultivating the lands.

According to her olive tree is something really precious. When she is asked to compare the old and the new ways of olive cultivation she says she used to go to the olive groves on foot with her baby on her back and it was difficult for women as there were not nets, laid down under the trees. She states that they have bought some of their lands the others are inherited from their late fathers and grandfathers. She has never received state subvention for the cultivation. Nowadays she says they hire partners for the harvest and receive %50 of the harvest. She does not sell the olive oil but consumes in the household. She thinks olive cultivation is attractive if one has enough land. She says that it is becoming difficult day by day as the lands are shrinking due to inheritance. She states that the dealers are the real gainers in the business and the peasants cannot earn what they deserve.

She is pleased to live in the village as it is the ancestral land, with clean air and environment and there is no noise. She states that in the village one is more relaxed and easily connect with his or her neighbours, however in the city she did not have close relations with the neighbours. When she is asked whether she wants her children live in the village she says that this is their choice, they can live whenever they can earn their living.

The sixteenth participant is a 76 years old male, primary school graduate and living in the village with his wife. He is the retired old imam of the village. He says that he worked actively between the years 1967 and 1999. He says that he educated about 40 boys in the village and helped them become imam throughout his career. He adds that he did not have financial gain from these boys only moral. Although the local muftis wanted him to work in other places he did not want to leave the village as the community of the mosque is crowded. He has a retirement salary and he cultivates about 2 tonnes olive oil as an income. He says cannot work in the olive groves, however he hires partners for the harvest and shares %50 of the cultivation.

He had one or two cattle for milking for 51 years in his home, but six months ago he sold the cows as it became harder to look after them.

According to him olive tree is a fruit of Eden, which is stated in the Holy Quran. He says olive oil is the most valuable oil according to recent news he has seen. He makes a comparison of past and current methods of olive cultivation that in the past olive oil used to be extracted on the stone mills in the streets by treading down, however later the oil factories were founded in the village. Today the amount of olive has quadrupled and the factories have been modernised. He has about 15 decares of olive orchard with about 300 olive trees. He has bought some of them but as he was on duty in the mosque he could not plant more trees. He says he has never received any state subvention for the olive oil cultivation. He states that although the wages for manual labourers are really high, the price of olive oil is quite low. He also adds that this situation was quite different in the past, for instance when he was married in 1968, one can buy a gold with 4.800 TL current value by selling 60 kg of olive oil. He suggests that the younger generation should cultivate olive oil as it is a nutrient and will be more valuable in the future because of its usage. He thinks that the real gainers in the sector are the dealers as the cultivation expenses are getting higher day by day.

He is really satisfied with living in the village as the community of the mosque is really crowded when compared to other villages in Muğla. He says he was born in this village and wants to die here. As he knows people and they greet him while he is sitting on his terrace of his home in the village, he claims that there is no chance for this in the city so he really appreciates living in the village. He prefers his children to live in the village, however as they are living outside the village he leaves the choice to them. As a last word he adds that as the olive oil main income of the village, during the whole year olive oil is consumed and sold to dealers. He believes that although its current value is low, the olive oil is fruitful and blessed by God.

The seventeenth participant is a 73 years old male, primary school graduate, living with his wife in the village. He has never moved from the village. He cultivates the

lands and olive groves. He has two native black cows and about a couple of decares and some of his lands are not registered. He used to cultivate olive corn in the past however he gave up doing this as it needed a careful attention and protection from the wild animals. He says as long as one works hard he can endure and manage his life easily.

According to him, olive tree means a healing plant. He says that olive oil and onion were the doctors and healers of the illnesses as there were not so many health clinics. He also adds that it is an ancient plant remaining from the Greek ages. He has never received government subvention for the olive cultivation. He has about 40 olive trees and he has distributed most of them to his kids. He says he and his children cultivate the olive together. He obtains 10 to 12 kg of olive oil from a sack, he also adds that in some parts he obtains 20 kg. He consumes the olive oil as an ingredient and for the household expenses. He thinks that as the other oils harm them and the food must not be despised, one must cultivate olive even for edible purposes.

He is pleased living in the village. He states that the ones living in the cities are trying to move to village as the life in here is calm and relaxed. When he is asked to compare the life in the city and the life in the village, he says that in the past villages were remote places where people could not receive state and infrastructure properly, however this has changed now. He thinks if one does not have an occupation, he cannot endure in the city, though in the village one can live with the help of people and by gathering wild plants to cook. He prefers his children to live in the village, as they must study hard to be a civil servant or find a job there. He states that if they want to go to city, they must know that life is challenging in the city.

The eighteenth participant is a 45 years old female, primary school graduate, living in the village with her six membered family. She has never moved from the village. As the place around her house is not so wide, she feeds a cow only, she also cultivates their olives and grows her own vegetables and sometimes do manual labours daily. She says in the past it was easy to manage the house as the kids were

little however as they grow older the expenses have risen. She adds that they are trying to send them school as long as they can manage.

According to her, olive tree means oil for household consumption. She has about 70 trees and most of them are inherited. She has never received state subvention for the harvest. She states that as a family they cultivate their olives and this season they obtained 12-13 kg of olive oil from a sack. When she is asked to compare the previous and the current harvest, she says that this season is fruitful than the last one. This year apart from their own trees they will also cultivate a peasant's, living in the neighbouring village, olive trees as %50 shareholders of the total harvest of 9 different olive groves. The land owner will share %40 of the harvest of the last olive orchard as she states. She does not want her children do this activity as it does not provide security. She thinks that the real gainers are the dealers not the producers.

She is not happy with living in the village as she cannot spend and live according to herself. She adds that she depends on her husband for a living. She says that she always wanted to move from the village but her husband did not. She thinks that if they could move a place where everyone can work in the family, life would be different. When she is asked to compare the life in the village and the city she states that although there is fresh and clean air and a relaxed life in the village, there are many job opportunities in the village. As a last word she does not her kids to live in the village.

The nineteenth participant is a 76 years old female, is living in the village with her husband. She is primary school graduate but does not have a diploma. She has never lived outside the village. She states that from April to November she and her husband move to the summer house in the country, locating on the east of the village. She says she cannot cultivate the olives as they get old, her children cultivate and shares the harvest. She has about 33 decares of land. 20 decares of these lands are olive groves. She says in the past life was difficult as they had kids and there were many expenses. She gave up doing animal husbandry and sold them 3 years ago.

According to her olive tree means something they consume daily. The olive trees which they belong to them are a mix of the inherited, bought and planted ones. She says they have received state subvention for the olive oil cultivation, however recently the payments have not been done properly. She does not hire manual labourers, her children cultivate the lands and share the harvest. She states that this year they have obtained 20 kg olive oil from a sack. When she is asked to make a comparison of the old and current harvests she says as the trees have grown older, the harvest is more fruitful. She prefers her children do this cultivation if they do not have a proper job. She thinks that the real gainers in this business are the manual labourers as the daily wages are rally high. She states if this situation continues the land owners will not gain much.

She is satisfied living in the village as she feels more free and relaxed here. When she makes a comparison between the life in the village and in the city, she states that she is accustomed to live in her own village and she has never thought of moving out of the village. Although she prefers her children live in the village, she says that she cannot interrupt their life in the city as they have their own job. She also adds that she and her husband can live a simple life however new generation cannot do this, for this reason she prefers them work and live wherever they want.

The twentieth participant is a 40 years old female, primary school graduate and living with her 4 membered family in the village. She moved to Bodrum and lived there for 15 months because of her husband's occupation, however as he could not manage a life there, they returned back. She cultivates her parents' olive groves as hired partners, sharing the %50 of the harvest with them. She also does embroidery and sells them for a living. Her husband works as a construction foreman and earns well when he finds a proper construction project. She says that they do not have their own land but cultivate their parents' lands. She also has two cows and two calves. She states in the past she used to grow potatoes and onions however she gave up as they rot off, so she buys them from the local grocery.

According to her olive tree means life as they use olive oil in every meal and do not prefer any other oil. She states that in the past olive cultivation was difficult, but

now it is easier as the modern tools are in use and new roads have been built to olive groves. She has 30 olive trees which were granted to her from her father-in-law in acknowledgement of gold. She says that they cultivate the land with her family. This year she has obtained 14-15 kg of olive oil from a sack. She mentions that they spare enough for household consumption and sometimes sell the rest of the harvest according to their needs. Although she prefers that her kids should do this, she thinks that as producers they do not gain what they deserve. She also adds that the markets are the real gainers as they sell a small bottle of olive oil to 30 TL.

She is pleased to live in the village as they produce their own milk, egg and other stuff there. She says that they cannot live with this income in the city. When she is asked to compare the city life and village life she says that although for her kids' education the life in the city is really advantageous, the life in the village is beneficial as one can grow his or her own food. As a last word, she prefers her kids to away from the village as there is not a financial security in the village.

The twenty-first participant is a 55 years old female, living in the village with her husband. She did not receive primary school education. She has never moved away from the village. She has their own lands, pine nut trees, olive trees and beehives. She says they manage living hardly. In the past she used to cultivate potatoes, however now she buys them as she has difficulty in cultivating the land.

According to her, olive tree means something really beautiful and tasty. When she compares the old and the new methods of olive oil cultivation she says that she liked old ways because the cultivation has accelerated now and people are greedy and want to harvest olives quickly. She has about 125 trees, some of which are inherited, some other are bought and the rest are planted. She and her husband cultivate the olives themselves. This year they have obtained 10-14 kg of olive oil from a sack. She consumes the oil in the house and sells the rest of it according their needs. She misses the old pine nut and olive harvests. She finds olive cultivation charming for her kids as it is really tasty, healthy to body. She does not have an idea about the real gainers in the business. She states that as they are working themselves as a family, she does not think about the befits or the losses.

She is really happy with living in the village and she has never thought of moving away. She says although the city has its own advantages, the village is more advantageous as one can grow his or her own food. When she is asked whether she wants her kids live in the village she says that they can live wherever they want as long as they have an occupation to manage their lives.

4.2. ANALYSIS

4.2.1. Olive Oil as A Part of Family Economy

As we have discussed before in the literature part, family economy or peasant economy concept of Chayanov suggests that the household itself is an economic unit which tries to balance the income and the expenses and does not hire constant labourers (Chaybov, 1966). The peasants try to balance this economy via different methods such as working long hours and do co-op harvesting with each other even though these tactics do not help them to gain much but help them to survive. This constant struggle can seem in vain however they carry on farming year after year.

The views of each participant will be given according to their ways of olive oil cultivation processes and balancing family economy, such as meeting the household expenses, income, paying the debts and marrying kids and building houses. It must be noted that some of the views can include more than one or two ways, however they will be grouped according to the prominent one.

4.2.1.1. Meeting Household Expenses

When the first participant was asked whether the economic activities help him to keep up, he said:

“We know how to manage.” he laughed and added *“If we say we can manage it will be a lie. If I do not have a retirement salary, we are half hungry half full. If it is needed, we work illegally in the village as doing melding to build chimneys.”* (Male, 60).

He thinks that olive oil means a way of meeting the needs and he does the cultivation with his family. He stated:

“The olive oil cultivation only meets only our food.” He laughed and he continued *“The people who have 100 – 200 thousand TL in the bank are very few in the village.”* (Male, 60).

When the third participant was asked about olive and olive oil cultivation she said that;

“Olive is a must. We serve it at any time, with any meal, whether it is breakfast or other meals; as we grow and cultivate our trees, it is a must for us.” (Female, 49).

She also states that she and her husband do the cultivation without any hired labour. She adds that;

“In the past we used to cultivate enough for ourselves, now if it is a little bit higher we do it pocket money. There are also market expenses and we sell it to meet them. I think it is a nice thing to cultivate olive as you work for 6 months and spend it for two years.” (Female, 49).

It can be claimed that the benefits of olive cultivation are not limited to household consumption. The household expenses are met with the olive oil till the next harvest.

4.2.1.2. Income

Although the fourth participant does not think that he is doing agriculture as he believes that the agriculture means cultivating so many decares on the lowlands, he has 32 decares of lands, most of which are olive groves.

When he was asked how he managed his economy, he said that;

“So so. We transfer the money from over and there. Before I used to sell wood and buy water melons from the seller. Now I cannot buy the melons in whole year when I used to buy once before.” (Male, 61).

On the other hand, he really appreciates olive cultivation and says;

“Olive tree worth the whole words. Why? Because look these olive trees were planted in 2007 and now I have just cultivated. I planted the dikmelik in 2000 and now I cultivate, look I cultivate them in 15-20 years’ time. If you take care of them carefully, it grows faster. It is like a child. It is olive tree that spins my wheel. I married my children I keep the wolf from the door. We continue somehow.” (Male, 61).

The role of olive oil as an income can be observed through his accounts. Apart from household expenses, olive oil has been used for the social expenses such as wedding ceremonies.

The tenth participant works no longer but his children cultivate the lands and shares the profit with him. When he was asked his views about the olive tree, he said;

“When you say olive tree, it has no cost. There is a delice, you will graft it and turn it to dikme (olive tree). It is useless without grafting. Dikme is also as old as delice, look the mountains over there were all forest till yesterday. This homeland has grown up with dikme. The process started in 1955-56s. They removed the forest, olive groves got over everywhere.” (Male, 76).

In his accounts, it can be observed that the olive cultivation has increased and changed the way peasants see it, as the planting also seen as a new method in the cultivation process.

The fourteenth participant has about 105 decares land, 73.5 of which are olive groves. He has left animal husbandry five years ago. When he is asked his views about olive and olive oil cultivation he states;

“Olive tree is a way of income. My father used to cultivate 800 kg of oil, I worked hard and made it 11800 kg. I planted trees as you know. The olive oil rate changes according to locations. The half of the oil goes to manual labour.” (Male, 80).

He thinks that olive oil cultivation is not a profitable business.

“It was profitable in the past. The price of oil is 7-8 liras for a kilo. You pay a silkici and an elleyci for 200 TL for a day in total. If you offer them olive they cultivate,

they would not accept. If the olives are dip olives, they never think it. A person cannot make a sack a day. Is it possible to get out of this? He will make 15 kg of oil, which is 7 TL for a kilo. Will you pay him his money or make him take olive?" (Male, 80).

It can be claimed that although he has many olive groves when compared to other participants, as the production expenses are high for him, he does not think it as an alluring business.

The sixteenth participant is the retired old imam of the village. He says;

"We managed ourselves. We did our duty and on the other hand, we took care of our work, we occupied with olive cultivation and horticulture. We gave up doing many of these and now we have olive groves, and cultivate approximately 2 tonnes of olive oil." (Male, 76).

When I asked about his views on olive and olive cultivation, he answered;

"Now, when olive oil is said, as you know, olive is also in Quran as the fruit of Eden. I guess olive oil is the most precious oil, as it is told in the news the olive oil of our village is considered the most precious. However, the prices are low when we compare them 50 years ago. The ones who don't have a certain income, olive oil helps them to manage their homes, however it is really hard now. As I said before it was beneficial 50 years ago. When I married, the expenses including the gold and the food, everything, was covered with the olive oil. It costed about a ton of olive oil at that time." (Male, 76).

As he compares the old and current olive revenues, it can be clearly seen that olive oil cultivation was a more profitable business in the past.

"If we have olive we will endure." (Female, 76).

The nineteenth participant is living with her husband in the village. As she got old her lands are cultivated by her children. Her thoughts on olive and olive tree is that they mean everything.

4.2.1.3. Paying Credits / Debts

The second participant has some cattle and about 20 decares of land. He uses agricultural credit for apiculture from Ziraat Bank. He states that he consumes the money in advance so he tries to manage the balance by paying the credits after he does the harvest.

He thinks that olive means everything to him however it does not bring enough revenue as it did before. He does not hire labourers outside the family as he does the harvest with the family. When he was asked where he spent the revenue from olive oil, he said that;

“We generally spend the money to our cattle and ourselves. As we do animal husbandry the money goes to fodder and hay. Later the money becomes manure and then we throw it.” (Male, 45).

As he manages his family economy with different apparatuses, and finds the However, he also thinks that olive oil is an alluring business;

“I think it is alluring. Why? My uncle Halil İbrahim has a word “There is no harm in three things”. He says these things are olive oil, gold and wax-beeswax. He is right indeed. For example, got to local bazaar, you can sell olive oil as gold. It does work doesn’t it, even if its price is low.” (Male, 45).

When the eleventh participant is asked about his views on olive and olive cultivation he says;

“Well, olive tree is like our child, as we grow it. The revenue was better in the past. We spend the money to pay the debts, credits, we built house, our children went school. We have withdrawn money for apiculture, we pay these credits year over year.” (Male, 48).

Although he has some credit debts to banks, it can be observed that he manages to continue as he has been occupied with different activities.

When the thirteenth participant is asked whether he can manage, he states;

“So so. If there is not life in the village, it never becomes in the city. I have left two Cuma prayers to go to manual labour. If it is the other way, why would I? It was the same before as there were 3 pupils and they used to go to school. There were times that I had left no pocket money for the coffeehouse. We work as a family. The money has barely saves us; how can I hire manual labourer? I have built this building, we continue anyway. We use it at home for household consumption. There is no way to stock it somewhere. We owe to factory owner, and half of the oil stays there. If some left for us to cook, thank it; forget selling.” (Male, 52).

It can be observed through his statements that although he can manage to run his family economy, he withdraws money from the banks or factory owner in the village. And also the role of olive oil is not limited to household consumption.

To conclude this part, it can be said that in Sakarkaya context we come across with a risk management style in which peasants try to overcome the situation by doing many other activities aside with olive cultivation such as beekeeping, doing animal husbandry or horticulture. Although it may seem that their efforts are useless, one thing is for sure that they have the ability to survive and manage their economies in addition that they marry their kids and send them to higher education. Migrating is mostly not an option in the Village, yet it is common to move to touristic places as a seasonal worker during the summer in the holiday resorts or restaurants.

The participants cultivate their lands themselves as families, however some of them hire labourers or share the profit with their sons or daughters as they do the cultivation.

Another significant data that can be observed that while the younger generations prefer agricultural credits from banks, the older is much more pre-cautious and although the revenue of olive oil is getting smaller compared to past, most of the elders believe that the olive tree will help them in every condition as long as they look after it better. As a result, it can be said that olive cultivation still plays an

important role for the peasants, even for the ones who have moved away but still continue to harvest their trees.

4.2.2. Olive Oil as A Part of Household Consumption

It has been also observed that the peasants of Sakarkaya consume olive oil mostly for household consumption. In this part the participants, mentioning the household consumption both for kitchen and medical purposes will be given accordingly.

4.2.2.1. For Kitchen Use

“The olive tree is magnificent. What does not it mean? You consume a litre of olive oil a day. When you have a guest, you consume 2 litres. I am grateful. We don’t buy oil. Sometimes we sell it as a pocket money.” (Female, 40).

The sixth participant is living in Bodrum with her family. Although she lives there she often comes to the village. She states that her family cultivates the land with the help of their brothers and sisters. As she does not buy olive oil from the market, she is really satisfied.

“Olive tree means feeding yourself, nothing more. If we have olive oil and the sack of flour is full and nothing else, we manage.” (Male, 51).

The eighth participant also stresses that olive oil is one of the main elements for the kitchen. Although he has strong views on olive oil, he does not want his kids not to cultivate it as there is no guarantee in these occupations in the village.

“Olive tree is worth more than anything for us. Why? Because we have to cook the meal with it for twelve months. If it is not, it is not possible. We have always used olive oil.” (Female, 53).

It can be observed that according to the accounts of the ninth participant, the role of olive is significant for the kitchen as a main ingredient.

“As we have grown up inside it, I never think where it came from when I put in the food. While I am traveling to village from Bodrum, I am relieved when I see them

around the roads. We don't sell it as it is enough for our household consumption. The money we take where we work is saving for our kids." (Female, 40).

The twelfth participant is living and working in Bodrum. She sometimes comes to village and when the harvest season comes, she cultivates her lands with her family. Though, she has moved from the village but her connection with the olive cultivation continues as she trusts her own production for the kitchen usage.

When I ask the fifteenth participant how she manages her life, she says; *"The man brings, I cook, my child. We manage ourselves."* (Female, 72).

When she is asked for her views on olive and olive cultivation, she states; *"Olive tree, for me, is a very precious thing, on my behalf, very precious. We don't sell it. We give the kids and they cultivate and share the profit."* (Female, 72).

The eighteenth participant a 45 years old female, living in the village with her six membered family. She feeds a cow, cultivates her olives and grows her own vegetables and sometimes do manual labours daily. She says;

"In the past, it was easy to manage the house as the kids were little however as they grow older the expenses have risen." (Female, 45).

When she is asked about her views on olive cultivation, she states that olive tree means oil and table olive.

"My husband is construction foreman; we have olives but some. There are two cows. We also cultivate or fathers' lands. I do embroidery and sell them for a living. We manage but when there is construction, we earn better." (Female, 40).

The twentieth participant does many other activities to run the family economy. When she is asked about her views on olive and olive cultivation, she says;

"Olive tree is life for us. We use olive oil for everything. We don't use anything else apart from olive oil. We spare some oil for household consumption and sell the rest when it is necessary to household expenses." (Female, 40).

As it can be observed here the use of olive oil in the kitchen is quite significant. Apart from the household consumption, it also means pocket money for the family expenses.

“Olive oil cultivation is a nice business; my kids should do it. Why must they? Because olive oil is beautiful and so tasty. The doctors have already said people to drink olive as water on TV.” (Female, 55).

The twenty-first participant really appreciates the olive cultivation and the prefers olive oil as it is tasty.

4.2.2.2. For Medical Purposes

“Olive tree is a well-established estate, descending from our fathers and grandfathers. We have a habit of consuming it as medicine. It is a nice crop and we cannot consume another oil.” (Male, 71).

Although the fifth participant does not cultivate the lands and shares the revenue with his children as they cultivate olive for him, he is aware of the healthy side of olive oil and he prefers to consume it.

“Olive is a fruit of Eden. It is an herbal plant. There is no life here without olive oil.” (Male, 64).

“It is a nourishment tree and a medicine tree. Was there a clinic in the past? Were there various medicines?” he asked. “The doctor of the villages were olive oil and onion. The pharmacies, the clinics are recent things.” he answered the question himself calmly and continued, “I have not heard the exact time when the olive tree originated. As far as I know it is the oldest in the fruits. Of course one must cultivate olive oil, at least stock his household consumption aside. The other oils harm us”. (Male, 73).

It can be claimed that, the healing side of olive oil is also another significant factor apart from its role in the family economy for olive oil cultivation in Sakarkaya.

4.2.3. Sakarkaya, A Village On the Brink of the Old and the Modern

“Are you generally satisfied with living in the village?”

“I am. If you ask why, look around you, look where the village stands. It’s over your head as you are young. Look, here is a flower pot. Look around you; our pines, olive trees, crops... they are all flowers and we are inside that pot. We will never starve here. As long as one works, he or she never starves. (Female, 53).

In this part the interdependence of peasants to the nature will be evaluated according to concept of peasant ecotypes. As we have discussed before in the literature part, the ways of transferring energy to human from the environment is called peasant ecotypes, which has two sub categories- *paleotechnic* and *neotechnic*. The *paleotechnic ecotypes* are based on primitive techniques, relying on human and animal energy. As Wolf states, they are the direct offspring of First Agricultural Revolution and dependence to nature and its forces are high. However, *neotechnic ecotypes* are closely related to Industrial revolution and new sources of energy and machinery are used for gaining nourishment and surpluses (Wolf, 1966).

The village stands in a point between the past and present due to its geography and climate. The mountainous structure of the land needs primitive technics for gaining nourishment and surpluses. For example, when you go to olive harvesting, you can use a vehicle mostly a track or a pick-up till a point where you have to get off and walk or use a mule to reach your olive grove. In the grove while you can use a mechanical hand harvester, which is run by an electrical battery, you still have to pick up the olives from the ground by hand. So both paleotechnic and neotechnic ecotypes can be easily observed here.

The first participant says;

“In the past the trees used to be grown with organic fertilizer, but now as there are more trees and country roads do not reach every olive grove, we use chemical fertilizer. However, we do not give fertilizer before the harvest season. I don’t think it will affect the olive, just three itself, I suppose.” (Male, 61).

I asked him to compare the old and current methods of olive cultivation; he stated that;

“The mechanical hand harvester is not so tiring. You can reach the branches with one hand. In the traditional method you have to shake the wooden poles with both hands and try to stand on the tree. You have to do all of them simultaneously.” (Male, 61).

Apart from olive cultivation, he made a comparison between the city life and village life. He said;

“I have lived in the city, too. There are great differences, for instance you live freely in the village and nobody interrupts you however in the city although it was not so boring in the past, now it seems really noisy and stressful due to everything such as traffic, financial difficulties. Life is more different here. For example, if I dig plants or weeds, nobody says anything.” he laughed and continued *“You cannot find it in the city.”* (Male, 61).

The second participant also indicates that the modern ways in the olive groves fasten the process during the harvest. He states that if the wooden hand poles had been, the olive would not have been cultivated. When he is asked to compare the city and the village, he says;

“The advantages of living in the village is, you cook wild plants and weeds however you don’t have this chance in the city. I apology, even you go to the toilet in the city you have to pay. But here, ...” (Male, 45).

The third participant also states that the new country roads are suitable for cars.

“In the past we used to go to olive groves by on foot with pack animals, now we use cars to commute there. Now the machine power is in use. In the past it was done by hand. Although it seems still same for the women, now women’s work is decreased as the nylon nets are laid under the trees there is not so much work left.” (Female, 49).

She also compared the city life and the village life. She states;

If you don't have money, it is more difficult to live in the city, however here I collect weeds and plants from the groves and cook pastry and complete my menu." (Female, 49).

The sixth participant also mentioned similar things for the old and new ways. She also compared the life in city and village. She says;

"You have to work in the city to pay the rent. There is no rent here. You go to grove and dig weed, you already grown your own vegetable and fruit and you can manage without going to bazaar for 15 days. However, in the other side you have to go to market." (Female, 40).

One of the interesting statements about the comparison on village life and city life came from the ninth participant. She states;

"In the village, you own cows, chickens and you leaven your own yoghurt and milk. You eat your own organic food that you cultivate. Everything is organic here. The people in the city will live 5 years, we will live 15. Just the smell of coal is enough for them. I never like the city." (Female, 53).

Her express on the peasants' own cultivation also similar to other peasants. Growing your own food gives them confidence to continue to living in the village.

The thirteenth participant mentions his ideas about the old and modern ways of olive cultivating, focusing that the old and modern ways of cultivating goes hand in hand. He says;

"In the past we used to harvest with wooden sticks, now new machines have come, we use them. However, its expenses are high. It isn't enough buying the machine; its spare parts are expensive. On the other hand, there are new country roads for cars, but you or your mule carry the sacks till the road." (Male, 52).

He has also stated about the comparison city and village life that, one can go to mountains and gather wild plants and weeds, however in the city life is not so easy.

As a result, it can be said that the strong interdependence with the nature have still both advantages and disadvantages in the village. While new technics have accelerated the cultivation, the geography of the village still needs old ways to do harvest. On the other hand, one of the most significant answers for the comparison of the village and city life is that most of the participants answered the question as they can continue living even by gathering and collecting wild plants from the mountains. They are aware of the fact that although they do not have a regular income they do not feel the poverty as the people in the urban areas.

4.2.4. Time Perception of Peasants

Berkes claims that to understand the social and economic activities of a society, it is requisite to focus on the time perception of that society. (Berkes, 1942). For this reason, in this part the concept of time perception of peasants of Sakarkaya will be evaluated.

There are three calendars, shaping the lives of peasants. The first one is the official calendar, organized and designed by the state. The second one is the religious calendar, which is arranged according to Islamic rules and rituals. The third one is seasonal calendar that is strictly dependent on the nature and the climate of the area. The scope and importance of these calendars vary according to the type of the activity.

For instance, if *A. Dayı* wants to go to the town hospital, he must wake up quite early to catch the first minibus to check in for the clinic he will visit; or *A. Yenge* must follow the official calendar to withdraw the money from the local bank or post office of the town. In those circumstances, the official opening hours and days of banks or state bureaus matter whatever the weather is like, the peasants track the routine as an urban dweller does. However, when they finish their business in town centres, they insist on going back to the village immediately.

Although the religious calendar is organized by Presidency of Religious Affairs, the peasants follow and know the religious days and holidays even before they are

announced. The practice of religion during the day time divides the day. For example, the mid-afternoon prayer, *ezan*, from the mosques of the village means not only for praying time but also start of the daily routines before the sun sets. Another important activity, organized and done according to religion is that Friday prayer, which also means for the finale of the week and the beginning of a new one. It is a public holiday for peasants, who spend the day in the coffeehouses or at the square (*odayanı*) for chatting and organizing the upcoming week or finding labourers for the work in the fields or olive groves. It must be noted that on Fridays, the square, which is surrounded by the mosque, the *muhtarlık*, coffeehouses, markets, small workshops of local craftsmen, also holds a weekly open market for the retailers both the inside and outside of the village.

There is no doubt that the seasonal calendar has the most powerful influence on the lives of the peasants. The nature as a policy maker shapes and modifies the economic activities. For example, an immediate rain can change the direction of the activity and the peasants decide on something new for the day.

John Berger says peasants face with constant change every day more than any other class (2016). According to him some of them are predictable like seasons, growing old or losing energy, however most of them are unpredictable like the change in weather from today to tomorrow or a late or excessive rain or boiling weather for the crops. Nonetheless, following the patterns in the course of time creates a guideline for the peasants to overcome or foresee the difficulties.

Every season has its own activities. The digging the earth, harvesting the crops, such as olives, pine nuts, honey and grain, or trimming the olive trees; they are all done according to laws of the nature. There is not an official date for harvesting olives for example, however the peasants sense the time to do it. Because their relation with the nature is so strong that for instance they can guess the next seasons harvest simply by looking the leaves of the olive trees or foresee when the pregnant cow will breed by simply looking the way the cow waves its tail.

Another impact of nature is on wedding ceremonies. Since the late 1990s, the weddings are not held in May, June or July in Sakarkaya. Because the apiculture season starts and some of the peasants migrate with their bee hives to the Central Anatolia or to the eastern Thrace for seasonal harvest. The beekeepers generally camp with their friends or relatives or some of them migrate as family. They do not return till the beginning of August. So this absence shapes when the weddings will be held.

Although some think that villages are monotonous places where the time is static, there are countless proofs that the time is cyclical and bears its own dynamism in the village. As Berger claims that the only static thing in the village is the constant obligation for working (2016).

4.2.4.1. Time Perception in Olive Cultivation

“In the past you used to finish the work in 10 days now you can finish it 4-5 days’ time.” (Female, 40).

The time perception in the olive cultivation process of peasants’ have changed with the arrival of new technics and materials. Although the strong dependence to the nature and the seasons are still the same, the process of olive cultivation have accelerated.

“Now it is more practical with mechanic hand harvester. For instance, I have 10 days off from the work. I have come to the village and finished my harvest here. If it had been done according the old ways, I couldn’t have finished it. In the past it wouldn’t be on time, however elleyicilik is still the same as you have to pick the olives from the ground.” (Female, 40).

In her accounts, it can be observed that even a short break from other occupations, one can harvest the olives easily for a short time.

“I think in the past it was nicer, if you ask why, now you got to orchard but you cannot pick even dilmelik olives. ‘Let’s do 10 sacks of olive instead of 5, let’s go 2 days instead of 5.’ There is a constant haste. There is discontent.” *“In the past you*

used to finish the work in 10 days now you can finish it 4-5 days' time." (Female, 55).

As machinery accelerated the olive cultivation process, it can be claimed that while this speed is quite beneficial for some participants, for some other this speed has prevented them to choose even table olives.

4.2.5. A self-reflexive stand; Pros and Cons of Being Local

It is generally suggested that the researcher should conduct his or her study in an unfamiliar research site in order to improve his or her research skills as an ethnographer.

When I decided to do this research I supposed that I was aware of what I was doing. I thought that, as a researcher there were many advantages such as, the research site was the village where I grew up, the people whom I interacted with are familiar, somehow relatives, as there are no neighbours in the village, only relatives, the language, the culture, the social life, etc., nearly everything seemed familiar with me. I was quite sure that I would be easily successful and get what I wanted from the field. However, when I entered the research site as a researcher of MA in Social Sciences, as it is not a surprise that I luckily realised that this was something beyond my expectation.

Before diving into the disadvantages and challenges of being a local in the research site, I would like to talk about some significant advantages of being familiar with the village and the peasants themselves. There are many advantages of being a son of the blacksmith of the village in the research area. As I was born and grown up in the village till my high school enrolment, the context that we are talking about was my hometown, my childhood, and home of my very first memories.

First of all, knowing the language allowed me to overcome a huge barrier for the research process in the village. Most of the ethnographers spend a huge amount of time to learn the language of the research area, however this was not a problem for me. I can say from my personal experiences that the South-West Aegean dialect is mostly seemed funny by the outsiders and there is no doubt that many TV Shows

and movies, one of them was *I Scream, I Scream (Dondurmam Gaymak)*(2006) a movie by Yüksel Aksu, helped this reputation. However, it is really hard to understand everyday jokes and language structures of the village even for the neighbouring peasants or townspeople. Although I have been living in the city since high school years due to my education and current occupation as an English teacher at a high school, I still have the local dialect. So It was quite easy for me to dive into the everyday talks and the topic I wanted to discuss.

Another significant point during the research is that I accessed the data and the peasants, in this context participants, easily. As the research topic itself was a family matter, I did not have much difficulty in gaining the data from my own parents. Because since my childhood I have been in the business, olive harvesting and other economic activities, as helping the parents after school or at the weekends, being aware of social and economic activities. I have already known that where I can find the selected participant, in the field or at home while doing chores.

While I was going up and down in the village or in the olive groves and talking with peasants, nobody suspected me as I was quite well fit in the context, the eldest son of Mehmet Ali the Blacksmith, was visiting the village during the semester holiday.

However, the other side of the coin was ready to tell a very different story. Some of the advantages which were seen as granted turned against me. I must say that knowing the local dialect was quite helpful in the field, however I realised after the very first interviews that the participants hid data unintentionally as they thought that I had already known their family business and challenges that they come across in the village. I wanted them to behave during the interview as I am unfamiliar with the subject that they are talking about, before we start chatting. However, this situation has also brought a new challenge that, some participants have felt stressed because being interviewed was something quite new for them.

Another important challenge for me in the field was that as an observer you can be blind the data as you have been living in it. Being accustomed to the life and focusing on a specific area while conducting research, there is a risk that you can

miss some other valuable data that can help you grasp the field better. Although I have behaved as a researcher and outsider, I cannot hide that I was also myself, a son of a peasant mum, producing dairy products and selling them at the local bazaar of the nearby town, and a blacksmith dad, trying different economic activities to run the household economy.

I can also say that the risk of romancing the field has always been with me during the whole process, as the research site, my village, will have a place in the vast literature of peasant studies. However, the methodological approach and the theoretical framework have helped me to follow a scientific course.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION

Olive has been cultivated in the Mediterranean basin more than 3 thousand years (Ünsal, 2000). Around Mediterranean even beyond the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean one can come across with that tree as long as the climatic conditions are suitable. Although olive tree and olive oil have long history and spread around world, the political economy role of olive oil has never been followed in a peasant society. So the purpose of this study has been to investigate the role of it by using the concepts family economy and peasant ecotypes in a village where its peasants are occupied with different economic activities. For this reason, I have chosen my hometown, Sakarkaya, as a research site, as it has suitable conditions to conduct a research on the role of olive oil. Sakarkaya is a village, standing on a mountainous slope on the border between Aydın and Muğla provinces, surrounded by challenging mountains, and its population is 1461. The research question “Why do the peasants continue to cultivate olive in the village of Sakarkaya although the conditions are too hard and the olive oil is sold so cheap to dealers in nearby town?” and the sub questions, what other occupations they do to manage their family economies, and why they still continue living in the village on the contrary to its difficult geographical location, all of them have tried to be answered.

The convenient methodology for this study was ethnography, as it helps to understand the life of human and things. The method, chosen for this study was ethnographic field study which has many tools to apply and gather data from the field. The in-depth interviews were designed according to four main topics, including personal information, economic activities, olive oil harvesting and life in the village. 22 participants have been interviewed, their voice was recorded and then the conversations were transcribed. I placed myself as an outsider, however this did not work all the time. As we have known each other before, they hid data unintentionally. As soon as I realised this, before the interviews I told them to tell everything that I really do not know. This worked a lot, nonetheless as being

interviewed something quite new for them some of them gave very short answers to the questions as they felt a little bit nervous.

The analyses were done according to the in-depth interviews by taking into consideration concepts of family economy and peasant ecotypes. The 21 participant's interviews were evaluated here. The one remaining participant was asked some specific questions about the olive oil factory, overall olive oil production in the village and how he runs it. Apart from these the time perception of peasants and a self-reflexive stand of myself as a researcher in the local field were done accordingly.

The family economies of peasants of Sakarkaya include a risk management style that they try to overcome the situation by performing many other different activities apart from olive oil. They do horticulture, apiculture, animal husbandry and pine nut harvesting in some extent. One of the surprising thing here is that they manage all them and also they marry their children and send them to higher education also.

Although the new generation have tendency to work and move away from the village, they still cultivate their olive trees during the season and try to consume their own production. Another significant point is that the family does the cultivation itself, sometimes helps the other families, mostly relatives, to receive help in return.

The role of olive oil in the village can be seen in many areas including meeting household expenses, as a way of income, paying credits and debts, kitchen use and medical purposes.

Another analysis was about participants' views on the village life and to compare the old and the modern styles of olive cultivation. As the village stands on a point between paleotechnic and neotechnic ecotypes, one can see the mix of these in their daily life from olive cultivation to animal husbandry. Although the peasants opened new country roads for their vehicles to go the olive groves, as the territory quite rocky and locates on a slope, there is still need for pack animals to carry their sacks of olives to the main roads. One of the surprising facts about this section was that

when they were asked to compare the life in the city and the life in the village, nearly all of the participants said that they could go to mountains and groves and dig wild plants and weeds to cook even they do not have money in the village, however in the city they claimed that they would not have the chance of doing so. According to these opinions, it can be said that there are strong indications for a collective hunter-gather memory in the village and the village is strongly interdependent to the nature it stands.

The time perception of peasants was evaluated and observed that there are three calendars shaping the life of the peasants. The first one is the official calendar, organized and designed by the state. The second one is the religious calendar, which is arranged according to Islamic rules and rituals. The third one is seasonal calendar that is strictly dependent on the nature and the climate of the area. The scope and importance of these calendars vary according to the type of the activity. It can be said that the third calendar is the strongest of all to determine the economic and social activity of the village. The olive cultivation depends on seasonal calendar. However, the new machinery and the technics have accelerated the process. It can be claimed that the time perception of peasants on olive cultivation has also changed.

As for the weaknesses and strengths of this research, I can easily say that although it seemed easy for me at the beginning, I had difficulty in managing the acquired data from field. As the field was my hometown, I was blind some of the data. As this was also my first academic study, I was really excited and strongly focused on the interview questions by ignoring other statements which also had some interesting facts. Another weakness of the study is that I realised after I had done the interviews, I should have interviewed with younger generations also for example a man or a woman in his or her thirties.

Nonetheless, it has also some significant strengths that I had the chance to document the life and the village itself to an academic study which will be very first in the history of the village. Another important point I realised while I was conducting research that I had a close chance to comprehend peasantry and the peasants of

Sakarkaya. I was also surprised how they managed to continue. As a last comment for this part is that one thing is quite sure for me that I will never argue about the economic decisions of my parents, as I have learned now that they now how to balance.

For a further study, the relation between the local dealers and the peasants can be observed through olive oil. Nearly all of the participants have blamed the dealers as they have thought that dealers are the real gainers in this business. However, this assumption needs a further study to understand the network of oil as a commodity in the market and how it is affected by different actors from local to regional and national levels.

Another interesting subject that the role of women in olive oil cultivation process needs to be investigated as I have observed that they still continue work at home after the harvest and have to think about the table olives and how to brew it, apart from their daily routines at home.

As a last word I can say that the peasants and peasant societies and their economic activities need further study without falling to the error of generalization as every peasant society has its own distinctive story waiting to be heard.

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APPENDIX A

DERİNLEMESİNE GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

A. KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

- 1) Kendinizden bahseder misiniz? Yaşınız kaç? Eğitim durumunuz nedir?
- 2) Hane halkı kaç kişi? Kimlerle birlikte yaşıyorsunuz?
- 3) Bu köyde ne zamandır yaşıyorsunuz?
 - a. Başka bir yerde doğduysanız, bu köye neden geldiniz?
 - b. Başka yerlerde yaşadınız mı? Mesela nerede?

B. EKONOMİK FAALİYETLER

- 1) Geçiminizi nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?
 - a. Kendi tarla/bahçenizde mi, başkasının arazisinde mi?
 - b. Araziniz var mı, varsa ne kadar?
 - c. Hayvancılık yapıyor musunuz? Ne tür hayvanlar besliyorsunuz?
Kaç tane?
- 2) Tarımsal faaliyetleriniz neler? Bu faaliyetler hanenizi geçindiriyor mu?
 - a. Daha önce geçinebiliyor muydunuz? Eskiden yapıp şimdi yapmadığınız tarımsal faaliyetler var mı?

C. ZEYTİNCİLİK

- 1) Zeytin ağacı sizin için ne ifade ediyor?
- 2) Zeytincilik eskiden nasıl yapılıyordu, şimdi nasıl yapılıyor?

- 3) Zeytinliđiniz var mı varsa nerelerde? Kaç ağacınız ya da bahçeniz var?
- a. Ağaçları ne zaman diktiniz?
- b. Hiç devlet teşvikinden yararlandınız mı? Ne tür teşvikler?
- 4) Hane mi çalışıyor yoksa dışarıdan işçi mi alıyorsunuz?
- 5) Yevmiye ne kadar; silkici, toplayıcı (eeleci), çarşafçı ne kadar alıyor?
- 6) Kaç çuvaldan kaç kilo yağ alıyorsunuz?
- 7) Eskiden aldığınız gelikle şimdiki geliri kıyaslar mısınız?
- 8) Kazandığınız parayı ne yapıyorsunuz, nerelere harcıyorsunuz?
- 9) Sizce zeytincilik gelecek kuşaklar için cazip bir iş mi?
- Çocuklarınızın/torunlarınızın yapmasını ister misiniz? Neden?
- 10) Sizce zeytincilikten en fazla kim kazanıyor? Siz hak ettiğiniz kadar kazandığınızı düşünüyor musunuz?

D. KÖYDE YAŞAM

- 1) Genel olarak köyde yaşamaktan memnun musunuz? Neleri eksik buluyorsunuz?
- 2) Hiç başka bir köye ya da kente göç etmeyi düşündünüz mü? Böyle bir girişimde bulundunuz mu?
- 3) Peki, sizce köyde yaşamamanın avantajları neler? Kentte yaşamamanın avantajları neler?
- 4) Çocuklarınızın/torunlarınızın bu köyde yaşamalarını ister miydiniz?
- 5) Ekleme istediğiniz herhangi bir şey var mı?

APPENDIX B

THE PHOTOS FROM THE VILLAGE





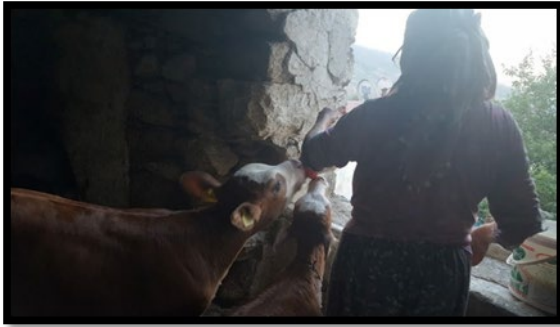
Gelin Alma Ceremony



Bayram Yeri

Economic Activities





Olive Cultivation







Olive Groves

