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PEASANT HOUSEHOLD SURVIVAL STRATEGIES:

**Rural Transformation in the Heartland of Turkey's
Hazelnut Production Belt**

by

Abdulkerim Sönmez

**A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

Sociology and Social Policy

**The University of Durham
1993**

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- 2 JUL 1993

to my mentor and grandfather Hacı Ahmet Kayhan efendi

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the dynamics of persistence of the peasantry in a capitalist social formation through a case study of a village (Kayadibi) of hazelnut producers in the Central Black Sea region of Turkey. In the analysis the peasant household is given analytical priority as it is seen to be the single most important social institution through which the peasantry interacts, condition and is conditioned by the wider social, economic and political structures.

Within such an analytical framework, this study concentrates on three areas of inquiry concerning the dynamics of survival of peasant modes. This is carried out in the context of the process of rural socio-economic transformation which took place under the impact of capitalism and with the start of hazelnut production for the world market in the early nineteenth century. These are: (1) the historical and contingent factors which contributed to the emergence and decline of big land-ownership and the new forms of development of capitalism in agriculture; (2) the areas of disputes and clashes of interests between the peasantry, the state and the merchants concerning the actual form of organization of the commodity and credit markets and further development or restriction of hazelnut production in the country; and (3) the patterns and mechanisms which enable the peasant households to have continuous access to land, labour and credit.

The thesis arrives at the conclusion that the key to the persistence of the peasantry, as a property-owning social category of the society in a capitalist formation, is its strategy of diversifying its sources of income in order to decrease the degree of its dependency on land-bound agricultural production. This is combined with the strategy of consolidating its savings in the means of production in its own possession instead of using them to improve its standards of living and consumption.

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PREFACE

This work is concerned with the dynamics and outcomes of the process of rural transformation that the Central Black Sea region of Turkey, which is the largest hazelnut producing area in the world, has undergone since the nineteenth century through a case study of a hazelnut producing village in the province of Ordu. I have chosen the province of Ordu in which to conduct my fieldwork for two reasons. The lesser reason is that the province is where I was born as a member of a peasant household and lived until I departed for the capital of the country for my university education. The greater reason is that although hazelnut production has been one of the areas that first came under the influence of Western capitalism in the early nineteenth century and although hazelnut production has been subject to various studies and debates concerned with its agronomy, marketing problems etc, the process of rural transformation in hazelnut producing provinces of the country has never before been studied from a sociological point of view.

Throughout my stay in the field between the 10th of July and the end of November 1990, I benefited greatly from my familiarity with the area and with hazelnut production in timing my activities, in collecting the data as accurately as possible and in overcoming several other of the practical difficulties of conducting field research in an area where the people are extremely mobile in the pursuit of their various social and economic objectives.

The fieldwork consisted of four successive stages. At the initial stage, I conducted a pilot study in the village of Efirli, which is located 10 kilometres north-west of the city centre of the province,¹ to test my original questionnaire with a

¹ Each province is named after the city which is its main administrative centre. Ordu is then the main administrative centre of the province of Ordu. In order to avoid any confusion between city and province I shall henceforth refer to 'the city centre of Ordu' and 'the province of Ordu'. The same method of referral will be used for the other provinces and their main administrative centres.

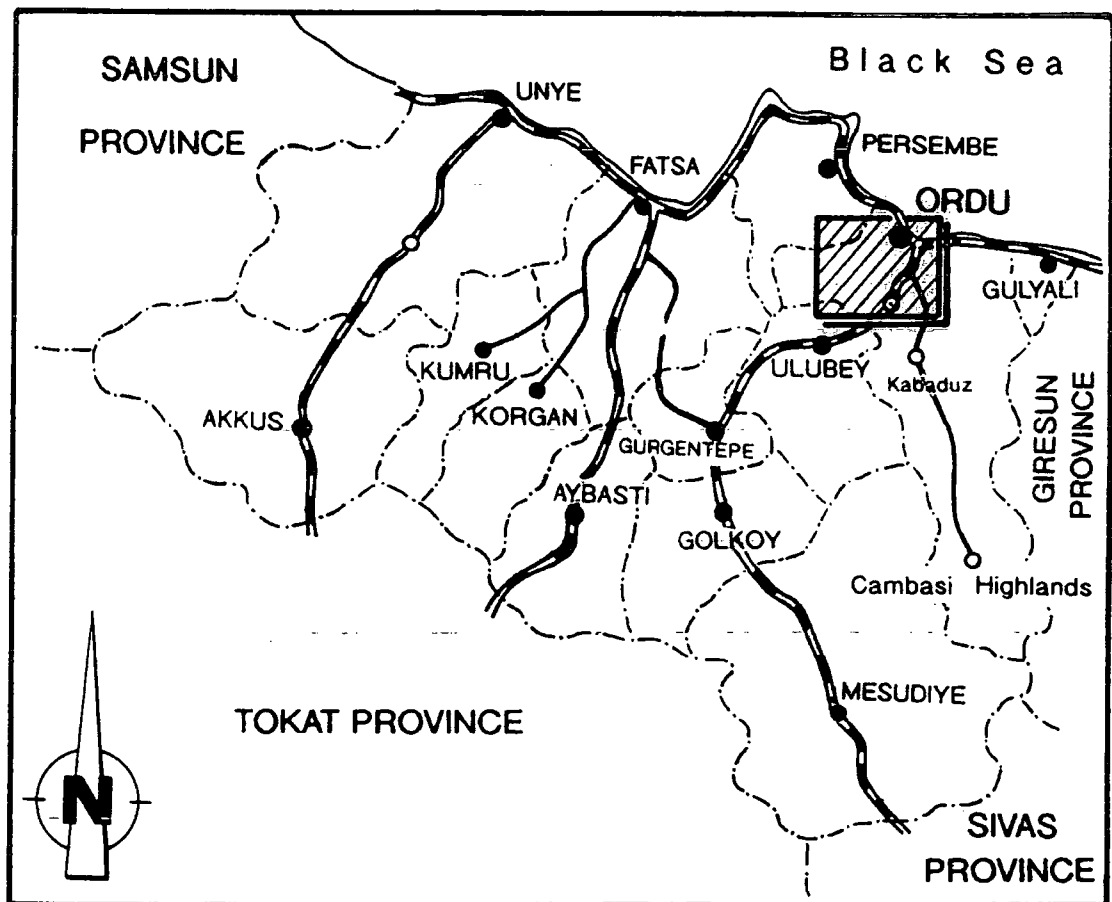
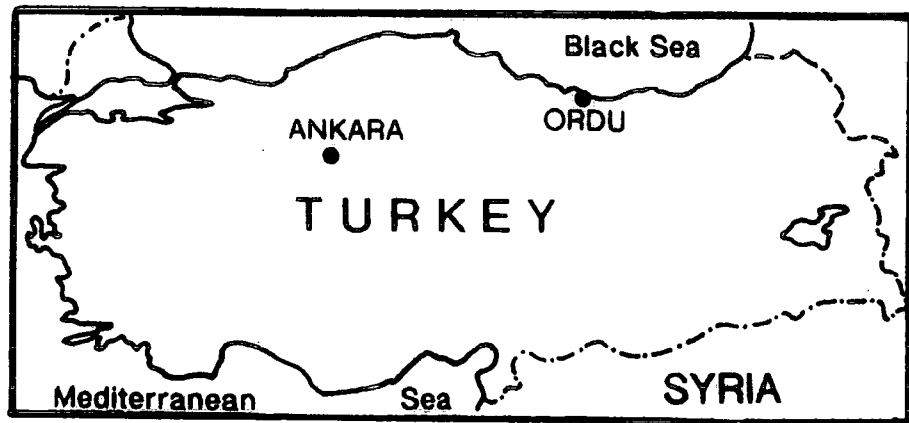
sample base of 17 cases. The results of this pilot study gave me invaluable clues to revise my questionnaire and reduce the number of questions to 68 from an original 71. This was followed by selecting randomly the real area of the fieldwork from a list of 16 villages, with the exclusion of the village of Efirli, that are located at a maximum of 20 kilometres from the city centre of the province. Since the number of villages on the list was rather small, selection was repeated three times to increase the degree of its randomness. The village of Kayadibi (see the maps below) was chosen as the place where I should conduct my research because it was selected two times out of three random draws.

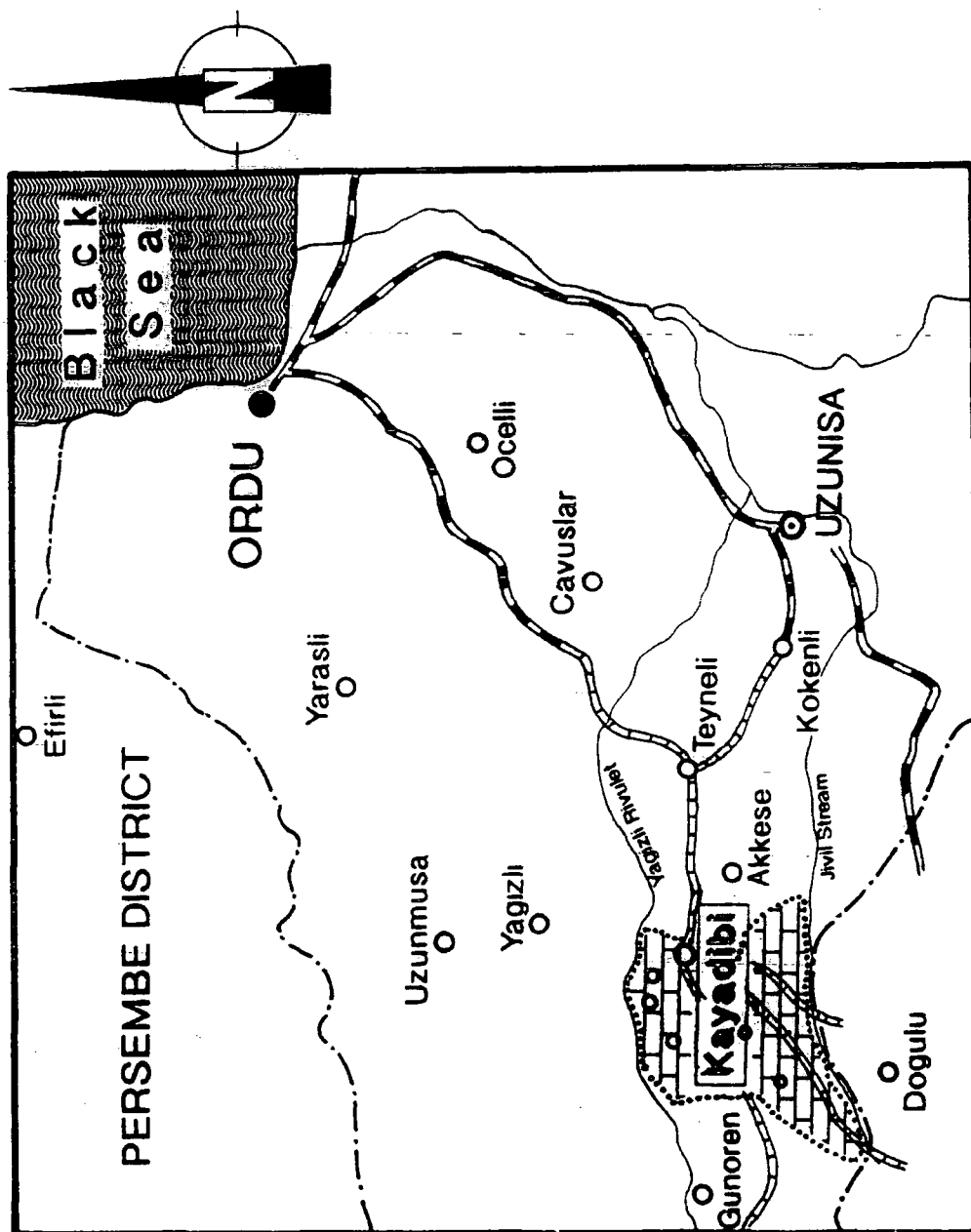
My research in Kayadibi village took place between the 5th of July 1990 and the 11th of November 1990. After obtaining permission from the office of the governor of the province to conduct my research in Kayadibi, I spent my initial weeks introducing myself to the villagers and getting an idea about the overall characteristics of the village. In order to provide them with an overall idea about the purpose of my research and why their village had been selected, coffee houses and shops in both the village and the city centre and the mosques in the village were the best places to meet as many Kayadibians as possible. However, as I expected, the impacts of the scattered settlement regime, the multi-centrality of the places where the people come together and the multi-residentiality of the people meant that at this initial stage I could only meet a small proportion of the villagers.

The next stage was to start conducting the questionnaires as a means to give a concrete idea about my research and to get the news spread among the rest of the villagers throughout the harvest season. In order to help this process and eradicate any doubt that might arise in the minds of the other villagers concerning the purpose behind my presence in the village, I paid special attention to conduct my questionnaire first with the members of the Village Council and some other influential figures in the village. At this stage, which covered the period between the 25th of July and the 6th of August 1990, I conducted my questionnaire with the heads of 26 households by means of excluding the questions about that year's harvest which started in the village a week later.

No questionnaire was conducted with any person throughout the harvest period. My preoccupation in this period was with the labour aspect of hazelnut

Map 1:
Turkey and the Location of the Province of Ordu





Map 2:
The Location of the Village of Kayadibi

production. At this stage of my research I collected almost all of my qualitative data about the wage labourers, the way in which they are employed and the problems that they and their employers reported having encountered.

The last stage was to resume conducting the questionnaires after the harvest was finished. In addition, my interviews with several people concerning, for instance, the details of their life stories (leading towards a particular end which is theoretically significant), customs regarding birth, death and marriage and collection from 31 households of data about their productive spendings all took place at this final stage of my stay in the village. Meanwhile, I attended 7 weddings, 2 funerals and various other social gatherings which took place in the village.

To conduct a questionnaire without any interruption took on average 47 minutes. With the addition of time spent before and after the interview, the average time that I spent with each person was approximately one and a half hours. In each case, the respondent was informed about the purpose of the research, the content of the questionnaire and was shown the documents of permission I had obtained from the office of the governor of the province and the village headman. In addition, each person was told in advance about his/her absolute freedom to accept or not to accept to be interviewed. As a result, out of 239, the heads of 6 households did not cooperate while I was not able to have access to the heads of 38 households because they were not available before the end of my stay (12 were abroad with their households, 19 were residing other cities and 7 were temporarily away).

Accordingly, of the 195 questionnaires, 11.3 percent were conducted in July, 2.1 percent in August, 58.5 percent in October and 28.2 percent in November 1990. Of the same number, 50.0 percent were conducted in the respondents' houses in the village, 15.9 percent in respondents' relatives' or neighbours' houses in the village, 12.3 percent in a coffee house in the village, 4.6 percent in the respondents' shops or workshops in the village, 5.1 percent in respondents' relatives' or neighbours' shops or workshops in the village, 7.2 percent on the respondents' farms while they were working there, 2.1 percent in the respondents' city offices, 2.6 percent in the respondents' relatives' or fellow villagers' city offices and finally 0.5 percent in a school building in the village where the respondent worked.

All of the questionnaires were conducted by myself and more than four-fifths of the households (or their heads in their offices or work places) were visited in the company of a field guide from the same district of the village. The respondents were given enough time to answer any question which required either recalling certain dates and moments or calculating figures. In addition, no mechanical or electronic device was used to take records, no pictures or slides were taken unless the persons were asked for their permission and informed about the possibility of using them for scientific purposes. Furthermore, no confidential information was recorded in any form or by any means.

Particular attention was paid to conduct the questionnaires at times when the people could not continue their work or were not in a rush. Therefore, most of the questionnaires were conducted on rainy days, in the late afternoons and in the early evenings. On the other hand, the kind invitations that I received from many people to come to dinner or to stay with them over night or for the duration of my work in a particular district of the village gave me invaluable opportunities to learn more about their lives. I was able to accept only 12 such invitations and spend nearly a month with them apart from the time I spent with two other households.

Throughout my fieldwork, I also needed to visit the public institutions located in the city centre of the province to collect material or to study in their libraries. For the same purposes, I travelled several times to the neighbouring province of Giresun where the headquarters of *Fiskobirlik* (Union of Hazelnut Sale Cooperatives), The Hazelnut Research Institute and The Union of the Black Sea Region Hazelnut and Hazelnut Products Exporters are located. In order to gather information about the market prices of home-produced food stuffs and the role played by women in generating income, my regular visits to the *vegetable market* or *women's market* established weekly in the city centre of the province continued throughout my stay in the area. I also spent some time in the capital studying in the National Library and in the libraries of the State Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture and Village Affairs and of the State Planning Organization.

The data collected from the field were processed without transforming the level of measurement of the variables, say from nominal or ordinal level to interval level. All possible techniques of statistical analysis were employed to describe the

constants and to test the significance of the variations observed. For the latter kind of analyses, the degree of confidence was determined as minimum 95 percent and, unless specified, no case of variation by a constant with lesser degree of confidence was referred in the text.

The text is organized into 8 chapters, 3 appendixes and 1 bibliography. In the first chapter, I examine the theories of rural transformation from a critical perspective and give the outlines of the paradigm that I employ in this study. Much of my critique concentrates on structuralist and functionalist theories of rural transformation because of their failure in explaining the nature of the peasantry's persistence under wider forces of capitalism. I alternatively suggest studying a given case of rural transformation as a process of interaction between various social forces through their institutions, which strive to achieve their own objectives with the help of the means that are available to them at a given time.

My concern in the second chapter is to provide brief information about the village of Kayadibi regarding its history, the ethnic origins of its settlers, the characteristics of the settlement regime, its population and certain aspects of the social lives of its residents. These are followed in the third chapter by an examination of the economy of the village within the context of the rural economy of the province. In this chapter, I first examine the changes that took place in the structure of the rural economy of the province concerning the composition of agricultural production, the significance that hazelnut production has acquired in the lives of the people and the structural properties of the production units. Within the context of these, I then proceed in the same chapter to an examination of all kinds of productive and income generating activities that the Kayadibians are engaged in. I finally assess the significance of the annual disposable household incomes by means of comparing the results of my data with the results of a national survey conducted by the State Institute of Statistics.

My concern in the fourth chapter is three-fold. After a brief description of certain properties of the household as a social institution on the one hand and some major historical factors that should be born in mind when analysing the development of private land-ownership in Turkey on the other hand, I first dwell on the question of how big land-ownership arose and later was replaced by the

peasantry. With the help of my field data, I discuss how various external and internal factors, be they historical or accidental, helped the rise and fall of big land-ownership. This analysis is followed in the second section by an examination of how the households maintain their access to land through different mechanisms, each of which has its own logic and brings about different consequences concerning the persistence of the peasantry. In the final section of the chapter, I discuss the extent to which land-ownership can help us understand the new class structure in the village. I also introduce new descriptive concepts that should be employed when analysing the class structure based on the size of farm owned.

The Ottoman Empire was an agrarian empire and its successor emerged in the early 1920s as a new kind of agrarian state dependent on agricultural exports for its hard currency earnings. Although this kind of dependency on agriculture was and has always been considered as an expression of a country's weakness and underdevelopment, the latter does not necessarily mean lack of development and lack of power over the international markets. In this sense, the only area where Turkey has been able to exercise a great control that can be described as a world monopoly is hazelnut production. In the fifth chapter, my concern is with the issues, institutions and domestic politics of this only Turkish monopoly in world crop markets.

The chapter consist of four sections preceded by an introduction where I provide information about the area under hazelnut production in the country, the volume of production and the significance of hazelnut exports in the foreign trade of the country since the early 1920s. In the first main section of the chapter, I examine how transition to hazelnut production for the market took place in the Central Black Sea region and what kinds of problems were encountered within the first century of this transition to the end of the National Independence War (1919-1922). In the second section, I concentrate on the first two decades of the process of interaction between the peasantry, state and merchant capital in the post-war period, which had different kinds of interests in further developing hazelnut production and needed the creation of certain institutions and mechanisms to realize their own interests.

With the creation of the unions of sale and credit cooperatives in the mid 1930s, a new era was opened in the history of Turkish agriculture and this was followed by the introduction of supportive purchase prices by the government in the early 1960s. In the third section of chapter five, I examine the developments leading towards the introduction of supportive purchase prices in hazelnut production in which process the state emerged as a major creditor and buyer in the market. The final section of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of the economic and political outcomes in the 1970s and 1980s of the introduction of supportive purchases and the new face of the Turkish hazelnut monopoly after the suspension of the supportive purchases in 1987.

Within the context of this historical account, I proceed in the sixth chapter to an analysis of the conditions concerning land use, land fragmentation, level of productivity and technology under which the households continue their production. In the last substantive chapter, however, my concern is with the two critical factors of production which are labour and credit. As far as labour is concerned, I examine three interrelated topics. These are (1) the nature of need for labour and how the households manage to have access to labour from different sources, (2) how they ensure productivity of labour under different circumstances and finally (3) the level of dependency on wage labour. Concerning the issue of access to credit, I first analyse the nature of need for credit and indebtedness and then concentrate on two major sources of credit. These are the diad of the governmental and cooperative institutions and the triad of the banking, merchant and *à livrer* capital within the context of organization of the market.

The final chapter contains the theoretical conclusions that I draw from the analysis made.

Throughout the text, all anonymous bibliographical entries including the publications of government institutions are given in the footnotes. I also often resort to footnotes to explain how I calculated certain figures and to provide more information about a specific point. There were however two topics that I could neither explain in the footnotes nor include in the main body of the text because of the need to control its length, although they serve as background to the issues that I discussed or analysed in the main text. These are an analysis of the household

as a social institution in time and space and the labour requirements of hazelnut production within a production year.

In my analysis of the household as a social institution, which depends entirely on my field data and is presented in Appendix A, I focus on three issues; these are (1) the nature of membership of a household within the context of membership of a family, and kinship relations, (2) the patterns and mechanisms of maintaining the continuity of an already established household and establishing a separate household by time, and (3) the generational and spatial organization of the households. In Appendix B, I provide information about the work which should be performed on a hazelnut farm within a production year and how much labour is spent by the households. In providing this information I benefit from both my own field data and the information which is already available in various published and printed material. And finally, in Appendix C, I present a copy of the questionnaire that I conducted in Kayadibi village.

In writing this thesis, I benefited from the works of several people and institutions which are given in the Bibliography. For practical purposes, the entries are classified into three categories. All the entries by individual and anonymous author(s) are given in alphabetical order (save the publications by the State Institute of Statistics) without making any further classification with regard to whether the entries are articles, books or reports and the language in which they are written. Translations of the titles of Turkish entries are given within brackets following the titles and the entries with diacritical marks are given after the entries without such marks, save the upper or lower case (ı) which precedes (i). Accordingly, upper or lower case (c) is followed by (ç), (g) by (ğ), (o) by (ö), (s) by (ş) and (u) by (ü). The publications by the State Institute of Statistics and unpublished materials that have been used are given separately at the end of the Bibliography.

No commentaries or critiques by individuals which appear in published and printed materials are given in the Bibliography but they are referred to in the footnotes.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Capitalism, Peasantry and Rural Transformation

The nature of rural transformation that the countries of the world have been undergoing under the impact of capitalism continues to be one of the major areas of scientific and intellectual curiosity. A substantial number of works produced as a result of efforts to understand the dynamics and various dimensions of this process have evolved into paradigms by means of which concrete situations are now being interpreted, while the very subject matter of this intellectual curiosity has emerged as the study of rural transformations.

Common to the concern of every student of this subject are the questions of how capitalism penetrates and transforms rural structures, and what the results of this transformation are for both capitalism and the structures that are being transformed by it. This accordingly brings the peasantry to the centre of attention with regard to its present and future, given the fact that capitalism is perceived unanimously as a progressive social and economic force which transforms human productive activity into a process and source for endless accumulation.

The continuance of household or family farms both in advanced capitalist societies and in the so-called Third World countries therefore continues to be an unsolved theoretical puzzle. In very broad terms, there are four, in many cases overlapping, theoretical frameworks within which social scientists try to undertake a given enquiry in this field. These are (1) insufficient development of capitalism in dissolving and transforming the pre-capitalist relations of production, (2) preservation of the peasantry by capitalism, (3) obstacles put before capitalism in agriculture because of its own logic of accumulation and the low profitability of agricultural production, and (4) survival of the peasantry under the wider social and economic forces of capitalism.

The first interpretation, which is known as the thesis of inevitable decomposition of the peasantry, represents the orthodox Marxist tradition in studying rural



transformations and sees neither theoretical nor empirical possibility that the peasantry can persist in the long run. Therefore, persistence of non-capitalist relations of production is explained in relation to the primitive nature of penetration of rural structures by capitalism. In methodological terms, this kind of explanation can be considered as speculating about the present when what the future holds is believed to be known. Much of the justification for this kind of thinking is derived from the way in which the development of capitalism is perceived by Marx, Lenin and Kautsky. For instance, Marx (1976 a) gives substantial theoretical importance to expropriation of the direct producers from the means of production and enlargement of the scale of production units in a two-staged development of capitalism (that is, formal and real subsumption of labour under capital). Lenin (1977), on the other hand, assigns a historical mission to capitalism for revolutionizing the technological and social conditions of production as the material pre-conditions of the development of production for the market and hence for the differentiation of the peasantry from within; whereas Kautsky (Banaji 1980 b) perceives the emergence of the peasantry as pure agriculturalists compelled to seek supplementary income outside their farms both as a primitive form of and a prelude to take over of agriculture by proper capitalism.

These theories have found many adherents who employed them uncritically in the study of rural transformation in Third World countries, when the latter started to undergo a massive process of transformation. This transformation was enhanced by land and agricultural reforms, rural development projects, mechanization of agriculture, improvement of infrastructural facilities, and brought about development of commodity production and a massive rural exodus in the search for jobs in urban areas without bringing about expropriation of the peasantry from land and without enlargement of the scale of production units in agriculture. As criticised by Glavanis and Glavanis (1983, 1986, 1990), the general line of argument put forward by the scholars who employed, for instance, Lenin's thesis, was to say that the peasantry did not have a very long time to persist.

In recent times, Lenin's argument was repeated by de Janvry and Garramon (1977) and de Janvry (1980), who argued on the basis of empirical data about the Latin American countries that the end of the process is an inevitable polarization. For instance, de Janvry (1980, p. 159) argues that "there is no theoretical

possibility for peasants to remain in their contradictory class location. However lengthy and painful the process may be, their future is full incorporation into one or other of the two essential classes of capitalism-the bourgeoisie and the proletariat". There is also no empirical possibility for the peasantry, according to the same author (1980, p. 165), to prevent its decomposition on the tail of integrated rural development projects. This is because the instrument employed in these kinds of projects is economic and "yet this very instrument tends to accelerate differentiation and further decomposes peasants, thus negating its political end in the longer run".

In comparison to this puristic view of inevitable polarization of peasantry from within, the thesis that the peasantry is preserved by capitalism in accordance with its own needs takes several concrete forms and tends to disclose the factors behind the delay of capitalism in taking over agricultural production. For instance, Kautsky (Banaji, 1980 b) relates this to capitalism's need to preserve a fraction of peasantry in agriculture as its source for the provision of cheap labour. In his theory, the development of rural industry (either because of receiving commissions from the urban capitalist industry or because of the latter's locating itself in the rural areas to have access to cheap labour) and long-distance seasonal migration of the peasants in search of supplementary incomes are the very mechanisms which can only prolong the agony of the peasantry in a disguised proletarian form in agriculture.

It is important to note that both of the theses mentioned lay much emphasis on land ownership (Long, 1984). They therefore derive much empirical strength from the concrete situations where population pressure over arable lands is very high and the peasants are heavily reliant on wage or cash earnings outside their farms. For instance, in his analysis of the African peasantries, Bernstein (1977, 1979, 1987) perceives peasant proprietors as *semi-proletarians* and the part that agricultural production plays in their survival as *wage-equivalents*. Recently, Brass and Bernstein (1992) further elaborated on this point by employing the concepts of *depeasantization-repeasantization*, *proletarianization-deproletarianization-reproletarianization* in colonial areas. Hann (1985 b) holds a similar view about the seasonal wage earning peasants, who come to work in tea farms in the Black Sea region of Turkey, where the majority of the farms are in fact household farms.

On the other hand, in his analysis of rural India, Banaji (1978, 1990) lays much emphasis on the wage component of the earnings of the peasants as a sign of capitalist relations of production, and perceives access to land via sharecropping arrangements as *disguised wage*.

On the other hand, Wallerstein (1983, p. 28) thinks of the so-called *semi-proletarianization* of the peasantry as a mechanism by means of which capitalism balances its short-term and long-term interests. According to him, full proletarianization assists historical capitalism to accumulate more in the short-run but this brings about two seriously dangerous consequences for the system. First, "transformation of a significant number of semi-proletarianized households into proletarian households in a given zone" tends to raise the real minimum-wage level, paid by the employer of wage labour. Secondly, increased proletarianization undermines political stability of the system, especially during the periods of contraction.

Persistence of the peasantry is perceived by some social scientists as being deliberately preserved by capitalism because of other kinds of economic functions that the peasantry performs for it. For instance, according to Vergopoulos (1978) and Boratav (1981), the secret of the persistence of peasantry lies behind its ability to provide industrial capitalism with cheap products either to be consumed by the industrial workforce or to be used as a raw material by the industry itself. On the other hand, Bennholdt-Thomsen (1982) lays emphasis on the role of subsistence production by the peasantry in reproducing itself as an industrial reserve army in the world capitalist system, together with the extended reproduction of capital.

Certain kinds of obstacles that capitalism's logic of accumulation encounters in agriculture under given social and political conditions are accounted responsible for capitalism's inability to take over agricultural production from within or without. For instance, Chayanov (1966) argues that capitalism's drive for maximum profitability finds almost no chance to be realized in agriculture because of the lesser returns that agricultural production offers. In addition, in agrarian structures where land is partible and capitalism does not have political backing to employ violent means to expropriate the peasantry, it becomes difficult for capitalism from the outset to show any considerable performance in agriculture providing that the peasantry has access to the same kind of technology that capitalism employs. In-

comes generated from off-farm sources also help the peasantry survive under very disadvantageous economic conditions in agriculture. Therefore, capitalist production can take over agriculture only if it can create conditions of material existence for the peasantry which demand less drudgery of labour but offer more for the satisfaction of subsistence needs, as this is the driving force behind the economic conduct of the peasant household farms.

A rather similar kind of approach is taken by Mann and Dickinson (1978) who argue that capitalism engages in areas of agricultural production where labouring time overlaps the capital's turnover at a maximum level of profitability. They accordingly conclude that capitalism develops in agriculture to the extent that scientific and technological innovations enable it to obtain an amount of profit bigger than what can be obtained in other areas of investment while the cycle of turnover of invested capital is the same concerning time.

Finally, those who approach persistence of the peasantry and family farms from the point of view of their active survival strategies are not less varied regarding the explanatory factors that they employ. For instance, in her study of family farms in the United States, Friedmann (1978, 1980, 1982 b, 1986 a, b) lays emphasis on the role played by familial relations in preventing penetration of the commodity relations into the domestic sphere of the family in a society where all the factors of production and consumption are in fact commodities in the market and family farms compete with each other.

In their study of Egyptian rural structures, Glavanis and Glavanis (1983, 1986, 1990) and Glavanis K. R (1984, 1990) emphasize the importance of reciprocal ties, both horizontal and vertical, among the peasant households for reproduction of the means of production and subsistence on the one hand and for having access to land, labour and credit on the other hand. These authors show, for instance, how the reciprocal ties established between households enable them to purchase items of productive consumption (tools, land, animals, fertilizers, machines and other means of production) at prices lower than their market prices. In addition, they also emphasize the role of production for domestic consumption as well as marketing of home-produced products to generate cash in order to meet the expenses

of the households, which would not be possible for many if the reciprocal ties of access to the necessary items of productive consumption are not reproduced.

Several empirical studies from around the world also indicate the importance of, for instance, cooperation among the farming families in Finland (Abrahams 1984), creation of new forms of work in other branches of the regional economies in Peru (Long and Roberts 1978),² the cultural context of production relations in India (Harriss 1992 b) and of many other factors ranging from the ability of the households to benefit fully from their labour power to the ability of the peasantry to affect the decision-making processes at local, regional and national levels concerning agrarian policies.

As this rather brief overview of theoretical approaches implies, the patterns of rural transformation under the impact of capitalism show a great diversity by time and space. On the other hand, the very patterns in which the process manifests itself in a given time and space are complex enough to be interpreted in various ways. An example of this are the interpretations concerning the process of rural transformation in Turkey.

The thesis of inevitable decomposition of the peasantry has been the dominant theoretical approach employed by Turkish social scientists for a long period of time. One of the early examples of works produced within this paradigm is İsmail Husrev Tökin's *Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatı=Rural Economy of Turkey*.³ In general, Tökin's handling of the process of rural transformation in the 1930s reflects also many of the specific problems of development of commodity production in the country at that time with reference to the developments which had taken place since the nineteenth century. For an analysis of the process of rural transformation, Tökin starts by comparing the economic system in the process of decline with the economic system emerging in Turkish agriculture, which are, in his view, subsistence production and capitalist production.

According to Tökin (1990, p. 25), subsistence production is an economic system and a way of living *per se*. Its main characteristics, which distinguish it from other economic systems, are that it is a self-sufficient system which shows a unity

² Quoted in Long (1984).

³ First published in 1934 and reprinted in 1990 with a "Foreword" by Korkut Boratav.

in all economic activities of the peasants and hence lacks any sort of differentiation between the productive and consumptive spheres of their lives. The subjective drive behind the act of production is not to make profit through selling the products in the market but to satisfy the subsistence needs of the family. Because of this underlying subjective drive, which manifests itself as a specific economic mentality, everyone tries to produce in accordance with his or her own needs, which in turn determine the volume of production.

Subsistence production, Tökin (1990, pp. 29-30) argues, was the economic system which prevailed in Turkish agriculture until the construction of the railways in the late nineteenth century. In those areas where the railways made possible regular contact with the world market, subsistence production was replaced by production for the market. With the starting of the latter, production and consumption became separated from each other in places like Manisa, İzmir, Adana in the western and southern parts of the country and, in the coastal provinces like Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon, in the northern parts of the country where shipping rather than railways enabled them to establish contact with the world market. The subjective drive behind commodity production was no longer the subsistence needs of the family but to make profit and increase it as much as possible. The volume of production was determined by the market prices of agricultural commodities, and this accordingly made the producers extremely vulnerable to the forces controlling the market.

Given the instrumental role assigned to transportation facilities in enhancing commodity production, the first conclusion Tökin arrived at was that subsistence economy would continue to rule over Turkish countryside unless it was penetrated by modern transportation facilities. But once this happened it would bring about a series of economic and social consequences within and outside the rural economy. The external developments would be the specialization of certain regions or provinces in the production of certain commodities, integration of the rural economy into the national and the world economies and hence a new economic division of labour etc. The internal development however would be polarisation of the peasantry. In other words, the development of production for the market would end up with the expropriation of the small peasantry. This was in fact nothing but a reiteration of the orthodox Marxist thesis of capitalist development. And Tökin

explained how expropriation of the peasantry by capitalism would take place in rural Turkey in the following way.

The development of commodity economy had brought about not only commoditization of the means of production but also commoditization of labour. As a result of this, there were now two other types of villager in the Turkish village, who were different from the small farmers producing either for their own subsistence needs or for the market. These new villagers were the capitalist farmers who were dealing with the management of their farms and the labourers who were carrying out the production in return for wages. The rural labourers were of three kinds: the landless peasants, the peasants who have deserted their villages to earn cash without dispossessing their lands and the seasonal wage workers owning small farms (Tökin 1990, pp. 134-136). However, in places where feudalism was prevailing, commoditization of the labour and transformation of the farms from subsistence production to production for the market did not necessarily assume the elimination of the sharecroppers. This was because the feudal lords could pay the wage equivalents through sharecropping arrangements in order to reduce the cost of labour and the risks arising from the price falls in the crop markets. The only difference between a proper capitalist farm and the one which employed the latter method was the lack of payment of the labourers in cash (Tökin 1990, pp. 190-191). In other words, as long as the lords were producing for the market, the rest was a matter of formal appearance rather than being a fundamental difference.

According to Tökin (1990, pp. 193-200), there were many reasons behind the social differentiation that the rural structures had undergone with the start of production for the market. For instance, modern technology was an indispensable means to increase the level of productivity and reduce the cost of production; but it was only the big farmers who could afford to buy and use the modern technologies economically. In other words, to benefit from modern technology was and would be the privilege of the capitalist farms. Therefore the small and medium size farms would not be able to compete with the big farms and would have to drop out of the contest. However, the root cause behind the internal differentiation leading towards the replacement of the peasantry by capitalist farms was something else.

Tökin argued (1990, p. 146) that social differentiation in the rural economy of Turkey was taking place principally through indebtedness. This was because that 'the need for credit in order to continue production and provide the needs of the households brings the peasants in contact with the banks and especially with the merchants. But the high interest rates make it impossible for the peasants to pay their debts back and therefore small farm owners lose their lands to the merchants'. Tökin accordingly concluded (1990, p. 151) that "the direction of development of these relations at the present time shows that the big farms will have an excessive amplitude and a large mass of propertyless will be added to the previous ones in the Turkish village in a very near future"

In the following decades, the Turkish countryside underwent all the transformations that were needed for the development of commodity production and its integration with the national and international markets. For instance, the number of tractors increased from 956 in 1944 to 1756 in 1948, to 9,170 in 1949, to 16,585 in 1950, to 42,136 in 1960 and 689,343 (only four wheel tractors) in 1990. The area sown increased from 4,363,700 hectares in 1927 to 7,479,800 hectares in 1937, to 14,984,000 hectares in 1944, to 14,542,000 hectares in 1950, to 23,028,000 hectares in 1960 and to 25,615,000 hectares in 1990.⁴ In parallel to these developments, the debates on the nature of rural transformation acquired a substantial academic and political significance among the Turkish intellectuals.

It was argued on the academic front, as examined by Akşit (1985, 1988), that penetration of the rural structures by capitalism (first in the coastal areas and in the areas alongside the railways in the nineteenth century and later all over the country in the post-Second World War) would continue to accelerate in the 1960s and 1970s. This would bring about replacement of production for household consumption and for limited cash needs by production for the market and, accordingly, expropriation of the peasantry by capitalism. However, contrary to the conclusions arrived at with the help of empirical data collected early in the 1960s and 1970s, the process has led to transformation of the small peasantry into

⁴ Source: *Tarım İstatistikleri 1934-37*. (Published by İstatistik Genel Direktörlüğü, former name of State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 135), p. 15, *Tarım İstatistikleri Özeti 1944-65*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 506), p. 13, *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1510), pp. 228, 250.

petty commodity producers, hand-in-hand with expansion of the national markets. Agricultural policies formulated by the governments since 1950s have made significant contributions to this process of transformation and to the persistence of petty commodity producers (Akşit 1988, p. 192-193).

On the popular front, the debate among the members of the Turkish Left in the 1960s and in the 1970s was about how to identify the nature of transformation so that new strategies could also be formulated for political action as examined by Seddon and Margulies (1984) and Aydın (1986, 1987 a). According to Aydın (1987 a, p. 82):

it is possible to discern two broad positions in the debate: (1) asserting that the dominant mode of production is a form of capitalism in Turkish agriculture, and (2) arguing that despite the existence of capitalist relations in the countryside the dominant mode of production is pre-capitalist (semi-feudal or feudal).

Therefore the representatives of the first proposition, for instance Korkut Boratav, "called for struggle against capitalism for the establishment of socialism" whereas the exponents of the second proposition, for instance Muzaffer Erdost, "insisted that the current struggle of the sixties and seventies should be waged against feudal and semi-feudal elements to achieve a National Democratic Revolution" (Aydın 1987 a, p. 82). As Aydın examines in the same article, this debate resumed its popularity by the early 1980s without there being anything new about the way in which the issue was debated, and it was later continued between Aydın (1987 b) and Boratav (1987 a, b).

The theoretical issues which are central to Boratav (1981)'s concern with petty commodity production are how to conceptualize the nature of economic relations between the petty commodity producers and the merchant capital and in connection with this to explain the persistence of petty commodity production. Boratav's (1981, pp. 14-16) answer to the first question is that relations of production are the special forms of appropriation of surplus value, and the forms of ownership of means of production cannot always explain the differences in the relations of production. This is because, Boratav (1981, pp. 45-46) argues:

an approach which conceives of the relations of production in connection with the ownership of the means of production would perceive the petty

commodity production as an economic situation in which there is no exploitation and class formation and hence would not accept that it is a relation of production because the direct producers are not dispossessed of the means of production.

Given the assumption that each form of surplus appropriation refers to a certain mode of production, Boratav concludes that petty commodity production is the dominant mode of production in Turkish agriculture. The empirical evidence for this is that a great majority of the farms are run by means of employing unpaid household labour although the petty commodity producers may employ wage labour at times of shortage of household labour. Within this context, Boratav's answer for the reason behind the persistence of petty commodity production is as follows:

In situations where the land-owners are also the capitalist farmers, absolute land rent accrues to the farmer rather than being appropriated by the land-owner (as a separate category). Nevertheless, a land-owning capitalist farmer conceives of the absolute land rent as a real alternative cost of production and therefore needs to add the amount of rent to the price of his commodity. This in turn increases the commodity prices in the market and creates a disadvantageous situation for industrial capital. However, a small farmer, whose economic behaviour lacks any such calculation and who is not able to refuse the market prices, cannot add the absolute land rent to the price of his commodity but pays the cost from his net earnings. Accordingly, Boratav concludes that the development of capitalist farming constitutes an obstacle to the development of industrial capitalism whereas petty commodity production does not. This is why Boratav thinks that petty commodity and capitalist modes of production live in harmony under the umbrella of the latter (1981, pp. 151-177); that is, articulation of the modes of production although Boratav (1976) did not use this label when he first outlined his theory in his *Gelir Dağılımı (Income Distribution)* in the late 1960s.

The fiercest popular orthodox Marxist critique directed at Boratav's analysis of the Turkish agrarian structures came from Erdost (1984), who argued that the Turkish agrarian structures are still dominated by pre-capitalist relations of production, an idea which seems to be highly difficult to validate. On the other hand, Aydın (1987 a, b) criticises Boratav's approach mainly for two reasons: one

is for reading the nature of farms from statistical information which in fact does not tell us their real nature and the other for conceptualizing petty commodity production as a mode of production in the sense that the concept of mode of production is understood in the Marxist paradigm, for Aydın thinks that it is a form of production within a capitalist formation.

Apart from continuation of the old ones, the debate on the nature of rural transformation in Turkey witnessed fresh developments in the 1980. For instance, Margulies and Yıldızoğlu (1983, 1990) argue that there are signs of replacement of petty commodity farms by proper capitalist farms by means of enlargement of the scale of farming through land renting. Contrary to this, a number of academics, among whom Keyder and Akşit are the leading figures, argue on the basis of empirical material collected recently that the direction of rural transformation is not unilateral in Turkey although the present is marked by a consolidation of the small peasantry in land-ownership. The new methodology for the study of multi-directional nature of rural transformation draws attention first to the fact, as explained by Akşit (1985, p. 89), that

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

Akşit (1985) and Keyder (1983 a, b, c; 1988 a, b) argue justifiably that historical factors, government policies, party politics and crop patterns play important roles with varying degrees on the multi-directional nature of rural transformation in the country. Depending on the results of various village studies, they suggest that among the various patterns of transformation, the following are the main ones: (a) the villages where big land-ownership, feudal rent and corvée labour are present, (b) villages where small land-ownership is present and accumulation is possible for the peasants and (c) the villages where small land-ownership is present but there is not much possibility of accumulation (Akşit 1985, p. 93).

On the basis of these patterns observed at village level, Aksit and Keyder suggest that the unit of analysis should be the village. Keyder (1983 b, p. 35) expresses the reason why the village should be the unit of analysis as follows:

[o]ur contention is that for purposes of identifying types of rural transformation, the village provides an intermediate level of determination, between the household and the relevant social formation, that serves to constrain structurally the socio-economic behaviour of the household.

When examined from a critical perspective, it can be argued that the major divisions between alternative paradigms outlined above are due to their methodologies concerning three principal issues. These are (1) how definitions are made concerning capitalism as a system or social formation and as a realization of human drive for accumulation, (2) what degree of power is assigned to the social forces operating in a given case of rural transformation, and (3) what kind of priority is given to the institutions and the organizations by means of which the social forces strive to realize their own goals.

As far as the first methodological issue is concerned, definitions which use only certain forms of the means that can be employed for the realization of a given objective in human economic activities as parameters to define capitalism seem to fail to capture variations that emerge in the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the means to be employed by time and space. Within this context, the orthodox Marxist accounts of rural transformation appear to be extremely inflexible in accommodating the richness of the socio-economic life into their explanatory frameworks, because of assigning primary significance to pre-defined socio-economic properties of wage labour and its ratio in the immediate process of production, the scale of production unit, specific forms of control exerted by the individuals over the means of production and employment of certain forms of technology etc. The insistence on the significance of forms which are derived from the analysis of a given case brings about three methodological risks. These, as argued by Jessop (1987, p. 63), are

first that capitalism [is] treated in a one-sided manner at the expense of more rounded, multi dimensional accounts; secondly, that temporary features and tendencies ... capture attention at the expense of longer-term aspects; and, thirdly, that the many and varied ways in which factors outside the capitalist system effect its operation [are] ignored.

On the other hand, no alternative methodology can address these problems adequately while flexibility is provided by means of treating every configuration as the means employed by capitalism to achieve its own objective at a maximum level at the expense of other forces operating in a society or in a given field of observation. Regarding this aspect of the issue, the theories of *wage-equivalents* or *the peasantry as disguised proletariat* seem to fail to recognize the importance of off-farm earnings in providing the peasantry with material ability to reduce its dependence on credit needed for both productive and reproductive consumption in large parts of the world. Apart from the fact that these kinds of earnings ease the pressures to dispossess the means of production in periods of crop failure or contraction in the market, they also enable the peasantry to condition the form that the capitalist forces should take in engaging in agricultural production regardless of whether this engagement is taking place from within or without.

The world-system theorists' approach is relatively more flexible than these two approaches in its ability to capture variations by time and space. Yet this very flexibility turns out to be another irony for two main reasons. First, since capitalism is conceived of as aiming towards endless accumulation and since the latter is conceived of as possible as long as things are exchanged in the market, it is a matter of form whether things are first exchanged and then consumed or first consumed and then exchanged. Therefore, even the labour spent to prepare food in the kitchen and the provision of child care by a member of a household are conceived of as one of the phases of capitalist production as long as the individuals live their lives within the borders of the world capitalist system.

Secondly, the capitalist world system is conceived of as capable of imposing from its centre three successive stages of capital accumulation according to which the division of labour is achieved and maintained between states on the one hand and within states on the other hand. Accordingly, the roles that should be played by each state and by the units of production in each state are determined from the centre. It is within this mechanism that the centre is conceived of as creating and transforming the household as an income-pooling unit. Therefore, the division of labour within the household (adult men as bread winners and adult women as subsistence producers in the kitchen and/or on the farm) and the generational and spatial organization of the household are conceived of as impositions from the

centre that are dealt with by states according to their location within the global structure of the system. If the system is really able to originate and transmit everything unilaterally from the centre, it then seems to me self-contradictory to argue that the centres of accumulation can also change by time and the stability can seriously be threatened by the forces operating in both kinds of the peripheries and the semi-peripheries within the system.

The experience of a large number of countries in the world suggests that a new epoch has opened in the history of mankind regardless of whether or not their experiences are examined in the light of those which have undergone capitalist transformation in previous centuries. This new epoch is marked by the masses' active resistance against alienation from ownership of means of production and ownership of property. In addition, masses are increasingly acquiring means of production and property which had never been the case in previous epochs. This must be seen as an expression of something contradicting established ways of interpreting capitalist development. In recognizing the emergence of this new epoch, paradigms which employ a methodology that allows us to study social processes as processes of interaction between social forces seem to be far more capable of accommodating variations into a coherent framework without letting themselves be trapped in a teleological explanation.

In my analysis of the process of rural transformation that Kayadibi village has undergone since the nineteenth century, I shall draw insights from the ideas produced in the works of social scientists who have employed this kind of interactionist methodology in one way or another to study a given case in various parts of the world. I shall particularly benefit from the ideas expressed in the works of several social scientists, like Akşit, Aydın, Glavanis and Glavanis, and Keyder as referred to above. This also allows me to address specific issues that should also be taken into account in studying an empirical case of rural transformation within the contexts of the Middle East and Turkey. However, there are a number of theoretical issues concerning the employment of the village as a unit of analysis about which I shall adopt a rather different view, due to the following reasons.

In very specific terms, my dissatisfaction with the employment of the village as an intermediate unit between the household and the relevant social formation

is four-fold. First, raising the village to the power of a social institution capable of creating and implementing strategies which will eventually result in a pattern of transformation overshadows the significance of the class structure in a given village, which is interacting both within itself and with the forces from without, as criticised also by Hann (1985 b) and Aydın (1990). Secondly, the concept of village employed in the analysis ignores the importance of different settlement regimes under which this concept acquires different meanings. This issue becomes important especially in those villages which have either a multi-centred clustered regime or a scattered settlement regime rather than a single-centred clustered settlement regime which is the very type of village referred to in the analysis. As a result of this, the methodology runs the risks of both undercoverage and overcoverage of the communal relations and class structures which are merged with the ones of other villages either because of locational proximity or because of familial and clan relations. Thirdly, while the village is employed to show the multi-directional nature of rural transformation in the country, the multi-directionality of the process of transformation within the administrative boundaries of the village is left unaddressed, as also pointed out by Aksit (1988).

However, it is the question of how finally to determine the direction of transformation that makes employing the village as a unit of analysis irrelevant. This is because the village as an administrative unit can help us limit the scope of our investigation to a pre-defined case; but it cannot help us to capture for instance, the capitalist nature of farming in a village which is disguised by the spatial organization of a household. It is, to my understanding, development of capitalism through this channel which makes it also irrelevant to treat small farming as identical with the petty commodity production in Turkish agriculture, an aspect of capitalist development which has largely been ignored, although it is, I would argue, the dominant form of capitalist development in Turkish agriculture. Let me elaborate on these issues by means of introducing some of the critical concepts that I shall employ in my analysis of the process of rural transformation in the village of Kayadibi where it has brought about results of

- decomposition of big land-ownership by the peasant household farms and the emergence of a capitalist class sharing the same properties as the peasantry con-

cerning land-ownership and the way in which production is continued regarding employment of wage labour and the technological conditions of production,

- a high degree of development of commodity production with regard to land use and the total volume of crop marketed, and
- marginalization of incomes earned from land-bound agricultural production in the total material welfare of the households.

To start with, capitalism in the sense of social formation is a social system in which the individuals can achieve wealth that exceeds what is required for their undelayable needs of survival, by means of engaging in economic activities as the owners of the means of production and exchange. It goes without saying that several factors (social, political and material) condition the extent to which this can be achieved by the individuals through engaging in various areas of production and exchange in a given time and space. In addition, it goes also without saying that a wide range of the means of production and exchange can be employed in various combinations to achieve this objective.

However, I do not think that we can therefore assume that the individuals living their lives in a capitalist social formation (regardless of how permissive it is in various areas of economic activities) always aim to possess wealth that exceeds what is required for a reasonably enjoyable material life whenever it is possible for them to do so. Nor can we argue that the individuals adopt such an objective as a drive behind their economic activities only after reaching a certain stage of survival. On the contrary, what individuals may aim to achieve in their economic activities is only partially conducive to the degree of satisfaction of their material needs and shows rather a high degree of fluctuation in response to numerous material, social and psychological factors embracing our lives.

Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish, in very broad terms, two distinct objectives between which this fluctuation takes place. One is the effort to improve the quality of one's living conditions from the point of simply satisfying basic needs, which include provision of shelter, food and clothing, to enjoying a material life with the standards which the rich of a society consider to be basic requisites for a reasonably enjoyable life. The other is to possess continually increasing and

accessible wealth. I shall call the former objective striving to earn a livelihood and the latter striving to hoard. Capitalism in action is the very name of hoarding which is achieved by individuals through engaging in production and/or exchange while being the owners of the necessary means. This is to suggest that in both cases of realizing these objectives, the direction of change is from what is considered to be basic to obtaining something extra but the latter is valued and used differently.

Although the individuals live their lives as members of different social groups and institutions (both formal and informal) while pursuing either of these objectives, the household is the very social institution in which both these objectives and the outcomes are socialized in a fashion that is entirely different from any collectivism, corporativism or group living.

The concept of household refers to the social institution in which members of a family earn their livelihood and pursue their aims for the degree of material welfare that they want to enjoy as a social group. What differentiates a household from a family is not the kind and degree of kinship ties which exist between its members but the consent, decision and commitment of some of these kinspeople to pursue their own material and social welfare as a social group separate from the rest of the individuals who all belong to the same family. This purpose is achieved by putting the means of generating wealth and the incomes earned by the members individually or collectively together into one single abstract budget from which every member should benefit in proportion to the magnitude of the needs to be satisfied.

The concept of peasant household refers accordingly to the same institution with reference to those farmers who are engaged in various branches of agricultural production in order to earn at least a significant portion of their livelihood while considering themselves peasants. Ownership of at least one of the principal means of production in their branch of agriculture is considered as the main objective parameter to distinguish peasants from other individuals who engage in agricultural production to earn their livelihoods. This excludes temporary situations of having no means of production in one's possession; the temporariness of the situation should be defined by reference to the social customs enabling one to have access to the means of production if the situation lasts longer than the annual cycle

of production. Farmers who continue production while being members of urban social and/or professional classes are also excluded from the definition.

In its efforts to achieve its material objectives, a peasant household shares the same rationality with a capitalist unit as neither of the objectives that they adopt is more rational or irrational than the other, nor are there specific rationalities which can be adopted by different units pursuing different objectives. However what is adopted as an objective leads the individuals to employ the same means and factors of production at their disposal with different expectations and in different orders of importance when the net earnings start to exceed what is required for the basic social standards of survival. From this stage onwards, it is essential for a household aiming to accumulate that it should continue refraining from immediately improving its standards of living. It should also refrain from withdrawing its labour force from direct engagement in income-generating activities and in the immediate process of production until a second stage is reached whereby the effects of these actions on the pace of the growth of accumulation is minimal.

It is between these two stages that the members of a household aiming to accumulate continue engaging in various kinds of activities in which they have no private control over the means of production in order to earn income. But these kinds of earnings reduce the pressure on those resources which are important to preserve the pace of the growth of accumulation. In very broad terms, this stage corresponds to what Marx (1976 b) describes as formal subsumption of labour to capital in a production unit where the owner has not been released from the necessity of spending manual labour. However, in cases where the production unit cannot be expanded by any means while the activities can be diversified and the earnings can be increased, the same objective should be realized in a different way until the transition is successfully completed. Nevertheless, this does not ensure by any means that the post-transition period will also be successful.

The conduct of a household whose objective is to ensure a decent survival and to improve its living standards as much as possible hardly differs from that of a household aiming to accumulate with regard to the importance of the surplus earnings. However, these surplus earnings are spent differently with priority given to buying land and other means of production that can ensure the basic living

standards and then in principal areas where the living standards need major improvements. The rest of the earnings, if there are any left over, are used to purchase property that may also generate regular income without expending labour, and to further improve living standards.

The main question that needs to be answered is how the necessary income (in kind or cash) should be generated first to survive and then to take either of these directions. To answer the question, knowing the nature of the objective lying behind economic activity is not helpful at all unless we know what kind of means are available and what kind of means and strategies can be created to help achieve what is aimed at in a given time and space. This is where historical conditions acquire essential importance for both the individuals striving to realize their objectives and for an analysis of how they do it, whereas a historicist deduction from the analysis of a given case can only show us one of the possible forms that history may take in the hands of man.

For instance, by means of implementing several kinds of policies, the state has always played an important role in the history of the process of rural transformation in Turkey. It would be misleading to perceive the concrete shapes that these policies were given and the concrete results they brought about as representing and facilitating the interests of capital or the peasantry. On the contrary, both the objectives of the policies and the concrete results they have brought about are the products of a process of multiple interaction between all these forces with different objectives but without necessarily conflicting or collaborating with each other at the expense of a third party.

The process of interaction between the parties is conducted by means of putting the necessary and/or available means of action at the disposal of their institutions. This is where the role played by a peasant household acquires substantial importance in understanding how the ability of the state and capital to achieve their own objectives is conditioned by the peasantry, as well as how its ability is conditioned by the state and capital. This is because it is within the domestic sphere of the household that the peasantry achieves two things which are critical for its survival irrespective of whether it has got any formal institution or group that may also assist its survival strategies.

One is that it is by means of institutionalizing the specific roles to be played in the process of decision-making, in the domestic division of labour and reproducing commitment for unity that the unit enables itself to accommodate the diverse and sometimes conflicting interests of its members on the one hand and the conflicting requirements of diverse economic activities on the other in order to maintain its capacity to obtain maximum earnings with minimum cost in both material and social terms. The other is that it is within the domestic sphere of the household that objective factors of subsistence are transformed into use and/or subjective values by means of which the unit protects itself against the dissolving effects of the external world. With regard to this, transformation of human labour capacity into use and/or subjective values for the production of the means of subsistence and the provision of the services (ranging from child care to giving advice) is particularly important.

No matter how attractive it is to have the means and factors of production in a particular form and quantity, each social force operating in a given field needs in the end to recognize the conditions that are external to its will and internalize the strength that these conditions give to counter forces. The chapters below contain an analysis of a concrete case of peasants' persistence in the process of rural transformation within the context of interaction of the peasantry, capitalism and the state through their institutions and organizations. The first chapter aims to narrate some of the details of the social and political history of the village to which the scope of the investigation is limited, and to give an idea about the standards of living that the people who make this persistence possible enjoy.

Chapter II

THE VILLAGE OF KAYADIBI

A Brief Description

2.1 Introduction

In Turkish public administration, the country is divided into three kinds of administrative units. From major to minor, these units are provinces (*ils* or *vilâyet*s), districts (*ilçes* or *kazas*) within the provinces (and sometimes sub-districts within districts called *bucaks*) and finally *muhtarlıks* within the districts and sub-districts. The first two of the administrative units cover both cities and villages whereas the latter is an administrative unit either within a city or in the countryside. These are called *mahalle muhtarlığı* and *köy muhtarlığı* respectively.

Any residential area with a population of less than 2,000 is defined by law as a village. Public administration in a village is carried out by the Village Council (*Köy İhtiyar Heyeti*) under a headman (*muhtar*). Members of a Village Council together with the headman are elected by residents of the village in line with general elections in the country. However, when it is used to describe or to refer to something which is the opposite of *urban*, the word *köy* has got other meanings in Turkish, like *rural* and *countryside*. Accordingly, the word *köy* becomes, in common usage, the residential area where the peasants (*köylüs*) live their lives with their distinctive economy, social relations, traditions and habits.

The village of Kayadibi is one of the 490⁵ rural administrative units, that is one of the rural *muhtarlıks* within the province of Ordu. It is administratively attached to the Uzunisa sub-district (*bucak*) of the central district (*ilçe* or *kaza*) of the province and is located 13 km south of the city centre of the province.

⁵ This figure represents the number of villages that the province of Ordu had in the year 1986. Source: *Ordu 1986*. (Published by Ordu Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, Trabzon: 1986), p. 53.

2.2 Area, Borders, Geography and the Climate

The village has got a real area of 8,500 decares. It is bordered by Yağızlı village in the north, Günören village in the west, Sayaca village in the south, Doğulu village in the south-east and Akkese village in the east. It is separated from the village of Yağızlı by the Yağızlı rivulet and from the village of Sayaca by the Jevil stream. It has got a lowest altitude of 320 metres on its border in the south-east with the villages of Akkese and Doğulu and a highest altitude of 600 metres around Evrentepe cite near its border with the village of Günören in the west. The mountain ridge stretching from the north-east to the south-west, and the dozens of steep hills on each side of the ridge would look like roofs on the annexes of a house if looked at from above. However, apart from the White Cliffs in the south, the entire surface of these steep hills is covered with hazelnut orchards, woodlands and bushes for which abundant rainfall all year round is essential.

In the meteorological maps, the province falls within the belt where annual average precipitation is about 1,000 mm, annual number of foggy days is between 10-20, annual hours of sunshine are about 2,000⁶ and the humidity level is over 76 percent. In the coastal sections of the province, where Kayadibi village is located, February is the coldest and July and August are the hottest months of the year with monthly averages of 6-7 and 23-24 Celsius degrees respectively. A slow transition from winter to spring and summer, a mild autumn lasting till the end of November and fresh off-shore winds in late spring and summer are some other features of the climate in the vicinity.⁷

2.3 History, Ethnicity and Clans

In his work concerning the socio-economic history of the province of Ordu, Yediyıldız (1985) argues that the village of Kayadibi must have been established in the first half of the fifteenth century. Its name appears on the records of the first Ottoman inventory (*tahrir*) conducted in the area in the year 1455. The name *kayadibi*, which means *tip of the cliff*, gives the impression that the first residents of the village coming from the south must have settled on the narrow strip of land

⁶ See the meteorological maps published in *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, pp. 17, 21, 23, 25.

⁷ For additional information on the climatic conditions of the province see, *Ordu 1986*, pp. 49-50.

between the tip of White Cliffs and the Jevil stream in the south of the village. The villagers also argue that this narrow strip of land is the earliest place of settlement in the village.

According to the *tahrir* records, there were 19 households residing in the village in 1455. This number decreases to 13 in 1485, rises up to 124 in 1520, and again decreases to 107 in 1547 and further down to 30 in 1613 in which years the *tahrirs* were repeated (Yediyıldız 1985, p. 172). We have got no document about the number of households resident in the village in the period between the early seventeenth and the twentieth century. In between the years 1904 and 1926, there were 81 households residing in the village according to the records of the provincial Registry. However, the actual number of the households was probably more than this and it had increased to 205 by 1990 according to the records of the Village Council. With the inclusion of the number of the households which are in fact Kayadibian but come to the village only for the duration of the harvest, the total number of households increases to 239.

These 239 households belong to more than 40 different clans (*sülâles*)⁸ and two ethnic groups. The dominant group is the Turks with a total number of 223 households belonging to 37 different clans; and the minority is the Georgians with a total number of 15 households belonging to 3 different clans. The dominant clans in terms of number of households and population are *Şamhoğlus*, *Velioğlus*, *Karahisarhoğlus*, *Müezzinoğlus*, *İlyasoğlus*, *Gedikvelioğlus*, *Uğurluoğlus*, *Bekteşoğlus* and *Nasuhbeyoğlus* among all of the clans in the village. Among the Georgian group, the *Bavuçoğlus* are the dominant clan with a total number of 8 households and followed by *Romanoğlus* and *Shvaze* with a total number 6 and 3 households respectively.

Over the centuries, the composition of the village residents with regard to ethnicity and clans has changed constantly. For instance, the Georgians settled in

⁸ The names of 37 of these clans with the number of households covered from each clan in this study are as follows: Abazoğlus(1), Bavuçoğlus(8), Bekteşoğlus(10), Çıtıröğlus(1), Dandiloğlus(1), Delihassanoğlus(1), Delibrahimoğlus(2), Fırkahoğlus(6), Gedikvelioğlus(11), Hacibekiroğlus(1), Halitoğlus(1), Hocaoglus(1), İlyasoğlus(7), İmamoğlus(1) İmanoğlus(1), Karaahmetoğlus(3), Karahisarhoğlus(12), Karamanlioğlus(1), Karaosmanoğlus(8), Karamahmutoğlus(1), Kocamustafaoğlus(5), Köseoğlus(11), Kuloğlus(1) Kürtoğlus(2), Mollaoğlus(2) Müezzinoğlus(12) Nasuhbeyoğlus(8), Odabaşoğlus(1), Osmanoğlus(3) Pazarcioğlus(4), Romanoğlus(6), Şamhoğlus(27), Sarvelioğlus(2), Seyhoğlus(1) Shvaze(2), Topçuoğlus(1), Türkmenoğlus(3), Uğurluoğlus(11) and Velioğlus(15).

the area in the 1880s and in the village in 1926 whereas the Armenians, who settled in the area two decades before the Georgians did, left the village and the area in 1915 due to the Ottoman State's decree for mandatory emigration, which aimed to prevent ethnic clash between the people. There remains only one Armenian person, aged 75, who was left behind by his parents to be looked after by the household of the late Ferhat *agha*;⁹ and he was still a member of the late Ferhat *agha*'s daughter's household when I conducted my research in the village. Despite these changes, some of the clans have been there in the village since the first moment of its establishment.

According to the villagers, the early settlers of the village are the *Müezzinoğlus* and the *Karahisarhoğlus*. The *Müezzinoğlus* do not know where their forefathers came from. The *Karahisarhoğlus*, however, argue that their ancestors came from the Şebinkarahisar district of the neighbouring province of Giresun in the sixteenth century. The records of the *tahrirs* conducted in the years year 1455 and 1485 seem to support the claim of the *Müezzinoğlus* as the earliest residents.¹⁰

The next two oldest clans are the *Şamhoğlus* from Damascus¹¹ and the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* from the province of Sivas in the south in the midst of the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, two more clans settled in the village. These are the *Velioğlus* from the Kavraz district of the neighbouring province of Gümüşhane in the south-east and the *Gedikvelioğlus* from the neighbouring province of Giresun in the east. Some decades later, they were followed by the *Bekteşoğlus* and the *İlyasoğlus*. The rest of the clans, however, settled in the village in the twentieth century. The rise and disintegration of big land-ownership in the village (that I shall examine later) has played an important role in the growth of the number of clans settled in the village. This is because some first came to the village as servants or sharecroppers of the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* and settled later after

⁹ For more information about Ferhat *agha* see second section of the fourth chapter.

¹⁰ The person called *müezzîn* İsmail, son of Seydi Mahmut, was registered in the first *tahrir* as the head of one of the households settled in the village as a peasant with full-farm. In the second *tahrir*, which was conducted in 1485, the same person appears as one of the two persons who were exempted from paying tax to the state due to their services in the village mosque. I obtained the hand-writted copies of the *tahrir* records from Mr Ünal Üstün who was in charge of transcribing them into modern Turkish for publication by the Ministry of Culture. The archive references that I was provided with by Mr Üstün are as follows: T.C. Başbakanlık Arşivi: TD 13 (859 H/1455 M), pp. 212-213 and TD 37 (890 H/1485 M), pp. ?

¹¹ Şam is the Turkish name for Damascus, the capital of Syria.

buying land. Some other households, like the Georgian clans in the midst of the 1920s, the Pazarcıoğlus in the 1930s and the Karaosmanoğlus from the province of Sivas in 1975, first bought land and then settled.

2.4 Settlement Regime

The village is divided into 7 main districts with two major centres. Each district is inhabited usually by one of the dominant clans (and sometimes called by the name of that dominant clan). The names of the main districts with alternative names in brackets, place of location and the name(s) of the dominant clan(s) in each of them are as follows: Alacağağ with sub-districts of Kurtkuyu, Orta Mahalle and Yedipınar, central north-east, north-west and entire west, Şamhoğlus and Müezzinoğlus; Dereli (Bekteşoğlu), south, Bekteşoğlus; Deremahalle (Kavrazlı), north, Velioğlus; Dursunlu (Karahisarhoğlu), east, Karahisarhoğlus; Karaerik with Kertboğaz (Selimağa or Gürcü), north-east, all of the Georgian clans; Konakyanı, central-east, Nasuhbeyoğlus and Köseoğlus, Yenimahalle (Sıvaslı Mahalle), far north-west, Karaosmanoğlus.

The place of settlement of the clans also reveals some clues about the structure of the settlement regime in the village. Although the village has got two centres, one on the north-east corner of its border with the village of Akkese and the other in the central Alacağağ, the settlement regime has no centrality even within the districts, as such it is a typical example of the settlement regime in the Black Sea region. From one point of departure to all directions, houses are spread all over the geography. From past to present, they have always been constructed on a piece of land which is considered to be a suitable place of location in terms of easy access to other lands owned by the same household without being entirely cut off from the rest of the neighbours, and with easy access to water and transportation facilities. However, a high density of population, which was 138 people per sq km in the province of Ordu in 1990¹² combined with the multi-residentiality of the households seems to be giving a new shape to the settlement regime in the village and the area, as the space between the houses seems to be narrowing very rapidly.

The night is the best time to have a full view of this newly emerging pattern

¹² Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, p. 39.

of the settlement regime both in the village and the vicinity as vegetation and geography obscure the scene in the daylight. By night we see hundreds of house and street lights on the winding roads on the slopes. With its illuminated nights, the new face of the Turkish village is, in our case, almost identical with what an unlettered man, *Nasuhbeyoğlu Ferhat agha* of the village of Kayadibi imagined in the 1920s and 1930s when he was encouraging his village men to produce hazelnuts: *Don't worry about what to eat if you stop producing maize. You'll be eating freshly baked bread made from wheat flour, even delivered to your door every morning.*

2.5 Population and Residential Places of the Households

The village has got five kinds of population. These are (1) the total number of people in the village on a certain day, (2) the total number of people who live most of a year in the village, (3) the total number of people who belong to households that reside most of a year in the village, (4) the total number of people who are the members of the households that are considered Kayadibian by reference to their being part of the community because of having their farms and houses in the village and finally (5) the total number of people who were registered in the Village Population Roll as Kayadibians. The existence of different kinds of population is due to the village being an open system with high geographical mobility of the people for economic and social reasons.

According to the provisional results of the Population Census¹³ which was conducted on the 21st of October 1990, there were 962 people in the village. This number included the teachers, mosque imams, members of their households and all the other people, like myself, who were in the village for one or another reason. According to records prepared by the Village Council, the village has got a population of 1,200 with the exclusion of civil servants, teachers, imams, outsiders and members of their households residing in the village. This figure is the equivalent of the total number of people in the second and third categories specified. The difference between this figure and the total number of people who were in the village on the day of census occurred because of three reasons. First, around a 60 people who actually live and work in the village went to the city a day before the census in

¹³ I obtained these provisional results from the headman of the village soon before the records were sent to the city.

order to get counted there, in response to the call of the local government. The call was to get as many people as possible counted in the city centre in order to obtain more credit from the central government to improve the infrastructural facilities from which the rural population benefits to a large extent. Second, the members of the households which have double residentiality stayed in their homes in the city for the same reason. Third, the rest were away continuing their education and/or work in other cities or abroad and could not, of course, turn up although many who were working in the neighbouring provinces showed special effort to be in the city centre on the census day.

The total number of people who are enrolled in the Village Population Roll is 2,700. This means that nearly two-thirds of the people who were born in the village are not dwelling there although a considerable number of these people have their farms in the village and come there for the harvest season. The rest, however, are the people who are part of the community socially but they are considered as distanced members because of living away and having no significant economic interests in the village for the time being. They usually come to the village during the harvest to help their families or relatives. In my examination of the labour aspect of hazelnut production below, I shall call them distanced domestic labour. Accordingly, if the census were conducted during the harvest time, the total number of people would increase to over 3,200 with the addition of the number of seasonal wage workers. This is to say that the total number of population of the village fluctuates between 1,000 and 3,200 in parallel with the annual requirements of the economic and social life in the village.

Similarly, the number of households residing in the village also fluctuates in response to the annual requirements the economic and social life. There are 205 families enrolled in the Village Population Roll. But this figure does not reflect the real number of the households. This is because establishing a separate household does not require the residents of the village to register their households as separate entities in the Rolls immediately. After a close examination of the records with the members of the Village Council, and cross checking the results obtained from this examination with the oral information that I was provided with by the neighbours in every district of the village, I arrived at the conclusion that there are 239 Kayadibian households excluding households of the teachers, imams of

the mosques and of the staff of the village health centre who reside in the village. Of this number, 187 (78.2 percent) reside most of the year in the village and the remaining 52 (21.8 percent) live out. Of this latter category of households, 12 are currently living abroad and 40 are in various cities in the country.

2.6 Public Facilities and Services

The Kayadibians enjoy fairly developed infrastructural facilities and public services located within the village. For the provision of these, like most of the other villages in the vicinity, they have shown great effort by means of activating potential resources available both in and outside the village. The main public facilities and services available in the village and the contribution made by the villagers are as follows.

- **roads and transportation facilities:**

A stabilized road passing through, from south to north, the villages of Akkese, Teyneli, Çavuşlar and Öcelli connects the village to the city centre. An alternative route to the city centre passes through the village of Kökenli, after the village of Teyneli, and reaches the Ordu-Sivas main road in the east. The former road was constructed in the mid 1930s entirely by the villagers (both Kayadibians and the members of the other villages) under the leadership of the late Ferhat *agha*, and was improved after the 1950s by the government. It is 13 km long and was about to be covered with asphalt when I left the village. The alternative route, however, is a 19 km long road covered with asphalt within the administrative borders of the village of Kökenli.

The road network within the village of Kayadibi has two arteries starting from its border with the village of Akkese in the north-east. One passes through the mountain ridge mentioned above and serves the northern, western and far southern districts of the village by means of dozens of subroads. This artery connects also the village of Günören in the west to the city centre. The other artery passes through the eastern part of the village and connects it to the nearby Ulubey town in the south via the village of Doğulu. Almost every house in the village is accessible by a vehicle thanks to the intra-village road network but, at the same time, it needs major improvements.

By the time I left the village, there were 12 commercial minibuses operating seven days a week and carrying on average 200 passengers to and from the city centre daily. In addition, there were 3 lorries, 3 vans, 3 tractors, 2 jeeps and 14 private cars owned by the current residents of the village, which carried, on average, 50 people to and from the city centre. This is to say that nearly a quarter of the current residents of the village travel to the city centre daily. A considerable number of them are commuters who work in the city. A great majority, however, travel for the purposes of shopping, entertainment, visiting friends and relatives, going to hospital, getting cash from the bank or from a merchant and doing other things in public and private bureaucracy. Approximately one-third of daily travellers are the village women who travel for the same reasons as the men.

- **telecommunications and electricity:**

The first telecommunication service became available in the village in 1978. The villagers provided the place of location for the switchboard and the government supplied and installed it. The switchboard was operated by the villagers and 74 households benefited from this service. After a decade, the villagers started to lobby for an automatic switchboard and managed to get one installed in 1990 soon before my arrival. In order to have access to this more advanced telecommunication service, which now provides 100 of the households with automatic connection with their relatives in distant cities and abroad, one of the villagers provided the building without charge for five years.

Together with tens of thousands of people living in the villages in the vicinity, all the Kayadibians started to enjoy the material benefits of electricity supply in late 1979. Their contribution to hasten this event consisted of digging the pole pits, carrying the poles and paying the cost of transportation of the materials and the labour cost of installment of the wires.

- **water supply:**

In order to supply water for the 95 households which did not have their own fountains or wells, the Kayadibians in the same year dug a 30 km-long ditch to construct a pipeline and they worked in the construction of distribution reservoirs in return for underrate wages. The government supplied the pipes and other

materials.

- **educational facilities:**

There are two primary schools and one secondary school in the village. The first primary school building is located in the most developed centre of the village in the Lower Karaerik district. It was constructed by the late Ferhat *agha* and opened for education in 1928. He also granted 18 decares of land around the school building to the corporate body of the village (*köy tüzel kişiliği*) to be used for the construction of other public premises in the future. Accommodation for the school teachers was constructed on this land in the 1930s by the villagers, including the late Ferhat *agha*, without receiving any financial help from the state. When the old school building became insufficient to accommodate all school-age children in the village, a much bigger primary school building was constructed on the same site again by the villagers and opened for education in 1961.

The second primary school building was constructed in the Central Alacağaç district in 1974 by the villagers on 2 decares of land granted by the villager called Abdullah Şan. The secondary school in the village was opened in 1983. The village house (*köy konağı*) which was constructed in 1976 by the government in the Lower Karaerik district is used as a school building on a temporary basis since the construction of a big school building is not finished yet. For the construction of this new building, which is located on the land granted by the late Ferhat *agha*, the villagers pay the wages of the workers and the government supplies the construction materials inclusive of their transportation to the construction site.

Throughout the country, the educational facilities available in the villages aim to provide enough facilities for mandatory primary education, which is for five years. With regard to this, every school-age child has the chance in Kayadibi to have a relatively good primary education. However, facilities for secondary education cannot be said to be enough both qualitatively and quantitatively for the time being. Although the classrooms are less crowded in comparison to the schools in the urban areas and there will be a new school building very soon, the pupils have no library or laboratory facilities. Many families therefore send their children to the schools in the city centre.

- **health services:**

Constant efforts emerging from the bottom of the community to improve the material conditions of life turned into a competition between the villages to get a village health centre, which would be constructed by the government, located in their own village. Thanks to active lobbying of the then headman of the village called Sedat Şan, who also individually paid the cost of furniture required, together with the late Ferhat *agha* and other influential villagers, the Kayadibians won the competition in 1981. Together with the accommodation facilities for its staff (one GP, one nurse, one midwife and one health technician) the village health centre is located on the land granted by the late Ferhat *agha* to the village corporate body in the 1920s and serves also the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. More than anything else, the service it gives to the village women for birth control and antenatal care deserve special mentioning.

- **religious services:**

With the secularization of the state in the early years of the Republican era, religion was constrained to the issues of faith and worship in Turkey. In addition, the state confiscated major portions of the lands under the control of religious foundations and withdrew its material contribution for the provision of religious services inclusive of the payment of the salaries of imams serving in the mosques. Until recent decades it was the local people who paid for all the religious services that they needed. At present the government pays the salaries of the mosque imams as an elementary part of its policy of promoting the official version of the religion.

There are two mosques in the village and both of them, together with the accommodation facilities for their imams, have been constructed by the villagers: one in 1972 in order to replace the old one located in Orta Mahalle and the other in 1975 in Alacağağaç Mahalle. The official duties of the mosque imams include calling for prayer and leading the attendants in prayers five times a day. However, the imams have a social responsibility to teach the children how to establish prayer and how to read Qur'an, to remind the people about the special religious days or nights, to visit the sick, to wash the dead before the burial, to pray for the deceased and share the grief of the latter's relatives, to conduct religious ceremonies concerning

weddings and funerals, to settle disputes among neighbours, to channel charities for the poor and to carry out other similar duties. A small amount of cash is usually offered to the imams to contribute to their livelihood in return for their services in two of these duties. These are washing the dead and conducting a religious ceremony during a wedding.

- **shopping and entertainment facilities:**

There are four shops and three coffee houses in the village. Of these, two shops and two coffee houses are located in the Lower Karaerik district, one shop and one coffee house in the central Alacağaç district and the fourth shop is located in Dursunlu district in the east. All the items of daily food consumption, grocery, tobacco, liquid gas in tubes, certain items of stationery and glass-ware are sold in the shops. The coffee houses equipped with televisions and daily newspapers serve as meeting and entertainment places exclusively for village men and visitors. They are also the places where much of the politics at community, provincial and national levels are discussed by men and decisions for communal actions are taken, for which purpose the mosques are also used very often.

2.7 Material Conditions of Social Life

Much of the public facilities and services available in the village indicate one of the important dimensions of the material conditions of social life in the village. I shall focus in this section on two areas at household level in order to provide a much fuller picture of social life in material terms. One of these areas is housing and the other is consumption of durable household goods.

- **housing:**

Every household living in the village has its own house no matter whether the house itself is the private property of the members of the household or is allocated to the head of the household by his parents without any legal proceedings. Exceptions to this are one village-based household which is living in a house belonging to the brother of the head of the household and some of the urban based-households which reside in the houses of their parents or close relatives when they come to the village for the harvest.

Over the decades, the conditions of housing has improved considerably in the village. One of the indicators of this improvement is the increase which has taken place in the size of the houses. For instance, the average gross living space of a house constructed before the 1950s is 39.3 sqm. This figure increased to 92.8 sqm by the 1950s and remained the same until the 1970s, it then increased to 102.2 sqm in between 1970 and 1980 and further to 119.3 sqm within the last decade. At the present time, the average gross living space is 104.7 sqm per household and 20.0 sqm per head. The village-based households enjoy slightly larger living space (106.0 sqm per household and 20.9 per head) in comparison to the urban-based households (92.5 sqm per household and 18.5 sqm per head) primarily because the latter category of households tend to construct small houses in the village if they have also got one in the city.

Facilities inside the houses, some of which were not available at all in the past, indicate other dimensions of improvement in the conditions of housing in the village. For instance, every house has got a proper kitchen (13 percent has an additional one) where the members of the household also spend most of their evenings dining and entertaining themselves and their visitors. In addition, 4.3 percent of them has one bedroom, 14.6 percent two bedrooms, 56.2 percent three bedrooms and the remaining 24.9 percent has 4 or more with a maximum number of 9 bedrooms in two cases. Furthermore, 83 percent of the houses have running water, 97.3 percent a toilet and 95.7 percent a bathroom (16 percent with solid fuel or liquid gas water heaters).

- **consumption of durable household goods:**

Until the 1980s, it was one of the common practices of social scientists to search for the glitter of modern life such as porcelain dishes, dining tables, sofa beds and the number of windows in the peasants' houses in order to measure if the peasantry was resisting modernization. Consumption of tea at breakfast time was also considered as one of the best indicators of modernization. Framing the question in this way was probably the primary reason behind the failure of the modernization theorists to understand the dynamics of the behaviour of the peasantry.

Table II.1:

Consumption of Durable Household Goods by Current Place of Residence						
	village based		urban based		total	
	freq.	prcnt	freq.	prcnt	freq.	prcnt
goods owned						
<i>number of households</i>	169	86.7	26	13.3	195	100.0
<i>radio (plus cas.player)</i>	140	82.8	23	88.4	163	83.6
<i>television set</i>	150	88.7	25	96.1	175	89.7
<i>video player</i>	5	3.0	4	15.4	9	4.6
<i>refrigerator</i>	136	80.5	22	84.6	158	81.0
<i>gas or electric cooker</i>	145	74.3	26	100.0	171	87.7
<i>electric oven</i>	81	47.9	21	80.8	102	52.3
<i>electric churn</i>	133	78.7	7	26.9	140	71.8
<i>vacuum cleaner</i>	34	20.1	17	65.4	51	26.1
<i>sewing machine(electric or foot)</i>	104	61.5	20	76.9	124	63.6
<i>iron (steam or classical)</i>	117	69.2	25	96.1	142	72.8
<i>washing machine</i>	15	8.9	14	53.8	29	14.9
<i>hair drier</i>	36	21.3	18	69.2	54	27.7
<i>private car</i>	11	6.5	8	30.8	19	9.7

I can tentatively say that the peasantry in the area where I conducted this research is well beyond the point that the modernization theorists would like to see. It is also well above the standards of housing, consumption of food, household goods and other items of personal consumption that a great majority of the masses living in the cities can afford. The new trend, in parallel with economic development and the provision of many of the essential infrastructural facilities largely within the last two decades, is to become part of a consumer society and to bring many facilities into the daily use of the members of the household in order to make life much easier and more enjoyable. The Table II.1 shows the extent to which the peasantry has achieved this. The figures given in the table indicate the number and proportion of the households, by place of current residence, which own some of the durable consumer goods about which a kind of consumer fetishism is manifest

in the society.¹⁴

All that I have described about the village points to the fact that the peasants, in general, have prospered over the decades by bringing advanced facilities into their daily life. This material prosperity finds its expression in the assessments made, by the heads of 195 households that I interviewed during my research, about their own lives and the lives of their fellow villagers. For instance, in the case of their own lives in comparison to the past, 9.7 percent thinks that their lives have become, *much better*, 64.1 percent *better*, 6.7 percent *the same*, 13.3 percent *worse*, 1 percent *much worse* and 5.1 percent *other* in comparison to the past. In the case of the lives of their fellow villagers, the answers are quite similar: 6.7 percent *much better*, 61.0 percent *better*, 4.6 percent *the same*, 17.4 percent *worse*, 1 percent *much worse* and finally 10.3 percent *other*, which are positive in content but conditional with regard to some other aspects of their lives, like loneliness etc.

In the following chapter, I shall examine the economic factors which constitute the basis of this general feeling of prosperity.

¹⁴ The data concerning the consumption of durable household goods cover in detail a long list of other goods ranging from the type of shower in the bathrooms to items of personal consumption goods like a walkman. I selected from this long list of goods only the ones which are considered, both in the society and community, as the essential goods of a decent life at the present time.

Chapter III

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY AND LEVEL OF MATERIAL WELFARE

Within the Context of the Rural Economy of the Province of Ordu

3.1 Introduction

Ordu is one of the smallest of the 74 provinces in the country and it has got a real area of 6,563 sq km.¹⁵ In the year 1990, it had a population of 830,105 and 59.4 percent (493,285 souls) of this population were living in the rural areas.¹⁶ These figures meant, in terms of rural-urban population balance and the density of population, that the province was more rural and more densely populated (138 people per sq km in general and 82 people per sq km in the rural areas) than the country was (65 people per sq km in general and 30 people per sq km in the rural areas) in general.¹⁷ Furthermore, on the northern slopes of its mountains, the province is actually much more rural than the above figures suggest. For example, the average density of rural population in the central district and the districts of Fatsa, Perşembe, Ulubey and Ünye was 129 per sq km in the year 1985 and it must be more than this at the present time.¹⁸

Despite its being one of the smallest ones in the country, the province of Ordu has a rather big credit, both in the country and the world, concerning some of

¹⁵ Ordu is the seventeenth smallest province in the country. Its administrative borders fall between the 40th and 41st northern latitudes and 37th and 38th eastern longitudes in the Central Black Sea region of Turkey. Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, p. 5.

¹⁶ Source: *Census of Population 1990: Administrative Division (Summary Tables)*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1458), p. 6.

¹⁷ Datum area of the province (6,001 sqkm) was taken into account for this calculation in order to maintain parallelism with the way in which the calculations were made by the State Institute of Statistics in the above stated source.

¹⁸ Calculated by myself from the figures published in *Census of Population 1985: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, Ordu*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1237), p. 4. Due to my inability to identify the exact geographical location of some of the recently created administrative districts, I had to make my calculation by reference to the old administrative division and use the results of the previous census of population.

the things which are produced within the confines of its rural economy. These are hazelnuts, honey and fish. In order to provide a much broader framework for the analysis of the economy and household survival strategies in the village of Kayadibi, I shall make below a brief account of certain characteristics of the rural economy of the province of Ordu with regard to (a) the composition of agricultural production concerning the crop patterns and their change over a certain period of time, (b) the economic significance of these crops in the whole of the economy of the province and the lives of the people and (c) the structural properties of the production units concerning their size and their control over arable lands by place of residence of the farm owners. In addition, I should also mention the fact that many of the characteristics of the rural economy of both the province and the village can be said to hold true for any of the dominantly hazelnut producing villages in other provinces in the region, among which the neighbouring province of Giresun in the east comes first.

3.2 The Rural Economy of the Province of Ordu

3.2.1 Composition and Significance of Agricultural Production

The province of Ordu is divided into two major agricultural zones. The coastal areas and the lower parts of the northern looking slopes of the Janik Mountains are predominantly specialized in hazelnut and sea food production whereas much of its hinterlands and northern looking highlands are specialized in field crop production and animal (especially sheep) raising. Honey production, however, is spread all over the province although the people living in the coastal areas have a leading role in it. Major varieties of field crops produced in the province in 1989 were maize (131,884 tonnes), potatoes (121,963 tonnes) and wheat (12,253 tonnes), which amounted in the same year respectively to 47.5 percent, 43.9 percent and 4.4 percent and all together 95.8 percent of total volume (277,574 tonnes) of field crop production. The total area under field crop production was 1,090,600 decares, and 57.3 percent (624,710 decares) of this area was under maize production.¹⁹ The total area under field crop production was equal to 25.5 percent of total area of

¹⁹ Source: *Agricultural Structure and Production 1989*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1505), p. 253.

arable lands in the province, which is 4,263,547 decares.²⁰ Despite the magnitude of its volume and of the area allocated to it, much of the field crop production in the province is geared to the domestic needs of the households save the production of potatoes which are also exported to other cities.

The principal agricultural commodity produced in the province is, however, hazelnuts. In 1989, the area under hazelnut production was 1,171,290 decares.²¹ This figure was equal to (a) 27.4 percent of total area suitable for acreage in the province, (b) 27.7 percent of the area under hazelnut production in the country (which was 4,223,005 decares), (c) 21.2 percent of the total area under hazelnut

²⁰ Source: *Köy Envanter Etüdü 1981, Ordu*. (Published by Köy İşleri ve Kooperatifler Bakanlığı Toprak ve İskan Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara: 1984), p. 50.

²¹ How to calculate the area under hazelnut production is a matter of methodology basically for three reasons. First, there is no reliable inventory of area under hazelnut production both in the province and the country. The village inventory (that is, *Köy Envanter Etüdü 1981, Ordu*) has received a popular critique and claimed to have overestimated the area under hazelnut production a decade ago (which would be 1,534,844 decares if percentages (p. 50) were converted into area) because of the way in which the data were collected from the field. Second, the figures published by the State Institute of Statistics concerning the number of clusters of hazelnut bushes called *ocaks* (which was 274,443,138 of which 257,242,233 were at fruit bearing age in 1990) are not also a hundred percent reliable because of the reliance of the Institute on the data collected from the provinces without there having been any representational survey conducted to count the numbers of *ocaks* per decare in different districts and provinces. Third, there are also considerable discrepancies between the production figures published by different public institutions (and individual authors) like the State Institute of Statistics, Hazelnut Research Institute, Fiskobirlik (Union of Hazelnut Sale Cooperatives), Union of Hazelnut Exporters, Chambers of Trade, Chambers of Agriculture etc. Two kinds of methodologies are mainly employed to solve the problems arising from these kind of difficulties. One is to take the total number of hazelnut *ocaks* published by the State Institute of Statistics as base and divide it by a fixed number on the assumption that this number represents the average number of *ocaks* in the country or in a given area. Yet there is still no agreement about the number of *ocaks* in a decare of hazelnut orchard as researches conducted by different individuals or institutions give different results for a given area. Therefore, in some calculations 60 *ocaks* per decare and in some others 80 *ocaks* per decare are taken as divider. If we employed one of these methods, we would obtain respectively a total area of 1,024,878 decares and 1,366,505 decares of land under hazelnut production in the province, and 3,430,539 decares and 4,574,052 decares of land under hazelnut production in the country. The alternative way is to employ different dividers for each given area. In this case, it becomes a matter of finding reliable field data representing the number of *ocaks* per decare in a given district. For my own calculations, I took the figures published in *Agricultural Structure and Production 1989* by the State Institute of Statistics about the number of hazelnut *ocaks* (inclusive of those which are not bearing) in every province as base and divided it by the average number of hazelnut *ocaks* per decare in every province which Kaya (1986) has obtained. This was because Kaya's research has got the utmost representational power regarding its coverage of the main hazelnut producing provinces in the country and also seemed to me to be the most reliable one concerning methodology and presentation of the findings among the published and printed research materials that I know of. In the cases of provinces which are not included in Kaya's research, I took the national average that he has calculated. For alternative calculations see, Öktem (1988), Çetiner (1988) and Ayfer (1977; 1984 a, b).

production in the world (which was about 5,516,005 decares) and finally to (d) 90 percent of the total area under hazelnut production in the rest of the world in 1983²² with the exclusion of Turkey. In terms of average volume of production in shell concerning the period between 1981 and 1987, the province of Ordu supplied (a) 23.6 percent of national production (which was 289,846 tonnes) and (b) 15.0 percent of world production (which was 447,046 tonnes).²³ Between the years 1987 and 1989, the average volume of hazelnut production in the province increased to 101,895 tonnes in shell which constituted 24.8 percent of the national production (410,360 tonnes in shell in the same period). These figures yielded an average productivity of more than 91 kg/da within the province and 103.8 kg/da (125.5 kg/da as the average of the provincial averages) in the country for the same years.

The dominating position of the province in national and world hazelnut production is the result of a long process which started in the second decade of the nineteenth century. I shall examine this historical process later in the fifth chapter within the context of the domestic politics of the development of hazelnut production in Turkey. However, what matters here is how the development of hazelnut production has shaped the rural economy of the province and what kind of significance it has now in the totality of the economy on the one hand and in the lives of the people producing it on the other hand. A report titled *Ordu Vilayeti'nin Vaziyeti Ziraiyesi* (1935)²⁴ which was presented to the minister of agriculture of the time, which is one of the earliest published documents that I have found, contains detailed statistical information about the structure of agricultural production in the province in the early 1930s when hazelnut production was in the process of transition from its infancy to its adulthood in the economic life of the people of the province.

²² Çetiner (1988, p. 68) gives the following figures concerning the area under hazelnut production and productivity in other countries in 1983: 623,000 decares and 149.3 kg/da in Italy; 340,000 decares and 52.9 kg/da in Spain; 130,000 decares and 191 kg/da in the United States of America and 200,000 decares and 80 kg/da in the other countries.

²³ Sources: *Agricultural Structure and Production 1987*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1376); *Agricultural Structure and Production 1988*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1416); *Agricultural Structure and Production 1989*; Çakır (1977), p. 208; Çetiner (1988), p. 68; *Fındık Aylık Bülten* (1990 Nisan-Haziran). (Currently Published by Karadeniz Fındık ve Mamülleri İhracatçıları Birliği), p. 13; Köksal (1989 a), pp. 22, 69-70; *Ordu 1986*, p. 224 and Öktem (1988).

²⁴ The full title of the report is as follows: *Ordu Vilayeti'nin Vaziyeti Ziraiyesi*. (Ziraat Vekili Muhterem Muhlis Beyefendi İçin Hazırlanmış Ordu Vilayeti Ziraat Broşörü [sic]), Tekâmül Matbaası, Ordu: 1935.

According to this report (p. 1), 28.3 percent (1,692,620 da) of the total lands within the then administrative boundaries of the province (5,981,000 da)²⁵ was under field crop production, 25.3 percent (1,514,500 da) was covered by forests, 3.9 percent (233,860 da) was under hazelnut plantation and the remaining 42.5 percent (2,540,000 da) was not suitable for acreage in 1933.²⁶

Figures published in the report (p. 13) reveal the fact that agricultural production was rather diversified in the province in the 1930s. For instance, the volume and acreage of certain crops were as follows: maize (18,048 tonnes/60,600 da), barley (5,404 tonnes/58,820 da), wheat (3,490 tonnes/32,080 da), potatoes (2,754 tonnes/7,760 da) rye (798.4 tonnes/7,800 da), spelt (755.9 tonnes/6,300 da) and dry beans (1,009 tonnes/34,250 da). These figures yield the result of a total area of 207,610 decares of land under field crop production with a total volume of 30,689.9 tonnes concerning the crops specified. After nearly six decades, precisely speaking by the year 1989, field crop production concerning the varieties specified has increased more than 5 times in terms of acreage and 9 times in terms of volume. However, field crop production in general has shrunk almost by one-third (1,692,620 decares in 1933 and 1,090,600 decares in 1989) whereas hazelnut production has increased 5 times in acreage and nearly 7 times in volume. The most significant development, however, has taken place in potato production with an increase of nearly 14 times in acreage and over 43 times in volume. I have got no data to specify the change which has taken place in crop patterns by districts. Therefore it is not possible to assess the pace of development of hazelnut production against field crops in the coastal areas where hazelnut production showed a rapid development. But I can tentatively say that we would obtain results which are similar to the development of potato production in the hinterlands of the province.

Another important component of the rural economy in the province is animal raising and I would like to give some information about the extent to which

²⁵ Over the years, the administrative borders of the province have been changed by the government by attaching or separating some of the districts in its hinterlands. In addition, the real area of the province was unknown until very recently and datum area was used instead. This figure represents, according to my conviction, its datum area in the 1930s prior to the attachment of the district of Aybastı.

²⁶ Pastures on the highlands and marshy lands in the coastal areas must have been included in this latter category of lands although the report does not mention anything precise about them.

the patterns of animal raising have also changed in the process of transformation of the rural economy in the province. According to the same report (p. 8) mentioned above, the number of domestic animals was as follows in the year 1934: 707,188 sheep (inclusive of lambs), 170,226 goats, 7,716 water buffaloes, 69,219 cattle (30,114 oxen and 39,105 milk cows and calves), 8,334 horses, 2,175 donkeys and 1,248 mules. By the year 1989 the numbers of sheep (inclusive of lambs) decreased by 2.54 times to 277,600, of goats by 129 times to 1,320 whereas the number of cattle increased by 4 times to 282,179 and the number of water buffaloes remained almost the same (8,056 head inclusive of buffalo oxen) However, the total number of domestic animals decreased in the same period almost by one-third to 614,783²⁷ from 954,399.

These changes in the number of domestic animals indicate the fact that animal raising has increasingly become confined to the domestic consumption needs of the households. Especially hard-hit have been working animals, goats and sheep although sheep raising has been the very area where production for the market developed quite early in the face of lack of transportation facilities which cash crop production was (and is) in very great need of. Until the 1960s sheep raising also served as one of the essential source of income which enabled the peasantry to save and buy land. The best indicator of patterns of change in animal raising is that there were 3.63 domestic animals per head in 1934 and this decreased to 1.2 in 1990 as far as the rural population of the province is concerned.²⁸

On the other hand, the dwindling of some of the working animals (of oxen by 2.15 times to 13,998 in 1989) *vis-a-vis* the increase of the number of other working animals (horses, mules and donkeys) by 3.3 times to 38,970 in the same period are other important indicators of the changes which have taken place in crop patterns. The increase that has taken place in the number of the latter category of animals is due to the reliance of hazelnut production on their working power especially for carrying hazelnuts from the orchards to the threshing floors. They

²⁷ Source: *Agricultural Structure and Production 1989*, p. 396.

²⁸ These figures were obtained by means of dividing the number of domestic animals given in the report mentioned and 1989 by the rural population of the province in 1935 and 1990, which were 262,712 and 493,285 respectively. Sources: *Census of Population 1985: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1369), p. xxii; *Census of Population 1990: Administrative Divisions (Summary Tables)*, p. 33.

were also instrumental in the transportation of hazelnuts to nearby towns or roads and remained so until the countryside was provided with modern transportation facilities by the 1960s. Nevertheless, the level of technological development is in fact very low both in hazelnuts and field crop production. For instance, there were 937 tractors, 588 trailers and 412 hazelnut threshers in the province in 1989. This means less than two tractors, one hazelnut thresher and slightly more than one trailer per village; and despite the fact that maize production has shown a tremendous development, there were only 23 corn shellers in the province in the same year.²⁹

It would be disgraceful if we did not mention the role played by poultry in the economic life of the peasantry in the 1930s. Each egg laid was of tremendous significance for the peasants to earn cash in those years. The number of poultry in 1932, for instance, was 75,000 and the quantity of eggs produced was 14,400,000. Eating eggs in those years was for the majority of the peasants of the province a luxury.³⁰ For example, the total money value of eggs produced in the same year was equal to 340,000 TL and this amount was equal to 22.9 percent of the money that hazelnuts could fetch the peasantry in the same year.³¹ The market price of eggs was quite high (2.37 piaster) and one could buy kilogram of corn flour in return for 3.56 eggs and 2.63 eggs in 1926 and 1931 respectively.³² In the process of transformation of the rural economy, hens and cocks stood on the side of milk cows in the stables and accordingly managed to get their numbers increased to 697,750 in 1989 and the number of eggs to 68,664,000 in 1988.³³

²⁹ Source: *Agricultural Structure and Production 1989*, p. 256.

³⁰ Throughout the 1930s, Turkey was exporting eggs from within the confines of its rural economy. This understandably was causing a shortage of supply in the domestic markets. In the later years, the province continued to export eggs to both domestic and international markets and the price of eggs produced by the peasant households has never been low in the market. For instance, I noticed during my regular visits to the weekly established *vegetable market* in the city centre that there was considerable difference in price between the eggs produced by poultry farms and by the peasants because of the latter feeding their hens with stuffs which contain less inorganic materials.

³¹ For figures see, Ferhatoğlu M. Fahrettin (1934), p. 20.

³² For market prices of certain commodities see, Çebi (1978), p. 41.

³³ Sources: *Agricultural Structure and Production 1988*, p. 319 and *Agricultural Structure and Production 1989*, p. 396. Since no information is provided in the publication about the number of eggs for the year 1989, I had to quote the figure in the previous year.

The so-called process of penetration of rural structures by capitalism has never found any other collaborator which is more industrious than the honey bees, as far as the rural economy of the province is concerned. There were 7,150 traditional and only 2 modern beehives in the province in 1933. The volumes of honey and wax production were accordingly quite low: 46,870 kg honey and 7,152 kg wax in the same year.³⁴ Apiculture started to occupy an important role in the livelihood of the peasantry after the 1970s. The volume of production has increased 120 times in the case of honey production and 50 times in the case of wax production. This accordingly raised the province of Ordu to the top of the scale in the country in 1988 with 5,643 tonnes of honey and 359.8 tonnes of wax, which were equal respectively to 13 percent and 14.8 percent (42,729 tonnes and 2,422 tonnes) of the national production in the same year.³⁵

Finally, we should not forget the significance of fishery in the economy of the province. Though the words sea and rural may seem contradictory to each other in our imaginations, seafood production is actually another component of the rural economy in the province. In general, fishery is as much a part of survival of the peasant households in the coastal areas as honey production or animal raising is in general. A great majority of fishery units (75-80 percent) are household production units aiming to obtain a reasonable livelihood from their activities. The volume and value of seafood production constituted respectively 14.3 percent and 17.6 percent of national production in 1978 (Aral 1989 b, pp. 50-51).

Before finishing this section, I would like to give some idea about the status of hazelnut production in the totality of the economy of the province and in the lives of the people with regard to value it bears. This can be examined along four lines of inquiry. First, the money value of hazelnut production constituted 52.6 percent of the total value of agricultural production (with the exclusion of animal husbandry, poultry, fishery and apiculture) whereas the contribution of cereals was 21.3 percent, of fruits was 9.5 percent, of vegetables was 7.4 percent and of pulses was 7 percent in 1986 (Köksal 1989 a, p. 18). At the present time, its contribution must be around three-quarters of the total money value of agricultural production.

³⁴ Source: *Ordu Vilâyetinin Vaziyeti Ziraiyesi* (1935), p. 14.

³⁵ Source: *Agricultural Structure and Production 1988*, p. 319. Production figures were not included in the publication for the year 1989.

This is because the volume of hazelnut production was quite low (69,600 tonnes in shell) in this particular year and increased over 140,000 tonnes in shell by the year 1989 whereas the volume of production of other crops and fruits remained relatively unchanged in the same period, save potatoes.

Second, again in 1986, agricultural production with all its branches contributed to the Gross Domestic Production of the province by 35.14 percent, industrial production by 18.13 percent, commerce by 14.25 percent and transportation by 11.87 percent (Kayacıklı 1989, p. 247). As these figures do not specify the exact contribution made by hazelnut production, it is not possible to quote a definite percentage. Nevertheless its contribution at the present time is most probably around one-fifth of the provincial GDP. Third, industrial production and commercial life in the province are largely dependent on hazelnut production. For instance, there were 86 industrial establishments, employing more than 30 workers, in the province in the year 1986 and 51 of them (57 percent) were dealing entirely with hazelnut processing (Özyurt 1989, pp. 152, 155).³⁶

Finally, hazelnut production is the primary source of income for a great majority of people living in the rural areas. For instance, according to the results of the village inventory (mentioned earlier) conducted in 1981, the level of dependency on hazelnut production as primary source of income was 75 percent concerning all of the villages in the province and over 97 percent in all of the villages attached to the coastal districts with the exclusion of the district of Perşembe, where it was 89 percent. These were also the districts where two-thirds of the population lived in the same year. In the hinterlands where hazelnuts cannot be grown because of climatic reasons, the level of dependency was about 50 percent, and it was even less than 5 percent in one of the districts called Akkuş.³⁷

3.2.2 Structural Properties of the Production Units

Turkish agriculture is dominated by small farms and we can tentatively argue that a great majority of them are in fact household farms with regard to their qual-

³⁶ One of these industrial establishments called *Sagra*, which is perhaps the single major firm producing hazelnut products in the country, employed 20 percent of total labour force in the industrial sector and of 46 percent in food processing branch of the industry in the province in the same year. Source: Özyurt (1989), pp. 152,155.

³⁷ Source: *Köy Envanter Etüdü 1981, Ordu*, p. 51.

itative nature. For instance, total number of farms in the country was 3,650,910 according to the results of the last agricultural census conducted in 1980. Nearly three-fifths of these farms (2,078,205) were run by households without employing wage labour, a quarter (901,611) was run by households employing also wage labour and only 1.54 percent (56,182 in total) was run without involvement of the households in the labouring process whereas members of 15.90 percent (580,594 in total) of the farming households worked for wages in other farms. On the other hand, 50.95 percent of arable lands was controlled by the first category, 34.64 percent by the second, 2.96 percent by the third and 11.06 percent by the last category of farms.³⁸

The reality of how small the farms are becomes much clearer if their categorical distribution by size is examined in relation with their control over arable lands. For instance, in 1989 the farms smaller than 10 decares constituted 15.74 percent of all and controlled only 1 percent of the arable lands whereas those which are bigger than 500 decares constituted 1 percent of all and controlled 12.23 percent of the arable lands. The distribution of the rest of the farms by size and the control they exerted over arable lands, according to the results of the same census, was as follows: 10 to 19 da, 14.43 percent and 3.11 percent; 20 to 29 da, 12.90 percent and 4.73 percent; 30 to 39 da, 10.78 percent and 5.59 percent; 40 to 49 da, 8.21 percent and 5.55 percent; 50 to 99 da, 20.22 percent and 21.25 percent; 100 to 199 da, 11.54 percent and 21.25 percent and finally 200 to 499 da, 5.29 percent and 22.80 percent.³⁹

Despite their help in describing certain characteristics of Turkish agriculture, these figures are not helpful at all in understanding the qualitative nature of agriculture with regard to two principal issues. First, it would be misleading to take farm size as a yardstick to classify them in order to judge the economic welfare that a given size of farm can generate without taking into account crop patterns, soil productivity and climatic conditions which show a great diversity in the country. For instance, the economic significance of, say, 10 decares of land in the south of the country, where a double and even a triple harvest within a year is possible, cannot

³⁸ Calculated by myself from the figures published in *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1989*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 1405), p. 202.

³⁹ Calculated by myself from the figures published in *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1989*, p. 201.

be considered equal to owning 100 decares of land in the east or south-east of the country where only a single harvest is possible. Second, regardless of how small a farm is, its size cannot be taken without further clarification of its properties as the indicator of its being a household farm in conceptual terms. This also holds true for employment of wage labour, unless the totality of the economic activities of the household owning the farm is taken into account. For instance, farms in a given area may have identical features concerning their size, employment of wage labour, machinery, crop patterns etc. But some of these farms may be, temporarily or permanently, an integral part of the operation of a capitalist firm owned by a household whereas others may not.

On the other hand, another unfortunate point about these figures is that they do not allow us to provide an account of the structural properties of agriculture at the provincial level either. However, this can largely be compensated for by making use of the results of the village inventory conducted in 1981. According to the results of the inventory, the total number of households involved in agricultural production in the province was 90,083 and 97 percent (86, 409 in total) of these households were residing in the villages whereas the remaining 3 percent (3,674 in total) lived in the cities. These households controlled respectively 96 percent and 4 percent of the arable lands. Second, the distribution of arable lands among the farms was more egalitarian than what the national figures from the agricultural census of the year 1980 suggested. For instance, more than three quarters (76.5 percent) of the households residing in the villages owned farms smaller than 26 decares and controlled 53 percent of the arable lands whereas the farms with less than 31 decares of land constituted 43.07 percent of the farms and controlled only 8.85 percent of the arable lands in the country. This also meant, as a third point, that small farms were more predominant in the province than they were in the country in numerical terms. A further indication of this point was that 19 percent of the households owned farms between 26-50 decares and controlled 31 percent of the arable lands, 4 percent owned farms between 51-100 decares and controlled 13 percent and 0.5 percent owned farms bigger than 101 decares and controlled 3 percent of the arable lands. The farming households resident in the cities showed similar patterns of distribution concerning the size of their farms and the control

they exerted over the arable lands.⁴⁰

Within the context of these factual and structural properties of the rural economy in the province, let us now proceed to an examination of the economic life and material well-being of the households in the village of Kayadibi.

3.3 Economic Life and Material Welfare in Kayadibi Village

The key to the survival and material welfare of the households in the village is the generation of enough cash together with the sustaining of supplementary subsistence production, food processing and obtaining cash equivalents in the form of by-products. Therefore, economic life with regard to sources where cash is generated shows a great diversity in the village. A great majority of the households earn their livelihood by putting together incomes that their members earn from various sources in various ways and in different combinations and proportions within a year. For instance, of the 195 households covered in this study, 21.4 percent (42 in total) have got one, 41.5 percent (81 in total) have got two, 30.3 percent (59 in total) have got three, 5.1 percent (10 in total) have got four and 1.5 percent (3 in total) have got five or more major sources of income.

A categorical list of the primary, secondary and tertiary major sources of income and their relative significance in the livelihood of the households assessed by their heads is given in the following table. These different sources of income can be classified as follows: (1) cash earnings from the sale of the agricultural commodities produced, (2) cash earnings from industrial production and crafts, (3) salaries and wage earnings, (4) cash earnings from trade, commerce and business and, (5) transfers in the form of rents, retirement pensions, disability payments (and also interest earnings, aid in cash and kind given by close relatives to each other and charities).⁴¹

The figures given in the table below suggest that agricultural production, consisting mainly of hazelnut production and apiculture with regard to its market orientation, is the backbone of the livelihood of the people in the village of Kayadibi. For more than a half (53.3 percent) of the households it is the primary source

⁴⁰ *Köy Envanter Etüdü 1981, Ordu*, p. 49.

⁴¹ For a similar classification see Wallerstein and Smith (1992 a), p. 7.

Table III.1:

Sources of Income and Their Significance in the Livelihood of the Households								
	1ry		2ry		3ry		total	
	freq.	prcnt.	freq.	prcnt.	freq.	prcnt	freq.	prcnt
sources of income								
<i>hazelnut production</i>	88	45.1	78	40.0	16	8.2	182	93.3
<i>apiculture</i>	13	6.7	10	5.1	2	1.0	25	12.8
<i>animal raising</i>	2	1.0	1	0.5	1	0.5	4	2.1
<i>other agri. prod.</i>	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	1.0	4	2.1
<i>crafts and industry</i>	6	3.1	4	2.1	1	0.5	11	5.6
<i>carpet weaving</i>	2	1.0	4	2.1	2	1.0	8	4.1
<i>trades and commerce</i>	9	4.6	4	2.1	4	2.1	17	8.7
<i>small business</i>	4	2.1	2	1.0	4	2.1	10	5.1
<i>insured wage working</i>	5	2.6	6	3.1	12	6.2	23	11.8
<i>civil services</i>	7	3.6	2	1.0	0	0.0	9	4.6
<i>working abroad</i>	12	6.2	1	0.5	0	0.0	13	6.6
<i>casual wage working</i>	10	5.1	16	8.2	7	3.6	33	17.1
<i>construct. mastery</i>	10	5.1	3	1.5	1	0.5	14	7.1
<i>self-emp. driving</i>	7	3.6	2	1.0	3	1.5	12	6.1
<i>self-emp. musician</i>	2	1.0	1	0.5	0	0.0	3	1.5
<i>retirement pensions</i>	16	8.2	5	2.6	2	1.0	23	11.8
<i>rent</i>	0	0.0	7	3.6	11	5.6	18	9.2
<i>aid and charities</i>	1	0.5	5	2.6	5	2.6	11	5.6
<i>other</i>	0	0.0	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	1.0
<i>no source of income</i>	0	0.0	42	21.5	121	62.1		
Total	195	100.0	195	100.0	195	100.0		

of income under the domination of hazelnut production; and hazelnut production by itself is a source of income for more than 93 percent of all households and the primary source of income for more than 45 percent of the households. Agricultural production in general and hazelnut production in particular derive their significance not only from being the major cash-generating sources, but they also derive their significance from being a shelter for people against any failure that

they may face in the rest of their economic activities. Therefore, the heads of many households preferred to place hazelnut production on top of the scale even if their earnings from other sources were considerably higher than what it offered them in terms of cash. This feeling of insecurity also explains the most important reason behind efforts to preserve the lands in the possession of the household, to increase the size of the farm up to a certain point (around 40 decares) and, after achieving a basic security in land-ownership, to invest the rest of the resources in other forms of property, commerce, trade, businesses and industrial production.

3.3.1 Composition of Agricultural Production

- **hazelnut production:**

Since its analysis constitutes the substantive dimension of this work, I shall mention here only some of the essential points about hazelnut production in the village as introductory information. The history of hazelnut production in the village dates back to the late nineteenth century. It seems that the first hazelnut orchards were established by the then Armenian settlers of the village with the encouragement and credit of the Armenian and Greek cereal merchants trading in the city centre. However, it is after the 1930s that hazelnut production started to accelerate; and it became the dominant agricultural commodity produced both in the village and the vicinity by the late 1950s. At present more than 76 percent of the total area and more than 93 percent of the arable lands are under hazelnut production in the village.

- **apiculture and honey production:**

The history of apiculture is as old as that of the village. It was for instance subject to tax according to village inventory conducted in 1485 and has ever since been produced by the peasants in the vicinity. However, it is after the 1970s that apiculture started to gain momentum; it acquired an economic significance by the early 1980s as an alternative source of income supported by the government with cheap credit, information back-up and practical training. By the time I conducted my research in the village, there were 27 households producing honey and honey products for the market while an equal number of households had stopped production entirely, 5 households had put it on trial and 5 households were

producing only for their domestic consumption. The total number of beehives at the end of the harvest season was 1,070 and the total volume of honey sold was 40,900 kg in 1990. This yielded in return over 417 million TL gross and 209 million TL (48,600 pounds sterling) net income.

Every means of production in apiculture is a commodity that can easily be bought from the market; and every means of production together with labour requires a high level of geographical mobility. The latter is because beehives are and should be taken to places, especially to the highlands, in order to find the best plants to feed the bees on and to protect them against pesticides used in hazelnut production in the late spring. By mid autumn they are taken back to the village to winter. In this nearly six months long journey, honey producers travel in small groups to reduce the cost of transportation, share their knowledge and experience about how to protect their bees against viruses and find the best buyers, combine their labour to look after the beehives, and replace one another in order to travel back to the village during the hazelnut harvest etc. There is also competition among them to produce the best honey of the year and to win the honorary prize offered.

Apiculture is risky with regard to its extreme vulnerability to natural factors but it is a highly profitable economic activity with regard to the cost of investment and the requirements of perpetual productive consumption. Therefore, the first thing that a producer takes into account before investing any money in apiculture is the cost of production and how much net money can be earned out of it. The market price of a complete beehive was about 41 pounds sterling (24 pounds sterling were needed to buy the working bees) at the time that I conducted my research. In the case of heavy reliance on credit with high interest rates, the level of risk increases further. However, regardless of the level of commoditization of the means of production and the necessary economic precautions taken before investment, one cannot say that the economic behaviour of the producers (or the potential producers) is capitalistic, even in the form of formal subsumption to capitalism as theorized by Marx (1976 b), for two reasons. First, the producers accept and tolerate even minimal returns to their investments. Second, despite the fact that no constraint apart from credit (which is available although expensive if it is

obtained from a merchant) stands before the enlargement of the scale of production, the latter is conducive in general to the reproductive needs of the households and improvement of the material conditions of life. The number of households who stopped producing honey is in fact a direct indicator of this latter point.

- **supplementary subsistence production and by-products:**

At the present time what else is produced in the village apart from hazelnuts and honey is devoted to a great extent to the domestic needs of the households and these can be described as *supplementary subsistence production*. The purpose behind the production of other crops and vegetables is not to provide the household with all that it needs but is to provide only a small fraction of the vegetables and fruits in order to make the process of daily food preparation as easy as possible in addition to making use of the inert resources of the farm.

More than 81 percent (158 in total) of the households covered in this study produce some varieties of vegetables and maize for their own domestic consumption. The vegetable production consists mainly of the production of leaf cabbage, green beans, aubergines, pepper and parsley. In addition, the majority of the households have got some fruit trees especially apple, fig, mulberry trees and vines. According to a rough estimation that I have made on the basis of my observations during fieldwork, the total volume of vegetable production should be around 13.7 tonnes and a major portion of this should be constituted by green beans, leaf cabbage, aubergines and sweet peppers. With the addition of an approximate volume of 7.9 tonnes of fruits and 15.8 tonnes of maize (which I estimated on the basis of productivity figures published by the State Institute of Statistics), the total volume of supplementary production for domestic consumption would be around 37.4 tonnes.

On the other hand, the grass growing in the hazelnut orchards is an extremely important source for the households to raise at least one milk cow to provide fresh milk and milk products. In fact dairy products and poultry occupy a central role in the daily food consumption of the households. For instance, of the 195 households 77.4 percent (151) owned at least a milk cow and 73.3 percent (143) some chickens. The total number of domestic animals owned by the same households was as follows: 189 milk cows, 176 calves, 27 horses and donkeys, 1032 chickens and

21 sheep which amounted respectively to 0.96 milk cows, 0.90 calves, 0.15 horses, 5.29 chickens and 0.10 sheep per household. The bulk of the dairy products and poultry is devoted to the direct consumption of the members of the households and only a small portion of them is marketed either because of necessity or because of temporary surplus. For instance, only 12.8 percent of the heads of the households have reported to me that they marketed a portion of dairy products and poultry (obtaining approximately 7.960 million TL) within a year to the date the interview.

Depending on the oral information that I was provided with by the heads of the households, I have estimated the total volume of annual dairy products and poultry as follows: 181.2 tonnes of milk, 9 tonnes of butter and 194,800 eggs, which means a pint of milk per head per day, 8.8 kg butter per head per annum and one egg per head every other day. The heads of the households have estimated that the total money value of vegetables, fruits and dairy and poultry products that they produced and consumed within a year preceding the date of the interview would not be less than 309.050 million TL if they bought them from the market. As far as the households which produce something for their own consumption (161 in total and 82 percent of all) are concerned, this amounted to 1.919 million TL (446 pounds sterling) extra economic benefit per household per annum. However, according to my own calculations, the market value of the dairy products and poultry alone would be more than 320 million TL.⁴² With the addition of the money value in the nearest market of the fuel and timber provided from the orchards, the total money value of benefits obtained rise to over 387 million TL (over 90,000 pounds sterling) when all of the 195 households are considered.

⁴² My calculations concerning the volume and the market value of the products that the villagers produce on their own farms for their own consumption depend largely on data that I have collected during my fieldwork via regular visits that I made to what is locally called the *women's market* or *vegetable market*. Villagers (especially women) from around the city centres bring considerable amounts of vegetables, fruits, dairy products and poultry to sell in the weekly established markets in order to contribute to the budget of their households. In order to collect data about this dimension of the villagers' relation with the urban markets, I therefore spent 2 to 3 hours every week in the market in the city centre of the province of Ordu to talk to the people and to collect data about the varieties and prices of the products sold by the villagers as well as the prices of the same kind of products sold by the traders.

3.3.2 Industrial Production and Crafts

Industrial production within the borders of the village is conducive to demand arising from within the community inclusive of neighbouring villages. There were two workshops dealing with iron works such as window frames, doors and other iron works, one small workshop for tool production such as axes and pickaxes,⁴³ one locksmith workshop where shotguns are also produced and some vehicle repairs are done, one timber cutting workshop, one carpenter's workshop which had a lathe as well and finally one tinker's workshop. In addition, there were two flour mills (one water-run and the other electric) and one tailor's shop. Labour for all of these industrial units is provided from within the households, save the rare reception of apprentices and sporadic employment of wage labour in order to meet the demand for the goods ordered.

On the other hand, more than two decades after the demise of woollen *kilim* weaving (this being connected to the demise of sheep raising), carpet weaving is a categorical enclave which was introduced to the economic life of the village in 1982 by its most recent settlers who came from the province of Sivas in 1975. The woollen *kilim* weaving⁴⁴ was entirely for domestic needs whereas carpet weaving is purely for the market. In 1990, eight of the Sivasian households produced 17 silk *hereke*⁴⁵ carpets by making use of the labour of their most junior members between the ages of 8 to 18 and obtained a total net amount of 41.7 million TL (nearly 10,000 pounds sterling).

All of the Sivasian households have got their own looms. They consciously avoid engaging in a relation of dependency by means of obtaining credit from a carpet trader, although they sometimes accept commissions from them together with the pattern of the carpet to be woven. The money needed to buy the yarn

⁴³ This workshop is actually a continuation of traditional crafts production established in the village by the *Velioğlus* who settled there in the nineteenth century. For a long period of time, the early masters of this craft attracted the people in the vicinity due to the quality of what they produced. I was told by someone living in another village located nearly 25 km north of Kayadibi that in the past many people used to go this workshop to make their orders for tools.

⁴⁴ A distinction should be made between woollen *kilim* weaving and the kilims produced from old garments. The households were able to produce the former with the help of very simple tools that they had whereas the latter requires special looms and has now become another kind of craft in the villages in the vicinity although there was no one dealing with it in Kayadibi village.

⁴⁵ A special variety of Turkish silk carpets which is known for their high quality.

is raised from within the domestic resources and supplemented by borrowing from another Sivasian household living in the village if it is needed. Carpets are individually marketed, usually in İstanbul, by family members or relatives living there.

Finishing a silk carpet of 80 x 120 cm, which is the most common size woven, requires a person to work approximately 10 hours a day for a period of six months. One can weave on average 0.5 cm thick lines of a carpet a day. The weaver's fingers must be looked after well and kept very smooth. Having small fingers is also instrumental in a fine finish. This partly explains why child labour is so essential for silk carpet weaving, especially children between the ages of 8 and 12. The gender of the weaver is not important but the households pay extreme attention not to put adults of opposite sex shoulder to shoulder in front of a loom if they are not siblings. In addition, the weavers should be treated with extreme care concerning their psychological mode and motivation for work.

The demands of silk carpet weaving concerning the characteristics of labour create an obstacle to the children's education. The members of the carpet-weaving households expressed their concern in this issue. It is partly because of this and partly because of the absence of carpet weaving in the history of the village that attempts by other Kayadibian households to get their young members to learn this fine art have failed.

3.3.3 Trades, Commerce and Businesses

As I mentioned earlier in my description of the facilities available in the village, there are four small shops from where the villagers can buy basic food stuffs, tobacco, beverages and a small selection of stationery and glass-ware. The sales of the shops boom in the summer and especially during the harvest time as the number of people in the village is nearly tripled in this period. But this is not merely a matter of increase in the number of people in the village during the summer; other reasons must also be taken into account. For instance, a real change takes place in the level of daily consumption, as many people working abroad spend their holidays in the village and can spend much more than the other villagers can afford. Another factor contributing to the sales of these shops is an increase in the varieties which are put on sale. Summer vegetables and fruits like tomato,

cucumber, grapes, melon, water melon and peaches find a large number of buyers in the village during the summer. The peak point in sales is reached however when the seasonal wage labourers come to the village.⁴⁶

Another form of trade that can be mentioned here is butchery. There was only one butcher without a shop, who sold in the year 1990 nearly 6 tonnes of meat in the village. The butcher deals with his business via marketing the meat on the day, especially on Fridays, of slaughtering the animal which he buys from within the village.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the most profitable business that can be done in a village is to run a coffee house. This is because there is no other kind of entertainment and recreational business and a coffee house is the only place where a village man can meet his fellow villagers in a secular and non-private atmosphere. A person who runs a coffee house in the village can earn approximately 3,000 pounds sterling per annum depending upon the location of his business and the standard of his services. Self-employed minibuses should also be included among the small businesses with relatively small returns to a given amount of money invested in the purchase and maintenance of the vehicles.

The rest of the commercial activities, small businesses and trades that the Kayadibians are engaged in are located in the city. As far as the households covered in this study are concerned, these include, two coffee houses, one pizza restaurant, one shoe retail shop, one hardware retail shop, one durable consumer goods retail shop, one furniture workshop, one food retail shop, one electrical appliances repair shop, two second-hand car dealers and two petty hazelnut merchants.

3.3.4 Wage Earning Opportunities in the Village

There are two sectors in the village which create wage earning opportunities for its current residents. These are construction works and agricultural works all

⁴⁶ For the purpose of getting an idea about how the arrival of villagers living most of the year away and seasonal wage workers affects sales, I asked one of the shopkeepers about his bread sales during this period. The answer was quite amazing: from a daily average of 350 loaves of bread (a loaf of bread is about 400 gr) in the pre-harvest period to over 4,500 loaves in the period of harvest. But this figure of daily bread sale should not be applied to other shops because it was this shop where majority of the *daybaşı* (the leaders of the teams of seasonal wage workers) did their shopping.

⁴⁷ The butcher reported to me that he slaughtered 60 cattle and earned approximately 6 million TL within a year to the date of the interview. This figure amounts approximately to 1,395 pounds sterling net income.

round a year. Here, I shall briefly examine only the wage earning opportunities created in the construction sector in and around the village and examine the latter in relation to access to labour in hazelnut production at a later stage.

By the construction sector, I refer to the house construction which boomed in the village and vicinity in the 1970s. A number of economic and social factors played important roles in this process. First, it was by the 1970s that the peasantry started to materialize the prosperity that the development of hazelnut production under the supportive floor pricing of the state had brought about. Once the elementary problems concerning the provision of transportation facilities and acquisition of a reasonable sum of regular income in cash were alleviated, the next problem to tackle was housing. Although internal terms of trade developed against hazelnut production by the late 1970s, the people were able to improve their housing conditions by combining their incomes from other sources, which required at least some of the adult members to live away in order to generate cash.

Second, the drive to prosperity hand-in-hand with the growing importance of *off-farm* earnings in the livelihood of the households has shortened the length of the domestic cycle of the households and accordingly created further demand for accommodation. Third, the people who left the village in the 1950s and 1960s to search for jobs in the big cities and abroad are now coming back as pensioners and in need of new houses. The demand for accommodation accordingly creates a demand for labour in construction sites. It is neither possible nor practical to meet the demand for labour in house construction from within the domestic circles of the individual houses, especially in the cases where the adult members of a household have got permanent jobs as civil servants, salaried workers and traders etc. Construction works create opportunities for many people to work in the village without being employed on a constant basis; this is why there are so many construction masters in the village who also work in the city whenever there is an opportunity to earn cash.

3.3.5 Permanent Off-farm Jobs and Income-Generating Activities

All kinds of cash-generating activities in trade, businesses, crafts etc can best be illustrated in relation with the number of people who have got permanent jobs or occupations (permanency in a job or occupation is defined by reference to working

for more than half of a year). This can also help us to get an overall idea about the extent to which economic life within the administrative borders of the village is a component of the wider society.

The total number of people who have got permanent *off-farm* jobs is 184. This number is equal to 18 percent of the total population (1,020) and 21.9 percent of the people at working age as far as the 195 households covered in this study are concerned. Of this number, 80.1 percent (149) are the members of village-based households (which have got a total population of 890) and the rest are of the urban-based households. Only about two-fifths (72) of these people continue their jobs in the village, 31.0 percent (57) in the city centre of the province, 16.8 percent (31) in other cities (13.0 percent in İstanbul) and 13.0 percent (24) abroad.⁴⁸ A complete list of jobs and/or occupations in which these 184 people are engaged is given in the table below.

The figures given in the table indicate that the great majority (157: 85.3 percent) of the people with a permanent job is comprised of male members of the households. Of these male members, 44.6 percent (82) are heads of households and the rest are his/her juniors. Of the 27 female members, 18.5 percent (5) are wives, 22.2 percent (6) are daughters-in-law and 59.3 percent (16) are daughters of heads of households. This is to suggest that cash generating from *off-farm* jobs and occupations is principally the responsibility of the heads of households together with junior male members, in a process which increasingly pushes the rural women into industry and the civil services as cash earning individuals.

In addition, there are also significant differences between the kinds of jobs and occupations that the people have, concerning current residential place of the households. The principal jobs that the members of the village-based households are engaged in are wage earning as insured workers (52: 34.9 percent), crafts (23: 15.4 percent), construction mastery (14: 7.6 percent), and self-employed driving (13: 8.7 percent). The members of the urban-based households, on the other hand,

⁴⁸ In a more detailed fashion, the number of people by current residential place of households and members are as follows: Of the 149 members of the village-based households, 48.3 percent (72) continue their jobs in the village, 23.4 percent (35) in the city centre of the province (11 of them being commuters), 15.4 percent (23) in other cities and 12.7 percent (19) abroad. Of the 35 members of the urban-based households, 62.9 percent (22) work again in the city centre of the province, 22.8 percent (8) in other cities and 14.3 percent (5) abroad.

Table III.2:

Permanent Off-Farm Jobs and Occupations by Sex						
occupation or job	female		male		total	
	freq.	prcnt.	freq.	prcnt	freq.	prcnt.
<i>apprentice</i>	0	0.0	3	100.0	3	1.6
<i>self-emp. construction master</i>	0	0.0	14	100.0	14	7.6
<i>construction undertaker</i>	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	0.5
<i>construction worker</i>	0	0.0	6	100.0	6	3.3
<i>craftsman</i>	1	3.8	25	96.2	26	14.1
<i>government employee(memur)</i>	4	28.6	10	71.4	14	7.6
<i>insured worker(işçi)</i>	13	21.7	47	78.3	60	32.6
<i>musician</i>	0	0.0	2	100.0	2	1.1
<i>self-employed driver</i>	0	0.0	16	100.0	16	8.7
<i>small business</i>	0	0.0	10	100.0	10	5.4
<i>teacher</i>	0	0.0	2	100.0	2	1.1
<i>trade</i>	0	0.0	14	100.0	14	7.6
<i>unpaid household worker</i>	9	64.3	5	35.7	14	7.6
<i>other</i>	0	0.0	2	100.0	2	1.1
Total	27	14.6	157	85.4	184	100.0

are engaged principally in trade and commerce (8: 22.9 percent), wage earning as workers (comprised by the social insurance system) (8: 22.9) and in the civil service (7: 20.0 percent).

The final questions that we need to answer before finishing our examination of economic life in the village are first how much cash is generated from all these different sources of income and second to what extent is this enough for the people to survive? In order to answer these questions, I shall present a summary of my findings on the basis of the data that I have collected from the heads of 195 households.

3.3.6 Sources of Income and Level of Material Welfare

The sources from which the households obtained their livelihood and the amount of net cash generated together with the approximate value in money terms of subsistence items and fuel etc consumed within a year to the date of interview are given in the following table. The explanations for each item of income appearing in the table are as follows:

1. **hazelnuts, 1989:** net income obtained from the sale of hazelnuts produced in 1989;⁴⁹
2. **honey, 1990:** net income obtained from the sale of honey and honey products produced in 1990;
3. **live animal plus:** the amount of net cash obtained from the sale of live animals raised for the purpose of sale in the market and of cash obtained from the sale of other agricultural crops in the market;
4. **dairy products:** the amount of net cash obtained from the sale of dairy products and poultry;
5. **regcash by m.l.t.:** net cash earned from all kinds of economic activities by members who live together with the rest of the members of the household in its current residential place;
6. **randcash by m.l.t.:** wages earned randomly in return for work done for others like working on a construction site, hazelnut picking etc by the members who live together with the rest of the household in its current residential place;
7. **regcash by m.l.a.:** net income earned from all kinds of regular economic activities by members who live more than half a year away from the rest of the household. In the case of working abroad, the amount of remittances sent was taken into account;

⁴⁹ The net income was calculated by deducting the total amount of spendings in cash for hazelnut production in the same year from the money obtained from the sale of hazelnuts produced again in the same year. Additional data to make this calculation, which I shall present in the results of my findings later (in chapter VI) in my examination of money cost of hazelnut production, were collected from 31 hazelnut producing households and the average percentage obtained applied to the rest.

8. **pensions+rent:** the amount of pensions and rent received by members of the household;⁵⁰
9. **carpets woven:** net cash earned from the sale of carpets woven within a year to October 1990;
10. **cash equiv.of subsist:** estimated (by the heads of households) cash equivalent in the nearest local market of subsistence items like dairy products, vegetables and fruits consumed; and
11. **cash equiv.of fuel etc:** estimated (by myself) cash equivalent in the nearest local market of fuel, timber and grass provided from the orchards.⁵¹

The figures given in the table suggest a number of crucial points about the survival of the peasantry in the heartland of hazelnut production in both the country and the world. First, they indicate that net incomes from hazelnut production have largely been marginalized in the livelihood of the people. Despite the fact that the year 1989 was a *good crop year*, net cash earnings from hazelnut production constituted on average less than a quarter (23.6 percent) of the total cash earnings of all of the households. This figure was 27.3 percent for the 169 (86.6 percent of the total) village-based households and 14.1 percent for the remaining 26 urban-based households. With the addition of cash obtained from honey production, animal husbandry and from the sale of dairy products, the total amount of cash earnings from agricultural production rose up to nearly two-fifths (39.1 percent) of the total net income of the village-based households, whereas hazelnut production was the only source generating cash for the urban-based households. Accordingly, the total contribution of income obtained from agricultural production remained below one-third of the total income of all of the households.

⁵⁰ Although interest earnings and the amount of charity received should be included in this category of incomes which are classified as 'transfers', it would not be wise to collect data about these kinds of income during a fieldwork. This is because any such attempt would cause the villagers a considerable degree of embarrassment in addition to raising doubts about the purpose of my research. Therefore I collected no data about these two items of transfers although they are included as categories of disposable household income in surveys conducted by the State Institute of Statistics.

⁵¹ For this calculation, I benefited from the figures which were taken into account in the same year in the cost analysis of hazelnut production made by the *ad hoc* committee set by the Chambers of Agriculture of the province of Ordu.

Table III.3:

Breakdown of Disposable Annual Income (000 TL) by Current Place of Residence

source of income	village		urban		total	
	based	col.	based	col.	income	prcnt
	income	prcnt	income	prcnt	income	prcnt
cash earnings						
(1) hazelnuts, 1989	572,051	27.3	118,017	14.1	690,068	23.6
(2) honey, 1990	209,898	10.1	0	0.0	209,898	7.2
(3) live animal plus	27,987	1.3	0	0.0	27,987	0.9
(4) dairy products	7,960	0.4	0	0.0	7,960	0.3
total of (2+3+4)	245,845	11.8	0	0.0	245,845	8.4
total of (1 to 4)	817,896	39.1	118,017	14.1	935,913	32.0
(5) regcash by m.l.t.	349,100	16.7	590,448	70.5	939,548	32.1
(6) randcash by b.l.t.	44,927	2.1	500	0.1	45,427	1.5
(7) regcash by m.l.a.	641,160	30.7	8,400	1.0	649,560	22.2
(8) pensions+rent	195,986	9.4	120,400	14.3	316,386	10.8
(9) carpets woven	41,700	2.0	0	0.0	41,700	1.4
total nonagri (5 to 9)	1,272,873	60.9	719,748	85.9	1,992,621	68.0
total cash	2,090,769	100.0	837,765	100.0	2,928,534	100.0
cash equivalents						
(10) cash equival.of subsist.	298,250		10,800		309,050	
(11) cash equival.fuel etc	65,041		12,981		78,022	
total equival.(10+11)	363,291		23,781		387,072	
General total (1 to 11)	2,454,060		861,546		3,315,606	

Second, the *off-farm* earnings with regard to criteria of regularity, active or passive involvement and co-residentiality of the members obtaining the income suggest that the randomness of *off-farm* earnings has already become a practice of the past. In other words it is not possible for a peasant household to survive on the basis of income earned from sources outside the farm by means of irregular involvement. The amount of net cash earned from these kinds of activities constituted only 1.5 percent of the total cash earnings and 2.2 percent of the *off-farm*

earnings.

Third, figures given in the table also suggest that regularization of the *off-farm* earnings requires at least double-residentiality of some of the members and/or of the whole of the household. The latter is exemplified by the conduct of the urban-based households of which either the majority of the members live in the urban areas or all of the members live more than half a year in the cities and move to the village during the summer. Double-residentiality of some of the members, however, is practised mainly by the village-based households. The result of this practice regarding the incomes of the village-based households is that they obtained 16.7 percent of their total income from regular economic activities of their members either in the village or in the city without practising double-residentiality, whereas nearly one-third of their total cash earnings came from the economic activities of their members who live more than half a year away in the cities or abroad.

Cash earning either through diversification of agricultural production and/or through diversification of economic activities is the main thrust of the survival of the households. However, the supplementary subsistence items consumed and by-products obtained from the orchards have got also an economic value, and these are taken into account in official surveys concerning the amount of disposable household incomes. These items also make a significant contribution to the livelihood of the households regardless of whether we can correctly estimate their market value, as the figures given in the table indicate.

On the basis of these observations, let us try to answer the second question that I raised concerning the level of material welfare achieved or the extent to which the total amount of income earned is adequate. Given the social nature of survival which may be analysed along local, national and international parameters, I shall choose a set of relatively different parameters for each level in order to construct a language which makes things convertible and comparable for the reader. Starting from the parameters at macro levels, the results of my comparison are as follows.

In Turkey, the per capita national income at current factor cost was 1,076 pounds sterling in 1990.⁵² On the other hand, the figures given in the table above

⁵² Calculated by myself from the figures published in *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, pp. 506 and 466 regarding per capita national income at current factor cost and exchange rate of

yield, for the all of the 195 households studied, an amount of 667 pounds sterling income per capita with regard only to cash earnings and this increases to 756 pounds sterling when the money value of subsistence items and by-products is included. This is to say that the Kayadibians' disposable income per capita per annum was 30 percent smaller than the national one in the year 1990. In the same fashion, the per capita income of the village-based households was nearly 40 percent smaller (546.3 pounds sterling with regard to cash earnings and 641.2 pounds sterling with the inclusion of the value of subsistence items and by-products) whereas the per capita income of the urban-based households (1,498 and 1,521 pounds sterling) was 40 percent bigger than the national one.⁵³ These figures must be multiplied by 3 in order to obtain approximate Purchasing Power Parities in pounds sterling.⁵⁴

A second kind of comparison can be made between the results of the 1987 Household Income and Consumption Expenditures Survey (which was designed as the first survey covering Turkey as a whole and conducted by the State Institute of Statistics) and the income figures given in the table above. According to the survey results,⁵⁵ the amount of annual disposable income (with the inclusion of interest earnings, transfers and the money value in the nearest market of all kinds of subsistence items consumed) per household, was equal to 1,672 pounds sterling in rural areas and 2,191 pounds sterling in urban areas, which yielded a national average of 1,944 pounds sterling. In the same fashion, the income figures (with the exclusion of interest earnings and charities but with the inclusion of the money value of the subsistence items and other benefits) given in the table above yield an average of 3,374 pounds sterling for the 169 village-based households, 7,706 pounds sterling for the 26 urban-based households and 3,954 pounds sterling for all.

A further comparison of the distribution of disposable household incomes by quintiles indicates, as shown in the following table, that the Kayadibian households are far better-off than their counterparts both in rural and urban areas.

pound sterling for the year 1990.

⁵³ For this calculation, the exchange rate of 1 pound sterling is 4,300 TL.

⁵⁴ Calculated by myself from the figures published in *The Economist Book of Vital World Statistics*. (Published by Hutchinson Business Books Limited, London: 1990), p. 34.

⁵⁵ Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, p. 202. The exchange rate of 1 pound sterling was 1,892.60 TL in 1987 and the figures were calculated in accordance with this rate.

Table III.4:

**Comparison of Disposable Average Household Incomes (per annum)
in Pounds Sterling by Quintiles**

	national	averages	1987	Kayadibi	village	1989-90
	rural	urban	overall	rural	urban	overall
quintiles						
<i>first</i>	435	595	509	696	1,163	753
<i>second</i>	838	1,022	934	1,555	3,094	1,714
<i>third</i>	1,252	1,489	1,367	2,533	4,816	2,766
<i>fourth</i>	1,836	2,269	2,104	3,861	7,087	4,304
<i>fifth</i>	3,997	5,579	4,855	8,320	21,147	10,231
overall	1,671	2,191	1,944	3,374	7,706	3,954

The figures given in the table indicate that the average annual income of the first quintile of the village-based Kayadibian households is 60 percent, of the second quintile is 85 percent and of the rest is more than 100 percent bigger than that of their counterparts in the same quintiles in the country. The urban-based Kayadibian households enjoy much better conditions of material welfare than their counterparts in the country, with 95 percent bigger household incomes in the first, more than 200 percent bigger incomes in the second, third and fourth quintiles and 279 percent bigger incomes in the fifth quintile. These accordingly yield, in overall terms, 47 percent bigger household incomes in the first, 83 percent bigger incomes in the second and more than 100 percent bigger household incomes in the rest of the quintiles. In a country where the annual rate of growth was about 5 percent, it would be difficult to perceive all of these differences observed in the level of material welfare as the results of growth of national economy within less than the three years which passed between the dates on which data were collected by the State Institute of Statistics and by myself.

An important issue that needs to be addressed about income distribution by quintiles is the extent of inequality between the households. With regard to this point, the rate of inequality between the Kayadibian households is much bigger than that between their counterparts in the country. For instance, the average

income of the fifth quintile of the village-based Kayadibian households is nearly 12 times, of the fifth quintile of the urban-based households is more than 18 times, and of the fifth quintile of all of the 195 Kayadibian households is 13.6 times bigger than that of their counterparts in the first quintiles, whereas the rate of inequality between the incomes of the households in corresponding categories in the country is 9.2, 9.4 and 9.6 respectively. As I shall discuss later, the rates of inequality observed among the Kayadibian households are not due to land ownership. On the contrary, the inequality arising from land ownership seems to be counterbalanced to a large extent by *off-farm* earnings and generational organization of the households.

Finally, my data suggest that a village-based household needs, at local level, an average disposable income of 400 pounds sterling per head per annum or alternatively 1,788 pounds sterling per household consisting of 4.47 people, in order to survive without resorting to any other source of income apart from hazelnut production, with the inclusion of all kinds of subsistence benefits that can be obtained out of 9.1 decares (6.7 decares should be allocated to hazelnut production) of land per head and 40.7 decares of land per household. When these figures are taken as a base for further calculation, my data suggest that nearly two-fifths of the 169 village-based households and less than one-third of all of the 195 households are below average concerning annual income per head and per household. However, it should be noted that this basic amount of average income per household is bigger than the national average for the rural areas given above.

All that I have discussed above implies that the functioning of household as an institution is essential for the material and social welfare of its members, for the constitution of economic and social differences between people within a given social setting as well as being instrumental in the concrete forms that the operation of a world economy takes in given localities. In the following chapter, I shall first examine how the old class structure based on land-ownership in the village was decomposed by the households with the help of income that they generated from different sources, and then proceed to an analysis of the new class structure.

Chapter IV

HOUSEHOLD, LAND-OWNERSHIP AND CLASS

Rudiments of the Past and Practices of the Present

4.1 Introduction

In the first half of this century, one could hardly be optimistic about the possibility that there could be over 200 households owning, on average, more than 27 decares of land and enjoying fairly good standards of living in Kayadibi village. This was because nearly three quarters of the land in the village was owned by a particular family and many of the households could only survive by means of making sharecropping arrangements with this particular family or by working for it in return for cash. This picture has undergone a massive transformation in the second half of this century and resulted in decomposition of big land-ownership especially by the poor of the past.

The objective of this chapter is to make an analysis of how this has happened and what the present looks like. In this analysis, I shall concentrate mainly on three topics which are (1) how historical factors took their specific forms in the conduct and interaction of households in the village scene, (2) how the households sustain their access to land, which is indispensable for their persistence regardless of how big or small their farms are and regardless of how much income they can generate by means of continuing their land-bound agricultural production at a given time, and (3) what the implications of land-ownership and access to land in certain forms are, concerning the class positions of the households in the village.

Given the fact that the household should always remain in the centre of our attention, I would like briefly to describe first certain aspects of household as a social institution, which I shall not discuss in detail; I would then like to mention some of the historical factors which we need to bear in mind when proceeding from one topic to the next.

The concept of household as a social institution, as examined in Appendix A, is not just another name for the concept of family. Although a household is established in most of the cases around a family nucleus and although all of the members of a family may also be members of one household, the nature of membership of a household is conceptually and operationally different from the nature of membership of a family with regard to its acquisition, continuity and dispossession. These differences also constitute the basis of the household's institutional flexibility in adjusting itself to the social and material conditions of its surroundings.

In general, individuals acquire membership of both a family and a household either through procreation or through expressing mutual consent. Concerning the latter, a marriage contract (between a man and woman) and adoption are the only ways through which an outsider can acquire membership of a family. Despite this, a marriage contract does not automatically make the same individual member of a particular household which some or all of the members of this new family belong to. This is because membership of a family is individual-centred and determines the legitimacy, kind and the degree of kinship ties between the individuals through an automatic mechanism. It cannot be discontinued once it is acquired through procreation whereas the same individuals can acquire, discontinue and reacquire their membership of a particular household without there being any change in the kind and degree of kinship ties that exists among themselves and without need for the kind of legitimacy that they need in order to acquire membership of a family.

These essential features of the nature of membership of a household manifest themselves as the patterns of becoming a separate household and/or continuing to be a separate one while containing different numbers of generations within the same unit. To establish a separate household and/or to continue as a separate one is conditioned by several factors which are both internal and external to the will of the individuals. The most significant of these, which pose themselves as questions to be answered in advance, are the permissibility, desirability and worthiness, necessity and finally feasibility of taking action in either of these directions.

The question of permissibility of establishing a separate household relates to the social and moral responsibilities that one, particularly a male offspring, is expected to internalize and act upon in the community concerning the continuity

of a household established around the family nucleus in which one was born and the farm that one's parents have in the village. The desirability of establishing a household separate from that of the father is partly related to this issue. However, the main body of the issue comes to the fore when there is more than one male successor. A series of quantitative and qualitative points concerning the position, abilities and personality of each member, and the composition of the members of the household regarding their age and gender etc are taken into consideration in order to make a decision about who should and who should not desire or be allowed to establish a separate household and, accordingly, how an already established household should be continued.

Irrespective of the degree of material welfare that a household enjoys, enlargement of a household both in terms of the number of generations and of members makes branching into new units an imperative in order to provide each member with improved living conditions, to maintain egalitarian distribution of the responsibilities and rewards, and to maintain peace and respect among members who are tied to each other also through kinship relations and are responsible for their duties concerning this aspect of their relations. Nevertheless, none of the above-stated questions can successfully be answered unless the question of feasibility of establishing a separate household is also answered successfully. The answer to this last question lies with the ability either of the prospective head of a potential household to earn the livelihood of a household independently from that of the household that he is a member of, or to be equipped with this ability by the same unit.

In empirical terms, my data suggest that the answers provided to these questions have given rise to the following patterns of establishing or heading a household in Kayadibi village. These are (a) gradual promotion to heading an already established household (36.9 percent), (b) separating budgets at a later stage after getting married (48.2 percent), (c) establishing a separate household by the date of marriage (12.8 percent), (d) becoming a successor to one's father-in-law (1.0 percent) and (e) undertaking the responsibility of heading a household upon the death of the head while being unmarried (1.0 percent).

To continue as a household does not require its members to live their lives under the same roof and to eat from the same bowl at all times. On the contrary, the spatial organization of a household may take various forms in response to the material, social and moral requirements of survival in a given time. For instance, nearly two-fifths (76: 38.9 percent) of the households have members (160 in total) who are currently living away from their homes in order to pursue various social and economic objectives. In addition, more than 28 percent of the heads of the households have moved with their family nuclei from one place of residence to the next before they settled in the places where they now reside.⁵⁶

On the other hand, the generational organization of the households is also a response to the same range of requirements of survival without necessarily being cyclical in nature. Rather, a household may enlarge, shrink and re-enlarge both along with successive generations and in terms of the number of members under the leadership of the same person. At the time of my research, the households covered in this study were organized in generational terms as follows: (a) single-generational households consisting of either single persons or of married couples (22: 11.3 percent), (b) double-generational households consisting mainly of a married couple and their unmarried children (110: 56.4 percent), triple-generational households consisting mainly of three successive generations starting with the head of the household (44: 22.6) and finally quadruple-generational households always under a member belonging to the second most senior generation (19: 9.7 percent).⁵⁷

The historical factors that are of practical importance in analysing the process of the rise and fall of big land-ownership are three-fold. First, until the introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in the year 1926, agricultural lands in Turkey belonged to the state. The Ottoman land regime, which remained in power until that year, did not allow private land-ownership in vast territories of the Empire in general. The peasants were the tenants of the state and the agricultural lands were fairly equally distributed among them (Güran 1987).⁵⁸ However, the amendments which

⁵⁶ See, Appendix A, Table 7.

⁵⁷ See, Appendix A, Table 3.

⁵⁸ For example, according to the figures provided by Güran (1987, pp. 242-243) there were 1.7 million farms in the Anatolian and 0.5 million farms in the Rumelian part of the Empire, according to the statistics of the year 1907 and 1909. Of these 2.2 million farms, 26.6 percent were smaller than 10 *dönüms*, 48.2 percent were between 10 to 50 *dönüms* and 25.2 percent were bigger

were introduced by the Land Law (*Arazi Kanunnamesi*) of 1858 gave the tenants the right to lease their lands to the second parties. This meant in practice giving permission to a kind of *de facto* private land-ownership (Cin 1978).

The Land Law of 1858 was in fact a kind of response by the Ottoman government to the penetration of rural structures by capitalism, and aimed to develop agricultural production. Preventing the expansion of the local dynasties' control over the state lands was also central to the aims of the Land Law, in order to maintain equal distribution of the lands among the peasant households. However, the central government was not always able to implement the law. On the contrary, the clashes between the central government and the local dynasties continued throughout the nineteenth century especially in the Balkans. Severe clashes took place also in the province of Ordu in the same century because the local dynasties were trying to gain semi-autonomous political and economic control in the area and were disturbing public order.⁵⁹

Second, by the introduction of the new Code, the peasants were entitled to register the lands under their tenancy as their own private property. Therefore, the most fundamental difference between the pre- and post-Swiss Civil Code periods was in fact the inauguration of the full-scale process of private land-ownership in the country. This process was accompanied by the local dynasties registering large tracts of state lands, that they brought under their control throughout the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, as their private property. Apart from helping the local dynasties to consolidate their position in land-ownership, the

than 50 *dönüms*. In the Rumelian part of the Empire, the farms were distributed into the same farm categories respectively by 37.8 percent, 43.4 percent and 18.8 percent with an overall average farm size of 24.1 *dönüms*, whereas the average farm size in the Anatolian part was 33.9 *dönüms*. Productivity of soil was one of the main factors that the Ottoman Government took into account in the distribution of lands among peasants, and this was reflected in the average farm size in different provinces of the Empire. For instance, the average farm size was 15.6 *dönüms* in Salonika, which was the smallest one throughout the Empire, whereas it was 95.7 *dönüms* in the province of Bitlis in the south-east where lands are rather arid. In the province of Trabzon in the Black Sea region, the average farm size was 18.1 *dönüms*, which was the second lowest average throughout the Empire and 43.0 percent of the farms were smaller than 10 *dönüms*. It is highly likely that average farm size was around the same figure in the province of Ordu as it was part of the province of Trabzon nearly two decades before these data were collected by the Ottoman Government. However, it is also highly likely that one *dönüm* of land was not less than 2 decares although it was officially equal to 920 sqm. This is because what was usually understood and defined by the people as a *dönüm* of land was how much land a peasant could plough in a day.

⁵⁹ Source: *Ordu 1986*, p. 41.

same process also changed the nature of usufruct over the state lands concerning the rights of the state itself and of the individuals. From now onwards, the state had to act not only as a party in the matters concerning its rights over the lands remaining unregistered as private property but also as an arbiter between private parties in cases of conflicting claims.

Third, instrumental to the process of development of private land-ownership was the sorting out of technical problems arising therefrom which required conducting cadastral surveys in order to determine the exact area and borders of the lands registered by the individuals as their own private property. Many of the problems were (and still are) due to the measurements used in the past to determine the area of the lands in the title deeds. For instance, in almost every case there was no consistency between the area specified in the old tenancy title deeds and the real area within the borders defined in them. This was because the statements were based on guesses rather than on precise measurements. Therefore, in areas where cadastral surveys have not yet been conducted, people still cannot be sure about the exact area and borders of their lands stated in the old title deeds. These technicalities continue to be an important problem, especially if any transactions of selling or buying have taken place between the private parties in the face of the fact that an entire cadastral survey of Turkish countryside has not yet been completed.⁶⁰

The introduction of the Swiss Civil Code enables the families belonging to the *Nasuhbeyoğlu* clan, residing both in the villages of Kayadibi and Akkese, to transform large tracts of the state lands that they brought under their economic control in the nineteenth century into their private property. My own construction of the story of their rise and fall on the basis of my field data concerning the branches residing in the village of Kayadibi is as follows.

⁶⁰ For instance, when I was conducting my research in the year 1990, the cadastral survey was still continuing in the area. I came across several examples of lands owned by the state and were appropriated by the people through bribing the civil servants who were conducting the survey. In addition, I saw several incidences of lands bought by peasants without knowing the exact legal status of what they bought and reclaimed by the people who had usufruct rights over them and were able to prove it by using the Ottoman land records.

4.2 The Rise and Fall of Big Land-Ownership

The forefather(s) of the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* come to the village of Kayadibi in the mid eighteenth century from the province of Sivas in the south. Although no one is able to narrate any particular story concerning the reason behind their departure from the south or the number of people on the move, it is highly likely that a person called Nasuh bore a military responsibility like a petty fief-holder (*sipahi beyi*) in the company of the members of his household. The title *bey* that he bore is a strong evidence of his being a military person rather than an ordinary person or a person in charge of a different kind of mission. This is because the Ottoman Government had introduced the collection of tax from the peasantry by commissioning it to tax farmers called *mültezim* long before the arrival of Nasuh *bey* and he would most probably be addressed with one of the derivatives of the word *mültezim* if he were, for instance, a tax farmer. If he were an ordinary person, then it is more likely that he and his descendants would be addressed with a different name like Nasuhoğlu or Sivasian, as the names of the other clans residing in the village indicate.⁶¹

Among the descendants of Nasuh *bey*, the next person who is known to have been born and died in the village at the age of seventy is called Ahmet *agha*. Ahmet *agha* had four sons called Mehmet *agha*, Ahmet *agha*, Ali Osman *agha* and Mehmet Ali *agha*. The latter was the youngest of the four and born in 1839 according to the Village Population Roll. The point which is important to notice here is the change taking place in the titles. The only other person who would be given the title of *bey* among the descendants of Nasuh *bey* is the son of Ali Osman *agha* called Hamit *bey* and this name was given simply to show respect to the memory of the great grandfather Nasuh *bey*. In historical terms, the period was characterized by a series of clashes between the central government and the local dynasties, and the title *agha* indicates that a transformation was taking place in the status and also most likely in the relations of the descendants of Nasuh *bey* with the rest of the settlers of the village, since the concept *agha* or *ağa* refers to a person who owns or controls large amounts of land. Bits and pieces in the oral reports of the members of the clan and of the villagers also support this.

⁶¹ See for example the third section of Chapter II about the names of clans residing in the village.

For instance, when the forefathers of the *Velioğlus* came to the village with their bellows, anvils and hammers from the Kavraz district of the province of Gümüşhane located in the south-east of the province of Ordu, they did not find an opportunity to practice their crafts there because of lack of charcoal and a place to settle. When they were about to leave the village, Mehmet Ali *agha* offered them approximately 300 decares of land in the north-west of the village where they could also produce their charcoal from the woodlands. This place would later become the quarter of the *Velioğlus* (that is, *Kavrazlı*) where they would perform and preserve their craft up to the present time. In another occasion, Mehmet Ali *agha* gave approximately 70 decares of land in the village to a carpenter as a gift (*keser bahşisi*=*adze baksheesh*) for his labour in constructing a beautiful house.

Despite these kinds of losses, the rise of big land-ownership continued until the late 1920s under the principal figure of the recent past, Ferhat *agha*, who was one of the two sons of Mehmet Ali *agha* and was born in 1897. Two particular incidents deserve special mentioning in the rise of big land-ownership under Ferhat *agha*. One is his bringing under his family's control lands deserted by the Armenian settlers in 1915 (due their emigration enforced by the Ottoman Government in response to ethnic conflict especially in the eastern parts of the Empire during the First World War). The other is his purchase of lands allocated by the government to disabled soldiers, who came to the village after the National Independence War which was fought between 1919 and 1922. According to the elderly of the village, 4 disabled soldiers came with their families to till the lands allocated by the government and they left the village of their own will probably because of not wanting to settle there. The area of land that the late Ferhat *agha* bought from them was a few hundred decares according to the villagers.

According to the Village Population Roll, there were two families belonging to the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* clan by paternal lineage and residing in the village of Kayadibi in the early 1920s. These were Ferhat *agha*'s family and the widow and orphan(s?) of his deceased cousin Hamit *bey*. The rest of the families belonging to the clan from paternal lineage were residing in the neighbouring village of Akkese. According to oral reports of the members of the family, the area of land which was registered (upon the introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926) by the two families as their private property was around 4,200 decares in the village. However, according to

one of his sons, Galip *agha*, Ferhat *agha* also registered several thousand decares of lands in other villages as the private property of the family but never touched them in his lifetime. Finding the documents and, if possible, claiming these lands are now the tasks of the new generations while the cadastral surveys are continuing.

It would be misleading to argue that Ferhat *agha* was the only person who acted in this way. Rather, what he did is in fact how many of the big land-owning families would rise and consolidate their power over the state lands and even the lands under the usufruct of other peasant households in the vicinity soon after the introduction of the Swiss Civil Code. These incidents mark the essential difference between the relations of the Ottoman governments and of the Republican governments with the local dynasties.

Contrary to the constant clash between the Ottoman State and the local dynasties, the Republican period, especially its early decades, was characterized by a mutual understanding between the new political regime and the local dynasties. The main bridges of communication between these two parties were the operation of public bureaucracy and security forces of all kinds. The ability of any local dynasty to transform and consolidate its *de facto* control over state lands was proportional to the *friendly relations* it could establish with politicians and bureaucrats of all kinds. An integral part of their efforts to consolidate their position was to control the political life at local levels.

As a typical example of the involvement of local dynasties in politics at local level, Ferhat *agha* was elected in 1931 as the headman of the village, and replaced the former headman Halil Şan, who had held this position for a decade as a member of the *Şamlıoğlu* clan which is probably the biggest clan in the village. Meanwhile, he also married the widow of his late cousin Hamit *bey* who had only one male descendant. It seems that the young *agha's* concern with expanding his territories of power was the main reason behind this marriage (probably a case of polygyny), which would enable him to bring also some of the lands and wealth of the late Hamit *bey* under his own direct control.

By the 1940s, Ferhat *agha* declined to stand as a candidate for the village headmanship but continued to be an active leader of the community for the rest of his life, supported by his economic power. Among the developments which took

place under his leadership, the following are of special importance and also effected in one way or another the process of consolidation, stagnation and decline of the big land-owning class.

Until the start of the acceleration of the process of rural transformation by the 1950s, the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* were everything in the village. They were, in the words of one of the old members of the family, *the only ones in whose houses one could find bread, sugar and coffee at any time*. The late Ferhat *agha* was the very person to whom the villagers could resort in order to get small sums of credit and even buy their sugar in return for labour or payment after the harvest. The distance between the upper and lower layers of the socio-economic stratification in the village was so big that there was almost nothing in between. Many people could manage to survive by being a sharecropper of the *agha*, who was acting also as an accelerator of the process of development of commodity production. But contrary to what one might expect to find, the late *agha* was trying to produce tobacco rather than hazelnuts.⁶²

For a number of years the *agha* continued to produce tobacco and encouraged his fellow villagers to do the same. But when the government banned tobacco production in the province, he devoted all his energy to hazelnut production.⁶³ The cash earned from tobacco production helped the late *agha* to pay part of the labour cost of establishing hazelnut orchards. The other part of the cost was met through indirect land selling. For instance, he bartered the hazelnut orchards owned by other villagers for larger tracts of open fields owned by himself without overtly forcing them to do so. Although these kinds of land bartering had little

⁶² It is highly likely that the late Ferhat *agha* and some other Kayadibians were the only people who were producing tobacco for the market in the 1930s. I have checked through all the statistical information published by the State Institute of Statistics about tobacco production in the province in these years. For instance, the area under tobacco production was 50 decares in 1930, 20 decares in 1934 and 100 decares in 1935; the volume of production in the same years was 2,141 kg, 2,125 kg and 5,777 kg respectively. This figure is almost equal to what I was told by the villagers was the total volume of production they used to market in the period concerned. Source for the figures: *Tarım İstatistikleri 1928-36*. (Published by Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, Publication No. 93), p. 148.

⁶³ In response to my plea, the public bureaucracy was unable to produce any document regarding the reasons behind government's decision to ban tobacco production in the province. According to the villagers, the reason was the blending by some people of the tobacco leaves with chestnut leaves. However, to my understanding, the government's reason must be related to an undeclared commitment to help the development of hazelnut production in the province, as I shall examine later.

impact on the decline of the big land-ownership in the the 1930s and the 1940s, they nevertheless marked an unvisible beginning.

In the same period, the late *agha* mobilized his fellow villagers to the construction of a road by hand, connecting the village to the city centre.⁶⁴ The construction of the road also solved the problem of transportation of hazelnuts to the city centre and hence eliminated one of the major obstacles to the development of commodity production. Ferhat *agha* therefore accelerated the process of establishing hazelnut orchards and encouraged everyone in the village to do the same thing. But he confronted a considerable degree of reluctance among his fellow villagers. The latter repeatedly asked the *agha* what they were going to eat if they planted their lands with hazelnut bushes. This reluctance stemmed basically from difficulties encountered during the First World War as I shall examine later. However, the reluctance of the peasants did not entail a complete rejection of the idea. Rather they felt that they should not undermine their survival by becoming entirely dependent on *one blossom*, an expression that they still use to describe their vulnerability arising from their incapability to make a swift shift from hazelnut production to the production of another crop in the case of a crop failure or crisis in the market. They therefore took the middle course of action and planted only parts of their lands with hazelnut bushes, and maintained this attitude in the following decades.

The next mission of the late *agha* in the early 1940s was to persuade the local authorities to locate a military police station (*jandarma karakolu*) in a house owned by the family in the village. No oral report that I was provided with by the people in the village seemed to me to provide a convincing explanation for the *agha's* desire to have a military police station in the village where there was neither any clash between the family and the rest of the villagers nor any significant crime. A villager told me that he might have wanted to give assistance to the

⁶⁴ The late *agha* did not have any considerable problem in mobilizing his fellow villagers for this major task. But he confronted difficulties and received threats from the villagers residing in the neighbouring villages through which the road was to be constructed. The latter did their best to discourage the *agha* and the Kayadibians by throwing stones at them, by swearing at the late *agha* and his fellow villagers, shouting at him that he was destroying their maize fields and asked him *what the hell was he doing, having a road constructed?* In this major task, which would become one of the important missions of the *agha* in other villages and in the vicinity, some of the urbanites and educated people came to the help of the *agha* and worked for the construction of the road. The support given by the educated assumed the form of an ideological one rather than being a real contribution in labour. The event was also publicised in the local press. Finally the construction of this unstabilized road was finished in the middle of 1935.

government in controlling the illegal timber trade whose route was passing through the village. To my understanding, however, the late *agha* was most probably trying to create grounds for investment by the government in infrastructural facilities like electricity, telephone etc, for the provision of which the location of the military institutions has always been instrumental. This is also more in line with the late *agha's* mission in acting as a leader in the area for the construction of roads and provision of modern public facilities. He might have even dreamed of converting the village of Kayadibi into a town in the long run, for which again a military police station would have helped a lot.

In the second half of the 1940s, the *Nasuhbeyoğlu*s felt threatened by the government's decision to implement land reform in the country.⁶⁵ From that moment onwards, there was a continued debate on how to solve the agrarian problems via implementing a land reform, and it seems that the *Nasuhbeyoğlu*s felt disturbed by such debates whenever they resumed their popularity in the country, although what they owned was considerably smaller in comparison to what was owned by some other people in other parts of the country. The family adopted several strategies to cope with their anxiety arising from a potential land reform in the country and with other forces undermining its economic potentials. One of these strategies was to support the Democrat Party, the pioneer of the modernization of Turkish agriculture, which ruled the country throughout the 1950s and was reluctant to implement land reform; the villagers report that the Party's MPs used to visit the village in the 1950s and were hosted by Ferhat *agha*.⁶⁶

The second strategy employed by the family was to divide the lands among their prospective inheritors in order to reduce the area of land owned by each member to a moderate level so that even if a reform bill was implemented there should be very little above the limits. This was combined with having a cadastral survey conducted in the village between the years 1959 and 1960, just before the debate on

⁶⁵ The first reform bill was proposed in 1945 and was put into implementation in 1947 with the title of *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*. To my knowledge, the bill included neither the region nor therefore the village but aimed at providing a partial solution for the agrarian problems, especially in the north-western and south-eastern provinces of Turkey, where several villages were owned by a single family and many people were landless.

⁶⁶ The multi-party system was allowed in the country soon after the end of the Second World War in order to receive Marshall Aid and Western protection against the USSR's demands over some of the country's provinces. The Democrat Party came to power in the second multi-party general elections, held in 1950.

land reform resumed its popularity in the early 1960s (in the aftermath of the *coup d'état* which claimed the lives of three of the prominent ministers of the Democrat Party inclusive of the prime minister Adnan Menderes). Ferhat *agha* played an active role in persuading the public bureaucracy to give priority to the village of Kayadibi in conducting the cadastral survey. However, the debates on land reform among the intellectuals in the remote capital confronted the family in the early 1970s when the country entered a period of political crisis. A young educated person from the village started propagating, among the village poor, support for a communist revolution aiming at equality for everyone.⁶⁷ But due to the Leninist strategy employed, the young man preached the first half of the prospect waiting for the peasantry, that is land reform under a socialist or communist regime. Not only the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* but also all of the people who owned land in the village felt terribly threatened by this, which would require them to become propertyless, as the political counter-current in the village warned them.

These kinds of developments seem to have had considerable impact on the attitudes of the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* regarding their future in land-ownership. The members of the family argue that they implemented a land reform in the village. What they mean by this land reform is their act of selling an important portion of their lands selectively to their poor fellow villagers. It is not possible to determine the exact area of lands sold for this purpose because large tracts of lands were sold for other purposes, inclusive of conspicuous consumption and extravagance which were also as important as the *threat* felt by the members of the family. But the number of families which bought land during this *voluntary land reform* period is argued to be 54 in the village and over 71 in total, with the addition of number of households residing in neighbouring villages which bought land and the Kayadibian households which bought lands owned by the family within the administrative borders of other villages.

It is however possible to make an account of the extent of decline of the big land-owning class over a number of decades. According to my field records, the

⁶⁷ It is also likely that some of the well known political figures from elsewhere might have been involved in the early stages of this process. Towards the end of the 1970s, things would become much more complicated. The so-called *rural communist revolution*, which claimed several lives in a four-day long battle first between the civilians and then between the militants and the security forces, would start in another village located nearly 20 km west of the village of Kayadibi soon before the military intervention on 12th of September 1980.

total area of land owned within the administrative borders of the village of Kayadibi by all of the individuals belonging to the *Nasuhbeyoğlu* clan by both paternal and maternal lineage was 1,896 decares when the cadastral survey was finished in the year 1960. If we assume that the figure I have cited above regarding the area of land owned by the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* in the 1930s represented the total area owned by them (4,200 decares), this means that they lost 55 percent of their lands before 1960. By the time I conducted my research in the village, the total area of land owned by all of the households belonging to the clan either by paternal or maternal genealogy was around 800 decares, which means a more than 80 percent reduction in size since the 1930s and a 58 percent reduction in size since the early 1960s.

In terms of distribution of the lands among the households resident in the village in the 1930s and in 1990, the above-cited figures give us the following results: In 1935, the village had a population of 565 living in 81 households.⁶⁸ The average farm area was 83.2 decares per household. However, each of the 5 households belonging to the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* clan had 840 decares of land on average, whereas the rest of the households owned (or controlled, in the case of usufruct over state lands) 33.4 decares of land on average. By the year 1990, as I shall examine later, the average farm size per household dropped down to 27.3 decares with a maximum farm size of 220 decares, owned by one of the sons of the late Ferhat *agha*.

Although the threat of a potential land reform has had great impact on the conduct and fall of the big land-owning class, what is argued by the members of the clan is still not enough to explain their decline on the one hand and the performance shown by the peasantry in land purchase on the other hand. Putting all my data together, the following may highlight some of the factors which seem have played considerable roles in their fall as well.

First of all, the big land-owning class seems to have felt itself more secure and stable in both social and economic terms before and at the early stages of development of commodity production. This feeling stemmed from (a) having easy access to cheap, sometimes unpaid but yet non-corrée labour to run the farm and perform certain domestic services, (b) low standards of consumption and, (c)

⁶⁸ These figures were obtained from the Provincial Registry.

favourable conditions in the market together with experience of how to run a farm under conditions which pre-dates the development of commodity production. In the later stages of its development, the big land-owning class felt itself squeezed, as described by Chayanov (1966), by the terms of internal trade developing against agriculture. This can be described as reliance on increasingly expensive paid labour while growing smaller on the one hand and becoming subject to the demands of much wider forces operating within the domestic sphere of the household, in the market and society on the other hand. Apart from the political threat for land reform, these latter kinds of forces included mainly the increase in the number of members, partition of lands through inheritance, tendency to join among the urbanites with the socially-demanded qualifications in education and patterns of consumption, and continuing to perform certain social roles and obligations, which all required spending without receiving any significant material returns.

In order to eclipse the process of decline, the family employed in the late 1970s a very important strategy which marked also the beginning of a new phase in the domestic politics of hazelnut production. The strategy consisted of initiation of the now routine practice by the Chambers of Agriculture, *Fiskobirlik* and the government of making annual cost analysis of hazelnut production on a hypothetical capitalist farm. The cost analysis includes each factor of production by a capitalist farm and suggests that the purchase prices applied by *Fiskobirlik* should be nearly 30 percent above the cost. The late Adil Köymen, the senior of the two sons of the late Ferhat *agha*, played an instrumental role in the initiation of this practice as an active member and, also for a period of time, of the head of the Chamber of Agriculture in the centre of the province, which is an organization of the farmers. Unsurprisingly, this strategy was not welcomed by the hazelnut merchants, some of whom were big land-owners, and lead the late Adil Köymen to say one day that he would not let them rob the peasants.

To my understanding, once trapped with conflicting *social* and *economic* demands, it is more likely that the growing demands for consumption of all kinds of goods, services and the performance of social duties arising both from within and without the household are satisfied in accordance with the magnitude of social reputation rather than in accordance with the ability to generate income. The gap between the two is filled by means of obtaining large sums of instant cash, for

the generation of which land is the essential source if not the only one. In other words, what is rational in economic terms becomes subjugated to what is rational in social terms, and the difference is paid off at the expense of economic rationality. In addition, similar in a sense to feeling the threat of an imminent land reform, the big land-owning class has been further provoked for consumption within its own native environment. This provocative role has been played mainly by those who managed to instil into the tissues of rural economy a considerable amount of regular cash and acted as the agents of new consumption patterns and spending standards on the basis of income and experiences acquired abroad.

The *Nasuhbeyoğlus* are only one example of those who rose and fell in almost every village in the area, although they might have owned relatively larger areas of land than the rest did. Nevertheless, they seem to have declined, like many, without being able to transfer the economic power that they had as a land-owning class to another area such as hazelnut trading, hazelnut processing or any other kind of economic activity which requires large sums of capital and where there is no threat of any kind of reform. The only exception to this, according my field data, is one of the two sons of the late Ferhat *agha* who seemed to unleash the process of decline in order to transfer his resources in the village into other kinds of properties in the city which can also fetch income, like a business centre with flats above, of which the construction was continuing when I was in the village.

The process of disintegration of big land-ownership has not resulted in the concentration of land in the possession of a small number of other households but in more or less equal distribution of land among all of the households in the village through land purchase. Although I would dispute the effect of *selective land selling in the period of voluntary land reform* implemented by the *Nasuhbeyoğlus*, it is not possible to dispute certain characteristics of the people who have replaced them, in addition to some of their other fellow villagers.

My observations suggest that in the period before the acceleration of rural transformation by the 1950s, those households which owned enough land and were able to diversify their production (in the form of maize and other crops for domestic consumption and animal raising and hazelnut production for the market) were able to generate cash above their basic needs and buy land. In later decades, income

generated from the sale of hazelnuts was combined with or even replaced by the remittances sent by the members earning income first in the cities (by the 1950s)⁶⁹ and then abroad (by the year 1963).⁷⁰ Although I have got no quantitative data to substantiate the degree of performance shown by the households before the 1960s, as many of their heads were already dead together with the late Ferhat *agha* when I arrived in the village, it is possible to substantiate the degree of performance shown by their descendants.

The table given below contains a summary of the results of my data and shows the extent of the role played by different categories of households in this process. Regarding the source from where the major portion of cash is generated to buy land, the households are classified in the columns of the table in accordance with if their heads and the wives (or deceased husbands) have ever worked abroad. As can be seen in the table, there are 44 households whose heads (with or without their wives) have worked abroad and made a definite return. They have worked abroad for a period ranging from less than a year (5 in total) up to 23 years, with an average of nearly 8 years spent abroad. In the second category are the 9 households whose heads are still working abroad. I have got no data about the length of time that they have already spent abroad. Finally, in the third category are the 140 households whose heads have never worked abroad.⁷¹

In the rows of the table, however, the households are classified in accordance with whether any land has been bought and/or sold by their present heads and their

⁶⁹ More than one-third (59: 34.9 percent) of the heads of the village-based households have been to cities to earn income. The first ever move took place in 1942 and the destination of the person was to İstanbul. This particular person told me that he bought a considerable part of his farm after two years of saving from his income that he earned in İstanbul. At the present time, two of this old man's sons are working abroad and they were not covered in this study.

⁷⁰ Those who went abroad at this initial stage were mainly young, married people who had very little on which to survive. Many of them went abroad to work in intervals. Each interval represents in their life stories the purchase of a piece of land. Part of the story of one of them is as follows: he was a sharecropper and had very little when he went abroad without telling his wife and parents. After two months, he sent a letter to his family telling them about himself. He worked for three years and came back with a considerable sum of money in his pocket, thinking that even the then alive Ferhat *agha* had not got that much money in his pocket and that his money would be enough for a long period of time. But when he had spent a major portion of his money in constructing a decent house, he decided to go back. It was in the second and third periods of his working abroad (17 years in total) that he managed to buy a total area of 60 decares of land, which is the second biggest area of land bought by those who have worked abroad.

⁷¹ Two cases of households were excluded because of missing data about if their heads have ever worked abroad.

spouses.⁷² According to this classification, the households fall into the following categories:

category a: those which both bought and sold land,

category b: those which bought but sold no land,

category c: those which bought no land but sold some; and finally,

category d: those which neither bought nor sold land.

An overall examination of the figures given in the table suggests that nearly three-fifths (114: 59.0 percent) of the households have shown positive growth, 6.2 percent negative growth and the rest (67: 34.7) have shown neither kind of growth at all. As a category, the households whose heads have worked abroad have shown the highest degree of performance in the process of disintegration of the big land-owning class with an overall average of more than 13 decares of land bought per household in net terms. They are followed by those whose heads are still working abroad and finally by those whose heads have never worked abroad with respectively 10.7 and 5.9 decares of land bought per household. After inheriting lands from their parents and/or allocating lands to their offspring, the households whose heads have worked abroad controlled, at the time I conducted my research, 32.9 decares of land on average, those whose heads were still working abroad 26.4 decares and those whose heads have never worked abroad 25.8 decares of land on average per household. The low level of performance observed among this last category of households is mainly due to a great majority of the recently established double-generational households which fall in this category.

And finally, the number of households which have shown a negative growth under their present heads is actually quite small (12: 6.3 percent). This can be taken as an indication from another perspective of the fact that we could not study those who have deserted the village because of losing their lands, as was the case with some, inclusive of some of the households belong to the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* clan.

⁷² In order to avoid various technical difficulties, no data were collected concerning the area of land bought by other members of a household such as the parents or the offspring.

Table IV.1:

Degree of Performance in Land Purchase (in decares) by Working Abroad									
	cat.a		cat.b		cat.c		cat.d		Total
	value	prcnt	value	prcnt	value	prcnt	value	prcnt	
if worked									
worked									
number	8	18.2	23	52.3	4	9.1	9	20.4	44
bought	172.0	22.9	578.3	77.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	750.3
sold	72.0	42.3	0.0	0.0	98.5	57.7	0.0	0.0	170.5
net gained	+100.0	+14.7	+578.3	+85.3	-98.5	-14.5	0.0	0.0	+579.8
average	+12.5		+25.1		-24.6		0.0	0.0	+13.2
working									
number	1	11.1	6	66.7	0	0.0	2	22.2	9
bought	19.0	18.4	84.5	81.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	103.5
sold	7.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0
net gained	+12.0	+12.4	+84.5	+87.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	+96.5
average	+12.0		+14.1		0.0		0.0		+10.7
not worked									
number	25	17.9	51	36.4	8	5.7	56	50.0	140
bought	635.2	42.2	871.0	57.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1506.7
sold	600.7	90.2	0.0	0.0	73.0	9.8	0.0	0.0	673.7
net gained	+34.5	+3.8	+871.0	+96.2	-73.0	-8.0	0.0		+833.0
average	+1.4		+17.1		-9.1		0.0		+5.9
overall									
number	34	17.6	80	41.4	12	6.3	67	34.7	193
bought	826.2	35.0	1533.8	65.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2360.5
sold	679.7	82.0	0.0	0.0	171.5	18.0	0.0	0.0	851.2
net gained	+146.5	8.7	+1533.8	+91.3	-171.5	-10.2	0.0	0.0	+1509.3
average	+4.3		+19.2		-14.3		0.0		+7.8

Although our concern with the decline of the big land-owning class has overshadowed the issue, I would like briefly to examine the reasons behind land selling by the households covered in this study as a whole. A list of the primary reasons

why the heads of the households needed to sell some (or as happened in one case, all) of their lands is given in the table below. Understandably, these primary reasons do not necessarily indicate the relation between different factors which finally lead the households to sell land. For instance, we can see in the table two cases of land selling in order to afford the living costs of children continuing their university education. What happened in one of these cases, according to the head of the household concerned, was that his wife was ill and in need of expensive medical treatment. He could not afford the cost of this private medical treatment from his usual income. Therefore, he borrowed some money from a merchant with the current interest rate, which is very high indeed. However, his wife's illness continued longer than expected and this trouble was compounded by a serious crop failure in the following year. Meanwhile, three of his children were continuing their university education and were not able to support themselves financially. When it appeared to them that it was not possible to pay the debt unless extra cash was found, they decided to sell a piece of land so that the children's education should not be interrupted.⁷³

However, these kinds of reasons occur rarely. The major reasons are (a) the need for cash to buy another piece of land whose ownership is more important than that of what is already owned, (b) paying an important debt made for the basic material or social needs of the members of the household, associated in some cases with mismanagement of the resources possessed, (c) the inability of the heads or the whole of the household to reduce their standards of living to what can be afforded, gambling,⁷⁴ committing oneself to a relationship with a woman (or man) which is

⁷³ In another case, that of a household whose warm welcome and hospitality continued throughout my research in the village, the head of the household borrowed from a merchant 1 million TL to take his wife, a year before my arrival, to a big hospital in the capital where much better medical treatment could be received. However, at the end of the harvest he could not pay his debt to the merchant and therefore with the interest of the main capital, he owed the merchant 2.2 million TL. Next year in which I happened to be in the village, he borrowed some more to afford the basic needs of his household. This was combined in the midst of my stay in the village with the need to borrow more to take his wife again to the capital. When he came back to the village after a couple of weeks spent in the capital, I asked him how much he would have to pay to the merchant at the end of the harvest season. The figure he reported to me was unbelievable: 8 million TL inclusive of the interest. This sum was equal to the gross income that he could obtain from the sale of the hazelnuts produced in that particular harvest season.

⁷⁴ Such a case took place when I was in the village and resulted in a considerable damage to the material welfare of the household.

Table IV.2:

Primary Reasons Behind Land Selling (in decares) by the Households				
	frequency		total	
		prcnt	sold	prcnt
<i>(a) to ensure the surface continuity and/or proximity of the lands owned</i>	4	8.5	36.0	4.2
<i>(b) to buy another piece of land</i>	8	17.0	60.5	7.0
<i>(c) to solve the problems arising from the difficulty of making a fair partition or extreme fragmentation</i>	6	12.7	28.9	3.4
<i>(d) to pay an important debt made for the survival and/or welfare needs of the members of the household</i>	7	14.9	81.0	9.4
<i>(e) to construct or buy a house in the city</i>	2	4.3	35.0	4.1
<i>(f) to finance the living costs of children continuing their univ.educ</i>	2	4.3	31.5	3.7
<i>(g) to use as a part of the initial capital needed to start a busines</i>	1	2.1	10.0	1.2
<i>(h) to buy a vehicle</i>	1	2.1	3.8	0.4
<i>(i) conspicuous consumption, gambling, alcohol etc</i>	8	17.0	234.0	27.3
<i>(j) unsuitability for cultivation</i>	1	2.1	5.0	0.6
<i>(k) sold by the members of the Nasuhbeyoğlu clan</i>	2	4.3	310.0	36.0
<i>(l) unspecified</i>	2	4.3	10.0	1.2
<i>(m) other reasons</i>	3	6.4	12.5	1.5
Total	47	100.0	858.2	100.0

not approved by the community, and finally the selling of lands by members of the *Nasuhbeyoğlu* for one or another reason.

It is in the cases of the households belonging to these last two categories that land selling has resulted in a negative growth of the farms owned. The rest of the

households have sold land but bought more than what they have sold. Precisely speaking, the total area of land sold by the households belonging to the above mentioned last two categories is 544.0 decares. This is equal to 63.4 percent of the total area of the lands sold by all of the households covered in this research. In return for this, they have bought 339.2 decares of land which is the equivalent of 13.5 percent of total area of the lands bought by all of the 195 households covered in this study and 38.6 percent of the lands bought by the 47 households given in the table. On the other hand, the rest of the households (excluding one special case) have sold 314 decares of land and bought 500 decares which yield a sum of 186 decares net area added to their farms.

Consequently, all that I have said in the pages above points to the fact that big land-ownership has already been written on the pages of history in a process of interaction of several factors at various levels. The victorious class of the same process, by and large, is the poor of the past. It is now its turn to challenge the impact of forces at various levels in order to maintain or dismantle itself in the future. What kind of prospect it has got can partly be examined in relation with how much it has got at present and what kind of patterns it is able to create in order to maintain its access to land.

4.3 The Patterns and Practices of Access to Land

Although one might think that all of the lands cropped by the individual households belong to them in legal terms, this, in fact, is not the case with a considerable number of households covered in this study. The first issue that we have to recognize accordingly is that one way of having access to land is to acquire its title deed. As we have already seen, many of the households have obtained this very precious document, called *tapu senedi*, after paying considerable sums of money to the *Nasuhbeyoğlus* and the other people in the village.⁷⁵ A small number of people, however, have obtained it by following other ways and one of these ways

⁷⁵ By the time I conducted my research in the village, the price of a decare of land was about 4 million TL (around 930 pounds sterling) on average. With these current prices, the total money paid by the people to buy land in the village over the decades would not be less than 2.5 million pounds sterling according to my calculations. This is in fact a very high price when compared to land prices, say in the southern parts of Britain, which is again around the same figure. I should express my gratitude to Mr A. R. Eden, retired land agent, for providing me with this information about land prices in Britain.

is receiving a piece of land as *baksheesh*. According to one of his sons, the late Ferhat *agha* gave around 200 decares of land as *baksheesh*. However, when we look at the story from the perspective of those who obtained the *tapu senedi* of these lands, they had in fact served the *agha* either as domestic servants or as unpaid labourers on the farm for several years, and at the end of their service, the *agha* had been forced both by tradition and law to give one decare of land in return for each year of service.⁷⁶ The figure reported by the *agha's* son does not include the lands which have been given as *baksheesh* by the former *aghas*. This way of obtaining land has become a record of the history written on the same page as big land-ownership. In this study, the lands acquired through serving the *agha* are included in the category of bought lands.

Another rudiment of the past is usufruct over the state lands. Similar to the destiny of *baksheesh* lands and big land-ownership, usufruct seems also to have come to the last moments of its life in the village. There were around 400 decares of state lands under the usufruct of the households and all of these lands would be sold in 1991 by public auction by the State Treasury. The potential buyers of these lands would be the households keeping them in their usufruct because the community would consider any other household's interest in them rather a shameful way of treating one's own fellow villagers.

The final rudimentary form of having access to land is sharecropping. In historical terms, sharecropping is a product of the nineteenth century and developed in parallel to the decline of the political control of the Ottoman State over the local dynasties and political forces. However, as a form of having access to land, sharecropping fully developed in the village after the introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926. Many households started their lives in the village in the early 1920s and 1930s as sharecroppers to the *Nasuhbeyoğlus*. One of the major consequences of sharecropping was the conversion of large areas of bushes first into fields then

⁷⁶ My reason for including tradition and law as two separate forces is due to the fact that in one of the cases, as I was told by the person who was the party in the incident, there was a verbal contract between the *agha* and himself, which included payment by the *agha* of a determined amount of cash as pocket money and land in proportion to the number of years of service he would perform. After many years of service, when the person wanted to terminate the contract, Ferhat *agha* did not want to give him the land that he deserved; and therefore the person concerned appealed to the court and got the lands promised. In another case, the person served the *agha* for more than a decade and at the end of the contract he got his lands without any trouble.

into hazelnut orchards by households which had had either very little or nothing to till in the previous decades. It is in this process of establishing hazelnut orchards that many people found the opportunity to continue as sharecroppers.

Once a tract of land is planted with hazelnut bushes, the land can still be cultivated to produce maize and other field crops for a number of years. This also helps to improve the soil in addition to enabling a household not to undermine its subsistence basis in the point of transition to hazelnut production. It is basically these sorts of lands which are still sharecropped by some of the villagers who own a small amount of land. In general, if the land is bigger than two or three decares and owned by a village-based household which does not want to cultivate it for any reason, the sharecropper provides all the labour and the owner provides the fertilizer. At the end of the harvest, the landowner usually gets only the straw to use as animal fodder. The crop and the rest of the vegetables produced are left to the sharecropper. In the case of ownership of the land by an urban-based household, or by those whose members are all abroad, the sharecropper is asked to provide some help during the harvest. In some cases, this relation can be extended to the performance of some other tasks on the farm such as pruning in return for the fuel yielded and verbal entitlement to benefit from the rest of the fruits and grass in the orchards.

According to my own data, there are 18 households (nearly one-tenth of the total) which, in one form or another, are sharecroppers of the others. These households own or control on average 11.6 decares of land and have an average household size of 5.1. The majority (76.4 percent) of them are double-generational and the rest are triple-generational households. For more than half of them, the primary source of livelihood is, like for many households in the village, hazelnut production while three of them are reliant primarily on apiculture; two are agricultural labourers called *yevmiyeci* or *güdelikçi*, one lives on the income that the head of the household earns as a drum beater in wedding ceremonies and one is a self-employed minibus driver. The total area sharecropped by these households is 68.2 decares which is equal to 3.5 decares of land per household. Half of these lands is open fields and the rest is newly planted hazelnut orchards.

At the present time it is not possible to assign an elementary significance to sharecropping in the survival of households. But this does not allow us to ignore its theoretical significance in understanding the operation of rural structures in the case of hazelnut production in connection with two issues. One is that in the early stages of the development of hazelnut production, many of the complaints or accusations of public bureaucracy were directed against the urban-based big land-owners who ran their farms by means of sharecropping arrangements. I have come across no case of hazelnut farms run by means of sharecropping arrangements in the village of Kayadibi nor have I heard of any during my research. However, the tide of events seems to have changed. Nowadays it is the small-farm owning households living in distant cities for which running a farm below the size of, say 10 decares, is becoming nearly uneconomical if no household labour is employed.

In relation to this, the second question is if sharecropping can revive itself under these new circumstances or if it can lead to concentration of lands through renting, given the fact the some recent fieldwork conducted in other parts of the country suggest that it can continue hand-in-hand with the development of commodity production (as exemplified by the findings of Aydın (1986) and Sirman (1988) or as argued by Margulies and Yıldızoğlu (1983, 1990) respectively). My answers to both of these questions are negative because of the following reasons: the urban-based hazelnut farm-owners seem to solve many problems by means of mobilizing family and kinship relations to find workers and to get the rest of the work done on their farms if they are living away. Their lands, by and large, stay under the direct control of the members of their family, like their brothers and parents until they come back to the village. If they are not intending to make a return, then the lands are usually sold, again to members of their family. This is where, I think, a further dramatic increase or decrease in farm size will be prevented and perpetuated in the long run, as long as life in the urban areas continues to offer something reasonable. Otherwise, it should not be surprising for us to see further land fragmentation and decrease in the size of the farms rather than concentration by means of purchase and/or renting.

The process of eradication of the rudimentary forms and ways of gaining access to land has operated and should be considered as part and parcel of the process of the development of private landownership in Turkish agriculture and this process

is about to be completed as the foregoing examination suggests. However, there is still a long way to go to arrive at a stage where every farming household, say in the area where this research was conducted, is dependent upon what its members possess. At the present time, a considerable number of households are dependent with varying degrees on the lands which are allocated to their heads by their parents and sometimes even by their close relatives because of delaying the partition of lands among the inheritors. This pattern of having access to land functions in line with the process of establishing a separate household, as I examined in Appendix A, and has substantial importance in the survival of the people.

Access to land by verbal land allocation by the parents is governed by a set of customs which defines and regulates the rights and responsibilities of the parties involved and brings about a number of serious consequences within the domestic spheres of the households. For instance, it is less likely for the parents to allocate to one of their sons an area of land which exceeds what his share would be if the lands were divided equally among the siblings. As far as this side of the practice is concerned, it can be considered as one of the stages of the process of partitioning land among the children by the parents. One of the benefits that all the present and future parties obtain out of this practice is the reduction of areas of disputes and of clashes that may arise among siblings on the question of making a just partition of parental lands when the parents die. In addition, since the system enables each of the male siblings to know in advance how much and which land they will inherit when their parents die, they can and, if it is the case, do treat such lands as if they are their own property concerning production.

The main purpose of verbal land allocation by the parents, which is consciously pursued by the members of the community, is to give every household whose male heads are descending from the same parents equal opportunity to develop their own material resources, equal chances to obtain the remuneration of their own labour and their own talents, to enjoy the material and social benefits obtained and to bear the responsibilities arising therefrom. Understandably, this is not an easy goal to be achieved by both the parents and the offspring as far as equal distribution of the resources and timing of the separation are concerned. One cannot expect to be perfectly just when dividing one's own lands among one's own offspring, since equality in size does not necessarily mean equality in quality. This

point is well taken into account by parents and necessary measures are taken to balance the quantity with the quality and vice versa. Accordingly, land allocation by verbal agreement functions also as an important agent of equalization which may not easily be achieved through legal procedures and may even require setting up of an expert committee by the court if any dispute arises between the inheritors. This accordingly provides us with clues about another important function of verbal land allocation to offspring, that is of keeping the domestic sphere of the family as secluded as possible from interference of the community and of bureaucracy.

In some cases, parents take a further step to solidify the *de facto* situation arising from verbal land allocation to their children which should be called voluntary self-dispossession. This is achieved usually by making their decision legally binding, which may include some kind of contract between the parents and the children for the provision of certain services by the children or the preservation of the right to revise the decision. In a community whose moral rules and customs charge the offspring with the responsibility of looking after their parents until they die, putting such a condition in their legalized decision might seem surprising. However, it must be considered as a mechanism by means of which the parents preserve their chance to revise their decisions in the future if conditions require them to do so. The underlying consideration of the parents is usually the danger of being left without care and protection in the final stage of their lives against which these precautions are surely most understandable.

Life, moreover, is full of surprises and some of the incidents indicate well how surprising it really is. For instance, in the village where I conducted my pilot study, I came across a case of unconditional self-dispossession of lands by a man who had 18 children out of two marriages. The man wanted to give all of his lands, which comprised about 40 decares, to his sons since he had more than a dozen daughters and therefore considered that there would be very little for each one of his sons to start their lives as the heads of their own households. But soon before his death, his wife conceived a child and this child happened to be a male. It was at the discretion of the brothers to offer anything to their youngest brother and no one knew if the grown-up brothers would really do so. In Kayadibi village, however, I came across only one case of conditional self-dispossession of the lands by a widower. His reason was to avoid any trouble to his offspring concerning the

partition of his lands after his death and his offspring seemed to be happy with what their father had done.⁷⁷

These two cases force us to examine the practices of verbal land allocation and voluntary self-dispossession by parents in connection with the equality of genders in the community. First of all, I should mention the fact that I have come across no case of verbal land allocation by parents to their married daughters in the village. Nor has this ever been the norm in the area to the best of my knowledge although one cannot expect not to come across such practices; as a general rule, a married woman can have access to the lands of her parents after the death of the latter if anything is left behind. However, if the parents do intend to divide their lands among their offspring and to self-dispossess themselves, they legally entitle their daughters to inherit a small amount of land after their death. If this is the case, the parents usually try to balance the small share they give to their daughters with extra cash and benefits. In some cases, these extra benefits are advanced step by step so that it should not be a serious economic burden on the shoulders of the parents and the brothers of the women. If no partition of lands is done while the parents are alive, it is incumbent upon the brothers to please their sisters and to inherit as much land as possible, which requires in many cases the purchase of the sister(s)' share. I was told by some of the villagers that legally binding self-dispossession is practiced especially by those parents who have more daughters than sons. Therefore, on the gender side of the matter, verbal land allocation and legally binding self-dispossession operate as the most effective mechanism of de-equalization between siblings of different sexes.

Both in political and social terms, this point cast serious doubts about the success of the political cadres which abolished the Ottoman Family and Inheritance Laws and introduced the Swiss Civil Code in 1926 with the claim of making the genders equal in these areas. The Ottoman Inheritance Law, which was nothing

⁷⁷ I asked this old villager why he really wanted to divide all of his lands among his children and why he did not want to leave this task to them. He replied by saying that he worked for a number of years as a gendarme sergeant. During that period, he came across several examples of disputes over land partition among siblings which resulted in serious conflicts and fights which required the interference of the military police (which operates in the countryside as the equivalent of the police organization in the urban areas). Since that time he therefore decided by himself that he would not leave his children with any of these kind of troubles. Accordingly he executed his decision by using his parental authority.

more than a codified form of the Islamic Law, gave women the right to inherit from their parents half of the share of their brothers. This was one of the two points that the secularist-westernist cadres claimed as the main reason for introducing a Western civil code. The other claim they made was to put an end to polygyny. Contrary to what was and is still claimed, it seems to be the case that there has been no positive development in these areas, in addition to the failure of the political regime to give equal opportunity to everyone in the process of the privatization of the lands which had belonged to the state.

All that I have said about different patterns and practices of access to land by households can be substantiated in numerical terms. A summary of my findings regarding various combinations of these practices is given in the table below.

Table IV.3:

Combinations of the Patterns of Access to Land (in decares)							
combination of the patterns	freq.	prcnt	total		min.	max.	avrg
			area	prcnt			
<i>only with title deed</i>	138	70.7	4,179.4	78.4	0.8	220.0	30.3
<i>title deed and verbal</i>	27	13.8	838.0	15.6	4.0	156.0	31.0
<i>only by verbal alloc.</i>	19	9.8	190.0	3.7	1.5	40.0	10.0
<i>only usufruct</i>	3	1.6	57.0	1.1	3.0	30.0	19.0
<i>other combinations</i>	2	1.0	62.0	1.2			31.0
<i>landless</i>	6	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	195	100.0	5,326.4	100.0	0.8	220.0	27.3

As the figures given in the table indicate, a great majority (138: 70.7 percent) of the households are dependent on the lands owned by their members. These households own nearly four-fifths (78.4 percent) of the total lands owned and/or kept under control by all of the households covered in this study. The average size of the farms run by these households is slightly bigger than the overall average with the inclusion of the landless households. Some of the other characteristics of

these households suggest that it is more likely for a household to possess the title deed of the lands under its economic and social control at the later stages of its establishment. For instance, these households are headed by persons whose average age is over 54; more than 90 percent of the single-generational, 77.3 percent of the triple-generational and more than 68 percent of the quadruple-generational households belong to this category, whereas the proportional significance of the double-generational households among them is below their proportional significance in the total number of the households.

The total number of households which are dependent on a combination of lands both owned by their members and verbally allocated by the parents of the male (in the case of a female one, by the parents in-law) heads of these households is 27. The area of verbally allocated lands under their control, which is 272.0 decares, constitutes almost one-third of the total area of lands under their control and 58.2 percent of the total area of the verbally allocated lands. A great majority (25:92 percent) of these households are village-based. The average size of the farms of all these 27 households, which is 31.0 decares, is even slightly bigger than the average size of the farms of the households in the former category. In generational terms, the households in this category consist mainly of the double-generational (59.3 percent) ones and are followed by the triple-generational (25.9 percent) and by the quadruple-generational (14.8 percent) ones. The average size of all of these households is 5.9 and they are headed by people in their middle-age (47.8 years old on average). These characteristics suggest that there is a correspondence between the stages of the development of a household in generational terms and of the composition and amount of lands under their control. This point becomes much clearer if we also examine some of the characteristics of the households which fall into other categories of combination given in the table.

There are 19 households (9.8 percent of the total) which are entirely dependent on the verbally allocated lands. As can be seen in the table, these are the households among which we come across the lowest average farm size with a figure of 10.0 decares. This figure is three times smaller than the average size of farms owned and/or controlled by the households which fall in both of the categories mentioned above and is almost equal to half of the average size of the farms of the households holding usufruct over the state lands. Apart from one case of a

triple-generational household which controls the biggest farm with a size of 40 decares, the rest of the 18 households in this category are all the double-generational households which are smaller in size (4.5) and headed by young men who are 36 years old on average and, finally, more than four-fifths (16: 84 percent) of them are village-based.

The landless households constitute a small fraction (6: 3.1 percent) of the households covered in this study and are the only landless ones in the village. Four of them are recently established double-generational households and had not yet been allocated land by the time I interviewed their heads. Of the remaining two, one was landless because of selling a small area of land because of its unsuitability for cultivation, and the other was landless because of voluntarily self-dispossessing himself from the ownership of his lands as I mentioned above. With the exclusion of one particular case, all of the landless households can be considered as belonging to either the beginning or the end of a long process of maturity in land-ownership by a household in the village.

Despite the historical success of the peasantry to render their life chances more equal among households, concerning their legal or actual share in the total area of the lands, the domestic spheres of the same units suffer from a high level of inequality. How unequal the domestic spheres are is shown in the following table which contains information about the ownership and/or control of lands by members, defined in respect to their kinship ties with the heads of their households.

By inequality in land-ownership within the domestic spheres of the households, I do not mean that everyone would be equal if they owned and/or controlled an area of land whose proportion is equal to the proportional significance of each member. One cannot expect, for instance, the children and young members of a household to own and/or control land unless there are extraordinary reasons for this. With the exclusion of such members, I refer to the obvious inequality between the heads of the households and their wives, mothers and fathers or between the adult members of the same gender. In part, this inequality stems from the practice of verbal land allocation and voluntary self-dispossession as explained above. The apparent brother-sister inequality arising from these two points is justified by almost every adult member of each gender on the following grounds.

Table IV.4:

Land-ownership (in decares) and the Members of the Households							
	total	col.	land	row	col.	area	
	number	prcnt	owning	prcnt	prcnt	owned	prcnt
members							
<i>mother</i>	27	2.6	12	44.4	4.7	124.5	2.3
<i>father</i>	9	0.9	9	100.0	3.6	219.5	4.1
<i>wife</i>	183	17.9	24	13.1	9.5	276.5	5.2
<i>brother</i>	13	1.3	2	15.4	0.8	6.0	0.1
<i>son</i>	274	26.9	10	3.6	4.0	66.5	1.3
<i>head of hhold</i>	195	19.1	195	100.0	77.4	4,633.4	87.0
<i>others</i>	319	31.3	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	1,020	100.0	252	24.7	100.0	5,326.4	100.0

First of all, the members of the community argue that women get married when they are still young, leave the parental house and develop their own nests in their new places whereas men get married when they are relatively older than women and continue to contribute to the material welfare of the parental household. Therefore, while the contributions of the sons and the daughters are not equal to each other why then should their share be equal? Secondly, it is considered to be the responsibility of the men to look after their parents and earn the sustenance of their household. Accordingly, as long as one does not behave extremely discriminately against his/her daughters and deprive them of inheriting movable and immovable property, the rest is considered more or less a just parenthood. I am of the opinion that much of these considerations are rooted in an old custom of the community which did not allow the adult sons to buy land and property registered in their own names while they were living in the parental household. Many of the people who lived parts of their lives under the domination of this custom are now at the final stages of partitioning parental lands among themselves. With the changing patterns of establishing a household, much of these considerations can be expected to disappear although they may never come to the point of complete eradication.

Contrary to these kinds of considerations regarding the share of the siblings by gender, the question of inequality between the wives and husbands is left untouched by almost all of the members of the community. In general, there is no question about why men buy land registered in their own name, as they are the people who go out to earn cash and have almost absolute control over the marketing of the hazelnuts produced. In these kinds of situation, it is at the discretion of men to remunerate the contribution of their wives to the welfare of the household. For instance, some men may make their wives their partners if they are buying land. In some other cases, men may transfer part of their properties to their wives if they think or feel that the offspring may not look after their mothers well if they should die before their wives. But if women are also earning cash, wives and husbands become equal partners in the ownership of the lands and properties bought either in the village or in the city. Consequently, I should say that the patterns and practices of having access to land (and also property) aim at supporting the material basis of the leadership of the households while giving rights to the members to receive equal benefits from the disposed income.

4.4 Stratification of the Dwarfs: Land-Ownership and Class

To be a small farm is the pattern in the region and the village concerning the actual and average farm sizes. This, however, should not lead us to ignore differences at a given time and space and to make an analysis of what being smaller or bigger than the average means for the people of Kayadibi village.

In the village, the household on the smallest farm owns 850 sqm of land. This figure includes the area occupied by the house, which has been constructed by the villagers to help their poorest fellow villager, the narrow path leading to the house and a small open space in front of it. The space between the elevation walls of this 45 sqm house is used, as is the custom with most of the people in the region, as a stable for a milk cow, a calf and four hens. Above this stable there is one kitchen and one room, each accessed via the entrance, inhabited by 7 souls including the head of the household. On half of the remaining 600 sqm farm, this household produces hazelnuts and, on the other half, vegetables like leaf cabbage, beans, parsley and others to be consumed by its members. The thing which surprised me

about this household while I was interviewing its head was the music coming from a cassette recorder inside the house.

The head of the household was 56 years old and the fourth of the 195 that I interviewed. As I progressed on my questionnaire, I learned that the cassette recorder inside the house was a gift from his nephews working abroad. During the same interview, I also learnt from this villager that they were, as a household, dependent to a large extent on the material assistance given by these nephews. He was very grateful to his nephews. "Life would really be much more difficult for us", he said, "if we were making ends meet on the basis of what we are able to earn in the village". Apart from the material assistance they were currently receiving from relatives working abroad, the rest of their earnings in kind and cash within a year to the date of interview were as follows.

During the last harvest season, the head of the household, his eldest son aged 19 and his wife worked for neighbours in the village and obtained 1 million TL cash. When the harvest was finished, the members of the household went out to the orchards for gleaning, as this is practiced by almost every one in the village but especially by the poor, women and teenagers. For the poor the reason is to obtain something extra for survival by making use of his/her labour. The reason for the rest is to obtain some cash at their own disposal as everyone in the house is free to dispose the cash earned from the sale of gleaned hazelnuts as they like. The household worked quite hard during the gleaning period, which lasts a couple of weeks and gleaned more than 400 kg hazelnuts in shell. These hazelnuts with the addition of what they produced in their small orchard fetched them 700,000 TL. The total cash earnings of the household rose accordingly to 1.7 million TL which equalled less than 400 pounds sterling.

The milk from the cow, eggs from the hens and fresh vegetables from the small garden were also quite helpful. The head of the household estimated that the total money value of their subsistence production would not be less than 1.2 million TL if they bought them from the market. In addition to this, they were also receiving charity from neighbours, especially in the month of Muslim Fasting which is called *Ramazan* and in the month of Pilgrimage in which the well-off Muslims practice animal sacrifice as an expression of their gratitude to God and distribute the meat

to their poor neighbours (although they may also keep a portion of the meat for the consumption of their own household as this is allowed by religion). Finally, the household was obtaining their fuel for cooking and heating from the orchards of well-off neighbours without paying anything for it.

Life has never been easy for this villager. He was one of three sons born to the union of poor parents who owned less than three decares of land. He knew therefore in advance that there would be nothing for him to rely on in the village should his parents died and the lands were divided among the brothers. In 1957, in which year he was 23, he married a poor woman from a very distant village and went to İstanbul where he worked for 7 years as a cook in small restaurants. Later, for reasons that he did not want to talk about, he left his job and came back to the village in 1964. 2 years later, he took another wife from one of the most underdeveloped parts of the hinterlands of the province. All of his five children were born in this second marriage and they are all occupying the very bottom layer of the socio-economic stratification in the village.

In the village, there are some other households whose standards of living are not better than this particular one: a middle-aged widow with the same amount of land and three disabled children born to her union with her first cousin, an old man who has always earned his life out of tinkering and made seven marriages in his life (never to two wives at the same time) and an old widow with a very small farm who is in fact looked after by her offspring are all at the bottom of the hierarchy.

On the top of the hierarchy regarding land-ownership is the son of the late Ferhat *agha*, who is called Galip *agha* by the villagers. Galip *agha* is 63 years old and living in the city where he is dealing with the second-hand car trade. He has been living in the city for more than 40 years. After all the land selling, he still owns 220 decares of land of which 100 decares are not suitable for acreage. He produced 22 tons in shell hazelnuts in 1989 and obtained a gross amount of 37.4 million TL out the sale of his hazelnuts. His net income was not less than a half of this gross figure. With the addition of 40 million TL profit made from of the second-hand car trade, 20 million TL of rent obtained from leased properties and 10 million TL earned by his son as an accountant, the total net earnings of



the household was not less than 88 million TL which corresponded to more than 20,000 pounds sterling.

Despite the fact that Galip *agha* owns the largest farm in the village and his household earns a yearly sum of money which is 30 times bigger than what is earned by the poorest household mentioned above, he is not the richest person in the village. There are others who own less than he does but earn more. Some of these people are also dealing with trade and some are working abroad. The huge gap between the earnings of the people who are the top and bottom layers concerning land-ownership on the one hand and the net earnings from other sources on the other hand do not allow us to confine ourselves to stratification arising from land-ownership in order to understand how life really is for the Kayadibians, but rather to take a start from this point and progress to other areas, showing how the different spheres are connected to each other. I shall start with a classification of the households by farm size in the narrow range which is given in the table below.

The first thing that one might notice in the table is an average figure of 27.3 decares of land per household including the number of the landless ones. Farms owned by more than 63 percent of the households are smaller than this average and to own a farm with a total area of 40 decares or more is the case only with 20 percent; to own one which is bigger than 50 decares is the case with less than 10 percent of the households. It can also be seen in the table that the households are distributed more equally into categories below the average in comparison to their distribution into categories above the average. However, this equality does not hold true in the same degree for their share in the total area of lands concerning especially the households on the top and bottom ranks of the stratification.

In the community, a household with a farm smaller than 5 decares is considered to have rather a low status as a land-owning household although this is not confused with the actual economic position of the same unit. For instance, households which are able generate substantial amount of cash are considered rich irrespective of the area of land that they own. They can also be approached for credit by others if these latter think that it will be given to them, and people may even show eagerness to establish alliances with them through marriage or try to establish friendly relations with the expectation that such relations may assist them them

Table IV.5:

Stratification of the Households by Farm Size (in decares)					
farm size (da)	frequency	percent	total		average
			area	percent	
<i>landless</i>	6	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.00
<i>00.8-05.0</i>	17	8.7	56.1	1.1	3.30
<i>05.1-10.0</i>	27	13.8	242.0	4.6	8.96
<i>10.1-15.0</i>	26	13.3	338.0	6.3	13.00
<i>15.1-20.0</i>	27	13.8	509.5	9.6	18.87
<i>20.1-25.0</i>	17	8.7	396.0	7.4	23.29
<i>25.1-30.0</i>	19	9.7	555.0	10.4	29.21
<i>30.1-35.0</i>	9	4.6	298.0	5.6	33.11
<i>35.1-40.0</i>	16	8.2	614.0	11.5	38.37
<i>40.1-50.0</i>	13	6.7	602.8	11.3	46.37
<i>50.1-75.0</i>	8	4.1	494.0	9.3	61.75
<i>75.1-100.0</i>	4	2.1	340.0	6.4	85.00
<i>100.1-220.0</i>	6	3.1	881.0	16.5	146.83
Total	195	100.0	5326.4	100.0	27.31

in the future in achieving a wide range of social and material ends. Again, a man or woman who has got a well paid job especially in the city, or is able to earn enough is considered to be in the well-off section of the community even if he/she owns not more than a few decares of land. Nevertheless, if the jobs are temporary, hazardous (like that of a construction master) or low paid despite being easy (say, low paid office workers), then land becomes the main determinant of one's class position in economic terms.

In general, an operational distinction is made between one's social and economic class positions in the community as long as the gap between the constituents of one's life is visibly large. Both the past and the present of an individual or a household are taken into account in judging social class position and the judgments are constantly updated to keep up with the process of rapid rural trans-

formation. In most cases, if an individual manages to preserve the acquired or attained determinants of his/her social class position for nearly a decade, that is enough for the community to raise his/her class position proportionately; and in the case of failure by the individuals, the community acts rather a bit hastily.

There are basically four determinants of one's social class position in the community. These are (a) to be a member of a family of good social and/or economic reputation in the recent past or in the present, (b) to have high educational qualifications like being a graduate of a university with a degree in any subject (since many of the peasants are not interested in what one's degree is about unless this is one of the degrees that they are familiar with, like being a doctor, civil engineer, lawyer, veterinary, teacher or an officer in the army), (c) political and religious roles like being the headman of the village or the *imam* of a mosque, and finally (d) active involvement in charitable acts, good manners, leadership in communal matters, such as being the head of a group of delegates sent to the capital to lobby for a communal matter etc.

As a general rule, any attempt by a member of the community to translate the language of a set of the factors which determine one's class position in one field into that of the other field is bound to bring about serious difficulties in his/her social relations with the others. I have come across several examples of how such attempts have strained the relations between the members of the community and brought about endless complaints either about manners or social conduct. For instance, the teachers working in the schools in the village or the imams leading the community in a quarter of the village (usually for the Friday prayers as the majority of the people either do not practice regular prayer or, if they do, they do not go to the mosque) find it extremely difficult to preserve their previous social class position because of the low salaries they are paid by the government. One of the teachers was even complaining about the lack of incentive among his students to continue their education for they see no point to this, taking the economic position of their teachers as an example for themselves. Many of the teenagers and young men simply desire to go abroad to earn money and come back with the Mercedes cars that their neighbours drive when they come to the village during the harvest.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Throughout my stay in the village, the young men constantly asked me if I could do anything for

It is in the social relations of some of the members of the *Nasuhbeyoğlu* clan with others that one can observe this strained position at its peak. The life and death of Ferhat *agha* has become a watershed in the social relations of the members of the clan and the rest of the people. As the richest person of the village, the late *agha* and the members of his clan occupied the top ranks of both the scales for a long period of time. Many of the members of the clan are still respected and considered to belong to the top of the scale but at a much lower level than used to be the case. Those members who are still powerful enough in economic terms manage well with the situation but those who have been reduced to almost nothing in terms of land-ownership cannot do so very easily. When, for instance, there is need for credit, being a member of a family which used to be rich does not help at all in obtaining what is needed unless this is supported by the same proper economic behaviour that all others are expected to conform with. Therefore, for the members of the *Nasuhbeyoğlu* clan and others in the community, it is the ability of a household to support one set of the determinants with the other which puts them on the top of the scale in a more stable fashion. In this sense, there is a long way to go for those who were very poor in the past and are well-off in the present.

When the economic class position of an individual or of a member of a household in relation with land-ownership is concerned, the people with a farm smaller than ten decares are put on the bottom rank of the stratification. What such people own is considered to be "just a courtyard", called *avlu*. The concept of an *avlu farm* is a suitable one to draw a line between a small farm and something which is smaller than this, regardless of what is produced on the farm. This concept is extremely helpful for descriptive purposes as it is well known, well understood and is widely employed by the peasants, although not by agricultural economists or social scientists.

Any farm between 10 to 20 decares is considered to be a *small farm* and any between 20 to 40 decares is considered to be a *medium farm* in the village. Depending upon the soil quality, whether or not some parts of the land are covered by bushes, heathers etc, the upper limit of the next category of farm, which is called a proper or *full farm*, is drawn around 60 to 80 decares. From this figure upwards,

them to find a job abroad as many who are working abroad now have received help from their relatives who went abroad earlier.

every farm is considered *big* and the owner of it is considered rich in the community. If we re-classified the households in accordance with these observations, we would obtain the following categories of farms, as shown in the following table, each one referring to the economic class position of their owners in the community with regard to land-ownership.

Table IV.6:

Farm Size (in decares) and the Economic Class Position of the Households					
class and farm size	freq.	prcnt	total		avrg
			area	prcnt	area
<i>landless : poor</i>	6	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>lower class : avlu farm (+10.0)</i>	44	22.5	298.1	5.6	6.8
<i>lower middle : small farm (10.1-20.0)</i>	53	27.2	847.5	15.9	16.0
<i>middle class : medium farm (20.1-40.0)</i>	61	31.3	1,863.0	35.0	30.5
<i>upper middle : full farm (40.1-75.0)</i>	21	10.8	1,096.8	20.6	52.2
<i>upper class : big farm (75.1 +)</i>	10	5.1	1,221.0	22.9	122.1
Total	195	100.0	5,326.4	100.0	27.3

The economic class position arising from land-ownership is levelled by two important mechanisms in the livelihood of the households. These are the form of their generational organization and the income generated from sources which are not linked to the farm. For a start let us examine first the composition of the lands under the control of households by the form of their generational organization and then their distribution by farm size or, in other words, by their class position regarding land-ownership.

The single-generational households keep in their control slightly more than one-tenth (620.5 da: 11.6 percent) of the total lands, which is nearly equal to their proportional significance (10.6 percent) among all of the 189 land-owning households. None of the single-generational households has any land under their control through verbal allocation or usufruct. When we move to the next category of households, as can be seen in the table given below, we are actually moving

from the dominion of fully matured control over the lands to the dominion of least mature control, that is partial or entire dependency on verbally allocated lands. The double-generational households keep in their control 45.4 percent (2,416.9 decares) of the total lands and the amount of verbally allocated lands (345.0 decares) constitute 14.3 percent of the total area of lands under their control and 73.9 percent of all of the verbally allocated lands. The triple-generational and quadruple-generational households on the other hand seem in between these two opposing ends, having the rest of the verbally allocated and usufruct lands under their control.

Table IV.7:

Composition of the Lands (in decares) by Household Type										
hold type	col. title deed		verbal. alloc.		usuf. lands		total		col.	
	freq.	prcnt	area	prcnt	area	prcnt	area	prcnt	area	prcnt
<i>s.gen.</i>	20	10.6	620.5	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	620.5	11.6
<i>d.gen.</i>	106	56.1	2,068.9	85.5	345.0	14.3	3.0	0.2	2,416.9	45.4
<i>t.gen.</i>	44	23.3	1,491.5	92.4	68.0	4.2	54.0	3.4	1,613.5	30.3
<i>q.gen.</i>	19	10.0	615.5	91.1	54.0	7.8	6.0	1.1	675.5	12.7
Total	189	100.0	4,796.4	90.0	467.0	8.8	63.0	0.2	5,326.4	100.0

These points are further testified by the average area of land under their control, which is presented in the following Table IV.8 by reference to farm size. On average, the single-generational households own 28.2 decares of land with the inclusion of the landless ones and this figure goes up to 31 decares when the latter are excluded. With regard to farm size, this average puts them ahead of the double-generational but behind of the triple- and quadruple-generational households which keep under their control 22.8 (or alternatively 21.9 decares when four landless double-generational households are included), 36.7 and 35.5 decares of land on average respectively. This way of looking at the figures puts the triple generational-households at the top of the scale. However, if we examined the

figures in relation with average area of land per member by the type of generational organization, we would see that there is 15.6 decares of land for each member of a single-generational household whereas this average drops down to 5.4 decares for the members of triple-generational, 4.7 decares for the members of double-generational and finally to the lowest level of 3.9 decares for the members of quadruple-generational households.

This levelling mechanism forces us to examine the relationship between the generational organization of a household and land-ownership from a different perspective, since farm size is argued to be the basis of the form that a family takes in the society. My particular reference is to a study conducted by Timur (1972) concerning family structure in Turkey.

How the households are classified, that is either in the way which has been followed in this study or in accordance with the concepts of nuclear and extended family, does not bring about any change concerning one obvious point, which is that the triple- and quadruple-generational households own, on average, much bigger amounts of land than the double- and single-generational households do. As can be seen in the Table IV.8 below, the average farm size owned by the single-generational households is 28.2 decares with the inclusion and 31.0 decares with the exclusion of the landless households. In the same fashion, it is 21.9 decares and 22.8 decares for the double-generational, 36.7 decares for the triple- and finally 35.5 decares for the quadruple-generational households. If we re-classified these households as nuclear and extended and exclude the divided ones, we would obtain averages of 23.0 decares for the 124 nuclear families and 35.9 decares for the 67 extended families.

In the case of our own classification, we can say that it is equal or less probable than .005 percent that a double-generational household owns, on average, more land than a triple-generational one does. And we can extend our confidence in this matter with a probability of 97.5 percent (or of .025 percent chance to err) to cover a case of comparison between the former type of households and the quadruple-generational ones. Furthermore, we could also argue that the hypothesis stands firm in case of a classification of the households as nuclear family and extended family, in which case our chance to observe that a nuclear family owns much land

Table IV.8:

Distribution of Households by Generational Type and by Farm Size (in decares)

	freq.	col. prcnt	row prcnt	total area	col. prcnt	row prcnt	avrg farm	avrg hh-size
household and farm type								
single-gen.								
landless	2	9.1	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
avlu	5	22.7	11.4	38.0	6.1	12.7	7.6	1.8
small	7	31.8	13.2	117.5	18.9	13.9	16.8	2.0
medium	4	18.2	6.6	134.5	21.7	7.2	33.6	2.0
full	2	9.1	9.5	99.0	15.9	9.1	49.5	1.5
big	2	9.1	20.0	231.5	37.4	19.0	115.7	2.0
s.gen.total	22	100.0	11.3	620.5	100.0	11.6	28.2	1.8
double-gen.								
landless	4	3.6	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2
avlu	34	30.9	77.3	212.1	8.8	71.2	6.2	5.1
small	29	26.4	54.7	437.0	18.1	51.6	15.1	4.3
medium	34	30.9	55.7	1,039.0	43.0	55.8	30.5	4.6
full	6	5.5	28.6	288.8	11.9	26.3	48.1	4.8
big	3	2.7	30.0	440.0	18.2	36.0	146.6	3.7
d.gen.total	110	100.0	56.4	2,416.9	100.0	45.4	21.9	4.6
triple-gen.								
landless	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
avlu	2	4.5	4.5	20.0	1.2	6.7	10.0	6.5
small	13	29.6	24.5	216.0	13.4	25.5	16.6	7.3
medium	14	31.8	23.0	398.0	24.7	21.4	28.4	6.3
full	12	27.3	57.1	666.0	41.3	60.7	55.5	7.1
big	3	6.8	30.0	313.5	19.4	25.7	104.5	6.0
t.gen.total	44	100.0	22.6	1,613.5	100.0	30.3	36.7	6.8
quad-gen.								
landless	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
avlu	3	15.8	6.8	28.0	4.2	9.4	9.3	6.7
small	4	21.1	7.5	77.0	11.4	9.0	19.2	10.2
medium	9	47.4	14.8	291.5	43.1	15.6	32.4	8.5
full	1	5.2	4.8	43.0	6.4	3.9	43.0	11.0
big	2	10.5	20.0	236.0	34.9	19.3	118.0	11.0
q.gen.total	19	100.0	9.7	675.5	100.0	12.7	35.5	9.0

than an extended one would statistically be less than again .005 percent. However, this hypothesis can only be maintained with the condition of ignoring the size of the households and treating them as equal units.

If we take into account the size of the households expressed in the total number of their members, the empirical reality does not allow us to say that the size of farm informs the generational organization of a household or the structure of a family. On the contrary, it is the households with smaller amounts of land per member which seem to take refuge in an organization expressed either as extended family or triple- and quadruple-generational households in the village of Kayadibi, although there is no statistically significant relation between the generational organization of a household and the amount of land owned save in the cases of the single-generational ones which own on average three times (15.6 decares) more land per member than the rest of the households do and this difference is statistically significant.

The levelling mechanisms can best be illustrated with the help of figures if we combine all of that we have discussed in this chapter and in the previous chapter on the structure of the economy in the village. The Table IV.9 contains a summary comparison of area of land and amount of income that the households own and earn on average per household and per member. In the first section of the table, the households are classified and cross-tabulated in relation to the annual disposable household income by quintiles. In the second and third sections of the table, the same is done in relation to farm size and the generational organization of the households. The figures separated from each other by colons in the parts of each section of the table which lie above the gaps indicate how many times more area of land (in decares) is held per household and per member on average by the households in the categories specified on the top row than the households in the categories specified vertically. Likewise, the figures on the lower parts of each section of the table show the same regarding average income (per annum) per household and per member.

For instance, in the case of classification of the households by quintiles, the average disposable income of the households in the fifth quintile is 44.043 million TL (10,242 pounds sterling) per household per annum and 6.361 million (1,479

Table IV.9:

Magnitude of Average Land (in decares) and Disposable Income (per annum)
per Household and per Member

observations						
income by quintiles						
	first	second	third	fourth	fifth	overall
<i>first</i>		1.25:0.92	1.98:1.43	2.12:1.45	2.79:1.48	1.83:1.27
<i>second</i>	2.29:1.68		1.58:1.55	1.68:1.57	2.22:1.61	1.45:1.38
<i>third</i>	3.70:2.67	1.61:1.58		1.06:1.01	1.40:1.03	0.92:0.89
<i>fourth</i>	5.85:4.01	2.55:2.38	1.58:1.50		1.31:1.02	0.86:0.87
<i>fifth</i>	13.81:7.37	6.02:4.37	3.73:2.75	2.35:1.83		0.65:0.85
<i>overall</i>	5.33:3.76	2.32:2.23	1.44:1.40	0.91:0.93	0.38:0.51	
farm type						
	avlu	small	medium	full	big	overall
<i>avlu</i>		2.37:2.20	4.47:4.02	7.76:6.11	18.2:15.85	4.07:3.72
<i>small</i>	1.84:1.67		1.88:1.83	3.27:2.77	7.76:7.20	1.71:1.69
<i>medium</i>	1.91:1.67	1.04:1.00		1.73:1.51	4.06:3.93	0.91:0.92
<i>full</i>	2.82:2.18	1.53:1.30	1.53:1.30		2.34:2.59	0.52:0.60
<i>big</i>	3.85:3.30	2.09:1.97	2.00:1.97	1.36:1.51		0.22:0.23
<i>overall</i>	1.86:1.68	1.01:1.00	0.97:1.00	0.66:0.76	0.48:0.50	
hhhold type						
	s.gen	d.gen	t.gen	q.gen	overall	
<i>single.gen</i>		0.77:0.30	1.30:0.32	1.25:0.25	0.96:0.33	
<i>double.gen</i>	2.08:0.98		1.67:1.13	1.62:0.82	1.24:1.08	
<i>triple.gen</i>	2.69:0.87	1.29:0.88		0.96:0.73	0.74:0.95	
<i>quad.gen</i>	4.02:0.97	1.93:0.99	1.49:1.12		0.76:1.30	
<i>overall</i>	2.28:0.95	1.09:0.97	0.84:1.09	0.56:0.97		

pounds sterling) per member per annum. These averages are 13.81 times and 7.37 times bigger than the average disposable income per annum per household and per member of the households in the first quintile. It is not possible to attribute this difference to land-ownership, in which case the average area of land owned by the

households in the fifth quintile is 41.6 decares per household and 6.0 decares per member whereas the households in the first quintile own, on average, 14.9 decares of land per household and 4.03 decares of land per member.

At the next step, if we look at the magnitude of difference between the households at the top and bottom of the stratification from the perspective of farm size, we can see in the table that the average area owned by the big farms (which is 122.1 decares) is 18.2 times bigger than the average area of land owned by the households on *avlu* farms (which is 6.8 decares). To a large extent this difference is reflected in the case of average area of land owned per member by the same categories of households, which are 22.2 decares and 1.40 decares respectively. In the cases of disposable household income per annum per household and per member, the households on the big farms earn 3.85 times bigger incomes per household (35.176 million TL) and 3.30 times bigger income per member (6.395 million TL) than the households on the *avlu* farms, whose annual disposable incomes are 9.132 million TL per household and 1.933 million TL per member.

All of these differences almost disappear when the type of the generational organization of the households is introduced as a factor. For instance, the quadruple-generational households own, on average 1.25 times more land per household and 0.25 times more (or alternatively 4 times less) area of land per member than the single-generational households do, as we have seen above. Between the same category of the households, the magnitude of difference rises to a 4.02 times bigger disposable annual income per household and drops down to 0.97 times bigger disposable income per member. As important as this, as can be seen in the left part of the third section of the table, is the fact that there is almost no difference between all categories of the households with regard to annual disposable income per member. Precisely speaking, the amount of disposable annual income per member of the single-generational households is 3.390 million TL, of the double-generational households is 3.338 million TL, of the triple-generational households is 2.957 million TL and of the quadruple-generational households is 3.322 million TL within the context of an overall amount of 3.250 million TL annual disposable income per member.

Chapter V

PEASANTS, STATE AND MERCHANT CAPITAL

The Issues, Institutions and Domestic Politics of Turkish Hazelnut Monopoly in a Historical Context

5.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to make a historical account of the issues, institutions and domestic politics of the process of development of hazelnut production in Turkey which lead the country to hold a *monopoly* position in hazelnut production and trade in the world. Many of the issues that I shall deal with here are directly related to the issues that I shall be discussing in the rest of my work while examining how hazelnuts, as the major source of livelihood, are produced by the Kayadibians.

The chapter consists of four sections. In the first section, I shall be examining the process of development of hazelnut production in the century to the end of the National Independence War in 1922, with brief reference to the depths of history dating back to the ancient times. In the second section, I shall focus principally on the process of interaction between the peasantry and the state with regard to their mutual demands and responses concerning the improvement of the conditions of production in technological and agronomical terms on the one hand, and laying down the foundations of the organizational structure of the credit and commodity markets on the other hand, within the first two decades of the Republican period but still in connection with the developments which had taken place in the Ottoman period. The subject matter of the third section is the developments leading towards introduction of the supportive purchase prices by the government in the early 1960s and the debates concerning its outcomes in the 1970s and 1980s. In the final section, I shall examine the content of the disputes arising from conflicting interests which ended with the suspension of supportive purchases and the enforcement of a law by the government, aiming to restrain the expansion of the area under hazelnut production.

Due to their significance in understanding some of the key issues which have been central to the debates on hazelnut production in the country, it seems necessary to highlight some of the points about the location and volume of production and the significance of hazelnut exports in the country's foreign trade before embarking on an examination of the topics mentioned.

As mentioned earlier in chapter III, the total area under hazelnut production is 4,223,005 decares and the volume of production, as the average of the years 1989 and 1990, has risen to 462,500 tonnes in shell from an average volume of production of 341,250 tonnes in shell in between the years 1987 and 1988 in Turkey.⁷⁹ The number of provinces where hazelnuts are produced in Turkey is more than 20 and a great proportion of the production is carried out in 10 provinces located along the northern parts of the country from the central west to east. Due to initiation of the process in the Central and East Black Sea regions, these regions are called in the literature by one of the following names which are *classical belt*, *classical region*, *first standard region*, and *old standard region*. On the other hand, the provinces where hazelnut production started to develop after the Republican period, especially after the 1950s, are called either *the second standard region* or *the new region*, although hazelnut production in some of the provinces in the former category started to develop after the 1950s.

The Table V.1 given below shows the area under hazelnut production (inclusive of the area under the bushes which are not bearing fruit) in 1989 and the volume of production as the average of the years between 1987 and 1989 in all the provinces about which statistical information is published by the State Institute of Statistics.⁸⁰

More than three quarters (3,225,406 da: 76.4 percent) of the area under hazelnut production are in the classical belt, and the total area under hazelnut production in the provinces of Ordu and Giresun is equal to 55.3 percent of the total hazelnut producing area in the country. This gives the classical belt a dominating position concerning the volume of production in the country. The volume of production in shell in the classical belt constitutes more than two-thirds (282,280

⁷⁹ Calculated from the figures published in *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, p. 235.

⁸⁰ The volume of production and area under hazelnut production were calculated in the fashion that was explained in footnote 21 in Chapter III.

Table V.1:

Hazelnut Production in Turkey in Volume (tonnes) and Area (decares) by Province				
provinces	area	prcnt	volume	prcnt
classical belt				
<i>Artvin</i>	18,156	0.43	3,300	0.80
<i>Giresun</i>	1,166,666	27.56	79,791	19.44
<i>Ordu</i>	1,171,290	27.73	101,895	24.83
<i>Rize</i>	10,650	0.25	581	0.14
<i>Samsun</i>	309,563	7.33	39,819	9.70
<i>Tokat</i>	1,112	0.02	92	0.02
<i>Trabzon</i>	547,969	12.97	56,802	13.84
<i>classical belt, total</i>	3,225,406	76.38	282,280	68.79
new region				
<i>Bolu</i>	420,584	9.95	49,462	12.05
<i>İstanbul</i>	4,164	0.09	561	0.13
<i>Kastamonu</i>	12,345	0.29	1,019	0.25
<i>Kocaeli</i>	51,984	1.23	4,174	1.02
<i>Sakarya</i>	394,023	9.33	61,158	14.90
<i>Sinop</i>	4,342	0.10	421	0.10
<i>Zonguldak</i>	109,361	2.58	10,408	2.54
<i>new region, total</i>	996,803	23.61	127,203	31.00
other regions				
<i>Bitlis</i>	796	0.01	877	0.21
Total	4,223,005	100.0	410,360	100.0

tonnes: 68.8 percent) of the total national production in shell, and the major contribution to this total figure is made by the provinces of Ordu and Giresun as can be seen in the table. It is this dominating position of the belt, combined with its historical role in the development of hazelnut production in the country, which has always constituted one of the key issues in debates about hazelnut production in the country.

Since Ottoman times, hazelnuts have been one of the four principal export crops of the country (the others being tobacco, raisins, cotton) and they have played an important role in its foreign trade. For instance, in the period between 1923 and 1950, hazelnut exports constituted 7.76 percent of total export earnings of the country and their contribution, as a single crop, rose to up to 13.77 percent in the period 1951 and 1980, and dropped below 5 percent between 1981 and 1990.⁸¹ The decrease in their significance in the country's foreign trade within the last decade is due to increase in the volume of exports and hard currency earnings from industrial goods by means of which the volume of foreign trade has risen by 445 percent from 2,910 million US dollars in the year 1980 to 12,959 million US dollars in 1990.⁸²

Having stated these crucial figures about hazelnut production in the country, let us now examine how it has become a source of income for nearly five million people in Turkey after bearing various meanings and performing various functions in history.

5.2 Peace and Light: Hazelnuts on a String

As a variety of edible nut, hazelnuts have been known to mankind for almost five thousands years. In this long history, they have held different meanings and functions. For example, in an ancient Chinese manuscript of the year 2838 B.C.,

⁸¹ Calculated from the figures available in *İstatistik Yıllığı 1932/33*. (Published by Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, Vol. 6, Publication No. 34), p. 264; *Tarım İstatistikleri 1928-36*, p. 211; *Tarım İstatistikleri 1934-37*, p. 535; *Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı 1950*. (Published by Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü, Vol. 18, Publication No. 328), p. 315; *1959 İstatistik Yıllığı*. (Published by Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü, Publication No. 380), p. 252; *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1968*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 580), p. 309; *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1977*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 825), p. 314; *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1989*, p. 334; *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, p. 392; *Tarım Ürünleri İhracat ve İthalat İstatistikleri 1950-1970*. (Published by T.C. Tarım Bakanlığı, Plânlama ve Ekonomik Araştırmalar Dairesi Başkanlığı, Yayın No. 47, mimeograph, Ankara: 1971), pp. 79-80; *Fındık Raporu'85*. (Published by T.C. Sanayi ve Ticaret Bakanlığı, Teşkilatlandırma Genel Müdürlüğü, mimeograph, Ankara: 1985), pp. 50, 58; *Fındık Ekonomik Raporu'88*. (Published by T.C. Sanayi ve Ticaret Bakanlığı, Teşkilatlandırma Genel Müdürlüğü, mimeograph, Ankara: 1988), p. 42; *Fındık Aylık Bülten* (Temmuz-Ağustos 1990), p. 5; *Fındık Aylık Bülten* (Eylül-Aralık 1990), pp. 3-4; *Hazelnut Market Report*. (May 1990, No. 24), (Published by Black Sea Region Hazelnut and Hazelnut Products Exporters Union), p. 5; and unpublished *Fiskobirlik* figures.

⁸² Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, p. 392.

hazelnuts are included among the five blessed food items that God granted to mankind;⁸³ in Turkish mythology hazelnut bushes symbolize the peace and light of God since it is believed that golden light from Heaven fell upon hazelnut bushes and blessed the nation. In the same mythology, the hazelnut is a symbol of power and strength (Peker 1948, pp. 7-10).

Mythology was only one of the areas where hazelnuts held a meaning for mankind. Another area where they had a function was medicine, where ancient physicians discovered their efficacy in the treatment of certain diseases.⁸⁴ In later centuries, poets benefited from their shape to construct imaginative figures to describe the lips of beautiful women, and a famous Turkish sufi, *İbrahim Hakkı of Erzurum* (1703-1780) recommended it in his *Marifetname=The Book of Wisdom*⁸⁵ to university students and disciples in sufi orders as a food item valuable in providing the required energy for intellectual work while eating less. These indicate that hazelnuts were one of the edible nuts that the people of Anatolian peninsula knew about and consumed for centuries. The Black sea region of Turkey, for instance, was one of the areas in which hazelnut bushes grew among other plants and were known by the people since the fourth century B.C. (Akdağ 1989, p. 409).

Hazelnuts were also the subject of long-distance trade for centuries. For instance, after finishing their talks with the Mongolian *khan* Tamerlane, who defeated the Ottoman *sultan* Bayazid the Thunderbolt in 1402 in Ankara, the head of the Spanish diplomatic envoy Roy Godzales Clavio writes in his diary that they met (and perhaps travelled part of their journey back to Spain on) a merchant vessel carrying hazelnuts, sailing on 17th September 1403 from the port of Trabzon to İstanbul. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, hazelnuts were also one of the export items specified in the commercial treaties of the Ottoman State with Western countries (Peker 1953).

In later centuries, hazelnut exports from Turkey continued with increase in volume and the number of countries buying them. For instance, hazelnut shipping to the Nijni Novgorod fair of Russia, where they were exchanged for fabric, started

⁸³ For a translation of the manuscript into Turkish see, Peker (1948), p. 7.

⁸⁴ See, Peker (1957), p. 7.

⁸⁵ İbrahim Hakkı of Erzurum., *Marifetname*. 4 vols. (Sadeleştirilen Turgut Ulusoy), Coşkun Ofset, İstanbul: 1986.

in 1773, exports to Rumania started in 1792 and to Belgium in 1875. Meanwhile, the Turkish hazelnuts were, for the first time in their history, displayed in an international fair in London in 1851 and another international fair in İstanbul in 1863. Early in the twentieth century Turkey started to export hazelnuts to Serbia in 1906, Greece in 1907, Germany in 1908 and the United States in 1912 (Peker 1953, pp. 13-14).

The increase in the volume of hazelnut exports developed in parallel with the process of decline of the Ottoman Empire which ended with its location in the periphery of the world capitalist system (Kasaba 1988 a). However, the hazelnuts exported until the nineteenth century were largely picked from bushes which grew in nature or in the orchards of the peasants who planted them mainly for their own consumption. The transition to hazelnut production as a market oriented economic activity took place in the second decade of the nineteenth century in Abulhayır district of the province of Ordu on its eastern border with the province of Giresun.⁸⁶

In the first half century of the first experimental hazelnut orchard, hazelnut production showed very little development and exports relied heavily on the amount picked from the bushes which grew naturally. It was in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that both production and exports started to grow rapidly and kept their pace since then. For instance, the volume of hazelnut exports was 4,568 tonnes (probably in shell, as exports in kernel were quite difficult in those decades due to the poor conditions of shipping) in 1878 and rose up to 9,761 tonnes in 1888, to 10,705 tonnes in 1898, to 14,864 tonnes in 1908 and to 22,455 tonnes in 1913 (Peker 1953, p. 90). Given the assumption that productivity per decare was about 60 kg/da, and the volume of export was nearly equal to the volume of production, the area under hazelnut growing was probably around 76,133 decares

⁸⁶ It is argued that the first experimental hazelnut orchard for the purpose of production for market was planted in the Abulhayır district of the province of Ordu in between the years 1812-15 by the then deputy governor (*kaymakam*) of the then Ordu town, who was called İbrahim bey. A person who bore the same name is also argued to be the pioneer figure who planted the first hazelnut orchard in the neighbouring province of Giresun. The coincidence of this single name for the persons who first planted hazelnut orchards in both of the provinces around the same time is probably not accidental, given the fact that both of the provinces were attached at that time to the province of Trabzon and established as separate provinces later in the same century. Sources: Ahmet Hamdi bey (1923), p. 87; Ferhatoglu M. Fahrettin (1934), p. 36; and *İktisadi Yönden Ordu İli*. (Published by Ordu Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, Yayın No. 1, Ankara: 1967), p. 26.

in 1878, and increased to 115,701 decares by 1888, to 229,936 decares by 1898 and 367,601 decares by 1913.⁸⁷

The development of hazelnut production was not even in every district and province in the classical belt. For instance, the volume of hazelnut exports from the port of Ordu was 280 tonnes in shell and 448 tonnes in kernel which accordingly amounted nearly to 1,176 tonnes in shell in the year 1900 (Çebi 1978, p. 118).⁸⁸ In terms of area, this export figure was equal to 20,000 decares of land under hazelnut growing if all of the crop produced in the province was exported, again from its own port.⁸⁹ Another source of information (Peker 1948, p. 115) quotes that there were 8,400 orchards (of any size) containing 66,680,000 hazelnut bushes clustered in 9,240,000 ocaks in the province of Ordu in 1911. The volume of production in the same year was 8,800 tonnes. In almost the same period, the volume of production in the neighbouring province of Giresun was 23,040 tonnes in 1907, fell down to 10,880 tonnes in 1908, rose up to 26,240 tonnes in 1910, dropped back to 12,800 tonnes in 1911 and rose up to 32,000 tonnes in 1914 (Peker 1948, p. 110). In terms of area, these figures were equal to 115,500 decares of land under hazelnut growing in the province of Ordu in 1911 (even if we assume that the number of hazelnut ocaks per decare was 80) and 349,866 decares in the province of Giresun on the basis of the assumption that the level of productivity was 60 kg/da. With the conversion of figures concerning hazelnut exports from the province of Trabzon in the year 1919, which was 1,088 tonnes in shell (Peker 1948, p. 105), the total area under hazelnut production in the country should be around 465,366 decares during the First World War years. This is to say that slightly more than one-tenth of the way (concerning the growth of the area under production) to the 1990s was achieved within a century and the rest within seven decades.

⁸⁷ My assumption for the level of productivity depends on the information provided by Kâzım (1931) and Peker (1948). The area under hazelnut growing was calculated by myself as decade averages between the years specified by using export figures published in Peker (1953), p. 90.

⁸⁸ The export figure in kernel was converted into volume of exports in shell on the assumption employed by every institution that one kg hazelnuts in shell yield half a kg hazelnuts in kernel.

⁸⁹ It is highly likely that hazelnut exports from the crop produced in Fatsa and Ünye districts of the province are not included in the total export figures. The area under hazelnut growing was therefore probably larger than what the export figures allow us to calculate by means of also ignoring the volume of hazelnuts consumed domestically.

A number of factors seem to have played varying roles in this slow development of hazelnut production from the moment of establishment of the first experimental hazelnut orchard around the 1810s to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in the acceleration of the process since then, although it came to a temporary halt during the First World War. One of the main factors behind the slow development of hazelnut production between the time it was launched by *kaymakam* İbrahim bey and the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the Ottoman land regime.

Until the introduction of amendments in the year 1858, it was not possible for the peasants to plant trees of all kinds on the lands under their tenancy unless permission was obtained from the government. According to Cin (1978, p. 444), the purpose behind this rule was to prevent transmission of the lands to the descendants of the tenants through inheritance. This was because trees were considered heirlooms by the Islamic Inheritance Law and any tree planted by the tenants might eventually result in the private ownership of the lands allocated to them. With the Land Law of 1858, this rule was abolished together with the rule prohibiting leasing lands to the third parties. Accordingly two of the obstacles for the development of hazelnut production were eradicated.

When I put all of my field data together, their content suggests that the city merchants, and aghas and the ethnic minorities living in the coastal areas were the first people who showed interest in hazelnut production soon after the introduction of the Land Law of 1858 and continued to be the only ones until the end of the National Independence War in 1922. The rest of the producers seem to have shown no great interest in it. One of the basic reasons behind the development of hazelnut production in the coastal areas and by the initiative of the merchants and the aghas was the question of transportation. Çebi's work (1978), which focuses on the socio-economic history of the city centre of the province of Ordu in connection with the history of the Chamber of Trade and Commerce, gives some clues towards understanding how serious an obstacle transportation was to any major shift from subsistence production to hazelnut production. For instance, around the turn of the century, there were no significant transportation facilities and the peasants of the vicinity had to come the city centre early in the morning and leave it early in the afternoon to get back to their villages. The most effective means of transportation

that they had at that time was the horse and many of them had to travel, as I was also told by the Kayadibians, on foot.

On the other hand, oral reports also suggest that the peasants met the idea of engaging in hazelnut production with caution and reluctance. The caution was due to the potential outcome which might undermine the basis of their security of survival achieved in subsistence production.⁹⁰ Their reluctance however was due to other economic reasons. At a time when there was no possibility of increasing productivity in agriculture by means of using artificial fertilizers, manure, as Goubert (1986) would say, was the essential means. With a highly well organized system of animal summering in the state-owned highlands and subsistence production in the low lands, the peasantry was able to obtain at least equal if not much greater economic benefits from its already established activities than the amount offered by hazelnut production, without losing its lands to a single crop on the one hand and without having the burden of transportation on the other. The latter was because the very commodity owned, that is animals, was able to carry itself to the market or the merchant would collect it from the farm.

In comparison to these economic advantages that the peasantry living in the areas distant from the city centres could obtain, the economic advantages that the merchants and aghas could obtain from hazelnut production were also highly significant.

First of all, where difficulties stemming from poor conditions of transportation are concerned, hazelnut production did not bring about any extra problem in order to take the crop to the market. Secondly, hazelnut production could grant more power to control all of the stages of production in comparison with lands given to the sharecroppers for maize or wheat, which were the main crops produced around that time. Of course, not everyone was dishonest but, nevertheless, *stealing* a part of the produce of one's own labour has always been one of the established problems of sharecropping; no sharecropper could do this easily and without coming to the attention of the land-owner in the case of hazelnut production, even if the production was carried out by means of sharecropping arrangements since he had to

⁹⁰ Remember the peasants in the village of Kayadibi asking the late Ferhat *agha* what to eat if they were to plant their lands with hazelnut bushes.

sell the crop in the market controlled by a small number of merchants. There is no need to say that this incident could easily be discovered by the land-owner sooner or later. At a later stage, when hazelnut production became more widespread, big land-owners needed to resort to the practice of checking every day to see if the pickers were stealing any hazelnut from the orchards.⁹¹

The driving force behind the development of hazelnut production was, however, the market prices. This also encouraged the commercial life in the city centres and determined the main function that the urban areas have since undertaken in the classical belt of hazelnut production. Although I am unable to compare the market prices of certain commodities and accordingly to provide a comparative perspective on this matter,⁹² it is still possible to take an indirect approach to it through a brief account of development of commercial life in the city centre of Ordu.

For instance, according to the 1878 Almanac of Trabzon (province), there were 350 houses and approximately 300 shops in the then town centre of Ordu. By the year 1891, the number of houses increased to 1,161 and of the shops to over 500. In the same year, the population of the city centre of Ordu was 5,923 while 105,794 souls were living in the countryside (Çebi 1978, p. 15). One of the reasons behind the sudden increase which took place in the number of residents was the Caucasians' (mainly the Georgians') flight to the region following the Ottoman-Russian war of 1878. However, given the fact that a great majority of the refugees settled in the rural areas, this single factor cannot explain the increase in the population and especially the increase in the number of shops. Rather, increase in the number of city dwellers was an outcome of the increase in the volume of hazelnut exports which were creating demand for a labour force settled in the city.

First of all, since export was entirely reliant on marine transportation without there being any proper anchorage facilities for the big vessels, loading and unloading were entirely dependent upon manual labour. Any sort of freight had to be carried first by horse- or man-driven carts to the port from where it would be

⁹¹ My conversations with the people who worked for the aghas in the past provided this information.

⁹² According to Çebi (1978, pp. 18-19), the market price of a *kıyye* (equal to 1,287 grams) of hazelnuts in shell was 7.78 *piaster* in 1898, changing between 4.75 and 8.75 *piaster* between the years 1903 and 1911 and was 25 *piaster* in 1913.

loaded on barges and then on to big vessels anchored in the open sea, and for unloading the same process in reverse was required. This practice of freight shipping remained unchanged until a relatively big pier was constructed in the 1960s. The demand for porters, carters and bargees would accordingly have been quite high and a significant portion of these people had to reside in the city centre.

Secondly, a change had also taken place in the form of hazelnut exports. In the previous decades hazelnuts were being exported in shell whereas there was now a demand from customers to import shelled hazelnuts. However, since there was no mechanized system of hazelnut processing at that time, a situation which remained unchanged until the end of the National Independence War, shelling had to be done by hand. According to Çebi (1978, p. 18), the quantity of hazelnuts that could be processed in this manner by a team of workers consisting of 10 to 12 women⁹³ could not exceed 8-10 sacks of kernel hazelnuts a day which amounts approximately to 1 tonne in shell.

It should not be difficult for us to estimate the volume of demand for labour force created by the need for hazelnut processing. For example, the quantity of kernel hazelnut exports from Ordu port was 448 tonnes in the year 1900 as I quoted above. Given the assumption that 1 tonne of hazelnuts in shell could be processed by, say, 10 workers a day, the total number of workers needed to prepare 448 tonnes of hazelnuts in kernel would be 8,960 in the same year. In the face of lack of modern transportation facilities, this labour force could not be entirely provided from the villages located around the city centre on a daily basis and a sort of continuous settlement of the workforce in the city centre was necessary for smooth functioning of the commercial life.

Among the categories of people whose interests were related to hazelnut production, the first to organize itself was the hazelnut merchants under the umbrella of a Chamber of Trade. In 1906, 62 merchants dealing with import and export were the pioneers (Çebi 1978, p. 9) at a time when such organizations could only be found in the big commercial cities like İstanbul and İzmir. Within a decade or so, the newly established organization recruited more members from among the

⁹³ From the very beginning, it was women who were employed in the hazelnut mills to select the kernels and this pattern of employment in terms of gender still prevails.

merchants and by 1919 the total number of members increased to 147 with 63 dealing with hazelnut trade (Çebi 1978, p. 21). Approximately a third of all the members were either Armenian or Greek in their ethnic origin⁹⁴ and this third controlled the imports and exports in the city until the majority of them departed the country in the First World War and at end of the National Independence War in 1922.

Ethnicity of hazelnut merchants seems to have played a considerable role in the early stages of development of hazelnut production by means of their colleagues in the West giving them credit which they could then extend to aghas and the peasants, to encourage them to produce hazelnuts. It is probably this line of connection between foreign capitals and direct producers in the countryside that has left us with old hazelnut orchards named after an agha, or a person with an ethnic origin. An example of this situation can be found in the village of Kayadibi where the oldest hazelnut orchards are still called the Armenians' orchards.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the prosperity that hazelnut production and exports had seemed to promise came to a halt and a process of negotiation between subsistence production and hazelnut production started. The period also saw the first ever intervention by the government in the market. In order to protect the producers suffering from low market prices because of the rapid decrease in the volume of exports, the government purchased the hazelnuts for the consumption of the armed forces who were fighting on more than a dozen fronts.

The most visible consequence of the negotiation period was its contribution to strengthening the belief that *survival is not easy unless one has got enough corn in one's own serenti or çiten* (pronounced as chiten).⁹⁵ During the war years, peasants suffered from scarcity of many things: manpower to till the lands, fabric, sugar and kerosene to light the houses; but they did not suffer from shortage of bread, yoghurt, butter, eggs, and leaf cabbage to the extent that the urban population did.

⁹⁴ My calculation from the list of the names of the members provided in pp. 9-14 of Çebi (1978).

⁹⁵ A serenti is a relatively big wooden construct on top of thick wooden pillars where peasants keep their crops. Such a construct is quite functional in protecting crop against rats and mice while continuous ventilation of the crop is achieved without effort. Çiten is similar to a serenti in its functions but differs in its size.

In general terms, what the period of negotiation showed the peasants was that any serious engagement in hazelnut production was not going to be a simple matter of quantitative change in their relations with land and crop. Once a commitment was made for hazelnut production, it would no longer be the same as taking a fraction of the crop to the market in cases of need for cash (inclusive of the cash needed to pay the tax(es)) or to make use of the surplus in years of good harvest. On the contrary, it would bring about qualitative changes in their relations with land and crop which included partial loss of control over the lands, almost absolute irrelevance of what was produced to their direct consumption needs and the opening of a channel for the outside world to have a great degree of control over the value of their product and hence over their survival.

For instance, when faced with the problem of shortage of grain to make bread, peasants started to mix corn with hazelnuts and then ground them together to increase the volume of their flour. But this was only possible for those who had corn in their *serenti* or *çiten*. Worse, the hazelnuts could neither be a real substitute for bread nor was it pleasant to eat bread made from corn flour containing ground hazelnuts. The reason is practical: as hazelnuts are very rich in their oil content, it is impossible to grind them between the stones of a water-run mill unless they are kept in their shells. This, in turn, caused not only unpleasant sensations in the mouth but also many digestive problems among those who ate bread made from this flour.

With regard to their direct relevance to the daily needs of people faced with a serious crisis external to their will, hazelnuts played another function in lessening the load of the peasants' problems. During the war years, kerosene was generally inaccessible to the people living in rural areas save the aghas. The simple glassless oil lamps (*kara ışıks*=dark candles) with which the peasant used to light their houses were, therefore, now useless. Their solution was to thread hazelnuts on a string and set fire to them one by one. Alternatively they used pine sticks that they brought from the highlands when coming back to their villages (*cenik*).

However, these were the only areas where hazelnuts had a direct relevance to the survival of the peasantry facing a deep crisis. In other areas, there was nothing to do except to wait for any sort of improvement in conditions and any sensible

recovery in the market. For example, no decision could easily be taken to shift from hazelnut production to the production of other crops since this would require them to make almost an impossible account of the short-term and long-term advantages and disadvantages of such an act at a time when nothing was clear. The dilemma revolved around the question of what would happen if the future conditions of the market favoured hazelnut production. If they did, converting the already grown hazelnut orchards into bare fields would be nothing but wasting previous efforts and waiting another decade to grow them again. For all sections of the actual and potential producers, this meant nothing but becoming sort of gardeners on their own lands, paid in kind for their labour and patience for keeping the lands planted with hazelnut bushes. In other words, an undeclared partial self-deprivation of their control over their lands for an indefinite period of time.

5.3 The Decades of Discourses and Disputes on Self-Deprivation

Hazelnut production embarked on a new stage in Turkey when the National Independence War ended in 1922. "Not to make the same mistakes" that the Ottoman State had done was the ideology of the new regime. But the meaning of the phrase changed according to the nature of the mistakes made or experienced in the past. Therefore, the contents of the lessons that everyone wanted to take from their experiences soon came into conflict with each other while everyone was trying not to hurt others in verbalizing how much the opposite party contributed to the result. Every party had something to say against the other and had something to demand from them. There is no need to say that this process of discourse could hardly be managed without disputes.

On the part of the state, the major mistake of the past was seen as the failure of the Ottomans to develop the country. The solution to the question of economic development was to introduce the practices of states and people who had already managed to develop their countries. In order to take a part among the *civilised* nations and even to overtake them, the Swiss Civil Code was introduced in 1926⁹⁶ with much emphasis on its *civilising* impact on matters related to family life, while the immediate results were obtained in making state lands the private property of the people, according to their capacity to collaborate with the state.

⁹⁶ The parliament accepted the Code actually in 1925 and put it into force in 1926.

As a prescription for economic development, the state apparatus also seriously considered the issue of what should be done to develop agriculture. Introducing mechanized farming and support for the big farms were among the practical matters whose examples could be found in the practices of the *civilised nations*.⁹⁷ However, distributing land to landless peasant households and empowering them in economic terms were considered more pragmatic and tenable under the economic and political conditions of the 1920s.⁹⁸ In terms of political economy, this policy was tantamount to a shift from thinking about developing agriculture along with capitalist farms to giving support to the small peasantry in order to accelerate the process of commoditization of agricultural production. In addition, it would be much easier for the political regime to accuse the peasantry for not responding to its wishes to develop the country, an attitude which was reflected in the phrases of *ignorant peasantry* and *the peasant, master of the nation*.

The peasantry liked very much being addressed by the state as the master of the nation, but the very often pronounced word *ignorance* was not pleasant to hear and the latter expression was sufficient to raise doubts about the sincerity of the state in its usage of the former. The real content of the attitudes of the state apparatus towards the peasantry and of the reply of the latter became manifest during a series of congresses held in the 1930s. It is the very process of the debates and the issues raised in these congresses that I call *discourses and disputes on self-deprivation*. For an examination of the issues raised and developments which took place in the first two decades of the Republican period, it seems convenient

⁹⁷ For an account of the proposed/intended economic policies of the state soon after the National Independence War see, Keyder (1982), Birtek and Keyder (1975), Tezel (1982).

⁹⁸ Students of modern Turkish history would remember that the period between 1923-1937 was one in which Turkish society underwent a massive process of constructing an entirely new legal structure to create a Western-type secular society although the question of *which West* has remained an unsolved puzzle since then. To undertake such a venture was of course not an easy matter in political terms for this might allow the opposition to agitate the Islamic masses against the political regime. Introduction of the Swiss Civil Code was for instance one of the risky matters and the government did not even allow the National Assembly to discuss the articles of the Code one by one. However, when introduced, it gave the political regime the opportunity to offer something to the masses in return for at least not rebelling against its other policies. Establishing alliances with the natural leaders like aghas in the field must have been considered by the new political regime as one of the instruments of controlling the masses. When the Swiss Civil Code was put into force in 1926, the state apparatus never bothered about how big were the tracts of land registered by the aghas as their own private property. It was in the same process that the peasantry benefited from the opportunity to consolidate its own position over the lands owned by state.

to start by drawing a picture of hazelnut production in the early post-National Independence War years.

Statistical information available for the early 1920s suggests that a recession took place in the volume of hazelnut production during the years that passed under the severe conditions of the First World War and the National Independence War. This was not due to a shrinkage in the area of lands under hazelnut growing but because the orchards could not be properly cared for.⁹⁹ For instance, the volume of production in the year 1921 was 21,804 tonnes in shell. With more than 100 percent decrease in 1922 to 9,991 tonnes in shell, it rose up to 23,086 tonnes in 1923. During the following years, the largest volumes of crop were harvested in the years 1925 and 1927 with 47,709 tonnes and 53,491 tonnes in shell respectively. The year 1929 however witnessed a kind of economic disaster when the volume of production dropped by 855 percent to 6,253 tonnes in shell.¹⁰⁰ One-fold increase or decrease in the annual volume of production was an accustomed feature of hazelnut production but this time it was very serious and caused by a pest called *balaninus nucum* in Latin or *fındık kurdu* in Turkish (Kâzım 1931, p. 539).

When compared with the pre-First World War export figures, these figures suggest that the volume of production outweighed the pre-war levels by the year 1925 (47,709 tonnes) which may be compared to the pre-war record of 33,360 tonnes in shell in 1910. The orchards established before the First World War must have made a considerable contribution to the increase of the volume of production in the mid 1920s as they could now start to bear fruit. If we converted these figures of the average volume of production between the years 1921 and 1930 into area, we would obtain at least to 452,431 decares of land under hazelnut production as far as fruit-bearing orchards are concerned.

⁹⁹ Çebi (1978) argues that during the war years many households uprooted hazelnut orchards in order to produce subsistence crops. Though I was told by some old peasants about similar incidents, the figures that we have got for the post-war period support the idea that such incidents could never have gone beyond the rare in occurrence and minor in effect.

¹⁰⁰ Unless specified, the sources for all of the figures that I shall quote about the volume of production in the rest of this chapter are: *İstatistik Yıllığı 1932-33*, p. 210; *1959 İstatistik Yıllığı*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 380), p. 220; *The Summary of Agricultural Statistics 1979*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 913), p. 20; *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1989*, p. 196; *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, pp. 235; *Fındık Ekonomik Raporu'88*, p. 12. My calculations concerning the area under hazelnut growing will depend on the same production figures unless otherwise specified.

The recovery in the volume of production was associated by a recovery in the market prices. For example, the average market price of a kg of hazelnuts in shell was 22.29 *piaster* in 1923 and went up to 41.52 *piaster* in the next year. During the following four years, however, prices decreased unceasingly from 38.81 *piaster* in 1925 to 31.20 *piaster* in 1928. Although the average market price in the year 1929 was quite high (49.50 *piaster*),¹⁰¹ it was nevertheless not enough to compensate for the disastrous effect of the crop failure. And from that year onwards, market prices continuously receded so that the average hazelnut price in the market in the year 1924 was reached, at current prices, by the middle of the 1940s. In real terms, however, average market prices in the 1940s were 13 percent below the market prices in the years 1913 and 1914.¹⁰²

Despite the deterioration of the market prices in the 1930s and 1940s, the recovery in the volume of production went hand-in-hand with the expansion of area under hazelnut growing. As a result, the area under hazelnut production in the country, as decade averages, rose up to 781,181 decares in the 1930s, 1,008,218 decares in the 1940s and 1,510,691 decares in the 1950s.¹⁰³ These figures were equal in proportional terms to an 871 percent increase since the last quarter of the nineteenth century and a 222 percent increase since the 1920s in terms of area. Much of the contribution to the post-war development of hazelnut production came from the Akçakoca district of the province of Adapazarı in the new region, with a 270 percent increase in area, and it was followed by the province of Ordu with 205 percent, by the province of Trabzon with 186 percent and finally by the province of Giresun with 154 percent increase. Accordingly, the area under hazelnut production, as decade averages, rose from 14,190 decares in the 1920s to 38,333 decares in the 1940s in Akçakoca district, from 119,728 decares to 245,944 decares in the province of Ordu, from 241,716 decares to 372,440 decares in the province of Giresun and from 161,119 decares to 300,185 decares in the province of Trabzon.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Market prices were obtained from Kâzım (1931), p. 520.

¹⁰² Calculated by myself from the figures published in *Türkiye İstatistik Yılığ 1950*, pp. 216-217.

¹⁰³ Calculated by myself in the same manner as for the previous decades.

¹⁰⁴ Calculated by myself by using the figures provided by Peker (1950, p. 90). The readers will find certain inconsistencies between the different figures given above concerning area under hazelnut production in the provinces and districts. This is not due to a mistake made in calculations but

The 1930s witnessed a number of important events concerning hazelnut production and some of these events acted as a watershed in the political economy of hazelnut production in Turkey. For instance, until the 1930s, merchant capital was the single major organized force in the operation of credit and commodity markets, which enabled it to exercise great control in these two markets while it was itself dependent to a large extent on the credit obtained either from its colleagues abroad or from the banks in the country. The developments which took place in the 1930s advanced the peasantry and the state into the operation of credit and commodity markets as other major organized forces and laid down the foundations of their mutual relations in these markets for the decades ahead. An important element of this process was the increasing degree of direct engagement of the state apparatus in the process of the development of agricultural production with various mechanisms, including compulsion.

It is possible to make an analysis of this process with the help of information available in documentation about the issues discussed in a number of congresses held, and a number of regulations put into force, in the 1930s. The main documents that I obtained for this analysis are: (1) *Fındık Talimatnamesi=The Hazelnut Regulation* which was scheduled and implemented by the Province Council of Giresun in March of 1930, (2) the reports presented to *First National Congress of Agriculture* and finally (3) *Türkiye Fındık Ziraatinin Kalkınmasına Dair Rapor=Report Concerning the Development of Hazelnut Production of Turkey*, which was presented to the Congress of Agriculture held in 1938.

The Hazelnut Regulation of 1930 consists of 34 articles and covers a wide range of issues related to the production practices of the peasants and the regulation of the relations of exchange between the hazelnut merchants and producers in the market. The content of the *Regulation* implies that it was not the first attempt of the state apparatus to involve itself directly in the matters as a centre of compulsion. For instance, article 32 of the *Regulation* abolishes a previous regulation in

due to discrepancies between the figures published by different institutions. I used the figures provided by Peker (1950, p. 90) because they enabled me to calculate the area at provincial level. If a calculation were made by using his figures, we would obtain the following figures of the area under hazelnut growing in the country: 536,754 decares in the 1920s, 782,848 decares in the 1930s and 968,940 decares in the 1940s. These figures would amount accordingly to a 180 percent increase in area between the 1920s and the 1940s, which is 39,241 decares smaller than what I have given above.

force for hazelnut picking without giving any further information about how long it remained in force. However, Peker's (1956) report to the Second National Congress of Hazelnuts held in 1955 gives the impression that this previous regulation was put in force in 1929. In addition to this, some cross references made in the articles of the *Regulation* to other laws in force provide further indications of the same sort of attempt of the state apparatus. For instance, law number 1528/10.6.1929 sets the rules for grafting wild fruit trees. In addition, cross references of this kind were indicators of the status of hazelnuts in the 1930s: *a wild fruit in one form or another*. In the history of hazelnut production, the state apparatus has always benefited from this point in order to legitimize its actions and efforts to introduce some sort of compulsory mechanisms aiming at either to promote the hazelnuts from this status to the status of an important commodity or to demote them from being an important commodity produced to simply being a variety of wild fruits picked from nature.

In theory, the *Regulation* did not have a degree of compulsion equal to that of a law in force, although as far as the degree of political backing of the local governments by the central government is concerned it would make very little difference in practice even if it was a law. On the other hand, it is highly likely that similar regulations were put in force in other hazelnut producing provinces in the same period by their provincial authorities. My reason for arguing this is due to the title of an item on a card in the city library of Ordu for which no copy was available. How long the regulation remained in force is another question that I am unable to answer. Nevertheless, my contention is that it remained in force for not more than for a few years. The bill which was proposed in *The Report Concerning the Development of Production of Turkey* (see below) can be considered as indirect evidence for the absence of such a regulation by 1938, as it reflected in itself another attempt to introduce a compulsory mechanism at the national level without mentioning any regulation which was already in force.

When its goals stated in the text are considered, the *Regulation* seems rather ambitious in its aims to achieve certain developments in hazelnut production. For example, in its introduction, it is stated that *'the target of the regulation is to ensure a steady and as sufficient hazelnut production as demanded by the market'*. This was to be achieved by getting the wildly-growing hazelnut orchards rejuvenated

and by the technical methods of planting, pruning, picking and the other modern practices of production embedded in the rural areas. In this respect, the first target of the *Regulation* was to increase productivity. At a time when artificial fertilizers were hardly even heard of by the peasants, the productivity target was to be achieved by means of (a) selecting the most suitable lands for hazelnut growing (*art. 1*); (b) compelling the peasants to drain-out excessive moisture in the soil caused by stagnant waters on clay lands, forbidding the establishment of hazelnut orchards on lands gained by means of forest clearance for four years in order to prevent root decay (*art. 2*); (c) compelling the peasant who owned hazelnut orchards aged over 55 years to rejuvenate their orchards by dividing each plot into ten equal parts and performing every year all of the tasks required for each part (*art. 3*); (d) compulsion for proper pruning (*art. 4*); (e) setting the rules for *ocak design* in the orchards, according to which the distance between two *ocaks* would be 5 metres on plain and fertile lands, 4 metres on plain but poor lands and 3 metres on slopes, and converting the design of all the previously planted orchards into new standards (*art. 5*).

In addition, the *Regulation* aimed to combat *balaninus nucum* and other pests, to reduce the amount of crop losses in the orchards by means of compelling the peasants to clear the ground properly just before the start of the harvest, not to allow people to plant other fruit trees in hazelnut orchards, to ensure that no one commences harvest before the 10th of August in coastal areas and before the 20th of the same month in the hinterlands, to make sure that beggars do not enter the orchards during the harvest, to make sure that goats and other domestic animals (probably cattle, horses etc) do not enter the orchards (especially the newly established ones), to fine those people who decline to establish contact on time with the related authorities about the pests and other plant diseases seen in the orchards, to ensure that each hazelnut cultivar is picked (and accordingly dried and sold) separately and finally to ensure that decayed, rotten and empty hazelnut shells are picked up before the produce is taken to the market.

Two further points were among the important targets of the *Regulation*. These were (a) establishing market places by the local authorities in their jurisdiction and (b) regulating the relations of exchange between sellers and buyers or in other words between the hazelnut producing peasants and all types of hazelnut traders. For

example, no commercial transaction was allowed while the peasants were on their way to the market place (which aimed to protect the peasants in their relations especially with the petty traders who maintained their behaviour until very recently in order to increase the margin of their profit before selling the hazelnuts to a petty merchant) and no producer was allowed to take his/her product directly to the place of a merchant (article 16). The same article made it compulsory for the local authorities to establish common market places in big cities and only one in small cities and towns (and, if possible, one was to be established in each village by the village councils). There were basically three purposes behind this compulsion, as stated in the same article: (1) to ensure that no hazelnut trade is conducted within the administrative boundaries of the province against the rules set by the regulation, (2) to encourage the peasants to improve the quality and to increase the amount of their produce (the market place was perhaps considered to have a functional role for demonstrative purposes) and (3) to help the merchants to provide their own needs easily from the market.

However, to my understanding, the real purpose behind making it compulsory for the local authorities to establish market places where the producers should take their crop was to create a sort of temporary mechanism by means of which the functions of a stock market could be performed. My evidence for this argument is the repetition of the same points in the bill proposed together with *The Report Concerning the Development of Hazelnut Production of Turkey*. According to this proposed bill, the local governments would establish market places for the same end in places where there was no stock market.

With all these rules, the ultimate target of the regulation as stated in article 29 was to ensure that *the demand for the only means of livelihood of the people of the province, that is for hazelnuts, is increasingly sustained hand-in-hand with sustaining the capability of the country to compete with other hazelnut producing countries in the world market*. This was an idea and also a target which were elaborated in much greater depth during the congresses held in the 1930s.

The limits of legal action against the infringement of the rules were also determined in the *Regulation* by articles 28 and 29. The producers who did not comply with the rules set to improve the quality of their hazelnuts (as determined in 13th,

14th and 24 articles) would be fined by the local governments and the amount of fine was at their own discretion. The same applied to those merchants who did not comply with the rules set for their conduct in the market places and for the rest of all kinds of commercial transactions. Moreover, those who declined to apply the rules of the *Regulation* or caused any obstacle to their application were also to be fined (*art. 31*).

Did the *Regulation* manage to achieve any significant development in its targets concerning the practical aspects of improving the conditions of production and sustaining the ability of the country to compete in the world market? These are the questions whose answers lie with the repetition of the same points during the later decades as I shall be examining below. The most crucial point that we need to catch at this point is the status of hazelnuts as being *the only means of livelihood for the people* of the province of Giresun. Since the 1930s, this statement has been repeated by many people and was to include the people living in the provinces of Trabzon and Ordu whenever there was an opportunity to do so. For instance, this was done by Kâzım (1931), Ragıp Ziya (1931) and the members of the Hazelnut Committee who prepared the final report (*Fındık Encümen Raporu*) in the First National Congress of Agriculture held in 1931, in the report presented to the Congress of Agriculture held in 1938, and later by Peker (1941, 1948, 1950, 1953, 1956, 1965).

The first impression that one might get from this kind of statement is that nothing else was produced in these provinces in the 1930s. This, of course, was not the case and has never been the case. On the contrary, the statement reflected how in the 1920s and 1930s the hazelnut merchants and urban-based hazelnut producers saw and wished to see the rural economy, for reasons which were indirectly noted by Kâzım (1931, p. 510) in the Congress of following year:

Since the agricultural lands cannot feed the existing population living on them, the çiftçis (farmers)¹⁰⁵ have to resort to merchants and usurers especially towards the end of the year. The only requitals that the çiftçis have in order to obtain some credit are their hazelnut bushes and their hazelnuts.

¹⁰⁵ My brackets.

It is rather difficult to think that the peasants perceived the material conditions of their own lives in the same manner in the 1930s. This is not to say that Kâzım's statement was wrong. However, it was in the same period that Çambaşı, a residential area for the duration of summer on the highlands of the Ordu province and on its border with the neighbouring province of Giresun, was functioning as a big market centre for dairy products, wool and live animals.¹⁰⁶ According to Ferhatoğlu M. Fahrettin (1934, p. 19-20), Çambaşı market was more active in the pre-First World War period, and sheep merchants from all over the country used to come there to buy animals. In the Second National Congress of Hazelnuts held in 1955 in Ankara, Peker (1956, p. 29) confirmed the importance of animal raising indirectly while criticising the behaviour of the peasants for not performing the harvest properly because of needing to go back to highlands.

This does not mean that the First World War and, soon after that, the National Independence War did not bring about any change in the running of the economy. On the contrary, the long war years had a strong negative impact on the economic life of the people in the region. For example, Kâzım (1931, p. 540-541) talked specifically about how the blockage of the way for seasonal labour migration to Russia after the First World War had made life difficult for the people of Trabzon and Rize in addition to difficulties stemming from the dwindling of the population due to injuries and death on the one hand and departure of the ethnic minorities on the other hand. These issues were raised later by Peker (1956, p. 39) but his concern was mainly with the changes which took place in crop patterns and the deterioration of the prosperity of the people. He referred to apiculture, animal husbandry, production of pulses, beans and tobacco as the main components of rural economy of the province of Giresun before the First World War.

Despite these, the main reason behind the statement, that is, hazelnuts being the only means of livelihood of the people in the area, was to justify the demand for action by the government to prevent the development of hazelnut production in other provinces in order to protect the interests of both the merchant capital

¹⁰⁶ The area where the city centre of the province is now located was surrounded by marshy lands until very recently. Therefore, in order to avoid malaria, people used to go to either to the villages or to Çambaşı for the duration of summer. Bureaucracy was also partially moved to the same place for the same reason. Combined with the practice of animal summering on the highlands by the peasants, it is possible to describe Çambaşı as the summer centre of the province.

and the producers. As the years passed, all the institutional and individual representatives of hazelnut production from the classical belt made this more and more clear, as we shall see below.

A year after the *Regulation* was put in force, the First National Congress of Agriculture was held in Ankara to discuss the problems and prospects of agricultural production in Turkey. Hazelnuts received a considerable degree of attention in the congress because of being one of the main export crops. The main issues raised in the Congress by the delegates representing hazelnut production were:

- the need for the improvement of practices and technical conditions of production including the need for demonstrative farms and agronomical research which lead to the establishment of the Hazelnut Research Institute located in the province of Giresun,
- the need for credit,
- the need for credit and export cooperatives,
- the need for improvement in the standards of exports concerning regulations and quality of the crop, and
- the need for restraining hazelnut growing in the country.

For example, Kâzım (1931, p. 510), who was an expert on the agronomy of hazelnut production working in the province of Trabzon as a government employee, focussed first of all on the main factors behind continuous expansion of the area under hazelnut growing in the Black Sea region and stated the following:

- (1) that, in general, the geographical conditions of the region are not suitable for field crop production (which could also cause serious soil erosion),
- (2) that, under the same conditions of production, hazelnut production yields more economic benefits to the producers than any other variety of crop or fruit that can be produced,
- (3) that hazelnut production demands less labour in comparison to the production of other crops when the orchards attain the age of full productivity

(and hence the peasants can engage also in other economic activities without stopping farming),

- (4) that it is possible for a peasant household to feed some domestic animals without needing extra land because of the grass available all year round in the orchards,
- (5) that hazelnut production is instrumental in the peasants' obtaining credit from merchants and usurers in order to meet their needs, and
- (6) that hazelnut production is much easier for urban-based land-owners concerning the administration of their farms.

The world economic crisis was an important issue to be addressed in the Congress as there was a controversy among the policy makers, economists and agronomists as to whether or not Turkey was suffering from an excess of agricultural production. A few years later, Hatipoğlu (1936), for example, criticised the idea of excess of agricultural production and argued that economic crisis was a result of 'recession in crop prices and increase in input prices'. According to him (1936, p. 29-30), what was happening in Turkish agriculture was, first of all, that the articulation of Turkish agriculture to the world capitalist economy was not taking place on the base of capitalist production despite the fact that commodities such as cotton, tobacco and hazelnuts were marketed by merchants in a capitalist manner. In his own words, "there was no absolute market orientation" in the peasant farms as far as the mentalities of the producers were concerned. As a result, peasant farms were not able to counterbalance the effect of low crop prices by means of employing more efficient technological inputs and hence producing more, which therefore was causing a kind of rural exodus to find jobs and cash earning opportunities in the cities (Hatipoğlu 1936, pp. 81-98).

It was because of this discussion that the Committee for hazelnut production in the congress needed to assure the participants that the future of hazelnut production was bright and no one should be frightened of increasing the volume of production (*Fındık Encümen Raporu 1931*, p. 576). However, according to the members of the Committee, hazelnut production must be placed under state

scrutiny in order to improve the conditions of production and to prevent the expansion of hazelnut planting, which would force agricultural production to diversify itself in the region along with other crops and animal husbandry. It was also suggested that such a policy must be accompanied by much better and more efficient use of arable lands under the possession and/or control of the households.

There were however some elementary obstacles to the increase of productivity in hazelnut production. Some of these obstacles were due to lack of information among the peasantry about the agronomy of hazelnut production concerning planting the bushes, picking, drying etc. But more important than such factors was the lack of credit. For instance, Kâzım argued (1931, pp. 542-543) that in order to improve the conditions in the hazelnut orchards which had been ignored for years, there was need for extra labour and investment but that

the peasants have no money and are indebted up to their necks. It is not easy to ask for renovations and to get them done by the farmers while they are thinking about how to pay their debts.

It is impossible for the producers to accept and employ new practices of production unless they are freed from their slave-like relations with the merchants and usurers, let alone helping them to free themselves from their debts (that they owe to such people).

Peasants should have their freedom as soon as possible; it must not be an imperative for them to harvest their crop and to slip it out to the merchants quickly. They must be freed from selling their products to the merchants from whom they buy corn (for their domestic consumption and without instant credit) in the middle of the year with 50 percent interest (on the actual price of the corn bought).¹⁰⁷

For Kâzım (1931, pp. 550-551), giving plenty of credit to the peasants through the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*) was not a solution to the problem. For instance, such acts of the bank in the previous years had yielded no positive result simply because the credits were spent by the peasants for their needs of consumption. The bank should therefore make sure that the credits are used for productive purposes. Moreover, there was '*a need for two types of cooperative to save the future of the peasants and to protect hazelnut production in the country*'. One of them

¹⁰⁷ The brackets are mine.

should be a credit cooperative for which the financial resources could be created by means of a sort of export tax levied on hazelnuts. The resources created in this way must also belong to the producers and the amount of their share/contribution could be arranged in accordance with the volume of hazelnuts that they sell in the market.

As important as the need for a credit cooperative was the need for an export cooperative owned by the peasants. The *rationale* was expressed by Kâzım (1931, pp. 551-53) as such:

The capital owned by our hazelnut merchants is very limited. Their efforts to direct their trade with the credit obtained from the banks or by means of time-bound commercial contracts with their customers (à livrer)¹⁰⁸ stumble every year against the interests of the producers and of the country. Two powerful capitalists¹⁰⁹ dominate the hazelnut trade in the world. These are the capitalists who have contacts with the consumer markets and keep the world hazelnut trade in their hands. Therefore hazelnut markets are subdued to their wishes and intrigues even in the consumer centres. With their vast capitals and organizations, these uncontestable establishments cause our merchants to urge (that is, to market the crop without being able to store them for a long period of time and hence determine the prices in the international markets).¹¹⁰ I do not know but it may be possible for our merchants to save themselves from this deplorable situation by means of creating an export union among themselves and having enough material support (from the state)¹¹¹ or by means of taking other commercial measures. However, I would like to remind you that every effort and courageous attempt shown by the local merchants every year has hitherto been unable to release them from being bound to fail. I do not know why and for what reasons they cannot succeed.

What I do know and what my mind can comprehend is that there exists a way to address the essential needs and problems by means of getting all the hazelnut producers together under the name of an export cooperative and benefiting from the power which will originate from this togetherness.

¹⁰⁸ Used in the original text.

¹⁰⁹ Kâzım did not mention the names of these hazelnut merchants but, as the point was raised in the Second National Congress of Hazelnuts and later in the Seminar on All the Problems of Hazelnuts held in the years 1955 and 1976 respectively, he was probably referring to some of those hazelnut merchants who located their trade in Germany following their departure from the country soon after the National Independence War.

¹¹⁰ The brackets are mine.

¹¹¹ The brackets are mine.

The creation of such an organization may initially confront some obstacles but we do not think that these will be important. When we get all the hazelnut producers saying "we will sell our product to our cooperative", it means at the same time that there is an organization with 10 million TL capital. If this organization with such a big capital can find qualified and trustworthy directors, it can cover the producers' initial needs for credit by means of obtaining sufficient amount from the banks and can accordingly release the producers from the necessity of resorting to the usurer. Hence the most important factor which may cause an obstacle to the creation of such an organization will accordingly lose its strength.

Depending upon our strong contention, I would argue that hazelnuts would be sold at least at a price of 45 piaster (per kg/in shell) instead of 35 piaster if the cooperative [as proposed] existed today. What we deduce from this is that the country loses at least 5 million TL a year in this situation (because of lack of such an export cooperative).

We are content with the idea of (a sale) cooperative not simply because it contains the benefit of restoring this money. We perceive the cooperative in the position of delivering the peasantry from the hands of the profiteers. In addition to this, we want to dominate the (world hazelnut)¹¹² market.

In the congress, the idea of dominating the world hazelnut market was not unique to Kâzım. On the contrary, it was implicitly repeated by Ragıp Ziya (1931) who dealt especially with the practical problems of improving hazelnut production in the country. Nevertheless, both Kâzım and Ragıp Ziya laid much emphasis on the problems stemming from lack of knowledge and malpractices of picking, pruning, drying and on the problems arising from lack of standardization in hazelnut exports.

The First National Congress of the Hazelnut which was held in 1935 was devoted basically to discussing these latter problems of hazelnut production in the country and represented the response of the merchants to the issues discussed in 1931. The initiation of more effective control mechanism for quality controls in exports was achieved as a result of this congress (Peker 1956, p. 15) although such a mechanism had been in force since the late 1920s and a copy of the previous regulation issued by the Ministry of Economy had been published as an appendix (pp. 14-15) to *The Hazelnut Regulation of 1930* by the Province Council of Giresun.

¹¹² The brackets are mine.

The most important response of the state apparatus to the demands raised in the congresses held in the early years of the 1930s concerning provision of credit and organization of the sale of hazelnuts, was to pass certain laws in order to prepare the legal ground for more active and efficient cooperativism. The hazelnut giant of the world, which is called *Fiskobirlik* (The Union of Hazelnut Sales Cooperatives), came into existence as a legal entity in 1937 and started to function as a concrete entity in 1938. Prior to the establishment of *Fiskobirlik*, the law for the establishment of a union of credit cooperatives was also put in force. The creation of the unions of credit and sale cooperatives and the concrete shape they were given by the state apparatus reflected the beginning of a radical change taking place in the nature of engagement of the state in the commodity and credit markets as the events of the following decades indicated. Before examining how things developed in the later decades, it seems necessary to cast a glance at how this radical change was achieved in the light of developments which took place in the past, as the cooperatives established in the 1930s had a long history behind them.

In the history of Turkish agriculture, the first attempt to establish a credit cooperative was shown by Mithat Paşa in 1863. During the period of his imperial governorship to the province of Danube (which included parts of Serbia and Bulgaria), Mithat Paşa played an instrumental role in originating and putting in practice the idea of a kind of combined credit and sale cooperative named *Memleket Sandıkları* (*Country Chests*). At the initial stage, between the years 1863 and 1867, the Chest operated only in the province of Danube. Later, in response to the visible benefits that it yielded to the producers, it was decided in 1867 to establish the chests all over the Empire (Peker 1941, p. 10). The *Country Chests* developed especially in the Balkans and were run successfully for almost 20 years. However, due to the heavy losses that the Ottoman State received in the war with Russia in 1878, the chests started to suffer from financial and administrative problems. With some sort of non-radical revisions in their structure, they were renamed in 1883 *Menafi Umumiye Sandıkları* (*General Benefit Chests*). (Hazar 1990 a, pp. 381-385; Çağlar 1990 a, p. 21). In 1888, these chests were transformed into a new legal and economic entity and again renamed with their current name, the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*). Accordingly, the financial resources of the chests, which amounted to 2,209,912 gold Ottoman Liras, constituted the initial

capital of the bank and all the local branches of the chests were made its branches (Hazar 1990 a, p. 530).

The efforts to establish credit and sale cooperatives did not stop in the period following the establishment of the Agricultural Bank although such efforts never managed to achieve any success. For example, as an effort against the activities of *Smyrna Fig Packers Limited*, which was established in 1911 by 40 fig merchants in the province of İzmir in order to control dried fig prices in the market, and also against *İncir Anonim Şirketi (Fig Joint Stock Company)* of İzmir which was established by some fig commissioners, some pioneer fig producers in the neighbouring province of Aydın established in the same year *Aydın İncir Himaye-i Zürra Anonim Şirketi (Joint Stock Company for the Protection of Fig Producers of Aydın)*. However, this company did not show any significant activity in the market and was closed after a short period of time. The *Millî Aydın Bankası (National Aydın Bank)* which was established in 1913 by means of a joint partnership of the Agricultural Bank and the farmers was another attempt to create a credit organization (Hazar 1990 a, p. 501).

In the period between the outbreak of the First World War and the end of the National Independence War the efforts for creating credit and sale cooperatives continued without achieving any concrete result. For instance, the *Kooperatif Şirketler Kanunu Lâyihası (Cooperative Companies Bill)* of September 1920, the *Ereğli Havzai Fahmiye Maden Amelesinin Hukukuna Müteallik Kanun (The Law Concerning Rights of Workers of Ereğli Coal Mine Site)* of September 1921 which proposed establishment of cooperatives by the mine workers,¹¹³ and the *Köy Bankaları Kanunu Lâyihası (Village Banks Bill)* of August 1922 were among such efforts (Hazar 1990 a, pp. 396-398).

Two important developments which took place after the National Independence War were the putting in force by the government of the *İstihsal, Alım ve*

¹¹³ The majority of the mine workers were from the villages around the colliery although Hazar does not mention the connection between their being mine workers as peasants and the efforts to establish a cooperative among them. For an account of the difficulties that the colliery administration encountered in providing labour from among the peasants and the measures taken by the Ottoman Government to protect the peasants against the tendencies of the colliery administration to employ compulsory mechanisms, see Quataret (1987).

Satım Ortaklık Kooperatifleri Nizamnamesi (The Regulation for Production, Purchase and Sale Partnership Cooperatives) of the spring 1923 and the *İtibarî Zirai Birlikleri Kanunu* (The Nominal Agricultural Unions Law) of April 1924. The purpose of the regulation was to encourage establishment of sale cooperatives and these were to be supported financially by the Ministry of Economy and the Agricultural Bank. In accordance with this regulation, 40 cooperatives were established especially in the tobacco producing western parts of the country until 1928. The purpose of the law was however to establish cooperatives which would deal both with provision of credit and sales. Since the efforts to establish such cooperatives received no encouragement from the Agricultural Bank, the law found no chance to be implemented in practice (Hazar 1990 a, pp. 398-399). In spite of this, independent efforts of the producers continued especially in the areas where production for the market was relatively developed. For instance, many storehouses in the province of Aydın transformed themselves into cooperatives before the 1930s and these developments were followed by the establishment of the Cotton Sale Cooperative of Adana in July 1931, of Mersin in September 1931 and of Tarsus in 1932. And the first hazelnut sale cooperative was established by the producers in the province of Giresun in December 1931 (Hazar 1990 a, p. 503).

According to Hazar (1990 a, p. 400), the prototype of the credit cooperatives which are now prevailing in the country came into existence with the *Zirai Kredi Kooperatifleri Kanunu* (The Agricultural Credit Cooperatives Law) of June 1929. In accordance with this law, the first credit cooperative was established in the city centre of Bulancak district of the province of Giresun in September 1929. By the end of the year 1930, the total number of credit cooperatives established by the producers increased to 191 with a total number of 20,170 partners living in 558 different villages in the country.

The next and the most important step in establishing credit and sale cooperatives was taken by the government in 1935. Both of the laws 2834 [*Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri ve Birlikleri Kanunu* (The Agricultural Sale Cooperatives and the Unions of Sale Cooperatives Law)] and 2836 [*Tarım Kredi Kooperatifleri Kanunu* (Agricultural Credit Cooperatives Law)] were passed by the National Assembly in November and December 1935 respectively. However, in order to be put in force,

Main Contracts (*Anasözleşmes*) of the cooperatives had to be prepared by the government. Therefore, their implementation became possible in 1936 for the latter and in 1937 for the former. When the law for credit cooperatives was put in force, there were 668 credit cooperatives with 67,333 partners in the country and 577 of them revised their structures and took new names whereas 91 of them declined to do so (Hazar 1990 a, pp. 400-401, 465-466, 475-476).

Putting in force both of the laws in the same period was not an accidental coincidence but was a conscious act of the state apparatus to take an active role in the process of developing commodity production in the country. This intention was reflected well in the areas of control that the government would have over the functioning of the cooperatives. First, both types of cooperatives were subjugated to the control of the Agricultural Bank regarding their accounts and financial administration. By this means, it would be possible for the state apparatus to involve itself from a distance but nevertheless directly, since the Agricultural Bank was under its own direct control. In this sense, bringing all of the credit and sale cooperatives under the umbrella of two broad unions of cooperatives was an organizational matter designed to make the actual process of control easy. Secondly, by law *Fiskobirlik* was entirely an organization of producers regarding its capital formation and administration. However, appointments to the top executive posts were kept in the hands of the government. Accordingly, the processes of policy formation, decision making and their implementation would be entirely under the direct scrutiny of the government and the events of later decades proved this well.

On the political side of the matter, the concrete shape which was given to *Fiskobirlik*, which was also common to all the other unions of sale cooperatives, can be interpreted as an indication of the anxiety of the state apparatus to achieve a compromise between its ideological commitment to economic development along capitalist lines and the pragmatic requirements of capital formation for economic development and investment in infrastructure on the other hand. Accordingly, the government avoided making any commitment to purchase all of the hazelnuts produced by the peasantry by means of leaving the issue of capital formation of the cooperative to the partners. On the other side of the coin, the same strategy was enough to avoid any big disturbance among the merchants, as the concrete shape

of the cooperative was sufficient to disguise the state apparatus's involvement as one of the parties with economic interests in the process.

After having established the unions of credit and sale cooperatives, the next step was to discuss what kind of radical changes could be introduced for the development of agricultural production in the country. Apart from *the Report Concerning the Development of Hazelnut Production of Turkey* presented to the First Congress of Rural and Agricultural Development held on 25th of November, 1938, I have not been able to find any other material documenting the other important event of the 1930s, which was the Second Congress of Hazelnuts held on 6th of August, 1938 in Giresun. In addition, apart from Peker's two reports (1956 and 1965), I have found no documentation concerning the Second National Congress of Hazelnuts held in 1955, the Hazelnut Symposium of 1965 held by the Chambers of Trade, Commerce and Industry in Ankara, another symposium held by TÜBİTAK (Institute of Scientific and Technological Research) in 1967. I am therefore unable to analyse the issues raised during these events with the help of information available in the original sources. This also makes it difficult for me to link certain developments to each other. The most important of all is the exact nature of the link between the idea of creating a Turkish hazelnut monopoly and having *Fiskobirlik* already established. Without making any speculation about this, I shall briefly examine the content of the *Report Concerning the Development of Hazelnut Production of Turkey*.

The *Report* was actually a preliminary project and contained a draft bill aiming to bring about radical changes in hazelnut production in the country. After repeating the argument that hazelnut production is the only means of livelihood for the people living in the provinces of Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon and Rize, much of the emphasis was laid on the significance of hazelnut exports in hard currency earnings of the country. Emphasis put on the latter point bears the nature of a critique of long lasting neglect by the state apparatus of the problems and prospects of hazelnut production. The lack of detailed statistical information about hazelnut production in the state sponsored publications *vis a vis* availability of such information about tobacco and cotton production since the nineteenth century though hazelnuts have always been one of the four principal export crops can be taken here as an example of the prejudice of the state apparatus about hazelnut production.

Kâzım's (1931, p. 508) complaint about the same point in the very first sentence of his report presented in the First National Congress of Agriculture was also a clear expression of the same issue.

As far as the idea of creating a hazelnut production monopoly in the world market is concerned, it was pointed out in the *Report*, first of all, that Turkey had already achieved a dominance in this field. This argument was supported on the basis of the facts that Turkey was supplying, on average, 50 percent of the world hazelnut production which was, on average, about 85,000 tonnes in shell per annum. The major competitors were Spain with 22,000 tonnes, Italy with 18,000 tonnes and the Soviet Union with 6,000 tonnes in shell on average (p. 3). The reason behind the world championship of Turkey in hazelnut production was not however due to rational methods of production but was simply due to expansion of the area under production through taking advantage of the suitable conditions of climate and soil (p. 4). Market prices were also accounted responsible for the expansion of area but the result of high market prices was actually not good at all! It was confirmed again that hazelnut production was the only means of livelihood for the people living in the known provinces of the region but *high market prices had rendered them not only a lazy section of the population but, at the same time, had taken them away from being a positive social and economic element in the society*. This was because the peasantry and particularly the men in the hazelnut production belt were dealing with agricultural production for, at most, two to three months a year and doing nothing else apart from spending their time in the coffee houses. In addition, they were employing very simple methods of production (p. 5).

What all these things meant according to the *Report* was that Turkey had suitable natural conditions, cheap labour, low land prices and hence low rent. Why, then, should it not *take advantage of all these cheap things in its possession and undermine hazelnut production in the other countries in the short run and prevent them at least from increasing their production against that of Turkey in the long run?* (pp. 4, 6). The answer to this question was *yes, why not?* Turkey could manage to do this within a decade without expanding the area under production. In order to achieve this, the *Report* proposed in essence three principal measures to be taken. These were:

- (1) that a special organization, which would be named *The Organization for Hazelnut Improvement*, was to be established to undertake the responsibility of monitoring the process and to run all the administrative and technical matters arising therefrom,
- (2) that sufficient amount of credit was to be siphoned to the peasantry for productive investments, and
- (3) that the *Organization* was to be equipped with the power of taking legal action against the peasantry if it failed to respond properly to the requirements of the project.

For instance, by article 3 of the draft bill, every owner of hazelnut orchard(s) would be obliged to improve the conditions in their orchards, would be compelled to rejuvenate their hazelnut bushes by means of pruning or planting new ones and would have to take all the measures ordered by the *Organization* concerning harvesting, threshing and other improvements (p. 9). In addition, the bill proposed (a) that no one would establish hazelnut orchards without obtaining permission from the *Organization* and without complying with the standards and rules of hazelnut planting set by it (*art. 14*), (b) that anyone who declined to perform the tasks ordered by the *Organization* would be fined an amount of money ranging from 5 TL to 50 TL (*art. 15*), (c) that it would be forbidden to let goats and other domestic animals to enter the orchards (*art. 16*), (d) that no one should store and sell hazelnuts unless he/she dries them well and no one should cause fresh hazelnuts to decay or to become rotten because of storing them in stables or in unventilated rooms (*art. 18*) and (e) that dry hazelnuts could only be sold in the stock markets or in the common market places determined by the government (*art. 19*).

To the best of my knowledge, the project found no chance to be implemented nor, therefore, did the bill become law. It nevertheless reflected the continuation of the tendency of the state apparatus to employ compulsory mechanisms to develop agricultural production in the country. And this tendency became perhaps more apparent in areas of agricultural production which made significant contributions to hard currency earnings and capital formation, and seemed to have been further

reinforced by the possibility of having at least the monopoly of production of one thing in the world, which was hazelnuts.

5.4 The Decades of Reliefs and State Protection

The steps taken in establishing sale and credit cooperatives received a warm welcome from the peasantry. For instance, 11 hazelnut sale cooperatives were established in the provinces of Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon before June 1939. The first hazelnut sale cooperative was established in the central district of the province of Ordu on 24th of June 1938 and three days later this was followed by the sale cooperatives established in Keşap and Bulancak districts of the province of Giresun (Peker 1941, p. 11). At the initial stage, these sale cooperatives had a total number of 27,199 peasant partners from 725 different villages in the provinces mentioned and this number increased over to 32,000 by the year 1941. The volume of capital that these first partners of the cooperatives undertook to contribute was 999,122 TL and only 85,474 TL of it was paid by the year 1941 (Peker, 1941, p.12) This was equal to 8.5 percent of total amount of capital contribution which was undertaken by the partners.

As a sign of a good start, the hazelnut sale cooperatives under the umbrella of *Fiskobirlik* advanced 1,391,173 TL credit to their partners in return for their hazelnuts after the harvest. This was a considerably large sum of credit. At the end of the harvest season, however, the volume of hazelnuts sold to the cooperative (10,514,826 kg) was hardly above half of what had been promised (20,680,786 kg) by the partners. In practice this meant that the cooperatives advanced 78.9 percent of the money value of the hazelnuts as credit despite its intention of advancing only around 40 percent of the estimated money value of the hazelnuts promised by the partners.¹¹⁴ The result was rather upsetting. According to a telegraph correspondence between the headquarters of *Fiskobirlik* located in the province of Giresun and the government in 1944, the reason behind the peasants' behaviour was the unjust treatment of the purchase experts in grading the hazelnuts.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, establishing credit cooperatives progressed comparatively slowly in the hazelnut production belt. The number of credit cooperatives established before

¹¹⁴ For figures, see Peker (1941), p. 12, table ii and iii.

¹¹⁵ Mentioned in *tamim* no 428 dated 18.7.1944.

the middle of 1941 was 39 and they had 12,363 partners.¹¹⁶ This was perhaps because of a kind of avoidance of the financial burden that the partnership would bring to the peasants *vis a vis* the availability of plenty of credit by means of being a partner of a sale cooperative.

Apart from distributing credit and buying the produce of their partners, which were very important functions, *Fiskobirlik* played an instrumental role in helping to relieve its partners from the burden of finding corn or grain to make bread in the midst of the Second World War. In the telegraph correspondence, it was made clear respectively by both *Fiskobirlik* and the government that the peasants were really desperate and the situation would kindly be dealt with. This was not an exaggeration. As happened previously, the peasants had started again to grind hazelnuts with any edible thing, like dried peas and pulses in order to survive. Kerosene was again not available to the peasants save again the aghas, headmen and the rich. Salt was too; many people had to supplement it from the slightly saline vast blue waters of the Black Sea.¹¹⁷ In response to this situation, *Fiskobirlik* sold a total volume of 428,997 kg corn to the peasants in the area (245,579 kg to its partners, 140,494 kg to the partners of the credit cooperatives and 42,924 kg to the non-partner peasants) in the year 1940.¹¹⁸

Although the officially stated purpose of corn sale to the hazelnut producers was the kind consideration of the government in recognizing the needs of its citizens, the government was probably aiming to get the peasants to continue their production instead of making any shift to the production of something else which would upset the hard currency earnings under the very advantageous conditions in the world market. Germany's demand for Turkish goods was particularly important and included also hazelnuts to be used for military purposes. It was because of this critical need of Germany that the United States decided in 1941 to buy "hazelnuts, acorns, wool, chrome and even chests of opium for medical use in order to keep these goods out of German hands. Most of these crops and goods were stored actually in Turkey and sold at discounts thereafter" (Rubin 1989, p. 120).

¹¹⁶ For figures see, Peker (1941), p 13, Table v.

¹¹⁷ From my conversations with the peasants during my fieldwork. Grinding hazelnuts with any edible thing is also mentioned in *Fındık Aylık Bülten* (Temmuz-Ağustos 1990), p. 12.

¹¹⁸ For figures see, Peker (1941), p. 14.

However, what gives the most distinctive character to the history of hazelnut production in the post-Second World War period are step by step developments leading to the introduction of supportive purchases by the government in 1964. In order to get some idea about the acceleration of the process leading towards the government's direct intervention in the market, the content of the telegraph correspondence between the headquarters of *Fiskobirlik* and the Ministry of Trade is quite instructive. It also indicates the extent of the government's control over *Fiskobirlik* from the first moment of its establishment.

For instance, *tamim* (circular) number 12 dictates the purchase prices at which *Fiskobirlik* should buy the produce of its partners in 1940. *Tamim* 22 dictates the same for the year 1941.¹¹⁹ This way of determining the purchase prices that *Fiskobirlik* should apply to the produce of its partners continues in the telegraph correspondence from the capital up to 1954.

In order to play a more active and direct role in regulating the market, the government took a further step in 1954 and initiated the period of *intervening purchases*. The target of this policy, as expressed in the next year in *Resolution K/984*,¹²⁰ was to protect the hazelnut producers by not letting the prices go down in the market. In order to do so, *Fiskobirlik* was ordered to purchase hazelnuts from non-partner producers to the extent that this should not undermine the purchasing and exporting capacity of the merchants. On the other side of the coin, this was tantamount to shouldering the problems of capital formation encountered by *Fiskobirlik* and hence exercising overt economic and political control on its administration. This stage ended in 1964 with the initiation of supportive purchases.

By introducing the stage of *supportive purchases* for the principal export crops like cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, figs and for those crops which were essential to the cheap food supply in the society, the state committed itself to fulfil all the economic and political tasks of the process of commoditization of agricultural production and hence of hazelnut production. Being under the protection of the state was perhaps the first time that the peasantry felt itself secure enough to make a full commitment for hazelnut production. This process resulted in the conversion

¹¹⁹ These telegraph correspondences are kept in a file in the library of *Fiskobirlik* but I was not permitted to obtain copies because I had no authority or permission from the top authorities.

¹²⁰ Mentioned in *tamim* 1070/1955.

of the remaining small tracts of maize fields into hazelnut orchards in the heartland of the classical belt together with spreading and accelerating the same tendency in some other provinces of the region like Terme district of the province of Samsun and the provinces of Bolu and Adapazarı.

On the part of the peasantry, losing its power on the administration of *Fiskobirlik*, which in fact never existed in the true sense of the word, with the introduction of supportive purchases was actually a big political advantage as it opened more channels to communicate with the government through votes. Economic advantages were also considerable because of basic security in market prices; it helped many prosper. However, the phase of supportive purchases was not devoid of problems for all the major parties. A two-day long seminar held in Ankara in 1976 to discuss all the problems of hazelnut production was an indication of the discomfort prevailing among all the major parties. The fierce debates which took place in the seminar made it clear also that a new phase had been opened in the history of Turkish hazelnut production.

5.5 Incompatible Interests and Overt Clashes

The principal issues which occupied the agenda of the seminar held in 1976 were:

- whether hazelnut plantation should be restricted in the country,
- whether supportive purchases should be suspended,
- the necessity of reaching a balance between hazelnut production in the country and hazelnut consumption in the world,
- the necessity of increasing exports and domestic consumption, and
- the necessity of introducing standards for production and marketing.

When considered in the light of the issues discussed in the previous decades, there was nothing new on the agenda but the perspectives and solutions proposed were rather new. For instance, demand for restraining expansion of area under hazelnut production was not new at all, as we have seen. What was new by the

1970s was the way in which the idea was reflected by different institutions and individuals.

First of all, from the 1960s onwards, the people of the classical belt started to pound the walls of the National Assembly to pass a law, and the first bill was discussed but not passed by the National Assembly in 1964, in which year supportive purchases were introduced (Köksal 1989 a). Another bill was presented to the National Assembly by the MPs of the belt in 1974. According to the *rationale* of this new one, the purpose was (a) to prevent the production of low quality hazelnuts by means of restricting production areas to (suitable) ecological regions and fields, (b) to reach an organizational unity and efficiency in providing the producers with technical knowledge about how to increase productivity and quality; (c) to make plans and programmes in order to ensure that production was maintained in accordance with the demands of the international and domestic markets and (d) to encourage scientific research concerning how to increase productivity and quality, and to develop new systems of harvesting, drying and storing (Tunavelioğlu 1976, p. 17).

The idea of restricting hazelnut plantation by law received different echoes from different institutions and organized groups. For example, soon after the draft bill was made public, hazelnut exporters under the umbrella of Black Sea Region Hazelnut and Hazelnut Products Exporters Union located in the province of Giresun criticised, first of all, the argument that there was lack of concern about hazelnut production in the country. On the contrary, the problems of hazelnut production according to the *Union* was due to over concern of the different parties among whom the state and *Fiskobirlik* came first. Secondly, the key policy factor behind the problems was that of supportive purchases of the state using *Fiskobirlik* as an instrument. The three interrelated consequences of this policy according to the *Union* were (1) expansion of area under hazelnut growing into the field crop producing districts due to high purchase prices which politically aimed to lessen the burden of the producers in the Black Sea region, (2) undermining of hazelnut production in the classical belt, because of low productivity and high cost in the classical belt *vis a vis* relatively high productivity and low production cost in the new areas and (3) creation of an imbalance between production and consumption. The solution for the problems should therefore be sought in the policies which might

increase consumption (both domestically and internationally) and in increasing the volume of exports (Tunavelioğlu 1976, pp. 17-19).

In principal, some of these ideas were shared by *Fiskobirlik* too. However, as the major organization of the producers, it had other grounds on which to defend the very idea which was in fact originated, formulated and put in public debate by itself before the seminar was held. The line of argument was explicitly directed at persuading the state apparatus to restrict hazelnut growing to the known provinces of the Black Sea region. For example, in its own journal *Çotanak* (1976, 50: 3) *Fiskobirlik* defined the "Essential Problem"="Başlıca Sorun" of hazelnut production in Turkey as follows:

It is necessary for all the hazelnut producing countries to restrain their production to a programme in order to protect the producers against significant price decreases in the future. This necessity stems from the fact that hazelnut growing areas are expanding in other countries, especially in Spain besides a rapid expansion of the areas in Turkey.

This problem has substantial importance for our country where the total area under hazelnut growing is four times bigger than that of all of the other hazelnut producing countries.

The continuous expansion of the hazelnut growing areas without any increase in the productivity of the hazelnut farms increases the difference between the costs of production among different hazelnut growing regions. Since the sacrifices which are made to make the survival of the farms possible are applied without discrimination, this provides the farms in the other regions with an economic advantage created artificially.

The *Seminar on All Problems of Hazelnuts*=*Fındığın Tüm Sorunları Semineri* held in 1976 was another chance for everyone to defend their stands and to beat the standpoints of the others. In the inaugural session of the seminar, the representatives of the government had the chance to make their point explicit. According to Dr Ağâh Oktay Güner,¹²¹ it had become a necessity in the view of the government

to take national, democratic and decisive measures to stop continuous and rapid expansion of hazelnut planting areas. We need to assess very well that supportive purchases yield negative consequences concerning the whole of

¹²¹ Dr Güner was then the permanent undersecretary of the Minister of Trade and the top bureaucrat behind the introduction of *The Hazelnut Support and Stability Fund*.

the economy at the macro level while they yield benefits to the producers. Therefore, we are obliged to balance the interests of the producers and the whole economy. (The volume of) hazelnut production is continuously increasing as a result of the policy of supportive purchases which is a necessity of the social responsibility of the state. However, the (hazelnut) consumption in the world does not increase in parallel with it. Accordingly, (the issues like)¹²² exports with low prices; on average 40 thousand tonnes of unsold stocks which are allocated to oil extraction and exports prices which are very much lower than cost price require us to handle the subject as a whole at the national level and turn to new measures and new policies.¹²³

The Minister of Trade Mr Halil Başol's speech was in the same direction as that of his undersecretary. Nevertheless, there were some differences at least in the form in which the ideas were made explicit. According to Mr Başol, who made part of his bureaucratic career in the headquarters of *Fiskobirlik*, the producers in the classical belt were entirely dependent on hazelnut production and were in need of the state's support. This support was at the same time an elementary responsibility of a social state. The producers in the plain and fertile lands of Çarşamba and Terme districts (of the province of Samsun) and Adapazarı could produce other things. Therefore, he was of the opinion that hazelnut production should be stopped in these new areas unless it was more profitable concerning exports and general economic values. The measures could be a combination of both legal and economic ones. In connection with this, the second point upon which he placed emphasis was the need to formulate a policy which would allow the continuation of supportive purchases but yet deprive the big land-owners from the benefits they yielded. Mr Başol therefore asked all the scientists attending the seminar to think about how such a policy could be formulated. These ideas were also shared by Mr Orhan Öztrak who was the minister of Ports and Monopolies.¹²⁴

The popular support given to the idea of restraining hazelnut growing to the classical belt was continued in the seminar by almost every institution located in

¹²² The brackets are mine.

¹²³ Dr Güner's speech appears in pp. 12-23 of *Fındığın Tüm Sorunları Semineri*. (Published by Türkiye Ticaret Odaları, Sanayi Odaları ve Ticaret Borsaları Birliği, Ankara: 1977). The above translated passage appears in pp. 13-14 of the same source.

¹²⁴ Mr Başol's speech and comments appear in pp. 16-19 and 65 of *Fındığın Tüm Sorunları Semineri* (1977).

the region and by every individual who was originally from one of the provinces located in the belt. For example, the General Director of *Fiskobirlik* Mr Mümtaz Pehlivanlı focussed on the popular critique that hazelnut production was causing troubles to the national economy because of an imbalance between the volume of production and the level of demand in the domestic and international markets. For him, this situation should not be maintained and the solution was to restrain hazelnut production to the classical area. Such a restriction would and could prevent, according to him, wasting arable lands because alternative crops needed by the national economy could be produced in the *new region* or in new areas instead of hazelnuts whose amount was more than what was needed (Pehlivanlı 1977, pp. 78, 86).

The director of the Hazelnut Research Institute Mr Bekir Çakır carried the flag further. The *Institute's* view according to Çakır (1977, p. 200) was, first, that 'uncontrolled expansion of hazelnut growing should be prevented'. Secondly, that all the hazelnut orchards on the plain lands should be pulled off and production of other crops which might make more contribution to the national income must be encouraged instead. This policy should be incorporated with directing all the efforts to develop hazelnut production in terms of quality and productivity on the slope lands (that is, in the provinces of Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon provinces where the surface conditions are identical with what is meant by slope lands). In addition, the producers must be provided with sufficient amounts of credit, technological renovations and with know-how in order to achieve the targets of such a policy. Çakır (1977, p. 201) also presented other facts and figures depending upon the calculations made by the *Institute* about how production of other crops like tomatoes, maize, sugar beet, tobacco etc would yield more economic benefits to both the producers and the national economy if the plain lands were used for such purposes instead of producing hazelnuts.

The near consensus on the idea of restricting hazelnut growing to the classical belt was broken by some others, especially by an academic. According to Ayfer (1977, p. 38) the problems that the hazelnut production was encountering in Turkey were not due to "the level attained in the volume of production but to the unattained level in exports". The solutions must therefore be sought in how to make more active, conscious and professional marketing; how to increase the share

of processed hazelnuts in the total exports; how to determine the minimum export prices more cleverly and how to make exports much easier. He also pointed out (1977, pp. 38, 47) that Turkey was becoming late in introducing new standards of production and exports in the face of changing conditions in EC countries.

The debate on the issue of restricting hazelnut growing by law to the classical production belt continued after the seminar. Two articles published in *Çotanak* argued against the claim made in the seminar about the role of *Fiskobirlik* in the market and about the supportive purchases. In one of the articles, Larçın (1976-77, pp. 18-19) discussed the results of a survey conducted by *Fiskobirlik* about the size of farms owned by its partners. The survey covered all of the 112,335 partners of *Fiskobirlik* in 1976¹²⁵ and they were distributed by farm size as shown in the table below.¹²⁶

As the figures given in the table indicate, it was not difficult for Larçın to argue that a great majority of the partners of *Fiskobirlik* were small farmers. On the basis of these figures, Larçın (1976-77, p. 19) calculated the extent to which the economic survival of the households dependent upon these farms was possible. According to the results of his calculation, the partners who were obtaining an amount of income from their farms above the national minimum wage was only 11 percent. Accordingly he concluded that:

supportive hazelnut purchases must definitely be maintained. Contrary to what is argued, supportive hazelnut purchases do not have inflationary pressure over the economy of the country. The support provided by means of such purchases is no more than the level of minimum wages. In ninety percent of the cases, supportive hazelnut purchases benefit the small producers. The benefit or support provided to the remaining ten percent is insignificant and (if this is the cause of the people to argue that supportive purchases are negatively effecting the economy of the country and yielding benefits basically to the big land owners, this problem)¹²⁷ can be easily be solved at any time by taking some measures.

¹²⁵ In the year 1990, the total number of partners was more than 200,000 according to the information that I was provided with by *Fiskobirlik*.

¹²⁶ The total row and the last column of the table were calculated by myself and the total percentage was rounded to 100.0.

¹²⁷ The brackets are mine.

Table V.2:

Fiskobirlik's Partners by Farm Size (in decares) in 1976

farm size	number of		total area	
	partners	percent	owned	percent
0-5	13,193	11.75	94,601	3.52
6-10	22,852	20.34	214,082	7.96
11-20	31,460	28.00	503,881	18.74
21-30	21,086	18.77	490,681	18.25
31-40	12,353	11.00	480,221	17.86
41-50	5,537	4.93	227,037	8.44
51-100	4,653	4.14	351,548	13.07
101-200	882	0.79	127,495	4.74
201-500	194	0.17	59,405	2.21
501-1000	109	0.10	79,781	2.97
1001-2500	16	0.01	60,236	2.24
Total	112,335	100.0	2,688,968	100.0

In the same issue of *Çotanak*, Pamuk (1976-77, pp. 16-17) focussed on other arguments such as that the Treasury was making huge losses because of supportive purchases and that high hazelnut prices were reducing the volume of exports. Against these, he argued that exports inclusive of other crops supported by the government had not dropped but increased. On the other hand, 70 percent of the financial burden of the supportive purchases on the resources of the Treasury was due to the cost of the credit advanced by the state, 5 percent was due to the cost of marketing and 25 percent was due to real support given to the producers. If the state had supplied cheap credit to *Fiskobirlik*, a major portion of what was seen as a loss would not have happened. In his suggestions to solve the problems, Pamuk shared the ideas of those who were in favour of maintaining the supportive purchases and restraining hazelnut growing to the classical belt.

The struggle to persuade the state apparatus to restrict hazelnut plantation yielded its result in 1983 when law 2844 was issued in the *Official Gazette* on the

18th of June. This was understandably welcomed by all those who had put their efforts towards such a moment. However, not everyone was happy about the law. For instance, differences of opinions and some sort of split among the members of the Black Sea Region Hazelnut and Hazelnut Products Exporters Union continued as they had been expressed in the seminar of 1976. For instance, Mr Sabır who was one of the members of the Board of Administration of the *Union*, welcomed the law whereas Mr Tunavelioğlu who was and is still the General Secretary of it repeated the points (*Fındık* 1985, 1:6, pp. 7-8)¹²⁸ that he raised in the seminar held in 1976.

The same was the case with Prof. Dr Mahmut Ayfer. In the same issue of *Fındık* (pp. 9-10) he argued that "it is an insufficient assessment and even a mistake to perceive the spreading of hazelnut growing to the plain and fertile lands as a negative thing". This was because, he argued, "hazelnut production on the plain lands is yielding high earnings to the producers, great advantages in exports and is increasing the ability (of the country) for competition in the international markets due to its high quality products and low cost (of production)".¹²⁹ Ayfer also criticised the claim that the classical belt has got the the most suitable ecological conditions for the production of high quality hazelnuts. According to him, some low quality cultivars had unfortunately developed in the Western Black Sea region but this also happened in the classical belt. The main factor behind the development of such cultivars was not in fact the suitability of the ecological conditions but was indiscriminate application of the supportive purchases to every hazelnut cultivar. Finally, he criticised the law for not defining the crop varieties whose production would be more advantageous to the national economy than hazelnut production. Ayfer repeatedly mentioned these points earlier (1977, 1984 a, b).

The second issue concerning the structure of the law was when it would become effective, since it was necessary for the law to have its regulation prepared (article 6) by the government. For almost four years this regulation was not prepared by the government, but when it was done, it became clear that the law and the regulation would not yield what was wanted, simply because there was no sign of restricting

¹²⁸ The opinions of several people concerning this issue were published in the journal of *Fındık*, (Cilt: 1, Sayı: 6, pp. 7-10) with the title of "Fındık Üretiminin Plânlaması ve Dikim Alanlarının Belirlenmesi Hakkındaki Kanun Konusunda Görüşler."

¹²⁹ The brackets are mine.

hazelnut growing to the classical belt. On the surface, the delay in the preparation of the regulation and its broadness in covering various provinces and districts were due to reluctance of the government to commit itself to an unconstitutional and undemocratic act, as a government could not deprive some of its citizens from production of a crop which was yielding them high economic returns. This was refuted by the pro-restrictionists on the grounds that the same government was depriving some of its citizens from producing tea, tobacco or cotton by means of putting laws in force.¹³⁰ The actual reason, according to my understanding, was the government's reluctance not to lose the economic benefits that more and much cheaper hazelnut production can yield to the economy, in addition to the impact of lobbying by the MPs of the provinces where hazelnut growing was demanded to be restricted.

The most recent attempt by the pro-restrictionists was made in December 1990. In a meeting held by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forest and Village Affairs to discuss the application of the regulation, the representatives of the Ministry proposed to restrict hazelnut growing to 20 provinces of Turkey whereas the representative of the Black Sea Region Hazelnut and Hazelnut Products Exporters Union proposed to restrict it to the provinces of Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, the Akçakoca district of the province of Bolu, the Alaplı and Ereğli districts of the province of Zonguldak, and with some reservations to the Düzce district of the province of Bolu, Akyazı, Kocaeli, Hendek and Karasu districts of the province of Adapazarı and Terme and Çarşamba districts of the province of Samsun (*Fındık Aylık Bülten* (Eylül-Aralık 1990), p. 26).

Restriction of hazelnut growing in the country was one of the major areas of overt clashes between the state apparatus, producers and merchants of the classical belt and the rest of the people who one way or another took part in the discussions and formulation of the policies. It is quite difficult to say that the pro-restrictionists, (in which category I include *Fiskobirlik* which defended the

¹³⁰ Numerous people raised this point again and again in the seminars and scientific meetings of the 1980s such as the seminar held in the province of Giresun in 1984 on *The Place and Importance of Hazelnut (Production) in the Economy of Turkey*, the seminar on *The Economic Development of Ordu Province*, which was held on 26th and 27th May 1989, the seminar held in the province of Giresun in 1988 on *The Fundamentals of Turkey's Hazelnut (Production and Marketing) Policy* and the panel held in 1990 in Ankara on *The Hazelnut Production and Consumption Balance in Turkey*.

cause despite the fact that it had member cooperatives located in the districts and provinces where restriction of hazelnut production is demanded, the Hazelnut Research Institute, the Union of Hazelnut Exporters although there are some differences of opinion among some of its leading members and the Chambers of Agriculture in the provinces of Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon as the organized socio-political forces) achieved any considerable success in their decades long efforts despite the fact that there is a law now to be implemented. I do not think that their efforts will cease in the coming decades.

As an outstanding point, what strikes my attention in this process is the crystallization of the content of the demand from the state. No matter how rational and convincing they were, all the arguments put forward since the 1930s about the necessity of developing hazelnut production on the one hand and yet arguing for the necessity of restricting it, at the initial stage to the provinces of Trabzon and Giresun and with some degree of reluctance to the province Ordu province on the other hand were stemming from the anxiety of the hazelnut producing peasantry and the merchants dealing with hazelnut trade to say openly that "we do not want to lose the economic advantages of hazelnut production and trading to the people of other provinces".

It is highly likely that the institutions and the people of the classical belt continue raising their demands in more crystallized and sharpened forms from the state apparatus in the decades ahead. It is also likely that they will include new items in their demands regardless of whether they get the government to implement a strict law. There are, for instance, new efforts to find alternative or supplementary crops to hazelnut growing and/or economic activities to solve the economic problems of the rural population of the belt. In this respect, the most important event of recent years was a two-day seminar held in May 1989 in Ordu to discuss the problems of the economic development of the province. This was also the first ever seminar held in the country to discuss the problems of economic development of a province in itself. Such efforts are becoming increasingly important to formulate new ideas and to maintain contacts with the state apparatus in the years following the suspension of supportive purchases for hazelnuts by the government in 1987.

Suspension of supportive purchases, as I mentioned above, was one of the key issues in the debates and discussions which took place in the seminar held in the year 1976. This symbolized the end of the state protection and was a sign of a new era opening in the history of hazelnut production in Turkey. The current tendencies prevailing among the policy makers are in the direction of transforming *Fiskobirlik* together with many of the unions of sale cooperatives operating in the areas of cotton, raisins, oil seed production into a new entity which is close to or the same as a big public company. What the future holds for *Fiskobirlik* is not yet clear but what is clear is that the decades ahead are pregnant with major developments in the political economy and domestic politics of hazelnut production in particular and petty commodity production in general. In order to give an idea about the content of alternative suggestions, I shall examine one of the proposals developed by the representatives of hazelnut exporters and hazelnut processing industry in the recent decades.

High purchasing prices applied by the government in the market through *Fiskobirlik*, the difficulties stemming from minimum export prices and the application of the regulation for the Hazelnut Support and Stability Fund, the supply and price instabilities in the domestic markets and unequal chances of competition with *Fiskobirlik* in the domestic markets created by the political and financial support that the government provides the latter with have been among the principal complaints of the hazelnut merchants, hazelnut exporters and hazelnut processing industry particularly since the 1970s. These issues lead especially the hazelnut exporters and the industrialists to demand a decision about *who the owner of hazelnuts is in Turkey*. Although the genesis of the disagreement between the parties goes back to the 1950s, as far as I understand from the literature, the fiercest discussions took place during the seminar held in 1976 to discuss all the problems of hazelnut production in the country. The representatives of hazelnut exporters and the hazelnut processors demanded from the government that:

- (1) it should either not give financial support to *Fiskobirlik* and accordingly create no state monopoly in the market or, in order to be exported by themselves, it should supply hazelnuts to the exporters at the same prices that *Fiskobirlik* exports, and

(2) it should not let *Fiskobirlik* and hence the country play the function of storehouse of hazelnuts for Western buyers.¹³¹

The hazelnut exporters and the industrialists came with rather clearly formulated demands to the seminar held in the province of Giresun on 6th and 7th of June 1984. The head of the Black Sea Hazelnut and Hazelnut Products Exporters Union Mr Turan argued in his paper (Turan 1984 b, p. 131) that the government should (a) separate the purchasing and processing branches of *Fiskobirlik*, (b) entitle an institution with monopoly rights to buy all the hazelnuts produced in the country and (c) sell these hazelnuts at a pre-determined and fixed price all year round to everyone without making any discrimination between the processing branch of *Fiskobirlik*, the merchants, industrialists and exporters.

The proposal had far reaching implications and implicitly demanded macro changes concerning the political economy of hazelnut production in the country if it were put in effect. First, it meant that the petty merchants buying hazelnuts from the producers would be entirely withdrawn from the market. The natural consequence of such a withdrawal would be tantamount to abolishing all the relations between the merchants and the peasants and accordingly to creating new forms of credit markets or to asking the government to undertake all the financial and political outcomes of credit supply to the producers. Secondly, it would require the state to undertake the cost of storing all the hazelnuts produced for the domestic customers who may or may not wish to buy and export them. However, these were not unaccustomed things to demand according to the exporters and industrialist, as they made it clear during the seminar of the year 1976. This was because the government was doing things similar to what they demanded in the case of sugar and steel production, so why should not the same be applied to hazelnut production?

Despite its provocative nature, the proposal was not discussed in detail nor did it raise any fierce reply from the merchants who do not export hazelnuts. A

¹³¹ See the paper [published in *Fındığın Tüm Sorunları Semineri* (1977)] presented by Ünal Sagra and Şerafettin Turan (Sagra and Turan 1977) (Mr Sagra is the owner of the biggest hazelnut processing factory in the province of Ordu) and comments by Osman Zeki Karahanlı [exporter (p. 99)], Ahmet Tanrıverdi [exporter (pp. 55, 211-214)] and Mehmet Güler [General Secretary of the Union of Exporters of İstanbul (pp. 53, 54 and 93).]

merchant-exporter¹³² criticised some of its implications concerning the idea of a mixed-economic system and therefore the impossibility of enacting this kind of law in the country, and that was all.

The representatives of the hazelnut exporters and the industrialists justified their claim about the government holding a monopoly in the market further, on the grounds that it had already subdued the peasantry to itself like a feudal lord by means of the *Stability Fund*, which entitled the state to obtain half a dollar revenue on each kg hazelnuts exported in shell. When it was introduced in the mid 1970s, the purpose lying behind the *Fund* was to enable the government to manoeuvre easily in case of a price crisis in the international markets. The resources accumulated in the *Fund* would be used to maintain the government's ability to offer reasonable prices to the producers and meet the cost of storing the hazelnuts for a long period of time even if the hazelnut prices in the international markets were not favourable. In this sense, the financial resources accumulated in the *Fund* did and do belong to the producers, and the exporters were in fact right to argue that the state was the chief lord pursuing its own interests over the produce of the peasantry.

Since the first moment it came into life, producers have also complained about the *Fund* and demanded from the government in the events and meetings of the 1980s that it should either return the resources accumulated in the *Fund* to the region in the form of investment in industry to create jobs or in infrastructure or, alternatively, it should abolish it and release them from paying this disguised and very high tax. It was also correctly argued by the exporters and the peasants that this was one of the rare if not the only example of levying tax on exports while supplying lucrative financial incentives to others to maintain and increase the volume of their exports of other crops and goods. In addition, they also complained about the fact that this was causing hazelnut smuggling, which is argued to be around 50,000 tonnes in shell per annum, by the exporters of other crops who get in return not only tax exemptions that they are entitled to claim from the State Treasury but also keep in their hands the money that should be paid to the Treasury in exporting hazelnuts.

¹³² See, Hüseyin Furtun's comments in *Türkiye Ekonomisinde Fındığın Yeri ve Önemi*. (Published by İktisadî Araştırmalar Vakfı, İstanbul: 1984), pp. 148-153.

In response to these complaints and demands, the only thing that the government did was to reduce the rates. According to the latest arrangements, which became effective from September 1990, the new rates are as follows: 40 cent/kg for natural kernel exports, 20 cent/kg for hazelnut exports in shell, 30 cent/kg for bleached, roasted, sliced or fried hazelnuts and 10 cent/kg for the other varieties. Even with the new rates, the amount of money paid by the exporter to the State Treasury for each kg of hazelnuts exported in shell was equal to 28 percent of the amount of gross money that the producers obtained in return for each kg of hazelnuts they sold in the market in the same year.¹³³ These aspects of hazelnut production raise also serious doubts about the popular claim that agriculture is not taxed by the government.

The Kayadibians carried out their hazelnut production when I was among them in the year 1990 under the conditions which arose out of the interaction of all the factors prevailing in the market, policies applied by the government and institutions debated in the way that I have briefly examined in the pages above. The most important event which took place when I was in the field was the response to the low market prices by the local people: some bakers started to produce bread containing ground hazelnuts in order to remind the government that they, that is, the hazelnut producers and the people of the *classical belt* had survived two previous big crises. In the next two chapters I shall examine what degree of chance for survival the hazelnut producers have.

¹³³ Calculated by myself by using the figures concerning the exchange rates for the year 1990 published in *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, p. 466 and the average price (weighted arithmetic mean) received by the farmers published in *Prices Received by Farmers 1990*. (Published by State Institute of Statistics, Publication no: 1523), p. 3.

Chapter VI

LAND USE, PRODUCTIVITY AND TECHNOLOGY

in Hazelnut Production

6.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to make a general account of hazelnut production in the village of Kayadibi regarding land use, land fragmentation, factors affecting the level of productivity, the money cost of principal productive spendings and the technological conditions of production. Before examining these topics, I would like to give some idea about some of the points which we also need to take into account.

As we remember, the total area of lands owned by the households covered in this study is 5326.40 decares. I can tentatively say that more than 95 percent of these lands is within the administrative boundaries of the village. This is because being a member of the village community means in practice to have at least a major portion of one's lands within the administrative boundaries of the village. The reason behind this is that the place of location of the lands owned functions in the long run, say within the life span of a generation, as the most effective factor in determining the residential place of a household.

However, once a household changes its place of residence in order to be on or as near as possible the major portion of its own lands, it does not assume that the rest of the lands are sold. In most of the cases, a household preserves its ownership of such lands unless the money obtained by means of selling other lands can be used to buy another piece of land, a valuable immovable property like a plot of land in the city to construct a house or to buy something which is not considered as a loss by the members of the household and of the community. These considerations hold true for lands inherited, especially by the female members of a household, who are originally from a distant village. Therefore, some households own lands in other villages where either they used to live before moving to Kayadibi village

or where the mother and/or wives of the heads of the households are from. In addition, as the boundaries of the village are a matter of administration, there are some households which own lands in the bordering villages.

The technical difficulties stemming from these features of land ownership in the village and in the area do not allow us to make any strong points about the proportion of the total area of lands owned by the households covered in this study to the total area of lands within the administrative boundaries of the village. Nor do these difficulties allow us to make definite statement about the overall pattern of distribution of lands among all of the Kayadibian households. Nevertheless, if we ignored the effect of owning land in other villages, which is in fact counterbalanced by the area of land owned by the people living in other villages, the total area of lands owned by the 195 households covered in this study would be equal to 79.5 percent of the total area of lands in the village.

On the other hand, since land use in the villages located around the city centers in the coastal areas show similar patterns, we can generalize our findings about the patterns of land use in the village to all other villages located in the north of Kayadibi village whereas we could hardly do so for the villages in nearly 5-10 km of its south. This is because the forests cover large portions of arable lands in the villages located in the south and stretch to the hinterlands with increasing density.

6.2 Land Allocation for Productive and Reproductive Purposes

As is familiar to students of rural sociology, it is generally impossible to find an agricultural structure where all lands are suitable for production. This issue constitutes one of the principal matters that need to be taken into account when dealing with class structure arising from land ownership or with the economic performance of the farms. Since I have discussed some of the issues related to the first point earlier in the fourth chapter, I shall solely deal here with the second point, from the point of view of the patterns of allocation of lands for productive and reproductive purposes. The table given below shows the overall pattern of land use by the households covered in this study.

As can be seen in the table, only a small portion of the lands is allocated to the housing needs of the households inclusive of the area occupied by barns,

Table VI.1:

Land Allocation (in decares) For Productive and Reproductive Purposes		
	total area	percent
allocated to		
<i>housing and threshing floors</i>	146.32	2.7
<i>vegetable production</i>	159.53	3.0
<i>maize production</i>	125.12	2.4
<i>grown hazelnut orchards</i>	3,923.58	73.7
<i>newly planted hazelnut orchards</i>	130.65	2.5
<i>woodlands and bushes</i>	651.30	12.2
<i>moors, cliffs and bare lands</i>	134.50	2.5
<i>private roads, paths and other purposes</i>	55.40	1.0
Total	5,326.40	100.0

stables, threshing floors (2.7 percent) and roads giving access to different parts of the farms owned and connecting main roads to the place of the location of the houses (1.0 percent). On the other hand, the lands which are entirely unsuitable for plant growing constitutes 2.5 percent of the total area owned while a significant proportion (12.2 percent) of the lands is occupied by woodlands and bushes because of being unsuitable for agricultural production. Consequently, we are left with a net area of 4,338 decares of land under direct agricultural production, which is equal to 81.4 percent of total area of the lands owned by the households.

In agricultural structures where population pressure over arable lands is very high, land use for reproductive and productive purposes acquires substantial economic significance as land use for reproductive purposes takes substantial amounts of the arable lands out of production, whereas population pressure brings even very poor lands under agricultural production.¹³⁴ I know of no particular scientific research dealing with the question of what the maximum economic use of arable lands should be in hazelnut production. This lack of information makes it impossible to assess whether or not the observed patterns of land allocation in the village

¹³⁴ For instance, the journal *Tarım ve Köy*, published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Village Affairs, devoted its 78th (August 1992) issue to discuss various aspects of the use of agricultural lands for non-agricultural purposes.

can be considered sensible in economic terms. Despite this, it is still possible to consider whether the Kayadibians are behaving sensibly in allocating their lands to their reproductive needs in order to allocate maximum areas of land to agricultural production.

When I assess the above given figures within the context of my observations in the village, I can say without hesitation that the Kayadibians do act highly sensibly in order not to lose any significant amount of their lands for their reproductive purposes, as long as a piece of land is suitable for production. For instance, threshing floors are constructed, if possible, on the least productive lands around the houses and even every inch of space on the concrete roofs of the houses, barns and other premises is used to dry hazelnuts and for all kinds of reproductive purposes. In addition, roads are kept as narrow as possible and the area under agricultural production is expanded even into poor lands, providing that it is more economical than tree growing.

On the other hand, figures given in the table indicate that the area under hazelnut production with the inclusion of the newly established orchards occupies nearly three quarters of total area of lands owned and 93.4 percent of the arable lands. This should be interpreted as an overwhelming domination of production for the market over subsistence production. In addition, the existence of newly established hazelnut orchards suggests that this overwhelming domination has the tendency to become almost absolute in the near future.

In statistical terms, factors like farm size, generational organization and residential place of the households and the composition of the major sources of income seem to have no impact on the conduct of the households in allocating their lands to hazelnut production. For instance, the area under hazelnut growing is equal to 78.0 percent of the total area of land owned by the *avlu* farms. This figure is 81.3 percent in the case of small, 78.4 percent in the case of medium, 77.5 percent in the case of full and 63.2 percent in the case of big farms. The relatively low rate of occupation of hazelnut orchards in the latter case is due to ownership of large tracts of lands which are not suitable for agricultural production. When three other factors are concerned, the percentages are as follows: 77.1 percent and 70.4 percent of the lands owned by the village- and urban-based households; 77.8 per-

cent, 76.5 percent, 74.0 percent and 76.7 percent of the lands owned respectively by the single-, double-, triple- and quadruple-generational households and finally 75.6 percent, 77.2 percent and 75.1 percent of the lands owned by the households which have respectively single (hazelnut production in this calculation), double and multiple sources of income.

Hazelnut production has shown a rather stable pattern of development against field crop production in the village. For instance, the results of the cadastral survey conducted in the village in the years 1959 and 1960 suggest that nearly 68 percent of the arable lands was under hazelnut growing and 13.5 percent under maize and soyabean production in the early 1960s.¹³⁵ If we assume that the first hazelnut orchard was established in the village ca 1880 as the oral reports of the villagers suggest, this means that hazelnut production has developed, on average, with a pace of bringing every year 0.85 percent of the arable lands under its occupation both before and after the 1960s.

As I mentioned earlier in my account of economic life in the village, the rest of agricultural production concerning field crops, vegetable and fruit production are geared to the domestic consumption of the households without having the purpose of providing all that is needed. Nor could it be possible, for a great number of the households, to provide all that they need to consume even if all of the lands were allocated to subsistence production. In general, subsistence production aims to make use of women's surplus labour by means of allocating them an area of dominion where they can exercise their will freely and rejoicing the taste of producing vegetables of different varieties, a taste which connects the present to the past especially when the grains of maize are turned into flour to make bread and to fry fish.

6.3 Aspects of Land Fragmentation and Productivity

A high degree of land fragmentation is one of the important aspects of agricultural production in Turkey. This matter has got two mutually informing aspects, and they can be examined separately. On the one hand, land fragmentation can be defined and examined in relation to legal matters, particularly in relation to the

¹³⁵ The percentages are my calculations from the records of the cadastral survey concerning the type of crop produced on each tract of land to which a separate title deed was issued.

technical matters that the law has to take into account. For instance one might consider each tract of land with a title deed as a separate fragment. Providing that the same piece of land is co-owned by a group of people who belong to separate households, this brings about the result of, in terms of land use, as many tracts of land as the number of co-owners belonging to different households. In the village of Kayadibi, the co-owners of a tract of land do not rush to obtain a separate title deed for their own share. Rather they usually practice marking the boundaries of their shares with an agreement among themselves and leave the rest to be solved at a later stage.

Unless solved effectively, land fragmentation arising from co-ownership creates significant problems in using the lands economically especially in the cases of very small tracts of lands with many co-owners. One of the effective ways of preventing this is land-bartering, which is practised especially by relatives. The practice of self-dispossession by the parents also reduces land fragmentation to a large extent. A third way is to sell one's share to other co-owners as the law gives them priority in buying these kinds of lands. The purpose behind all these is to ensure surface continuity as much as possible. Nevertheless, this may not always be achieved because of other reasons. For instance the total number of tracts of lands with a separate title deed was 700 in the year 1960 and this has increased to 982 by the third quarter of the year 1990 according to the Town Hall records, and each tract of land was and is owned on average by more than 3.5 persons.

It is in fact surface continuity of the lands owned by a household which makes sense in the running of a farm, and the villagers are interested especially in this side of the matter. In this research: (1) any piece of land owned by others and separating two tracts of lands owned by the members of a household, (2) roads and paths dedicated to use by the public rather than to that of the household and (3) a rivulet or river running in between the lands owned by the household, are defined as obstructions for surface continuity of the lands. Accordingly, all tracts of lands which give access to each other without having any one of the obstructions mentioned are considered as one piece of land providing that they are owned by members of the same household. The information that I was provided with by the heads of the households in relation to this definition yields the result of a total number of 537 fragments of land with a maximum number of 15 fragments owned

by one household. This amounts to 2.8 fragments of lands per household and slightly more than 7 decares of land per fragment in the village.

The interlinks of land fragmentation, underproductivity and the difficulties of employing advanced technologies which give rise to high cost of production are some of the important matters which occupy the minds of several people ranging from policy makers to agronomists dealing with the problems and prospects of agricultural production especially in the Third World countries. The results of my data suggest that there is no statistically significant relation between land fragmentation and productivity in hazelnut production. A summary of my findings concerning the level of productivity in the years 1989 and 1990 and the average level of productivity of these two years by the number of fragments of lands is given in the table below.¹³⁶

Table VI.2:

Land Fragmentation and Productivity (kg/da) in Hazelnut Production					
number of fragments	freq.	percent	productivity in 1989	productivity in 1990	average of 1989-1990
1	64	34.2	128.6	104.0	116.3
2	42	22.5	124.2	94.0	109.1
3	27	14.4	128.9	87.7	108.3
4	18	9.6	135.2	100.8	118.0
5	15	8.0	157.5	102.2	129.9
6+	21	11.3	148.1	119.0	133.6
Total+overall	187	100.0	129.9	94.0	112.0

Contrary to the general spirit of concern with the relation between land fragmentation and productivity, my data suggest that the level of productivity in-

¹³⁶ The level of productivity for each year was calculated by reference to the amount of hazelnuts marketed and the area of lands under fruit-bearing hazelnut orchards. The figures concerning percentages and the averages represent the valid cases, as data about two cases are missing.

creases as the number of fragments does, although this can not be proved statistically. This becomes particularly important against the background that average size of the farms consisting of single fragments is 21 decares and this figure drops down to 12 decares with the farms consisting of 2, and further down to 8.3 decares, 6.6 decares, 9.8 decares and finally 8.3 decares with the farms consisting respectively of 3, 4, 5, and 6+ fragments. Despite the potential that these figures have to make us think of productivity as conducive to farm size, there is also no statistically significant relation between the two. On the contrary, as I shall examine in the paragraphs below, *avlu* farms seem more productive than the rest. Before passing to an examination of productivity in relation with some other factors together with farm size, let me briefly state why land fragmentation is not a problem in hazelnut production.

First of all, hazelnut production is not a technology intensive agricultural production but is a labour intensive one. This accordingly cancels out much of the theoretical significance assigned to the use of advanced technologies under the given conditions of production that I shall examine in the last section of this chapter. Secondly, the *ocak system* of orchard establishing, which is employed in fact in all hazelnut producing zones and districts in the country, does not cause any considerable amount of loss in the area of lands that can be allocated to production save for the fact that it yields much less when compared to the *hedge system*, and this is entirely a different issue. This is because the villagers usually plant the hazelnut *ocaks* as close as possible to the borders of their lands and this results in many cases in a dense plantation along the borders of their orchards.

Thirdly, when a tract of hazelnut orchard is bought or divided among the co-owners or heirs, the existing design of the orchard is preserved. In such a case, border marking does not go beyond the act of putting some stones, digging a small ditch or driving some piles along the borders. However, what might give rise to a significant loss in the volume of production is tree planting along the borders and between the *ocaks*. The loss that happens due to tree planting is not because they occupy a considerable amount of land but because their long shadows inhibit the development of the bushes and the nuts.

Tree planting in and along the borders of the orchards has its roots in the early phases of hazelnut production in the area. In the early 1920s, the technical advice given to the peasants by the agronomists was to plant alder trees in the orchards and any other tree along the borders. In this way it was hoped that the hazelnut bushes might be protected against the heat of the sun, especially in the southern-looking lands in the summer and against the strong winds when the bushes are bearing nuts. Other kinds of benefits were also expected to be obtained from this practice. One of them was to prevent soil erosion happening particularly along the borders parallel to ditches, rivulets and streams. Enriching the soil in its nitrogen constituents, helping the roots of bushes to grow down by means breaking the soil underneath the hazelnut *ocaks* by the roots of the alder trees were among the other benefits which were expected to be obtained.¹³⁷ Although planting fruit trees in the orchards was banned by the hazelnut regulations put in force in the 1930s, the peasants maintained their practices until the present time.

There is no doubt that trees in and along borders of the orchards cause considerable loss in the volume of production. However, they also have other economic uses which are important for the people. For instance, one of the benefits that has significance in the running of a household farm is the provision of fuel and timber. Many households provide a major portion of their need for timber to construct a house, a barn or piles for the border fences and the fuel to heat their houses from their own farms. In addition to this, fruits such as apples, pears, figs and mulberries, which are important in the daily consumption of a household are provided by the fruit trees planted in the orchards.

On the other hand, one cannot deny the role of the trees in preventing soil erosion and regulating the rain fall and climate. As far as the natural factors of production is concerned, erosion is one of the major concerns of the peasants. The geographical conditions of the region resemble a triggered gun. A very thin layer of soil covering the top of the hills and mountains can easily be wiped out if human factors let this happen. The role played by the hazelnut orchards is therefore critical. But they cannot be expected to reduce the the level of erosion to minimum. This is because their roots do not grow deep enough in the soil nor can they be planted everywhere with an expectation that they might grow.

¹³⁷ See for instance Ahmet Hamdi *Bey's* (1339/1923) book about the agronomy of fruit and nut trees.

Accordingly, the trees planted along the borders should stay in many of the cases. Where rain fall and regulation of the climate are concerned, hazelnut orchards covering the landscape together with the other trees play again an important role. It is not only the amount of annual precipitation but its distribution all year round which are again very important in hazelnut production. This importance is due particularly to the lack of irrigation facilities that the peasants can rely on in the case of a dry summer. Anyone above the age of thirty will know very well that the practice of establishing special prayers by big assemblies of people to beg God that He may send clouds and blessed rain for the sake of the children, of the animals, of the plants and of those whom He loves is not that much far in the past.

When the question of production cost in connection with land fragmentation is concerned, I should again say that the direct or indirect effect of land fragmentation can be ignored to a large extent. There is no doubt that the people spend extra time and money for the transportation of fertilizers, crop and workers to and from the orchards, especially when the lands are too scattered. For instance, for the transportation of either inputs and crops or workers, a lorry or minibus driver charges the hirer with a standard price for each trip but in proportion to the distance to be travelled, regardless of whether the capacity of the vehicle is fully exploited.

However, a great majority of the households do not have this problem. For instance, only 5 percent (10 in total) of the households need a vehicle to travel to their most distant orchards while the remaining 95 percent of the households do not. The average time needed by all of the households to travel to their most distant farms on foot departing from their houses is 13 minutes, and this figure can be considered quite small. Moreover, only a small number (11: 6 percent) of the 189 land-owning households have major portion of their lands distant from their houses while all the fragments of the lands of nearly three-fifths (58.7 percent) of the households are very close to their houses, and the place of location of the lands and the houses of the remaining 35.4 percent of the households are identical. Accordingly, despite a high degree of land fragmentation, having their farms located around their houses, or in other words, the scattered settlement regime helps the households to have easy access to all the tracts of their lands in the majority of

the cases and to reduce the cost of production that might be the case under a clustered settlement regime.

In general, the time needed to travel to and from the orchards is pushed outside the working hours. Particular attention is paid to this point if paid labour is employed. But even if all of the households had their farms juxtaposed, there would still be a need to travel to the other end of the farm to perform the work and no one could manage to do so without walking. The same holds true for transportation of the inputs and the crop. This problem is coped with by the producers by means of employing different methods and tools. For instance, wheelbarrows are the most effective tools to carry manure and artificial fertilizers to the orchards and to transport the crop to the threshing floors. Rolling the hazelnut sacks down to the bottom of a hill is another method that proves to be efficient in some cases. However, if the reverse is required, which would be the case with a great majority of the households since the houses are constructed on the upper part of a farm, some carry the things on their backs if the distance is short. Otherwise, there is no option apart from employing working animals or hiring a vehicle if one is not owned.

In the majority of the cases, working animals, wheelbarrows and other tools are exchanged between the households regardless of the length of time that they will be employed providing that they are not urgently needed by the households which own them. Again in the majority of the cases, the villagers transport crops, fertilizers and other inputs together in order to cut the cost of transportation. This practice holds true for the transportation of all items and of the workers as long as they have the same destination.

Finally, another aspect of the relation between land fragmentation and the costs of production is the extra cost arising from the hindrance of employment of advanced technologies by land fragmentation. This might be a problem for some of the farming households if any form of advanced technology were available, for instance, for picking. However, the technological backwardness of the conditions of production for all stages of production apart from threshing, as I shall be examining later, makes it irrelevant to discuss what sort of effects land fragmentation could

have upon the cost of production via hindering effective use of technologically advanced machinery and tools.

6.4 More About Productivity

In the country the general level of productivity in hazelnut production is around 104 kg/da in shell at the present time. Given the fact that it is possible to increase the level of productivity to over 250 kg/da with good care in the orchards established on fertile lands, the present level of productivity can be considered very low. Nevertheless, when we look at what has already been achieved within the last decades, we can be optimistic about further increases in the level of productivity. Although different sources arrive at different results, either because of employing different criteria to calculate the area under hazelnut growing and the volume of production or because of conducting a research in a particular zone and in a year in which productivity is quite low or high, it is nevertheless possible to say that the general level of productivity has increased by nearly 100 percent over the last four decades.

For instance, according to Çakır (1977, p. 198), who calculates the area under hazelnut production by employing a fixed number of 66 hazelnut *ocaks* per decare and the level of productivity with the inclusion of areas under non-fruit bearing bushes, the average level of productivity between the years 1954 and 1957 was 46 kg/da and this increased to over 63.67 kg/da in the period between the years 1969 and 1973. In comparison to Çakır's calculation, the results of some other calculations and/or field researches conducted in the recent past provide more reliable but limited information about the general trend of the development of productivity in hazelnut production in the country.

According to the results of a research conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture in Giresun and Ordu provinces,¹³⁸ the average level of productivity for the years 1969 and 1970 was 89.36 kg/da in the former and 96.98 kg/da in the latter province. Another research conducted by Çapanoğlu (1977, p. 121) in the 1970s indicates that the overall level of productivity in the provinces of Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon

¹³⁸ *Giresun ve Ordu İllerinde Fındık Üretiminin Ekonomik Analizi (1969-1970)*. (Published by T.C. Tarım Bakanlığı Plânlama ve Ekonomik Araştırmalar Dairesi Başkanlığı, Yayın No: 50, Ankara: Haziran 1972), p. 33.

was 44 kg/da and this figure changed with the altitude of the farms. For instance, the level of productivity was 62 kg/da in the coastal areas, 56 kg/da at medium altitudes and was 27 kg/da at high altitudes. The negative proportional relation between productivity and altitude has also been observed by Uzun (1979, pp. 115-116), regarding the hazelnut farms in the province of Giresun in the years 1973 and 1974. However, her analysis shows that there is no statistically significant difference between the levels of productivity by altitude in a given year, which were 76 kg/da, 68 kg/da, 47 kg/da in 1973 and 85 kg/da, 76 kg/da and 51 kg/da in 1974 respectively in the coastal areas, at medium and high altitudes. More recently, Kaya's (1986, p. 63) research indicates that the general level of productivity in the country increased by the early 1980s to 89.4 kd/da as the average of the years 1982 and 1983.

With regard to the altitude of the farms, the classical production belt is divided into three sub-belts. These are (1) 0-250 metres: low altitude or the coastal belt, (2) 251-500 metres: medium altitude or the middle belt and (3) 501 metres plus: high altitude or the upper belt. According to this classification, Kayadibi village falls in the middle belt. In the village, the average level of productivity was 129.9 kg/da in the year 1989 and dropped by 27.6 percent to 94.0 kg/da in the year 1990. These yielded accordingly an overall average of 112.0 kg/da for the the same years, which was 7.8 percent bigger than the national average (103.8 kg/da) and 22.5 percent bigger than the provincial average (91.4 kg/da) concerning the years between 1987 and 1989. A statistical analysis of productivity in relation to factors like farm size, type of generational organization, place of residence and number of sources of income of the households has shown that none of these factors have any significant impact on the level of productivity of the farms although there are some differences. The table given below contains a summary of my findings concerning the relation between the level of productivity and the factors mentioned.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ The productivity figures given in the table refer to flat productivity, that is volume of production/area under hazelnut growing by each subcategory specified within the independent factors, rather than the average of the averages by individual farms within each subcategory. When the latter method is employed, which is done by statistical package programmes, the productivity figures increase slightly because of treating each farm as a unit in itself rather than treating the subcategory of the independent factor as a unit. In the same fashion, the average productivity would be 125.5 kg/da if we calculated it as the average of the provincial averages.

Table VI.3:

Productivity (kg/da) in Hazelnut Production in Kayadibi Village by Farm Type, Household Type, Place of Residence and Sources of Income by Years			
	year 1989	year 1990	average of 1989-1990
areas of observation			
farm type			
<i>avlu farm</i>	140.1	105.3	122.7
<i>small farm</i>	137.3	96.0	116.6
<i>medium farm</i>	129.7	95.3	112.5
<i>full farm</i>	122.6	89.2	105.9
<i>big farm</i>	128.9	92.1	110.5
household type			
<i>single-generational</i>	114.0	87.4	100.7
<i>double-generational</i>	131.3	89.8	110.5
<i>triple-generational</i>	136.4	102.5	119.4
<i>quadruple-generational</i>	124.8	95.9	110.3
place of residence			
<i>village based</i>	129.4	92.6	111.0
<i>urban based</i>	132.6	109.2	120.9
sources of income			
<i>only hazelnut production</i>	126.9	98.9	112.9
<i>double, overall</i>	126.5	93.3	110.0
<i>double, haz. prod. is primary</i>	142.2	92.6	117.4
<i>triple, overall</i>	135.6	90.7	113.2
<i>triple, haz. prod. is primary</i>	140.0	110.9	125.4
overall	129.9	94.0	112.0

Despite the statistical insignificance of the differences observed, the figures given in the table suggest that the most productive farms are the *avlu* farms (122.7 kg/da) with regard to farm type, the farms owned by triple-generational households (119.4 kg/da) with regard to the generational organization of the households, the

farms owned by the urban-based households (120.9 kg/da) with regard to the current residential place of the households and the farms owned by the households in whose livelihood hazelnut production is in the first position (113.2 kg/da) among the three major sources of income that they are dependent on. The least productive farms by reference respectively to the same factors are the full farms (105.9 kg/da), the farms owned by the single-generational households (100.7 kg/da), the farms owned by the village-based households (111.0 kg/da) and the farms owned by the households in whose livelihood hazelnut production is in the first position among the two major sources of income that they are dependent on.

These results can be interpreted as functions of interaction between three main factors, which are labour input, the degree of attention paid and the degree of significance attributed to the dependency on hazelnut production within the overall conditions of soil productivity and the use of fertilizers. For instance, in cases where the household's dependency on hazelnut production as a primary source of income is combined with surplus labour within the unit, which is a function of the number of generations in many of the cases, more attention is paid to increase the level of productivity. Contrary to this, where the degree of dependency tends to decrease either because there is enough land per member (which is the case only with the single-generational households as a category) or because enough income is obtained from other sources (which requires the adult male members to invest much of their labour in such activities and therefore creates a labour shortage since the basic works contributing to increase productivity should be done by the adult male members of a household according the general pattern of domestic division of labour), the level of productivity tends to decrease irrespective of the area of land owned. The relative disproportionateness of the range of change in the level of annual productivity can partially be related to the impact of these factors within a production cycle. Nevertheless, one should be prepared to observe big changes because of the natural factors which can play an important role due to slight changes in the altitude of the farms within the village on the one hand and their location against wind and/or the heat of the sun on the other hand.

How to increase productivity has always been one of the main topics discussed about the problems and prospects of hazelnut production in the country. Changing the orchard designs from the *ocak system* to the *hedge system* (either by compulsion

or by means of credit incentives), restriction of hazelnut growing to certain altitudes and to fertile lands within a production belt, rejuvenation of the orchards by means of new plantings rather than rejuvenative pruning (which has started to prove ineffective in the century old orchards of the classical belt) and introduction of advanced technologies are among the suggestions that have been made on several occasions by several people ranging from the producers themselves to the policy makers.

It is beyond the scope of my concern here to discuss the particular problems that should be addressed before formulating a governmental policy around one or another of these suggestions. Nor could any government frame a policy without facing serious political and economical risks if any one of these suggestions is placed at the heart of its policy. However, I would like indicate a general issue that should be taken into account before anything else when judging the level of productivity in the country:

Specialization in hazelnut production has brought almost every kind of land under hazelnut growing irrespective of the productive capacity of the soil. The reason behind this development is that planting hazelnut bushes on such lands is more economical than the production of other crops (in which case the household has to keep its labour force much longer on the farm than the short period of a hazelnut harvest requires) or leaving them as they are. There are for instance hundreds of decares of hazelnut orchards in Kayadibi village which have been established on lands gained through bush clearance. The villagers are aware of the fact that even the wild bushes hardly grew on these lands let alone the hazelnut bushes. But yet they consider that any income derived from such lands is better than leaving them covered by the wild bushes.

The growing momentum of hazelnut production both in the hinterlands (where climatic conditions play an important negative role on the volume and annual fluctuation of the volume of production in the classical belt) and in other provinces in the west of the country (where the level of productivity is above the national average because of soil productivity and climatic conditions) is due to the same economic rationality of the households, that is to control the diversification of production in such a fashion that maximum amount of labour should be released

to invest in other activities which give high returns. It is this rationality of survival put in action that turns out to be low productivity in the classical belt, which is blamed for undermining the country's ability to compete in the world market while it enables the households to survive more successfully under the given conditions. I am therefore of the opinion that the level of productivity achieved by other countries should not be a yardstick to measure success unless these kinds of factors are taken into account.

6.5 Items and Money Cost of Productive Spendings

Cost analysis and money cost of productive spendings are two distinct types of calculations which serve respectively to analyse the profitability of production from the perspective of a capitalist farm and the amount of net income obtained by the farmers. In order to determine the amount of the latter, which was indispensable to calculate the amount of disposable household incomes, I have collected additional data from the heads of 31 households. These data are also helpful to give a broad idea about what the main items of productive spendings are and the proportion of the productive spendings to the gross income obtained from the sale of hazelnuts by different categories of households.¹⁴⁰

The table given below shows the amount of money spent by these households within the production year of 1990 for the items which are as follows:

harvest labour: wages paid to the workers hired to perform the harvest,

other labour: wages paid to the workers hired to perform other works on the farm, to feed the threshing machines and to load and unload the vehicles transporting the crop to the market and the inputs to the farm,

inputs: money spent for the purchase of the fertilizers, pesticides, sacks and nylon tents,¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ A brief description of these 31 households and the farms owned by them is as follows: 27 (87.0 percent) are currently residing in the village and 4 (13.0 percent) in the city; 5 (16.0 percent) are single-generational, 9 (29.0 percent) are double-generational, 14 (45.3 percent) are triple-generational and finally 3 (9.7 percent) are quadruple-generational households. Of the 31 hazelnut farms owned by them, 3 (9.7 percent) are *avlu* farms, 8 (25.8 percent) are small farms, 12 (38.7 percent) are medium farms, 5 (16.1 percent) are full farms and finally 3 (9.7 percent) are big farms.

¹⁴¹ A quarter of the total amount of money spent was taken into account in the case of purchase of sacks and a half of the total amount of money spent for the purchase of the nylon tents as the

transportation: total money spent for production-related transportation (of the hazelnuts from the orchards to the threshing floors, from there to the market and for transportation of the fertilizers and pesticides from the city to the farm),

technology: money paid to the threshing machine owners and any other payment for hired machinery especially in the case of pesticide spraying with the exclusion of the labour cost of the worker if hired, and

other spendings: money spent for other requirements of production that cannot be included among the items given above.

Table VI.4:

Money Cost (000 TL) of Productive Spendings For Hazelnut Production in 1990

items of spendings	money spent	prcnt	prcnt of the gross income obtained
<i>wages of the harvest labourers</i>	56,383	53.8	21.1
<i>wages of the other labourers</i>	19,675	18.8	7.3
<i>total labour</i>	76,058	72.6	28.4
<i>inputs(fertilizers, pesticides etc)</i>	16,622	15.9	6.2
<i>technology</i>	4,267	4.1	1.6
<i>transportation</i>	7,340	7.0	2.7
<i>other spendings</i>	500	0.4	0.2
Total	104,787	100.0	39.1

The figures given in the table indicate very clearly the essential nature of hazelnut production: it is a labour-intensive form of agricultural production and the wage payments constitute nearly three quarters (72.6 percent) of the total amount of the productive spendings of a farm. The rest of the spendings are due to the purchase of the inputs (15.9 percent), transportation of the crop and the

producers can use them for up to four and two years respectively. The producers were asked also to deduce the approximate amount of fertilizers used for the production of other crops and vegetables.

inputs (7.0 percent) and finally cost of the hired technology (4.1 percent). The amount of money spent for these items constitute respectively, as can be seen in the last column of the table, 28.4 percent, 6.2 percent, 1.6 percent, 2.7 percent and finally 0.2 percent of the gross income obtained from the sale of hazelnuts produced in the year 1990.

However, this overall pattern of productive spendings, both within itself and within the gross income obtained, shows significant differences by farm type and by the type of the generational organization of the household owning the farm. For instance, as shown in the following table, a major portion (58.2 percent) of the productive spendings of the *avlu* farms goes to the purchase of inputs and this is followed by the cost of transportation (15.4) and of wage payments for the workers hired to perform work outside harvest time (13.5 percent) whereas, with the inclusion of these sort of wage payments, the total cost of labour rises nearly to four-fifths (78.4 percent) of the total productive spendings of the big farms.

Table VI.5:

Money Cost (000 TL) of Productive Spendings by Farm Type in 1990										
	avlu farm	col. pct	small farm	col. pct	med. farm	col. pct	full farm	col. pct	big farm	col. pct
spent for										
<i>harv.lab</i>	0	0.0	5,483	44.1	14,910	43.2	17,980	59.5	18,010	67.3
<i>other lab.</i>	110	13.5	2,145	17.3	10,340	29.9	4,120	13.6	2,960	11.1
total lab.	110	13.5	7,628	61.4	25,250	73.1	22,100	73.1	20,970	78.4
<i>inputs</i>	472	58.2	2,620	21.1	5,870	17.0	4,663	15.5	2,997	11.2
<i>technology</i>	105	12.9	595	4.8	1,402	4.0	955	3.2	1,210	4.5
<i>transport</i>	125	15.4	1,380	11.1	2,028	5.9	2,222	7.3	1,585	5.9
<i>other</i>	0	0.0	200	1.6	0	0.0	300	0.9	0	0.0
Total	812	100.0	12,423	100.0	34,550	100.0	30,240	100.0	26,762	100.0

Accordingly, the overall pattern of productive spendings can be interpreted as a function of labour in relation to the size of the farm. For instance, the *avlu* farms

spend less than one-fifth (18.2 percent) of their gross income to continue their production by means of reducing the cost of wage labour as much as possible. The employment of wage labour to perform other works rather than the harvest reflects the inability of the adult males to be on the farm to perform these other works outside the harvest season. As the size of farm increases, the proportion of the wage payments and hence of the total cost of production increases too. As a result, the small, medium and full farms spend more than two-fifths (41.0 percent, 43.9 percent and 44.1 percent respectively) of their gross income to continue their production. In the case of the big farms, however, we observe a decrease in the proportion of the productive spendings (31.2 percent) to the gross income obtained. This is partly because of spending less for the purchase of inputs, but the main reason is the ability of the big farms to market at least part of their crop at a good price in the market by means of retaining their crop in their hands until the prices in the market start to increase after October, as I shall examine later.

Table VI.6:

Money Cost (000 TL) Productive Spendings by Household Type in 1990								
	single- gen.	col. prcnt	double- gen.	col. prcnt	triple- gen.	col. prcnt	quad. gen.	col. prcnt
spent for								
<i>harvest lab.</i>	11,248	69.4	6,650	46.9	32,000	51.0	6,485	56.0
<i>other lab.</i>	1,175	7.2	1,920	13.5	15,390	24.5	1,190	10.3
total lab.	12,423	76.6	8,570	60.4	47,390	75.5	7,675	66.3
<i>inputs</i>	2,205	13.6	3,095	21.8	9,082	14.4	2,240	19.4
<i>technology</i>	502	3.1	835	5.9	2,335	3.7	595	5.1
<i>transport</i>	1,094	6.7	1,495	10.5	3,686	5.9	1,065	9.2
<i>other</i>	0	0.0	200	1.4	300	0.5	0	0.0
Total	16,224	100.0	14,195	100.0	62,793	100.0	11,575	100.0

The sense in which the money cost of productive spendings by item and in total is a function of labour in relation to the generational organization of a household can be understood with the help of the last table given here. In general, the single-generational households own a much bigger area of land per head and show

a great dependency on hazelnut production as the only or the major source of income, as we have seen before. They spend more than one-third (35.5 percent) of their gross income to continue their production, and wage payments constitute more than three quarters (76.6 percent) of the total amount of their productive spendings. As the figures given in the table show, the dominating position of the wage payments is due to hiring workers to perform the harvest rather than other works on the farms owned by them, whereas other types of households spend less amounts of money to pay the wages of workers hired to perform the harvest and more money to get other works performed on their farms.

These figures reflect in fact different dimensions of the survival strategies of the households concerning the way in which they harness their labour force to the requirements of their farms on the one hand and their need to invest their labour force in other areas of economic activities to generate income on the other hand. Accordingly, the single-generational households seem to manage to perform works outside the harvest season more easily, whereas these kinds of works require other types of households to employ more labour from without in order to continue their production without interrupting their other economic activities. As a result, the double-generational households, which have more members at working age than the rest of the households do, manage to reduce the money cost of their productive spendings to over one quarter (27.2 percent) of their gross income by means of reducing the cost of wage payments whereas the triple-generational households spend slightly more than one-third (34.5 percent) and the quadruple-generational households spend more than two-fifths (45.6 percent) of their gross income, which is the highest proportion of all.

6.6 The Technological Conditions of Hazelnut Production

Contrary to major technological developments that have taken place in many other areas of agricultural production in the country, it can be said that hazelnut production is still subject, in many respects, to the very technological conditions of production that were prevailing a century ago. For instance, any farm, irrespective of its size, has to rely entirely on manual labour for digging the *ocak* pits, planting the saplings, pruning the bushes, clearing the ground before the harvest, spreading the fertilizers, hoeing and trenching. An unseated engine-powered

garden plough, which has been introduced recently, is still on trial and has not received a wide welcome from the producers because of the harm it does to the roots of the bushes. The only technologically effective machine which is widely employed by the peasants in all the pre-threshing stages of production is pesticide atomizers. Some of the households own at least a manually operated one, as buying the engine-powered atomizers is not economical for a great majority of the farming households. In addition, solidarity among the neighbours and easy access to engine-powered atomizers (as some people who own such atomizers do the spraying in return for money) elevates much of the need to buy one.

The only area where the advanced forms of technology can benefit the producers is threshing. With the introduction of threshing machines by the 1960s, dependency of the households on manual labour has been greatly reduced and to continue production has become much easier in many respects. In order to explain how and to what extent the introduction of the threshing machines affected hazelnut production and the ability of the producers to continue their production, it is important to give brief idea about how threshing was performed and what it demanded in the past.

Until the 1920s, threshing, which requires separation of the shells from their husks, was widely performed by hand. The most effective tool that was available to the producers was nothing but a thick wooden stick (Ahmet Hamdi *Bey* 1923). The wooden rakes (which are still used for various purposes like spreading, turning over and hoarding hazelnuts on the threshing floors) were in a sense a major technological improvement when they first became available in the late 1920s. Both the wooden sticks and the rakes were used to beat husks in order to separate as much shell as possible from the husks. This practice is called the first husking and it separates at least 80 percent of hazelnut shells from their husks. The remaining shells left in the husks were (and if necessary, still are) removed by hand and this was/is called the second husking.

If for any reason it is performed by hand, the second husking especially requires a tremendous amount of labour since each husk is checked individually in order to not to leave any shells. In the past, many of the hazelnut producing households performed the second husking during the winter. It was only after the 1950s, in

which period hazelnut production became widespread and economically crucial for a great number of the peasants, that the second husking started to be performed soon after the first but always after finishing the picking. In the pre-1950 period, the reason for performing the second husking during winter was the labour requirements of other agricultural activities that the peasants were dependent on for their survival. The possibility of keeping the shells in their husks was of great importance to delay the second husking as long as the shells in their husks were dried well and kept in a suitable place. When all the out-door agricultural activities were finished, which could not be done before the end of the autumn, there was then plenty of time to do the rest of the things "while sitting next to a warm hearth in the houses during the winter", as the aged peasants put it. The second husking used to be performed at this time as well.

Efforts to mechanize threshing started in the early 1930s and the first threshing machine, which was produced by the local technicians, was introduced in the same period in the province of Giresun (Peker 1950, p. 42). A new design of this first machine was introduced in the 1950s. However, a great majority of the producers could not benefit from this machine for three reasons. First of all, it needed to be transported and there was no proper road network to transport it; secondly, the volume of shells broken in the process of husking was quite high which was causing considerable loss in the volume of marketable crop; and, finally, the amount of shells left in the husks was quite big which required the people to finish the rest of the husking by hand again.

With the introduction of the threshing machines called *patoz*, which are either fitted on a lorry or articulated to a tractor, threshing ceased to be a serious problem and everyone benefits through hiring the machine.¹⁴² *Patoz* owners operate their machines on an hourly basis and the average price that they demanded was between 8 to 11 pounds sterling per hour. The hourly prices tend to increase if a small quantity of hazelnuts is to be husked, no other *patoz* owner is working in the area, it is the end of the season or the roads are not giving easy access to the threshing floors. A *patoz* owner can earn between 2,000 to 3,000 pounds sterling in a threshing season and it is considered as one of the profitable businesses. But no one denies at the same time that it is a very difficult business since it requires

¹⁴² There was only one *patoz* owner in the village of Kayadibi when this research was conducted.

the *patoz* owners to spend 24 hours a day for more than a month in the midst of dust, extreme noise, machine faults and without proper sleep.

The *patoz* machines can be considered very effective in terms of reducing the amount of labour and time required to perform the threshing. A team of 7 or 8 able-bodied men is required to feed the machine and perform other works. If workers are hired, they are paid approximately 1 pound sterling per hour. But apart from the big farm owners and those who cannot receive assistance from their neighbours for one or another reason (for instance, if threshing is done after midnight, it may create an obstacle to receive help from neighbours though this is highly unlikely because giving and receiving help at this moment, regardless of the time of the threshing, is a well-established practice among the people), no one in fact pays money for the workforce needed. A combination of the household's workforce with the help received from neighbours usually suffices for all the work. A well operating machine can husk between 1 and 1.5 tonnes of hazelnuts in shell per hour. I could tentatively say that this level of efficiency is equal to a reduction of the amount of labour and time required to perform husking in the past by more than 90 percent and the overall amount of labour and time required to perform all of the works within a production year by more than 30 percent.

Several factors can be accounted responsible for the technological backwardness that prevails in hazelnut production. One of the major factors is the nature of what is produced. A fruit-bearing hazelnut bush, which means one that is nearly ten years old, has a diameter of 3 to 8 cm and a height of 2 to 5 metres. Hazelnut cultivars grown in Turkey have got an average life span of 40 years. But by means of rejuvenative pruning, the life span of the *ocaks* can be raised up to 80 or 90 years without any serious decrease in their productive capacity. When dealing with the bushes, one has to pay attention not to bend the bushes very much and not to break the branches and twigs, because any extreme bending brings the productive life of a hazelnut bush to an end. No machine has yet been invented that is sufficiently sensitive to these kind of needs and hence to take place of man's fingers. Therefore efforts to introduce new technologies have been directed towards inventing a machine to collect the nuts from the ground.

Indeed, the amount of labour needed for the harvest can be substantially reduced if the nuts are collected from the ground instead of picking them from the bushes. I know of farmers who reduce the total workforce required to perform the harvest by 25 percent by means of collecting the nuts from the ground. However, this method requires a proper ground clearance, delaying of the harvest by nearly two weeks to let the nuts ripen enough in the bushes and backing up the process by picking the nuts left in the bushes. On the part of the workers, collecting from the ground can cause pain in the back and knees as it requires one either to bend or to squat continuously.

This method of performing the harvest has repeatedly been suggested by the agronomists since the 1930s on several occasions like scientific meetings and congresses, but no positive response has hitherto been given by the producers. It is this alternative method that has partially been mechanized in the United States and attracted the attention of the Turkish agronomists and engineers.¹⁴³ The general line of thinking is to develop a machine that can sweep and/or suck the husks and nuts from the ground but no success has yet been achieved. The other alternative, Prof. Mahmut Ayfer of Ankara University reported during the seminar of the year 1976, is the netting method. This latter project aims to find a method of covering the ground with nets similar to fishing nets and to collect the husks at the end of the harvest season; but again no successful result has been obtained yet. One of the problems which has been encountered in all these efforts to mechanize the process of harvesting is again the geographical conditions combined with the problems arising from the prevailing method of orchard design. Neither the geographical conditions nor the *ocak* system of orchard designing allow any machine to work on the steep hills and under the bushes which create, in fact, a kind of tunnel with a low ceiling because of the short distance between the *ocaks*.

¹⁴³ My knowledge of this point derives mainly from three sources of information: One of them is the oral reports that I was provided with by some experts during my visits to the headquarters of *Fiskobirlik* and the Hazelnut Research Institute in the province of Giresun. The questions raised by various people and the answers given by experts, scientists and government representatives during the scientific meetings held in recent years like the Seminar on all the Problems of the Hazelnut of 1976 provided further information. In the seminar of 1976, Prof. Mahmut Ayfer talked about various scientific projects commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture to the Middle East Technical University of Ankara; and finally the bits and pieces of information and news published in the journal of *Fındık* and in the local press have added to this information.

It seems to be the case that hazelnut production will continue to be labour intensive farming. However, this should not be an obstacle to creative thinking and improvement of already available technologies that can further reduce the labour component of production. All these require, I think, a series of integrated research projects supported by the government and a domestic industry which is conducive to the ideas and demands of the people continuing the production.

Chapter VII

ACCESS TO LABOUR AND CREDIT

7.1 Introduction

In this final substantive chapter of my study I shall analyse how the households manage to have access to labour and credit in order to continue their production. Concerning access to labour, I shall concentrate on three interrelated elementary topics. These are (1) particular characteristics of the sources from where the labour force is derived, (2) mechanism by means of which the social and economic efficiency of the labour is ensured and (3) the extent of dependency on wage labour within a given production year. Concerning access to credit, I shall discuss two topics. These are (1) the nature of the need for credit and indebtedness and (2) how the need for credit is met, with all the consequences that it brings about in the lives of the people. In discussing these topics, I shall give priority to the questions of (a) what the households make out of the factors of production available to them, (b) how they repeat this process and (c) if and how they transform the same process in any sense of the word.

In practice, the households' struggle for survival produces a continuum at the ends of which we can see two opposing types. At one end are the households which are entirely dependent on hazelnut production. The major concern of such purely farming households concerning the performance of the work on their farms is to benefit from their own labour force as efficiently and economically as possible in order to increase the amount of net earnings accruing to themselves. Therefore, any form and level of dependency on other categories of labour, especially on wage labour, is perceived by such households as a form of unwanted material imperative to share part of the possible amount of material welfare to be obtained with the outsiders.

At the other end are the households which have either managed or wish or find it imperative to invest some or all of their labour force in activities which yield

higher net returns in comparison to what can be obtained from being a household purely dependent on hazelnut production, even if the size of the farm is big enough to ensure survival. The major concern of these types of households is to have access to wage labour as abundantly and cheaply as possible in order to maintain their other economic activities or to involve in them without being compelled to choose between the farm and other economic activities.

Employing wage workers or any level of dependency on wage labour may still appear as a mechanism of replenishing the number of workers that the farming households need because of temporary reasons (such as a temporary imbalance between the number of workers needed and the size of farm owned) or reasons related to the cyclical development of a household. However, the structure of the rural economy under our examination suggests that the need to have access to wage labour and any level of dependency on it cannot be explained by reference only to the temporary or casual needs of farming households; rather, it is the possibility of permanent access to and of dependency on wage labour by means of which agricultural production is maintained and the standards of living are improved.

On the other hand, the sources from where wage labour can be permanently accessed have changed along with time. However, this is not simply a matter of replacement of one source of labour by another one. On the contrary, the particular economic and social characteristics of each category of wage labour seem to have the potential of conditioning the direction and nature of transformation of rural economy in the area. Let us now examine in some detail how the households are managing to have access to labour from different sources and what the implications of this are for them in continuing their production.

7.2 Access to Labour

7.2.1 Sources of Labour

The sources from where the households derive labour can be classified into six categories with regard to the nature of social distance between the parties who demand and supply the labour. These are: (1) non-distanced domestic labour, (2) distanced domestic labour, (3) wage workers from within the village, (4) seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands (5) permanent wage workers from the distant

corners of the country and finally (6) urban working and lower classes. In material terms, the labour derived from these sources is remunerated mainly through (a) distribution of net benefits and earnings, (b) payment in kind, and finally (c) payment in cash. Let us now examine what sort of roles these factors play in the actual lives of the people on both sides.

- **non-distanced domestic labour: the household labour:**

By the non-distanced domestic labour, I refer to the very category of labour that a household derives from within its own domestic circle or in other words from among its members who bear the responsibility of originating the welfare of the unit and have the right to benefit from it on an equal basis with each other but yet in accordance with their needs. It goes without saying that the people in this category constitute the very ones who are remunerated through the distribution of the net benefits and earnings pooled in the common budget of the household.

In both theoretical and practical terms, non-distanced domestic labour is the main thrust of the persistence of a great majority of the farming households. However, it does not derive its importance only from being the main source of labour needed to perform the manual tasks on the farm. Rather, on the one hand, it is the kind of labour which performs all of the managerial tasks which include planning, organizing and supervising the quality and degree of performance of the labour force in the work process. On the other hand, it reproduces its own ideology through reinforcing its own sentimentality about peace at work and yet changes and improves working conditions for itself and for the wage labour employed.

In the majority of the cases, household labour is present on the farm for the performance of both manual and managerial tasks at almost all stages of production. This is achieved by means of a domestic division of labour by (a) generations, (b) gender and (c) abilities. In an abstract sense, the domestic division of labour assigns moral and social priority to the male members and expects them to perform the responsibilities arising therefrom as far as equals in terms of age and the hardship of the tasks are concerned. The same sort of division of labour gives priority to the senior members regardless of their sex but with the condition of ability to make sound and wise decisions and/or accumulation of experience where the interlinks of the hardship of the managerial and manual tasks are concerned.

As a general rule, the generational division of labour takes the form of employment of surplus labour of the younger generations in the economic activities which either require new talents, training, education and/or geographical mobility or muscular power. In cases where this sort of generational division of labour is not possible because of the age composition, whereas diversification of production and/or the sources of income is a material imperative, the alternative way is to resort to gender division of labour. None of these alternatives is exclusive of the other but they negotiate with each other in accordance with the main concern of a household in its efforts to achieve the targeted degree of survival.

A proper farm management does not necessarily require a household, regardless of the size of the farm owned, to keep a part of its labour force permanently on the farm. However, the application of this rule is conditioned by several subjective, social, economic and material factors in connection with the overriding concern of the household. As far as the subjective and social factors are concerned, the imperative to expend one's own labour to earn a living and improve the latter's conditions stand usually in opposition to what is understood by *enjoying the things in one's own possession with health and happiness*. Therefore, the community very often needs to make the statement about a deceased on the funeral day that *he/she passed away without really having any chance to enjoy this deceptive world*.

The imperative to expend one's labour in order to survive constitutes in practice the basis of two kinds of residentiality of the members of a household in the village: permanent and temporary. Providing that the permanent residents are not too old or young or unable to perform any job that requires the ability to make decision, they perform almost all of the managerial tasks in addition to performing the main part of all other tasks, save picking and to some extent feeding the *patoz* machines at the stage of threshing. However, we need to put a restriction to this general statement when both managerial and manual tasks are considered in the context of multiple interaction of the domestic division of labour by the above mentioned areas at a given time.

For instance, it is the male head of household who undertakes almost all of the responsibilities of managerial tasks in addition to performing the heaviest of manual tasks, where possible with the help of the able bodied male members of

the household. Whenever such a division of labour is possible, the labour force of the female members of the household is utilized essentially for the performance of indoor activities (like cooking, cleaning, looking after the children and the sick) and vegetable production at times when the demand for labour is low. In practical terms, this means that pruning, shoot cutting, fertilizer spreading and trenching, combating with pests are performed by the male members of the household. Womens' labour is utilized sometimes for spading and carrying the cut shoots. Performing the ground clearance is almost exclusively a duty of the male members of the household.¹⁴⁴

During harvest time, however, a household needs to make extra arrangements to benefit from the labour force of the adult women and children without changing the overall nature of division of labour. That is to say, the tasks which require more muscular power should be performed by the able bodied male members and the labour force of the female members and the children should be utilized to fill the gaps. There is only one task for the performance of which no distinction is made between male and female labour as far as the people between the ages of 15 to nearly 70 are concerned and this manual task is picking. This holds true for both domestic and non-domestic labour and even the children below this age limit are paid the full wage if they are employed.

The domestic division of labour outlined above holds true for almost all kinds of households but especially for those which are entirely dependent on hazelnut production. In cases where diversification of the economic activities is achieved without changing residential place of the members and providing that these sort of economic activities release enough time for the male members to perform their expected roles on the farm, no major change takes place about the essential points of the domestic division of labour. This may even release the female members and children from the burden of performing some of the manual tasks if the household can afford to hire labour. In other cases, the gap arising from the withdrawal of the labour of the able bodied male members is filled by the labour of the able bodied female members, aged members and of the children.

¹⁴⁴ For an explanation of the manual work that should be performed on a hazelnut farm within a production year see Appendix B.

For instance, it is not unusual to come across households in which the older generations, say fathers, mothers and/or grandparents and some of the children are permanently resident on the farm; sons and their wives are working abroad and the school-age teenagers are residing at least for eight months of a year in the city to continue their education. Within the annual cycle of production, the older generations, if they are physically able to do so, prune, cut shoots and, if deemed necessary, spade in the autumn; they purchase and use the proper fertilizers and pesticides partly in the late winter and partly in the spring; clear the ground just before the harvest and do all other managerial tasks like purchasing the sacks, tents, baskets, rakes, heather brushes and most importantly make arrangements to have access to enough number of domestic workers and labourers from the labour market.

As far as having access to its own labour force is concerned, there are both internal and external factors which condition the ability of a household to pool and harness its own labour force to the needs of the farm. The external factors are largely related to clashes between the demands of the agricultural production and of other sectors of the economy and society. These clashes are mainly felt by the households whose working-age members are organically attached to institutions and economic activities outside the domestic circle of the household and farm.

For instance, until very recent times farming households have greatly benefited from governmental policies aiming to adjust the working periods of the educational institutions to the cycle of agricultural production so that the individuals who are either working in such institutions or continuing their education could also work on the farm when the demand for labour is at its peak. At the present time, all the educational and bureaucratic institutions seem to be applying different policies without taking into account these kinds of needs of the people involved in agricultural production. As a result of this policy shift, it is no longer possible for the households to benefit fully from the labour power of their own members regardless of how much they need this to survive. The same kind of difficulties hold true for every household whose members are working in industry or have a job or profession outside the village. Therefore, even if all the members want to be present on the farm during harvest time, they feel with frustration that they

have to lose some portion of the economic benefits that their presence on the farm might yield to the wage workers who have to be employed instead.

On the other hand, some members of the household may not want to be involved in the manual work process for various reasons. Within a wide range of reasons related to the regulation of domestic relations as noted by Sirman (1988) on the one hand and to self-ascribed roles and positions in the community on the other hand, I would like to put great emphasis on the tensions in both the subjective and objective worlds of the individuals arising from structural changes in society. Much of this emphasis should be put on the changing class position of individuals with a rural origin in society *vis a vis* attitudes towards agricultural work.

What I mean by the latter is that agricultural production as a profession, and working in agriculture either as a member of a farm-owning household or wage worker is perceived in society, but especially by the urbanites, as low-status. Therefore, some people who have a good non-agricultural job or profession are neither expected to get involved in manual tasks on the farm nor do they think that it suits their ascribed or acquired social position in society. Furthermore, having an urban job or profession as a member of a farming household residing in the village does not necessarily mean that one has no other social and cultural goals to pursue or that one becomes entirely immune against social and cultural pressures prevailing among the members of one's own social group.

It is possible to detect the impact of these kinds of socio-cultural pressures over such individuals' self-perceptions in one of the common forms that they express their feelings about their summer holidays. The people who are working in distant urban centres while the household that they belong to is involved in agricultural production express with frustration that they have to come to the village for the harvest, spend their short holidays on the farm and then go back to their work without having any chance to go to a *holiday resort*. In many cases this frustration turns out to be, to use an analogy, a summer epidemic caught by almost every individual in a similar situation as they interact with each other. As the years pass, this frustration becomes either a relatively self-contained summer anxiety or results

in cutting economic ties with the agricultural production through discontinuing membership of the farming unit in the village.

On the part of the unit in the village, which is usually inhabited by the parents, this is an alarming situation not only because it brings about more dependency on wage labour but also because it gives very strong hints about the fact that the farm may come to an end when they die. This is why parents are very keen to appoint their legitimate successors as early as possible, which requires them to persuade one of their offspring, in many cases with the help of extra material benefits offered or advanced, to stay on the farm. On the other hand, it is the availability of wage labour, especially for harvest time, combined with the fact that the rest of the tasks on the farm can be performed more slowly, that enables the households not only to diversify their economic activities but also creates more dependency on wage labour through undermining the material basis of the need to keep a large number of labourers pooled under the same roof.

• **distanced domestic labour: the family labour:**

Once a household is established as a separate entity, ties with the father's hearth are not necessarily suspended. On the contrary, a great majority of people with a rural origin are still attached organically to the place that they left in the search for a job in the cities. This attachment is due to the unsettled matters concerning their material relations with their parents or relatives in addition to their social and emotional ties with these people. Precisely speaking, a large number of people living in the cities are the heirs and future inheritors of their parents' lands in rural areas. This constitutes the material basis of the continuity of attachment of both parties to each other while, on the other hand, it conditions the self-perceptions and decisions of this category of the urban population with regard to their own future.

These sort of relations with the father's hearth or with close relatives enable a farming household to have access to the labour force of close members of a family, in particular to the labour power of married sons and members of their households during harvest time. Many of such people tend to spend their holidays in the village and help their parents or close relatives in the harvest. For instance, during the harvest season of 1990, nearly half the households (96 in total and 49.2 percent

in proportion) reported to have received relatives living in the cities to help them with the harvest. The total number of people who came to the village during the harvest was 415 which is equal to 40.6 percent of the total population of the households and 56.2 percent of the total number of people who were currently living in the village.

Given the fact that a farming household does its best to have access to its own labour force living away and that the total number of the members living away is 160 as far as the households covered in our research is concerned, the total number of people including children who could come to the village during the same harvest season would not be more than this figure even if all the living-away members of the 195 households were present in the village. This situation leaves us accordingly with a number of 255 people who came to the village to stay with the households concerned.

However, we should not draw the conclusion that the people in the last category are all able-bodied ones who can work on the farm as the figure includes children. Nor should we think that every adult person in this category works on the farm on a full-time basis. We should also not think that the real significance of having access to this kind of labour is because of the contribution that it makes to the performance of tasks on the farm. On the contrary, the distanced domestic labour derives its significance from the contribution that it makes to the reproduction of moral courage of the petty commodity production. Material benefits which are obtained during the harvest should therefore be considered as by-products. Let me briefly explain some of the essential points about distanced domestic labour.

In general, having regular access to distanced domestic labour plays several social and economic roles on the part of both the farming households and the close relatives coming to the village during the harvest. Among these roles, the following are of great importance:

- maintaining the interest of the relatives in the operation of the farm and transmitting this interest to the new generations,
- provision of spiritual and material support during the harvest through undertaking performance of the indoor activities by the females and the direct

involvement by the males in performing manual and, where necessary, also managerial works on the farm,

- food production by the females to reduce the money cost of domestic consumption through benefiting from the idle resources on the farm like fuel, vegetables, fruits and of course their own labour, and
- creating and operating a mechanism through which some of the material benefits can be distributed among the members of a family to ensure various social ends.

Let me explain these points very briefly.

The communication between the headquarters of a family located in the village and its various stations located in the cities and abroad is continued all year round by sending letters, news or telephone calls. However, this process steps up in the weeks preceding the start of the harvest. The main topic central to the concern of, say the parents living in the village and the married sons living away, is when and how to send the children with their mothers to the village for the duration of the harvest. The priority given to children in various conversations which take place around this time is not an unconscious act but is just the opposite: the harvest is considered by the adult members of a household and family as the best opportunity to render the farm and the village life as an integral part of the present and future social being of the young members of their households and families.

Every summer holiday spent by the children on the farm of the *grandparents* gives the adult members the opportunity to enculture them with ideas and feelings that the farm is their own farm and the village is their own village. With their fellows currently residing in the village, the children are granted different privileges. Among these, the compliments made about their being the most loved, the most trusted ones to look after the *grandparents* and the right to retain all of the hazelnuts they pick from the orchards seem to work extremely well in encouraging them to come to the village every year and to teach and train them on the farm about how to run a hazelnut farm. As the children grow up, not perhaps their privileges but surely their responsibilities are gradually increased and extended to cover various aspects of farm management as well.

In terms of its gender composition, the distanced domestic labour consists mainly of the female relatives (primarily the daughters-in-law and sometimes the married daughters) when the children are excluded. The reason behind this gender bias is due to their being the very category of people unemployed outside their houses combined with the material imperatives which force them to make use of their own labour in order to contribute to the total welfare of their own households. They are helped in this objective by the households receiving them through assigning them a set of roles which are different from that of the non-distanced domestic labour. Therefore, neither in theory nor in practice does distanced domestic female labour bears the same status as non-distanced household labour regarding the nature of its contribution to the work process and the way in which it is remunerated.

The distanced domestic female labour is generally expected to help the household embarked on harvest in the performance of indoor activities like cooking, cleaning, washing and where necessary looking after the animals, while the rest of the labour force consisting of all kinds of people in the house is performing tasks in the orchards. At critical moments like feeding the threshing machines or finishing the picking in a distant orchard, it may also be expected and in fact does behave like the non-distanced domestic labour. In return for its contribution during the harvest, it is remunerated by the acting head or the most senior member of the household both spiritually and materially. Lots of prayers and compliments are among the major spiritual rewards that both genders of the distanced domestic labour receive from the parents and other hosting relatives, whereas the material rewards tend to be relatively limited.

Nevertheless, depending on the material ability and generosity of the parents and other hosting relatives, the material rewards definitely include allocations of hazelnuts to be consumed or sold and may include payment of the cost of travel if this was not an international flight. In addition, the distanced domestic labour is given the chance to glean hazelnuts, to prepare pickles from the vegetables in the garden, to produce jams from the fruits of the trees in the orchards and to produce tomato purée on the fire of fuel provided from the orchards. Cheese, butter and some other vegetables are also very likely to be found in the bags that the

daughter(s)-in-law and all the others leaving the village at the end of the harvest will be carrying with them.

Apart from these functions, access to distanced domestic labour can be perceived as a mechanism by means of which part of the net earnings of the farm, regardless of volume, is distributed among the members of a family when both of the institutions are headed by the same people. The same kind of distribution holds true for households headed by an adult person belonging to the same generation as the adult relatives hosted during the harvest. However, the objective in this case is to reinforce social relations and solidarity among relatives and to maintain, similar to the former situation, the feeling of the distanced relatives that they belong to a community rather than being lost in an urban jungle.

The practice of spending summer vacations on the farm of the parents or relatives by distanced domestic labour should therefore be seen as the challenge of the urban population against social alienation. This situation is well reflected in the composition of the current residential place of the people who spent their holidays in the village in the harvest season of 1990. Of the 415 people, 182 (43.8 percent) came from the city centre of Ordu, 151 (36.4 percent) came from İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir (which are distant metropolitan cities), 34 (8.2 percent) came from other cities in the country and the remaining 48 people (11.6 percent) came from abroad. This figure excludes the number of the people who stayed with the households for less than a week during harvest and/or spent some time in the village before or after the harvest.

- **workers from within the village:**

Nothing is considered to be more peaceful, easy to cope with, profitable and enjoyable by all the hazelnut producing households than working, especially during harvest, on their farms with the members of their own households, their close relatives or members of their families. Therefore, on the scale of preference for the categories of labourers, non-distanced domestic labourers occupy the top rank and then come distanced domestic labourers. The third category of most preferred people is that of neighbours or fellow villagers. However, labour from this source tends to be most scarce when it is most needed.

One of the major factors which bring about scarcity of labour from within the village is the relative narrowness of the gaps between different layers when the households are stratified in accordance with the total area of land they own. The net result of this narrowness is the self-utilization of the non-distanced domestic labour by the households in the middle layers of the stratification, namely medium and full farms, and a drastic reduction of the amount of labour that can be offered to the big farms by the small and *avlu* farms within a harvest season which should be finished in a couple weeks. In practice, what adult members of a household which owns a small or *avlu* farm can do at best is to work for a fellow villager for a week or so and then concentrate on their own farms. However, there are other factors which further reduce the amount of labour that can be derived from within the village.

The second major factor that brings about scarcity of labour from within the village is the absorption of potential labour by other sorts of economic activities that the adult population of the village is involved in on a permanent basis. This matter has two facets. The first is that none of the households stop their other economic activities during harvest time as long as the particular activity concerned does not yield extremely low returns in comparison to what can be obtained from investing the same amount of labour in the performance of the works on their own farms (save the managerial jobs) and as long as it is not possible to postpone this activity to a later stage. Accordingly, shop keepers, coffee house managers, workshop owners, timber mill owners and honey producers continue their business, work and production. The self-employed minibuss drivers, construction masters and the people working in this sector also continue their work providing that there are passengers to be transported (which is the case every day) or a house to be constructed. On the other hand, the people who are employed in the public or private sector feel themselves running short of time and are concerned with how to finish the harvest on their own farms. In the majority of cases, this situation requires such farm owners to employ wage workers, they cannot even consider working for a fellow villager.

Two other factors are a deceptive picture that can easily be imagined by looking at the composition of the village population at working-age and the material benefits that one can obtain by gleaning after the harvest.

What I mean by the former is that one may tend to think of the number of people at working-age as the actual number of people who can work on a full day basis either on their own farms or on the farms of the others during the harvest. In practice, however, a household is a unit which has to continue all sorts of productive and reproductive activities at the same time. For instance, at least one of the adult women has to stay at home most of the time to cope with cooking, cleaning and looking after the children. One of the adult men has to go to the city at least once a week during the harvest to buy food stuffs, if not for any other reason. Some of the children may have to go to their schools to sit for their 2nd final examinations. If owned, animals need to be looked after. It needs no mentioning that all these things need time, energy and man power which further reduces the amount of net working hours and hence increases the number of days spent on the farm.

In order to explain the second factor, it seems important to underline that we have got no reason to argue that the people are not capable of understanding what yields benefit to them and what does not. On the contrary, all that I have already mentioned about the economic conduct of the people points to the fact that reducing the labouring time to a minimum and increasing the amount of net benefits to a maximum are the criteria according to which decisions are made. It is the same rationality which leads the people, who are underprivileged in terms of their material welfare but are richer in terms of labour that can be sold to the others, to sell it first to themselves and the outcome of it to someone else. This rationality finds a very good opportunity to be materialized in *gleaning* (*başak etmek*) both in one's own hazelnut orchards and in the orchards of the people who are in need of workers.¹⁴⁵

Regardless of the category of people working on the farm at harvest time, an efficient utilization of labour requires one not to spend too much time to see and pick every single nut. Therefore, between an average of 2 to 3 percent of the nuts are left unpicked or uncollected during the harvest. Depending on the method

¹⁴⁵ Both the word *başak* and *başak etmek* are in fact remnants of the agricultural history of the region. The word *başak* means the ear of a plant such as wheat or barley which contains the seeds and grain. Until the eighteenth century, the main crop produced in the area was wheat and then this turned into a combination of wheat and maize and remained so until the 1950s. Gleaning the unharvested ears of wheat was practised especially by the poor peasants to contribute a little extra to their stock in the granary. With the start of hazelnut production, wheat production came to a halt but not the practice of gleaning the unpicked nuts by the same category of people.

of employment of the wage workers and the type of hazelnut cultivar, this figure may increase further to 4 or 5 percent. To glean these unpicked or uncollected nuts is a practice that everyone is allowed to do in the orchards owned by anyone. In the true sense of the word, *gleaning* can be considered as a labour intensive economic activity that the poor, the women and the teenagers find quite profitable in comparison to working for someone in return for cash.

An adult person can glean between, on average, 5 to 10 kg of hazelnuts in shell a day especially in the second half of the picking period, for two equally important reasons. One is that the total area of hazelnut orchards where one can practice gleaning increases day by day while picking continues at a high speed. The other is that the more the husks ripen the more the stems become loose and lose their strength which makes it much easier to shake them off the bushes. Rain and wind also accelerate the process.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, the *avlu*- and small farm-owning households prefer, in the majority of the cases, to finish picking on their own farms and invest the rest of their surplus labour in gleaning if they have no other job to do.

The issues that I have discussed above about the general and particular characteristics of the labour force that can be accessed from the domestic circles of the households and from within the community are in fact reflections of the same reality concerning the extent of the chance of a farming household to have access to enough labour from within its own immediate environment. The general conclusion that we can accordingly draw is that there is need to have access to labour from other sources in order to continue production.

As a general rule applying to all categories of farms, there is no case of employing permanent wage workers on the farms in the village or in the vicinity. This is because no farm is big enough to afford the burden of the wage of a worker employed on a constant basis. The only exceptional and rather different cases that should be mentioned here are three households who were staying in the houses of the people working abroad with the condition of looking after their farms. Their

¹⁴⁶ This is very much feared by the people who have not yet finished harvest. This applies especially for those people whose orchards are covered with grass, shoots and thorny plants. Because these sorts of vegetation cover the ground which demands more labour to find dropped nuts or husks and hence results in both loss of time and crop.

responsibilities included pruning, using the appropriate fertilizers and pesticides provided by the farm owners and providing help for the harvest in return for benefiting from the rest of the resources available on the farm and with the freedom to deal with any other job that they wanted. In two of the cases, the farm owners had also allocated the hazelnuts to the people looking after their farms until their return from abroad.

There are three major sources of wage labour outside the community that the farming households can access on a regular basis. These are: (1) seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands inclusive of the neighbouring provinces, (2) permanent wage workers from the distant corners of the country and (3) the urban working and lower classes. The wage labour that can be accessed from each of these sources has its own distinctive social and economic characteristics and these characteristics bring about differences in the way in which labour can actually be accessed when needed.

- **seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands:**

By the seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands, I refer to those people who come to the area during the harvest season and then return to their own farms. Until very recently, the rural population living in the hinterlands of the province has been the single major source from where the people living in the coastal areas could derive seasonal wage labour. The availability of wage labour from this source has also had a great impact on the acceleration of the process of the specialization of the area in hazelnut production. The relative poverty of the people of the hinterlands is, of course, the principal factor which compels them to earn extra cash whenever possible. However, there are other issues that we need to take into account in order to understand how it is possible to derive labour from this source.

Like their coastal areas, the hinterlands of the provinces of Ordu and Giresun are largely specialized in hazelnut production even though the climatic conditions are extremely unfavourable to grow quality cultivars and to achieve minimal fluctuation in the annual recolte. However, since the nuts ripen nearly 20 to 25 days later in the hinterlands than they do in the coastal areas, because of the climatic conditions and the altitude, the time gap between commencing the harvest in the

coastal and upper belts creates a block of time in which continuous cash earning is possible. This block of time is used by the rural population of the hinterlands as an opportunity to earn cash that can be used also to pay the workers that they are going to employ for the harvest as well as to afford the basics of their survival especially in the years of crop failures. The latter reason has in fact always conditioned their behaviour and brought about scarcity of labour in the market whenever both the coastal and the upper belts witnessed a good recolte.

As a general pattern, each district in the coastal areas receives seasonal wage workers from its hinterlands although the people living within the administrative boundaries of the neighbouring provinces in the hinterlands also join the stream of seasonal wage workers as long as the harvest calendar of the crops they are producing allow them to do so. As far as the hinterlands of the city centre of the province of Ordu are concerned, there are basically three districts which are most underdeveloped. These are the *ilçes* of Mesudiye, Aybastı and Gököy. A significant number of the rural population of Mesudiye district, where the climatic conditions do not allow hazelnut production, has recently deserted their lands on an apparently temporary basis as it has become extremely difficult for them to survive in agriculture, whereas the rural population of the latter two *ilçes* continues to be the major source of seasonal wage workers for the coastal villages that are located around the city centre of the province of Ordu. For instance, in the case of Kayadibi village, more than two-fifths of the hazelnut producing households employed wage workers for the harvest in both 1989 and 1990. Of these households, nearly half (53.4 percent and 48.0 percent in respective years) employed seasonal wage workers from Gököy and around a quarter (26.0 percent and 24.6 percent in respective years) brought their wage workers from Aybastı district. The wage workers employed by the rest of the households were from the city centre of the province of Ordu, other districts of the province, especially the nearby *Ulubey ilçe* and from the provinces of Amasya, Samsun, Sivas, Tokat and Urfa.

In recent years, there have been important changes in this fairly well established geographical pattern of mobility of seasonal wage workers. For instance, the area has started to receive seasonal wage workers from the eastern and south-eastern provinces of the country. The rural transformation taking place in these parts of the country is of course the prime factor which compels the rural population to

seek opportunities to earn cash in this fairly distant northern part of the country. But the interviews that I made with some of the groups of people who came to the area for the harvest in 1990 suggest that the particular dimensions of the rural transformation taking place and compelling them to become wage workers in agriculture are substantially different from what is taking place in the north, as I shall discuss in the pages below.

There are three other points that we need to know about the seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands in order understand some other facets of labour from this source. These are (a) the composition of the wage workers with regard to age and gender, (b) how they are accessed by the people in the coastal areas and (c) if there are any particular characteristics borne by the seasonal wage workers from different districts that put them in a favourable or unfavourable position in the labour market.

Although further field research might disprove my claim, I can tentatively say that the seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands consist mainly of females with regard to their gender composition and of teenagers and people above the age of 40 with regard to their age composition. It should not be difficult for us to understand these visible properties providing that we take into account the fact that sending adult male members away to earn regular cash in other sectors of the economy is a practice of the household which prevails in all rural economies similar to that of the Turkish one. This consequently results in a rural structure where the balance of population shifts horizontally towards the side of the female population and inflates vertically at the bottom of the age categories. Accordingly, the categories of members that the rural households can put into the labour market to earn cash in the blocks of time which the timetable of agricultural production allows, are the members who stay back on the farms.

The composition of the province's rural population reflects this situation quite well. For instance, in respective categories, the female population constituted 51.8 percent of the total, 49.0 percent of the urban and 52.9 percent of the rural population of the province in 1985 by an annual growth of 5.38 per thousand whereas, the male population of the province grew negatively by 5.83 per thousand. In areas with less than 2,000 population, the female population constituted in the

same year 59.1 percent of the population between the ages of 15 and 19, 63.6 percent between the ages of 20 and 24, more than 56 percent between the ages of 25 and 39 and 55 percent between the ages of 40 and 49. In other age groups, however, the female/male balance of the population preserved its natural balance. The extreme imbalances observed between the ages of 15 and 24 were partly due to the number of men serving their mandatory military service in other cities and the male teenagers counted in the cities while continuing their secondary education.¹⁴⁷

The general practice of a great majority of the seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands is to leave their villages in small groups and to arrive in the city centres in the coastal areas on the first day of harvest. They have got no kind of organization apart from their own small efforts to get themselves socially organized under the leadership of an adult male from the same household if there is more than one person, or an adult person from the same village or area who can help them during their travel.¹⁴⁸ Open spaces, market places, bus stations and particularly mosque courtyards are the places where they wait to be picked up by the farmers who are in need of wage workers for the harvest. The conditions and method of employment (that is, the provision of accommodation, food and travel costs and whether the method of employment will be on the basis of daily work or a set price for each kilogram of hazelnuts picked) are usually determined at the beginning and are made into a verbal contract between the workers and the farmers. The most important matter, which is the amount of the daily wage or the price to be paid for each kilogram of hazelnuts picked, is usually left to be determined at a later stage if the government has not yet announced the purchase prices to be applied by *Fiskobirlik*.

Over the years this practice has stood firm against the violation of the terms of the verbal contracts between the parties. But it has caused some other problems which have required the introduction of new practices which have lead the labour market, on both the supply and demand sides, to arrange certain things in advance. One of these practices on the demand side, either in small groups or as individual

¹⁴⁷ Calculated by myself from the figures published in *Census of Population 1985: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, Ordu*, pp. xxii-xxiii, and 10-13.

¹⁴⁸ The word *daybaşı* originates actually from such occasions and is in fact a distortion over the years of the word *taife-başı*, which means team or group leader rather than being *daybaşı* in the sense of a parasite and arrogant figure.

households, is to get into contact with a person living in the hinterlands in advance and to make sure that he will provide a certain number of workers for the harvest. Apart from the amount of daily wage, the rest of the matters are sorted out in advance. The person who promises to provide the number workers needed is called *daybaşı* and usually demands in advance approximately 10 to 20 percent of the estimated total amount of the wages to be paid to the workers. This is partly to make the contract binding, partly to give credit to those who will be persuaded to come with him and partly to use the money for his own credit needs. The determination of the amount of the daily wage is again left to a later stage but the proportion of the daily wage of the *daybaşı* is often established at the initial stage and usually is two or three times bigger than the amount of the daily wage of a worker if a small number of workers will be employed. If the number of the workers is larger, say more than 20, the *daybaşı* may demand a certain amount of cash per worker to be provided daily by him instead of bargaining for a fixed daily wage for himself. As these sort of arrangements involve payment of money in advance, some people make the contract official. Nevertheless verbal contracts still prevail in the majority of the cases.

If this kind of arrangement works well in a harvest period and is pleasing to both parties, the arrangements for the next harvest are made before the wage workers leave the farm. In the following months, personal contacts are maintained with the *daybaşıs* and the developments on both sides are monitored so that nothing should go wrong. If the arrangements made in advance prove to be unsatisfactory during the harvest, the same process is repeated with another person in the following year.

Making arrangements in advance is usually practised by the farmers who are constantly in need of wage labour and the possible amount of labour that can be obtained from within the household is known in advance. When things are not clear in advance, farm owners, especially the small farm owners, prefer to wait until the start of harvest and try to have access to labour either from the labour market (which is full of seasonal wage workers flocking in the cities at this time) or from within the village inclusive of the neighbouring villages. An alternative way that many people resort to is to make arrangements with a fellow villager who will bring seasonal wage workers instead of making this arrangement directly with

the workers. The single major factor behind this conduct of the farmers is related to their efforts to reduce the amount of wage payments. Due to its importance, I would like to dwell on this point in some detail and try to explain what the particular considerations are behind this behaviour.

First of all, I should mention the fact that the unit cost of wage labour has steadily and disproportionately increased in comparison to the crop prices. For instance, the villagers have reported to me that the daily wage of a worker employed for picking was the equivalent of the price of 2.5 to 3.5 kg of hazelnuts in shell until the 1970s. When the pre-tax purchase prices of *Fiskobirlik* in 1990 (which was 3,500 TL/kg in shell) is taken as base for the calculation, the daily wage of a worker would be equal to a minimum of 8,750 TL/day and a maximum of 12,250 TL/day if there were no change in the balance. Contrary to this, the minimum wage of a worker in 1990 was 17,000 TL/day with the condition of provision of food, accommodation and travel costs by the employer, and maximum 22,000 TL/day with the condition of no provision of these services save the provision of a suitable building or tent(s) to stay in. The mode of wages in the village was however 20,000 TL/day and the employers had to provide at least the food stuffs and place for accommodation if not the cooking services. In numerical terms, this is to say that the farmers had to pay in 1990 the equivalent of a minimum of 4.8 kg of hazelnuts plus the cost of all of the services and of a maximum of 6.3 kg of hazelnuts plus at least some of the services mentioned.

However, these figures do not include the daily wages of the *daybaşı* and the cook. Depending on whether the *daybaşı* and the cook worked as pickers, which is a matter of how many pickers are employed, the minimum and maximum wages were 35,000 TL/ day and 60,000 TL/day for a *daybaşı* and 20,000 TL/day and 50,000 TL/day for a cook. In addition, as the scale of work increases, one has to employ a sack-man and a horseman in order to collect the picked hazelnuts from the workers and to carry the sacks either directly to the threshing floor or to a nearby road. With the inclusion of the wages of these latter people, the daily cost of employing a wage worker increased from an average of 20,000 TL to over 23,000 TL.

One way of avoiding the extra costs, which are in fact unavoidable when the seasonal wage workers are employed in big numbers, is to try to find small groups of people who are not organized in the same fashion as the big groups under the leadership of a *daybaşı*. For instance, three-fifths (112 in total) of the 187 hazelnut producing households employed wage workers for the harvest in the Kayadibi village in 1990. Of this number, again three-fifths of the households (67 in total) employed *daybaşıs*, 54.4 percent (61 in total) employed cooks to cook the daily food of the workers employed whereas the rest of the households (two-fifths) employed wage workers in small groups. These small groups of workers were from both within and without the village.

Employing a small number of wage workers for a long period of time enables the households to utilize their own labour force as long as possible. This in turn requires the household to provide the services needed by the wage workers from within the domestic circle of the household. This increases the money cost of food to be provided as the employers offer the same range and quality of food that they consume themselves, whereas the seasonal wage workers have otherwise to survive on the basis of cheap food that they can buy and cook for themselves. However, the hospitality offered both in material and social terms increases the productivity of the workers on the one hand and may not demand very much longer labouring time since, in any case, at least one adult female has to stay at home to do all the housework. In addition, the wage workers may be asked to work a little extra when this is required.

There are still alternative ways of avoiding either the extra or the essential cost of wage labour and I shall discuss these in due course in this chapter when I am examining other categories of wage workers and particularly the work process during the harvest. Before passing to an examination of some of the essential matters about another category of wage workers, I should finally answer the question of whether the farmers have got any general or specific preferences about the workers that they employ.

What is most important to the farmers is, of course, the productivity of the workers in the work process regardless of their age, sex and place where they come from. Therefore, in order to ensure an average level of productivity in the work

process, the farmers pay attention to the fact that the wage workers should not consist of one particular age group or sex if possible. For instance, as long as the group consists of a mixture of teenagers and adults concerning their age, and both male and female workers concerning their gender, no one bothers about the rest of the things very much. Accordingly, an adult and normally productive wage worker can work with his/her teenage son or daughter in return for the same amount of daily wage. However, as the work process requires the muscular power of an adult male in order to bend the bushes easily and also to carry the sacks on many occasions, it is preferable to have at least some adult males to do these sort of works and hence make the things easy for the rest of the workers working around the same hazelnut *ocak*.

Another thing that the farmers prefer to find in the wage workers is the accumulation of experience in the work process, as this makes the work process much easier to be supervised. In the case of an inexperienced workforce, farmers have to teach them how to treat the bushes and the twigs, how masterfully to bend down a strong hazelnut bush, how to carry the baskets so that the amount of time spent putting the picked hazelnuts into baskets can be reduced to a minimum and all sorts of other practical points concerning the work process. This is why, for instance, the wage workers either from within the village or from the hinterlands of the province are very much preferred. Because as the people of the region are familiar with what we might call *the hazelnut culture*, this makes things much easier and more comfortable for both the employers and the employees. This is also why the farmers are keen to renew their contracts with their workers even if they come from another province in the region.

As far as the workers are concerned, they also prefer to have certain things ensured or settled in advance before making a verbal contract with a farmer. Their foremost concern is with the ability of the farmer to employ them for the duration of the harvest, say 18 to 25 days, so that they should be able to return home with a certain amount of cash instead of spending their earnings on travel and food. The second major concern of the seasonal wage workers is, if possible, to determine in advance the amount of the daily wage they will receive at the end of the harvest so that no problem should occur when everything is too late to be discussed. This is also one of the things which is very much desired by the farmers

but since everything depends on the purchase prices to be announced, no one can do very much at this stage. The third major concern of the seasonal wage workers is that they should not be blamed if they, either as a group or individuals, should have to go back to their villages because of an emergency.

In order to meet the first pre-condition of a potential verbal contract, a farmer should either choose again a small group of people or act with one of his fellows so that the workers can be employed for the duration of the harvest. If this pre-condition is not met, one can not hope to persuade the workers to work for him. On some occasions, however, the seasonal wage workers come to the area on the basis of an arrangement made in advance to work on the farms of the people living at medium altitudes. By taking the opportunity arising from the time gap between the commencing of harvest in the coastal areas and the place that they are going to work, they may come a bit earlier in order to prolong the length of the block of time to earn cash. This practice of the seasonal wage workers provides some of the small farm owners or those who have not managed to find workers with an opportunity to perform at least part of the harvest on their farms. The remaining number of workers needed to finish the harvest is provided from among the seasonal wage workers, who are employed by another farmer in the area and who can stay and work a couple of days longer.

The purchase prices of *Fiskobirlik* have always been an important yardstick in order to determine the amount of the daily wages to be paid or received at the end of the harvest. It has always served as point of reference to achieve a consensus between the employers and the employees as long as both of the parties are familiar with its meaning; and whenever the purchase prices are favourable, affording relatively good daily wages is not a matter of concern for the employers, nor have the employees ever missed this opportunity to claim more.

With the announcement of the purchase prices to be applied by *Fiskobirlik*, which often takes place when the harvest is about to be finished as the government wants to have a broad idea about the annual recolte, a process of implicit bargaining starts between the employers and the employees. Both of the parties start to mention in their daily discourses the wages paid and received or to be paid and received by the others that they have just met or talked to. The employers'

examples mentioned in such discourses do always represent the lowest figures heard and the examples of the employees do the highest ones. Within the moral context of *no one's right should be left unpaid*, the parties usually manage to agree upon a figure without causing any feeling of resentment despite the vulnerable structure of the process.

- **permanent wage workers:**

By the permanent wage workers, I refer to a distinct category of seasonal wage workers who first came to the hazelnut production belt from the southern and south-eastern parts of the country in 1988. It is possible to distinguish two sub-categories of these wage workers. One of these sub-categories consists of the people who are either nearly landless or own farms which are too small to provide them with a living from agriculture although they continue their production. What differentiates them from the seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands is the degree of their poverty which compels them to travel to more than one agricultural zone to earn income whereas the former do so only once a year.

The other sub-category consists of the people who, with the introduction of advanced technologies, have been driven out of the lands that they tilled as sharecroppers and of the villages where they lived by the big land-owners who owned the lands.¹⁴⁹ These people spend almost more than ten months a year on the move from one production zone to another in the hope of finding work. They have nothing of their own apart from their own labour and spend their lives in nylon tents with their wives and children who also work as wage workers. The money that they earn in a production zone hardly suffices to maintain their physical capacity to work and to pay for the cost of their travel to another production zone.

The arrival of the permanent wage workers marks the beginning of a new phase in the traditional consensus that has been achieved in the labour aspect of hazelnut

¹⁴⁹ The group of people whom I spent a day with in the city centre of Ordu was from the province of Urfa and had left their villages a decade ago. The first destination of the group was a nearby town where they rented small houses or flats and started to work in the construction industry. By the next year, they moved with their households to the province of Adana to work in the green houses in the winter and in the cotton fields in the early spring. They then moved westward, namely to the provinces of İzmir and Aydın, to work again in the cotton fields. And following the same route they turned back to their homes before the winter. In the later years they started to go to other provinces or districts where they could find work by benefiting from the harvest calendar of different production zones.

production. Until the arrival of this new category, the people of the classical belt had enjoyed speaking the same social and economic language as the people that they employed to perform the harvest. But now none of these languages are enough to communicate properly with the new category of the wage workers. As far as social issues are concerned, the new category of the wage workers are, by and large, Kurdish. Although it is highly unlikely that this should cause any considerable problem, there was nevertheless a kind of uneasiness in the air concerning the question of how to adjust to this entirely new situation.

On the economic side of the matter, the new category of wage workers have certain advantages and disadvantages in the labour market. For instance, wages in the hazelnut production belt are at least 50 percent higher than what can be earned in other production zones. This was the single most important reason lying behind why, the people whom I spent a day with told me, they came to the area. In addition, the fact that they do not demand any of the services that the seasonal wages workers from the hinterlands demand concerning the provision of accommodation, food and other services makes their labour very attractive to those people who could not meet the demands of the seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands.

The most important disadvantage that they bear in the labour market is that they lack experience in hazelnut harvesting. I have had a chance to speak to some of the farmers who employed these people in the harvest season of 1988. One of the farmers told me, for instance, that he regretted employing them since they did not know how to treat the bushes without causing harm and slowing the pace of work. In addition, since they have to look after their children in the orchards, this caused many interruptions in the work process. Simply because of feeling terribly sorry for their poverty, the farmer did not terminate the verbal contract in the midst of the harvest but he decided not to employ wage workers from the same category of people next time.

It is highly likely that the arrival of this new category of wage workers will slow down the wage increases in the hazelnut production belt. It is also highly likely that the work contracts will evolve from being verbally binding to being legally binding. For instance, this category of wage workers does not accept to

work for someone unless the terms of the contract concerning their wages and the provision of any other service deemed necessary are determined in advance in a legally binding form. All such new practices may stimulate the process of the rise of formal labour organizations which may help protect the interests of the workers.

Regardless of many kinds of frictions that the formalization of the process might bring about in the relations of the farmers and workers, such legally binding contracts can be used as a basis to introduce at least a governmental policy of minimum social security for the agricultural workers. I should also mention the fact that there is a growing demand, especially among the urban-based farmers, for the introduction of more formal regulatory procedures concerning the rights and responsibilities of the parties to a work contract and demand for special formal organizations that can serve as job centres.¹⁵⁰

• urban working and lower classes

With the commencing of harvest, a large portion of the urban population moves to the villages and the urban centres turn into kinds of deserted cities for the duration of the harvest. A considerable portion of the population staying behind also moves to the villages during the day time to work in the hazelnut orchards. There are two categories of people who travel daily between the cities and the villages. One category consists of members of the urban-based land-owning households which do not have houses in the villages and therefore have to perform the harvest on their farms without entirely moving to the countryside for the duration. The other category of people consists of teenagers and adult women, who belong to the urban working and/or lower classes and who try to contribute to the budget of their households by means of earning cash during the harvest.

¹⁵⁰ I had a long conversation with a young lady, who lives in the capital of the country. This young lady comes every summer to the area to perform the harvest on a relatively big farm that she has inherited from her father. When her father was alive, she did not even visit the farm that she now owns. After the death of her father, however, she has managed to get the work done on her farm entirely with the managerial help of her relatives. But now she has to deal with everything on her own. As she lives away from the area and her husband knows nothing about hazelnut production, it is quite difficult for her to find people to get the work done. This becomes a big problem especially when the harvest is concerned. She therefore wants to have special public organizations or job centres which provide services to have access to agricultural workers and other sorts of guidelines and formal procedure to define the rights and responsibilities of the parties in a work contract. Some of the urban-based producers from Kayadibi village, in particular a restaurant owner, have also expressed their concern about these sides of access to labour and the need for the introduction of formal regulations.

For the performance of the harvest, labour from among the members of the urban working and/or lower class households is accessed through different ways. For instance, the hazelnut mill owners may employ their own workforce who work in the mills to perform the harvest as long as there are some people among this workforce who stay in the cities, because of having no ties with the countryside. The urban-based farm owners who have social relations with the hazelnut mill owners may facilitate these relations to have access to this workforce. However, the main channels through which the urban workforce is accessed by any category of the farm owners are relations of kinship and neighbourhood. In practice, this requires a farm owner either to contact these people individually or through someone who can act like a *daybaşı*.

In comparison to the volume and scale of the geographical mobility of the seasonal wage workers, the size of the urban workforce which can be accessed for the harvest is rather limited. This is due to the fact that once the urban population moves to the villages either as farm owners or as distanced domestic labour, there remains only a limited number of workforce that can be accessed in rather small urban centres of the region which lack any significant industry independent of hazelnut production. On the other hand, the limited geographical mobility of this urban workforce is due to the fact that it can and does work providing that it is daily transported to and from the countryside.

The most important point that needs to be taken into account by any farmer who intends to employ urban people for his harvest is therefore the cost of transportation. Providing that the cost of transportation plus the cost arising from the loss of approximately two hours working-time (between 8 am and 5 pm versus 7 am and 6 pm for the seasonal and permanent wage workers) of the urbanites is equal to or slightly higher than the cost of employing seasonal or permanent wage workers, it is more likely that a farm owner would prefer the urbanites. This is mainly because employing an urban work force brings about less social burden on the household as they leave the farm in the evening; it also reduces the amount of extra spendings like the provision of food and meals as the urbanites are supplied, at best, with lunch, and in fact in many cases they bring their own lunch with them.

In most of the cases, the urban labourers are employed by the farm owners living in the villages located around the city centres. The amount of daily wages paid may appear to change depending on which party pays for the daily transport and if any other service is included; but this brings about in the end no significant change in the amount of net daily wage paid or received.

A household also needs to employ certain strategies and mechanisms in order to ensure at least average productivity of the labour derived from any of these sources. In the pages below, I shall extend the scope of my enquiry into how this is achieved by households under different conditions and for the performance of different sorts of work on the farm.

7.2.2 The Strategies and Mechanisms of Efficiency Control

What kinds of strategies and mechanisms of efficiency control are to be employed by the households depend on to the nature of the work to be done on the one hand and by the categories of labourers employed on the other hand. As long as a household works on its farm in the absence of any category of wage workers, the yardstick to measure the efficiency of the labour force is its ability to perform all of the works within a production cycle and the organization of the labour force is achieved within general rules concerning the division of labour among the members. However, when wage workers are hired a household has to employ other mechanisms to ensure efficiency and accordingly to be able to set out a standard tool or unit of measuring the value of the labour power bought.

Contrary to how a household measures the efficiency of its own labour force in the work process, there are two different types of units which are employed by the households to do the same thing with wage workers. One of the units is the length of labouring time and the other is the unit of work done. The labouring time of a worker is standardized by reference to the length of a labouring day in a particular season or month. In practice, this turns out to be the method of employing someone on the basis of daily work (*gündelikçilik*) and is widely employed by all types of farms for the performance of any task in which domestic labour is also involved and able to supervise its pace. In cases where the particular work to be performed can be divided into much smaller units with regard either to labouring time or the volume of work, the households tend to employ the wage workers on the basis of

such smaller units in order to minimize the total cost of labour employed and to release itself from the burden of setting and maintaining the speed of the working process.

It is in fact possible to divide all the works to be performed into standard units and this is fairly developed in all areas of work, that is shoot cutting and pruning, picking, spading, feeding the threshing machines and carrying. For instance, shoot cutting and pruning are commissioned to the wage workers usually on the basis of a fixed amount of money per hazelnut *ocak* if they are employed in the absence of the household labour. If commissioned to the wage workers, the unit of work in spading is the unit area (that is decare); length of labouring time in threshing for both the payment of the machine owner and the workers employed, and the number of sorties in carrying the hazelnuts from the orchards to the threshing floors or a nearby road. When the volume of work to be done is small, a horseman may also claim a standard daily wage for himself and a standard price for each sortie he will make with his horse.

Among all sorts of works to be performed on the farm, it is the picking phase of the harvest which takes the longest time and demands more than half of the total labour force needed to run a hazelnut farm. Daily labouring time and the amount of hazelnuts picked are the main forms of standardizing the labouring process. Several factors on the part of both the households and the wage workers determine which one of these standard forms will be chosen and accordingly how the labour force, both domestic and alien, is going to be organized in the work process in order to ensure maximum efficiency. Among these factors, the extent to which domestic labour is going to be involved in performing the manual side of the work, the total amount of labour required, the scale of work on a working day, the particular characteristics of the orchards in terms of average height and type of bushes, whether or not the wage workers have experience of work and the general level of productivity in a particular year or in a particular orchard are the most important ones.

For instance, it is unlikely for a household to employ a huge number of wage workers who can perform the harvest within a short period of time unless it is an imperative to do so. Apart from the fact that this restricts the ability of a

household to benefit from its own labour force, it also demands extra organizational arrangements which increase the unit cost of the labour employed and larger area of threshing floors to dry the nuts in their husks. On the other hand, it is less likely that the wage workers would accept to work on the basis of the amount of hazelnuts they pick if the general level of productivity is very low in a particular year or if the bushes are very thick and high unless the potential losses are compensated for by high prices, whereas this would never be an issue to concern the workers employed on the basis of a fixed daily wage. Furthermore, the farm owners are very much concerned with the extent of damage that the workers employed on the basis of the amount of hazelnuts picked may give to the bushes in addition to their concern with what sort of backing-up services they have to provide in the work process.

To ensure efficiency in the work process requires performance of different roles and provision of different services in relation to the method of employment on the one hand and the number, categories and combination of the workers on the other hand. When the members of a household are working on the farm in the absence of the wage workers, it is the most senior of them who takes the responsibility of ensuring that the rest of the members, especially the teenagers, do not slacken the process on purpose. Apart from this, no member is assigned to play only one particular role but is expected to offer his/her labour for the performance of any item of work and provision of any service needed in accordance with his/her ability.

As the number of workers swells with the addition of the wage workers, the tension inherent in the conflicting interests of the parties is released and leads the members of the household to take extra measures. These routine measures are to use the junior members of the household as targets for reprimands and rebukes in order to show the rest of the people that the *employer* is a thorough and fussy person, to create work-mates consisting of one member from the household and one worker from outside and to work as hard as possible so that the wage workers should not slacken the process.

When the number of wage workers employed on the basis of daily wage is too large to be controlled by the members of the household in the above described fashion, there are basically three persons who play the role of supervising the efficiency of the workers. These are the head of the household or his/her represen-

tative, the *daybaşı* and the sack-man. The former usually communicate with the workers through the channel of the *daybaşı* by transmitting his complaints and criticisms of any thing which is related to the conduct of the workers. The usual complaints concern the pace of work, the number of breaks that the workers may have to get rid of their very essential natural needs (a strategy which proves to be effective in slowing the work process), the amount of nuts they leave unpicked and the maltreatment of the bushes. The sack-man's role is rather to provide the employer and the *daybaşı* with information about those workers who are noticeably underproductive as he is the person who collects the picked hazelnuts from their baskets.

Employing large numbers of workers regardless of the method of employment requires provision of some sort of back-up services as well. One of these is the picking of the remaining nuts left by the workers in the bushes. This service is called *peşçilik* and is usually performed by the members of the household and wage workers are also employed whenever necessary. A man to distribute water to the workers and a watchman to wander along the borders of the orchard to prevent any *gleaner* who attempts to enter an unharvested orchard are among the people who are employed for the performance of back-up services.

Employing wage workers on the basis of a fixed price for each kg of hazelnuts picked is a method which is utilized especially by big farm owners. This method has got some advantages in ensuring the efficiency of the workers and reducing the load of some of the managerial tasks that should be performed. The most advantageous side of the method is due to the self-responsibility of the worker in determining the level of his/her productivity while striving to earn more cash within a working day. For instance, the average amount of hazelnuts in husks picked by the workers employed on a daily wage basis is about 125 kg/day whereas this is 200 kg/ day and may rise to over 400 kg in some instances. With the prices of 1990, a worker employed on the basis of a fixed daily wage would receive, on average 20,000 TL/day whereas a worker employed in accordance with the second method would receive 25,000 TL a day. The most advantageous side of working in return for a fixed price per each kg of hazelnuts picked is that it enables the workers to benefit from the labour power of their children below working-age.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Figures were obtained from the producers who employed wage workers in accordance with either

There are several advantages that a farmer can obtain by employing wage workers in accordance with this latter method. First of all, since the responsibility to determine the level of productivity in the work process rests with the worker, both the money cost and managerial burden of supervising the process of harvesting are reduced. Secondly, the weather conditions (both temperature and rain) affect the level of productivity of the workers and the length of net labouring time. For instance, the number of short breaks that the workers should have because of rain in a harvest season may easily amount to a full working day. When the workers are employed on the basis of daily wage, no farmer calculates the amount of loss stemming from such short breaks whereas it is at the discretion of the workers employed in accordance with the second method to continue or stop working.

Finally, it is exclusively the responsibility of the workers employed in accordance with this method to provide their own food and cooking services. At times when the weather conditions require long breaks, this does not bring about any extra cost on the part of the employer. The same holds true for the workers employed on a daily wage basis in large numbers under the leadership of a *daybaşı* and with the condition of provision of food by themselves.

However, employing wage workers on the basis of a fixed price for each kg of hazelnuts picked has got some disadvantages. These disadvantages are mainly due to the harm given to the bushes (especially to the twigs which bear the buds and catkins which are the main thrust of the next year's crop if other conditions are favourable) in the work process by the workers and the amount of nuts left unpicked. This is because no worker can afford to pay enough attention and care to treat the bushes gently and spend much time to check if he/she has left any nuts unpicked in the bushes. In order to compensate for losses stemming from the first issue, the farmer has to use more fertilizer to stimulate the growth of the plant and accordingly get the bushes to replace broken twigs with new ones. In order to reduce the amount of nuts left unpicked, household labour is harnessed to the work of *peşçilik* as I described above, where necessary and economical, with the help of some other wage workers.

7.2.3 A Quantitative Analysis of Access to Labour

- a brief description of the data processed:

In the pages below, I shall make a quantitative analysis of access to labour with the help of data that I have collected from the heads of households for this purpose. A brief description of how these data were collected and which areas they cover follows:

There are two main methods of determining the amount of labour required or employed to perform the work on a farm. One is to use the number of people employed as a determinant irrespective of their age and gender. The other is to convert the net labouring time spent in the work process by different categories of people regarding their age and gender into Male Working Day units. The former method is obviously not able to yield reliable results unless the workers are chosen from among a strictly defined group of people concerning their age and gender.

In order to determine the amount of labour in terms of Male Working Day units¹⁵² (henceforth *mwd*), however, one needs to know two main things. These are (1) the age and sex composition of the workers regardless of who they are and (2) the length of labouring time spent by each worker. However, how to obtain this information is a big problem because it requires the interviewer to spend a considerable amount of time with the interviewed to recall all moments of labouring on the farm within a production year even if the members of the household have worked in the absence of wage workers and no piece of work has been commissioned to the wage workers on the basis of units like each hazelnut *ocak* or each kg of hazelnuts picked.

I therefore asked the heads of the households to estimate how many adult persons irrespective of their gender could perform all of the manual tasks on their farms within a production year and on the conditions that (1) the productivity is normal, (2) all of the supervisory and back-up services are provided by others rather than the people performing the works (3) each person works without having a serious interruption in the labouring process and (4) that the hypothetically employed people will perform the same work that the household does rather than

¹⁵² For more information about this, see Appendix B.

the work that should be performed to run the farm properly in abstract. At the next step, I asked them to remember as accurately as possible (1) how many workers they employed within the production year of 1989 and (2) how much money they paid to the workers employed, in order to obtain information about the overall balances within a finished production year in which the level of productivity was above average.

The final step consisted of collecting some detailed information about the harvest stage of 1990 soon after its completion in the village. The main items covered are (1) the number wage workers employed, (2) the number of days workers worked (3) composition concerning roles (like picker, *daybaşı* and cook) and the daily or unit wage of each category of people employed, (4) the place from where the workers were provided, and finally (5) the total amount of money paid to the wage workers. The data collected from the heads of households give the following results.

- **the level of demand for labour: overall balances:**

- (a) In 1990, the total number of households who produced hazelnuts in the village was 187 and they owned in the same year a total area of 3,901 decares of hazelnut orchards. Estimates made by the heads of these households, by taking into account the above stated four conditions, give the result that it would take one adult worker 25,549 working days to complete the annual work on this total area. This figure amounts to a need to employ, on average, 6.56 adult workers per decare of hazelnut farm per year if no household labour involves in the performance of the manual work.
- (b) In 1989, the number of households who produced hazelnut was 182 and they owned in the same year a total area of 3,873 decares of hazelnut orchards. In the above fashion, it would take one adult worker 25,449 working days to complete the annual work on this total area of hazelnut orchards. This total figure of working days gives the same average number (precisely speaking 6.57) of adult workers per decare per year as obtained above.
- (c) In the same production year (that is, in 1989), the total number of households who performed all of the works on their farms without employing

wage workers was 66, which is equal to 36.2 percent of the hazelnut producing households whereas the remaining 116 households (63.8 percent) employed a total number of 11,995 wage workers/day, mainly to perform the harvest on their farms, and paid a total sum of 270,411,000 TL to the workers who they employed. The total number of workers employed was equal to 56.4 percent of total number of workers required and the total amount of money was equal to 27.8 percent of the gross income after tax that they obtained from the sale of the crop they produced in the same year. In the same production year, these figures amounted to an overall 47.1 percent dependency on wage labour and a payment of 23.1 percent of the gross income after tax that all of the 187 households obtained from the sale of their crop in the market.

- (d) In the harvest season of 1990, the number of households which employed no wage workers was 75 (40 percent) and of those which employed them was 112 (60 percent). The total number of wage workers/day employed by these 112 households to perform only the harvest on their farms was 10,087 (with the inclusion of the total number of *daybaşı* and cooks) and in return for this, the total amount of money paid by the same households was 234,898,000 TL. These figures are equal to 49.6 percent of the total number of workers required (20,300) and 28.0 percent of the estimated total market value of the hazelnuts produced in the same year by the households which employed wage workers.

- **dependency on wage labour**

The figures cited above suggest that the labour derived from within the domestic circle of households in combination with the distanced domestic labour is the single major source by means of which they continue their production. However, the same figures suggest also that wage labour is an indispensable part of the process and it acquires critical importance during harvest time. The table given below shows the overall balances of demand for labour and the role played by the wage labour with regard to the farm type in the production year of 1989.

Two points are important to notice in the table. One is the differences in the average number of workers per decare demanded by farm type and the other is

Table VII.1:

Demand For and Sources of Labour in 1989 by Farm Type: Overall Balances

	avlu farms	small farms	medium farms	full farms	big farms	Total
observations						
<i>number of household</i>	38	53	60	21	10	182
<i>total land owned (da)</i>	271.3	847.5	1,833.0	1,096.8	1,221.0	5,269.6
<i>total haz. orch. (da)</i>	203.8	668.6	1,394.4	811.6	794.8	3,873.2
<i>tot. num. lab. req.</i>	1,809	4,135	9,275	5,890	4,340	25,449
<i>avrg.num.lab.per farm</i>	47.6	78.0	154.5	280.4	434.0	139.8
<i>avrg.num.lab.per da</i>	8.8	6.2	6.6	7.2	5.4	6.6
<i>num. hholds emp.w.lab</i>	6	29	52	20	9	116
<i>num. workers/day empl.</i>	202	1,447	3,855	3,313	3,178	11,995
<i>avrg. wage lab.per farm</i>	5.3	27.3	64.3	157.8	317.8	65.9

the employment of wage labour by all categories of farms. The first point has also been found to be the case by Kaya (1986, pp. 18-23). According to his findings, the relationship between the farm size and the amount of labour spent at each stage of production is disproportional in a linear fashion. That is to say that the larger the size of the farm, the smaller the amount of labour spent at each stage of production. For instance, the farming households who own hazelnut orchards smaller than 10 decare (nearly equivalent of *avlu* farms in our case) spend 10.91 mwd per decare whereas this figures drops down to 9.50 mwd/da in the case of farms with 10 to 30 decare hazelnut orchards and further down to 7.84 mwd/da in the case of farms with hazelnut orchards bigger than 30 decare.

In Kayadibi village, the relationship between the farm size and the number of adult persons estimated to be required per decare is a non-linear one. For instance, the estimated needs of the *avlu* farms is 8.8 adult persons and this figure first drops down to 6.2 adult persons in the case of small farms, 6.6 adult persons in the case of medium farms, rises to 7.2 adult persons in the case of full farms and finally drops back to the lowest figure of 5.4 adult persons in the case of the big farms. I think that it is possible to explain these differences in connection with the way

in which the domestic labour is utilized and the impact of the level of dependency on wage labour on the economic conduct of the farms. For example, the small farm-owning households tend to invest more labour in the production process to increase the level of productivity and hence the amount of net earnings from their farms whereas the big farms are more concerned with how to reduce the amount of payments to the wage workers.

In general, the big farms manage to reduce the amount of wage payments in two ways. One is to get some of the work done by means of offering some benefits to the people who are in need of them. For instance, pruning and shoot cutting are generally commissioned to poor neighbours in return for fuel obtained from this work, plus permission to graze the animals in the orchards. However, it is less likely that one can find enough people to do this and therefore the big farm-owners may not perform such works very often. Accordingly, especially shoot cutting and to some extent pruning, hoeing and spading tend to be the works which are not done unless they become an imperative to continue production, particularly to perform the harvest. Contrary to this conduct of the big farms, the full farm owning households which are capable of obtaining a decent survival from their farms follow the same course of action as the *avlu* farm-owning households, whereas the other farm-owning households set the general standards.

Dependency on wage labour is the case, as can be seen in the table, with all types of farms. I shall examine this issue by presenting the results of my data in two different tables. The following first table (Table VII.2) shows the level of dependency on wage labour by farm type in 1989. In the table, all of the 182 hazelnut producing farms in the same year are classified into five categories of level of dependency on the wage labour. The latter was determined by calculating the proportion of the number of the wage workers employed in the same year to the total number of workers that the heads of the households estimated to be required to perform all of the manual works on their farms.

An examination of the figures given in the table suggests that the two opposing tendencies I have pointed out earlier about the conduct of the households concerning their efforts to keep the level of dependency on wage labour as low as possible and the need to have access to wage labour as much as possible is well reflected in

Table VII.2:

Dependency on Wage Labour by Farm Type in 1989						
	avlu farms	small farms	medium farms	full farms	big farms	Total
level of dependency						
no paid labour						
number of farm	32	24	8	1	1	66
row percent	48.5	36.4	12.1	1.5	1.5	100.0
column percent	84.1	45.3	13.4	4.8	10.0	36.2
less than 25.0 percent						
number of farm	2	8	14	2	0	26
row percent	7.7	30.8	53.8	7.7	0.0	100.0
column percent	5.3	15.1	23.3	9.5	0.0	14.3
25.1-50.0 percent						
number of farm	2	4	14	6	1	27
row percent	7.4	14.8	51.9	22.2	3.7	100.0
column percent	5.3	7.6	23.3	28.6	10.0	14.8
50.1-75.0 percent						
number of farm	0	7	12	4	3	26
row percent	0.0	26.9	46.1	15.4	11.6	100.0
column percent	0.0	13.2	20.0	19.0	30.0	14.3
more than 75.1 percent						
number of farm	2	10	12	8	5	37
row percent	5.7	28.6	31.4	20.0	14.3	100.0
column percent	5.3	18.8	20.0	38.1	50.0	20.4
Total						
number of farm	38	53	60	21	10	182
row percent	20.9	29.1	33.0	11.5	5.5	100.0
column percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

the levels of dependency on wage labour. The most striking examples of these two tendencies are, on the one hand, the 2 *avlu* farms in the operation of which the wage labour constituted more than 75 percent of the total labour force required

and, on the other hand, one full and one big farm that employed no wage labour at all.

The proportional distribution of the households to each level of dependency on wage labour indicates the operation of these tendencies in some detail. For instance, as we move from the zero level of dependency on wage labour to the highest level of dependency, the number of farms falling on each level does not multiply in proportion to the size of the farm owned. This, however, does not affect the likelihood of observing an overall higher degree of dependency on wage labour as the farm size, in categorical terms, increases or vice versa.

The table given below illustrates how the level of dependency on wage labour changes when the three major independent factors, that is the farm type in terms of size, the generational organization of the household and the place of residence of the household are all interacting. The figures showing the level of dependency were calculated again by proportioning the number of workers employed in the production year of 1989 to the number of workers that the heads of the households estimated to be required within a production year.

An examination of the figures starting from the last section of the table suggests that the level of dependency on wage labour increases as the size of the farm does irrespective of the types of generational organization and place of residence of the households. For instance, the level of dependency rises from a minimum level of 11.1 percent in the case of *avlu* farms to 35.0 percent in the case of small farms, to 41.5 percent in the case of medium farms, to 56.2 in the case of full farms and finally to 73.2 percent in the case of big farms. The general level of dependency on wage labour however is 47.1 percent.

It is however not possible to observe the same kind of steady increase in the level of dependency when we move from one type of generational organization to another. Rather we can see significant differences when we move from one to the next. For instance, the overall level of dependency on wage labour is 66.1 percent, which is the highest figure, in the case of the single-generational households. This figure first drops down to 39.9 percent in the case of the double-generational ones and then rises to over 50 percent in the case of the triple-generational and finally drops down to 47.7 percent in the case of the quadruple-generational households.

Table VII.3:

Dependency (%) on Wage Labour by Household, Farm Type and Place of Residence in 1989										
residence and farm village	single gen.		double gen.		triple gen.		quad. gen.		total	
	freq.	dep.	freq.	dep.	freq.	dep.	freq.	dep.	freq.	dep.
<i>avlu</i>	5	13.5	22	5.9	2	0.0	3	0.0	32	6.0
<i>small</i>	7	61.8	23	29.5	13	26.3	4	14.0	47	33.1
<i>medium</i>	3	22.8	28	37.2	12	53.7	9	38.0	52	40.9
<i>full</i>	2	84.0	5	51.4	11	50.6	1	85.5	19	55.0
<i>big</i>	2	85.7	2	50.0	2	66.7	1	53.7	7	66.7
<i>total</i>	19	66.2	80	36.3	40	48.7	18	38.7	157	44.7
urban										
<i>avlu</i>	0	0.0	6	18.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	18.4
<i>small</i>	0	0.0	6	49.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	49.4
<i>medium</i>	1	63.6	6	47.4	1	33.3	0	0.0	8	46.7
<i>full</i>	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	48.0	0	0.0	2	71.1
<i>big</i>	0	0.0	1	76.9	1	83.8	1	90.0	3	83.0
<i>total</i>	1	63.6	20	50.4	3	65.4	1	90.0	25	58.3
overall										
<i>avlu</i>	5	13.5	28	12.3	2	0.0	3	0.0	38	11.1
<i>small</i>	7	61.8	29	34.1	13	25.4	4	14.0	53	35.0
<i>medium</i>	4	32.0	34	38.8	13	51.8	9	38.0	60	41.5
<i>full</i>	2	84.0	6	58.2	12	50.4	1	85.5	21	56.2
<i>big</i>	2	85.7	3	62.0	3	74.8	2	76.3	10	73.2
Total	20	66.1	100	39.9	43	50.6	19	47.7	182	47.1

This pattern of change holds true for both the village- and urban-based households but with visible differences in the level of dependency.

To know the overall level of reliance on domestic labour and of dependency on wage labour has no theoretical significance unless we put these overall balances in a framework of strategic importance in the operation of the farms. This is because it is not simply a matter of having access to a certain number of wage workers in a production year but it is the question of when and at which stage of production the households most need to have access to wage labour. For instance, my data suggest that more than four-fifths of the wage workers are employed to perform the harvest. This is not simply because performing the harvest needs more labour than any other work on the farms but it is also because the workload cannot be spread over a long period of time during the harvest time.

When considered within the context of the labour requirements of hazelnut production and in relation to the number of wage workers employed in 1989, my data suggest that more than 84 percent of the total number of wage workers are needed and employed by the households to perform the harvest if they would employ the same number of wage workers in the production year of 1990. This is to say that it is having access to labour at a stage or stages of the annual cycle of production when there is no possibility of spreading the load of the works over a long period of time which determines the nature and level of the strategic importance of wage labour from any source.

In order to perform the harvest in 1990, the Kayadibians derived 37.6 percent (6,082 in total) of the total number of workers (16,162) required from within the domestic circles of their households and 62.4 percent (10,087 in total) from other sources as wage workers, who consisted of 9,120 pickers (90.5 percent), 532 *daybaşı*s (5.2 percent) and 435 cooks (4.3 percent). Of the total number of the wage workers employed, 78.6 percent was derived from the hinterlands of the province, 17.8 percent from within the village, 2.4 percent from the city centre of the province and 1.2 percent from other sources inclusive of the permanent wage workers that I have described above.

7.3 Access to Credit

7.3.1 The Need For Credit and Indebtedness

In general, a great majority of the people living in Kayadibi village seem happy about the changes that the entire process of the transformation of the economy has brought about in their lives. For instance, in their assessment of the material conditions of their own lives and that of their fellow villagers, nearly three quarters of the heads of the households reported that they are enjoying a better life than they used to.¹⁵³ However, this process is not without problems in the eyes of again a great majority (91.3 percent) of the heads of the households. For instance, the heads of the households reported more than 30 different problems of hazelnut producers. The most frequent complaints reported as the primary problems of the producers are low market market prices (28.8 percent), the payment policies of *Fiskobirlik* (12.3 percent) and the high wages paid to the hired workers (10.8 percent). The drudgery of work is rarely reported among the secondary and tertiary problems.

The Kayadibians make a distinction between relative and absolute low market prices. By the former, which most of the complaints (18.5 percent) stem from, they refer to disproportional increase of the prices of the inputs, foodstuffs and wages of the workers that they employ in comparison to the price of their crop in the free market. By the latter, they refer to how low *Fiskobirlik's* purchase prices are.

In general, they also conceive of themselves as unable to determine the price of their produce in the free market. In their own eyes, this is due to their indebtedness to the merchants on the one hand but, as important as this, to the payment policies of *Fiskobirlik* on the other hand. This is to say that the major portion of the complaints are not due to absolute low market prices, for which what is determined by the government functions as yardstick, but how the government fulfils its role

¹⁵³ The actual distribution of the responses, as we have seen earlier in chapter II, is as follows. (a) In the case of their own lives (a) *much better*: 9.7 percent, *better*: 64.1 percent, *the same*: 6.7 percent, *worse*: 13.3 percent, *much worse*: 1 percent and *other responses*: 5.1 percent. (b) In the case of the lives of their fellow villagers: *much better*: 6.7 percent, *better*: 61.0 percent, *the same*: 4.6 percent, *worse*: 17.4 percent, *much worse*: 1 percent and *other answers*: 10.3 percent.

in the market through *Fiskobirlik*. It is also very interesting that only one person out of 195 complained about insufficient credit supply by the government, and no one identified the rate of interest that they have to pay for the credit they obtain from either the governmental institutions or from the merchants and other sources as one of their most important problems.

The ways in which the problems are perceived and expressed by the people suggest that they are not disputing being a part of the socio-economic formation *per se* but rather how large the area left to them is in order to manoeuvre and improve the conditions of their own living, for which the amount of net cash at hand is essential. For almost everything, from their daily bread to liquid gas for cooking and from the construction of a house to the payment of the workers hired, money is needed all the time. This aspect of reality is usually expressed by the people as follows: *parasız pazar kefensiz mezar*, which means *to be penniless in the bazaar is like being buried without a shroud*.

In the majority of cases, the nature of earning income from agricultural production and the need for it stand in opposition to each other, as the former is earned once a year while the latter is needed daily. To survive, in the words of a villager, *without earning cash daily or weekly but at least monthly is nearly impossible*. Therefore, any who fails to earn enough cash either daily or once a year and spend it economically is destined to resort to outsiders to borrow or to buy without instant credit and pay it back after the harvest. Constant failure may accordingly result in perpetual borrowing and paying and even impotence to borrow any longer.

However, these points constitute only one dimension of the issue at the centre of our attention. One needs to have access to credit in the form of money and/or commodities and goods to maintain and raise the standards of one's own living by means of increasing the amount of one's earnings. The wider world plays a substantial role in planting this feeling of necessity to earn more and more among the people and turning them into consumers of an increasing number of commodities and goods that they do not and cannot produce by themselves. This is the point where we can start to talk rather more precisely about the nature of need for credit in the lives of the people in this study.

The data I have got suggest that a substantial portion of the Kayadibians resort to various sources for credit in order to meet a rather wide range of needs. Depending upon the areas where the credit is primarily used, it is possible to classify the need for credit into two broad but interrelated categories. These are (1) the need for credit for reproductive purposes (2) and the need for credit for productive purposes.

● **need for credit for reproductive purposes**

The need for credit for reproductive purposes includes any amount of credit in cash or kind used for the purchase, provision and fulfilment of the following needs of a household. These are: (a) consumption (i) of foodstuffs, tobacco and beverages, (ii) of personal goods like garments and shoes, (iii) of household goods like furniture, refrigerators, carpets, cutlery, (iv) of household stuffs like cleaning materials, (v) of services concerning the health and education of the members and (vi) of fuel; (b) performance of rituals concerning birth, death and marriage and (c) the provision of accommodation. As the list of the needs indicates, some of them have a high turnover while others can be considered as a sort of investment. I shall therefore define the items i, ii, iv and vi of (a) as *reproductive daily consumption* and the rest of the items as *reproductive investment*.

● **need for credit for productive purposes**

The need for credit for productive purposes includes (a) consumption of all sorts of fertilizers, pesticides, easily perishable goods like sacks and tents, (b) cash payments for the transportation these sorts of goods, transportation of produce and the payment of the wages of the workers hired, and finally (c) the purchase of land, vehicles, machinery and tools and construction of threshing floors and of production-related buildings like storerooms or sheds. Similar to the above classification, credit used for the purchase and provision of these sort of commodities can be classified as *the credit for short term productive consumption* and *the credit for productive investment*.

In 1990, a total number of 108 households obtained credit from different sources and 104 of them, which is more than 53 percent of the total number of households covered in this study, were indebted to various persons and institutions with the

condition of paying their debts after the harvest. Again the heads of a total number of 86 households (44.1 percent of the total) reported that they should certainly find themselves in debt before the next harvest for various reasons which are shown in the table below. The figures given in the table exclude the 4 households which obtained credit and paid it back before the 1990 harvest.

Table VII.4:

Reasons Behind Indebtedness and the Necessity to Get into Debt				
	already freq.	indebted prcnt	certainly freq.	shall be prcnt
primary areas where credit is needed				
<i>reproductive daily consumption</i>	14	13.5	22	25.5
<i>reproductive investment</i>	40	38.5	27	31.4
<i>productive consumption</i>	32	30.8	19	22.1
<i>productive investment</i>	8	7.7	2	2.3
<i>commercial credit</i>	3	2.9	4	4.7
<i>conspicuous consumption</i>	4	3.8	1	1.1
<i>other</i>	2	1.9	6	7.0
<i>unspecified</i>	1	0.9	5	5.8
Total	104	100.0	86	100.0

There are, as a brief examination of the figures given in the table shows, four principal areas of survival from which the need for credit and indebtedness arise. These are (1) reproductive investment (38.5 percent), (2) productive consumption (30.8 percent), (3) daily consumption (13.5 percent) and (4) productive investment (7.7 percent). Although the percentages are considerably different, this pattern of need for credit holds true to a large extent in the case of the households which think that they shall certainly be in need of credit and therefore in debt before the next harvest. However, as can be noted in the table, the expressed need for credit for reproductive consumption rises from being the third major factor behind indebtedness to the position of second in the latter case.

There is no one-to-one correspondence, in statistical terms, between the reasons behind the indebtedness of the households observed in one year and the areas of need for credit in following year. For instance, of the 14 households for which the primary reason for indebtedness in 1990 was daily consumption, 57.1 percent (8 in total) should be in need of credit for the same reason in the following year whereas 14.3 percent should need credit for reproductive investment and 21.4 percent should need no credit at all. Similarly, of the 40 households which were indebted because of reproductive investment, 17.5 percent (7 in total) should need credit in the following year for daily consumption, 27.5 percent again for reproductive investment and 42.5 percent should need no credit at all. However, this is not say that we can not guess with some confidence which households shall be in need of credit and for which reasons. On the contrary, it is possible within the confines of our own data to distinguish some of the elementary descriptive and analytical factors that define the households which were indebted in the year 1990 and /or should be in debt before the next harvest.

First, a great majority (93.2 percent) of the households indebted are the village-based households. Secondly, more than two-thirds (68 in total) of the households which were in debt with the condition of payment after the harvest of 1990 are the ones for which agricultural production (hazelnut production or apiculture) is the primary source of income, whereas for nearly one-tenth (10 in total) of them the primary source of income are the permanent jobs that the members of the households have as civil servants, insured workers and/or permanent construction workers. Another significant category of the households (7.8 percent and 8 in total) is the ones which are dependent primarily upon cash earned in casual agricultural and construction work in the village. Thirdly, the need for credit and indebtedness do not show any significant difference by the type of generational organization of the households. Rather, the proportional distribution of them within the category of the indebted ones and those which should make debt is almost parallel to their proportional significance in the total number of households. There is also no statistically significant difference between the households by generational organization and the areas of indebtedness and the need for credit. Nevertheless, it is more likely that a single-generational household needs credit for productive consumption (62.5 percent) especially to pay the wages of the hired workers whereas,

for instance, double-generational households should more likely constitute the majority (85.7 percent) of the households which need credit for reproductive daily consumption.

As far as the principal analytical factors, namely land-ownership and income, are concerned, there are significant differences between the households. For instance, the households in debt own, on average, 25.8 decares of land whereas the rest own 28.8 decares on average. Similar to our previous findings concerning land-ownership by the type of generational organization of the households, this difference between the two categories of the households fails to be statistically significant. However, when the average land per head is taken into account, the possibility of failing to guess which household will be among the indebted ones is less than 10 percent. Precisely speaking, households with less than 6 decares of land per head are more likely to be in need of credit.

In comparison to average area of land per head, the differences between the two categories (that is those which are already indebted and those which shall certainly become so) of the households become much clearer when average income per household, and especially average income per head are taken into account.¹⁵⁴ For instance, the average annual income of the indebted households is 11.175 million TL whereas that of the households who were not indebted in the year 1990 is 19.198 TL (2,598 and 4,464 pounds sterling respectively), which yield the result respectively of 2.068 million TL and 3.830 million TL income per head per annum (480 and 890 pounds sterling respectively). The households whose heads thought that they could not manage without borrowing are much poorer, with an average annual income of 9.811 million TL (2,281 pounds sterling) per household and 1.838 million TL (427 pounds sterling) per head per annum.

Furthermore, the principal areas where the need for credit and indebtedness arise show significant differences by the same analytical factors. For instance, the average annual income (in cash) of the households which were indebted primarily because of their reproductive consumption is 4.785 million TL whereas that of the households which acquired a debt for productive investment is 11.752 million TL

¹⁵⁴ All of the differences that are going to be mentioned in this and the following paragraphs concerning average annual income per household and per member have been found statistically significant with a level of significance of at least 0.025.

and that of those which acquired a debt because of their productive consumption is 11.424 million TL per annum. The average incomes per head per annum of the same category of the households were equal respectively to 923,000 TL, 2.041 million TL and 2.486 million TL (214, 474 and 578 pounds sterling respectively). These figures come further down to 688,000 TL and 1.835 million TL in the cases of need for credit before the next harvest for both reproductive and productive consumption, and rise up to 2.441 million TL per head in the case of need for reproductive investment.

7.3.2 Sources of Credit

The word *credit* implies trustworthiness of an individual, a group of people or of an organization in a community or society to be provided with the necessary means of action in advance for the fulfilment of a role or a task. In order to get a process of exchange of credit started, it is the responsibility of the party in need of credit to prove its trustability. In the economic sphere of life, the need for credit takes the form of money, goods, objects and means of production in the majority of the cases and the general name for the form in which trustability is proved is called collateral. It is therefore one's ability to show collateral in an acceptable form which determines one's chance to be credited by someone or by an institution. However, one cannot determine the type of the collateral which is acceptable by a potential creditor.

The issue of trustability and the ability to show an acceptable form of collateral play very important roles in the organization, operation and shortfalls of the sources of credit to which people resort in order to obtain credit in the form of liquid money, commodities and means of production. In order to examine the sources of credit, I shall therefore apply a broad definition of the concept of credit rather than restricting it to the meaning of obtaining liquid money from a source which is available in the community and/or society.

The categories of people and institutions from which the Kayadibians obtained credit and/or were indebted to in 1990 suggests that the sources from which people can obtain credit can broadly be classified into five main categories. These are (1) governmental and cooperative institutions, (2) private banks and hazelnut

merchants, (3) friends, relatives and neighbours, (4) commercial capital dealing with the trade of household goods and finally (5) the usurers.

In order to meet their need for credit, the people facilitate these resources in various combinations due to several reasons on the part of both the creditors and themselves. Nevertheless, the major credit supplier to the people involved in agricultural production is the hazelnut merchant. For instance, of the 104 households which were indebted in 1990 with the condition of payment after harvest, 55.8 percent were indebted primarily to the merchants, 14.4 percent to individuals like the construction masters and workers through delayed payments of their wages and to individuals from whom they bought a commodity without instant payment, 11.5 percent to shops selling household goods, 4.8 percent to the Agricultural Bank, 3.8 percent to the Credit Cooperative and 1.9 percent to the Small Business Credit Cooperative.

As far as obtaining liquid credit from merchants, the Credit Cooperative and from the Agricultural Bank is concerned, the Kayadibians obtained credit from these sources in the following combinations: 0.9 percent (1 in total) from a hazelnut merchant plus the Agricultural Bank plus the Credit Cooperative, 17.6 percent (19 in total) from a hazelnut merchant plus the Bank, 8.3 percent (9 in total) from a hazelnut merchant plus the Credit Cooperative, 65.8 percent (71 in total) from a hazelnut merchant only; 5.6 percent (6 in total) from the Bank only and finally 1.8 percent (2 in total) from the Credit Cooperative only.

In the pages below, I shall concentrate on how people obtain credit from the diad of the governmental and cooperative institutions on the one hand and the triad of banking capital, hazelnut merchants and *à livrer* capital on the other hand, as these are the major sources and their operations condition the operation of the other sources of credit mentioned above.

- **the diad of the governmental and cooperative institutions:**

The single major source of fully organized credit supplier in Turkish agriculture is the government. The amount of agricultural credits supplied by the government every year within the last decade or so has been about one-tenth of each year's GDP created in the agricultural sector of the economy, and is floating around

an equivalent of 1 billion pounds sterling.¹⁵⁵ The government supplies credit to agriculture either indirectly through subsidizing the agricultural inputs, especially the fertilizers and pesticides, in addition to taxation policies, or directly through the institutions in its own political and financial control. The main institutions which are charged with the responsibility of distributing the credit are the state owned Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*), the Agricultural Credit Cooperatives and the Unions of the Agricultural Credit Cooperatives (*Tarım Kredi Kooperatifleri* and *Tarım Kredi Kooperatifleri Birlikleri*), and the Agricultural Sale Cooperatives and the Union of Agricultural Sale Cooperatives (*Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri* and *Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri Birlikleri*).

In the network of the distribution of the government's agricultural credits, the Agricultural Bank is the main creditor which supplies credit to the producers either directly or through the channels of the individual cooperatives and the unions of cooperatives. Credit supply to the individual sale cooperatives and the unions of sale cooperatives aims to enable them to make advanced payments to their partners and/or to buy the produce after the harvest depending on the specific policies applied concerning the produce. However, the cooperatives (both sale and credit) have also got their own resources accumulated over the years due to capital payments by their partners and they can therefore raise funds and supply credit to their partners. For instance, in 1990, the total amount of new credits supplied by the governmental and cooperative institutions was 5,703,173 million TL (equal to 1,016.2 million pounds sterling according to the exchange rate of the same year). Of this amount, 44.8 percent was supplied directly by the Agricultural Bank, 36.2 percent again by the Agricultural Bank but through the channel of the credit cooperatives and 24.2 percent was supplied by the unions or individual sale cooperatives. *Fiskobirlik* is one of the biggest unions of sale cooperatives under the umbrella of which all of the sale cooperatives in the sphere of hazelnut production are brought together.

In categorical terms, the Agricultural Bank and the credit cooperatives supply two types of credit. These are (a) short term operational credit and (b) medium term investment credit. The former category of credit includes (1) crop production

¹⁵⁵ My calculation from the figures published in the *Statistical Yearbook of Turkey 1990*, pp. 248-249, 499-501 and 466.

credits aimed mainly to foster the development of certain crops and supplied mainly directly by the Agricultural Bank, (2) general operational credits, and the credits given for the purchase (4) of seeds, (5) of fodder crops and stuffs by the ranchers, (6) of fertilizers, and finally (7) of pesticides. The medium term investment credits are given up to five years for the purchase of machinery, equipment and the tools needed by a farm. The first and second items of the short term credits are given as liquid credit while the rest are given in kind.

A major portion of the credits supplied by the Agricultural Bank and the co-operative institutions is in the form of short term operational credits. For instance, in 1989, the total amount of short term credit supplied by the Agricultural Bank as crop production credit was 503,038.1 million TL. With the addition of short term credit given by the agricultural credit and sale cooperatives (which were 1,152,531 million TL¹⁵⁶ and 1,450,189.8 million TL respectively), the total amount of short term credit supplied amounted to more than 78 percent of the total amount of credit supplied in the same year by the governmental and cooperative institutions.

In order to obtain credit from the Agricultural Bank and the cooperatives of both kinds, there are a number of pre-conditions that must be met by the producers. As far as obtaining credit from the Agricultural bank is concerned, the most important one is to show collateral in the form of the title deed of a piece of land owned and/or a guarantor. And only this pre-condition is enough to limit the chance of many small hazelnut producers together with those who have access to land through verbal agreement as discussed before. In addition, as the direct credit (liquid or in kind) supplied by the Agricultural Bank aims to foster the development of certain crops or certain agricultural activities or even the purchase of certain kinds of machinery, the hazelnut producers have got, in practice, no chance to benefit from many items of the credit supplied. This is because there is no fostering of the development of hazelnut production, neither through credit supply nor through supportive purchases by the government.

The pre-condition of obtaining credit from either the agricultural credit cooperatives or from sale cooperatives is to be a partner of these cooperatives. And in order to be a partner, one has to own land by title deed. Similar to the above

¹⁵⁶ This figure is cited by Serin (1992), p. 13.

mentioned case, it therefore becomes a vicious circle and limits the chance of many producers.¹⁵⁷ However, many of the producers who own land with title deed do not show much interest in becoming a partner of these cooperatives. Some do so in order to avoid the capital payments, some do so because of having their hands tied by the merchants because of being indebted to them in a perpetual manner. But the essential reason, to my understanding, is the provision of no credit by the governmental and cooperative institutions for reproductive consumption. The gap arising from this is filled mainly by the domestic private banking capital through the channel of petty hazelnut merchants.

Nor can the hazelnut producers benefit from the credits supplied in kind by the Agricultural Bank and the agricultural credit cooperatives for the purchase of machinery and implements, as many of the items like tractors, pumps, combined harvesters, ploughs etc have no relevance to their needs. The items of credit in kind that they can benefit from are fertilizers and pesticides. In addition to this, both the agricultural credit cooperatives and *Fiskobirlik* give credit in kind for the purchase of tents, sacks and other minor items of productive consumption. All in all, the credit supply in kind cannot be considered a service to the producers but rather to the industrial capital dealing with the production of the machinery, equipment and tools concerned.

There is however another channel through which some of the hazelnut producers can have access to credit from the Agricultural Bank if they are also dealing with apiculture. This is because of governmental support, in both financial and organizational terms, given to apiculture in order to help diversification of agricultural production and hence reduce the degree of dependency on a single crop. For instance, 57.6 percent of the 27 honey producers obtained credit from the Agricultural Bank mainly in the form of medium term investment credit to buy beehives and other related materials to start with or to develop their capacity to produce more honey.

¹⁵⁷ My data suggest that the villagers have shown in fact much greater interest in becoming a partner of *Fiskobirlik* than of the credit cooperatives. For instance, at least one member of 43.1 percent (84 in total) of the households is a partner of *Fiskobirlik*. The members of 7.7 percent (15 in total) of the households have terminated their partnership and the members of the remaining 49.2 percent (96 in total) have never been a member of it. On the other hand, at least one member of 10 percent of the households interviewed was a partner of a credit cooperative located in a nearby village.

The maximum amount of credit that can be supplied by the agricultural credit cooperatives to each individual partner-producer was 15 million TL in the year 1990. In order to obtain credit exceeding this amount and for the purpose of investment, (which means medium term credit) the partner-producer had to resort to the Agricultural Bank. However, one could not obtain credit from both the Agricultural Bank and the credit cooperative at once (Demirci 1990 c, p. 5).¹⁵⁸ In other words, the partner-producer had to either apply to the credit cooperative of which he/she himself was a partner or to the Agricultural Bank. On the other hand, the general practice of *Fiskobirlik* in determining the limit of liquid credit to be given to each individual partner has been to take into account the average money value of the hazelnuts sold by the partner to it within the two years preceding the date of application for credit.

For both short-term and medium-term credits supplied, both the Agricultural Bank and the cooperative institutions applied around a 36 percent interest rate per annum in the year 1990. In comparison to the interest rates applied by the hazelnut merchants, the formers' practice should be considered very advantageous for the producers if they can meet the preconditions and if the creditors are willing to supply any amount of credit to any particular category of producers.

However, no matter how much credit the government wants to or can pump into the tissues of the rural economy either through the channel of the Agricultural Bank and/or through maintaining its political, administrative and financial grip on the credit and sale cooperatives, it has to take into account several other political and economic factors (both domestic and international) before making a commitment in the actual form and amount of credit that it supplies in the end. Among such factors, the essential one that any government committed to capitalist development has to take into account is the question of whether it is worth, both politically and economically, fully committing itself to the task of providing every single producer with the amount of credit that it needs.

¹⁵⁸ For more information about the details of relations between the Agricultural Bank and the credit cooperatives see also, Demirci (1990 a), pp. 3-4; (1990 b), pp. 3-4 and (1990 d), pp. 3-5. For more information about the credit supplying activities of the governmental and cooperative institutions see, Serin (1992), pp. 12-16.

As I examined earlier, despite all sorts of agitations, by the people whose main business is hazelnut export or hazelnut processing, in order to persuade the government that it should commit itself to being the only hazelnut buyer in the market and hence to be the only creditor, the practices of the governments in the past and present imply that the political and economic advantages of leaving a major part of this job to be performed by the private banking and merchant capital are much bigger than doing what it has been agitated for. Therefore, the space left to the latter forms of capital to operate in the market by the government through the Agricultural Bank and cooperatives should not be seen as the shortcomings of the organized credit supply due to practical difficulties of ensuring repayment of the credits by the producers, although this seems to be the major reason. On the contrary, the way in which the credit markets are organized and operate should be seen, to my understanding, as a well considered division of labour between the state-owned and the privately-owned capital within a capitalist economic system.

It seems to be the case that this kind of division of labour between these two forms of capital suits best to the needs of both parties. For instance, the total share of *Fiskobirlik* in the hazelnut markets floats around a half of the total volume of crop produced in the country, and its need for credit to purchase the hazelnuts from its partners and to extend this to non-partner producers whenever it is considered convenient to do so is met by the government by taking the risk of making profit or loss. With the addition of the revenues that the government obtains (a) through levying tax on hazelnut exports by merchants and *Fiskobirlik*, which was reduced to 20 cent/kg for hazelnut exports in shell in 1990 as I mentioned earlier, (b) the net earnings obtained from hazelnut exports by *Fiskobirlik* and (c) the interest on the credit supplied, it is possible to conceive of the nature of the involvement of the government in the provision of credit and purchase of hazelnuts as a purely capitalist activity aimed to appropriate a part of the value from the producers in order to raise funds and finance other kinds of economic activities either as an investor or creditor.

It is therefore again possible to argue, contrary for instance to Önder's (1988) claim, that the level of taxation of agriculture in areas of agricultural production where commodity production has developed has not been reduced, either by the abolition of *tithe* nor by levying very minimal land taxes and the marketing tax

which is around 4.5 percent of gross income that the producers obtain. Even the amount of the latter tax is more than what the producers obtain in net terms if their farms are run in a capitalist manner. And no one in the country is paying the same proportion of tax to the state from their net incomes.

Rather, soon after the abolition of *tithe* in the 1920s, perhaps to increase the volume of marketable produce as argued by Keyder (1982), the government took control of agriculture in parallel lines with merchant capital by laying down the organizational form and basis of its control in the sector. The establishment of the unions of credit and sale cooperatives to operate in areas of production of all major export crops like hazelnuts, cotton, raisins; taking full control of the monopolies in tobacco production; establishment of the *Office of Soil Produces (Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi)*, which controls a substantial portion of the marketable grains, should be perceived, to my understanding, as part and parcel of the government's direct involvement in the credit and commodity markets as a capital owner rather than as a purely administratively regulating power.

In the later decades, the initiation by the government of the supportive purchases and pumping into the rural economy as much credit as it could, both in kind and as liquid money, should also be seen as integral parts of the policy measures taken by the government to adjust itself to the demands of a developing economy. The degree of control that the unions of the sale cooperatives, like *Fiskobirlik*, exerted in the commodity market meant the degree of the actual ability of the government to have direct access to hard currency as far as the export commodities are concerned. In the case of supportive purchase, the government might have received some losses but when considered in relation to the cost of obtaining credit from foreign resources, the overall balances probably did not result in actual loss but perhaps a sort of overall zero sum economic benefit in terms of revenues, but with conversion of this into a big political benefit through the people's votes.

It is the rationale of balancing economic and political interests which constitutes the basis of the *consensus* between the government (with apparent double identity in the commodity and credits markets) and the triad of the private banking, merchant and *à livrer* capital. The overall cost and benefits of this consensus are annually revised through meetings on different occasions. The annual meet-

ings between the representatives of the government and the merchants, around the time of the commencement or in the middle of the harvest, to determine hazelnut purchase prices to be applied by *Fiskobirlik*; the amount of liquid capital allocated in instalments to the latter by the government to pay the producers instantly or after several months; the number of purchase teams set by *Fiskobirlik* to buy the produce of the producers quickly or slowly, should all be seen as major items of the policy applied by the government to bring about the results required by the consensus achieved.

The interlinking of the provision of credit by the government-controlled organizations, of the purchase prices and payment policies applied by *Fiskobirlik* and of the conduct of the producers to facilitate either of the channels to obtain credit should now be much clearer in our minds: whenever there is the probability of not being paid instantly by *Fiskobirlik*, it creates further stimulus to resort to the merchant capital to be able to make the payments on time or to buy the commodities needed as early as possible, as the merchant capital pays the value of the produce instantly in addition to its high ability to be positively responsive to all kinds of needs of the producers which require liquid credit.

- **the triad of the banking, merchant and *à livrer* capital:**

The direct involvement of private banking capital in the supply of credit to the producers is highly sporadic. Every now and then, the local branches of the private banks may supply short term credit usually on the condition of keeping the money obtained from the sale of hazelnuts in the bank for a term appointed, in addition to a reasonably low interest rate on the liquid credit advanced. The main channel through which the domestic banking capital supplies credit to the producers is through two categories of hazelnut merchants: the petty hazelnut merchants and the big hazelnut merchants. The division of labour along with both the vertical and horizontal axes among the different categories of people taking a part in the network is achieved and maintained by assigning different roles to be fulfilled in return for certain profits and benefits to be obtained.

In the free market, as can be seen in the chart given below, the first category of people with whom the producers come into contact to sell their produce and obtain credit whenever it is needed are the petty hazelnut merchants who are called

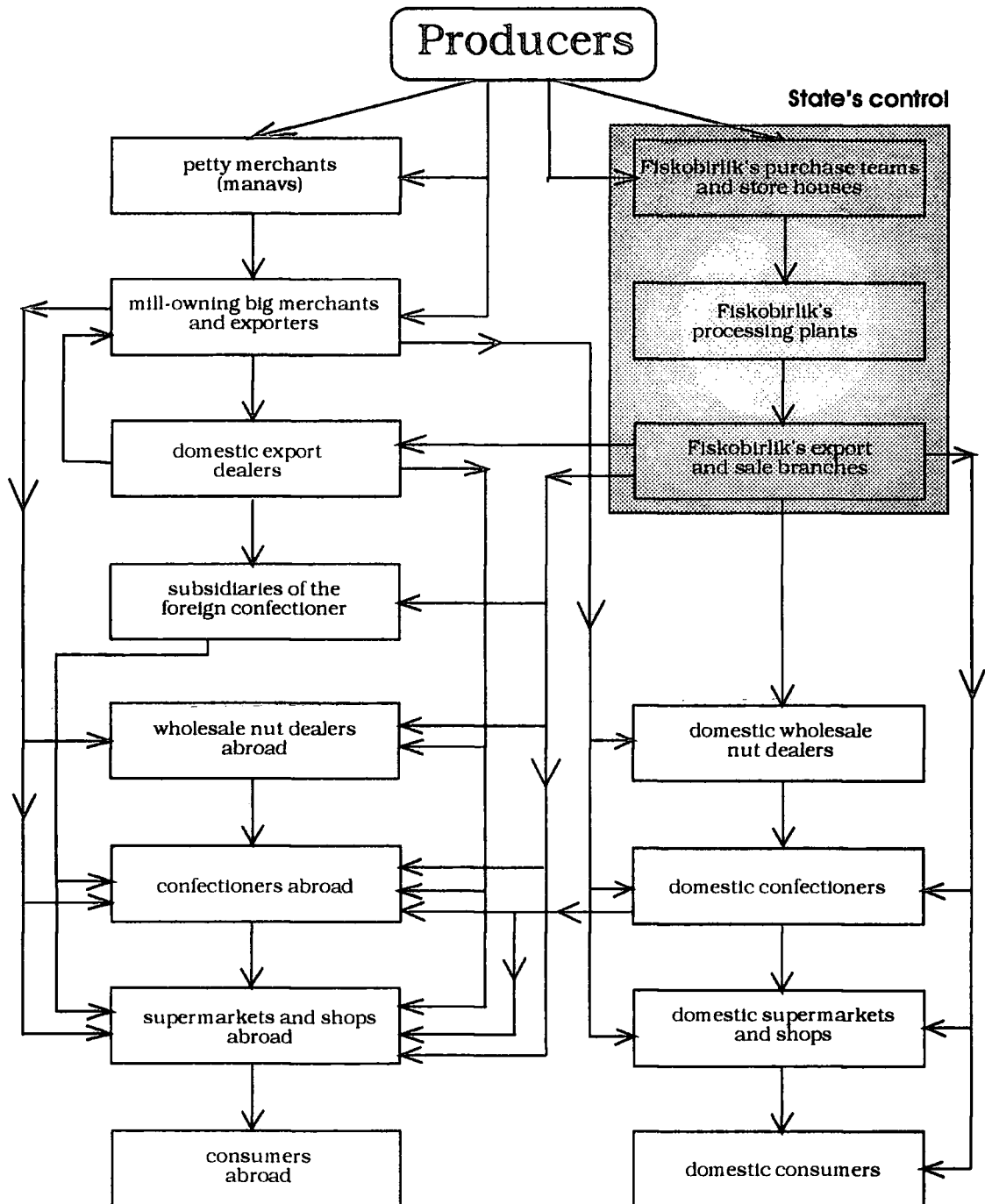
findık manavları. In the exact sense of the word, a successful functioning of the free market in particular and of the market in general depend largely upon the success of the petty hazelnut merchants to fulfil their roles in extending credit and buying the produce of the producers. These roles are instrumental not only to ensure permanent appropriation of a value from the producers but to extend the network as deep as possible into the tissues of the rural economy so that other channels of appropriation of the value can first be blocked and then dried out. The major targets are the usurers, cooperative action and solidarity among the producers through borrowing and lending.

The direct role of the banking capital in strangling the activities of the non-professional usurers and the solidarity among the producers is to offer high interest rates to the money holders. As a result, the non-professional usurer in the village or in the city puts his/her money in a safe bank account instead of having the trouble of dealing with the people who may resort to him/her for credit. On the other hand, the actual losses that the producers have had to bear because of a high level of inflation in the economy within the last two decades and the social and religious embarrassment in case of lending money to a fellow villager or friend in return for interest have drained the financial resources that can be created among the producers and siphoned to industrial capital (through the purchase of the household goods by the people) or to the commercial capital through the purchase of gold as an alternative type of investment instead of earning interest.

Once the major portion of the potential resources is drained in this way, there is not much left that a well-off villager can offer to his fellow as credit without interest nor can one hope to obtain a significant amount of credit. The net result of this is the reduction of financial solidarity among the producers to the level of very short term, weekly or monthly lending and borrowing of small sums of money to be used as pocket money. For instance, in Kayadibi village there were only two villagers who borrowed money from their fellow villagers in return for interest, while the number (87 in total) of those villagers who borrowed without paying interest was equal to 44 percent of the total number of the heads of households interviewed. Of this 87 people, 74.7 percent (65 in total) borrowed money from a fellow villager to use as pocket money, 10.3 percent (9 in total) to provide part of

Chart VII.1:

Organization of the Domestic Hazelnut Market Linked to the International Hazelnut Market



the money cost of a wedding and 6.8 percent to pay either the wages of workers hired or to buy fertilizer.

The emergence of a petty hazelnut merchant in the free market requires the provision of two things in advance. These are finding a sum of initial capital to trade and receiving support from both the domestic sphere of the household and the big merchants. The former problem is usually solved by pooling small savings here and there in a big bowl. For instance, capital accumulated on the basis of running a small shop in the village or especially in the city, accumulation for a number of years of the net earnings from hazelnut production and other sorts of economic activities especially working abroad (like the two hazelnut merchants from Kayadibi village) and capital accumulation through being a usurer are the essential sources that can provide one with the initial capital to become a petty merchant.

However, no one can hope to start and continue trading successfully in the market unless one has the support and encouragement of his household on the one hand and of a big merchant on the other. Support from within is needed for the reasons that were expressed in Chapter I. External support however is needed in order to have access to information about the tendencies in the market and credit to provide the rest of the capital needed to trade. The mill-owning big merchants do not withhold their moral support from any fellow they know well and who wants to start trading in the market. They can either provide the credit needed directly or help them get it from a private bank.

The next category of people in the free market is accordingly the big hazelnut merchants who own mills, where the hazelnuts are shelled and classified according to the standards issued by the government or according to the demands of the buyers. Similar to the petty hazelnut merchants, the big merchants also make loans to, and buy hazelnuts directly from, the producers. But they limit their share in these two activities to a large extent and leave them to the petty merchants. The reasons for this are many-fold and explain to a large extent an important dimension of the division of labour among the people involved in hazelnut trading.

First of all, the fact that the production sphere is dominated by hundreds of thousands of small producers indicates well how big the organizational demands of

the market is. No small number of merchants could manage to buy the crop directly from the producers, to store, to process and then to sell the crop to others unless they had enormous amounts of liquid capital and a giant network of purchasing branches. In other words it is neither economical nor practical to invest capital in the creation and maintaining of such a network even if it was simply a matter of buying and selling.

As far as these kind of market's needs are concerned, pushing the petty hazelnut merchant as a pioneer to the front suits the needs of the big merchants whose main concern is to provide enough volume of hazelnuts in shell from the market and to make his profit on large volumes of direct or indirect exports in addition to supplying the domestic market with what it needs. In this way, the mill-owning big hazelnut merchants transfer the organizational responsibility of purchasing and storing hazelnuts to the petty ones through providing them with enough capital and being buyers of their commodity. However, more important than these kinds of organizational demands of the market are the organizational demands of the credit market which coincides at this point with the commodity market.

The major issue is therefore the dependence of the mill-owning big merchants on credit obtained either from a private bank or from hazelnut dealers abroad to trade in the market. A great majority of the big hazelnut merchants avoid making any contract with a dealer abroad before major issues are settled in the market. These major issues are the annual *recolte*, the purchase prices and the payment policies to be applied by *Fiskobirlik*, general tendencies in the world nut market concerning the volume of hazelnut production in other countries and the prices and volumes of the other nuts like cashew nuts, pistachios, peanuts and walnuts which constitute alternatives to hazelnuts in confectionery and direct consumption.

Given the fact that all these things cannot be settled soon before or even at the early moments of the harvest and given also the substantial importance of extending credit to the producers from March onwards in order to be able to enlarge the margin of profits by ensuring marketing of the produce by the producers soon after the harvest, the banking capital becomes a buoy for both categories of merchants. Let us examine how this mechanism functions and ensures the appropriation of value from the producers.

With the exclusion of extraordinary situations, a great majority of the producers, who are primarily dependent on hazelnut production, can manage to survive without credit until the early spring. From this moment onwards, however, the need for cash for both reproductive and productive consumption starts to increase. This is because many of the producers embark on spring having either spent their net earnings for the payment of debts they made before the last harvest plus their spendings for their daily reproductive consumption, or in need of credit to afford big outlays like the cost of a wedding, constructing a house, buying household goods and/or fertilizers etc. Even if no credit is needed for these kinds of purposes, a significant number of the producers need credit during harvest time to pay the workers and to buy other essentials like tents, sacks and other items of productive consumption. This is why the reasons behind need for credit and the reasons behind indebtedness do not correlate in a linear fashion.

Accordingly, from the early spring onwards, depending on their particular needs for credit on the one hand the possibility of obtaining liquid credit from the governmental and cooperative institutions on the other hand, the producers start to pound the pavements of the street on which their fellow villager and the hazelnut merchant Mr X has got his office and store house.

A hazelnut merchant provides any fellow villager with a reasonable amount of credit providing (1) that the amount of credit demanded does not exceed the approximate market value of the possible amount of hazelnuts that one can produce in that particular year, (2) that the person in need of credit has never failed to pay his/her debt before in a serious way without having any socially acceptable reason to do so, and (3) that the credit is not demanded to be spent for a socially unacceptable or trivial reason or for a need that can be postponed until the end of the coming harvest.

The demand for credit within a production year is always much bigger than what can be met by the hazelnut merchants by using their own liquid capital stocks. The only alternative sources from where a petty hazelnut merchant can obtain credit to make loans to the producers are primarily the mill-owning big hazelnut merchants and secondarily the private bank(s). However, until mid spring, say the beginning of April, hazelnut merchants avoid extending credit to the producers as

much as possible for two reasons. The less important one is their need to have a rough idea about the level of productivity in that particular year to reduce risk of receiving less hazelnuts than what is required to keep the accounts in balance. The primary reason however is to increase the margin of net interest earnings as much as possible. This is achieved as follows:

A petty hazelnut merchant makes loans to the producers from both his own capital stock and the credit he obtains from external sources in two ways. He either adds 1 to 2 percent interest per month on top of the rate of the interest he himself or the big hazelnut merchant from whom he obtained credit pays to the bank. Or, usually in combination with this, he applies a standard rate of interest on any amount of credit he extends till the end of July. It is important to mention that in the majority of the cases, the big hazelnut merchants do not demand extra interest on any amount of credit they extend to the petty hazelnut merchants they are engaged with. Rather they simply function as a means of obtaining credit from the banks and/or the advanced payments by the hazelnut dealers abroad, which is what is called by *à livrer* and transferring it to the pioneers on the front.

For instance, the usual rate of interest that the banks applied for the credit they supplied to the merchants was floating between 7.5 to 8.5 percent per month during the period in which this study was conducted. The mill-owning big hazelnut merchants extended and/or transferred credit respectively from their own capital stocks and/or the credit they obtained from the banks to the petty hazelnut merchants with the same interest rate that they paid to the banks. The petty hazelnut merchants extended this credit to the producers with a rate of interest between 8.5 to 10.5 percent per month. Accordingly both categories of merchants paid to the banks between 90 to 102 percent interest per annum and the producers paid to the merchants between 102 to 126 percent interest per annum.

When the above mentioned second way was followed, the petty hazelnut merchants applied 50 to 60 percent interest on any amount of credit they extended between January and July and due before the end of September. For instance, suppose a producer obtained a total sum of 3 million TL credit from a merchant in equal instalments, that is 1 million TL at the beginning of March and the same amount of credit in May and July to be paid before the end of September. With a

50 to 60 percent standard rate of interest on any amount of credit due in September, the merchant receives a total return of between 4.5 million TL and 4.8 million TL, whereas if the former method was applied, the producer would pay a minimum of 4.275 million TL on the condition of 8.5 percent interest per month and a maximum of 4.890 million TL on the condition of 10.5 percent interest per month. This accordingly amounts to a net interest earning by the merchant of a minimum of 150,000 TL and a maximum of 540,000 TL in the same period depending on the terms on which he received the credit and advanced it to the producers.

In Kayadibi village, the number of the households which were indebted to a merchant was 100 and 90 of them obtained credit in return for an average of 102 percent interest per annum or a standard rate of 50 percent interest to be paid after the harvest of 1990. I have got no data about the total sum of credit obtained by the households concerned but I can tentatively argue that 3 million TL credit per household would be the minimum amount.

There is however one essential difference between the former and the latter method if the producer fails to pay his debt back. In the former case, the merchant continues to apply the same rate of interest per month on any amount of credit remaining unpaid after the harvest. And in the latter case, the merchant applies the same rate of interest that he applied before. But this results in a lower rate of interest to be paid by the producer in annual terms.

No interest is applied to any amount of credit extended by the merchants from the beginning of August till the end of the harvest. If this is the case, the producer is supposed to and should sell his produce to the merchant but not necessarily as soon after the harvest as the other indebted producers should do. In addition to this, the producer is expected not to receive all of his money instantly if he is not in urgent need of it. In this way, the producer can avoid paying interest while the merchant manages to receive an unnominated interest by making use of the money of the producer.

The mechanism of appropriation of a value from the producers is not all about the net differences between what is received and what is paid in money terms by both the producers and merchants. The condition of paying the credit back before the end of September together with the urgent need for cash of many other

producers results in inescapable marketing of a substantial portion of the produce soon after the harvest. For instance, according to the results of my own data, 20.7 percent of the households sold their produce to *Fiskobirlik*, 59.6 percent to the hazelnut merchants and 19.7 percent to both *Fiskobirlik* and the merchants. If we create two sub-categories of households out of these three ways of marketing, we would obtain a total number of 74 household which sold the whole or part of their produce to *Fiskobirlik* and 145 households which sold the whole or a part of their produce to the merchants.

When we examine both the numbers of the households and the amount of produce marketed by month and by the sub-category of households, our data indicate that 35.2 percent and 27.1 percent of the households in the former and 42.6 and 24.2 percent of the households in the latter category sold their produce respectively in September and October in 1989. By the end of the same year, the number of households which sold their produce reached respectively 82 percent and 84 percent of the total number of households belonging to each sub-category. On the other hand, the total amount of produce sold by both categories of the households in September was equal to 41.5 percent; in October to 22.6 percent and by the end of the same year, 85.1 percent of the total volume of hazelnuts they produced in that year.

The households which sold their produce only to *Fiskobirlik* obtained on average 2,644 TL per kg of hazelnuts in shell whereas those which sold only to the merchants obtained 2,155 TL. The average money per kg of hazelnuts obtained by the households which sold their produce to both was 2,630 TL for the hazelnuts sold to *Fiskobirlik* and 2,081 TL for the hazelnuts sold to the merchants. This yielded, accordingly, a marketing of the crop to *Fiskobirlik* at an average net price of 2,637 TL/kg and to the merchants at an average price of 2,138 TL/kg. Since a standard purchase price was applied by *Fiskobirlik*, the small differences in the averages should be assigned to the quality of the hazelnuts as I shall explain in the following paragraphs. However, a further examination of our data shows that in the case of selling hazelnuts to the merchants, the producers obtained, in net terms, 1,918 TL/kg in September, 2,081 TL/kg in October, 2,322 TL/kg in November, 2,371 TL/kg in December 1989, 2,592 TL/kg in January 1990, 2,527 TL/kg in February and 2,444 TL/kg in March 1990. Those who sold their produce little by

little to the merchants (3.6 percent), however, obtained on average 2,316 TL/kg and the amount of produce was equal to their proportional significance in the total number of the hazelnut producing households in the village.

The figures given above indicate that the net hazelnut prices received by the producers through selling their produce in the free market remained 18.9 percent below what was obtained by the producers who sold their produce to *Fiskobirlik*. The records of the stock market for the same year show that the petty hazelnut merchants sold the hazelnuts they bought from the producers to the mill-owning big hazelnut merchants with the addition of an average figure of 102 TL/kg. If we assume for a while that all the 187 hazelnut producing Kayadibian households, as an example, sold their produce (which was slightly more than 366 tonnes in shell in 1990) to the petty hazelnut merchants but not to the big ones who own mills, the gross amount of money that the petty hazelnut merchants could get out of their trade would be around a figure of 35 to 36 million TL and this amount of money could only be enough to pay the workers they employed, the rent they paid for the store houses and other costs of running of an office in the city. This situation poses, then, the question of how the merchants manage to survive in the market. The answer to this question would be incomplete and misleading if we said that it is through interest earnings.

Unlike many agricultural commodities, both the shells and the kernels of the hazelnuts are valuable commodities in the market. A large proportion of the shells are used by the people in the area as solid fuel while the rest is demanded by industry to produce various things. The money that the mill-owning hazelnut merchants obtain from the sale of the shells is said to be equal to a quarter of the wages that they pay to their workers. However, the real value of the hazelnuts comes from their kernels. When we talk about hazelnut prices in the market, we in fact talk about the kg price of hazelnut in shell which can yield 500 gr of kernels free from decayed and crumpled ones. This is what is called 50 grades (*randıman*) hazelnuts; each 10 grams of kernels in a kg of hazelnuts in shell is equal to 1 grade. This amounts accordingly 2 percent increase in the actual amount of hazelnuts marketed and is either converted again into kgs or into their equivalent in money terms.

When an indebted person brings his/her produce to the merchant, the latter does not establish the grade of the hazelnuts providing that a handful of randomly selected hazelnuts seem to score more than 50 grades. The grades that the kernels may score change by the variety of the cultivars produced on the one hand and the natural conditions of production prevailing in a particular year on the other hand. However, if nothing has gone wrong concerning the natural factors of production, the main varieties produced in the area can score on average more than 52 grades and this figure may go up to 55 or 57 grades in some other varieties.

Suppose that the crop can score 52 grades, the merchant appropriates 40 kg hazelnuts in shell for every 1,000 kg of hazelnuts he buys from an indebted producer and pays him in fact the money equivalent of 50 grades hazelnuts. If, however, the hazelnuts seem to score less than 50 grades, the merchant grades them carefully and in most cases with many disputes with the producer concerning which kernels should be counted as sound and round. The hazelnuts appropriated in this way do not appear in the records concerning commercial transactions.

From whichever perspective we look at the position of the petty hazelnut merchant in the market, his ability to continue his trade is dependent on the amount of credit that he can obtain from external sources under the present conditions. When compared to the situation described by Kâzım in the First National Congress of Agriculture held in 1931, there has been little change in the position of the merchant in the market and this has always constituted his dichotomy. On the one hand, he has always been accused by the producers of greed to enlarge the margin of his net profits through applying high interest rates and all other means of appropriating value from them. On the other hand, he has always complained about being plundered by the *à livrer* capital abroad and the banking capital in the country.

In this sense, the merchant is the weakest link in the chain and is much weaker than the producers. For instance, soon after the harvest of 1990, prices in the free market were extremely low because of *Fiskobirlik*'s payment policy. Apart from those who were indebted to the merchants with the condition of selling their produce before the end of September, the rest of the producers stopped selling their produce as long as they were able to survive on the income that they obtained from

other sources. The determination of the producers yielded its result within a couple weeks so that the average prices in the free market rose from 2,750 TL/kg to over 3,000 TL/kg in shell. It is the degree of the ability of single households spread all over the geography to survive on incomes that they obtain from other sources which make them a powerful mass to confront capitalism wearing the fur of the hazelnut merchant.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis allows us to conclude that what is perceived as the persistence of peasantry is an expression of the resolution of conflict between capitalism's drive for endless accumulation and concentration of the means of production in the possession of few and the masses' resistance against alienation from the ownership of means of production and property, and efforts to have equal control over available natural resources and wealth created in the society.

The overall balance of this resolution in a given time is not therefore due to the primitive nature of capitalism's development in agrarian structures, nor to a chance for survival granted or to deliberate preservation by capitalism. On the contrary, it is due to the peasantry's active survival strategies at the level of its household combined with collective or corporate action in utilizing the economic and political mechanisms in the society.

In essence, what enables the peasantry to persist is its strategy to transform as great a proportion of the yields of its labour as possible into various means of production, be they land, machinery or any other means instead of instantly using these yields to satisfy its needs for goods and services which can only help reproduce its labour as a commodity. Although the peasantry cannot achieve this without losing varying degrees of its surplus labour to capitalism, any achievement shown in acquisition of the means of production brings about far-reaching consequences in both determining the degree of its ability to challenge capitalism's impositions and to maintain itself as one of the propertied sections of society.

It is the peasantry's strategy to transform its surplus labour into means of production which forces capitalism to develop in agriculture in the area where this research was conducted in a way which is rather different from what the classical theories of rural transformation suggest us to expect. Contrary, for instance, to losing its lands to big farms developed in a non-capitalist process of enlargement of

scale or take over of production by merchant capital, capitalism directly engages in agriculture only through rendering agricultural production on an apparently small farm as one of the diversified activities of a capitalist unit.

On the other hand, once the surplus labour is consolidated through acquisition of means of production and the latter is combined with the strategy of diversification of sources of income, it enables the peasantry to enjoy a material life whose standards are much higher than that which is enjoyed by masses which have already been alienated from land and other means of production. In respect to this, the case of Kayadibi suggests that the peasant households at the bottom of economic stratification are able to earn a figure of around 40 percent higher disposable income than their counterparts in the urban areas.

The extent to which this relative prosperity can be maintained and further improved for the entirety of the peasantry depends on the ability of the government and the industrial capital to pursue the kinds of policies which enable the country to develop further rather than letting the country's natural and human resources be controlled and exploited by the centres of the world-capitalist system.

Appendix A

THE HOUSEHOLD AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

In Time and Space

1. Introduction

I shall present here an analytical portrait of the household by means of capturing how it is constituted in both conceptual and practical terms in the community as a social institution separate from the family but yet essentially among the members of a family. Within the confines of my data, I shall focus on three areas of inquiry which are (1) the nature of membership of a household regarding acquisition, continuity and dispossession, (2) the social and material factors which determine the patterns and forms in which households come into existence and sustain their continuity and (3) the generational and spatial organization of the households covered in this study.

Although the household and the family have a number of overlapping functions in the community due to embodiment of certain roles in the same persons, what differentiates them from each other is not the kind and degree of kinship ties existing between their members but the consent, decision and commitment of some of these kinspeople, having such ties already established among themselves, to pursue their own social and material welfare as a social group separate from the rest of the kinspeople. This purpose is achieved through their conception and the practice of uniting their budgets, which is called *kesede birlik etmek*.

The substance of this practice is to pool all the yields of the material, social and intellectual resources owned and to distribute the benefits as sensibly and fairly as possible in accordance with the needs of each member. However, neither is the distribution of the benefits assumed to be an automatic mechanism of dispossession of one's own rights over one's own property nor is it allowed, as long as possible, to undermine the material and social strength and potentials of the unit to sustain its already attained level of welfare. The degree of material welfare that the members of a household enjoy is measured against what is considered to be basic for a household as a totality to have in response to ever-changing patterns

of consumption, accommodation and socially valid qualifications in the forms of education, occupation and professional, and the manners of social conduct.

2. The Nature of Membership of a Household

In the community, although all of the members of a family may also be the members of the same household, the nature of membership of a household is conceptually and operationally different from the nature of membership of a family with regard to its acquisition, continuity and dispossession. These differences also constitute the basis of the institutional flexibility of the household to adjust itself to the social and material conditions of its surrounding.

First of all, membership of a household is acquired either through being born into a family nucleus and/or through the consent of the individuals. The marriage contract between a man and woman serves in most of the cases as one of the main forms of expressing one's consent to become member of a household and to accept one as a member. Since this includes also acquiring membership of a family, witnessing of at least two mature men are required by the community to accept the marriage as a legitimate one and hence to recognize the membership of the person regardless of whether the marriage contract is legally binding or not. This way of acquiring membership is closed for those between whom marriage is forbidden by Islam.¹⁵⁹ However, even if individuals acquire membership of a particular family by means of a marriage contract, this does not therefore make them members of a particular household unless they give their consent for this.

With the growth of chances of feasibility of establishing a separate household from the date of marriage, a particular dimension of giving or receiving one's

¹⁵⁹ Islam permits only those marriage contracts which take place between a man and woman. Any form of homo-sexuality and trans-sexuality is considered the worst and most disgusting form of sexual conduct and is prohibited to the believers of Islam. But, at the same time, there are certain other people among whom marriage act is also impossible in the eyes of the religion. The main category of these people are listed in the *Qur'an*, iv: 22-24) as follows: "And marry not women whom your fathers married, except what is past: it was shameful and odious, an abominable custom indeed. Prohibited to you (for marriage) are: your mothers, daughters, sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters; brother's daughters, sister's daughters, foster-mothers (who gave you suck), foster-sisters, your wives' mothers; your step daughters under your guardianship, born of your wives to whom ye have gone in, no prohibition if ye have not gone in;-(those who have been) wives of your sons proceeding from your loins; and two sisters in wedlock at one and the same time, except for what is past ... Also (prohibited are) women already married except those whom your right hand possess. Thus hath God ordained (prohibitions) against you; except for these, all others are lawful, provided ye seek (them in marriage) with gifts from your property ...".

consent to become or to be accepted as a member of a household becomes more and more apparent. In a local phrase of the elderly women this aspect of the social reality is constructed as follows: *the young women of the present time want husbands without in-laws and chimneys without smoke*. The second part of the phrase refers to the degree of demand for modern household goods preferably in a house in the city. The necessity of giving and receiving consent for membership of a household holds true for the rest of the members of a family at one or another stage of their lives.

The second important characteristic of membership of a household in comparison to membership of a family is that the former is group-centred whereas the latter is individual-centred and determines the position of an individual with regard to the rest of the members of a family by time. Due to its importance, let me elaborate on the nature of membership of family a little further.

Two different kinds of ties are established between individuals through the marriage of a man and woman. In the community, the marriage tie is called *hısımlık bağı* and all the persons connected to each other through this tie are called *hısım*. The blood tie however is called *nesep*. Regardless of the kind of kinship ties existing between them, all of kinspeople are called *akraba*, which is equivalent to the word 'relative'. The degree of relationship between the persons who are connected to each other through a marriage is established in accordance with how close the person is to the main trunk of a family tree concerning the man and woman marrying each other and the children born within their union. Providing that we know who are included in the concept of family, it is possible for us to put any kinsperson on the template of the family tree without hesitation. The only problem we still have here is how to know this.

In the community, the family functions along with both axes of of kinship ties, that is, *hısımlık bağı* and *nesep bağı*, and has three main circles centered on the marriage of a man and woman. The people who are conceived of as belonging to the very immediate circle of the concept of family along with successive generations are one's parents and grandparents, spouse, children and the spouses and children of the male offspring. Among the kinspeople of the same generation, only brothers and sisters, regardless of their marital status, belong to the immediate circle of

the family. The next and relatively larger circle encompasses husbands of the daughters, their children, the husbands and children of one's female grandchildren vertically and the spouses of one's siblings and their children horizontally.

Since the kinship ties assume more importance along the vertical line of lineage of the male kin, it is likely to observe relatively more categories of kinspeople in both the primary and secondary circles of the concept of family, favouring again males or kinspeople who have close blood ties with such male kin. Contrary to this, the blood kin of the female members are disfavoured especially those who have become kinspeople through marriage. Accordingly, it is not surprising to come across various degrees of attachment to different persons among the members of the same family nucleus and this may have a great impact upon their personal relations and routine conflicts. However, regardless of the degree of personal attachment, to show familial solidarity among successive blood-generations is perceived as a religious and social responsibility and takes the form of transfer of surplus resources in kind and cash if needed. For instance, parents are perceived of as bearing essential responsibility to help their children and grandchildren to get married, to construct a house and to elevate their material hardship in proportion with their material ability. Children and grandchildren are perceived of as equally responsible to provide their parents and grandparents with any sort of help again in proportion with their material ability.

The tertiary circle of the family, which defines also the categories of the close relatives, includes aunts and uncles both by blood and marriage and cousins of both sexes. Each person who is included in the secondary and tertiary circles is given a different title and each title indicates at the same time the degree of emotional and social attachment they should be shown. In addition, a series of analogies drawn from the habits and the personal characteristics of each individual is used to identify the personal characteristics of each new-born member of the family. For instance, it is said that a male child will acquire the personal characteristics of the mother's brother who is called *dayı* whereas a female one is said to acquire the personal characteristics of the father's sister who is called *hala*.

From the tertiary circle outwards, the concept of family along both lines of the kinship ties tends to acquire the character of a clan called *sülâle*. In this cir-

cle, the communal identity of each individual is established in accordance with one's paternal blood ties with others although the maternal blood ties are never ignored. The various kinds and degrees of kinship that the individuals have among themselves in the tertiary circle and its surroundings are utilized especially on two critical occasions: wedding ceremonies and funerals. It is on these two occasions that clan solidarity (*akraba dayanışması*) can be fully observed in terms of sharing emotional, social and material burdens. The degree and kind of support which an individual or a family receives from other members of the family and clan is determined in accordance with the kind and degree of kinship ties existing between the parties. This holds true for any political support which may be needed and which may arise every now and then, like standing as a candidate for village headmanship (*köy muhtarlığı*) or for membership of the Village Council.¹⁶⁰

Although one can know the degree of kinship tie between two individuals by looking at their templates on the family tree, the more individuals climb up the family tree the more distant they seem to each other even if they belong to the same generation. For instance, brothers born into the union of the same man and woman perceive themselves as the most close kin to each other at the early stages of their lives. In time, in parallel to the number of generations descending from them, they start to perceive themselves as distant from each other. I shall call this change in the individual perceptions as *the process of the family bending over itself for the sake of future*. Contrary to this, it is almost unimaginable to come across this kind of change in the perceptions of the individuals concerning their membership of a household.

¹⁶⁰ The boundaries of a clan as a social entity are determined in most cases by reference to a common ancestor known by the kinspeople. How to establish ties with the past generations is therefore a matter of how much the elderly are able to narrate the history of the clan and of the family. Since the date of the first settlement in the village goes back to the early fifteenth century, the elderly find it increasingly difficult to relate their own history. The lack of written records of familial histories constitutes one the basic obstacles to this. However, I was told by the villagers that some of the families and clans have recently managed to establish contact with some other families having a common ancestor and settled in other parts of the country. There is also a counter-tendency which is working side by side with such efforts. The more the members of a clan become distant in their common ancestors, the more they need to establish new clan identities stemming from a common ancestor who lived in the more recent past. I have come across only one example of a recently established clan identity created by some of the families belonging to the *Karahisarlıoğlu* clan, and this new clan is called *Ustagiller*.

Third, membership of a household is temporary and there is no possibility of transferring it to the future by an automatic mechanism. It is always defined with reference to the consent and act of the individual regarding whether he/she brings the yield of his/her labour into the common pool of the household directly or indirectly. Therefore, it always bears the character of being suspendable or easily discontinued at one stage and repossessed at another stage easily, whereas it is very difficult to have the same kind of flexibility in the case of membership of a family. The following case is a typical example of how this mechanism functions: after spending some years together with his parental household, a young man takes his wife and children with him and moves to İstanbul to earn his life there as a construction master independently of his father's farm. Some years later, when working in İstanbul proves to be disadvantageous in comparison to what he could earn in the booming housing market in the village and the provincial centre, he decides to return to the village and re-unites the budget of his own family nucleus with that of his father's household.

Fourth, both the household and the family may provide individuals with false membership but of different kinds and these can function independently of each other. For instance, adoption of a child is considered by the community as a kind of false membership of a family. Therefore, the cases of adoption that I have come across in the village suggest that the families have shown special effort to reduce the degree of falsehood of the membership of the children by means of adopting nephews (nephews of the husband in three of the cases and nephew of the wife in one of the cases). Contrary to this, the same children are the real members of the households headed by the men and their wives who adopted them.

There are two other forms of false membership to a family. One is the membership of an illegitimate child, which is defined by the community as a child born within the sexual union of a man and woman where the husband of the woman and the father of the child are not identical persons. The other form of false membership is begetting someone as one's own *milk-child*. According to the religion of Islam, if a woman gives full suck to a child three times, the woman becomes the *milk-mother* and her own child which is breast-fed at the same time becomes the *milk-sibling* of the child concerned; marriage among these persons is prohibited by religion. The community takes a further step on the basis of this religious norm

and considers *milk-kin* to bear some other moral and social responsibilities similar to those between a child and mother or among siblings. This practice is utilized in the community especially for two ends if it was not accidental. One of these is to prevent a future marriage between cousins in order to preserve the biological strength of the generations and the other is to strengthen the friendship especially among the women. Nevertheless, this form of membership does not bear any rights and responsibilities like the right to inherit property and hence it remains quite a marginal form of membership to the family in addition to its being false.

Contrary to the practices and forms of acquiring false membership of a family, the household as a social institution is rather stingy in giving false membership to the individuals. One of the reasons behind this is the fact that membership to a household is not a question of establishing the nature (legitimate-illegitimate), kind (marriage-blood) and the degree (close-distant) of kinship relations between the individuals in the community. As a general rule, acquiring membership of a household does not need any sort of legal and social legitimacy. Nor does a household need the same things to be established. In both the theory and practice, the legitimacy obtained to be a family nucleus or a member of a family is enough for the individuals to organize themselves as a household on the one hand and to accept extra members at one time, even if they are not kinspeople, and suspend membership of some at another time. Nevertheless, especially in cases of high geographical mobility of the members combined sometimes with the case of containing of several family nuclei and the living together for an indefinite period of say the grandparents and the grandchildren, some individuals' membership of a particular household may be false.

On the other hand, the lack of any need for legitimacy does not mean that a household is entirely bereft of any form of social control and is not in need of communal recognition. For instance, in the case of a household established by a young couple by means of separating their budget from that of the household of which they were members, both the members of this new household and of the community need to receive and give social recognition. This need increases especially in the cases of establishing a new household under the parental roof or in a house constructed in the parental courtyard. This is because the act of moving by some of the members of a family or of a household into another house does not

automatically entail establishing a separate household. Rather, the organization of a household in space may take many different forms in response to its material and social needs.

In order to adjust itself to a new situation which may also be pregnant with various kinds of difficulties, tensions and outbursts, the community also needs to know about and give its recognition to a newly-established household. Communal recognition becomes important in organizing and channeling charitable acts, offering material assistance in kind and cash, giving advice and settling disputes among the members of a household and family. For instance, I came across dispute between a father and his son living under the same roof but having separate budgets. The dispute concerned how to benefit from the timbers available on the father's farm. In order to settle the dispute on the request of the father, the first issue about which the members of the Village Council needed ascertain was whether the father and son had separate households. The advice given afterwards was to tell the father that he should give some extra land to his son by verbal agreement. Otherwise, they told the old father, the son could not survive on the basis of a few decares of land and without having any sort of extra income. The members also needed to condemn the son half-heartedly for selling timber from his father's farm without asking for his permission.

Accordingly, concerning the question of legitimacy and recognition by the community, what differentiates a household from a family is that the former is, in essence, a self-legitimizing unit providing that legitimacy to be a family already exists. This enables a household to adjust itself into different situations and to survive under different economic and social conditions. It is due to this ability, for example, that we observe in the actual life households which are smaller than a family nucleus in one of the places of settlement but perhaps contains more than one family nucleus in its actual size. There are, for instance, many households, as I shall deal with in the next section, that have only one member currently residing in the village, some members residing in the city centre and still others in other cities and abroad.

As a result, it would be quite misleading to perceive the household as identical to the family or to perceive the spatial organization of a household as an indica-

tion the division of the family. There is no doubt that the place of location and organization of the members of a family has some effect on their routine contacts, mutual relations and their perceptions as expressed in a famous Turkish proverb: *göz'den irak olan gönül'den de irak olur*, which means one who is distant from the eyes becomes also distant in the heart. However, the rights and responsibilities that the individuals have as members of a household and a family on the one hand and the division of the household into new units on the other hand are issues of separate natures. The family shrinks and enlarges around the individual's kinship ties without causing the household to take the same course of action. And the household does the same thing in response to its surroundings without confusing its operational boundaries with that of the former concerning the relations of its members.

3. How to Become a Household: Patterns and Changes

In the majority of the cases, constitution of a family nucleus through the marriage of a man and woman has hitherto functioned in Kayadibi as the starting point of a process leading towards establishing or becoming a household headed by the man. For practical purposes, the moment of constitution of a family nucleus can be determined as a suitable point to get straight into the heart of the matter.

The information that I was provided with by the heads of households suggests that they started to play the role of headmanship of their own households (a) either through being promoted to this position in an already established household or (b) through separating the budget of their own family nucleus from that of their parents and/or of their other relatives like their brothers. The same information suggests also that these heads of households needed to take into consideration a number of issues and to find reasonable answers to them before taking any action in establishing or not establishing a household around their own family nucleus. The most significant of these issues are the questions of (1) permissibility, (2) desirability and worthiness, (3) necessity, and finally (4) feasibility of establishing a household around one's own family nucleus.

The question of permissibility of establishing a separate household revolves around the social and moral responsibilities that one, particularly a male offspring, is expected to internalize and act upon in the community concerning the continuity

of a household established around the family nucleus into which one was born and in order to maintain the farm that one's parents have in the village. The configuration of the family nucleus that one was born into regarding the number of male successors plays an important role on one's decision. For instance, no male offspring is supposed to think about or take action towards establishing a household headed by himself if he is the only male successor to his father. This does not mean, however, that such a person is absolutely deprived of taking any action in this direction if there is/are socially acknowledged reason(s) to do so. For example, in cases of extravagancy or bad morals of the parents or offspring, the community will put no blame on the individuals for wishing to have or for establishing separate households. This may also be considered as one of the important mechanisms by means of which social and material welfare of some of the members of an already established household can be saved.¹⁶¹

The desirability of establishing a household separate from that of the father is a matter which is related, in part, to the first question and part of the answer can be found in relation with the position of a successor. However, the main body of issues regarding the question of desirability comes to the fore when there is more than one male successor to a father. A series of quantitative and qualitative points concerning the position, abilities and personality of each member and the stage of development of the household (and of the family) is taken into consideration in order to make a decision about who should and who should not desire or be allowed to establish a separate household.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ I have come across in the village two cases of establishing a separate household while the persons concerned were the only legitimate male successors to their fathers. In addition to this, I have come across some elderly people living separate from their offsprings because of severe personality conflicts between themselves and their sons or other relatives and one case in which there was a severe conflict between the father and the son because gambling of the father, which has resulted in the loss of important portion of the lands owned by the father.

¹⁶² In respect to these two areas of concern before establishing a separate household, my data suggest that over 12 percent (24 in total) of the heads of the households succeeded their fathers because of being the only male successors and a quarter (6 in total) of these persons were at the same time only successors to their fathers. The rest of the heads of the households were born into family nuclei some of whose characteristics are as follows: the mode for the number of male offspring is 3, for the female offspring is 2, the maximum numbers are 6 and 11 for the male and female offspring and finally the maximum number of offspring for all the cases is 15.

As long as no reason outside the will of the individuals interferes, like the death of parents etc, one is unlikely to come across a household established by an unmarried person in the village. This has been the norm in the past and still persists in the present because of the instrumental role played in both social and material terms by the pre-existence of a family nucleus in undergoing a process of establishing a separate household.¹⁶³ However, the changing conditions of material existence seem to be forcing unmarried people to think about establishing their own households if they are earning their livelihood independently from their fathers' farms and/or businesses.

One of the key factors which leads young persons regardless of whether they are married or not to think about this is the present situation of the family nucleus that they were born into and the possible lines of development in the future. For those who are expected or have already been chosen to undertake the responsibility of heading their father's household and maintaining his farm, there is actually no worry about material things. Any contribution made by other members to the total welfare of the household is assumed to be beneficial to them as well as to their successors. As important as this is that if a household is dependent to a large extent on the income obtained from the farm owned by the parents, or if the degree of material welfare of a household is proportional to the degree of parental contribution, it is less likely that the offspring, regardless of their marital status, will deprive themselves from this material welfare that membership of the household entitles them to enjoy.

The degree of material dependency upon the parents' farm and/or income has hitherto played in the village a major role in determining the patterns of establishing or becoming a household. For instance, almost half (48.2 percent) of the heads of households lived for a while with their parents after getting married and established their own households at a later stage. This is the point where the feasibility of establishing a family nucleus operates independently from the feasibility of establishing a household around that nucleus in the community.

¹⁶³ Among the people who were residing in the village during my research, I came across only one person who was unmarried and lived on the edge of his father's household on the one hand and yet considered himself as a separate household on the other hand. Having his own budget separate from that of his father served in this case as a solid material ground for both this particular person and his father to consider themselves as separate households living under the same roof.

In the community, young persons, both male and female, get married at a relatively early stage of their lives. For instance, the average age of marriage for all of the heads of households (inclusive of the deceased husbands of those women who are heading their households) is 21.7. In practical terms, for a young man of the village this means the year following his completion of mandatory military service and return if he has no job outside the village. There is more than two years of difference between this and the average age (19.3) at which a young woman gets married in the community. These averages are relevant irrespective of the kind of means of livelihood which were available to the people when they got married and irrespective of the year in which they got married. Regarding these latter factors, a significant (also statistically significant) change has taken place about the average age at which the men in the community get married.

For instance, the average age of marriage for those men and women who got married before 1950 was 19.4 and 19.1 respectively. In later years, the average age at which men got married deviated from this position of proximity with the following values: 22.0 in the period between 1951 and 1970 and 23.4 in the period between 1971 and 1990, whereas the average age at which women got married has shown no significant change either visibly or statistically. When these results are matched with the means of livelihood on which the heads of the households were dependent when they got married, we obtain the following results by periods. Before the year 1950, the average age of marriage for men who were dependent on agriculture was 18.8, on agriculture plus a non-agricultural source of income it was 21.0 and on an entirely non-agricultural source of income it was 22.2. In the period between 1951 and 1970, it was 21.9, 21.1 and 23.8 for the men in respectively corresponding categories and in the last period, it was 20.9, 23.9 and 26.4. The average age of marriage for women has shown again no statistically significant change.

Regardless of the reasons which make the marriage of offspring desirable and feasible when they are still very young, the same reasons come into a kind of conflict at a later stage concerning the feasibility of establishing a separate household if the new family nuclei are going to be established next to the parental nucleus within the same household. This is because it usually becomes an imperative for

the larger households to branch into new units in order to maintain their operational efficiency concerning administration of the household and management of the material resources for (a) the provision of much better conditions of accommodation for the members, (b) the egalitarian distribution of the responsibilities and benefits, and (c) the provision and maintenance of peace and mutual respect. All these find their expression in the concern of the parents of the respective family nuclei in the household for the present and future welfare of their children. In some cases, *whose child ate the bigger of the eggs* may therefore easily appear on the surface to be the real cause behind branching into new independent units although, in the majority of the cases, separation takes place with a mixture of sadness and joy as it symbolizes continuity with growth, like beehives that are divided into new units.

The table given below shows how the issues we have discussed manifested themselves as patterns of establishing households or of promotion to the position of head of household in the life stories of the heads of the 195 households covered in this study. When examined in relation to time, each pattern given in the table reflects also certain aspects of how continuity and change in the process of rural transformation is achieved in the community. Accordingly patterns (a), (d) and (e) represent the mechanisms for maintaining the continuity of a household, pattern (b) represents the inverse relation between the feasibility of constitution of a family nucleus and establishing a separate household, and pattern (c) represents the degree of deviation from the traditional patterns. Let us now briefly examine how each one of these patterns functions in the community.

- **a male successor to his father's hearth (ocakta kalmak):**

This pattern (the pattern a) is distinguished from the others by reference to the practice of the parents in choosing one of their sons as their successor in their own household. The process of promotion to the position of heading a household progresses together with exporting other members of the household belonging to the successor's generation before or after their marriage; the young man climbs step by step up the ladder of headmanship of his father's household while the father climbs down the same ladder. In most of the cases, a chosen-successor is provided with extra material benefits such as inheriting the parental house; bigger

Table A.1:

The Patterns Leading to Heading or Establishing a Household		
patterns	frequency percent	
<i>(a) being a male successor to his father's hearth</i>	72	36.9
<i>(b) separating one's own budget at a later stage</i>	94	48.2
<i>(c) at or soon after getting married</i>	25	12.8
<i>(d) becoming a successor to his father-in-law</i>	2	1.0
<i>(e) bachelor, undertook the role of hh. upon father's death</i>	2	1.0
Total	195	100.0

lands than the share of the other siblings upon the death of the parents, cash or capital to engage in business or trade if possible and, of course, plenty of prayers for looking after his parents and maintaining their farm. These kinds of material benefits are expected also to compensate for a part or whole of the material cost of entertaining members of the family at the headquarters during various occasions of family gatherings.

The practice of choosing one of their sons as their successor gives enormous relief to the parents since it provides them with security in both social and material terms. Other offspring may also feel relieved from the moral pain of leaving their parents helpless and alone if they intend to or are already pursuing their goals outside the village. In such cases, both parents and siblings pay extra attention not to cause any visible harm to the interests of the offspring who accepts to stay with the parents.

There is no social custom dictating who should be chosen as successor concerning seniority among the male offsprings. However, my data suggest that the youngest sons are more likely to be chosen as successors. For instance, with the exclusion of the only male successors, 58 percent (29 in total) of the successors to their fathers' hearth is from among the youngest, 28 percent (14) from among the eldest and the rest are from among the other sons. It also seems to be the case that this is due to parents' reliance on their youngest and middle sons to succeed them with the start of migration into cities by the 1950s. For instance, 55 percent of

successors from among the youngest sons and more than 88 percent of successors from among the middle sons were chosen in the period between 1951 and 1970, whereas there is no significant difference by period concerning the succession of eldest sons.

- **separating one's own budget (kesesini ayırmak):**

This pattern (the pattern b) is the other half of the process concerning how to become a successor to a father's hearth if there is more than one male successor. It does not require a young couple to live under the same roof as husband's parents in order to be a part of the household nor does it require them to move out when they separate the budget of their family nucleus, perhaps together with some other members of a household like grandparents, brothers, sisters and other relatives. While being a part of the parental household, the young couple may start their lives under a separate roof in the village to look after parts of the farm or may work somewhere else. However, spending some time under the same roof with parents and, if there are any, with other relatives is a common practice before couples establish their own household especially if they are going to live in the village.

Both in the past and present, many of the issues around establishing one's own household by means of separating the budget of one's own family nucleus have revolved around the question of feasibility. New couples have always been obliged to comply with the rules of entitlement (by word) to exercise independent economic control over parental lands, which is called *söz ile toprak vermek*, in order to establish their own households providing that they have no other source of income to survive. Provision of decent accommodation (which has usually required the construction of a house, or alternatively allocation by the parents of part of a house) has also been part and parcel of the question of feasibility.¹⁶⁴ However,

¹⁶⁴ One of the practices of the community has been to construct two kitchens and bathrooms in the houses. The purpose behind this was to provide the new couples with a set of basic facilities separate from the use of the rest of the members. This has also served to maintain the relative social independence of a newly created family nucleus from the parental nucleus and the rest of the members of the household. Providing that the household plans in advance the separation of this unit in the future, the space allocated to the new couple together with all the furniture and some domestic animals etc at the very day of wedding witnessed by the community helps the growth of the nucleus in material terms and separation may even take place in this part of the household. I have come across only one example of this kind of separation in the village. This practice is still preserved by the community with the help of relative material prosperity, which enables the people to construct multi-storey and spacious houses in advance and allocate one of the levels to the new

with the growth of chances of survival outside agriculture on the one hand and the increase of average age of marriage for men on the other hand, the number of years spent in the parental house has decreased significantly. For instance, those who got married before 1950 have spent on average 10 years after marriage in the parental house, those who got married in the period between 1951 and 1970 have spent 6.4 years, while those who got married within the last two decades spent 6.1 years. In addition, those who did not have a non-agricultural job when they got married have spent on average 7 years within their parental households whereas those who did have spent 5.4 years.

The impact of material factors on the patterns of establishing a separate household manifests itself well in the case of establishing a separate household at the very beginning of one's marriage.

- **a separate household at the beginning (keseyi işin başında ayırmak)**

This pattern refers to the pre-planned cases of establishing a separate household at the very beginning of the creation of a family nucleus. Regardless of where the wedding ceremony takes place (usually in the village even if the couples met each other abroad and are working there) the new couple moves into their own house, fully responsible for their own welfare soon after getting married. In some cases, however, this condition can not entirely be met. For instance, the decision to establish a separate household might be taken before the wedding but, because of the timing of the ceremony or of the chosen place of residence, the new couple may spend some time with the parents of the man. These kinds of instances of living together with the parents in the post-wedding period are considered as belonging to this category as well.

All the heads of these households have had a job or means of livelihood independent from the farms and/or businesses of their parents in order to provide the sustenance of their units at the very date of their marriage. In some detail, 12 percent (3 in total) were working as servants of the late Ferhat *agha* in the village, 24 percent (6 in total) had non-agricultural jobs in addition to land allocated by the parents to crop, and 64 percent (16) were reliant entirely on their non-agricultural jobs when they got married. In addition, 16 percent (4 in total) of these households

couple from the beginning, without separating the budgets.

were established before 1950, 32 percent (8 in total) in between the years 1951 and 1970 and the remaining 52 percent (13 in total) were established within the last two decades.

- **subsidiary patterns to maintain a household**

The last two patterns given in the table above should be considered as subsidiary patterns of maintaining an already-established household. In the case of pattern (e), two young unmarried persons have been promoted to the position of heading households upon the death of their fathers. The pattern (d) however is called *iç güvey almak*, that is the groom taking over instead of letting the bride move out because of there being no male successor, which is conceived of as identical with the continuity of the family.

In the community, efforts to ensure the continuity of the family are expressed in many forms and each one of these forms brings about consequences which are independent of the will of the prospective successors to a family. The most common and effective form of ensuring the continuity of a family is to have at least one male successor soon after marriage and to increase this number to more than two as soon as possible. This extra caution proves to be instrumental especially against the risks arising from high infant death rates, which were indeed very high in the past, and gives the parents a feeling of security. Nevertheless, this cannot always be fully attained for many reasons. For instance, there has been no effective and easily applicable way of determining the sex of a child apart from the advice available in *folk medicine* and no cure for absolute lack of fertility. In addition, many of advanced medical facilities like artificial insemination are rather new and have yet not been available to the people due to economic and other material reasons. The couples who fail to have a male first child usually rush for another one. Each case of failure increases tension in the family and may turn into a form of anxiety. As a result of this the gender order of children may affect the overall number of children in a family.

Failure to get a male successor has also functioned as one of the important factors preparing the ground for polygyny although monogamy has always been the norm both in the village and in Turkish society. For instance, 84 percent of the heads of the households married once in their lives, 11.3 percent twice, 3.6 percent

three times and only 2 of them more than this. However, only 9 men out of 195 (4.6 percent) have had two wives at the same time at one or another stages of their lives and 4 (2 percent) of them still had two wives when I was conducting my research in the village.¹⁶⁵ For instance, in one of the cases, the man took another wife when his first wife failed to give birth to a male successor after seven children. The second wife gave birth to several male and female successors, as a result of which the number of children that the man now has is 15. In the other case, the polygyny took place when the only male successor was killed by accident at the age of 19. The total number of children that the second man now has is more than a dozen.

Other ways are also used by members of the community to ensure the continuity of their families and households in the cases of having no successors at all. For instance, there are four cases of marriage in which no legitimate blood successor has been ensured. In three of the cases, the problem has been solved through adoption of male children who are also close blood kin whereas no action has been taken in the fourth case apart from accepting the fact that the family will cease to exist with the death of the spouses.¹⁶⁶

4. Members and the Generational and Spatial Organization

The 195 households which are subject to our concern in this study have a total population of 1,020, consisting of 503 females (49.3 percent) and 517 males (50.7 percent). Unmarried members constitute the majority (493: 48.3 percent) and

¹⁶⁵ The proportion of polygynous marriages is slightly bigger than the provincial (1.0 percent) and national (1.2 percent) ones between 1976 and 1982, which have previously been studied by myself (Sönmez 1986, p. 98) on the basis of provincial statistics covering the period between the introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926 and 1982 in which 8 special laws were put in force to register the children born into polygynous and unofficial monogamous marriages. This is due to a much longer period of time covered in this study concerning the dates of marriage of the heads of the households.

¹⁶⁶ Efforts to ensure the continuity of a family do not stop when the matter is solved as far as having legitimate successors. At the next step, the parents are very much concerned with the question of how to make sure that this will also be the case with their children. The mechanism employed by parents to put an end to such questions occupying their minds about their children and the future of the family is to marry the children off and have grandchildren as soon as possible. Although the parents play an active role in marrying their children off and choosing the prospective daughter or son-in-law, it is in fact the children who choose their *companions for life* in the majority of the cases. In the case of an arranged marriage, however, the prospective couple should see each other and discuss what kind of life they want to or are supposed to live, and give their full consent for the marriage.

are followed by the married ones (488: 47.8 percent). The rest of the members are widows and widowers (36: 3.5 percent), divorceés (2) and divorcé (1). These households have got a young population with an average age of 30.4, with slight differences by sex (30.08 for the males and 30.80 for the females) and with a maximum age of 86 for men and 98 for women. Members below the age 12 of (180 in total) constitute slightly more than 17 percent of all, and this proportion increases over to 40 percent with the inclusion of members below the age of 20, to 52 percent with the members below the age of 25 and to 78 percent with inclusion the members below the age of 50.

All of these members are connected to each other by kinship ties. The kinds and degrees of these ties existing between members by reference to the heads of the households they belong to are given in the table below. A brief examination of the table suggests that the households tend to enlarge along with successive generations and especially along with those members descending from the heads of the households. For instance, the total number of brothers and sisters is so small that we can ignore their existence as members in numerical terms. So is the number of fathers, whereas the number of mothers is even bigger than the number of brothers and sisters. Taking into consideration the fact that half of the number of brothers and sisters belongs to the households headed by unmarried young men who have been promoted to this position upon the death of their fathers, the numerical insignificance of the fathers implies that it is less likely for a young man to be promoted to the headmanship of a household while his father is alive.

There is no doubt that this gradual promotion has its own logic and proves to be effective in coping with matters related to the administration of a household concerning (a) the distribution of benefits among the members of the household and one's own children as equally as possible under parental authority and (b) the reduction of areas of conflict and clashes among sons and fathers in matters related to the management of resources and the process of decision making. When a father thinks that he has performed his own responsibilities concerning marrying off his offspring and there is no need for him to be concerned anymore with the distribution of benefits among his descendants, it is more likely for him to withdraw himself from active involvement in the administration the household and farm and let his appointed successor undertake the responsibilities arising therefrom.

Table A.2:

Members of the Households by Kinship Ties		
	frequency	percent
kinship tie with the head of the household		
<i>the head himself/herself</i>	195	19.1
<i>wife (or wives)</i>	183	17.9
<i>daughter</i>	169	16.6
<i>son</i>	274	26.9
<i>mother</i>	27	2.6
<i>father</i>	9	0.9
<i>grandmother</i>	1	0.1
<i>daughter-in-law</i>	55	5.4
<i>sister and brother</i>	13	1.3
<i>grandchildren</i>	89	8.7
<i>nephew</i>	1	0.1
<i>wife of nephew</i>	1	0.1
<i>children of nephew</i>	3	0.3
Total	1020	100.0

In addition to this, the numerical significance of the members indicates that the membership structure of the households favours sons when compared to daughters of heads of the households. The imbalance between the proportion of the daughters and sons is too big to be counterbalanced by the number of the daughters-in-law even if we assume that the daughters leave the parental house upon their marriage, and the gap occurring in numerical terms is filled by the daughters-in-law. This imbalance is basically due to the significant differences between the average age of marriage for men and women on the one hand and the timing of the separation of a man's own budget from that of his parents on the other hand. As a result of this, the proportion of female members between the ages of 20-34 decreases to 46.4 percent of the total number of members belonging to these age categories whereas this proportion is 49.5 percent for female members between the ages of 0-19, and 49.7 percent for the ones between the ages of 35-69. These latter percentages are

almost equal to the overall female/male balance (49.3 percent female and 51.6 male) observed regarding the total population of all of the households covered in this study.

The organization of these members within the households in generational terms by reference to the heads of their households is given in the table below¹⁶⁷ and a brief description of each main and subform of their generational organization is as follows:

- **the single-generational households:**

The single-generational households consist of either one person or of a married couple. All the heads of single person households are aged (one female and two male) persons whose male successors are also living in the village and live their lives within a network of familial relations with their offsprings and grandchildren by means of receiving social and material assistance. Apart from paying some portion of the cost of what they need, the rest of the services like washing their clothes, tidying their houses and preparing the major portion of their daily food are done

¹⁶⁷ A full list of the generational composition of the households together with their numbers and proportions given in the brackets follows: (1) single person (a widow or widower) (3: 1.5); (2) head of household + wife (19: 9.7); (3) head of household + wives + unmarried offspring living together (2: 1.0); (4) head of household + wife + unmarried offspring with no condition of living together for more than six months under the same roof as their parents (89: 45.6); (5) a widowed head of household + unmarried offspring (9: 4.6); (6) head of household + wife + unmarried offspring + parent(s) of the head of the household (10: 5.1); (7) head of household + wife + parent(s) + one married son + daughter-in-law + grandchildren + unmarried offspring (6: 3.1); (8) head of household + wife + unmarried offspring + parent(s) + unmarried sibling(s) (2: 1.0); (9) head of household + wife + one married son (living together) + daughter-in-law + grandchildren (9: 4.6); (10) head of household + wife + [one married son + daughter-in-law (living separate)] + grandchildren living together (1: 0.5); (11) head of household + wife + [one married son + daughter-in-law + grand children (living separate) (2: 1.0); (12) head of household + wife + one married + son daughter-in-law + grandchildren + unmarried offspring (all living together) (15: 7.7); (13) head of household (widow) + one married son + daughter-in-law + grandchildren + unmarried offspring (all living together) (2: 1.0); (14) head of household + wife + parent(s) + unmarried offspring + [one married son + daughter in-law + grandchildren (living under another roof)] (8: 4.1); (15) head of household + wife + two married sons + two daughters-in-law (all living together) (2: 1.0); (16) head of household + wife + parent(s) married sons + daughters-in-law (one of the nuclei living separate) + grandchildren + unmarried offspring (3: 1.5); (17) head of household + wife + parent(s) (4: 2.0); (18) head of household + wife + unmarried offspring + grandchildren from offspring with separate budget (1: 0.5); (19) unmarried head of household + widow mother + unmarried sibling(s) (2: 1.0); (20) head of household + wife + unmarried offspring + parent(s) + grandchildren from offspring with a separate budget (1: 0.5); (21) head of household + wife + grandparent + unmarried offspring (1: 0.5); (22) head of household + wife + divorced son + grandchildren of the divorced son (1: 0.5); (23) head of household + wife + grandchildren from offspring with separate budget (2: 1.0); head of household + wife + parent(s) + nephew + wife and children of the nephew (1: 0.5)=(195: 100.0).

Table A.3:

The Generational Organization of the Households		
	frequency	percent
type of generational organization		
single-generational, total	22	11.3
(a) <i>single person households</i>	3	1.6
(b) <i>married couples</i>	19	9.7
double-generational, total	110	56.4
(a) <i>single line down from the head of the hhold</i>	104	53.3
(b) <i>single line up from the head of the hhold</i>	4	2.1
(c) <i>double line up and side</i>	2	1.0
triple-generational, total	44	22.6
(a) <i>single line down from the head of the hhold</i>	32	16.4
(b) <i>single line up and down</i>	10	5.2
(c) <i>multiple line up, down and side</i>	2	1.0
quadruple-generational households, total	19	9.7
(a) <i>only with parental lineage</i>	17	8.7
(b) <i>other cases</i>	2	1.0
Total	195	100.0

by their children and grandchildren (or also by their other relatives). Preserving their own individual freedom in addition to a desire *not to be a burden on their children* are the emotional reasons behind their living as separate households.

The married couples with no other person living with them are also generally elderly people. Apart from one case, the children of the rest are living outside the village. It is the people in this category who feel that they have lost many of the parental privileges and services that one expects to receive from one's own offspring in emotional and social terms, like a feeling of security among one's children, a ready hand to be stretched out to them in case of illness or in case of a temporary or continuous physical disability and so on. They wait, full of hope that at least some of their children will one day come back to the village and hence postpone alienation from the land at least for another generation. For them, social

and material existence are so identical with each other that they feel threatened by the probability that the hearth of their family (*aile ocağ* or *baba ocağ*) may cease to exist with their death. Therefore, the harvest time, in which many of their children show extra effort to be present in the village, is quite important for them in both emotional and material terms; every such occasion becomes, in a sense, a feast to be celebrated at the family's headquarters in the village.

The operation of the single-generational households bear substantial theoretical importance in understanding the nature of farming and economic activities in relation to the social objectives lying behind the latter. For instance, it is in the cases of the single-generational households where we come across a high proportion of paid labour to run the farm. In some cases, the total cost of production may even exceed the amount of net income obtained from the sale of the crop. It is not easy to explain this economic behaviour of the farmers by reference to a kind of irrationality, nor can many of the theoretical arguments about the quantifiable features of a capitalist process of production like the ratio of paid/unpaid labour provide us with much help in dealing with this question.

On the other hand, the single-generational households may acquire more proportional significance than the other generational forms of households in the community. The potential for this kind of development originates mainly from two sources. First, when there is more than one male successor to a father, and providing that the size of land under the control of the family is barely enough to provide one household with a reasonable livelihood, it is more likely for the offspring to seek jobs or pursue their material goals outside the village. Living outside the village does not require one to separate the budget of one's family nucleus from that of one's parents. However, if the parents think or feel that it is much better for both themselves and their children not make any arrangement before their death concerning the partition of their lands among their children, the practical gap resulting from this lack of arrangement is filled by the single-generational households.

Secondly, there is also a tendency among the people who have left the village in previous decades to come back to the village upon their retirement. The developments which have taken place in transportation and telecommunication facilities together with electrification, pipe water supply and so on seem to have

had a big impact upon the attitudes of the people concerning their life styles in their post-retirement period, since such facilities seem to be narrowing the gap between the life styles of the urbanites and the villagers. For instance, the booming housing market in the whole of the region is partially due to such a tendency which results in some cases in the construction of spacious houses furnished with all modern household goods and facilities. During my research in the village, I came across three examples of recently constructed highly spacious houses which can accommodate more than two large households.

As a result of this tendency what the parents do is to maintain their farms without receiving any significant help in labour from their offspring who are pursuing their own goals outside the village. This conduct of the parents has two consequences. On the one hand, it allows them to maintain their financial independence as long as possible; but more than this, it also allows them to distribute any surplus material benefits obtained from the farm among their offspring as they like. Accordingly, the material side of the social responsibilities that the parents are expected to perform about the welfare of their offspring, particularly parental contribution to the weddings of offspring, is performed without any major familial problem. On the other hand, material assistance from the offspring (especially cash to buy inputs and pocket money) can easily be obtained in case of need. This is because a distinction is made in the community between the assistance given or received among parents and offspring and among the other kinspeople. For instance, providing that one is not terribly poor, any assistance between kinspeople is assumed to be mutual and acquires the character of borrowing and lending. This may also be the case among parents and offspring, especially if the amount is quite big in one's own terms. However, in general there can be no question of borrowing and lending among parents and offspring. The single-generational households are the categories of households in which this mechanism operates quite smoothly.

- **the double-generational households:**

The double-generational households constitute the majority (56.4 percent) of the households in the community and they can be divided into three subcategories as can be seen in the table given above. One of them consists of the households in which the generational line starts from the head of the household (if married, from

the couple) and ends with the members belonging to the generation coming after them, which are shown in the table under (a). In this subcategory, the households which consist of a married couple and their unmarried offspring constitute 45.6 percent of all the households. With the addition of the households which consist of a widowed head of household and his/her unmarried children, and the heads of the households with two wives and unmarried children, their total proportional significance rises up to 51.2 percent. The last form of households which belong to this subcategory while being on the verge of becoming an entirely different entity, is the two households which consist of a married couple, their married sons, daughters-in-law without grandchildren. In the second subcategory of the double-generational households, the direction of the line of kinship ties goes up starting from the generation of the head of household. There are four cases of households which belong to this subcategory (referred by the letter (b)). In the last subcategory of the double-generational households are the two households headed by unmarried young persons and consisting of their widow mothers and unmarried siblings (referred by the letter (c)).

- **the triple-generational households:**

The triple generational households constitute the second major (22.6 percent) category of households in the community. One of the subcategories consists of the members belonging to a straight line descending from the family nucleus of the heads of the households. Seven different forms are observed in this subcategory: Those which consist of the head of household, his wife, one married son, the daughter-in-law, grandchildren and the unmarried children of the head of the household are the dominant form (15 in total), and all of these members are living under the same roof. The second common form (9 in total) in this subcategory consists of the cases in which the process of separating the offspring's budgets or exporting the female members upon their marriage is finished as far as the children of the heads of the households are concerned. Living their lives together under the same roof is also the case in this form of triple-generational households. Another subcategory of the triple-generational households consists of the cases in which the head of household stands in between the generations above and below him (referred by letter (b)). These heads of households are at the same time the ones whose promotions to the top of the hierarchical order of the household (not

family) have taken place while their parents are alive. It is quite difficult to anticipate which form these households will transform themselves into. Becoming a double-generational household, for instance, is no more likely than becoming a quadruple one. Another subcategory of the triple-generational households consists of the cases in which brothers and sisters are also present in the household, in addition to the parents. However, in numerical terms they constitute a marginal case (referred by the letter (c)).

- **the quadruple-generational households:**

In the village, I have come across no case of a household containing four successive generations and headed by the man or woman belonging to the first generation. Rather, in all of the cases of quadruple-generational households, the heads of the households stand again in between the generations connected to each other by blood and marriage ties. I observed two subcategories of quadruple-generational households: The most common form (8 in total) consists of the cases in which two generations of daughters-in-law and hence two generations of grandchildren are present in the household while there is no unity of roofs for all of the members. However, in order to maintain the unity of the household, the social, moral and economic potentials and resources are utilized at a maximum level and the charisma of the head of the household, supported by his financial ability, has substantial importance for the continuity of this unity. Nevertheless, one's concern about the future of one's own family nucleus is the main source from which the centrifugal tendencies originate.

The functioning of the triple- and the quadruple-generational households also bears substantial theoretical importance to understanding why the households can or cannot transform themselves into a different entity such as a big capitalist farms or firms despite the fact that they may sometimes have control over significant amounts of land, liquid capital and assets in the cities. For instance, I know of one case of a household which owns quite big tracts of land in the village and has large sums of liquid capital accumulated on the basis of hazelnut trade in the city. However, my conversations with the head and some members of this particular household suggest that there is very little chance for them to be successful in this post-transition period. The main obstacle before the household was a forthcoming

separation of some of the family nuclei contained within the unit. This would not change the nature of the economic activity of the core nucleus for a while but the rest would become different entities.

Being big and wealthy puts another obstacle before a household. In parallel with its own economic success, a household receives more and more social recognition from the community. A full recognition by the community (and also by the wider society) requires the household to open its purse to the full extent in order to renew almost everything from clothing to eating habits on the one hand and to withdraw household labour from the process of production on the other hand. Sometimes, without being aware of it, but usually with full awareness of what is going on around, the members of a wealthy household may easily find themselves in an economic position in which their net earnings and savings drop below the level of what a relatively well-off household earns with the employment of unpaid labour. When trapped in such a situation, it is likely that a household which has shown economic success in the past will let its economic resources grow smaller rather than adopting moderate standards of consumption and spending habits which are compatible with the resources owned.

The organization of households along generations in the way which is described above is associated with a number of features. These can best be described on the basis of a summary of my findings of minimum, maximum and average values concerning the age of the heads and the size of the households, and by whether the members are living more than half a year away. With the help of this information, we can also make a transition to an examination of the organization of the households in space by time.

First of all, in general the households are headed by persons who are above the age of 51 on average and coming close to what is understood in the community as *late middle-age*. Apart from three cases, all of the heads of the single-generational households are above this line with an average age of 66 whereas half of the heads of the double-generational households are below the same line with an average age of more than 47 and spread into age groups which may be plotted in the shape of a bell. The latter kind of distribution holds true for the heads of the triple-generational households with a shift of the centre towards late middle-age, whereas

Table A.4:

Some of the Basic Features of the Households, General

	number of household	number of member	min.	max.	avrg.
generational type					
single-generational	22				
(a) age of the heads			33	86	66.3
(b) total size		41	1	2	1.86
(c) members living together		41	1	2	1.86
(d) members living separate	0	0	0	0	0.0
double-generational	110				
(a) age of the heads			19	81	47.5
(b) total size		509	3	9	4.6
(c) members living together		445	1	9	4.0
(d) members living separate	41	64	1	3	0.6
triple-generational	44				
(a) age of the heads			24	77	52.9
(b) total size		299	4	12	6.8
(c) members living together		250	1	12	5.7
(d) members living separate	21	49	1	5	1.1
quadruple-generational	19				
(a) age of the heads			42	57	50.0
(b) total size		171	6	15	9.0
(c) members living together		124	2	12	6.5
(d) members living separate	14	47	1	8	2.5
overall	195				
(a) age of the heads			19	86	51.1
(b) total size		1020	1	15	5.2
(c) members living together		860	1	12	4.4
(d) members living separate	76	160	1	8	0.8

the centre shifts back to middle-age in the case of the heads of the quadruple-generational households.

Second, the average household size is 5.2.¹⁶⁸ with the minimum and maximum values of 1 and 15 respectively. The single-generational households, as we would expect, have an average size of less than 2 and this figure goes up to 4.6 in the case of double-, 6.8 in the case of triple- and further up to 9.0 in the case of quadruple-generational households. The figures given in the table indicate also that the average household size shows considerable change by generational form when it is examined in relation to whether or not the members are living for more than half year together. The details of this change by current residential place of the households can be seen in the two tables given below. The point which is central to my concern with whether or not the members are living away is its implications for the spatial organization of households by generational form in efforts of survival.

As can be seen in the tables, nearly two-fifths (76: 38.9 percent) of the households have members (160 in total) living more than half a year away. A great majority of (73: 96.0 percent) these households are village-based households with again a great majority (152: 95.0 percent) of the members living away. Of these 160 members, over 90 percent are between the ages of 15 and 29; more than two-thirds are male and; again, more than two-thirds of them are individuals living away to earn income; more than one-fifth are individuals continuing their education, more than one-tenth are members performing their mandatory military service and the rest are members like wives, children, grandparents and sisters in the company of individuals either earning income or continuing their education.¹⁶⁹

In an abstract manner, what this means is that if survival is going to be achieved by means of changing the place of residence of a household, it is more likely that this will be done by the double-generational households, which consist mainly

¹⁶⁸ This figure is the same as the national average but below the national average for rural areas (5.99), the overall provincial average (6.28) and the provincial average for the rural areas (6.73) in the year 1985. Calculated by myself from the figures published in *Census of Population 1985: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population*, p. 158 and *Census of Population 1985: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, Ordu*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁹ According to my own data, the position of the 948 members above the age of six with regard to literacy and educational qualifications held is follows: 0.6 percent have not yet started their education, 16.8 percent (160) are uneducated, 5.3 percent (51) are literate without a school diploma, 10.8 percent (103) are at primary school 6.9 percent (66) are secondary and 1.1 (11) are university students. With regard to educational qualifications obtained, 46.2 percent (439) of the members has finished primary school, 11.1 percent (106) junior high school, 7.8 percent (74) senior high school and 0.9 (9) are university graduates. All the uneducated people are elderly and especially women.

Table A.5:

Some of the Basic Features of the Village-Based Households

	number of household	number of member	min.	max.	avrg.
generational type					
single-generational	21				
(a) age of the heads			33	86	67.6
(b) total size		39	1	2	1.8
(c) members living together		39	1	2	1.8
(d) members living separate	0	0	0	0	0.0
double-generational	89				
(a) age of the heads			19	81	48.6
(b) total size		413	2	9	4.6
(c) members living together		351	1	9	3.9
(d) members living separate	39	62	1	3	0.7
triple-generational	41				
(a) age of the heads			24	77	54.1
(b) total size		282	4	12	6.9
(c) members living together		233	1	12	5.7
(d) members living separate	21	49	1	5	1.2
quadruple-generational	18				
(a) age of the heads			42	57	50.5
(b) total size		156	6	12	8.7
(c) members living together		115	2	12	6.4
(d) members living separate	13	41	1	8	2.3
overall	169				
(a) age of the heads					
(b) total size		890	1	12	5.3
(c) members living together		738	1	12	4.4
(d) members living separate	73	152	1	8	0.9

of a married couple and their offspring as indicated by the case of the urban-based double-generational households. But if survival is going to be achieved without

Table A.6:

Some of the Basic Features of the Urban-Based Households					
	number of household	number of member	min.	max.	avrg.
generational form					
single-generational	1				
(a) age of the heads			40	40	40.0
(b) total size		2	2	2	2.0
(c) members living together		2	2	2	2.0
(d) members living separate	0	0	0	0	0.0
double-generational	21				
(a) age of the heads			28	63	43.0
(b) total size		96	3	6	4.6
(c) members living together		94	3	6	4.5
(d) members living separate	2	2	1	1	0.09
triple-generational	3				
(a) age of the heads			28	50	35.6
(b) total size		17	5	7	5.7
(c) members living together		17	5	7	5.7
(d) members living separate	0	0	0	0	0.0
quadruple-generational	1				
(a) age of the heads			53	53	53.0
(b) total size		15	15	15	15.0
(c) members living together		9	9	9	9.0
(d) members living separate	1	6	6	6	6.0
overall	26				
(a) age of the heads			28	63	42.4
(b) total size of the hhold		130	2	15	5.0
(c) members living together		122	2	9	4.7
(d) members living separate	3	8	1	6	0.3

changing the place of residence, then the alternative is to send the members and this strategy will be utilized mainly by other forms of households both in the

village and the urban areas. All these strategies have their own reflections in the geographical mobility that has been undergone by the households since the date of establishment of the family nuclei of the present heads.

To start with, all the heads of the households covered in this study have a rural origin, irrespective of where they are currently living. Precisely speaking, 79.0 percent (154 in total) of them were born in Kayadibi village, 5.6 percent (11 in total) in the rural areas of the neighbouring province of Sivas, 1.0 percent (2 in total) in the city while their parents were temporarily working in the urban areas, and the remaining 14.4 percent (28 in total) were born in neighbouring villages before settling in Kayadibi. In the period following their marriage some, especially those who married within the last decades, have moved to the cities or abroad with the members of their own family nuclei or with all the members of their households if the family nuclei were identical with their households. However, this process is not a uni-directional one. In other words, it is not only from the village to the cities and abroad but at the same time from the cities and abroad back to the village.¹⁷⁰

The table given below shows that the family nuclei of nearly 90 percent of the households were established in the village(s) and the rest in the urban areas. However, neither the ones established in the village nor the ones established in the urban areas have kept their initial place of residence unchanged in later years. For instance, of the ones which were established in the village(s), 2.3 percent have moved to the cities without alienating themselves from their lands but at the same time never came back to the village to reside there continuously; nearly 10 percent (16 in total) of the households which were established in the village moved at a later stage to the cities, spent some years there (12 years on average) and finally came back to the village; on the other hand, there are some households which were established in the village and then partially moved to the city and kept this position, or, after a period of living both in the village and in the city, came back to the village. Households which have been established in the urban areas have also shown similar patterns of geographical mobility. For instance, 14 percent of

¹⁷⁰ I am unable to make a full account of this process in the life stories of all the households which still own land and a house in the village but were not residing there at the time of my research. However, if these households could have been covered, the results in proportional terms would probably be quite different.

Table A.7:

Geographical Mobility of the Households		
	frequency	percent
place of residence since getting married		
<i>(a) never moved to the city, residing in Kayadibi village or first in another then in Kayadibi village</i>	140	71.8
<i>(b) established in the village, then moved to the city</i>	4	2.1
<i>(c) established in the village, then moved to the city and finally returned to the village to reside</i>	16	8.2
<i>(d) residing both in the village and the city since the date of establishment, mainly urban-based</i>	2	1.0
<i>(e) established in the city, then returned to the village</i>	6	3.1
<i>(f) established in the city, coming to the village only for the duration of the harvest</i>	15	7.7
<i>(g) established in the village, then partially moved to the city, finally returned to the village</i>	3	1.5
<i>(h) established in the village, then partially moved to the city, now mainly village-based</i>	3	1.5
<i>(i) established in the village, then started to reside both in the village and city, mainly urban based</i>	3	1.5
<i>(j) established in the city, now residing both in the city and village, mainly urban-based</i>	1	0.5
<i>(k) households headed by unmarried persons, one in the city, one in the village</i>	2	1.0
Total	195	100.0

them (3 in total) has moved from the city to the village (the latest incident took place in 1989) and in the case of one household, there has been partial mobility from the city to the village.

It is rather difficult to guess the course of action that these households may take in the future regarding their generational and spatial organization. This is largely a matter of what sort of life chances will be available to them both in the village and in the cities. However, whatever action they take regarding both these issues, what they have already achieved has substantial importance in their survival and resistance against alienation from the land.

Appendix B

LABOUR REQUIREMENTS OF HAZELNUT PRODUCTION

Within the Annual Cycle of Production

1. Works to be Performed

The works that should be performed on a hazelnut farm must be separated into two categories. These are (a) the works that should be performed at the stage of orchard planting and (b) the works that should be performed within the annual cycle of production when the orchards attain the age of full productivity. It is the latter category that I shall exclusively deal with here as the former has no central importance in analysing the routine aspects of the labour requirements of production. I should also admit that I have got no data from my own research, nor I know of any source which contains any data about the former, save information concerning how it should be performed.¹⁷¹

In order to run a hazelnut farm properly, the works that should be performed within the annual cycle of production are as follows:

¹⁷¹ The amount of labour needed at the stage of orchard planting is determined by several factors. Among these, geographical configurations, soil quality, surface conditions and type of orchard design can be considered as the principal factors. For instance geographical configurations require, in many cases, terracing and allow either no use of modern technology or make it extremely expensive. Therefore the majority of hazelnut orchards have been established without making any significant amount of investment in terracing. On the other hand, flat and clay lands need open or underground drainage canals to drain stagnant and excessive waters, and these sort of tasks can be performed after establishing the orchards. Furthermore, if an orchard is going to be established on lands which have not been used before, this may require bush clearance and double-trenching, and this accordingly increases the amount labour and money to be spent before planting the sapling.

The amount of labour needed to establish an orchard is a matter of what type of orchard design is chosen and how the saplings are going to be obtained. There are mainly two types of orchard designs. These are the *ocak system* and the *hedge system*. The former is the traditional system and has been almost the only system employed by the people. The *hedge system* has been developed fairly recently and proved to be more productive than the *ocak system*. However, to convert the already established orchards into this system is not something that the people can afford in the short run as this would be equal to the people to placing themselves in an enormous economic desperation for a decade or so. (For more information see, Okay *et al.*, 1986).

- **pruning and shoot cutting:**

The work of pruning in the orchards aims to eliminate the bushes which are either becoming old or present an obstacle to the development of other prominent bushes in the *ocaks*, or prevent the inner parts of the *ocaks* to get enough sunshine, which is essential for the development of the nuts. The work of shoot cutting requires elimination of the shoots coming out of the roots in order to prevent them from consuming the nutritious elements in the soil and to make the harvest easy.

There is in fact no strictly fixed timetable for the performance of these works. Some producers prefer to prune during the harvest which is a good time to see the exact situation of the bushes in the *ocaks*. However, the common practice among the producers is to perform pruning after the harvest, sometimes with the inclusion of shoot cutting, in order to avoid interrupting the process of picking and yet to provide at least part of the fuel from the orchards before the winter. The performance of shoot cutting is generally postponed until the beginning of spring in order to have less trouble during the harvest, and even until the commencing of harvest for the same reason, so that the shoots should have less time to grow before the harvest is finished. Accordingly, the period between October and the harvest is suitable to perform these works. One of the essential parts of the process is clearing all the bushes and shoots cut from the orchards so that grass can grow, which is important in order either to produce hay or to graze the animals in the orchards. Otherwise there is no need to rush until the commencing of harvest.

- **fertilizing the soil:**

Manure and artificial fertilizers are almost equally important in maintaining the productive capacity of the soil. In most cases, manure is provided from within the farm as the majority of the households which are currently residing in the village own at least some domestic animals. The best time to use manure is the autumn and it should be buried in the soil so that the roots of the bushes can get enough nutrition from it. However, in many cases the producers hoard the manure from the stable in an open space through the winter and carry it to the orchards in the spring in order to avoid its smell and to prevent it from becoming a rich source for the rapid growth of the population of flies around their houses.

The transportation of manure to the orchards requires many of the producers to resort either to wheel barrows (providing that the geographical location of the orchards is lower than that of the house) or to the power of working animals (horses and donkeys). It may even require them to carry the manure in baskets on their backs if they do not have working animals or cannot borrow from their neighbours. This practice holds true for the transportation of artificial fertilizers and any other thing to and from the orchards.

The general practice of the producers concerning the way in which they use the fertilizers (both manure and the artificial ones) is to spread them around the *ocaks* instead of burying them with the help of a pickaxe. The reason behind this practice may vary from one case to other on the surface, but the essential reason is the labour requirements of the work. This practice results in letting the rain wash away an important part of the nutritious elements before they are absorbed by the soil. In some cases, the producers may not even use fertilizers, either because of material imperatives like a financial difficulty to buy them at the right time or simply because of their inability to be on the farm to perform the works or supervise the work process. In particular, this is one of the major problems of those people working abroad if they cannot make arrangements with their relatives or neighbours.

- **spading and hoeing:**

In agronomical terms, hazelnut orchards need to be spaded every four or five years and this should be complemented by annual hoeing around the *ocaks* in order to bury fertilizers on the one hand and to combat pests on the other hand, as the pests winter in the soil. If the latter is the objective of hoeing, it should be done during the winter to expose the pests and let the frost kill them. The suitable time for spading is either late autumn or early spring. If performed in the autumn, it should definitely be finished before the winter so that the roots of the bushes may be covered with the soil and hence protected against the frosts. Hoeing, especially after spading, is necessary to help the soil settle quickly and smoothly.

In the past when the orchards were being cultivated to produce maize for domestic consumption or peas and soyabeans as animal fodder, this agronomical need of the orchards was also being met. Production of the latter types of crops

was also extremely beneficial because it enriched the soil with nitrogen. In the present time, however, the producers have stopped producing such crops in the orchards, partly because of the harm that an annual spading does to the roots of the bushes, partly because (in the case of maize production) it further exploits the nutritious capacity of the soil, but mainly because it requires keeping the labour force of the household continuously on the farm and hence gives no room to pursue other social (like educational) and economic objectives which bring about much greater material welfare.

I should mention the fact that one should not be surprised to find a hazelnut orchard which has not been spaded for decades. However, the problems arising from the amount and cost of labour of regular spading and hoeing can be solved if the appropriate technologies are developed and made available to the producers.

- **combating the pests and bacteria:**

There are a number of pests and plant diseases which need to be combated in order to protect both the bushes and the nuts. The names of these pests and bacteria in Latin are as follows: *balaninus nucum*, *gypsonoma dealbana*, *eriphyes avellana*, *xyleborus* (or *anisandrus*) *dispar fabr*, *melolontha melolontha*, *obera linearis*, *mikomyia coryl* and *lepidossaphes ulmi*, and the famous bacterial plant disease is *xanthomonas coryline*. Among these pests *balaninus nucum* has hitherto been the nightmare of the producers. Within its life cycle, it harms the bushes by nibbling the twigs, shoots and leaves in early spring and the nuts in May and June. When it is left uncombated, one larva of this pest eats out the kernels of 42 nuts (approximately 100 gr hazelnuts in shell) in a production year. The rest of the pests do not harm the nuts directly but harm the bushes, twigs, blossoms and leaves (Okay *et al* 1986, pp. 64-80).

Combating pests and plant diseases is a matter of the life cycle of the pests on the one hand and of necessity on the other hand. Apart from combating *balaninus nucum* and *eriphyes avellana*, which requires picking the galls before the leaves open, the amount of labour needed to combat the rest of the pests and bacteria is quite small. Many of the producers hire someone who has got the necessary equipment and tools to spray pesticides instead of doing it by themselves, since this is much cheaper for the owners of small farms.

- **ground clearance:**

Orchards should be cleared of grass and thorny plants in the weeks preceding the commencing of the harvest (the last weeks of July and the first week(s) of August) in order to make the latter easy as such plants create obstacles to the workers to see and pick nuts from the bushes and collect the dropped ones from the ground. Ground clearance requires neither special knowledge nor ability apart from muscular power. Anyone who is above the age of 12 can work in the orchards with bucksaws. Scythes are also widely used for this purpose which may require hiring someone if the members of the household are not able to perform it for one or another reason.

- **harvest: picking and/or collecting:**

In the annual cycle of production, the longest and most labour consuming work is the picking and/or collecting phase of the harvest. It requires the clusters of nuts,¹⁷² which contain on average 3 to 5 shells in their husks, to be picked from the bushes. In order to be as productive as possible, a picker needs to combine his abilities to see and feel so that the nuts hiding behind the leaves should not be left unpicked in the bushes or uncollected from the ground. It also requires the picker to be kind and gentle to the bushes and twigs when he/she is bending them. To be as productive as possible in the picking process one should start picking from the joints of the lowest branches with the trunk of the bush and to proceed to the end of the branches and twigs. One needs also to protect one's eyes against dust and against being hit by twigs.

Not all of the nuts can be picked from the bushes. Some drop on the ground as they ripen and some do the same because of missing the picker's basket or due to the rubbing of the branches when they are pulled down. In some cases the farmer may want to employ the method of collecting instead of picking for two important reasons. One is that giving enough time to the nuts to ripen perfectly reduces the losses in the volume of crop at least by 3 percent in the process of drying; the other is that collecting from the ground reduces the cost of labour. When a farmer is well prepared for the harvest by means of performing a proper ground clearance on the

¹⁷² These clusters of nuts are called *potak* in the province of Ordu and *çotanak* in the neighbouring province of Giresun.

one hand and making arrangements to have access to enough number of workers to collect the nuts as quickly as possible before the husks start to open and let the shells come off (in which case collecting becomes extremely difficult and results in considerable loss because of shells getting into small cracks in the soil or hiding underneath the grass and leaves), the total amount of labour required to perform picking can be reduced by at least a quarter through collecting the nuts from the ground.

In both processes (picking from the bushes and collecting from the ground) the worker has to carry his/her basket with him/herself. Some prefer to hang it around their waists so that the time taken to put the picked nuts into the baskets can be reduced. This is practiced especially by the wage labourers working on the basis of volume of hazelnuts picked rather than on a fixed daily wage.

When to commence picking is largely dependent on natural factors. Rainfall and climatic factors observed especially in July affect the ripening of the crop and can cause a week long change in the usual time of the harvest in a given sub-district or sub-belt of a major production belt. Therefore the process of ripening of the crop is closely monitored by public institutions in the area and the dates are announced by the provincial public authorities in consultation with the government. The usual time for commencing the harvest is between the 4th and 9th of August in the coastal areas of the province of Ordu (a bit earlier in the neighbouring province of Giresun in the east), between the 15th and 20th of the same month at medium altitudes (250 to 500 metres) and either the last week of August or the beginning of September in the upper-belt of the province.

These natural factors concerning the ripening of the crop at different altitudes create accordingly a long block of time in which continuous utilization and employment of labour is possible for the seasonal wage workers from the hinterlands. However, the dependency on the seasonal wage labour from this source also urges the people in the coastal areas to commence harvest as early as possible, since the seasonal wage workers cannot be persuaded by any means to stay and work a little longer when it is the time for them to commence the harvest on their own farms. Under these kinds of pressures, it is always the big farm owners who commence

the harvesting; and once a farm owner commences the harvesting, the rest cannot wait any longer.

- **carrying and/or transporting to the threshing floors:**

The geographical conditions of the area make it an imperative to resort to man power and/or animal power in transporting the harvested crop to the threshing floors. Irrespective of the kind of vehicles available, one cannot avoid carrying the hazelnut sacks on one's back or on the back of a working animal to transport them to a suitable place where a vehicle can be accessed. Providing that the orchards are around the threshing floors, that the household does not own much land and that a working animal is not owned, the cheapest and the quickest way to transport the picked hazelnuts to the threshing floors is to carry the sacks or the basket on one's own back. In this way, a household manages to make use of its own labour force and reduce the cost of transportation, as it may require to employ a horseman with his horse if a working animal cannot be borrowed from the neighbours. For short distances, this method of transportation reduces the amount of labour which is required to fill the sacks properly, to mount them on the back of a horse, to accompany the latter to and from the threshing floor and to empty the sacks.

Depending on the geographical location of the orchards in relation to that of the threshing floors, wheelbarrows are also widely used to carry the crop from the orchards to the threshing floors. However, the longer the distance between the orchards and the threshing floors, the harder it becomes to carry the crop on one's back or with the wheelbarrows from the orchards to the threshing floors, irrespective of the size of the farm and the scale of the work on a working day. All work of carrying and/or transporting the crop from orchards to the threshing floors is done by adult males, save the work of attending to a working animal that can be done by a child above the age of ten irrespective of sex, and rare instances of the participation of women in carrying the hazelnut sacks or baskets for short distances.

- **threshing:**

Once hazelnuts are on the threshing floors, they need to be spread out there in order to be dried in the sunshine. Depending on the weather conditions and how

green and fresh the husks are, this may take between five and ten days. Within this period, it is necessary to turn over the hazelnuts in order to dry them properly and to ventilate the husks, which are instrumental in preventing decay and/or bitterness of the kernels in the shells. To avoid unequal or overdrying and to protect the crop against rain once when it is fairly dry are also important issues of drying. Unequal or overdrying is avoided by means of hoarding the crop in small dunes for a number of days until the volume is big enough either to call a threshing machine soon after drying is completed or to re-hoard the crop in a fashion that it should not occupy a large area on the threshing floor that is needed to dry the rest of the crop as the harvest progresses. Various kinds of waterproof tents are available and used to protect the crop against rain and to keep a part of the threshing floors dry, a part that is needed for the second drying after threshing is completed.

The first drying is followed by husking or threshing. At this stage, every household enjoys the efficiency of the threshing machines providing that the threshing floor is accessible to a vehicle and the volume of the crop is not extremely small, say less than 200 kg in shell. However, since the threshing machines have no self-feeding systems for the time being, feeding has to be done manually. The threshing machines also require manual fitting of the sacks to the shell-disposal pipes.

When threshing is finished, the nuts in their shells need further drying to reduce the level of moisture in the kernels below 2 percent of their total weight. It also requires selection of the unhusked nuts, broken or seriously cracked, decayed, rotted and empty shells. The latter three types of shells are identified by their colours which change from rich and shiny brown to dark and dull brown and even black in the case of rotten and decayed shells, and from rich and shiny brown to light brown in the case of empty shells.

The principles of division of labour by gender, generation and ability that I described earlier in my analysis of the labour aspect of hazelnut production applies to all phases of threshing irrespective of whether the labour force is provided from within the household or, in combination with this, from external sources.

- **other works:**

Other works that may need to be performed within a production year include clearance of ditches; maintenance of walls and fences around the orchards; repair of sacks, baskets, tents and other tools; taking measures against frosts and droughts; maintenance of the threshing floors and removal of husks after threshing. In addition, we should also take into account the time needed to buy the commodities and all kinds of inputs and tools. These works can be performed at any time.

2. The Amount of Labour Required to Perform the Works

There has been, to the best of my knowledge, no experimental research conducted to determine the amount of labour needed to perform all of the tasks which are considered by the agronomist as imperatives in running a hazelnut farm properly. There are however some researches and/or cost analyses which give some idea about how much labour is spent by the producers. In many cases, the results obtained by such researches and/or cost analyses made by different institutions cite different figures for the amount of labour spent, for various reasons ranging from the representational power of the individual research conducted to the items of work taken into account on the one hand, and from the level of technological developments on the date of research to the political interests lying behind obtaining or citing different figures on the other hand.

The latter is due to the fact that labour is the single major item that determines the overall balances of the cost of production under the present conditions. Even the slightest change in the amount of labour per decare should be taken into account by the government when determining the floor prices to be applied by *Fiskobirlik*. This in turn determines the government's relations with the producers and the merchant capital as well as its ability to manoeuvre in both domestic and international nut markets.

For instance, according to the results¹⁷³ of a research conducted by Açı (1963, p. 89) in the villages of the central *ilçe* of the province of Giresun in the early 1960s, the average number of mwd/da/pa that the farming households were spending to

¹⁷³ My own calculation from the figures given in Açı (1963), p. 89, Table 35 about farm expenditures, by converting the latter into labour unit. For this conversion the current daily wage of a farm worker, which is cited as 7 TL in page 88, was taken as the figure of divider.

perform all the works on their hazelnut farms was 11.14. The results of the same research suggest that mwd/da/pa changed very slightly by the size of farms but not in a linear fashion. In concrete terms, the amount of labour spent by different categories of farms was as follows: 11.2 mwd/da/pa by farms smaller than 25 decares, 11.70 mwd/da/pa by farms between 25-50 decares, 10.66 mwd/da/pa by farms between 50-100 decares and 11.0 mwd/da/pa by farms bigger than 100 decares.

The results of a field research conducted by Küçükosmanoğlu¹⁷⁴ (1984, pp. 18-22) suggest that the hazelnut producers in the province of Trabzon were spending considerably less amount of mwd/da/pa, which was 9.87¹⁷⁵ nearly a quarter of a century after the date of the former research. It is possible to attribute this reduction in the amount of mwd/da/pa to the introduction of threshing machines although one would expect a much larger reduction. For instance, Kaya (1986, p. 66)¹⁷⁶ obtains a figure of 8.49 mwd/da/pa for the hazelnut farms in the same province, 8.96 mwd/da/pa for the farms in the province of Ordu and a general average figure of 9.45 mwd/da/pa¹⁷⁷ for all of the main hazelnut producing provinces in the country (namely, Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Samsun, Bolu and Sakarya) from a randomly selected 240 hazelnut farms.

Due to its significance, I should also quote an example of how the labouring time of people belonging to different age categories and sex is converted into mwd units. For instance, Kaya (1986, p. 10) defines one unit of mwd in hazelnut production as the labouring of a person of any sex between the ages of 15 and 49 for ten hours. The labouring of a person of any sex between the ages of 7 and 14 is considered equal to 0.5 mwd. This figure applies for a woman between the ages of 50 and 64, whereas ten hours' labouring of a man in the same age category is considered equal to 0.75 mwd.

¹⁷⁴ Küçükosmanoğlu was working at the date of his research in the State Planning Organization and conducted his research as a part of his masters' study in the same institution.

¹⁷⁵ My own calculations from the figures provided by Küçükosmanoğlu (1984), pp. 18, 21, Tables vi, vii.

¹⁷⁶ Mr. Ali Kaya works in Hazelnut Research Institute of Giresun and conducted his research in 1983.

¹⁷⁷ The actual figure given by Kaya is 9.42. However, my own calculation gives the result of 9.45 mwd/da.

Despite the fact that we do not have any data about the amount of mwd/da/pa needed to perform all the works in accordance with the suggestions of the agronomists, there is still a possibility of giving some idea about what this amount could be. For instance, Kaya's findings (1986, p. 66) suggest that mwd/da/da rises to 13.14 in the case of household farms which show effort to follow suggestions by the agronomists and agricultural engineers. This increase is basically due to spending more labour on pruning, use of manure, picking and the works included in the category of 'other works'. Increase in the amount of mwd/da/pa for picking is in fact a function of the amount of labour invested in other works which increases the level productivity. For instance, productivity is 271 kg/da in shell in the case of the farms following the suggestions of the agronomists, whereas other farms have an average productivity of 116 kg/da in shell against the background of the ownership respectively of 21 decare and 24 decare hazelnut farms on average (Kaya 1986, pp. 64, 70.).

An examination of the breakdown of total mwd/da/pa is also important to understand the nature and degree of demand for labour at different stages of production: According to Kaya (1986, p. 66)'s findings, nearly a half (44.56 percent, 4.21 mwd/da/pa) of the total mwd/da/pa is spent for picking, 6.03 percent for carrying, 8.15 percent for threshing, 9.74 percent for pruning and shoot cutting, 10.26 percent for spading, 6.66 percent for fertilizer spreading, 1.05 percent for pest combating, 6.03 percent for ground clearance and 7.52 percent for other tasks. For the performance of the same categories of works on the farm, Küçükosmanoğlu (1984)'s findings suggest some significant differences in terms of percentages. For instance, the producers spend 31.51 percent (3.11 mwd/da/da) of the total mwd/da/pa for picking and 30.40 percent for threshing. However, although he does not classify ground clearance and carrying to the threshing floors as separate items, the total amount of labour that both of the researchers have found the producers spending to perform harvest-related works is the same (6.1 mwd/da/pa), which constitutes 61.91 percent of the total mwd/da/pa in Küçükosmanoğlu's study and 64.77 percent of the total mwd/da/pa in Kaya's study because of the differences in the total amount of mwd/da/pa.

Public institutions and the government are also interested in determining the amount of labour required to perform all of the annual works on hazelnut farms.

I am not able to quote the figures cited by the government¹⁷⁸ since I could find no information about the unit cost of labour in the calculations in order to convert the figures into labour units. Among the public institutions which are interested in the kind of analyses mentioned are the provincial Chambers of Agriculture (*Ziraat Odası*), the Hazelnut Research Institute and *Fiskobirlik*. These institutions benefit largely from the results of their own researches and experiences in addition to the scientific help they receive from the universities.¹⁷⁹

According to the calculations made since 1983 by the *ad hoc* committees, currently set by the Chambers of Agriculture of the Province of Ordu to establish the factors and cost of hazelnut production, the total amount of labour spent by a hazelnut farm in the province to perform all of the works is 7.40 mwd/da/pa. Of this amount of labour, 13.51 percent is spent in pruning and shoot cutting, 4.05 percent in spading, 17.57 percent in fertilizer spreading and hoeing, 4.05 percent in pest combating, 6.75 percent in ground clearance, 40.54 percent in picking, 5.40 percent equally in carrying and threshing and finally 2.7 percent in performing other tasks. In its annual reports, the *committee* repeatedly emphasizes the point that it takes into account how often the producers perform certain works and calculates the yearly amount of labour accordingly.

Finally, we have got similar calculations made by *Fiskobirlik*. According to the cost analysis made for the production year of 1985,¹⁸⁰ the average mwd/da/pa is 7.91. Of this amount, 12.64 percent is spent equally in pruning (and shoot cutting), spading and fertilizer spreading as three separate categories of work, 9.48 percent in pest combating, 25.28 in picking and finally 27.30 percent in threshing.

The above quoted figures by different researchers or institutions are shown in a rather more organized way in the table below. Given the fact that ground clearance

¹⁷⁸ I refer particularly to the Ministry of Industry and Trade which prepares annual reports about hazelnut production. Examples of these annual reports that I could manage to obtain a copy of are the *Fındık Raporu*'85 and *Fındık Ekonomik Raporu*'88.

¹⁷⁹ In its unpublished report titled *Ordu Ziraat Odası Başkanlığının Ordu ve Giresun İllerine Ait 1988 Yılı Fındık Üretim Maliyetini Hesaplamak İçin Oluşturduğu Kurulun Maliyet Formuna Ait Gerekçeli Açıklaması*, the *committee* states that it uses the form which has been approved by the Hazelnut Research Institute of Giresun and the Departments of Agriculture of the Universities of Ankara and Ege. The *committee* also states in its report prepared for the year 1990 that it has been using the same form since 1983.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in *Fındık Raporu*'85, pp. 81-82.

just before the harvest, picking, carrying and threshing are the very activities that should be performed consecutively in the period of harvest, it is not difficult to arrive at a conclusion from the figures given in the table that more than a half of the total labour according to *Fiskobirlik*'s calculation and nearly two-thirds of the total labour according to the other three sources of information is spent by the households in performing harvest-related works on their farms.

Table B.1:

Labour Requirements (mwd/da/pa) of Hazelnut Production								
	Kaya	1986	K.oglu	1984	Fiskb	1985	C.Agr	1989
	mwd	prcnt	mwd	prcnt	mwd	prcnt	mwd	prcnt
works								
<i>pruning +</i>	0.92	9.74	0.93	9.42	1.00	12.64	1.00	13.51
<i>spad. + hoe.</i>	0.97	10.26	1.89	19.14	1.00	12.64	0.30	4.05
<i>fertilizers</i>	0.63	6.66	0.50	5.06	1.00	12.64	1.30	17.57
<i>pest combat.</i>	0.10	1.05	0.18	1.82	0.75	9.47	0.30	4.05
<i>ground clear.</i>	0.57	6.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	6.75
<i>picking</i>	4.21	44.56	3.11	31.51	2.00	25.28	3.00	40.54
<i>carrying</i>	0.57	6.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.40	5.40
<i>threshing</i>	0.77	8.15	3.00	30.40	2.16	27.30	0.40	5.40
<i>others</i>	0.71	7.51	0.26	2.63	0.00	0.00	0.20	2.70
Total	9.45	100.00	9.87	100.00	7.91	100.00	7.40	100.00

According to the results of my own research, the heads of households have estimated, as I mentioned earlier, that they are in need of 6.56 adult persons per decare to perform all the manual tasks. My data also suggest that the households employed 3.92 adult persons per decare (59.7 percent of the total labour force) for picking and carrying in 1990. With the addition of the number of *daybaşıs* and cooks, which is not taken into account in the above-mentioned studies and/or cost analyses, this number increased to 4.17 workers per decare. Furthermore, if we assumed the same rate of supervisory and cooking services were needed by the households which did not employ wage workers at all, the figure would further increase to 4.37 workers per decare. In overall terms, these figures mean

that more than three quarters of the total work force is needed to perform the harvest. However, given the facts, on the one hand, that mwd/da is obtained through converting labouring time spent by a worker into a standard unit and, on the other hand, that the number of adult persons that the heads of households estimated to be required does not mean that they employed only adult persons and ensured a net ten hours of labouring time, the real proportion of the labour force employed to perform picking and carrying must be lower than what the figures suggest.

On the basis of these data, it is possible to calculate the degree of employment that hazelnut production can create for the households' members who are at working-age in the village. For this calculation, I shall use the following parameters which are:

- (1) that the minimum amount of labour required is 6.56/da/pa adult person and the maximum amount of labour required is 9.45 mwd/da/pa, as found by Kaya (1986),
- (2) that the total area of hazelnut farms owned by the households is 3,901 decares,
- (3) that the number of people of working-age is 707, and
- (4) that the number of working days in agriculture is 200.

These parameters give the following results:

- (1) the total number of mwd/pa needed by the households to perform all of the works on their hazelnut farms is minimum 25,746 and maximum 36,864,
- (2) even if all of the lands (5,326 decares) owned by the households covered in this study were planted with hazelnut bushes, these figures would respectively be 35,151 and 50,330,
- (3) hazelnut production can create for each person at working-age a minimum of 36.4 and a maximum of 52.1 days employment, and this could be a minimum of 49.7 and a maximum of 71.2 days a year if all of the lands owned were allocated to hazelnut growing,

- (4) the labour requirements of hazelnut production releases therefore a total number of 104,536 working days at minimum and 115,654 working days at maximum, or alternatively 553 and 612 working days per household per annum,
- (5) with the addition of the labouring time spent for supplementary subsistence production and apiculture, and the labouring time spent by the 184 members who have regular non-agricultural jobs, the total number of days that the population at working age can work would not be longer than half of the possible number of working days a year. However, this calculation excludes the amount of labouring time spent for the performance of all kinds of domestic services.

Appendix C

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS QUESTIONNAIRE

Ordu 1990 Research on Rural Transformation in the Village of Kayadibi

Case No:)

Place of interview:)

Date of interview:)

Name of the interviewee:)

Place/quarter of residence in the village:)

The name of the clan or family:)

Q. 01: The head of the household was born in

a) Kayadibi Village () b) Akkese Village ()

c) other, specify:)

Q. 02: The head of the household's

a) date of birth: (.....) b) age: (.....)

c) sex: (i) male () (ii) female ()

d) marital status: i) married () ii) divorced ()

iii) widowed () iv) single ()

Q. 03: The number of marriages that the head of the household has made
(either by Imam Nikâhı or by Civil Code)

a) one () b) marriages c) unmarried ()

Q. 04: The number of wife(s) [husband] he [she] has now

a) none () b) never married ()

c) one (by Civil Code () or by Imam Nikâhı ())

d) other (.... by Civil Code and/or by Imam Nikâhı)

Q. 05: All the marriages that the head of the household has made (if more than four, specify about the first three and the last one)

	first	second	third	fourth
A) date of marriage				
B) at the date of marriage				
i) head's age:				
ii) wife's/husband's age:				
C) before this marriage				
i) head's marital status				
(legal):				
ii) wife's/husband's				
marital st.(legal)				
D) if and how close s/he is related				
to the household's head				
i) no blood tie	()	()	()	()
ii) uncle's daughter/				
son (mother's side)	()	()	()	()
iii) uncle's daughter/				
son (father's side)	()	()	()	()
iv) aunt's daughter/				
son (mother's side)	()	()	()	()
v) aunt's daughter/				
son (father's side)	()	()	()	()
vi) close relative				
from mother's side	()	()	()	()
vii) close relative				
from father's side	()	()	()	()
viii) distant relative				
from mother's side	()	()	()	()

ix) distant relative

from father's side () () () ()

x) other type of kinship prior to marriage:.....

E) where the wife/husband is from :

i) the same village () () () ()

ii) a neighbouring village () () () ()

iii) a near village () () () ()

iv) a distant village () () () ()

v) a very distant village () () () ()

vi) the city centre () () () ()

vii) another place (specify)

Q. 06: Kinship between the father and the mother of the head of the household

a) no kinship ()

b) related (specify by using the categories for Q. 05/D):

Q. 07: Does the head of the household or his/her spouse(s) have Georgian blood?

	head	f.sp.	s.sp	t.sp	f.sp
a) not a Georgian from any side	()	()	()	()	()
b) only from mother's side	()	()	()	()	()
c) only from father's side	()	()	()	()	()
d) from both sides	()	()	()	()	()

Q. 08: If ever and for how long the head of household has lived together, after getting married, with his/her (husband's/wife's) parents or siblings either under the same roof or separate roofs but without separating the budgets?

a) established a separate household with a separate budget without living together with anyone () (composition of the household:)

b) has been living in father's/ grandfather's/ 's house since the date of marriage () (composition of the household at the date of marriage:)

c) after living together with for months/years established a separate household with a separate budget ()

i) (composition of the household at the date of marriage:)

ii) (composition of the household just prior to the separation:)

iii) (composition of the separated household:)

d) established a separate household immediately after getting married and after months/years started to live together with)

at the date of re-unification

i) composition of the household living under ' roof

ii) composition of the household coming back:)

e) other, specify :)

Q. 09: Did the head of household have any job(s) [white or blue collar, handicraft, trade, business or industry] either in addition to farming or as the only means of income at the date of marriage?

a) no source of income/living except farming ()

b) worked as a/ engaged in in addition to agriculture/farming

c) no source of income/living except)

d) other, specify)

Q. 10: Number of the head of household's siblings (if female, ask about her deceased husband's siblings)

a) none ()

b) siblings (... brother and/or sister) and the head is st/nd/rd/th among the siblings.

Q. 11: The head of household (if a widow ask about her husband)

a) has (had) no brother ()

b) is (was) st/nd/rd/th among his brothers

Q. 12: Household's place of residence since the date of (first) marriage (if the head of household is a widow, as about her late husband)

a) has been living in the village ()

b) lived in the village for months/years , then moved to ... in.... and since then has been coming to and staying in the village for the duration of harvest (the reason behind migrating to)

c) lived in the village for months/years, then moved to in to do/work, and on the occasion of came back to the village in Since then has been living in the village

d) was living in at the date of marriage and came back to the village on the occasion of Since has been living in the village

e) other, specify

Q. 13: The head of the household's offspring (exclude those who died without leaving a heir behind)

a) none () b) not any yet () c) has ()

children's:

			mar.	formal	occupat.	current place
	age	sex	status	educ.	or job	of residence
Xi	()	()				
to						
Xn	()	()				

Q. 14: Members of the household who are living together more than half a year under the same roof (by specifying the place of residence which is

considered as "the home-ocak" of the household)

member/	member		marital	level of	
is.....	of HHD	age	sex	status	formal ed.
Xi		()	()		
to					
Xn		()	()		

Q. 15: Pemanent jobs or employment of any of the above members

///// none has got a job or is permanently employed () /////

member	job/	place of	monthly/annual
	occupation	work	income (TL)
Xi			
to			
Xn			

Q. 16: If the above stated (Q. 14) members of the household ever earned income from any agricultural and/or non-agricultural economic activity (apart from the income earned from regular economic activities or jobs in Q. 15.) within the last twelve months preceding the date of interview.

a) no income from any such works ()

b) the total amount earned by all the members is TL

Q. 17: If any member of the household is living more than half of a year somewhere else either on a temporary or permanent basis (in complex situations, take into account the last six months preceding the date of interview)

a) yes () b no ()

If yes:

		marital	formal	job/	why	income
member	age	sex	status	educ.	occup.	away (pa/pm)
Xi	()	()				
to						
Xn	()	()				

Q. 18: If any member of the household earns any regular or irregular income from a source for which no labour is spent now (like retirement pension; rent; aged, disabled, widow of ghazi payment or income support from Social Aid and Solidarity Foundation)

///// no income from any such a source ()/////

If yes:

member(x)	type of income	monthly/annual amount
Xi		
to		
Xn		

(x) if the same member of the household obtains income from more than one source he is to be specified for each source

Q. 19: If any other household is living under the same roof (in the village), specify whether or not any economic activity is carried out together on a current basis, like running a business, tilling the same land etc (specify the head of the other household concerned)

a) no other household living under the same roof ()

b) the head of the other household is the and/ but

Q. 20: If there is any other household living under the same roof (in the village) and currently eating together with the one whose head is being interviewed (while the budgets are kept separate)?

- a) no any other household ()
- b) currently eating together ()

Q. 21.A: Agricultural land (in da) at the disposal of the household (exclude for the moment those lands which are farmed/benefited by renting, sharecropping or by contract etc.)

//////// no land at the disposal of the household ()////////

//////// type of disposal (in decares)////////

	title t.deed verbal					
member	total	deed	condit.	alloc.	usuf.	other total
the head						
w/husband						
mother of						
father of						
other						
TOTAL						

Q. 21.B: Notes about the categories of lands at the disposal of the members of the household:.....)

Q. 22: Land fragmentation:

- a) one piece around the house ()
- b) more than a half is distant from the house and ... pieces ()
- c) more than a half is near the house and pieces ()
- d) other, specify)

Q. 23: Land allocation (in decares/sqm)

- a) the area on which the house, barn and other
premises are located plus threshing floor da/sqm
- b) vegetable garden da/sqm
- c) corn field(s) da/sqm
- d) grown hazelnut orchard(s) da/sqm
- e) recently planted haz. orchard(s) da/sqm
- f) forest/woodlands /bushes da/sqm
- g) arid lands, cliffs etc da/sqm
- h) other areas, (specify:.....) da/sqm
- TOTAL= da/sqm

Q. 24: How many minutes it takes for someone to travel to the most distant piece/tract of land owned by the household?

..... minutes on foot/by vehicle

Q. 25: If and what sort of land(s) the household has given someone to farm (leasing out, sharecropping or in return for labour, help, service or other)?

//////// no piece of land () ////////// or:

..... decare(s)/sqm of(type of land) in return for/on the condition(s)
of:)

Q. 26: If and what sort of land(s) the household is farming by means of renting, sharecropping or in return for labour, help, service or other?

//////// no piece of land () ////////// or:

..... decare(s)/sqm of (type of land) owned by a neighbour/
the Village Council/ by the Treasury in return for/on the condition(s)
of:)

Q. 27: If and how many decare(s)/sqm of land the head of household and/or his/her spouse has/have hitherto bought?

//////// no piece of land was bought () //////////

If bought:

a) the total area bought is decare(s)/sqm

b) the last land purchase date (year):

Q. 28: If and how many decare(s)/sqm of land the head of the household and/or his/her spouse has/have hitherto sold for any reason (such as to buy other agricultural land; to construct/buy a house; for the marriage of his/her offspring; to buy movable/immovable property; to pay a debt or for any other reason(s))?

//////// no piece of land was sold () //////////

If sold:

in total decare(s)/sqm of land sold for only/basically for

Q. 29: If any member of the household owns any other movable and/or immovable property (house, flat, store, tractor, lorry, car, minibus, van etc.) either in the village and/or somewhere else?

//////// no other movable or immovable property is owned ()////////

If owned:(for each type of the property and by each member)

owner/member	type of the property	place of the property

Xi		

to

Xn		

Q. 30: If the head of the household and/or any other member of the household is a partner of Fiskobirlik?

a) never became a partner () reason:

b) used to be a partner but is not now () reason:

c) is (are) a partner(s) of Fiskobirlik ()

Q. 31: Within the last two years if any credit was obtained

A) From the Agricultural Credit Cooperative?

a) yes () b) no ()

B) From the Agricultural Bank?

a) yes () b) no ()

Q. 32: If there is any big or small (manav) hazelnut merchant(s) to whom the head of the household can resort for credit or of whom s/he is a client?

a) yes () b) no ()

Q. 33: Within the last two years if any credit was obtained from a hazelnut merchant?

a) no () b) yes ()

If yes:

a) terms of credit:)

b) used for (main areas):)

Q. 34: Within the last two years if any money was borrowed from a friend or neighbour in the village?

A) With interest? a) yes () b) no ()

B) Without interest? a) yes () b) no ()

If borrowed:

C) money was used for:)

Q. 35: Hazelnut production and sale: 1988-1989 production year and 1989-1990 sale period

a) no hazelnut was produced () b) produced and sold ()

If produced and sold:

	TOTAL	Fiskobirlik merchant
a) sold (kg)		
b) obtained (TL)		
c) the month in which crop was taken to		
d) the month in which price was determined		

Q. 36: Post-harvest assessment by the head of the household of the self-economic situation (1989)

- a) there was no debt to be paid, therefore, the money obtained from the sale of hazelnut remained at hand ()
- b) neither debt to be paid nor any significant amount of money remained at hand ()
- c) all the debts were paid and TL remained at hand ()
- d) post-harvest debts were paid with the money/income obtained from other activities, therefore money obtained from the sale of hazelnuts remained at hand ()
- e) money obtained from the sale of hazelnut did not cover the debt(s), therefore TL remained to be paid ()
- f) other, specify

Q. 37: If anything other than hazelnuts is produced on the farm?

- a) nothing else is produced even for domestic consumption ()
- b) entirely or basically for sale in the market:
- c) basically for domestic consumption:

Q. 38: If anything else is produced in order to generate supplementary income or to contribute to the economic welfare of the household?

the variety(ies) produced and/or the economic activity dealt with	income obtained within a year (TL)
A) Honey? a) no () b) yes ()	
B) Carpet? a) no () b) yes ()	
C) Going to highlands to raise animals, to produce hay, potato or cabbage etc?	
a) no () b) yes ()	
D) Baskets and/or brushes and other goods?	
a) no () b) yes ()	
E) Small-size animal ranching either to sell during the feast of sacrifice or to a butcher?	
a) no () b) yes ()	
F) Small- or large-size dairy farming?	
a) no () b) yes ()	
G) Small- or large-size poultry farming?	
a) no () b) yes ()	
H) Other economic activity(ies)? (specify:)	

Q. 39: Animals raised for the purpose of domestic consumption and/or to benefit from their workforce?

- a) no animal is raised for any purpose ()
- b) raised by someone else on behalf of the household ()
- c) raised by the household itself ()

inclusive of b:

animals raised:	head/ number:
a) milk cow, water buffalo	
b) calf (of cow and/or water buffalo)	
c) horse/mule/donkey	
d) chicken/goose/duck	
e) sheep/goat	
f) other, specify:	

Q. 40: Vegetables, fruits and animal products sold in the market or in the village within the last twelve months preceding the date of interview:

- a) no quantity of product was sold ()
- b) approximately TL was obtained from the sale of such products within the last twelve months ()

Q. 41: Value of the domestically produced and consumed products if purchased from the nearest market? (within the last twelve months preceding the date of the interview and by taking their current market prices into account)

- a) nothing is produced for domestic consumption ()
- b) the approximate market value of the domestically produced and consumed products in money terms would be TL

Q. 42: Assessment by the head of the household of the importance of incomes obtained/derived from different sources/activities for the material welfare of the household

- a) the most important/comes first is)
- b) the second in its importance is)
- c) the third in its importance is)

d) no significant income is obtained from/no other source of income except
.....)

e) incomes obtained/derived from and and are equally
important

f) other, specify:)

Q. 43: Number of able-bodied men required for all the work that must be per-
formed at all stages of production within a year by the household (orchard
maintenance, picking, threshing etc)

///// approximately able-bodied men /////

Q. 44: Number of workers hired during the last production season (from Oc-
tober 1989 to October 1990) and amount of wage paid

a) no hired labour, all the work was done by the members of the household
()

b) only a small number of men (..... workers) were hired and TL
paid ()

c) most of the work was done by waged labour (.... workers) and TL
were paid ()

d) no household labour and TL were paid to get all the work done
()

e) other, specify:)

notes: workers were hired for)

Q. 45: For the 1989 harvest season, wage labour was provided from

a) no wage labour ()

b) within the village ()

c) the centre of the province ()

d) other towns/provinces () specify:)

e) other, specify

Q. 46: If any debt was/is to be paid after this (1990) harvest season?

a) no debt ()

b) some small amounts but not significant ()

c) significant amount(s) of debt(s) were/are to be paid ()

If (c):

debt(s) was/is owed to/ was/is to be paid to	primary reason(s) for indebtedness
Xi	
to	
Xn	

Q. 47: If the household has to borrow before the end of next harvest season
(save unanticipated reasons)?

a) there is no anticipated reason to borrow ()

b) will try to avoid borrowing ()

c) "has to" borrow ()

If (c), matters for which the household "has to":

Q. 48: House in which the household is currently living (in the village)

//////// no house in the village () //////////

a) year in which the construction started:

b) year in which the household moved in:

c) (if possible) the former house had sqm living space

Q. 49: Physical facilities of the house in the village

- a) kitchen(s); room(s) entrance(s) and
- b) running water? i) yes () ii) no ()
- c) toilet(s)? i) yes () ii) no ()
- d) bathroom(s)? i) yes () ii) no ()
- e) basement/ground floor used as stable? i) yes () ii) no ()
- f) except the stable, the house has: i) one floor () ii) two floors () iii) three floors () iv) other, specify
- g) except the stable, depot or store, the total living space of the house is sqm

Q. 50: Some of the durable consumer goods and facilities in daily use of the household

- i) radio ()
- ii) cassette player and radio ()
- iii) cassette player ()
- iv) refrigerator ()
- v) electric churn ()
- vi) TV set/black and white ()
- vii) TV set/colour ()
- viii) music set ()
- ix) cooker (gas heated) ()
- x) cooker and oven set (gas heated) ()
- xi) electric oven ()
- xii) vacuum cleaner ()
- xiii) sewing machine (electric) ()
- xiv) sewing machine (foot) ()
- xv) iron (classic) ()
- xvi) steam iron ()
- xvii) hair dryer ()

- xviii) solid fuel heated shower ()
- xix) gas/electric heated shower ()
- xx) gas heater ()
- xxi) electric heater ()
- xxii) private car ()
- xxiii) full automatic telephone ()
- xxiv) switchboard connected telephone ()
- xxv) washing machine (classical) ()
- xxvi) washing machine (full automatic) ()
- xxvii) others, specify:)

Q. 51: To what extent fuel/wood from the orchard(s) can meet the annual need of the household?

- a) no extra fuel is needed ()
- b) small amount of fuel is bought ()
- c) fuel need is basically/entirely met by purchase ()
- d) other situations, specify)

Q. 52: How bread is supplied?

- a) no baked bread is bought ()
- b) baked bread is rarely bought ()
- c) usually baked at home ()
- d) almost half is baked at home ()
- e) sometimes bought, sometimes baked at home ()
- f) usually bought ()
- g) rarely baked at home ()
- h) no bread is baked at home ()

Q. 53: Assessment by the head of the household of the self-economic situation when compared with the past

- a) much better ()
- b) better ()
- c) no difference ()
- d) worse ()
- e) much worse ()
- f) other, specify)

Q. 54: Assessment by the head of the household of the economic situation of the fellow peasants when compared with the past

- a) much better ()
- b) better ()
- c) no difference ()
- d) worse ()
- e) much worse ()
- f) other, specify:)

Q. 55: In the opinion of the head of the household, the most important problem(s) of the hazelnut producers

1:)

Xn:.....)

Post-harvest situation (1990):

Q. 56: The volume of 1990 hazelnut production is kg.

- a) estimated () b) definite ()

Q. 57: If any amount of crop already been sold?

a) no ()

b) some () // // // // all crop () already sold

Q. 57: Hazelnuts sold in the market (1990 crop)

	TOTAL	Fiskobirlik	merchant
a) amount sold (kg)			
b) amount obtained (TL)			
c) the month in which crop was taken to			
d) the month in which price was/is to be determined			

Q. 58: The (remaining) crop is intended to be sold to

a) Fiskobirlik () b) merchant () c) both () d) other:

Q. 59: Post-harvest assessment by the head of the household of the economic situation (1990)

a) there is no debt to be paid, therefore, the money obtained/to be obtained from the sale of hazelnuts remained/will remain at hand ()

b) all the debts were/are to be paid and TL remained/will remain at hand ()

c) neither debt nor any significant amount of money at hand remained/will remain ()

d) the post-harvest debts were/are to be paid with incomes obtained from other activities/sources, therefore the money obtained/to be obtained from the sale of hazelnuts remained/will remain at hand ()

e) money obtained/to be obtained from the sale of hazelnut did not/will not cover the debt(s), therefore TL remained/will remain to be paid ()

f) other, specify:)

Q. 60: Any wage labour employed during this harvest season?

a) yes () b) no ()

Q. 61: Wage labour was provided from

a) no wage labour was employed ()

b) within the village ()

c) the province center ()

d) other towns/provinces (), specify:)

e) other, specify:)

Q. 62: Mode/method according to which wage labour was hired/employed

a) daily work ()

b) fixed price for each kg of hazelnuts picked (*okkacı*) ()

c) decare(s)/piece(s) of orchards ()

d) other, specify:)

wages paid to:

a) daybaşı: TL/day or:)

b) cook: TL/day or:)

c) horseman: TL/day or:)

d) sack-man: TL/day or:)

e) picker: TL/day or:)

TOTAL amount paid: TL

Q. 63: Is there any member of the household who worked abroad and has made
"Final Return" ?

a) no () b) yes ()

If yes:

member(s) worked in/between the year(s) country/countries

Xi

to

Xn

.

Q. 64: Is there any member of the household who worked in other cities and
came back to the village?

a) no () b) yes ()

If yes:

member(s) worked in/between the year(s) province/city

Xi

to

Xn

.

Q. 65: Labour (including daybaşı, cook and sack-man) supplied from outside
the village

..... worker worked for day(s) for the household

TOTAL workforce: worker(s)/day

Q. 66: If workers from outside the village worked for another villager before
leaving?

a) yes () b) no ()

Q. 67: People currently not living in the village [either a member of the household or a relative (son(s), daughter(s), brother(s), father, mother and others] who came and stayed with the household in order to help for the harvest (exclude those who came just for a visit and stayed less than a week)

///// none () /////

If yes:

the person who came is
 of hhd came from stayed for (days)
 Xi or group of persons
 to
 Xn or group of persons

Q. 68: If the head of the household knows about any person, family or has any relative who does/do not live in the village on a permanent basis but own(s) land and came to the village for this harvest season?

a) no () b) yes ()

If yes:

name(s) of the person(s) if known, job/ current place
 who came to the village occupation of p.of residence
 Xi
 to
 Xn

TOTAL number of people who are known to have come to the village:)

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

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